

UNCOVERING PACIFIC PASTS

HISTORIES OF ARCHAEOLOGY
IN OCEANIA

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IN OCEANIA

EDITED BY HILARY HOWES,
TRISTEN JONES AND
MATTHEW SPRIGGS



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Abbreviations

AAAS	Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
AM	Australian Museum
ANSTO	Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation
ANU	The Australian National University
ARC	Australian Research Council
CAP	College of Asia and the Pacific, ANU
CBAP	Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific
EFO	Etablissements Français de l'Océanie (the French Establishments of Oceania)
EMB	Ethnological Museum in Berlin
ETS	Eastern Torres Strait
IAS	Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna
JPS	<i>Journal of the Polynesian Society</i>
LMS	London Missionary Society
MAA	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge
MARKK	Museum am Rothenbaum – Cultures and Arts of the World, Hamburg
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society
MKB	Museum der Kulturen Basel (Museum of Cultures in Basel)
MSC	<i>Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur</i> (Missionaries of the Sacred Heart)

UNCOVERING PACIFIC PASTS

MTI	Musée de Tahiti et des Îles (Museum of Tahiti and the Islands), Puna'auia
NHM	Natural History Museum, Vienna
NLA	National Library of Australia
NMS	National Museums Scotland
NZAA	New Zealand Archaeological Association
OM	Otago Museum, Dunedin
PAAP	Pacific Area Archaeology Program
PMA	Penn Museum Archives (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology)
PNG	Papua New Guinea
POC	Papuan Official Collection
POW	prisoner of war
pXRF	portable x-ray fluorescence
RJM	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum – Cultures of the World, Cologne
RSPacS	Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU
SEO	Société des Etudes Océaniques (Society for Oceanic Studies)
SOAA	School of Archaeology and Anthropology, ANU
SVD	<i>Societas Verbi Divini</i> (Society of the Divine Word)
TAFEA	Tanna, Aneityum, Futuna, Erromango and Aniwa province
UCB	University of California, Berkeley
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea
UWA	University of Western Australia
VKS	Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta (Vanuatu Cultural Centre)
WTS	Western Torres Strait
XPL	cross-polarised light

Contributors

Ingrid Ahlgren is Curator for Oceanic Collections at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, as well as a research associate at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History. Ingrid holds a Doctorate in Anthropology from The Australian National University (ANU) College of Asia and the Pacific, a Master of Science from Stanford University, and a Bachelor of Arts from Tufts University. Born and raised in the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI), Ingrid has worked in the region for 15 years as an anthropologist, collaborating with the RMI's Ministry of Internal Affairs, Environmental Protection Authority, Ministry of Health, Alele National Museum and various non-government organisations. Her research investigates the intersections of Oceanic identity, environment, cultural resources and Indigenous access to museum collections.

Katherine Aigner is a historian/ethnographer based at the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, ANU. Since 2009, her interest in cosmologies and knowledge systems has led her to collaborate with the Vatican Museums' Anima Mundi – Peoples, Arts and Cultures Museum. She culturally reconnected their Indigenous collections with communities around the world, bringing the Indigenous voice into the museum space for exhibitions and catalogues. She edited *Australia* (2017), the catalogue dedicated to the Vatican's collection, and with Fr Nicola Mapelli PhD published *Oceania* (2022), the fourth catalogue in the series, the others being *Ethnos* (2012) and *The Americas* (2014).

Ekaterina Balakhonova is a senior research fellow of the Research Institute and Museum of Anthropology of the Moscow State University. She received her PhD in Physical Anthropology in 1992 and works as a research curator of the ethnographic collections of the Museum of Anthropology. Her research interests include the history of the museum and its ethnographic collections.

Marie-Claude Boileau is an archaeological scientist specialising in ceramic analysis. She is the director of the Center for the Analysis of Archaeological Materials (CAAM) at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Elizabeth Bonshek is an independent researcher, affiliated with the British Museum as a visiting academic. She combines anthropology and studies in materiality in investigations of changing social and cultural values in contemporary Melanesia. She has researched Melanesian collections in museums in Australia, United Kingdom and Europe. She is the author of *Tikopia Collected: Raymond Firth and the Creation of Solomon Islands Cultural Heritage* (Kingston Press, 2017) and a coeditor of *Melanesia: Art and Encounter* (British Museum Press, 2013) (ORCID: 0000-0002-2791-0907).

Emma Brooks is a senior heritage advisor for the New Zealand Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai. She is a former curator of human history at Canterbury Museum.

Emilie Dotte-Sarout is a Discovery Early Career Researcher Award (DECRA) research fellow in archaeology at the University of Western Australia. Her current research focuses on the hidden contributions of women in the history of Pacific archaeology, building on the work she conducted about the history of francophone archaeology in the region, as part of the Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific team at ANU. In parallel, she continues her research in archaeobotany to better understand past interactions between people and their environments both in the Pacific and Australia.

Anna Edmundson is a lecturer at the Centre for Heritage and Museum Studies at ANU and a curator in the field of Oceanic Art. Her work explores cultural connections between people and objects across a wide range of disciplinary fields including history, digital humanities and museum studies. Her work challenges the notion that museum-making is a solely European tradition and explores the intersections between different models of collecting, preserving and interpreting moveable cultural heritage. Her current research explores new technologies for digital returns, community archiving and knowledge restitution for First Nations Australian and Pacific Islander communities.

Louise Furey is Curator of Archaeology at Auckland Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. She has written extensively on Māori material culture and archaeology. Particular research interests are the early settlement sites and ornament styles from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. She is currently involved in large interdisciplinary research projects in the Hauraki Gulf and the Kermadec Islands.

Elena Govor, a Russian-born historian based at ANU, conducts her research in the field of South Pacific materials in Russian museum and archival collections and cross-cultural contacts between Russians and the peoples of the Pacific and Australia. She has examined these topics in a range of publications, including *Twelve Days at Nuku Hiva: Russian Encounters and Mutiny in the South Pacific* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2010) and *Tiki: Marquesan Art and the Krusenstern Expedition* (Sidestone Press, 2019, ed. with Nicholas Thomas). She participated in the international projects 'Artefacts of Encounter', 'Pacific Presences', and 'The Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific'.

Eve Haddow is a lecturer and researcher in Museum Studies at the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia. Her research interests include material culture from the Western Pacific, missionary collecting and photography, histories of archaeology and anthropology, Australian South Sea Islander collections and facilitating connections between contemporary communities with these varied collections and stories.

Anita Herle is Senior Curator and Professor of Museum Anthropology at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. Her research interests include the early history of British anthropology, material culture studies, art and visual anthropology, with a particular interest in the Torres Strait, Fiji, Vanuatu and Canada.

Hilary Howes is an Australian Research Council (ARC) DECRA Fellow based in the Centre for Heritage and Museum Studies at ANU. Her research addresses the German-speaking tradition within anthropology and archaeology in Australia and the Pacific region. Her current project 'Skulls for the Tsar: Indigenous Human Remains in Russian Collections' offers the first detailed investigation of the acquisition of Indigenous human remains from Australia and the Pacific by the Russian Empire during the long nineteenth century. She was previously a postdoctoral fellow on Matthew Spriggs's ARC Laureate Fellowship project 'The Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific: A Hidden History'.

Tristen Jones is an archaeologist and curator based in the Department of Archaeology, School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry at the University of Sydney. Her research on Australian Indigenous and Pacific material culture collections focuses on the materiality and agency of objects, their relevance to contemporary Indigenous communities, and how collections can transform disciplinary histories. She was previously a research associate on Matthew Spriggs's ARC Laureate Fellowship project 'The Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific: A Hidden History'.

Adria Katz is now a consulting scholar at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, USA, after 38 years as Keeper of the Oceanian collections.

Mirani Litster is an archaeologist with a research focus on Australia and the Indian Ocean. Mirani specialises in the archaeology of early globalisation, islands, frontier conflict and cross-cultural encounters. Mirani is currently based at James Cook University in the College of Arts, Society and Education.

Campbell Macknight is an honorary professor in the School of Culture, History and Language, College of Asia and the Pacific, ANU. He has written extensively on the history of trepang fishermen from Makassar who came to northern Australia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and on the prehistory and early history of South Sulawesi, both subjects of interest to F.D. McCarthy. He is currently editing McCarthy's diary of his visit to Southeast Asia in 1937–38.

Alison Mann is an archaeologist and assistant collections manager of cultures and histories within the Queensland Museum Network, based at the Museum of Tropical Queensland, Townsville. Her research interests review and address the safety of museum collections – culturally, intellectually and physically. Her actions towards the management of collection objects have involved standardisation of terminology within historical collections to describe objects, object identification, classification and cataloguing. Her interest in museum collections management was ignited over 20 years ago on two expeditions to excavate the wreck site of HMS *Pandora*. As object registrar and hyperbaric medicine specialist, she identified many factors that impact on how we as a community see, describe and document our cultural and physical history.

Tamara Maric is a French archaeologist, head curator of the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles – Te Fare Manaha. Between 2002 and 2018, she worked at the Service de la Culture et du Patrimoine in Tahiti, the French Polynesian Government office that oversees archaeology in the region (presently Direction de la Culture et du Patrimoine). She studied settlement patterns of Tahitian chiefdoms for her doctoral research at the Université de Paris-1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Andy Mills is Curator for Archaeology and World Cultures at The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, Scotland. He has research interests in Pacific art history, missionary collecting, the ethnohistory of Western Polynesia, early European voyages of exploration and the history of museums, among other things.

Guillaume Molle is a senior lecturer in Pacific archaeology and ARC DECRA fellow at ANU, and deputy-director of the International Centre for Polynesian Archaeological Research (CIRAP) in Tahiti. His research focuses on the human settlement of Eastern Polynesia and the development of ritual architecture among Polynesian chiefdoms. He has directed projects in the Marquesas Islands, the Gambier and Tuamotu Archipelagos, and on the atoll of Teti'aroa. He is currently preparing a monograph on the archaeological history of the Marquesas Islands to be published by University of Hawai'i Press.

Mara A. Mulrooney is a principal and senior archaeologist at Pacific Legacy, Inc. She currently serves as president of the Society for Hawaiian Archaeology and is editor of the *Rapa Nui Journal*. Mara previously served as director of cultural resources and anthropologist at the Bishop Museum. While working for the museum, she co-founded the Ho'omaka Hou Research Initiative and worked to increase access to the museum's collections through the development of original exhibitions and online publicly accessible databases.

Sascha Nolden is a research librarian at the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand in Wellington. He is a graduate of the University of Auckland and Victoria University of Wellington, with research interests in history and biography, including the transcription and translation of letters, diaries and other archival primary sources.

Aoife O'Brien is curator for the Oceania collections at the Museum of Ethnography/Etnografiska museet (Stockholm) and the Museum of World Culture/Världskulturmuseet (Gothenburg), both part of the National Museums of World Culture/Världskulturmuseerna in Sweden. She has a PhD in anthropology/art history from the Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the University of East Anglia in England where her doctoral research focused on material culture from the Solomon Islands during the early colonial period, and has held fellowships at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Washington University in St Louis, and the Saint Louis Art Museum. Her research interests include the history of collecting and collections, the contemporary resonance/relevance of museum collections, visual anthropology and cross-cultural encounters.

William Scates Frances is a PhD candidate in history at ANU. He writes and teaches the history of exploration, science and race thinking in the nineteenth century, with particular attention to the United States South Seas Exploring Expedition (1838–42). He lives and works on unceded Dharug land, with a position at Academic Skills at the University of New South Wales, Sydney. You can find him on Twitter at @hphistorian and reach him via w.scates_frances@unsw.edu.au.

Peter Sheppard is a professor of archaeology in the anthropology program in the School of Social Sciences at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. Sent to the Solomon Islands as a postdoctoral student by Roger Green in 1989 to follow up on his Lapita research, Peter has continued to devote his own research and publishing to the study of that region over the last 32 years.

Reidar Solsvik is a Norwegian archaeologist and the curator/archivist of the Kon-Tiki Museum since 2006. He holds a master's degree in archaeology from the University of Bergen. He was also part of the University of Oslo-led cross-discipline research program 'Oceania: Identity Matters. Movement and Place' (2002–08). His primary area of expertise is the ancient religious sites of Polynesia, particularly the *marae*, and he has published extensively on the topic, and carried out fieldwork on Huahine, in the Society Islands and on Rapa Nui. Presently, he is engaged with archival research for a book on Thor Heyerdahl's works and theories.

Matthew Spriggs is Emeritus Professor of Archaeology at ANU and Honorary Curator of Archaeology at the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, Port Vila, Vanuatu, where he now lives. He retired exactly one year after completing his 2015–20 ARC Laureate Fellowship project ‘The Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific: A Hidden History’. His interests include Pacific and Island Southeast Asian archaeology, archaeological theory and the history of archaeology. His current ARC project (with Lynette Russell of Monash University) is ‘Aboriginal Involvement in the Early History of Archaeology’ (2021–23).

Glenn R. Summerhayes has held the chair in anthropology at the University of Otago since 2005. Prior to that he was head of archaeology and natural history at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU. Summerhayes has been actively involved in Papua New Guinea (PNG) archaeology for over 40 years. For his contribution to the archaeology of New Guinea he was conferred as an Officer of the Order of Logohu, PNG, in the 2014 New Year’s Honours. In 2021, he was awarded a Medal of the Order of Australia for his contribution to tertiary education and history.

Jillian A. Swift is Curator of Archaeology at Bishop Museum and Affiliate Graduate Faculty in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. She also serves as lead editor for the Society of Hawaiian Archaeology’s annual journal, *Hawaiian Archaeology*. Swift specialises in zooarchaeological and biomolecular methods, and her work employs a combination of community-engaged fieldwork and museum collections research to investigate human–environment interactions and long-term sustainability on Pacific Islands. Current projects include archaeological investigations of traditional agricultural practices in Hālawā Valley, Moloka‘i, and biomolecular approaches to understanding land use and sustainability on Tikopia Island.

Jo Anne Van Tilburg is an archaeologist, director of the Easter Island Statue Project (EISP), and director of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Rock Art Archive, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA. Under her leadership the archive was awarded the California Governor’s Award for Historic Preservation. She served as an appointed member of the US National Landmarks Commission, National Park System Advisory Board. She and her EISP team recently conducted major excavations in Rano Raraku Quarry, Rapa Nui (Easter Island).

Moira White is Curator, Humanities, at Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand. She is a life member of the New Zealand Archaeological Association, and of the Association of Friends of the Otago Museum. Among her areas of research interest are biographical studies of staff and donors to the museum.

Duncan Wright is a senior lecturer and head of archaeology at the ANU School of Archaeology and Anthropology. His research focuses on the (pre)history of Torres Strait Islanders, with a particular interest in ritual and religion. Previously, he held research positions at Griffith and Monash universities and completed a PhD at Monash University in 2010.

List of participating institutions

1. *Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand*
Topic: Stephenson Percy Smith, founder of the Polynesian Society
Exhibition dates: March–August 2020
2. *Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira, Auckland, New Zealand*
Topic: Roger Curtis Green and the prehistory of Near and Remote Oceania, and Jack Golson and the beginning of professional archaeology in New Zealand
Exhibition dates: February–May 2020
3. *Australian Museum, Sydney, Australia*
Topic: Looking beyond Australia’s shores in the 1930s: F.D. McCarthy in Southeast Asia
It did not prove possible to mount an exhibition at the Australian Museum.
4. *Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA*
Topic: The contributions of John F.G. Stokes to the field of Hawaiian archaeology
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – March 2021
5. *British Museum, London, UK*
Topic: *Conus* shell valuables from Wanigela, Collingwood Bay, Papua New Guinea
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – ongoing

6. *Burke Museum, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, USA*
Topic: Surveys of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea in 1966–67 by University of Washington anthropologists
Exhibition dates: March and September–November 2020
Website: www.burkemuseum.org/news/archaeology-mini-exhibit-uncovering-pacific-pasts
7. *Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand*
Topic: Sir Julius von Haast, Roger Duff and stone artefacts in New Zealand archaeology
It did not prove possible to mount an exhibition at the Canterbury Museum.
8. *Ethnological Museum Anima Mundi – People, Arts and Cultures, Vatican Museums, Vatican City State*
Topic: Father Wilhelm Schmidt, Indigenous beliefs and Oceanic collections in the Vatican's Anima Mundi Museum
Exhibition dates: May 2021 – ongoing
Objects featured as part of the Uncovering Pacific Pasts exhibition are now permanently on display.
9. *Etnografiska Museet/Museum of Ethnography, National Museums of World Culture, Stockholm, Sweden*
Topic: Hjalmar Stolpe, ethnographer to the *Vanadis* Expedition, 1883–85
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – September 2021
10. *Fiji Museum, Suva, Fiji*
Topic: Two archaeological pioneers of the Fijian Administration: Ratu Rabici Logavatu and Aubrey Parke
The Fiji Museum is planning to redisplay its archaeological collections once the COVID crisis there passes, and will incorporate Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific research into Rabici and Parke, as well as Parke's artefacts repatriated to Fiji by The Australian National University.
11. *Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK*
Topic: Reverend Dr George Turner and missionary archaeology in Vanuatu
Exhibition dates: September–November 2020

12. *Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo, Norway*
 Topic: Thor Heyerdahl and the Norwegian archaeological expedition to Rapa Nui/Easter Island and the East Pacific, 1955–56
 Exhibition dates: July–September 2020 and July–September 2021
13. *Mana Gallery, Hanga Roa, Rapa Nui/Easter Island, Chile*
 Topic: Katherine Routledge, Juan Tepano and the Mana Expedition to Rapa Nui/Easter Island, 1913–15
 Objects related to the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition were planned for display at the Mana Gallery in November 2020. However, the global pandemic forced closure of Rapa Nui/Easter Island to all tourism and travel. A new date will be set.
14. *Melbourne Museum, Museums Victoria, Melbourne, Australia*
 Topic: Lapita pottery in the Melbourne Museum collection
 It did not prove possible to mount an exhibition at the Melbourne Museum.
15. *Menzies Library, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia*
 Topic: Pacific archaeology at The Australian National University, 1961–79
 Exhibition dates: March 2020 – January 2021
16. *Musée de Tahiti et des Îles – Te Fare Manaha, Puna'auia, Tahiti, French Polynesia*
 Topic: Aurora Natua and the Motu Paeao site: Unlocking French Polynesia's islands for Pacific archaeologists
 Exhibition dates: September 2020
 Website: www.hiroa.pf/2020/04/hiroa-n151-culture-bouge-larcheologie-a-lhonneur/
17. *Museo Antropológico P. Sebastián Englert (Museo de Rapa Nui), Rapa Nui/Easter Island, Chile*
 Topic: Juan Tepano Rano, Rapanui expert and collaborator with visiting archaeologists
 It did not prove possible to mount an exhibition at the Museo Antropológico P. Sebastián Englert (Museo de Rapa Nui).

18. *Museum am Rothenbaum – Cultures and Arts of the World (MARKK), Hamburg, Germany*
Topic: Paul Hambruch, the Hamburg South Seas Expedition (1908–10), and the ceremonial complex of Nan Madol on Pohnpei, Micronesia
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – August 2021
Website: www.instagram.com/p/B91pRQxKMvb/
19. *Museum of Anthropology, Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia*
Topic: Hawaiian artefacts in Russian collections: Urey Lisiansky, Alexandra Corsini and the mystery of the Moscow *ki'i*
It did not prove possible to mount an exhibition at the Museum of Anthropology, Moscow State University.
20. *Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK*
Topic: A.C. Haddon and the 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – December 2022
21. *Museum of Tropical Queensland, Townsville, Australia*
Topic: Polynesian stone adzes excavated from the wreck of HMS *Pandora* (1791)
Exhibition dates: April 2020 – November 2022
Website: blog.qm.qld.gov.au/2020/03/02/uncovering-pacific-pasts-histories-in-archaeology/
22. *Museums and Special Collections, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, UK*
Topic: Material culture from Espiritu Santo, Vanuatu, brought to Aberdeen by missionary Frederick Gatherer Bowie and drawn into wider theories of prehistoric migration
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – ongoing
23. *National Museum of Australia, Canberra, Australia*
Topic: The Papuan Official Collection and the shared colonial history of Papua New Guinea and Australia
Exhibition dates: February–July 2020
24. *Natural History Museum, La Rochelle, France*
Topic: The collections of Gustave Glaumont, pioneering archaeologist of Melanesia

- An online exhibition featuring objects from the collections of the Natural History Museum, La Rochelle, was launched in July 2020.
Website: museum.larochelle.fr/au-dela-de-la-visite/autour-des-expositions/une/exposition-virtuelle-284
25. *Natural History Museum, Vienna, Austria (joint exhibition with Weltmuseum, Vienna, Austria)*
Topic: Rudolf Pöch's 1905 excavations in Wanigela, Collingwood Bay, Papua New Guinea
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – ongoing
 26. *Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand*
Topic: Henry Devenish Skinner's adze classification as a contribution to Pacific archaeology
Exhibition dates: February–July 2020
Website: otagomuseum.nz/blog/uncovering-pacific-pasts/
 27. *Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea*
Topic: Sue Bulmer and New Guinea archaeology
Exhibition dates: April 2020
 28. *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA*
Topic: How early Harvard scholars influenced the development of anthropology and archaeology in the Pacific region
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – March 2021
Website: www.peabody.harvard.edu/uncovering-pacific-pasts
 29. *Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, California, USA*
Topic: Lapita pottery fragments from Berkeley archaeologist Edward Gifford's 1947 expedition to Fiji
Exhibition dates: February–March 2020
Website: hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/exhibit/uncovering-pacific-pasts/
 30. *Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum – Cultures of the World, Cologne, Germany*
Topic: Lapita potsherds found on Watom Island by missionary ethnographer Father Otto Meyer MSC
Exhibition dates: March–August 2020

31. *Reid Library, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia*
Topic: The archives of François Péron, the first official expedition anthropologist in Oceania
Exhibition dates: March–December 2020
32. *Royal Geographical Society, London, UK*
Topic: Katherine Routledge and the Mana Expedition to Rapa Nui/ Easter Island, 1913–15
Objects related to the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition were planned for display at the Royal Geographical Society in March 2020. However, the global pandemic forced its closure for an extended period. A new date will be set.
33. *Solomon Islands National Museum, Honiara, Solomon Islands*
Topic: Visible traces of past human activities: polished stone adze traditionally manufactured in Solomon Islands
Exhibition dates: September 2020 – ongoing
34. *South Australian Museum, Adelaide, Australia*
Topic: Norman Tindale on the ancient migration of people into the Pacific
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – August 2021
35. *University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA*
Topic: W.H. Davenport's 1966 archaeological expedition to Santa Ana, Solomon Islands
Exhibition dates: August 2020 – December 2021
36. *University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia*
Topic: The University of Sydney and Pacific archaeology from the 1890s to the present
Exhibition dates: March 2020 – ongoing
This poster exhibition was launched in the University of Sydney main quadrangle in March 2020.
37. *Vanuatu Cultural Centre/Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta (VKS), Port Vila, Vanuatu*
Topic: The History of Vanuatu archaeology, Part I to WWII
Exhibition dates: November 2020 – November 2021

This poster exhibition was displayed at the Vanuatu Cultural Centre/ Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta (VKS) from November 2020 to November 2021. A second part, ‘The History of Vanuatu Archaeology, Part II: After WWII’, will open early in 2023. A French version of the poster exhibition was launched in February 2022.

38. *Weltmuseum, Vienna, Austria (joint exhibition with Natural History Museum, Vienna, Austria)*

Topic: Rudolf Pöch’s 1905 excavations in Wanigela, Collingwood Bay, Papua New Guinea

Dates: March 2020 – ongoing

Website: www.weltmuseumwien.at/en/exhibitions/galleries-of-marvel/#uncovering-pacific-pasts

1

Uncovering Pacific Pasts: Histories of Archaeology in Oceania – An exhibition

Tristen Jones, Hilary Howes
and Matthew Spriggs

The displacement of objects into discourse may also re-enchant them (Starn 2005).

Objects have many stories to tell. The stories of their makers and their uses. Stories of exchange, acquisition, display and interpretation. This book is a collection of essays highlighting some of the collections, and their object biographies (see Gosden and Marshall 1999; Hoskins 2006), that were displayed in the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts: Histories of Archaeology in Oceania* (UPP) exhibition. The exhibition, which opened on 1 March 2020, sought to bring together both notable and relatively unknown Pacific material culture and archival collections from around the globe, displaying them simultaneously in their home institutions and linked online at www.uncoveringpacificpasts.org. Thirty-eight collecting institutions participated in UPP, including major collecting institutions in the United Kingdom, continental Europe and the Americas, as well as collecting institutions from across the Pacific (see Figure 1.1, and for a full list refer to the List of Participating Institutions). In most cases, the institutions displaying the objects in UPP are not reflective of these objects' natural homes. Their current locations are a clue to the deep life histories of the UPP collections – histories that illustrate an object's collection,

acquisition and sometimes transfer by their collecting institutions, and their display and study, often in Western academic contexts. The source locations of the objects in UPP span all areas of the modern-day Pacific (see shaded area in map of Figure 1.2). However, unlike contemporary understandings of the Pacific, collections in UPP also span the regions of Australia and Island Southeast Asia. The archaeology and material culture of these regions remain connected, both to each other and the Pacific region more generally, a fact that a revision of our discipline's intellectual history reinvigorates (Spriggs 2017). Combined together, the UPP collections reveal stories of how the material culture of Oceania (used interchangeably in this volume with 'the Pacific') has been interpreted and reinterpreted by its collectors and how objects and archival material collected in the past can illuminate the histories of our discipline.

The object biographies in this volume tend to focus on the history of the object collectors and their historic and ideological collecting contexts, with authors utilising externalist approaches (see Moro-Abadía 2006) rather than focusing on the histories of the object makers. This situation is not unique to histories of the Pacific or to material culture collections. It is related to the enigmatic nature of the archaeological record. The allure of material culture in understanding the past is to illuminate the people and cultures who made and used the objects. Instead, what is often left are the stories of the collectors, who were frequently 'outsiders' to the peoples and cultures subject to their inquiries. It is important for readers to examine the collectors' perspectives contained herein, even when informed from and with Indigenous knowledges (for examples see Spriggs, **Chapter 28**, and Dotte-Sarout et al., **Chapter 30**, both this volume), as reflecting their personal bias, their inherited Western positivist world views and the temporal constraints that informed them. While in many respects this limits our understanding, these personal biographies and lived experiences, a collector's interpretative frameworks and the historiography of an object's life history provide a lens through which to explore, reflect and critique the ideological roots of modern archaeology (Givens 2008; Murray 2002; Murray and Evans 2008; Schlanger 2002:128–129).

1. UNCOVERING PACIFIC PASTS – AN EXHIBITION



Figure 1.1. Locations of participating institutions in the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition.

Source: Courtesy Jenny Sheehan, CartoGIS, Scholarly Information Services, The Australian National University.



Figure 1.2. Distribution of source locations of *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* collections.

Source: Courtesy Jenny Sheehan, CartoGIS, Scholarly Information Services, The Australian National University.

Until recently, the history of archaeology in Oceania has received relatively little attention (Dotte-Sarout et al. 2021; Howes and Spriggs 2019; Spriggs 2017). This is surprising when we consider the vast extent of this region, which extends roughly from the eastern shores of the Asian and Australian continents to the western shores of North and South America, covering fully one-third of the earth's surface. Its ecological and cultural diversity is no less vast: the islands of the Pacific range from linear chains of volcanic islands to low atolls, uplifted coralline reefs and fragments of continental crust (Kirch 2017:37–54; Neall and Trewick 2008). Some, like New Guinea, are large, others tiny. Some show evidence of human settlement dating back to the late Pleistocene, c. 40,000 years ago; others were not discovered or settled until around 1,000 years ago (Kirch 2017:4–5). In total, land amounts to only 0.34 per cent of the area of the Pacific Basin, and Patrick Vinton Kirch has rightly described the human colonisation of Remote Oceania by small groups of seafarers wayfinding across 4,500 km of open ocean as 'one of the great sagas of world prehistory' (Kirch 2017:89; see also Nunn et al. 2016).

Some sites of archaeological significance in Oceania have entered the public consciousness, most notably the monumental *moai* of Rapa Nui/Easter Island (Van Tilburg, **Chapter 18**, this volume), ‘hotly debated [...] as a testament to “ecocide” or to adaptability and resistance’ (Kirch 2017:1; see also Bahn and Flenley 1992; Diamond 2005; Hunt 2007; Hunt and Lipo 2010). Others, less well known, nevertheless bear witness to human achievement on a global scale. The identification of Kuk Swamp in the New Guinea Highlands as a location of independent agricultural development and plant domestication during the early Holocene, 9,000 years ago, led to its inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Litster et al., **Chapter 32**, this volume; see also Golson et al. 2017). Small wonder, then, that European visitors to the Pacific from the 1500s onwards were not interested solely in the natural resources and strategic significance of the region, nor in its inhabitants as merely potential Christian converts or sources of cheap labour. Instead, they wondered who the people of the Pacific were, and when and how they had come to be there. Their studies of material culture, augmented by work in areas such as linguistics, oral history and physical anthropology, were attempts to find answers to these questions.

One of the primary themes of the volume, evident when surveying the UPP collections and their historical contexts, is the connectivity of people, places, objects and ideas from the very beginning of European exploration and material culture collecting practices (see Spriggs, **Chapter 2**, this volume). As early as the 1870s anthropological pursuits in the Pacific had come to be guided and supported by professional societies, in addition to the pre-existing support frameworks that facilitated previous colonial explorations (see Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, this volume). One of the early archaeological excavations in the Pacific, undertaken as early as 1904 at Wanigela in today’s Papua New Guinea (see Spriggs, **Chapter 8**; Bonshek, **Chapter 13**; and Howes, **Chapter 14**, all this volume), was informed both by international expert advice and attempted experimental conservation techniques. Finds from this excavation include the intricately engraved *Conus* shell valuables, which for the first time in the UPP exhibition are being displayed concurrently in their respective homes at the British Museum, London and the Weltmuseum, Vienna (Figure 1.3).



Figure 1.3. Carved *Conus* shells on display at the British Museum.

Source: Courtesy of the British Museum staff.

By the outbreak of World War I, the beginnings of the defined and increasingly professionalised branches of study of anthropology, archaeology, physical anthropology and linguistics had already taken root in both the British and American traditions. The period from 1918 to 1945 heralded a new beginning in Pacific research (see Spriggs, **Chapter 19**, this volume), where endeavours were predominately initiated

and supported by the growing number of university-trained faculty in university departments and museums, in both the USA and Europe, as well as in national collecting institutions. Pioneer academics during this time undertook field research underpinned by specific archaeological research questions. They also developed the university curricular and training standards for the field and recruited and taught the students who went on to become the first cohort of fully professionally trained archaeologists working in the Pacific from the end of World War II (see Spriggs and Howes, **Chapter 26**, this volume).

These four main temporal phases of development form natural thematic breaks in this volume. Thus, **Chapters 3–7** cover the time period from the 1500s to the 1870s, with the exhibition object displays and the stories presented focusing on exploring expeditions and early settlers in the Pacific, in particular the collectors' ideas on the origins of local populations, and how similarities and differences in material culture could elucidate the relationships between them. The second section, **Chapters 9–18**, spans the period from the 1870s until the 1910s. This section introduces the reader to the objects and supporting archival materials from some of the first archaeological excavations in Oceania and their interpretations. Debates and theories on the origins of Pacific peoples, their migrations and settlement were now supported by increasing evidence – material culture from excavated contexts, stylistic analysis of objects and their distribution through space and time, oral histories of local populations and somatological studies – but analyses and interpretations of the data were strongly tied to the by then dominant theories associated with Darwinian evolution. Section three spans the interwar period (1918–45). The object histories presented here in **Chapters 20–25** highlight the growing establishment of archaeology as a subject in its own right and the supporting academic and professional institutions and societies that now framed the field. The final section, **Chapters 27–35**, focuses on the most recent past (1945 – present day). Armed with new scientific techniques and a workforce of university-educated and trained archaeology specialists, these object stories showcase the contributions of the individuals, places and ideas that continue to affect modern archaeological practice and debates. Disciplinary history fosters reflexive analysis and the object histories from the most recent past provide ample opportunity here for the curators and authors of the UPP exhibition to assess the ongoing legacy of those people, places and theoretical paradigms to which most if not all of us have direct connections. Interspersed between the object-focused chapters, each section is contextualised by an introductory chapter

(**Chapters 2, 8, 19 and 26**) that links the exhibition displays, setting the scene and filling in the gaps of any major finds, individuals, theories or collections that have not been included in the UPP exhibition content. The four section introductions thus also help locate Pacific archaeology in each period within important developments in the history of ideas on the one hand, and within the broader context of economic and sociopolitical activity in the Pacific on the other. As is to be expected in a subject of this magnitude and despite our best efforts, not all major themes and notable collections could be represented in a single exhibition.

The UPP exhibition was an initiative of the Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project. The CBAP Project was an Australian Research Council (ARC)-funded Laureate research program, awarded to Professor Matthew Spriggs from 2015 to 2020, based in the School of Archaeology and Anthropology (SOAA), College of Arts and Social Sciences at The Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra, Australia. The CBAP Project aimed to create a subfield in the history of Pacific archaeology. In particular, it aimed to reassess dominant theoretical paradigms in Oceanic archaeological theory by undertaking a new historiography of Pacific archaeology across English, French and German scholarly texts. In doing so, the CBAP Project aimed to uncover a broader, more nuanced context in the history of Pacific archaeology: the forgotten networks of influence, early excavations, neglected contributors such as women and Indigenous scholars, and the linked disciplinary histories of both anthropology and archaeology (Spriggs 2017). The UPP exhibition is the culmination of five years of dedicated scholarship. The objects and the stories of their collection, exchange and interpretation displayed in the UPP exhibition do much to uncover this hidden history.

The planning, curation and installation of a large international devolved exhibition such as UPP was only made possible by the immense support given by the participating institutions. The CBAP team, particularly Matthew Spriggs, Tristen Jones, Hilary Howes, Emilie Dotte-Sarout, Mirani Litster, Eve Haddow, Michelle Richards, Victor Melander, Andrea Ballesteros Danel, Bronwen Douglas and Elena Govor, wish to thank (in alphabetical order by institution, then by surname):

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- Australian Museum, Sydney, Australia: Patricia Egan, Vanessa Finney, Jim Specht
- ANU, Canberra, Australia: Anna Edmundson, Simon Haberle, Guillaume Molle, Duncan Wright
- Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, USA: Marques Marzan, Jillian Swift
- British Museum, London, UK: Lissant Bolton, Liz Bonshek, Gaye Sculthorpe
- Burke Museum, University of Washington, Seattle, USA: Peter Lape, Laura Phillips
- Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand: Emma Brooks
- Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, USA: Jo Anne Van Tilburg
- Ethnological Museum Anima Mundi, Vatican Museums, Vatican City State: Katherine Aigner, Father Nicola Mapelli
- Etnografiska Museet/Museum of Ethnography, National Museums of World Culture, Stockholm, Sweden: Aoife O'Brien
- Fiji Museum, Suva, Fiji: Elia Nakoro, Sipiriano Nemani
- Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK: Malcolm Chapman, Andrew Mills
- Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo, Norway: Reidar Solsvik
- Menzies Library, ANU, Canberra, Australia: Patrick Byrnes, Sarah Lethbridge
- Musée de Nouvelle-Calédonie, Noumea, New Caledonia: Julia-Jessica Wamytan
- Musée de Tahiti et des Îles – Te Fare Manaha, Puna'auia, Tahiti, French Polynesia: Miriama Bono, Tamara Maric
- Museo Antropológico P. Sebastián Englert (Museo de Rapa Nui), Rapa Nui/Easter Island, Chile: Francisco Torres Hochstetter
- Museum am Rothenbaum – Cultures and Arts of the World (MARKK), Hamburg, Germany: Jeanette Kokott
- Museum of Anthropology, Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia: Ekaterina Balakhonova
- Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK: Anita Herle, Nicholas Thomas
- Museum of Tropical Queensland, Townsville, Australia: Alison Mann

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- Museums and Special Collections, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, UK: Neil Curtis, Jennifer Downes, Christina Mackenzie
- Museums Victoria, Melbourne, Australia: Nancy Ladas
- National Museum of Australia, Canberra, Australia: Laura Cook
- Natural History Museum, La Rochelle, France: Elise Patole-Edoumba
- Natural History Museum, Vienna, Austria: Margit Berner
- Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand: Moira White
- Pacific Legacy Inc., USA: Mara Mulrooney
- Pacific Research Archives, ANU, Canberra, Australia: Catherine Ziegler
- Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery, Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea: Kenneth Miamba
- Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, USA: Ingrid Ahlgren, Pamela Gerardi, Jane Pickering, Katherine Satriano, Kara Schneiderman
- Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, USA: Leslie Freund, Adam Nilsen
- Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum – Cultures of the World, Cologne, Germany: Oliver Lueb
- Reid Library, University of Western Australia, Perth, Australia: Deanne Barrett
- Royal Geographical Society, London, UK: Eugene Rae
- Solomon Islands National Museum, Honiara, Solomon Islands: Tony Heorake, Lawrence Kiko, Shirley Mwanosalua, Rita Sahu
- South Australian Museum, Adelaide, Australia: Stephen Zagala
- University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa: Alexander Mawyer
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**Part 1:
Early European
exploration
in the Pacific,
1500s – 1870s**

2

European interests and ideas on the diversity of human cultures in the Pacific (1500s – 1870s)

Matthew Spriggs

This chapter introduces the first of four sections of *Uncovering Pacific Pasts: Histories of Archaeology in Oceania*, covering European (including Euro-American) interests and ideas on the diversity of human cultures in the Pacific from the late 1500s to the 1870s. Forms of contact between Europeans and Pacific Islanders during this lengthy period ranged from the fleeting encounters of early Portuguese and Spanish navigators to the deeper understandings enabled by lengthy missionary stays. The five chapters in this section discuss artefacts acquired or produced in a variety of ways, reflecting the diverse expectations and hopes projected onto the Pacific by Europeans.

For the crew of HMS *Pandora*, Pacific artefacts were ‘artificial curiosities’ that could serve as ‘souvenirs of a journey to exotic locations’ or be ‘sold at the end of the voyage or exchanged for the patronage of well-connected persons’ (Mann, **Chapter 3**, this volume). However, *Pandora*’s primary mission was to hunt down the mutineers from HMAV *Bounty*, which prior to the mutiny had been engaged in gathering breadfruit plants from Tahiti and transporting them to the West Indies to be trialled as a cheap food source for slaves (Frost 2018; Largeaud-Ortega 2018; Maxton 2020). This fact points to the persistent European interest in

the Pacific as a source of natural resources and unpaid or poorly paid human labour, ranging from whaling and sealing to sandalwood, bêche-de-mer, pearl shell and copra, slave-trading and ‘blackbirding’, and the mining of phosphate, nickel and other valuable ores (e.g. Banivanua-Mar 2007; Le Meur and Banaré 2014; Newton 2013; Richards 2017; Shineberg 1967; Teaiwa 2014). Other reasons for European interest in the Pacific during this early period included scientific observation and public education (Dotte-Sarout, **Chapter 4**; Govor and Balakhonova, **Chapter 5**; and Scates Frances, **Chapter 6**, all this volume) as well as Christian missions (Haddow and Mills, **Chapter 7**, this volume).

Every Pacific Island community would have had stories of the origin of their people. Some were conveyed to visiting Enlightenment exploration expeditions as traditions that would be recognised as something approximating a historical narrative, what Patrick Kirch would later label as ‘of the genealogically based oral-history kind’ as opposed to ‘cosmogonic or mythological narratives’ (Kirch 2018:275, 306). These latter narratives, beginning with an act of creation analogous in their poetics to the biblical acts in Genesis, appeared incommensurate with European understandings and beliefs during the several centuries of sporadic contact addressed in this chapter. But as European visitors first encountered Pacific Islanders and were encountered in their turn by them in the sixteenth century, there was initially no language of subtle communication common to both beyond gesture. Clues as to how and why the islands came to be humanly inhabited were derived initially more from phenotype, later to be over-defined as ‘race’, and past experience of meeting similar-looking or similar-sounding peoples in what was then known as the Indies, today South and Southeast Asia.¹

Captain Pedro Fernández de Quirós, a Portuguese sailing for the Spanish from Peru on Mendaña’s second expedition to the Solomon Islands (1595), thought that:

It may really be that all the people of Santa Cruz and the Solomon Islands come from the archipelago of the Philippines. The Santa Cruz people dye their teeth red and black and use the *buyo* [betel nut], as in the Philippines. In the island of Luzon there are black men, who are said to be the aborigines of the land [...] the Moors

¹ In fact a whole range of criteria were being assessed beyond simple appearance, as noted by Thomas (1996:xxvii): ‘bodily form, complexion, vigor, disposition towards Europeans’, and later, things such as ‘civility and the status of women’ where these could be observed.

and other Indians occupy their lands, drive them away, and force those that remain into corners of the land where they now are. It may well be that, by reason of the invaders, the persecuted people have gone away to seek other settlements, until they came to New Guinea as the nearest place, and thence to the Solomons and Santa Cruz. The half-breeds and differences in colour among them proceed from intercourse between them. (Markham 1904:I:142–143)

The theme of darker-skinned autochthonous Asian people driven into the interior of large islands or east into the Pacific by invading lighter-skinned groups was to become an enduring trope of European understandings of the origins of the people of Melanesia (Douglas 2013:391–392). It was common from the time of the early Spanish explorers onwards to distinguish two major population groups, light-skinned and often straight-haired people first sighted on Polynesian outlier islands or islands with clear Polynesian influence, and darker-skinned people with woolly hair found on the larger Melanesian islands (Spriggs 1997:223–240). There were gradations between these two extremes and European explorers would often identify populations as representing mixed groups. Thus James Cook described the people of Balade in New Caledonia as being:

a race between the people of Tanna [in Vanuatu] and the Friendly isles [Tonga] or between Tanna and the New Zealanders or all three; their language in some respects is a mixture of all. (Beaglehole 1969:541)

The process of trying to fit the people encountered into previous knowledge of geographical variation among populations was not one-way, of course. The inhabitants of Melanesia seem to have equated the light-skinned European crews with earlier Polynesian visitors and settlers and presumed they had come from those more easterly islands. The Polynesian terms often used in an attempt to convey the needs of the Europeans were a further clue as to their supposed origin (Spriggs 1997:227, 249, 250).

Cook's remarks introduce a second line of evidence used to trace the origins of Pacific peoples, that of similarities in language. As we have seen this was exactly paralleled in the interpretations by islanders of the origins of the Europeans! Times of peaceful contact during Cook's three expeditions when local languages could begin to be learned, and closely related Polynesian languages across the eastern Pacific, made translation much easier than in the more westerly islands where linguistic diversity

made communication more difficult. Thus, for the first time, some access to local traditions of origin could be accessed by the savants who accompanied Cook's voyages.

The most detailed example of such work is Johann Reinhold Forster's *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* (1996 [orig. 1778]), based on his experiences during Cook's second voyage and accounts by earlier European explorers. Although the geographical terminology is not his, he contrasted the inhabitants of much of what today would be labelled Island Southeast Asia, Micronesia and Polynesia with those of the Moluccas, New Guinea and Island Melanesia as representing two distinct populations with different histories:

The first enumerated race seem to come from the Northward and by the Caroline-islands, the Ladrões [Marianas], the Manilla and the island of Borneo, to have descended from the Malays: whereas on the contrary, the black race of men seems to have sprung from the people that originally inhabited the Moluccas, and on the approach of the Malay tribes withdrew into the interior parts of their isles and countries. The language of these two races in some measure proves the assertion, especially as it is evident that the first five branches speak only dialects of one *general language* preserving several words of the Malay-language; whereas the three tribes of the latter race, have not even a similarity of speech among themselves; and that none of these languages has the least or most distant reference to any American language spoken on the Western coasts of America. (Forster 1996:341–342)

This last statement was included on the grounds that, given the direction of the Trade Winds, it might be thought that the Pacific Islands would have been settled from the Americas more easily than from the west. This is something that Forster rejected, in part because he believed the Americas to have only been settled a few hundred years before European contact (Forster 1996:185–186). As well as linguistic comparison we see an early use of oral traditions as history, combined with the idea that the black race had originally inhabited all of the Pacific Islands but in many of them had been conquered by the 'Malays' and reduced to serfdom or servant status. Cannibalism was seen as a custom of the 'Papuas', and there was a 'faint tradition' of it found in Tahiti and in other

traditions of the Taheiteans, who know, for instance, in their neighbourhood, an isle called *Mannua*, occupied by men-eaters, which, according to this conjecture, is a proof of it being inhabited by the aboriginal black race of people, who are, as far as we know, all cannibals. (Forster 1996:228)

Together, these stories formed the basis for the idea of an originally Indigenous black population. Forster uses this form of comparative ethnography extensively as a means of linking particular populations in his section on ‘Manners Compared’. Thus the Malakulans in Vanuatu are seen to come from New Guinea and the Polynesians from the Caroline Islands and beyond that, Island Southeast Asia – conclusions not clear from any other kinds of evidence:

these islanders having no other than vague traditional reports in lieu of historical records, it is impossible to know any thing of their origin or migrations; and that no distant guess or conjecture could ever have been formed unless by paying a particular attention to their peculiar customs and manners, and likewise to their language. (1996:357)

Material culture was not particularly foregrounded in Forster’s analysis, but it quickly became a major means of comparing different Pacific populations as the trade in traditional artefacts to sailors and savants got underway. This is illustrated by the hoard of such artefacts, including stone adzes and pounders and wooden clubs, found among the remains of the *Pandora*, wrecked on the outer edge of the Great Barrier Reef, northern Australia, in 1791 (Mann, **Chapter 3**, this volume). These form a wonderful ‘closed assemblage’ of artefacts collected in the Pacific in a particular year only a few decades after first sustained European contact and not rediscovered until some 190 years later by maritime archaeologists. Similarly, tracing early collected artefacts to particular exploring expeditions is also critical to knowing what early contact material culture was like. Mann, **Chapter 3**, this volume introduces the continuing value to researchers today of such early collections, using the latest chemical sourcing techniques to tell us about exchange relationships in the Pacific in the earliest stages of European contact. Michelle Richards, one of the PhD scholars associated with the Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project, has been garnering much useful information on such topics from portable x-ray fluorescence (pXRF) analysis of such museum collections (Richards and Günther 2019). Her work has also demonstrated that claimed pre-contact artefacts can sometimes turn out to have been manufactured in

the post-contact period in what can fairly be described as ‘factories’ in the Pacific and elsewhere to feed the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century museum obsession with developing ‘representative’ collections of Pacific artefacts for comparative analysis (Richards 2021).

Such may be the origin of the Moscow *ki'i* originally attributed in the Moscow Museum of Anthropology to Urey Lisiansky's 1804 visit to the Hawaiian Islands (Govor and Balakhonova, **Chapter 5**, this volume). This was part of the first great Russian exploring expedition of the *Nadezdha*, under Ivan Kruzenshtern, and the *Neva*, captained by second-in-command Lisiansky from 1803 to 1806 (see also Govor 2010; Govor and Thomas 2019). Ingenious detective work by Elena Govor and Ekaterina Balakhonova of the Moscow Museum shows the *ki'i* rather to be associated with a visit by Alexandra Corsini, one of a very small band of female collectors, to Hawai'i in 1907. If not directly manufactured in the historic period to feed demand from collectors, the *ki'i* may date from the period of King Kalakaua's revival of aspects of ancient Hawaiian culture through his *Hale Nauā* Society of 1886–89, when traditional Hawaiian carving was encouraged once more (Karpel 1999).

Having discussed the early explorers and the opportunities and perils of making conclusions about contact-period practices from material culture collections of the period – or said to be from the period – the year 1800 is a good one in which to take stock of emerging understandings of what was being called ‘the natural history of man’. CBAP Research Fellow Emilie Dotte-Sarout (**Chapter 4**, this volume) illuminates this particular moment in the development of interest in the history of human settlement of the Pacific Islands, even then seen as the purview of ‘anthropology’ in its widest sense. Most of the Pacific Islands had been charted by Europeans by that time, the three apices of what we now know as the ‘Polynesian triangle’ – Hawai'i, Easter Island and New Zealand – had been mapped and their people and cultures described to some extent. The colonial settlement of Australia had begun, and Europeans were soon to spread into many islands of the Pacific; indeed, Spanish settlement on some of the Micronesian islands was already significant. Initial conclusions were being published on questions of how humans had been able to settle almost every Pacific island encountered on European voyages and whence they might have come. Dotte-Sarout shows how even by this time recognisable subfields of anthropology had come into existence: ethnography, physical anthropology or bioanthropology, and material culture collecting for museum display.

Before there was any recognisable archaeological practice within anthropology, the comparative perspective ranked the different peoples and subsistence practices found across the world to create an early evolutionary ladder from hunting and gathering to pastoralism to field agriculture to urban, ‘civilised’ society. As Dotte-Sarout notes, 1800 was, however, the year of John Frere’s publication of what we can now recognise as an Acheulean hand axe from a clay pit in Hoxne in Suffolk, England, which he attributed to ‘a very remote period indeed; even beyond that of the present world’ (Frere 1800:205). This publication has been celebrated as ‘one of the first facts in a prehistory based on archaeology’ (Daniel 1962:34) and ‘a landmark in the development of prehistory’ (Evans 1956:203). But the way the French savants phrased their understanding of ‘pre-history’ (a term not yet coined) was by conflating space and time. Communities furthest away, in the South Seas for example, could stand in for knowledge of the earliest history of Europe. Questions of origins and migrations were in effect the only archaeological questions that could be posed. Time depth in the Pacific Islands was thought to be shallow and their history thus unworthy of independent study for its own sake.

This trope of space being seen as equivalent to time within a ranking of different types of societies grew in influence as the nineteenth century unfolded (Fabian 1983). One of the last of the great seaborne exploring exploits was the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–42. It stands as transitional, looking forward to the new style of scientific expeditions pursuing very specific intellectual questions and aims. This can be seen in its massive publications, much larger in size and scope than any previous official expedition accounts and planned as 24 volumes, although not all were officially released. The ethnographic collection of some 4,000 artefacts was claimed to be the largest assembled by any single sailing expedition (Philbrick 2004:332). CBAP associate William Scates Frances (**Chapter 6**, this volume) details the research during the expedition of naturalist Charles Pickering, leading to his work *Races of Man* (1848). Using a synthesis of physical anthropology, material culture, botany, geology and linguistics, he saw Fiji, which the expedition visited in 1840, as the ‘chief origin’ of and staging area for Polynesian culture. The linguistic evidence was provided by Horatio Hale, another Harvard product, and published as the *Ethnography and Philology* volume of the expedition (Hale 1846). Hale locked in the idea of the Southeast Asian origin of what we now know as the Oceanic Austronesian languages.

Both Hale and Pickering were enormously influential in their day on ideas about the settlement of the Pacific: Pickering influenced the views of Charles Darwin, among others, and Hale later taught Franz Boas, a key founder of American sociocultural anthropology. Scates Frances (**Chapter 6**, this volume) considers that both Pickering and Hale were engaged in an early form of holistic anthropology, with Pickering in particular taking a specifically ‘archaeological’ approach blending studies of material culture, landscapes, architecture and botany to examine questions of Pacific origins. Hale’s research was narrower, limited much more to linguistic arguments, some of them providing a supposed chronology based on an early version of glottochronology and also involving a rather uncritical form of genealogical dating (Howard 1967:50).

Both of them broadly agreed, however, that Fiji was originally inhabited by ‘Melanesians or Papuans’, followed by Polynesians from an island called ‘Bulotu’, possibly Buru in Maluku, seen as the easternmost island ‘inhabited by the yellow Malaisian race’. Hale concluded that fighting broke out after a period of coexistence with the Papuans based in the east (Viti) of Viti Levu and the Polynesians in the west (Tonga):

The blacks (or Viti), jealous of the increasing wealth and power of their less barbarous neighbors, rise upon, and partly by treachery, partly by superior numbers, succeed in over powering them. Those of the Tonga who are not made prisoners, launch their canoes and betake themselves to sea [...] they reach the islands of the Friendly Group, which receive from them the name of Tonga. (Hale 1846:178–179, quoted in Howard 1967:51)

Finally, here we get a singular reversal of the usual trope as the Papuans defeat and exile the Polynesians! Hale has much more to say, using oral traditions and linguistic argument, on subsequent Polynesian migrations such as that from Samoa to Tahiti, and including the earliest argument for Hawaiian settlement having been from the Marquesas, although he dated this event to about 450 CE on his interpretation of the genealogies rather than the 1000 CE usually suggested today.

The eastward migration of Pacific peoples ultimately from Southeast Asia and adjacent areas was not the only theory current in the first half of the nineteenth century. The American origin, based on the prevailing Trade Wind patterns, had its adherents, among them the missionary William Ellis (1829) who, while happy to see a Malay origin for Polynesians, suggested bringing them via the Bering Strait to North America and to

Hawai‘i and then down to the rest of Polynesia. Alternately, he could envision Polynesians having travelled further south along the west coast of America and then peopling Easter Island and getting into Polynesia via this route. He was not the first to suggest the route from the east, dismissed in advance by Forster (see Martínez de Zuñiga 1803; Ballesteros Danel 2020). Ellis is also of interest to the history of Pacific archaeology as one of the first to describe and illustrate Pacific archaeological sites in some detail (Haddow 2017).

Another idea, as plausible at the time of its formulation as any other though now dismissed by serious scholars, was that the Polynesians were in fact autochthonous, having developed their relatively uniform language and culture on a now sunken Oceanic continent (Moerenhout 1837). Similarities with the Malay language were explained by settlement of Island Southeast Asia from Polynesia rather than the other way around. This idea continued to be debated in scholarly circles until the geology and formation processes of Pacific Islands were much better understood towards the end of the century, although the idea of ancient land bridges between particular Pacific Island groups continued to have some academic traction even later (such as invoked by Brown 1907).

If the period up to the mid-nineteenth century had been the time of the explorers and their scientific fellow travellers, the second half of the century was dominated by Christian missionary perspectives.² This is not surprising as missionaries were often the first permanent European presence on islands, and the first to learn the languages of those islands fluently and to reduce them to writing. Linguistic competence gave them privileged access to the oral traditions of the people among whom they lodged; often they made a point of recording them to look for biblical parallels.

This phase is recorded by the *nelcau-amōñ* and associated stories of the origin of the people of Aneityum in the New Hebrides (from 1980 the Republic of Vanuatu), the first successfully Christianised island in Melanesia, discussed by CBAP PhD scholar Eve Haddow and Andy Mills (**Chapter 7**, this volume). This ‘missionary archaeology’, as these authors

² There were of course isolated missionary voyages to the Pacific before the mid-nineteenth century, notably that of the *Duff* to Tonga, Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands (1796–99). This was the first British missionary voyage to the Pacific. Although a disaster from the point of view of the London Missionary Society, it did result in valuable documentation of the missionaries’ interactions with Pacific peoples (Cathcart et al. 1990; Irving-Stonebraker 2020).

call it, was an extended phase of research with perhaps two opposite poles – one that sought directly to relate the origins of Pacific peoples to the biblical story and another where the linguistic evidence and oral traditions were less ideologically interpreted as complete in and of themselves without reference to biblical chronologies or narratives. This pole was therefore in many cases an extension and development of ideas derived from the earlier expeditionary phase, but with rich detail derived from greater familiarity with the people whose story was being discussed.

George Turner, however, as with many of the New Hebridean Protestant missionaries, was very much attracted to the former interpretive pole with its built-in division of races as deriving from Noah's three sons who survived the Great Flood: Shem the ancestor of the Semitic-speaking peoples, Ham from whom the black races were said to descend and Japheth, ancestor of the white races. Much was made of Hebrew being the original human language before the dispersal of the confusion of tongues after the collapse of the Tower of Babel. Ultimately, therefore, all human migrations across the world would be traceable back to the Middle East. The greatest Pacific effort in this regard was without doubt made by Rev. Daniel Macdonald, a Presbyterian missionary in the New Hebrides (Macdonald 1889, 1907). He demonstrated, at least to his own satisfaction, that the language of Efate in central Vanuatu was a Semitic language derived ultimately from Arabia and the Phoenician sailors and traders said to have been based on its southern coasts. Part of this idea was that to the extent that the New Hebrideans were considered 'savages', this was the result of cultural and moral degeneration from the more civilised roots of their 'Oceanic fathers' from Arabia (encompassing the biblical lands and ultimate derivation from Adam and Eve). The influence of this missionary biblical school of thought has been unjustly ignored or belittled. In the absence of other forms of chronology for world history, a biblical one was an available means to organise the new data of human distribution and difference revealed in European exploration voyages.

It is sometimes presented as if all of this line of thought was overturned in 1859 by Darwin's and Wallace's evolutionary theories, but there was a very long time lag between publication of *The Origin of Species* (Darwin 1859) and general acceptance of Darwinist tenets.³ There is no doubt,

3 The infamous Scopes 'Monkey Trial' of 1922 in the USA is an example of the afterlife of these Bible-based ideas, and they are with us still in the regular attempts by Creationists to gain equal time for their views in state education systems there. The Scopes trial is conveniently summarised in Wikipedia (retrieved 6 June 2020): en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scopes_Trial.

however, that by the second main period canvassed here, from the 1870s onwards (Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, this volume), missionary biblical views were starting to be on the defensive – or, as we shall see in the third period, even disguised or accommodated within less overtly religious theories of diffusion of culture from Egypt, as championed by Grafton Elliot Smith, William Perry and William Halse Rivers Rivers.

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3

‘Artificial curiosities’ and the Royal Navy

Alison Mann

The Museum of Tropical Queensland’s Maritime Archaeology collection, housed in Townsville, Australia, holds an assemblage of 271 ethnographic objects acquired by the crew of HMS *Pandora* during a five-month voyage through the island groups of Polynesia in 1791. HMS *Pandora* was in the southern Pacific Ocean on a mission for the British Admiralty searching for the mutineers from HMAV *Bounty*. On the homeward stage of the voyage, *Pandora* was attempting to find a route through the then uncharted Great Barrier Reef when the ship hit a submerged reef and sank. This collection with its discrete provenance has been excavated from the wreck site. Historical documentation describes the multiple island groups of Polynesia visited by the vessel and at which of these islands the crew of HMS *Pandora* had contact with island inhabitants. The archaeological record illustrates how both officers and crew of this Royal Navy vessel participated in many forms of acquisition, obtaining a diverse collection of ethnographic objects prior to stowing them aboard *Pandora* in preparation for the return voyage to England.

The voyages of HMAV *Bounty* and HMS *Pandora*

HMS *Pandora* (1791), under the command of Captain Edward Edwards, had been ordered by the British Admiralty on a mission into the Pacific Ocean in 1790 to hunt down and capture HMAV *Bounty*

and the 25 crew who had mutinied and taken control of the vessel (ADM 2/120:478–480). *Pandora* departed Portsmouth, England, on 7 November 1790 (Gesner 2000:1).

Two years prior, the leader of the mutiny, Acting First Lieutenant Fletcher Christian, and his co-mutineers had cast adrift *Bounty's* Captain Bligh with 19 loyal crew in the ship's longboats. Bligh and crew navigated these small vessels approximately 3,500 km from Tahiti, then known as an island of the Society group, to Batavia (Jakarta) in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) (Gesner 2000:1). Bligh arranged passage for himself and crew to England, finally reporting the mutiny to the Lords of the Admiralty in 1789 (Rawson 1963:3).

In the Pacific, the group of mutineers had separated following an unsuccessful attempt to establish a settlement on Tubuai in the Austral Islands. Sixteen mutineers chose to return to Tahiti, site of the original mutiny (Gesner 2000:1). The remainder, including Fletcher Christian, sailed to Pitcairn Island in the *Bounty*. Acknowledging the British Admiralty would not allow a mutiny on board one of His Majesty's ships to go unpunished, Christian and cohort, to avoid detection, scuttled the vessel and burned *Bounty* to the waterline (Gesner 2000:1).

Pandora visited Tenerife and Rio de Janeiro before rounding Cape Horn and making way into the Pacific Ocean. By March 1791 the vessel had arrived at Matavai Bay, Tahiti (Rawson 1963:16). Within two weeks of being at anchor, 14 of the 25 mutineers chose to surrender or were captured (Thomson 1915:30–34). After 46 days in Tahiti, Captain Edwards abandoned searching the local islands and, following the Admiralty's itinerary, navigated a route through the southern Pacific Ocean. The island groups visited were suspected of being potential hideouts of the remaining mutineers.

Of the many islands in the Pacific, some were sighted, noted in the ship's log and no contact was made with island inhabitants. At other islands *Pandora* dropped anchor and stayed anywhere from a few hours to many weeks (Gesner 2016:335–336).

After leaving the Society Islands *Pandora* sailed for Tonga, Fiji and the Cook, Union and Samoan Islands. By August 1791, with no further mutineers captured or discovered, Captain Edwards made the decision

to cease the search and set a westerly course for Coupang (Timor) via the Torres Strait, the first leg of the return journey to England (Thomson 1915:70–72).

HMS *Pandora* reached the outer edge of the Great Barrier Reef, northern Australia, on 26 August 1791. Edwards tentatively explored the outer fringe of the reef in an attempt to find passage through the uncharted waters. *Pandora* struck an isolated submerged reef. Within 90 minutes there was 2.5 m of water in the hold (Thomson 1915:72). Work to save the vessel continued through the night; however, the breakdown of one of the pumps had water flooding the hold. Captain Edwards gave the order to abandon ship. Thirty-one crew and four mutineers drowned when *Pandora* sank in 30 m of water (Edwards' papers, MS 180).

The wreck was discovered in 1977 and the identity of the vessel as HMS *Pandora* confirmed in 1979 with excavation of the wreck's content recommended (Henderson 1979:33–34). The subsequent archaeological investigation of the wreck site was an opportunity to expand on the HMAV *Bounty* saga and reconstruct the material culture in use in a late eighteenth-century British seafaring microcosm (Gesner 2000:2; Rodger 1986:14). Gesner further commented that this microcosm can be regarded as significant and representative of European exploration in the South Pacific during the European 'Great Age of Exploration'. In the year *Pandora* entered the Pacific there were no European settlements and contact between inhabitants of the island groups and Europeans had been sporadic (Gesner 2016:75; Rawson 1963:14).

Archaeological investigation

The wreck is located within what is now called Pandora Entrance on the outer Great Barrier Reef approximately 140 km east-south-east of the tip of Cape York in north-eastern Australia. The site lies within the reef system surrounded by four small submerged reefs that provide some protection against ocean swells and tidal currents (Gesner 2000:21). An area with a radius of 500 m centred on the site at the intersection of 11°22'40" S and 143°59'35" E was declared a protected zone under Section 7 of the Australian Commonwealth's *Historic Shipwrecks Act 1976* (Henderson 1979:29–35). Between 1983 and 1999 the Queensland Museum conducted nine archaeological field seasons at the wreck site (Gesner 2016:117–120).

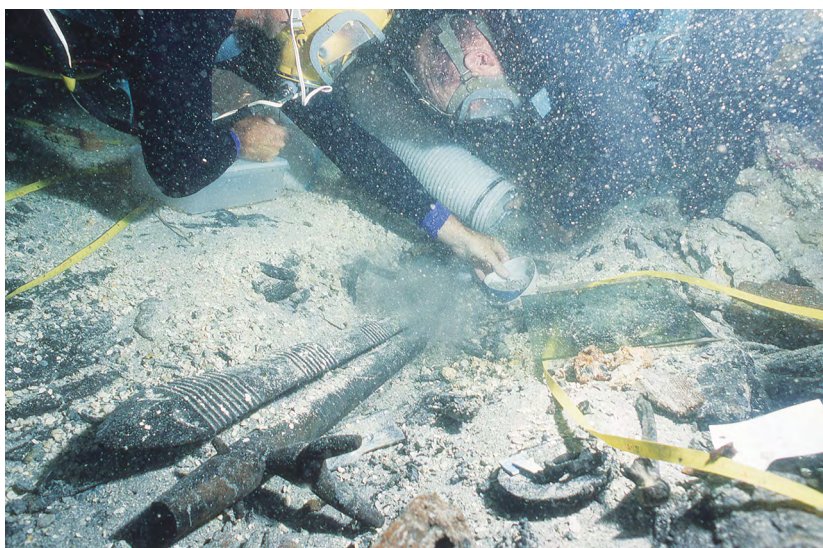


Figure 3.1. Archaeologists using surface supply breathing apparatus excavate wooden clubs from the stern of HMS Pandora.

Source: © Queensland Museum, Gary Cranitch.

The remnant hull structure and majority of the artefact assemblage remain buried within a 50 × 20 m (1000 m²) area, under a gentle south-easterly sloping featureless sandy sea floor (Figure 3.1). Depending on tides, the site can vary in depth between 30 and 35 m. During the first field season in 1983 four trenches were excavated, yielding dense concentrations of artefacts in the shallow sediment (Gesner 2000:23–30). These trenches also uncovered hull timbers and hull copper sheathing. Guided by this physical record and historical naval architects' plans, archaeologists were able to determine the orientation of the hull within the site and identified it leans to starboard at an angle of 32 degrees (Gesner 2016:6). To delineate primary excavation areas for the intended field seasons, a grid system was superimposed over the estimated outline of hull remains and the grid squares numbered (Gesner 2000:29).

On the basis of historical research, it was determined excavation of the site would be focused on the bow and stern where evidence of shipboard society and daily life would have been located (Gesner 2000:20). The wreck's amidships area was assigned a low priority for archaeological investigation as it was considered the amidships hold spaces would contain items of nautical technology: this aspect of naval construction and ship stowage spaces was already well documented (Lavery 1987:156–168).

The 1983 and 1984 expeditions to the site recovered personal items belonging to the ship's surgeon and one of the commissioned officers from cabins located in the stern living quarters of the vessel. Archaeologists anticipated similar material evidence of shipboard life would be found in the bow, in the living quarters of the ordinary sailors (Gesner 2000:28). The preservation factors of the site enabled excavation of an extensive array of personal possessions and professional equipment: the material culture of the vessel in its functional context. Among these personal possessions was evidence of the ethnographic material acquired from the islands where the crew of *Pandora* had made landfall.

Trading and acquiring

By 1791, when *Pandora* sailed into the Pacific Ocean, 14 European voyages had been attempted since 1767 (Rawson 1963:14). For the vessels that sailed through this relatively unknown part of the world, the activity of collecting or acquiring ethnographic material was well established and carried out by both officers and crew (Gesner 2000:125–127). The largest and best known of eighteenth-century collections from the Pacific was acquired by Captain James Cook during his three voyages between the years 1769 and 1779 (Kaepler 1978). Collecting and exchanging objects with island inhabitants and crew became such a priority during Cook's first voyage that orders had to be issued to ensure trading for the ship's provisions be completed prior to any personal trading being undertaken (Beaglehole 1968:75).

These ethnographic objects collected by the crew fell into two categories. In the language of late eighteenth-century England the term 'artificial curiosity' was used to describe objects handmade or modified by human action, whereas a 'natural curiosity' was a term that referred to a natural history specimen such as a shell (Kaepler 1978:37).

For the crew, gathering 'curiosities' presented a number of opportunities. The objects could be souvenirs of a journey to exotic locations, sold at the end of the voyage or exchanged for the patronage of well-connected persons. Gregory Bentham, *Pandora*'s purser, was familiar with the concept of collecting 'curiosities'. Bentham himself was a veteran of Cook's third voyage and had as his patron Sir Joseph Banks (Coleman 1988:44). Banks, who had connections within the ranks of English society, was a botanist, patron of the natural sciences, and president of the Royal Society since

1778. He had sailed with Cook's first voyage from 1768 to 1771 and collected both 'artificial and natural curiosities' (Gesner 2016:261). The extent of collecting activity amongst the crew of HMS *Pandora* has been demonstrated by the range of Polynesian objects excavated from the bow and stern, suggesting both officers and sailors were engaged in this activity (Gesner 2016:142).

While *Pandora's* logbook contains no entries describing these interactions between the crew and islanders, George Hamilton (ship's surgeon) does describe episodes where the acquisition of objects occurred (Gesner 2016:77–115; Thomson 1915:39, 105). In some islands transactions occurred within a mutually beneficial exchange. At other locations, however, transactions occurred where an imbalance of power and a technological edge in weaponry ensured objects were forcibly acquired from island inhabitants (Thomson 1915:39, 105).

When an exchange did occur, the peoples of Polynesia received items perceived by the Europeans to be of value within their own cultural system; for example, red feathers from Tonga (Kaepler 1978:37) or metal objects such as iron nails, spikes, iron tools and knives. Hamilton noted in his journal the anticipation of such trade as *Pandora* sailed past Rapa Nui/Easter Island on 4 March 1791, prior to any contact at any of the Polynesian islands. 'We now set the forge to work, and the armourers were busily employed making knives and iron work to trade' (Thomson 1915:101). This comment by Hamilton suggests the crew were well aware of the value peoples of the Pacific placed on metal European commodities.

Following 'establishments' – standing Admiralty instructions – living spaces on board ships were clearly defined (Lavery 1987:156–168). Officers were allocated a personal cabin as well as storage space in the officers' store. In the more confined space in the bow lived the ordinary seamen, sleeping in hammocks and sharing stowage space with a greater number of crewmates. It is reasonable to consider the officers then had space to stow large items, whereas the sailors had only small spaces. This allocation of space would have impacted on who collected what type of objects. The strict hierarchy of eighteenth-century shipboard social structure would also impact who would have the greater opportunity to trade, exchange, barter or acquire items by other means.

The Polynesian material culture objects acquired during those five months in 1791 and now excavated from the site have been grouped and described as basalt adzes, chisels, shell adzes, wooden clubs, poi pounders, fishing lures, fishing hooks, octopus lures, modified triton shells, pieces of personal ornamentation and components of a Tahitian mourning dress (Gesner 2016:266–284; Illidge 2002:70–71). There is a group of 'other', to date unidentified, objects comprising shell, bone and organic material.

Of specific interest for this volume are the 23 stone adzes excavated from the site. It is noted that no adzes have been excavated still hafted to their wooden handles. If they were originally collected in that form in 1791 the hafting material, a twisted or plaited fibre, was organic and therefore susceptible to deterioration in the marine environment. All adzes have been identified as a fine-grained basalt (Campbell and Gesner 2000:127; Gesner 2016:267).

Preliminary identification of these tools following Duff's typology of Neolithic adzes from Eastern Polynesia suggests that 18 of the 23 adzes demonstrate a close resemblance to Types 3A and 3E, with origins in the Society Islands and Tubuai of the Austral Islands (Duff 1959:134–136). The large number of these two specific styles in the assemblage could be explained by the 46 days *Pandora* was anchored in the Society Islands (Tahiti), allowing opportunities for trade, exchange and acquisition. Of the remaining five adzes, all have physical characteristics that made them difficult to ascribe to the groups of Duff's typology. Further investigation is required (Figures 3.2 and 3.3).

Analysis recently undertaken in late 2018 on these objects has moved on from using a typological analysis of the stone tools. For the first time, *Pandora*'s basalt adzes have been examined using the nondestructive geochemical portable x-ray fluorescence (pXRF) technique (Michelle Richards pers. comm. 2018). Results from this analysis will add to the body of data on Polynesian exchange activities, formal or informal, and the social and geographical dissemination and movement of stone tools between the different island groups of Polynesia (Weisler 1993:61–62).

4506



Figure 3.2. Adze.

Source: © Queensland Museum (MA4506), Gary Cranitch.

7721



Figure 3.3. Adze.

Source: © Queensland Museum (MA7721), Gary Cranitch.

Poi pounders, also manufactured from basalt, are easily identifiable in the artefact assemblage. Stylistically, the six poi pounders recovered from the site, although worked from a single piece of fine-grained basalt, have differently shaped handles and all show evidence of use wear, with pitting in the base. Research has yet to be completed on identifying the geographical origin of these artefacts. As with the adzes, these basalt objects were recently analysed using the pXRF technique.

Five intact decorated carved wooden clubs (Figure 3.4), attributed to Tongan manufacture, were excavated lying close together parallel to the hull in an area of the wreck determined from Admiralty establishments as being the cabin belonging to First Lieutenant John Larkan (Campbell 1997:8). The appearance of the clubs at excavation suggests they were stowed neatly for transport back to England. The clubs range in length from 800 mm to 1300 mm. Further evidence that these clubs were the property of Lt Larkan was the recovery of a lead name stamp with legible lettering of 'LARKAN' in mirror image. This object was located with the clubs (Campbell 1997:4). Fragments of a further 14 clubs in various stages of deterioration have been recovered from this same area of the hull. Most have diagnostic carvings and markings that with further research may be traced to their islands of origin.



Figure 3.4. Detail of carving on club.

Source: © Queensland Museum (MA4743), Gary Cranitch.

There are a number of individual shell pieces and coconut discs. All have been modified for use, with the objects having been shaped for a purpose and having varying numbers of holes drilled through them, suggesting an original decorative or ornamental function. These holes would have been how the fashioned pieces were attached to another component of attire. Many of these pieces have been identified as decorative components of a Tahitian mourning dress (Illidge 2002:71). What is missing from the archaeological record are the delicate organic materials of the mourning dress, the multiple feathers and organic fine cordage that was used to attach the fashioned pieces to the dress.

The Polynesian fishing equipment recovered from the site includes components of the trolling lure assemblages, individual fishhooks and octopus lures (Fallowfield 2001:5–28). The general construction of the trolling lure consisted of a bone shank attached to a worked sliver of pearl shell (*Pinctada margaritifera*) with a shell or bone hook attached to the ‘back’ of the bone shank. The fishing twine or cord has not survived in the archaeological record. There are a variety of individual fishhooks of differing styles and material types. Octopus lures are also prominent in the collection, with their parts being a worked shell or bone shank and a ‘kauri’ (*Cypraea tigris*) shell with drill holes to enable the shank and shell to be attached (Gesner 2016:274).

For five months in 1791 HMS *Pandora* was on a specific mission, searching the islands of Polynesia in the southern Pacific Ocean for a group of mutineers. This mission exposed the peoples of those island groups to the growing experiences of contact with European sailors. The archaeological record of HMS *Pandora* has revealed the crew collected objects through exchange, trade or other means: items of material culture from the inhabitants of the islands they had contact with. The basalt stone tools form a discrete group within this larger ethnographic collection. Typological analysis can identify a geographical origin for many of the adzes. Geochemical x-ray fluorescence of the basalt tools will add to data that will allow researchers to further understand trade, exchange and migration throughout Polynesia and the southern Pacific Ocean.

Objects highlighted in this chapter have been on display at the Museum of Tropical Queensland from April 2020 and will remain on display until November 2022.

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UNCOVERING PACIFIC PASTS

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4

1800: How the ‘South Seas savages’ became ‘antique monuments’

Emilie Dotte-Sarout

The Manuscripts Collection of the National Library of Australia (NLA) holds a printed copy of the quite well-known essay authored by François Péron in 1800: *Observations sur l'anthropologie, ou l'histoire naturelle de l'homme, la nécessité de s'occuper de l'avancement de cette science*.¹ Written specifically to achieve Péron's participation in Nicolas Baudin's expedition to the South Seas or 'Austral Lands', the paper has historically been considered the first formal discussion of the science of 'anthropology', and Péron titled 'the first official expedition anthropologist' (Chappey 2000; Copans and Jamin 1978; Hewes 1968; Stocking 1964). The NLA document (MS 4209) is unique not only as one of the rare original prints of the essay, but also because it is annotated with handwritten comments by Michel Adanson, a respected naturalist celebrated as a founder of botanical classification and member of the commission of the Institut national, coordinating the scientific program of Baudin's voyage (Figure 4.1).

1 The full title is: *Observations sur l'anthropologie, ou l'histoire naturelle de l'homme, la nécessité de s'occuper de l'avancement de cette science, et l'importance de l'admission sur la Flotte du capitaine Baudin d'un ou de plusieurs naturalistes, spécialement chargés des recherches à faire sur cet objet*, Paris, an VIII [1800] ('Observations on anthropology or the natural history of man, the necessity to advance this science, and the importance of admitting to the fleet of Captain Baudin one or several naturalists, especially in charge of undertaking research on this topic'). NLA MS 4209, Rex Nan Kivell Collection.

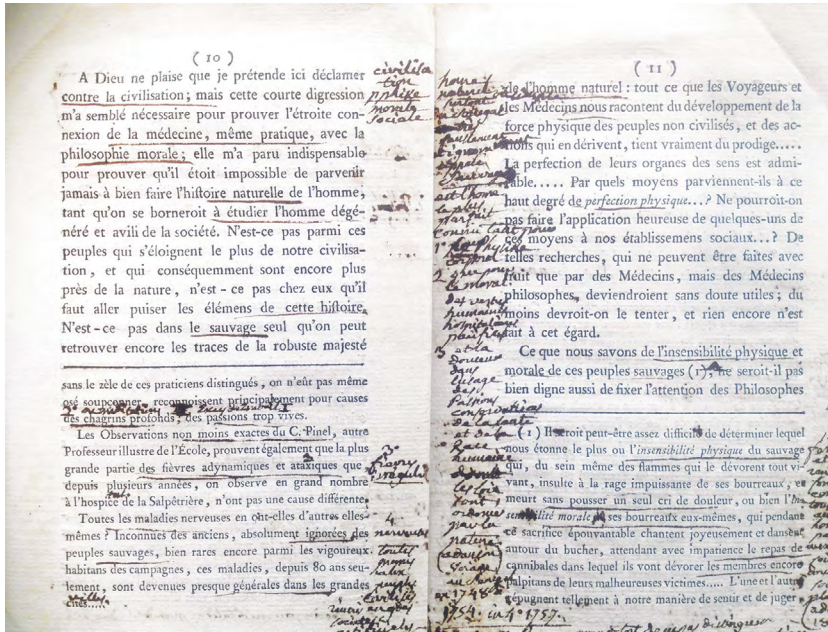


Figure 4.1. Examples of pages (pp. 10–11) of Péron's published pamphlet with annotations by his reviewer Adanson.

Source: Photo by E. Dotte-Sarout, published with the authorisation of the NLA (MS 4209).

This manuscript is a material remain – an archaeological artefact – of the European intellectual context for the earliest formal anthropological considerations of the inhabitants of the South Seas: when Oceanians were positioned as the ‘Other’ (following Asians, Africans and Amerindians) that confronted Europeans and what it meant for them to be ‘human’ (Blanckaert 2008; Cook et al. 2013; Douglas 2008; Patou-Mathis 2011). It is a lively and concrete illustration of the epistemological debates at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries regarding the definition and study of ‘savage men’, just before they became ‘primitive men’ mirroring Europe’s own ‘prehistoric men’ – a conceptual turn that is examined in detail in this chapter.²

In the Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project’s program of tracing the history of archaeological approaches in the Pacific, this specific artefact and the ideological debates inscribed on it

² Needless to say, humanity was at this time in Europe considered under the experience and characteristics of ‘man’ by default.

can open our historiographical narrative by representing the origins of the complex relations between archaeology and Oceania. It was written a few decades before European prehistoric archaeology took the stage alongside the newly recognised classical archaeology, several more decades before Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* (1859), cementing early evolutionist ideas of a universal biological-social history of humanity, and almost a century before archaeological investigations actually began in the Pacific (Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, this volume; see also Dotte-Sarout and Spriggs 2017; Howes and Spriggs 2019; Richards et al. 2019). Still, its existence is directly linked to the emergence of anthropology as a science and the interdisciplinary 'observation of man', in which the inhabitants of the South Seas played a crucial role (Douglas and Ballard 2008). By tracing the institutional, personal and intellectual context of the arguments crisscrossing this unique manuscript, I will seek to unearth the foundations on which our discipline has been built. What place was given to the past in this emergent anthropological examination of the peoples of the South Seas, and how was this past positioned in relation to European understandings of 'savage men' in 1800?

The Baudin expedition

Baudin's voyage to the southern hemisphere (1800–04) has been extremely well studied since its reappraisal by historians and French studies scholars from the 1970s onward (see Sankey et al. 2004). It was the fifth French scientific voyage to the South Seas, after those of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1766–69 – the sole returnee to France), Louis Aleno de St Aloüarn (1771–72), Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de Lapérouse (1785–88) and Antoine Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (1791–94). Baudin – already a respected and experienced naturalist-captain – had initially designed the expedition as a circumnavigation that would have explored the South Seas from east to west (Baudin 2000:31). Citing economic, political and scientific priorities, a specific commission created by the French Government to evaluate the proposed voyage refocused it on New Holland (especially the unknown southern coasts), Van Diemen's Land, and the strait and islands between New Guinea and New Holland. The Baudin expedition, a pure product of the post-Revolution French Consulate, stands out among all the Pacific exploration voyages led by Europeans in its strong focus on scientific observations. The two ships – *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* – carried 22 savants and artists, Baudin received

instructions from the most respected French scientists of the time, and the mission brought back over 200,000 natural history specimens, including around 200 ‘art objects’ (ethnographic artefacts) (Copans and Jamin 1978; Horner 1987; Jangoux 2004).³ Péron collected the latter, endeavouring to be an ‘anthropologist’ and responding to a set of instructions directly concerned with the study of ‘savage peoples’ and the ‘natural history of man’ (Copans and Jamin 1978).

Péron’s essay on anthropology and the NLA manuscript

In July 1800 (Messidor month, year VIII of the post-revolutionary French Republican calendar), a 25-year-old medical student named François Péron was seeking support from the professors at the Paris Medical School to be selected as one of the scientists accompanying the upcoming Baudin expedition to the South Seas. He sent them the essay he had composed for his candidature, together with a letter explaining his failure at previous attempts, ‘the number of positions determined for this expedition having been filled’ (p. 14).⁴ He argued for the need to add to the naturalists of the fleet

a few young medical doctors specifically charged with the study of man, to collect everything interesting that the various people can offer in their physical and moral relations to the climate [i.e. environment] in which they live, their mores, their habits, their diseases. (p. 2)

Péron then asked them to intervene directly with the official commission charged with selecting the scientists at the Institut national:⁵

3 Historians consider this the richest collection of the time, including when compared to those brought back by Captain Cook. The small ethnographic collection comprised objects collected by the expedition in Australia and Tasmania or Timor, as well as objects donated to Péron by a collector in Australia and originally from New Zealand, Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, Hawai’i, Cook Islands and Easter Island (Copans and Jamin 1978). Unfortunately it was entirely lost in the years following the expedition’s return to France.

4 Translations from French are my own. Page numbers refer to the original pagination of the 1800 publication, as per the NLA manuscript.

5 The Institut national was created in 1795 during the National Convention of the French Revolution and later reorganised by Napoléon Bonaparte to centralise the former Académies Royales as specialised divisions of the institute. As such, it constituted the official scientific body of France in 1800, under the Consulate presided over by Napoléon.

4. 1800: HOW THE 'SOUTH SEAS SAVAGES' BECAME 'ANTIQUÉ MONUMENTS'

Would not approaching the government or the National Institute make it possible, citizen professors, for you to obtain the necessary authorisation to send on board the fleet one or several young medical students, specially assigned under the title of *anthropologists* [...]? (p. 14)⁶

Péron's essay and letter were indeed presented at the commission of the Institut in the next few days, with the support of such respected French naturalists as Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu and Georges Henri Cuvier (also one of Péron's teachers). With the defection of previously selected naturalists, Péron was finally enlisted for the expedition under the title of zoologist, fewer than two months before it sailed. This position would effectively encompass the observation of 'savage' people.

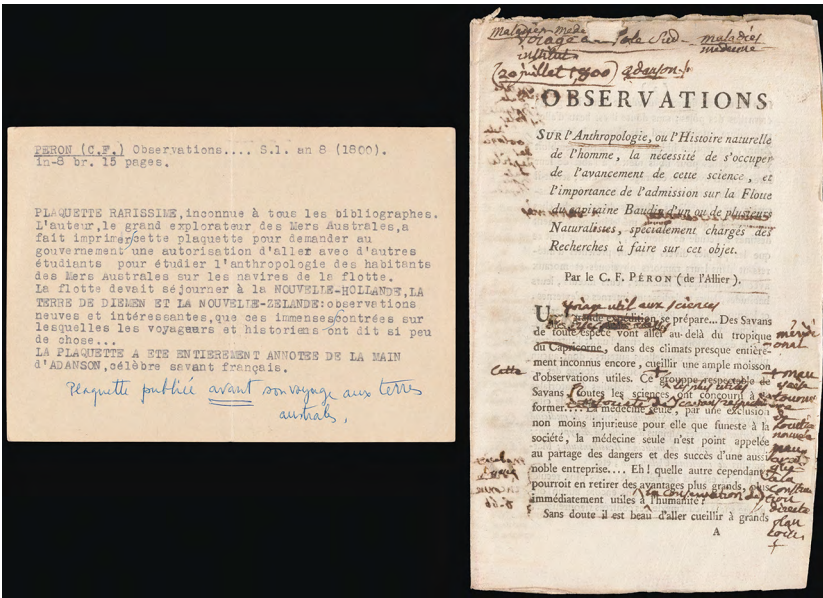


Figure 4.2. First page of Péron's pamphlet showing dated signature of Adanson on top ('Travel to the South Pole, diseases, medicine. [20 July 1800] Adanson').

Note: The accompanying label in French reads: 'extremely rare booklet, unknown to all bibliographers. The author, the grand South Seas explorer, had this booklet printed to request from the government an authorisation to join other scholars in studying the anthropology of the South Seas inhabitants aboard the ships of the fleet [...] The booklet was entirely annotated in the handwriting of Adanson, a famous French scholar.'

Source: Photo provided by the NLA (MS 4209).

6 Italics in original.

Péron's essay was published as a pamphlet, copies of which are still held in a few libraries globally. However, the one held by the NLA is unique as it is covered with comments by the highly respected eighteenth-century naturalist Michel Adanson, illustrating contemporary debates around such notions as 'natural man' and 'savage man'. It was purchased in the early twentieth century by the England-based New Zealander collector Sir Rex de Charembac Nan Kivell, evidently from a French dealer or collector who judiciously highlighted its rarity (Figure 4.2).⁷ Its precise origins are not known. It entered the NLA collections as part of the Nan Kivell donations between 1959 and 1976.

Péron and the anthropology of the *Société des Observateurs de l'Homme*

Péron, 'a complex and paradoxal character, intelligent and bright [...] undoubtedly presumptuous, surely ambitious' (Jangoux 2004:62), has become one of the best known members of the Baudin expedition. While studying to become a medical doctor at the Ecole de Médecine in Paris since 1797, he also attended courses offered by the professor-naturalists of the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle. These included Cuvier and Bernard Germain de Lacépède, who subsequently served as evaluators of the scientific program and personnel for Baudin's voyage, as well as early evolutionary theorists such as Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (Hughes 1988; on early evolutionary theories see Corsi 2011). This mixed intellectual baggage, combined with his spirited ambition, undoubtedly made him pursue the bold new idea of travelling to the other side of the world as an '*anthropologist*' in charge of studying the 'natural history of man'. 'Undeniably', he wrote, 'it is lovely to go at great expense to pick the inert moss growing under the eternal ice of the poles', but it would be just as useful to society and just as 'glorious for the French nation' to 'make new and interesting observations on these vast

7 Rex Nan Kivell (1898–1977) is considered 'unquestionably one of the greatest benefactors in the history of the Library'. His collection of printed material, manuscripts, maps, pictures and objects, numbering several thousand items in total, focuses largely on Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific. The NLA has devoted a webpage to his life and collection, where we incidentally learn that he was also interested in archaeology and took part in excavations in England in the early twentieth century (www.nla.gov.au/selected-library-collections/nan-kivell-collection).

lands about which travellers and historians have said so little, and doctors nothing at all yet' (pp. 2–3). He then detailed what an 'anthropologist', or a 'doctor philosopher', ought to study. First:

to determine the physical nature of climate, to research and clarify its influence on the organic constitution of the people inhabiting this climate, as well as on the development of their moral and intellectual faculties, to study their dominant passions, researching their causes, to describe their occupations, their duties, their exercises; to detail finally, everything relating to their hygiene. (p. 3)

Second: 'everything that concerns medicine strictly speaking', including local traditional remedies.

Péron's definition of what 'anthropology' aims to do, despite its insistence on medical aspects, includes important references to a 'natural history of man' encompassing the study of both physical and moral (cultural) characteristics in relation to the 'climate'. This indicates an additional layer of intellectual influences in play with his medical and naturalist backgrounds. Indeed, while the Baudin expedition was in preparation and the community of French naturalists was effervescing about the opportunities of such a voyage, a new learned society created in Paris in December 1799 was actively using the expedition to promote its scientific project: the *Société des Observateurs de l'Homme* (Society of the Observers of Man), the 'world's first anthropological society' (Stocking 1964:134; see also Chappey 2000; Copans and Jamin 1978). Péron was not a member (yet) but his mentors Cuvier, Lamarck and Jussieu were, being well aware of what this new science aimed to achieve.

The Société's founder and perpetual secretary, the young scientific writer and educator Louis-François Jauffret, advocated a 'science of man' built on a holistic approach looking at the relations between physical and 'moral' (or cultural) aspects. From 1800 to 1804, in discourses synthesising the Société's anthropological project, Jauffret repeated the same general ideas: the aim of this new science was to enrich the 'natural history of man' by studying 'the origin and migrations of peoples' and 'the physical and moral characters which distinguish them', including through the collection of items of material culture such as 'their arms [weapons], their tools, their clothes, and other products of their industry' (Jauffret 1803, cited and translated in Stocking 1964:135). Human diversity was considered both geographically and historically. Historians and antiquarians were

among the members of the Société, alongside naturalists, medical doctors, moralists, linguists and philosophers: each of them could contribute to the anthropological edifice (Chappey 2000; Copans and Jamin 1978; Hughes 1988). In a context marked by the progressive emergence of a dominant physical anthropology and its associated burgeoning science of race, the Société and its broad vision of anthropology located itself within the heritage of a ‘natural history of man’ as defined by Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (Chappey 2000). This perspective saw climates as the main factors responsible for the diversification of human varieties and cultures throughout the globe, from one common origin. It did not yet reduce differences in ‘physiognomy’ or ‘morality’ to intrinsic hereditary causes – that is, to hierarchically ranked races (Douglas 2008, 2009; Stocking 1964).

Almost contemporaneously to Péron’s pamphlet, a suite of other essays on ‘the science of man’, which became fundamental in the history of anthropology, were produced by members of the Société des Observateurs de l’Homme.⁸ The Institut national, in charge of coordinating the scientific work of the expedition, commissioned instructions from various savants to guide Baudin in directing the work of his scientists (Anderson 2001; Baudin 2000; Horner 1987; Hughes 1988). Of the five instructions relating to anthropology originally written, three are still known: the *Considération sur les diverses méthodes à suivre dans l’observation des peuples sauvages* (‘Considerations on the Diverse Methods to Follow in the Observation of Savage Peoples’) by philosopher Joseph Marie Degérando, recognised as the very first ethnological field guide and remarkable in its description of what would later become known as the ‘participant observation’ method; the *Note instructive sur les recherches à faire relativement aux différences anatomiques des diverses races d’hommes* (‘Instructive Note on the Researches to be Carried out Relative to the Anatomical Differences between the Diverse Races of Men’) by Cuvier, cementing the foundations of nineteenth-century physical anthropology; and an essay now known as *Mémoire sur l’établissement d’un muséum anthropologique* (‘Essay on the Establishment of an Anthropological Museum’) by Jauffret, which detailed items that should be collected to serve the science of anthropology and deposited in the museum envisioned by the Société (all texts reprinted in Copans and Jamin 1978).

8 Péron’s essay was read at the Medical School on 18 July 1800, and on 20 July in front of the commission for the Baudin expedition. Those of Degérando, Cuvier and Jauffret were presented to the commission in August, the month when Péron was finally selected to the fleet.

Taken together, these texts show how the multidisciplinary new science of man aimed at surveying, observing and understanding the diversity of humankind to better grasp its essence and history. Towards this aim, the prospects offered by a voyage to the South Seas, with so many different 'savage people', was exhilarating.

As other scholars have shown, Péron had also clearly been influenced by reading accounts of exploration voyages and the 'Rousseauist' vision of 'noble savages' constructed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Douglas 2013; Jones 1992; Konishi 2013; Stocking 1964). Describing the 'high degree of physical perfection' of these 'noble savages' and relating it to their 'lack of civilisation', he marvelled at the possibility of finding, 'in the savage only', 'traces of the robust majesty of the natural man' (p. 10). Adanson's criticisms of the young anthropologist's ideas would crystallise especially around these notions. At this point, the complexities of debates around the connections that could be drawn between the history of humankind and the ways of life or physical characteristics of 'savages' become apparent.

To better grasp these subtleties, it is important to refer to the *Encyclopédie* (1751–72), the main reference for eighteenth-century French knowledge. The entry on '*espèce humaine*' ('human species') by Denis Diderot (1765:344) described different varieties of man, including a series of 'savage peoples', according to their geographical distribution.⁹ Referring to the '*Histoire Naturelle de Buffon et d'Aubanton*', Diderot concluded: 'there hence was originally only one race of men, which having multiplied and spread over the surface of the globe, produced over time all the varieties that we have just mentioned' (Diderot 1765:348). A specific definition appears under '*Sauvages*' ('savages'), classified under 'Modern History': 'barbarous people living without laws, order, [or] religion, and who have no permanent habitation' (Jaucourt 1765a:729). Another, geographical, definition differentiated 'savage peoples and barbarous peoples', the former living in 'small dispersed nations' while 'barbarians often unite' (Jaucourt

9 In this overview (written before Bougainville's voyage) of the people of the known world, 'going from one pole to the other', Diderot referred to only two Pacific populations: the inhabitants of the Marianas or 'Ladrones Islands', where the 'men are very tall, very robust and very crude; they live only on roots, fruits and fish, and yet reach extreme old age'; and the 'Papuaans', 'as black as the *Caffres* [of South Africa], with woolly hair, a meager and ugly face', but with 'blond and white men' among them (Diderot 1765:345). The physical strength/lack of civilisation correlation found in Péron's text is present here, as well as the perplexity of finding in the same 'climate' people judged as white (usually with positive attributes) and others as black (usually with negative attributes) – a problem that Pacific Islands would continue to pose to European savants (see Di Piazza 2021; Douglas and Ballard 2008).

1765a:729). Both ideas imply the contemporary concept of a ladder of human social improvement from ‘rudeness’ to ‘civilisation’ (epitomised in Europeans) (Douglas 2014:109–113). By contrast, ‘natural man’,¹⁰ going back to Charles-Louis de Montesquieu’s idea of ‘man in a state of nature’, stood as an ideological hypothesis. This was man driven only by the laws of nature, ‘before the establishment of societies’ (Jaucourt 1765b:46) – a consideration prompting studies of ‘feral children’ (*enfants sauvages*), the only ones seen to truly represent ‘man’ outside society. How close to ‘natural men’ were the various ‘savage men’ that Europeans had encountered by 1800 remained a matter of subjective opinion, as exemplified by the NLA manuscript. The answer to this question was related to the degree to which so-called ‘savage people’ could be seen to represent *ancient* states of humanity.

Adanson and the ‘simple men’

On 20 July 1800, a 73-year-old philosopher-naturalist, elected member of the Institut national, Michel Adanson, was evaluating the candidature of a young medical student who had received the support of the Medical School’s professors and some of his own fellow naturalists, including his long-time friend Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu. By that time, Adanson was reaching the end of his life and attending his last meetings at the Institut (Nicolas 1963). Like Péron, Adanson’s long scientific career had been shaped by a voyage undertaken when he was still a young aspiring naturalist 20 years of age, spending five years in Senegal (Carteret 2012; Nicolas 1963). He returned with a remarkable natural history collection and a new vision for a universal understanding of the natural realm, based on a holistic combinatory method of classification (Carteret 2012). He built on this experience and collection all his life, assembling the largest botanical herbarium kept in the Muséum by the end of the eighteenth century, and establishing a method of classification that ‘realised the perfect synthesis between “linneism” [taxonomic classification according to Carl von Linné/Carolus Linnaeus] and “buffonism”’ (Carteret 2012:6), illustrated in his landmark botanical volume *Famille des plantes* (1763–64) (Nicolas 1963).

10 The texts discussed here use the expression *l’homme naturel* rather than *le naturel*, which would be the equivalent to the English term ‘native’.

However, as a self-described philosopher, his ambitions were truly encyclopaedic and included the observation of man. His understanding of non-European peoples had primarily been formed during his five years in Senegal. There he had lived and made friends in traditional villages, learned Wolof, collected grammatical lists and taken notes on the local culture and social organisation (Carteret 2012; Nicolas 1963). He had returned with the realisation that 'the Negroes of Senegal are as finely made, the women as beautiful [...] as in any other countries of the world'; that, contrary to common prejudices, 'their intellect is acute, salient'; and, finally, that they too 'esteem themselves above all other colours', since 'they are of the most beautiful ebony black' (Adanson 1845:55).¹¹ His positive 'anthropological' experience and his universal system of knowledge organisation saw him profess, during a course of public lectures in 1772, the (orthodox Buffonian) idea that 'there is on the surface of the globe only one human species, experiencing diverse variations relative to the different climates' (Adanson 1845:53). However, he added:

savage man exists nowhere and the human species has never existed without a form of family [...] The state of man in pure nature is an unknown state; it is the savage living in the desert, but living in family, knowing his children, known by them, using speech and making himself understood. Such are the inhabitants of New Holland. (1845:60)

Still, the complex representations of humanity at this time¹² are made tangible in Adanson's earlier citation (without acknowledgement) of the notorious opinion given by the English privateer William Dampier (1697:464–470) about the 'inhabitants of New Holland'.¹³ In his lecture on 'the History of Man', Adanson cited them as 'maybe the most miserable people in the world and those amongst humans approaching most closely to the brutes'. He based this judgement on criteria similar to those listed by the *Encyclopédie* to distinguish 'savages' from 'civilised' people, that is, the (perceived) lack of complex social structure, permanent habitation, clothes, and cultivation or agriculture (Adanson 1845:59). Adanson's

11 From his 1772 course (maybe at the Jardin du roi preceding the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle) published in 1845, see bibliography.

12 Alexander Cook, Ned Curthoys and Shino Konishi talk about how 'during the Enlightenment the concept of "humanity" is best understood not as a shared intellectual supposition [...] but as a field of conflict' (2013:3).

13 I am grateful to Bronwen Douglas for pointing out this fact and remarking that such borrowing of ideas was probably done through Buffon's own use of Dampier's declarations.

conclusion that ‘savage man’, like ‘natural man’, had never really existed in the history of mankind is qualified by the assumption that a simpler form of humanity was actually represented in the faraway lands dispersed in the South Seas.

With this complex and volatile intellectual context in mind, we can start to understand the dialogue inscribed on the NLA’s MS 4209 between Cuvier’s young protégé, defending the new science of anthropology in post-revolutionary France, and the old naturalist-turned-philosopher still aiming at the all-encompassing encyclopaedic knowledge of the world developed during the Enlightenment.

On the manuscript, Adanson summarised the content on the sides (for instance, on p. 3, the countries to be visited). He sometimes made corrections to the writing style (for example, correcting ‘a grand expedition’ to ‘a voyage useful to the sciences’, p. 1), and increasingly expressed his opposition to the terms and ideas relating to the notions of ‘savage’ and ‘natural’ men. Indeed, on page 3 he underlined the word ‘savage’ and changed Péron’s description ‘closer to nature than we are’ for ‘less distant from nature than we are’. Where Péron described his research question as addressing the relationship between lack of civilisation and ‘physical perfection’ in ‘savage people’, Adanson reworded this to ‘unfailing health of simple people’ (p. 7). The change from ‘savage’ to ‘simple’ is clearer a few pages down (p. 9). Péron reviewed the varieties of the different ‘savage people’ known in the world who showed remarkable physical and moral strength, demonstrating that they lived under a great diversity of environmental conditions, so that the main factor for their superior health had to be ‘the lack of civilisation’. Adanson reacted with irritation: ‘no he is ignorant’, and noted in the margin that ‘health [is] due to their simple life, frugal, natural, non-artificial’ (Figure 4.3).

When Péron continued his meditations as a ‘doctor philosopher’ by arguing that ‘the very progress of our civilisation’ was the main source for ‘the appalling accumulation of all sorts of sicknesses’ faced in Europe, Adanson exclaimed: ‘yes here is the fact that should have been said on page 8’.

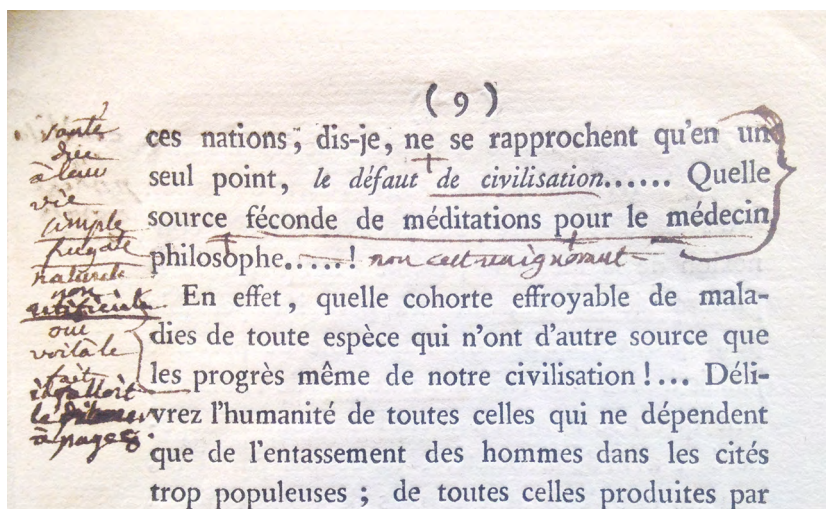


Figure 4.3. Adanson's comments on Péron's pamphlet, p. 9: 'no he is ignorant'.

Source: Photo by E. Dotte-Sarout, published with the authorisation of the NLA (MS 4209).

Adanson's handwriting on page 11 is frequently unreadable but it is possible to decipher his further discussion of the ideas of 'natural man' and 'savage man', specifying 'robust man' and summarising Péron's criteria for perfection (Figures 4.1 and 4.4). He commented that the insensitive 'savage men' described by Péron in a cannibal-feast fantasy were 'ferocious and rendered ferocious like any other man who is brought to excess either from pain or pleasure'. This series of remarks finished with a reference to his own volume '(Adanson 1757)', attached to the annotation: 'composition of health and of the human race, the laws of which are ordained by nature' (Figure 4.4). The reference prefaces Adanson's critique of Péron's lexical strategies, which manages only to compound the confusion surrounding a deeply subjective terminology:

M. Péron is very wrong not to distinguish 1. savage or ferocious man of America in entirety and the South of Africa from 2. natural man of the Torrid Zone of the centre of Africa, especially of Senegal, who is [...] natural, social, sensitive, human, hospitable [...]

Adanson delivered a sharp final judgement at the end of Péron's letter for his candidature to Baudin's voyage: 'This appeal aiming to force a new choice is inadmissible'.

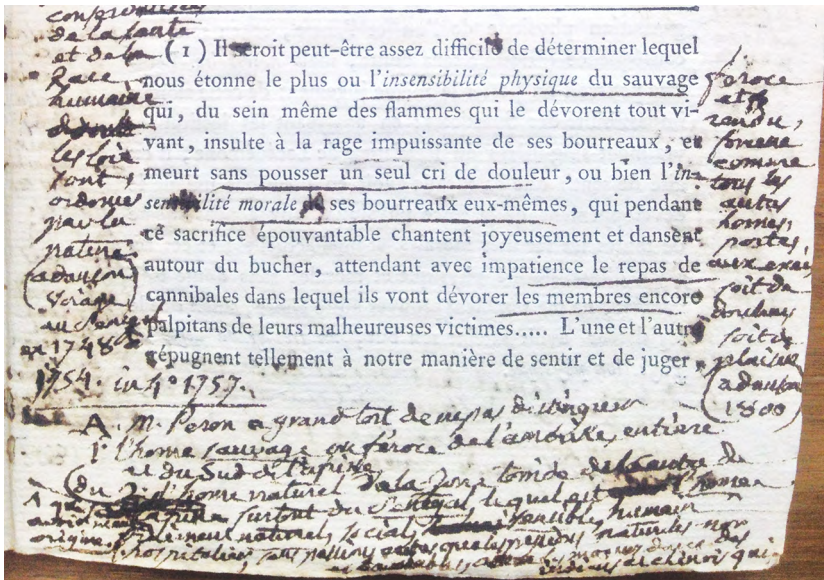


Figure 4.4. Adanson's comments on Péron's pamphlet, p. 11: 'M. Péron is wrong not to distinguish the savage [...] from the natural man'.

Source: Photo by E. Dotte-Sarout, published with the authorisation of the NLA (MS 4209).

Such a harsh review did not prevent the young and ambitious 'anthropologist' from leaving for the South Seas. Péron sailed anyway, under the more orthodox and general title of 'zoologist', and lived his own field experience, travelling along the axis of theory to praxis (Douglas 2013). The contingencies of this experience and his concentration on physical measurement outlined in Cuvier's 'anthropology' instructions would, however, make him disavow the very ideas defended in his 1800 pamphlet. Péron returned with the certitude that 'savages' were living proof that lack of civilisation did not equate to the moral and physical perfection he had earlier attributed to an idealised 'natural man', but on the contrary were positioned on the lower levels of the 'grading of the social state' – to which he associated negative physical attributes (Péron 1807:446, 452, 471; see also Douglas 2009, 2014:145–148; Hughes 1988; Jones 1992; Konishi 2013). His overall grading includes several South Seas populations, most of whom he had not encountered, starting with the savages of Van Diemen's Land at the first and lowest grade, followed by those of New Holland, New Guinea, New Zealand and the 'Great Southern Ocean', then by the people of Timor and the Moluccas (Péron 1807:452).

Péron's change of view is exemplary of how, around 1800, the 'savages' of the South Seas were displaced from being men closer to the *essence* of humanity – whether as 'natural men' or 'simpler' men – to being men closer to the *lower levels* of humanity.¹⁴ Such bending of perspectives around 'the natural history of man' and the place of 'savages' within it also tipped their position from essentially *timeless* members of humankind to *antiquities* of the history of humankind. In both cases, anthropological interest in the ancient past of the South Seas remained seriously limited.

Artefacts, the ancient past and the 'savage people' of the South Seas in 1800: Confused heritages for Pacific archaeology

Dégérando's *Considération* includes a famous passage, frequently but unevenly cited:

The philosophical traveller sailing to the extremities of the Earth, traverses in effect the sequence of the ages: he travels into the past; each step he makes takes him one century back. Those unknown islands that he reaches are for him the cradle of human society. These people despised by our ignorant arrogance reveal themselves to him as antique and majestic monuments from the origin of times. (reprinted in Copans and Jamin 1978:131)¹⁵

In this passage, arguing for the need to undertake a serious 'study of man', Dégérando explained why the observation of 'savage people' was of the utmost importance to anthropology. Less altered by the effects of civilisation, they could enable a better observation of the 'very principles' of human existence. In particular, they could provide 'the necessary material to compose an exact grading of the diverse degrees of civilisation' or 'ages of human society'. In these populations, he argued, 'the generations having only slightly affected each other, we would in a way be transported to the first epochs of our own history'.

14 George W. Stocking Jr (1964) famously described how Péron's writings embodied the intellectual shift from the Enlightenment's volatile ideas around the notions of humanity to the nineteenth-century rigid evolutionist frame of thought. Jean-Luc Chappey (2014) suggested that Péron's perspectives were symptomatic of the early anthropological gaze refusing the 'co-temporality' of 'savages' and 'civilised' men.

15 My translation.

As authors Rhys Jones, Bronwen Douglas and Shino Konishi have shown in relation to Oceania, these perspectives were inscribed in the intellectual context that had developed a history of human progress at least since Montesquieu. The latter had already proposed in the mid-eighteenth century a scale of social complexity based on subsistence practice modes, from the simplest hunters to complex societies centred on trade, via the stages of pastoralism and agriculture. Subsequent ‘stadial’ theorists in France and Scotland historicised Montesquieu’s coexisting subsistence–legal modes as successive stages of human development. These conjectural histories were based on ‘comparative observations’ of the various peoples so far encountered by Europeans, in particular in the Americas, and not yet on any ‘archaeological’ scheme of thought.

By 1800, the field of archaeology was centred around monumental proofs of antiquities supported by historical texts. Classical archaeology was beginning to be recognised as an academic field morphing out of antiquarianism, while Napoleon’s military and scientific campaign to Egypt (1798–99) served as the beginnings of Egyptology, soon spreading to Assyriology (Schnapp 1993, 2002; Trigger 2006). Some of these new approaches to the past – focusing not just on ancient objects or inscriptions but also on excavations and an understanding of artefacts’ provenance – had sometimes been applied in parts of the New World where monumental remains were visible (e.g. Mexico, see Schnapp 2002). However, as the European scientific imagination quickly seized on the people of newly discovered regions of the world to populate its self-centred universal history of mankind, the past of these new lands remained constrained to questions of migrations and origins (see also Douglas 2008, 2009; Patou-Mathis 2011).¹⁶

Just as the ‘savages’ of these new regions were not afforded any ancient past that could be linked to antiquities, it remained difficult to link non-historical antiquities found in Europe with ‘savages’ of an ancient past, mainly because of ‘the barrier which so frightened Cuvier between human and divine history’ (Schnapp 2002:139). There had been early identifications of ‘thunderstones’ as knapped flints, hinting at the existence of ancient men living a life akin to those of the ‘savages’ of the Americas – an interpretation defended in France by Antoine de Jussieu (uncle of Antoine-Laurent) in 1723. In 1800 precisely, an essay written by John

16 See also Di Piazza (2021) for a detailed discussion of questions around Oceanian and especially Polynesian origins and migrations in the early nineteenth century.

Frere and presented at the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1797 was published in their periodical *Archaeologia*. It stated that 'flint weapons' found in strata carefully documented and containing unknown bones were 'evidently weapons of war, fabricated by a people who had not the use of metals' (Frere 1800). Nevertheless, these ideas were largely ignored by contemporaries (Schnapp 2002; Trigger 2006).

It is clear that in this intellectual context, it was difficult to perceive the relationships between South Seas 'savages', Europeans and the ancient past in any other way than the two-dimensional perspective constraining the early anthropological imagination. When European scientists departed for the South Seas in 1800, the diversity of humanity through history and geography was flattened onto a single plane. The questions asked sought traceable links between these elements in relation to a history of humankind that claimed to be universal but was in effect constructed from a Eurocentric viewpoint. The third dimension, allowing for an interrogation of the ancient past of the 'savages' themselves, was missing.

This is illustrated in Jauffret's synthesis of the scientific project of the Société des Observateurs de l'Homme.¹⁷ The research to be conducted by those specialised in 'history and antiquities' was associated with that assigned to voyagers studying the 'mores and traditions of the various peoples' (Jauffret 1909:479). Both were needed to advance the field of what Jauffret highlighted as 'comparative anthropology', documenting the diversity of humanity relative to 'the varieties of the human species, as well as the mores and traditions of the ancient and modern peoples' (Jauffret 1909:480, 482). In a grand world tour, the Société would explore 'the various parts of the ancient world', seeking 'the traces of humanity's greatness even in the ruins attesting to its vacuity'. It would then 'try to disentangle the origin and different migrations of the peoples' so that 'while its voyager members will reveal the different nations living today on the surface of the globe, its historian members will reveal those that once flourished there' (Jauffret 1909:480).

This aim was to be pursued by the scientific *observation* of facts (i.e. antiquities on the one side and savage people on the other) but also through the *collection* of specific items. The latter were destined to fill

17 This essay was presented in 1801, under the title *Introduction aux Mémoires de la Société des Observateurs de l'Homme*, and was published in 1909 in the *Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*.

the Muséum anthropologique planned by the Société, a project revealed in a set of instructions written by Jauffret for the Baudin expedition (Copans and Jamin 1978).¹⁸ In this essay, Jauffret discussed ‘which objects, which productions, which monuments [...] can be displayed in a collection uniquely dedicated to the progress and study of the science of man’ (Copans and Jamin 1978:189). The items listed and the different aspects of the social and cultural features to be studied all relate to the ethnographic present. It is tempting to relate this project to that of the Muséum des Antiques, which was formalised in 1795 but struggled to become a reality and was being abandoned by 1800. The plan for the Muséum des Antiques was based on a comparative approach aiming to display together the antiquities and exotica amassed during the Revolution from ancient royal and private collections (Daugeron 2009). Aubin-Louis Millin de Grandmaison, the first professor of archaeology in France,¹⁹ had led the structuring of this new museum organised under the French Convention. In 1799, he had also become a member of the Société des Observateurs de l’Homme (Copans and Jamin 1978). The comparative ambition of the Muséum des Antiques, as stated by Millin and his co-curator André Barthélemy de Courcay, strongly echoes the ideas developed by Jauffret in his *Introduction aux Mémoires de la Société des Observateurs de l’Homme*:

Considering the remoteness of places [to be] like the remoteness of times, it [the Convention] expected us to gather everything facilitating knowledge of the manners and customs of ancient and distant nations.²⁰

Even the material culture of the South Seas (and any other) ‘savages’ could not be related to a native history or antiquity: it was to be positioned on the two-dimensional stage of human diversity as an instrument of

18 This essay was reproduced in Baudin’s journals (2000) (see also the English translation published in 1974 by Christine Cornell). The text has been known as *Mémoire sur l’établissement d’un muséum anthropologique*; however, the beginning of the essay is missing and the original is unknown.

19 In 1795, during the National Convention’s reorganisation of the new French Republic, Millin became simultaneously director of the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, curator of the new Muséum des Antiques and professor in charge of giving lectures on ‘the science of figurative antiquity’ or ‘archaeology’ (*archeologie*). He defined *archeologie* as the science comprising the study of ‘ancient mores and traditions’, together with the study of ancient monuments – strictly speaking, the discipline of ‘antiquity’ (or *archeographie*) (Millin 1796, as cited in Lehoux 2017, my translation from French).

20 Letter to the professors of the Muséum national d’histoire naturelle, 1795, as cited in Daugeron (2009:156 note 58). My translation from French.

'*anthropologie comparée*'. Ancient objects were restricted to 'the ancient world'; in Oceania one could merely expect to find *exotica*, and the only *antiquities* to be encountered were the inhabitants themselves.

The multifaceted anthropological approach developed around 1800 in France, amplified by Baudin's voyage to the South Seas, did not survive the hegemony of physical anthropology and the science of race established during the nineteenth century. This moment in time was nonetheless important in interweaving a relationship between archaeology and Oceanians: it set in motion the altered positioning of the Indigenous people of the Pacific by European savants, from 'savage men' embodying the original essence of humanity to 'primitive men' illustrating European prehistory – always without an archaeological past of their own. Cultural anthropology only re-emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, this time contemporaneously to a structured prehistoric archaeology that would quickly spread its methods and questions from Europe to the Pacific. Again, however, it remained difficult for early Pacific archaeologists to imagine an archaeological past directly linked to people perceived as 'primitive men' (Dotte-Sarout 2017; Richards et al. 2019). The weight of a partially unrecognised intellectual heritage going back to the symbolic date of 1800 long tended to deviate the archaeological narrative of the region towards stories of migrations and origins (influenced by 'essentialized historic racial categories'²¹), rather than the investigation of the distinct – and still universally human – long-term history of the Indigenous people of Oceania.

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21 As expressed by Ricardo Ventura Santos and Bronwen Douglas (2020).

about the history of this island and the Pacific, it has been amazing to receive her mentorship during this project. Finally, thank you to Hilary Howes for her thoughtful and precise editing of my Frenglish. Of course, all remaining errors are mine.

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5

The mystery of the Moscow *ki'i*

Elena Govor and Ekaterina Balakhonova

The old building of Moscow University is situated in the heart of Moscow, just across the road from Red Square and the Kremlin. Now it is occupied by the Museum of Anthropology. Its rich collections, stored in the eighteenth-century cellars, have been inaccessible to researchers for decades because of the renovation of the building, but recently, since the museum's energetic director Professor Aleksandra Buzhilova has managed to obtain finances for new shelving, the old coffers and trunks are gradually revealing their treasures.

One of them is a Hawaiian *ki'i* (item no. 372/20), a large anthropomorphic sculpture carved out of volcanic lava with a Janus-faced head. The 'front' side represents a rather rough and sketchy face with the eyes closed, the left arm bent and the right stretched along the body. The similarly rough head at the 'back' side of the sculpture has asymmetrical opened eyes, a bent right hand and a hardly distinguishable left one. The lower part of the body is not carved (Figures 5.1 and 5.2). At the bottom of the figure is an inscription in black reading 'Hawaii' and digits that look like '180 [...]'. The front side also features an old glued museum label, although the inscription on it is completely erased. The back side has an unreadable inscription in black ink. The inscription 'Lava' is on the side of the sculpture and 'Hawaii' is on the base. The height of the figure is 41 cm, the width at the shoulders is 24 cm, and the depth is 9 cm.



Figure 5.1. Hawaiian *ki'i* (front side).

Source: Photo by Museum of Anthropology, Moscow State University.



Figure 5.2. Hawaiian *ki'i* (back side).

Source: Photo by Museum of Anthropology, Moscow State University.

The collections of the Museum of Anthropology, which have survived revolutions, wars and numerous relocations and transfers, and the story of which has been described by the present authors elsewhere (Balakhonova 2012:179–201; Govor 2018:184–187), are often lacking detailed documentation and are hardly known to scholars outside Moscow University. The large stone *ki'i* attracted our attention because it was catalogued in the old collection No. 372, which includes a number of artefacts collected by Urey Lisiansky, a member of the first Russian round-the-world expedition, who visited the Hawai'i Islands in 1804. Lisiansky was interested in ancient Hawaiian culture, and his collection included, for instance, the frame of a feather god (*aumakua hulumanu*), which Lisiansky described as 'field [campaign] idol, plaited from tree roots' (Lisianskii 1812:plate II). The inventory of collection 372 compiled in the 1960s listed the stone *ki'i* in question next to the *aumakua hulumanu* (372/20 and 372/19, respectively), but its belonging to Lisiansky's collection raised some questions. While Lisiansky depicted most of his Hawaiian artefacts on the plates in his atlas (Lisianskii 1812), the stone figure was absent. Moreover, inscriptions on the stone made in Latin letters hinted to some process of cataloguing the figure by a foreign museum or a trader.



Figure 5.3. Vladimir Sviatlovsky. Image is in public domain, created in the 1900s.

Source: Unknown creator, image from Wikimedia Commons (commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Svyatlovskiy.jpg).

A search in the South Pacific holdings of other Russian collections revealed that the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) in St Petersburg has two stone figures (1314-1 and 1314-2) from Hawai'i of a similar type, but these figures are not Janus-faced like the Moscow *ki'i*, and are of a smaller size (33 and 22 cm). The figures originated from a collection acquired by Vladimir Sviatlovsky (Sviatlovsky), professor of political economy at St Petersburg University (Figure 5.3), who visited Hawai'i in 1908 and, according to Kunstkamera curator Iulia Likhtenberg's publication, are copies of Bishop Museum holdings, although she does not provide any further information about similar artefacts in the Bishop Museum (Likhtenberg 1960:191–192, 205).

Sviatlovsky's visit to Hawai'i provoked a lot of local interest. Newspapers reported that the catalyst for his trip was the 'discovery' in St Petersburg of 'Hawaiian feather-work, which was given by one of the Hawaiian chiefs to Captain Cook [...] the day before he was killed'. Moreover, while in Hawai'i, Sviatlovsky proposed to the trustees of the Bishop Museum an exchange of Russian duplicates from Cook's collection for some artefacts representing the everyday life of Hawaiian Islanders (*Argus* 1908; *Hawaiian Gazette* 1908; *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1908). The plan was gladly agreed upon, but was most likely never implemented. Nevertheless, Sviatlovsky managed to acquire a fairly representative collection of Hawaiian artefacts via William Brigham, the curator of the Bishop Museum, who provided him with access to its duplicate collections; he also purchased some artefacts from traders, particularly the James Steiner Island Curio Company (*The Honolulu Advertiser* 1908; Rozina 1974). Nevertheless, the similarity of the Moscow *ki'i* with the Kunstkamera figures does not testify to its origin from Sviatlovsky's

collection. It seems dubious that the superlative Janus-faced figure would have ended up in Moscow, while the *Kunstkamera*, for which he acquired artefacts especially, would have received the less elaborate figures.

A clue to the Moscow *ki'i*'s origin came when we examined it more closely in the context of the history of the Moscow collections. The figure had a barely noticeable label glued to its surface. In the archive of Nina Smirnova, who was the curator of the ethnographical holdings at the museum from 1940 to 1984, we found a reference that such labels came from the collection of 'A.A. Korsini', which was deposited into the Museum of Anthropology presumably in the 1910s. The early inventory of this collection lists around 1,000 objects from all over the world, including some from the South Pacific, although some of these objects are now missing. Our stone *ki'i* is unfortunately not mentioned in the early inventory and lacks any documentation. We might only suppose that this stunning figure was a personal gift from Korsini to the museum director Dmitry Anuchin and thus has not been properly catalogued, although it had a 'Korsini' label.

If our informed guess is correct, this is a good example of how interest in 'primitive' cultures supported the search for artefacts as far as Oceania in pre-revolutionary Russia. Although Moscow at that time was not the capital of Russia and did not enjoy such financial support as the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences and the *Kunstkamera*, interest in the prehistory of humankind thrived there due to the learned societies enjoying broad support and interest from the wider community. Initially the activities of natural science enthusiasts there centred around the Imperial Moscow Society of Naturalists, established in 1805 at Moscow University with a predominantly academic membership. The situation changed in the liberal 1860s – in 1863 a new Society of Devotees of Natural Science was established, with a membership including scientists and professors but also educated laymen. It later grew into the Imperial Society of Devotees of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography. In 1879 Dmitry Anuchin (1843–1923), a member of this society, and his colleagues organised an international Anthropological Exhibition in Moscow, establishing numerous contacts with European savants, museums and societies.

Anuchin, the heart and soul of the Moscow School studies, was a naturalist and geographer with wide-ranging interests (Figure 5.4). Since the 1870s he had dedicated himself to the complex study of humankind, developing a concept of unity of three sciences – archaeology, physical anthropology and ethnography – and aiming to reconstruct the ethnogenetic and

ethnohistorical development of humankind. He was an adherent of the evolutionist-typological theory developed in the West by Herbert Spencer and Edward Burnett Tylor. They considered that the evolution of objects of material culture reflected the development of ideas and thoughts of human society, and therefore that archaeology, physical anthropology and ethnography should be inextricably linked both in museum exhibitions and in teaching. These ideas guided Anuchin when he established the Anthropological Museum in Moscow in 1883, in the wake of the Anthropological Exhibition of 1879 (Balakhonova 2012).



Figure 5.4. Dmitry Anuchin. Image is in public domain, created in 1882.

Source: Balakhonova (2013:9).

Archaeology played an important role in Anuchin's 'triad', as it was known in Russia, and Anuchin and his followers developed an 'anthropological approach' to archaeology (Platonova 2010:294, 303). A specialised Archaeological Society was established in Moscow in 1864 and Anuchin took an active role in the work. Although at the turn of the nineteenth century Russian archaeological research was concerned almost exclusively with the territory of the Russian Empire, scholars such as Anuchin always aimed towards a broader perspective and were interested in comparative materials from other regions. For instance, the earliest museum inventories filled in by Anuchin's hand indicate that he actively sought out artefacts from Australia and Oceania, acquiring them from various museums and traders such as Oldman, Umlauff and Poehl. His enthusiasm for the study of mankind, including prehistory and archaeology, was also supported by the Russian *intelligentsia*, the cultured strata of society. When travelling overseas, many of them, although not anthropologists, were in correspondence with Anuchin and would acquire artefacts for the museum.



Figure 5.5. Alexandra Corsini (left) visiting Leo Tolstoy and his wife, 1909.

Source: © Leo Tolstoy State Museum, Moscow, Russia.

Alexandra Corsini (spelled ‘Korsini’ in Russian) was among these people. Of Italian origin, born about 1865 in Warsaw, in Russian Poland, she ‘knew five languages since childhood, learning later on three more’ (Popov 1910). By the turn of the century she was living in Moscow teaching geography in high schools. Her aspiration was to travel the world, to become acquainted with the culture of different societies. The opportunity emerged when her younger friend Nathalie Roudakoff (Rudakov), a woman from the family of a well-off Moscow merchant, offered to pay for their joint trip to the ‘Orient’. They included in their team a photographer, Alexander Efimoff, and in 1905–09 visited many countries in Africa, Asia, America and the South Pacific. In the course of their Oceanian voyage in 1907 they visited Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Fiji, and Honolulu in Hawai‘i. In all these places Corsini collected artefacts, made photographs and recorded local mythology. These materials were later used at her numerous public lectures illustrated with ‘magic lantern’ slides in the Historical Museum in

Moscow and other venues. In 1909 she was invited to meet Leo Tolstoy, who, with great interest, listened to her accounts of her travels in India and encounters with people there (Figure 5.5). Later he wrote to Corsini:

You know my opinion about the importance and benefit for the working people, who have no opportunity to learn these things from books, to learn about the life, customs, and especially the religious beliefs of other nations. When this information is transmitted through such beautiful magic lantern images as you provide, and with the interesting explanations with which you accompany them, the information is easily digested and easily remembered, and therefore I fully sympathize with your activity and wish it the greatest dissemination and accessibility among the people. (Tolstoy 1955:134)

The rich collections of Alexandra Corsini survived in the Museum of Anthropology in Moscow, but the materials of her lectures have never been published. After the revolution she stayed for several years in revolutionary Russia, working in the Museum of Country Studies of the Moscow Archaeological Institute, but later had to emigrate to France.

The stone figure of the *ki'i*, acquired by Corsini in Hawai'i probably from a dealer, is an interesting artefact, the origin of which so far remains a mystery. Hawaiians have an ancient tradition of the sculptural representation of their gods or deified ancestors; these sculptures were made mostly from wood. Huc M. Luquiens noted about Hawaiian stone carving:

The Hawaiians made a great number of stone tools and utensils, but did little successful carving in that medium. They were not naturally sculptors in stone. On occasion, a Hawaiian found a rock which resembled a man or an animal; with a little chipping he added to the resemblance and set the image up as a god.

He further noted that stone carving had some development at Necker Island, which had no wood for carving, and 'these idols are amusing little figures, very interesting, though crude' (Handy 1965:231–232).

The style of the Moscow Janus-faced *ki'i* with its small eyes, schematic mouth and bas-relief arms is markedly different from the common Hawaiian/Polynesian-style *ki'i* or *tiki* with 'large almond-shaped eyes, exaggerated mouths, and stance of bent knees in a wrestler's pose' (Keala 2017:4). Although a search through museum collections and

publications available online did not result in any other Hawaiian Janus-faced anthropomorphic stone figures having a marked similarity with the Moscow *ki'i*, several figures with similar stylistic features have been identified. Marques Hanalei Marzan, the cultural adviser of the Bishop Museum, kindly informed us: ‘We have at least two small examples in our collection that have similar characteristics (facial features, arm across body, square body without legs) to this image, but seem to be of later manufacture’ and do not ‘have a double sided carving’ (Marques Hanalei Marzan pers. comm. 2019). The Musée du quai Branly in Paris also has several anthropomorphic Hawaiian sculptures with stylistic similarities to the Moscow *ki'i*. Previously these were part of the collection of the Musée de l’Homme. One of them is bicephalic (71.1939.21.1.1-2 D) and there is no information about its donor; two others (71.1879.10.1 and 71.1879.10.2) were donated by Pierre Étienne Théodore Ballieu (1828–85), who was the French consul in Hawai‘i from 1869 to 1878 and collected Hawaiian artefacts (Parker 2018:1–2, 94, 135).

Original figures of Hawaiian deities are not numerous. According to Michael Gunn’s study:

About 250 idols of feather, wood or stone survive in public collections, with others in private hands. This is just a small proportion of the idols that existed before the iconoclasm of 1819, though the exact number before that date is not known. (Gunn 2014:153)

It would be tempting to celebrate the Moscow *ki'i* as a unique early Hawaiian stone sculpture, but this scenario appears too good to be true. It is necessary to take into account that both Corsini and Svatlovsky made their acquisitions of ‘gods’ in 1907–08, when interest in traditional Hawaiian culture was reviving, which inevitably led to the commercialisation of its trade and, possibly, counterfeit production. Until further studies are carried out, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Moscow *ki'i* was a copy of an artefact, rather than an original excavated stone.

Still, whatever further research will show, the Moscow *ki'i* has earned its right to be cherished and respected as a powerful object with *mana*. As J.S. Emerson, cited by Michael Gunn, said in 1892: ‘The god does not make the *kahuna* (priest), but the *kahuna* often makes his god’ (Emerson 1892:4). The Moscow *ki'i*, collected with love and devotion by the Russian woman geographer Alexandra Corsini and brought to faraway Moscow, then becoming a companion to Dmitry Anuchin through the

grim Russian revolutionary years, civil war and famine until his premature death in 1923, has gained its own *mana* – *mana* to build the bridges of understanding and respect between peoples.

It did not prove possible to mount an exhibition of objects highlighted in this chapter at the Museum of Anthropology, Moscow State University.

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6

Watercolour of Fijian man, painted by Charles Pickering

William Scates Frances

Of the many ethnographic sketches, paintings and prints produced by the United States Exploring Expedition (1838–42), this is far from the best. The unidentified man in this watercolour (Figure 6.1), presumably Fijian, has toes that bulge just a little too much and bears an anatomy painted by a decent, but far from brilliant, artist. The painter in question is most likely Dr Charles Pickering (1805–78) and the painting does not appear to have been for public consumption. When Pickering's *Races of Man and their Geographic Distribution* was first published in 1848, he had the excellent portraits of the draughtsmen Alfred Agate and Joseph Drayton for accompaniment. Yet this painting, one of a pair, is made no less remarkable by its small ineptitudes. The man pictured, and the objects he holds, represent an important part of the thinking of Charles Pickering regarding the movement of peoples through the Pacific, and in turn his understated influence in the history of American anthropology.



Figure 6.1. Watercolour painting of a man wearing a loincloth, hair decorations, necklace and bracelets, with a barbed spear, club and other object.

Artist: Charles Pickering. Gift of the Estate of Margaret Mayall, 1996.

Source: Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University (PM996-15-70/5742).

The Exploring Expedition's visit to Fiji in 1840 compiled what has been described as 'one of the three most important' Fijian collections in the world (Kaeppler 1985:123). The 'scientifics' who accompanied the squadron gathered – alongside both the crew of the squadron and the many peoples of the places they visited – geological, ethnographic, linguistic and biological material on a scale to overwhelm a scientific establishment in the USA that was just beginning to find its feet (Joyce 2001:13; Philbrick 2005:29–31). Many of the luminaries of antebellum science were associated with the expedition, including Asa Gray and Louis Agassiz, the two sides of evolution's American inroads (Browne 2010:209–220; Menand 2001:125–129). The specimens gathered were of such a volume that they were not only scattered to a range of early museums and private collections but also arguably propelled the creation of what would become the Smithsonian Institution (Kaeppler 1985:123; Stanton 1975:291). Some of that Fijian material, including the club pictured, is now held in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, bearing the distinctive white writing associating them with the 'Ex. Ex.'

Charles Pickering's painting offers a link between the material culture collected by the expedition and early anthropological thought of his time. Some of the objects painted are representative – the *ula* (throwing club) and shell jewellery, for example – while another, a *liku* (skirt) worn by the woman in the second painting (Figure 6.2), is of an uncommon type matching one collected by the expedition (National Museum of Natural History, Woman's skirt, 'Liku,' E3310-0). His decision to include a selection of representative objects, alongside what he likely viewed as representative bodies, reflects his fascination with the culture of Fiji, acquired in the three months the expedition spent there. This interest was a central part of a complex theory of population/cultural diffusion that rested upon what he viewed as the superior cultural achievements of a 'Papuan race', of which Fijians were representative (Pickering 1848:144). To his mind, Fiji was the 'chief origin' of the civilisation 'which pervaded through the Polynesian islands, when first visited by the Whites' (Massachusetts Historical Society [MHS], Charles Pickering Journal 1838–1841, MS. N-706: 18 November 1840).



Figure 6.2. Watercolour painting of a woman wearing a necklace and bracelets, and carrying a basket.

Artist: Charles Pickering. Gift of the Estate of Margaret Mayall, 1996.

Source: Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University (PM996-15-70/5743).

This theory, tied intimately with Pickering's race thinking, was the product of extensive collaboration. In addition to the study of material culture, it drew on botany, geology and, importantly, linguistics. Its linguistic element rested upon the work of Horatio Hale, who was the expedition's philologist. In this role, Hale collected what was, at that point, considered 'the greatest mass of philological data ever accumulated' by a single individual (Mackert 1994:1). He used this data to track the peopling of the Pacific from the islands of Southeast Asia eastward, with Fiji as a staging area, and in doing so he prefigured 'contemporary scholarly debates regarding Pacific prehistory' (Kirch 2017:13). He is now remembered for both this theory and his influence upon anthropologist Franz Boas, to whom he offered extensive instruction (Gruber 1967:5–37; Joyce 2001:159–161). His almost exclusive reliance upon linguistic evidence reflects his intellectual orientation, but alongside Pickering's more holistic approach his work at times appears one-dimensional. A comparison of the two maps adorning their respective expedition publications shows that they shared essentially the same conclusions, through allied but different means.

In November 1842 Hale wrote:

one of the sciences which have of late years attracted an increasing attention [...] is what may be termed the Natural History of the Human race, or, as some have named it, anthropology. (cited in Goode 1891:169)

While his publication from the Exploring Expedition, *Ethnography and Philology*, dabbled in that science, Pickering's *Races of Man and their Geographic Distribution* made the 'Natural History of the Human race' its central focus (Hale 1846; Pickering 1848). This natural history told a story not just of geographic distribution, of migration over time, but of the ways in which migration and culture were shaped by the environment and how both shaped the environment in turn. In his writing this interplay does not always result in a coherent narrative, yet if Hale's work presages contemporary linguistic discussions, Pickering's methods often have a similarly contemporary tenor. His magnum opus, *Chronological History of Plants*, opens: 'the order of nature has been obscured through the interference of man [...] until at length the face of the Globe itself is changed' (Pickering 1879:1), a description that would not be out of place in writing about the Anthropocene today.

The scientific corps of the expedition was configured in order to ‘extend the bounds of science, and promote the acquisition of knowledge’ (Wilkes 1851:xxix). Its membership made up a microcosm of the north-eastern USA’s young and growing scientific establishment. Its geologist, James Dwight Dana, graduated from Yale, Pickering and Hale from Harvard, and all three men had already acquired a reputation as ‘the most intriguing, presumptuous, cross grained animals that were ever herded together’ (Ord, cited in Stanton 1975:58). They, along with Gray, sought to wrest science from the amateurs and armchair philosophers they felt dominated its American manifestation. Pickering’s regard for the ‘infant cause of Science’ in the States led him to resign from the American Philosophical Society, ‘having long seen with regret that the objects’ of that institution were ‘not appreciated’ or utilised sufficiently (American Philosophical Society, Letter to the President of the American Philosophical Society, TN:76994, 12 September 1837). Although Hale and Dana both fulfilled the expedition’s instructions, extending the bounds of their respective fields, Pickering’s contribution was arguably more subtle (Iglar 2010:25).

Pickering’s education at Harvard began in 1819, and his interest in both natural history and racist thought was encouraged by the tutelage of William Dandridge Peck (Harvard University Archives 1821:12).¹ Peck’s lectures on natural history discussed the race theory of influential Göttingen scholar Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, and while he would graduate with a medical degree, Pickering made a career as a naturalist (Harvard University Archives, Papers of William Dandridge Peck 1774–1937, HUG1677 Box 12). Soon after his graduation he became a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, serving on many of its committees before working as its librarian and then curator of collections. Prior to the expedition’s departure he was ‘rarely absent from any meeting of the Academy’, the affairs of which were then ‘conducted chiefly by standing committees’ (Ruschenberger 1878:166). His role there was as ‘an oracle’, ‘consulted as a dictionary by his co-workers’, and this was to be his *modus operandi* until his death (Gray 1878:442).

His work – cataloguing, advising, organising, compiling – made him a part of the backdrop to nineteenth-century American science, at least in its academic manifestation. Gray described his passion as ‘gaining

1 I follow Douglas and Ballard (2008:xiv) in using ‘racialist’ to ‘label derogatory attitudes expressed towards persons or groups on the basis of supposedly collective physical characters’, in preference to the ‘grossly overdetermined’ term ‘racist’.

knowledge and [...] storing it up in convenient forms for the service of others' (Gray 1878:444). While *Races of Man* was read relatively widely, Pickering's influence is better told by his frequent mentions in the records of academic societies around the USA. The proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, the American Oriental Society, the American Academy of Natural Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, the American Antiquarian Society and many others are littered with mentions of his name, sometimes with regards to botany or zoology, but also to ethnography. His letters further illustrate this role as a facilitator, with guidance offered to young scientists into the late nineteenth century (Harvard University – The Gray Herbarium Library, Charles Pickering Letters 1796–1940, Letter to John Robinson Esq., HL Pick 1, 2 June 1875).

Working as a factotum of scientific society meant that Pickering collaborated widely, even across the intellectual rivalries of his time. Charles Darwin owned a heavily annotated copy of *Races of Man* and drew on Pickering's work in *Origin of Species* (Desmond and Moore 2009:220). This connection was facilitated by Darwin's greatest American advocate, Gray, whose high esteem for Pickering is evident. Yet at the same time Pickering associated with a group of American intellectuals gathered around Agassiz, whose dispute with Gray, and Darwin, was heated. The group in question finds representation in a work called *Types of Mankind*, which was produced as a festschrift for Samuel George Morton, with a contribution from Agassiz (Nott and Gliddon 1854). Just as Pickering sent a list of plant specimens to Darwin, he sent a letter to Morton – whose office in Philadelphia was known as the 'American Golgotha' – informing him of a potential new specimen in the form of the skull of a Fijian man, Ro Veidovi, brought back in arms by the expedition from Fiji (Fabian 2010:1–6, 121).

Types of Mankind argued for race as a product of distinct acts of creation, polygenism, and was a manifesto for that brand of racial thinking. It was also a naked justification of racial hierarchy, slavery in the South and segregation in the North. Pickering's *Races of Man* has been understood by historians both as polygenism's opening salvo and a fatalistic rearguard of its opposite, monogenism (Joyce 2001:53; Lander 2010:83). Confusion about his stance is also apparent in contemporary responses to *Races of Man*, which was taken by one Australian reviewer as a good introduction to polygenism and another, British, reviewer as an 'elaborate and scholarlike' addition to the Christian evidences for monogenism (*Sydney Morning*

Herald 14 January 1851 p. 2; *Standard of Freedom* 14 September 1850 p. 12). This lingering ambiguity arguably reflects Pickering's own ambivalence on the question, resting upon a struggle to reconcile the idea of race with the diversity of human cultures and his own rejection of both slavery and racial hierarchy.

It is an ambiguity that finds expression in his painting, as much as in his writing. His archetypal representation of Fijian phenotype and culture sits uneasily with 'the productiveness of nature' that, having few limits, meant that 'new and undreamt of combinations of features' always arose to vex his efforts at strict categorisation (Pickering 1848:10). Both Pickering's journal and *Races of Man* itself are filled with caveats about race, his changing and shaky convictions leading Oliver Wendell Holmes to describe the book as 'the oddest collection of fragments' he'd ever seen (cited in Stanton 1975:96). His painting shows a determination to assert race's solidity, as much as describe it, and when it was donated to the Peabody Museum in 2006 it came with the description, 'painting of a Polynesian man'. It is perhaps because of the difficulty of that assertion that race remains a hazy element to his work, and it is his natural history that has solidity.

Laura Dassow Walls describes his natural history, his 'interdisciplinary biogeographical methodology', as an elaboration and application of the methods of German polymath Alexander von Humboldt (Walls 2009:119). Early twentieth-century anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička acknowledges Pickering as part of his intellectual lineage, though placing more emphasis on Morton, but attributes *Races of Man* to the influence of James Cowles Prichard instead of von Humboldt (Hrdlička 1914:522). Both are correct, with Pickering's ecological approach echoing von Humboldt, and his anti-hierarchical race thinking mimicking Prichard. However, as he writes in *Races of Man*, 'I shall not soon forget the rush of sensations' from his time on the expedition, and the book bears the marks of more than just other notable contemporary intellectuals (Pickering 1848:23).

A pillar of Pickering's theory of the eastward populating of the Pacific came from an old hand of the China trade. Benjamin Vanderford, who joined the expedition as a translator and guide, was a trader out of Salem, and part-founder of the US monopoly on the bêche-de-mer trade in Fiji. As the squadron spotted the island of Reao, in the Tuamotu Archipelago, he observed to Pickering that 'wherever you find a cocoa palm you will find an Indian' (MHS, MS. N-706: 15 August 1839). While prior to

this Pickering had far from ignored the spread of introduced plants and animals (the expedition itself being a mechanism for the same, as it set up botanical gardens wherever it stopped for any period of time), after Vanderford's rule it became his life's study.

In addition to such maxims he enlisted the Indigenous peoples of the Pacific in his work, finding, for example, that those he met in Tahiti 'were much more particular in the names they gave to different parts of the human frame than we ourselves' and that he was personally 'witness to the intimate acquaintance which every one seemed to possess of the plants and other productions of their island' (MHS, MS. N-706: 19 September 1839). Pickering took 'considerable assistance' from such interactions, both in terms of the material collection of specimens but more generally in the integration of Indigenous knowledge of the landscape and environment into his work (MHS, MS. N-706: 20 September 1839). In Aotearoa/New Zealand's Bay of Islands he was told that the sweet potato 'was brought by a canoe of different construction', one of 'the mode of construction [the squadron observed] at the Samoa Islands', and such testimony was invaluable to his narrative (MHS, MS. N-706: 4 March 1840).

While Pickering drew heavily on contemporary Pacific sources, Hale looked to an older source to support his parallel account. This source, which he termed the 'most important testimony', is a chart drawn by the Ra'iatean *arioi* Tupaia and published by Johann Forster, who accompanied Cook's first voyage (Hale 1846:122). In *Ethnography and Philology*, he argues that the map (which he believed has half of its orientation upside down because of a mistranslation) shows clearly the broad range of precolonial Pacific navigation and the populating of the Pacific from a staging post in Fiji. For Hale, who drew on the philological tradition of Peter Stephen Du Ponceau (1760–1844) and John Pickering (1777–1844), language was at the core of culture, and thus the study of one was the study of the other (Harvey 2010:527; Mackert 1994:12).

The expedition spent from 6 May to 11 August 1840 surveying the Fijian archipelago. This surveying used boats with a small but heavily armed crew, and offered the scientific corps extensive opportunities for botanical, geological and philological collecting. It also became a site of conflict, with a skirmish on the island of Malolo escalating to a massacre that left two Americans and hundreds of Fijians dead. The justification of that killing and the fear that was pervasive among the crew from their arrival on the Islands had an effect upon the work of both Pickering and

Hale. Hale's story of cultural diffusion struggled to reconcile the artistry of Fijian pottery with his open contempt for Fijian peoples. Pickering, while perhaps less contemptuous, conceded that 'they are not savages' but at the same time attributed to the 'Papuan' few redemptive traits (University of Auckland Archives, Charles Pickering letters to Mary Pickering, MSS-Archives-A-162: 8 August 1840).

Both Pickering and Hale were engaged in an early form of anthropology. The former's interest in material culture, in landscapes, architecture and archaeobotany, constitute an archaeological approach to Pacific history that would be repeated in the years that followed. Pickering's collaboration and mentorship offer a glimpse at a diffuse but significant influence upon Atlantic approaches to human history and environment in the mid and late nineteenth century. As his painting, geography and the expedition's collections illustrate, this legacy rested upon work in the Pacific, and specifically questions of Pacific origins asked both of Pacific peoples and the landscape.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, from March 2020 to March 2021.

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7

Idol speculations: Aneityum *Nelcau* and Dr Turner's missionary archaeology

Eve Haddow and Andy Mills

The Hunterian Museum (the Hunterian) at the University of Glasgow houses an artefact (GLAHM:E.406, Figure 7.1) described in the museum's 1945 Ethnography catalogue as a 'canoe model' from Aneityum, the southernmost inhabited island of Vanuatu (previously the New Hebrides).¹ It was brought to Scotland in 1860 by Reverend Dr George Turner, Superintendent Missionary of the congregationalist London Missionary Society (LMS), and deposited in Glasgow with more than 200 items from Oceania. Despite its catalogue entry this artefact bears little resemblance to the usual style of nineteenth-century canoe models from the Pacific Islands widely found in museum collections. These models, replicating full-size canoes, were made locally across the Pacific. Whether created recreationally, as training for later making full-size canoes, or specifically for trade, they appear to have been popular with collectors partly for their portability. While such models offer a detailed ethnohistorical record of style and manufacture, this concave lenticular object has no specific technical details, being carved from one solid piece of wood with no paddles, outrigger or other features. It also differs greatly from the hull of a comparable Aneityum canoe model

1 We use Vanuatu when the modern nation is implied, and New Hebrides when explicitly referring to historical contexts prior to independence in 1980.

found at National Museums Scotland (NMS) in Edinburgh, collected in the late 1880s by the Presbyterian missionary Reverend James Hay Lawrie of the Free Church of Scotland mission (NMS A.1895.413.3). In short, this object is a wooden bowl and not a plausible canoe model at all. Turner believed it represented an important story relating to Aneityum's prehistory. When contextualised within Turner's broader observations on Pacific culture and history it highlights a distinctive 'missionary archaeology' characterised by a Judeo-Christian approach, as well as a broader discursive strand in the development of Pacific archaeology, namely the use of oral traditions to interpret the deep past. Our paper explores the historical status of this bowl, on Aneityum and in Glasgow, questioning how a locally important cultural artefact came to be misidentified for so many years, and elucidating nineteenth-century approaches to interpreting Pacific archaeology.



Figure 7.1. Nelcau-Añoñ or kava bowl from Aneityum, Vanuatu.

Collected by George Turner as 'model canoe' c. 1859.

Source: © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow (GLAHM:E.406).

Identifying and interpreting *Nelcau*

Aneityum, located in the TAFEA province of Vanuatu (the name taken from the initials of the five islands that make up the province), shares exchange relationships with neighbouring Tanna, Futuna, Aniwa and Erromango islands, as well as long-term trade and kinship connections to the Loyalty Islands of New Caledonia to the south (e.g. Bonnemaïson 1996:fig. 208; Dubois 1996; Flexner 2016). Reverend John Williams of the LMS was the first Anglophone Christian missionary to the region in 1839, accompanied by 10 Samoan missionaries (Steel 1880:34–35). Much of the nineteenth-century material culture from Aneityum found in museums outside Vanuatu was acquired through Lawrie, who lived there from 1879 to 1896, and is in NMS, Glasgow Museums and the Australian Museum. This bowl acquired by Turner is therefore one of the earliest identifiable items of Aneityum material culture outside Vanuatu.

Despite its identifying name in the Hunterian catalogue, we believe this wooden artefact is a ceremonial kava bowl, conceptually and symbolically related to canoes, rather than an actual canoe model. The confusion in its classification likely originates in the fact that the noun *nelcau*, meaning canoe, signifies other things in Aneityum language (Inglis 1882:99). It is also a term for a storage box and, in 1887, Presbyterian missionary Reverend John Inglis gave *Nelcau* as the local name for the constellation Orion, with the three stars of Orion's Belt named *Nehev*, 'paddle' (Inglis 1887:173). In the 1840s, *nelcau* was recorded as the generic term for one of the seven 'dominions' on Aneityum, each one under the jurisdiction of a *natamarid*, or high chief (Spriggs 1985:23). A recently compiled dictionary additionally gives *nelcau* as a term for the breastbone of a fowl – presumably indexing its carination and containment (Lynch and Tepahae 2001:206). Most importantly, as applicable to the object in question here, *nelcau* denotes a canoe-shaped bowl used for mixing kava (Spriggs 1997:191 plate 32), more accurately in the forms *nelcau-aïmoñ* (Lynch and Tepahae 2001: 206) or *nelcau-tan* (Lynch 1996:32). This usage is significant as it has strong conceptual affinities with the contemporary Fijian and Tongan terminology for god vessels (i.e. ritual manifestation vehicles) as 'canoes' (Fijian *waga*, Tongan *vaka*). In Fiji, the ritual ingestion of kava was one of the central means by which an ancestral deity entered the body of a *bete* possession priest. The conceptual premise that kava

bowls were vehicles by which ancestral gods came to manifestation in this world has broader application in the region, and relevance to the narrative Turner collected with the *Nelcau-Añoñ*.

George Turner's visits to Tanna and Aneityum, 1842–59

George Turner (1818–91) was born in Irvine, Scotland. In 1837, he enrolled at the University of Glasgow where he met lifelong friend and future LMS colleague Henry Nisbet (1818–76) of Laurieston, Glasgow. Both studied divinity at the Relief Divinity Hall in nearby Paisley and went to the noted nonconformist Cheshunt College in Hertfordshire together, before returning for a dual ordination on 23 July 1840 at the Presbyterian Hutchesontown Relief Chapel, Laurieston. By 10 August that year, Turner had married Mary Anne Dunn, and all three were bound for the New Hebrides. On their way, Nisbet married Sarah Crook in Sydney. They attempted to establish a mission at Port Resolution on Tanna, an island northwest of Aneityum, between 30 June 1842 and February 1843 (Turner 1861:17–68). Ultimately, local indifference and conflict on Tanna led them to abandon their work and relocate to the island of 'Upolu, Samoa, where they principally concentrated their missionary efforts for the next 30 years.

Turner first visited Aneityum in 1845 (Turner 1884:325). He landed there on three separate missionary voyages from the LMS's central Malua Mission Station on 'Upolu, travelling through the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, parts of northern Polynesia and eastern Micronesia. He documented these voyages in the later chapters of his monograph *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* (1861:363–535). During Turner's 1845 visit, the missionary ship *Camden* anchored at Anelcauat village on the south coast of Aneityum from 16 to 22 April. He met with 'Nohuat' (Nohoat), the *natamarid* of the Anelcauat area (Turner 1861:363–373). Turner placed Simeone and Pita, two Samoan 'native teachers' (the LMS term for non-European missionaries), in Nohoat's care (1861:363–364). Turner returned in 1848, calling at Aneityum from 13 to 16 July and from 28 July to 5 August. He was anxious to assess the wellbeing of Simeone and Pita and resupply their mission with provisions and trade goods. A man named Umra was also returned to his home at Aname on the island's north coast following a year studying with the LMS in Samoa, and two Cook

Islander ‘native teachers’, Opetaia and Palepo, were placed under the care of Umra’s chief. Additionally, Turner settled Canadian missionaries John and Charlotte Geddie of the United Secession Church of Nova Scotia on Aneityum, accompanied temporarily by Thomas Powell (LMS).

The Geddies were joined by John and Jessie Inglis of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1852. While the LMS itself was notionally a non-denominational Protestant organisation, the Anglophone New Hebridean missions became strongly Scots Presbyterian and Scots diasporic. This can be viewed as a continuation within the LMS of a policy of Protestant denominational non-competition in central Oceania – something instituted by John Williams and Charles Barff in June 1830 during negotiations with representatives of the Methodist Missionary Society in Tonga. They determined Samoa, the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands and Niue would become congregationalist, while Tonga and Fiji became Wesleyan (Mills 2015:40). Turner’s third and final visit to Aneityum occurred between 5 and 10 October 1859, en route to distribute more British, Samoan and Rarotongan missionaries and their families to mission stations throughout the New Hebrides and Loyalty Islands. Regarding our observation of a characteristically Scottish missionary presence in the New Hebrides, Turner’s journal for 6 October read: ‘met with Messrs. Geddie, Inglis, Matheson and Copeland, missionaries from Glasgow and Nova Scotia, labouring in this group. Messrs Baker and Macfarlane were also present’ (Turner 1861:474–475).

In the pages of *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, Turner was generally circumspect about his collecting practices and criticised ‘trader-missionaries’ from other unnamed organisations, but when the 1859 voyage continued to Uea in the Loyalty Islands on 2 November, he broke that trend:

Here, and also at Lifu, Maré, and Aneityum, I had presented to me as many as eighty-six of the castaway idol-gods of heathen times: gods of the sea, gods of the plantation, war-gods, disease-making gods, storm and rain gods, etc. I have also received twenty-six more, to be taken to some of my brother missionaries, making in all 112 of these unmistakable trophies of the power of the gospel of Jesus to overturn idolatry of every name, and triumph in every place. (1861:512–513)

Steven Hooper has described the use of artefacts construed as idols by missionaries as ‘performance indicators’ of the mission’s success (2006:65), and Turner’s words clearly exhibit his desire to share the ‘success’ of

Christian conversion with his readers. Nonetheless, a multitude of intersecting motives characterised missionary collecting transactions; not only those of the European missionaries, but also the local owners who passed their artefacts into missionary hands for a diverse range of reasons (see Jacobs et al. 2015). For example, what remains obscured in Turner's account is precisely what he, the LMS, or perhaps even Jehovah himself, reciprocated or were anticipated to reciprocate for such ancestral relics. In his analysis of the LMS Museum in London, Chris Wingfield has similarly emphasised a range of discursive functions in the display of 'idols' to the mission-funding British public, observing that it was a particular preoccupation of LMS collecting in Oceania when compared with Africa or Asia (Wingfield 2017). This raises a concomitant possibility of an approach within the LMS in Oceania, observable in the activities of earlier missionaries such as John Williams and William Ellis, and continued by Turner, that predisposed them to both speculatively identify and vigorously pursue the collection of 'idols', regardless of how accurately such a Judeo-Christian construct reflected the religious beliefs and practices of the makers and users of those objects.

Given the minimal progress in converting people on Aneityum by the date of his second visit in 1848, and considering the suggestive passage concerning 'idols' above, it is likely that Turner was presented the *Nelcau-Añoñ* on Aneityum in October 1859, when he recorded collecting several sacred stones and 'other relics of heathenism' (Turner 1884:326). One such 'relic' was a long staff of wood, 'kept for ages in the family of one of the disease-making craft', which was a god representation used to cure sickness (Turner 1884:326). Turner made no mention of the *Nelcau-Añoñ*, but it likely fell within his concept of departmental 'gods of the sea'. Inglis and Geddie, who advocated abstinence, frowned upon items associated with kava consumption, so the owner may have been encouraged to part with it on this basis alone. Equally, such kava bowls exclusively belonged to men of high status, and the giving of prestigious gifts was an important dimension of local diplomatic relationship-building. It is therefore also conceivable that this *Nelcau-Añoñ* was not given as a sign of the abandonment of kava-drinking or 'idolatry', but as a speculative means of developing relationships of economic reciprocity with influential, wealthy mission leaders.

From Maui to Noah and beyond

On completion of his 1859 voyage, Turner and his family sailed for Britain from the central mission station at Malua, 'Upolu, arriving in London on 30 June 1860. They settled in Glasgow for three years, where Turner published *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* and was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Glasgow. He donated 110 ethnological and natural history specimens to the Hunterian in 1860, and a donation of comparable but unknown size in 1861 to the Andersonian Museum at Anderson's University, which later became the University of Strathclyde (Markus 1985; Scouler 1831, 1866). The bowl from Aneityum does not appear on Turner's original manuscript donation list to the Hunterian, indicating that he almost certainly gave it originally to the Andersonian (Hunterian Museum 1860). A parallel donation list would unquestionably have been compiled, but is believed to no longer exist in Glasgow. When the Andersonian Museum closed in 1888, its ethnographic collections were gifted to the Hunterian accompanied by display labels, but seemingly no other paper documentation. The bowl retains an original label '9' in Turner's hand, which would have corresponded to its position on his donation list. Based on a comparison of the Andersonian label text for duplicate artefacts also listed on Turner's Hunterian list, we can infer that the Andersonian's curator, Professor John Scouler, transcribed text from the lost list onto exhibition labels *verbatim*. The label reads, '[T]he canoe in which the gods Aicharia and Nefatimepeke sat when they pulled up Aneitum [sic], one of the New Hebrides. Long an object of veneration there'. An ink inscription in Turner's hand on the underside of the bowl, now partially illegible, mirrors the Andersonian's 1860s exhibition label, although Turner recorded the gods as 'Aichariai' and 'Nefatimitipeke'. It is this label text, along with the bowl's contextualisation as a *kastom* object of Aneityum, that connects it to broader interests in migration stories in nineteenth-century Pacific archaeology.

Reverend William Gunn, who represented the United Free Church of Scotland on Futuna and Aneityum from 1883 to 1917, wrote of comparable stories of ancestral island-fishing on those islands. He described Inhucheraing or Moitikitiki as the principal god of Aneityum, adding that the latter name was 'known with slight variations throughout the Pacific – Amoshishiki in Futuna, Moitikitiki in Weasisi [Tanna], Mauitikitiki and Moiti'iti', etc., in Polynesia' (Gunn 1914:217). Gunn explained that on multiple islands he was said 'to have fished up

the land, raising one headland after another' (Gunn 1914:217). Gunn's Inhucheraing and Turner's Aichariai are likely parallel transcriptions of the same god. 'Nefatimitipeke' does not resonate with any of the names Gunn recorded, although 'nefatimi' indicates 'a very old man' or 'big-man', which is relevant in the context of Turner's brief narrative for the bowl (Inglis 1882:98; Lynch and Tepahae 2001:201).

Linguist Arthur Capell's paper 'The Maui Myths in the New Hebrides' (1960) specifically addressed the similarity between myths such as the one that Turner associated with the *Nelcau-Añonñ*, and those of the pan-Polynesian divinity Maui. Capell suggested that Maui-Tikitiki's name became disassociated from the island-fishing narrative at the time the myth was transmitted to Aneityum from one or other of its so-called Polynesian outlier neighbours in the southern New Hebrides (1960:29–30). According to Capell:

The raising of Aneityum [...] is connected with the local flood myth, and the name of the person who achieved this raising was not remembered by the informant. The story states that there were two orphan boys who were being brought up by their grandparents. These lived in the interior of the island on a hill. In those days there was terraced agriculture and the old people had a deep well which supplied the water for their gardens. This water was presumably salt, for its ultimate source was the ocean. The grandfather kept the well-top covered with a lid to prevent the egress of water at the wrong time. The two boys were curious to know where the water came from and decided to lift the lid from the well or spring, in spite of being warned by their grandfather never to touch it. One day however they approached the spot stealthily in the grandfather's absence and took off the lid. The grandfather uttered a spell when he removed the lid, saying *arero, arero* 'cover up, cover up'; the boys did not know this, consequently the sea poured in until the entire land was flooded and living people and animals were drowned. The grandfather saw what was happening and managed to rescue himself and them. After three days they were floating in their canoe; there was no land and no people. The grandfather lowered a line and pulled and pulled, till at last there emerged from the sea Saddle Peak, the highest point of Aneityum. (Capell 1960:29–30)

Capell's account frames the boys' grandfather as the unnamed Maui figure, and whether he and his wife or perhaps the brothers were Turner's Aichariai and Nefatimitipeke is unclear. Capell's approach sits within

a culture-historic interpretive framework primarily directed towards ethno-archaeologically supporting a construct of ‘Polynesian outlier’ societies scattered through the heart of the ‘Melanesian’ New Hebrides. What strikes us 60 years later is the wealth of Judeo-Christian elements in the narrative. By Capell’s time, the story seems to have incorporated key narrative motifs from the book of Genesis, primarily the Deluge; Aneityum was a new Ararat, admixed with elements of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and the Fall. After a century of missionary enterprise on the island, this is hardly surprising, but this becomes more pertinent when we recognise that Turner was equally assimilating Oceanic cultural motifs, and ethnic variability, to his own Judeo-Christian models of world prehistory.

Oral tradition and Turner’s ethnology as missionary archaeology

Like other European missionaries, Turner was deeply interested in the culture and history of people he met. European missionaries in the Pacific commonly pursued research interests in natural history and ethnology, encompassing both archaeology and ethnography at that time (e.g. Barker 1992; Gardner 2006; Gunson 1978, 1994; Haddow 2016, 2019; Samson 2001; Sivasundaram 2005). Turner consciously aimed his published monographs at an audience beyond the supporters and potential donors to the mission. In the preface to *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, he wrote:

a number of things [will be] brought to light respecting the manners, customs, and mythology of the native tribes of Polynesia, which, it is hoped, will prove interesting to the friends of the missions, and at the same time contribute to the data, after which many, at the present day, are in search, in studying the comparative history of the human race. (1861:preface)

This aim is echoed in the opening pages of *Samoa One Hundred Years Ago & Long Before* (1884:vii). Turner’s ‘archaeological researches’ largely manifested in the ethnological collection and comparison of linguistic data, oral traditions, material culture and the observation of perceived human physical traits.

The term ‘Melanesia’ is absent from Turner’s discussions of Oceanic ethnology, using ‘Polynesia’ to cover all of the Pacific Islands, as was the tendency for British scholars until the turn of the twentieth century (Douglas 2011:17). Turner differentiated Eastern and Western Polynesia and wrote that the New Hebrides was home to ‘dark brown Papuans or Western Pacific Negroes’ (1861:97). Conversely, when he encountered a gang of Macao Chinese sandalwood cutters, he observed they were ‘not unlike some of our Eastern Polynesians’ (Turner 1861:368). However, he more specifically described people on Tanna as having ‘less of a negro cast of countenance than other Papuan tribes we have met’, explaining ‘their colour is exactly that of an old copper coin’ (1861:76). Some observations suggest Turner followed an underlying system of biblically framed classification into Semitic, Hamitic and Japhetic races, which was shared by contemporaneous missionary colleagues (e.g. Gunson 1959:157–159; Inglis 1890:7–11). This system derived from the book of Genesis and attributed the repopulation of the world following the Deluge to Noah’s three sons Shem, Ham and Japheth. Turner’s observation of the Aneityumese *natamarid* Nohoat as having a ‘dark Jewish countenance’ is suggestive of these biblically framed perceptions (Turner 1861:368).

In another example, calling at Fakaafo, Tokelau on his way back to Malua in 1859, Turner recorded the following story:

The natives there say that men had their origin in a small stone on Fakaafo. The stone became changed into a man. After a time he thought of making a woman. This he did by collecting a quantity of earth, and forming an earth model on the ground. He made the head, body, arms and legs, all of earth, then took out a rib from his left side and thrust it inside of the earth model, when suddenly the earth became alive and up started a woman on her feet. He called her Ivi (Eevee), or rib, he took her to be his wife, and from them sprang the race of men. (1861:526)

In a footnote, Turner remarked that this story ‘reminds us of Prometheus and his clay models [...] but it is more interesting still as a manifest fragment of the Divine doings as recorded in the Mosaic cosmology’ (1861:526). What appears to a modern reader the syncretic product of recent Christian influence on Tokelau shortly before 1859 was interpreted by Turner as an ancient remnant of scriptural events diffused into Oceania with the islanders themselves. Where Turner’s missionary archaeology diverged from the broadly secular models of English archaeologist Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers’s typological diffusionism, for example, or

Danish antiquarian Christian Jürgensen Thomsen's three-age system, is that the comparative-historical diffusionism informing it complemented, rather than revised, what Turner considered irrefutable facts of biblical scripture. This complementary relationship is also observable in Turner's later 1884 publication, which took on more of a Tylorian flavour, with the preface written by English cultural evolutionary anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor himself (Haddow 2020:55). Turner's discourse embedded oral traditions of more recent historical events into a substrate of the diffused echoes of scripturally documented realities. It is noteworthy that this was almost precisely the opposite relationship to that which contemporaneous archaeologists of the Levant had with scriptural texts, which they perceived as distorted partial representations of historical events. Within this interpretive context, Turner's 1859 collection of the *Nelcau-Añoñ* and related story of Aichariai and Nefatimitipeke was both broadly typical of comparative-historical methods in ethnology at that time, and fundamentally informed by a Judeo-Christian cosmology.

In a matter of decades, such diffusionist comparative-historical approaches within ethnology were challenged by cultural evolutionist paradigms (Stocking 1987). Prior to the application of stratigraphic excavation and relative dating techniques in the Pacific, however, both the recording of oral traditions and the collection of related material culture remained important ethnological methods for Europeans interested in reconstructing Oceanic prehistory. They played an important role, for example, in the early British School of ethnography through the works of Grafton Elliot Smith and W.H.R. Rivers, and it was only the dominance of Malinowskian functionalism in early twentieth-century British anthropology, and concurrent shifts in archaeological research, that truly suppressed their significance (Malinowski 1922; see also Lowie 1915; Nunn 2003). The collection of oral traditions waned in popularity for Pacific archaeologists from the 1940s onwards as they sought to establish a more 'scientific', empirical approach in keeping with archaeological discourse elsewhere in the world. In the last 40 years, however, the 'cultural turn' of post-processualism² has seen renewed interest in such

2 Post-processual archaeology developed in the 1980s as a response to processual archaeology, in particular the failure of processual archaeology to engage with contemporary social theory and critiques of positivism. Processual archaeology developed as part of the 'New Archaeology' of the 1960s and 1970s and emphasised the idea of 'culture process'. It took a problem-oriented, generalising rather than particularising approach toward archaeological data, aiming to advance knowledge about social, cultural and political processes characterising past human societies (Hodder 2018; Johnson 2010:41–48, 80–97, 109–116; LeBlanc and Watson 2014).

traditions as direct historic ethnographic analogies to complement excavational fieldwork. Tom Dye identified a similar shift in Hawaiian archaeology away from engagement with oral traditions between the late nineteenth century and the 1980s, which he related to the emergence of first relative, and then absolute, dating techniques within the discipline (Dye 1989). Dye's argument that traditional local histories have an important part to play in archaeological narration is, of course, as valid for the entire Pacific region as it is in the Hawaiian Islands (e.g. Kirch 2012; Nero 2011; Sheppard et al. 2004; see also Spriggs and Howes, **Chapter 26**, this volume). We believe that resources such as this *Nelcau-Amoñ* from Aneityum, gifted to the Hunterian by George Turner, have an important role to play in the emergence of such synthetic and polyvocal archaeologies. An interrogation of early ethnological museum collections and their related archival material has huge potential to both reengage us with the historical narratives of local communities and situate the broader historiography of archaeological research in Oceania. Examining this *Nelcau-Amoñ* simultaneously elicits the specificities of *missionary archaeology* – a short-lived and particular, but nevertheless influential, research paradigm in the history of Pacific archaeology – and brings to light a significant *kastom* object of early nineteenth-century Aneityum.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow from September to November 2020.

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**Part 2: The first
archaeological
excavations,
1870s – 1910s**

8

The first archaeological excavations (1870s – 1910s)

Matthew Spriggs

This chapter introduces the second section of *Uncovering Pacific Pasts: Histories of Archaeology in Oceania*, covering the period from the 1870s to World War I. This period saw Pacific archaeology develop as a distinct discipline, with the first known archaeological excavations being conducted in various Pacific locations, including New Zealand (Brooks, **Chapter 9**, this volume) and present-day Papua New Guinea (PNG) (Bonshek, **Chapter 13**, this volume; Howes, **Chapters 14 and 15**, this volume). It also saw European and other imperial powers consolidate their hold on colonial possessions in the Pacific. These imperial powers included France, Germany and Great Britain, but also two less often recognised as such, namely Chile and the USA. Chile assumed *de jure* control of Rapa Nui/Easter Island in 1888, after a large part of the population had been kidnapped by Peruvian slave traders two decades earlier, and the remainder deported or forcibly relocated by Scottish entrepreneurs managing an extensive sheep ranch on the island (Van Tilburg, **Chapter 18**, this volume; see also Fischer 2005; Gossler 2005; Haun 2008; Maude 1981; Porteous 1978).

Hawai'i (Mulrooney and Swift, **Chapter 17**, this volume), a unified kingdom since the early 1800s and the first non-Western state to gain full recognition of its sovereignty by Western powers in the Pacific, experienced increasing challenges over the course of the nineteenth century, from the ravages of introduced disease to dramatic changes in

land tenure and the large-scale introduction of labourers to work on sugar plantations (Archer 2018; D’Arcy 2018; Gonschor 2019; La Croix 2019). It was annexed by the USA in 1898 and remained a territory until 1959, when it was incorporated into the Union as the fiftieth state (Saranillio 2018). In 1899, following negotiations with Germany, Spain and the UK, the USA added American Samoa, Guam and the Philippines to its Pacific jurisdictions and the border between German New Guinea and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate was fixed between the southern end of Bougainville and the Shortland Islands – this removed several islands, such as Choiseul and Santa Isabel, from nominal German control to the British (Diaz 2010; Go and Foster 2003; Griffin 2005; Memea Kruse 2018; Rogers 1995).

The effects of these political and socio-economic upheavals are reflected in the 10 chapters in this section. Several of them discuss archaeological excavations conducted by Europeans who had made the Pacific their permanent home (Brooks, **Chapter 9**; Nolden, **Chapter 11**; and Mulrooney and Swift, **Chapter 17**, all this volume) or were residing there long-term as missionaries or government functionaries (Bonshek, **Chapter 13**, and Howes, **Chapter 15**, both this volume). Others (O’Brien, **Chapter 10**; Herle and Wright, **Chapter 12**; Howes, **Chapters 14** and **16**; and Van Tilburg, **Chapter 18**, all this volume) address collections, excavations, observations and surveys made by travelling scientists of the kind encountered in the previous section. Some, such as British anthropologist A.C. Haddon in the Torres Strait (Herle and Wright, **Chapter 12**, this volume) and German ethnologist Paul Hambruch in Micronesia (Howes, **Chapter 16**, this volume), worked in what were then the colonial territories of their home countries. Others, including Swedish ethnographer Hjalmar Stolpe (O’Brien, **Chapter 10**, this volume), Austrian anthropologist Rudolf Pöch (Howes, **Chapter 14**, this volume) and British archaeologists and anthropologists Katherine Routledge and William Scoresby Routledge (Van Tilburg, **Chapter 18**, this volume), were active in parts of the Pacific under the colonial control of other powers.

Archaeology was certainly never the same after 1859, not so much because of Darwin and Wallace, although their ideas were certainly part of the *zeitgeist* of the time, but because of the general acceptance of the association of stone artefacts and extinct megafauna in the gravels and caves of Europe, brought on by the stamp of authenticity given to Boucher de Perthes’s finds on the Somme by John Evans and Joseph

Prestwich that year in presentations before the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries of London (Daniel 1975:28, 58–61). Prestwich's paper also recognised the antiquity of John Frere's earlier finds at Hoxne. The Danish Three-age System of Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages was now an alternative chronological method to the Bible and recently translated Egyptian regnal lists, with increasing numbers of divisions within the Stone Age. Daniel Wilson had coined the word 'prehistoric' in English in 1851 (Daniel 1975:86–87; but see possible precursors to the term in French and Danish: Rowley-Conwy 2007:156–159), giving a name to the period before written records where archaeology really came into its own.

Ideas of social evolution, that there had been progressive changes in human societies from hunter-gatherers to herders and farmers and then on to 'civilised' urban and industrial societies, were certainly around pre-Darwin and their relation to Darwinist biological evolution was never simple or direct (Trigger 1998:55–82). Some early practitioners such as renowned French archaeologist Gustave de Mortillet (1821–1898) believed in a universalist application of phases of evolution as revealed in the Palaeolithic cave sequences of France and Neolithic and later sites. De Mortillet believed that all human groups would have passed through these same stages, an idea that was tied up with earlier ideas of the 'psychic unity of Mankind' – that is, the belief that all human groups possessed 'essentially the same kind and level of intelligence and the same basic emotions', and that there was thus 'no biological barrier to the degree to which any race or nationality could benefit from new knowledge or contribute to its advancement' (Trigger 1989:94–102, 2006:100–101). But, again as Trigger reminds us, there were many variations on the theme of social evolution and the inevitability of a unilinear sequence in the later nineteenth century was by no means generally accepted. Indeed, a Romantic reaction to the entire idea of social evolution was building, favouring migration and diffusion as explanations of cultural changes (Trigger 1998:83–108). This was sometimes linked to a continuing biblical counter-narrative of the peopling of the earth, in part fuelled by spectacular discoveries in the Middle East of cities and peoples mentioned in the Bible (Trigger 1989:102–103).

In a recent paper by Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project PhD scholar Michelle Richards, CBAP Research Fellow Hilary Howes and CBAP Associate Elena Govor, they pose the question of when exactly Pacific archaeology can be identified as a distinct discipline, 'following a prescribed set of field methods to investigate human change

over time, different from those used for other areas such as ethnology, geology, or linguistics' (Richards et al. 2019:308). They focus on three early archaeological exponents: Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay, Julius von Haast and Otto Finsch. Miklouho-Maclay, while he did not excavate in the Pacific, clearly brought an explicitly archaeological interest with him, informed by the first edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, published by the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS 1874). His research embraced comparative studies of material culture, particularly the designs in tattoos and those on prehistoric and recent pottery that might 'provide some indications about relations among Melanesian tribes' (quoted in Richards et al. 2019:317). As he travelled round the Pacific Islands he produced very precise drawings of archaeological sites such as stone structures, burial places and the petroglyph site of Feles Cave on Lelepa Island, off Efate in Vanuatu. He also had an interest in how stone tools were manufactured and used (Richards et al. 2019:317).

The stratigraphic excavations of moa-hunter sites in New Zealand directed by Julius von Haast in the 1870s, especially at Moa Bone Point Cave around 1872, were certainly among the first scientific archaeological excavations undertaken in the region (Richards et al. 2019:319–321). On the cusp of the transition to research we can begin to recognise as strictly archaeological in the modern sense, von Haast's work stands out, as described further by Emma Brooks (**Chapter 9**, this volume). Von Haast developed a two-phase model of New Zealand prehistory, positing two distinct phases of occupation by two different populations: autochthonous Palaeolithic moa-hunters, followed by Neolithic Māori who lived mainly on fish and shellfish and produced sophisticated polished stone tools. He was thus again one of the first scholars to construct a sequence of cultural change in the Pacific. He was of course much helped by the fact of the moa, New Zealand's very own extinct megafauna found in clear association with human artefacts. These often-giant flightless bird species were first scientifically identified and classified by the brilliant palaeontologist Richard Owen in 1839 (Anderson 1989:1–2, 11–12, 17–23). The same Richard Owen was a major figure in the description of extinct Australian megafauna. But a human association for these remained elusive, despite early claims for a human tooth and dingo remains in the same layers (Minard 2018), and still does in the twenty-first century.

Von Haast's initial sequence had the moa-hunters as being of Palaeolithic age, based on analogy with European stone artefacts in association with extinct mammals, followed by the Neolithic Māori defined by

their polished stone tools and – incidentally – agriculture. He used the sparse and equivocal references in Māori tradition to moa to argue for a considerable time scale and a separate (perhaps Melanesian) pre-Māori population. This view was quickly superseded when the association of polished tools in deposits with moa bone was admitted and had to be telescoped into a much shorter chronology, although the two-phase sequence was retained (Anderson 1989:100–104). The dating of these deposits remained controversial for many decades. As Brooks notes in **Chapter 9** (this volume), von Haast also had a very early involvement in the recording of Māori rock art in 1876.

During his ‘Palaeolithic’ phase von Haast thought there had been a land bridge linking the North and South Islands of New Zealand and joining them to some other Pacific Islands. While this may sound bizarre today, we should remember that some other postulated land bridges of the time later turned out to have substance to them – one thinks of the Bassian Plain joining Tasmania to the Australian mainland until c. 14,000 years ago (Hiscock 2008:129, 140–141). This land bridge was of course part of the larger continent of Sahul, involving land bridges also between Australia and New Guinea (sundered by the formation of the Torres Strait c. 8,000 years ago) and between New Guinea and what are now the Aru Islands in Eastern Indonesia. At the same time much of the Solomon Islands archipelago was one long linear island, sometimes called ‘Greater Bougainville’ and similarly present during the period of initial human occupation there (Spriggs 1997:25; for Aru see Hope and Aplin 2005:30–31).

Another early Pacific excavator, also of German background, was Otto Finsch, who excavated prehistoric or early historic Hawaiian graves at Waimanalo on O‘ahu Island in 1879. Finsch followed instructions in the German equivalent of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, which was produced in 1872 by the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory, prominent among whose members were ethnologist Adolf Bastian, who had visited the Pacific between 1851 and 1859 as a ship’s surgeon, and physical anthropologist and prehistorian Rudolf Virchow. Virchow also met with Finsch to give him some coaching in appropriate techniques before his 1879–82 visit to the Pacific (Richards et al. 2019:311, 320–322). Finsch’s publication of his O‘ahu researches included detailed maps and descriptions (Finsch 1879).

A later-to-be-prominent European archaeologist and ethnologist who visited the Pacific during this period was Hjalmar Stolpe on the *Vanadis* Expedition, 1883–85, as discussed by Aoife O’Brien (**Chapter 10**, this volume). He was clearly aware of Finsch’s excavations at Waimanalo as he collected – one couldn’t really call it excavating – further skeletons there and from burial caves in other parts of O’ahu and in Tahiti. There was, as O’Brien notes, tension between Stolpe and the captain of the *Vanadis* and insufficient time for Stolpe to carry out useful studies at many ports of call. The material culture that he was able to collect was notable, however, for his attempt to collect a limited range of artefacts in each place for explicitly comparative purposes. He wanted to use his collections to investigate how ideas spread from island to island, making him an early exponent of this sort of systematic comparison that is much more a feature of the post–World War I ethnological efforts of the Bishop Museum and others. Stolpe was later to become known as the excavator of the rich Iron Age burials at Vendel and of the Viking town of Birka in Sweden but died before he could write up his work. His recording was of sufficient quality that others were able to publish these sites later (Klindt-Jensen 1975:109–110, 113).

Archaeology was stirring elsewhere in the Pacific, with France establishing its presence as a colonial power in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some early settlers and government officials began to take note of sites and buried artefacts in French Polynesia, New Caledonia and Vanuatu (Dotte-Sarout 2017). Gassies perhaps led the awakening, presenting evidence of a jade axe – found in supposedly Quaternary deposits on an islet close to the Isle of Pines in New Caledonia – at a meeting of the Société d’Anthropologie de Paris on 18 June 1874. He used its apparent antiquity to disparage ideas that the Indigenous inhabitants of New Caledonia had only arrived recently from New Guinea (Gassies 1874). Dotte-Sarout notes that this is one of the first examples in the Pacific of truly archaeological investigation, in that it presented a discovery of material culture in stratigraphic context (or with other indication of antiquity) and presented ‘interpretations of the history of Pacific populations based on such remains’ (Dotte-Sarout 2017:23). The presentation, however, also brought up another more general obsession of the time: identifying the supposed race of the makers of such material culture, in this case suggesting a priority for the ‘yellow or Malay race’, suggested as having been conquered by members of the less civilised ‘Papuan’ race (Gassies 1874:497, as translated by Dotte-Sarout). The latter presumably were

considered incapable of having made such a sophisticated artefact, just as their authorship of New Caledonia's impressive taro irrigation systems was also often doubted.¹

One scholar who did not doubt that the irrigation systems had been built by the current Kanak occupants of New Caledonia, however, was government functionary Gustave Glaumont (1855–died after 12 Jan. 1916), a most sympathetic observer of Kanak culture based in the colony from 1884 to 1890 (Dotte-Sarout 2017:24–26; Patole-Edoumba 2013, 2021). Throughout his stay Glaumont was in contact with metropolitan contacts such as museum director and editor of the *Revue d'Ethnographie* Ernest-Théodore Hamy (1842–1908) and French archaeologist Gustave de Mortillet, who as we have seen was one of the great classifiers of the Palaeolithic of Europe and a prominent unilinear evolutionist (cf. Daniel 1975:103–109). Glaumont interpreted his finds in the dominant social evolutionist perspective of the time, heavily influenced by de Mortillet's writings, seeing Kanaks and other Melanesians as 'men of the Quaternary hiatus' (Glaumont 1888, translated by Dotte-Sarout 2017:25) between the Magdalenian and the Neolithic (the latter Robenhausien in de Mortillet's scheme, from the name of a Swiss lake village site).

Glaumont seems to have been the first to conduct archaeological excavations in geographical Melanesia, noting stratigraphy and depth of finds and photographing them in situ, both in New Caledonia and on a tour of Vanuatu in 1890 (see Glaumont 1889, and further references in Dotte-Sarout 2017).² His Vanuatu trip is notable for the publication of the first stratigraphic profile from Melanesia, with pottery revealed below volcanic deposits in a stream section on the island of Ambae (Glaumont 1895:55, 1899:66). Glaumont provided sufficient detail for Spriggs and Bedford (2021) to re-locate the general area of his section in 2007, confirm its stratigraphy and date the pyroclastic flow that the pottery preceded to 790–610 BP. Glaumont is also notable as the first to record the petroglyphs of New Caledonia, working closely with Kanak interlocutors

1 See Spriggs (2012) for references to irrigation systems supposedly constructed by 'lost' races or taught to the indigenes by 'superior' ones in relation to New Caledonia, New Guinea and Vanuatu among other places.

2 A French contemporary of Glaumont's in Pacific archaeology was Alfred Marche, who conducted archaeological surveys and excavation in the Mariana Islands of Micronesia between 1887 and 1889. His first archaeological paper on this work was published in the same issue of *Revue d'Ethnographie* as Glaumont's excavations at Bourail (Dotte-Sarout 2017:31 footnote 3, 2021), referring to Marche 1889. There was also archaeological activity in French Polynesia at about this time; for the Marquesas see Tautain (1897).

to interpret their meaning (as described in Bonnemère 1895). Glaumont's career is covered in the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition at Muséum La Rochelle, organised by Elise Patole-Edoumba.³

Glaumont's interest in the petroglyphs of New Caledonia was taken up by Marius Archambault (1864–1920), who had come to New Caledonia as a child and worked for much of his life for the postal service. Dotte-Sarout (2017:26–29) documents his racism and poor relations with the Kanak population, which doubtless contributed to his rejection of Glaumont's position that the art and irrigation systems had been created by the present-day Indigenous population. He preferred to believe in a previous 'civilisation' who had passed on aspects of contemporary traditional culture he approved of to the Kanaks, before having been exterminated or absorbed by them. He saw some of the petroglyph motifs as ancient writing and compared them to Greek, Egyptian and Phoenician scripts, and authored a paper on this with Adrien de Mortillet, son of Glaumont's mentor (de Mortillet and Archambault 1919). He considered the earlier population in New Caledonia to have been an ancient race whose modern representatives were Europeans. As Dotte-Sarout (2017:27–28) notes, his ideas showed influences both from cultural evolutionism and the growing literature of diffusionism. His last (rejected) manuscript was titled *Le sphinx et le dragon* and dealt with the iconography of 'the primitive antediluvian civilization, the one which the legends preserved the memory of under the aspects of the Golden Age or the Eden' (quoted and translated by Dotte-Sarout 2017:29).

Vanuatu also had a successor to the early work of Glaumont, in Marist father Jean-Baptiste Suas (1865–1933), again discussed by Dotte-Sarout (2017:29–30; see also O'Reilly 1957:216–217). He was sent to set up a mission station at Olal on Ambrym Island in 1892 and associated works uncovered burials at a depth of 7 m, perhaps unremarkable given the active volcanic state of Ambrym to the present, with frequent flank eruptions. Suas, following the common trope of the time, saw this as proof of an 'intelligent' earlier race (aceramic), succeeded by a pottery-using people and then a third migration of the contemporary population who were said to have no knowledge of pottery (Suas 1917–18). Suas's intellectual networks were clearly very different than Glaumont's and Archambault's, possibly because of the anti-clericalism of most French intellectuals of

3 See museum.larochelle.fr/au-dela-de-la-visite/autour-des-expositions/une/exposition-virtuelle-284, retrieved 7 July 2020.

the time. Instead, his mentors were Catholic clergy, notable among them being Father Wilhelm Schmidt, founder of the Catholic anthropological journal *Anthropos* in 1906 (see Aigner, **Chapter 22**, this volume). Suas published at least eight academic papers in *Anthropos* between 1911 and 1922, mostly on ethnographic topics, and two in *Missions Catholiques* in 1902 and 1915 (listed in O'Reilly 1957:216).

The 1880s and 1890s were also when some of the major institutions and societies with an interest in Pacific archaeology and anthropology were formed: what is now the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge University and the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford in 1884, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu in 1889, the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) in 1888 in Sydney, and the Hawaiian Historical Society in Honolulu and the Polynesian Society in New Zealand in 1892. The most prominent of the societies remains the Polynesian Society, founded by Stephenson Percy Smith and his associates in New Zealand in 1891–92 and modelled on the Asiatic Society of Bengal (now the Asiatic Society), which had been formed in 1784.

As quoted here in Sascha Nolden's **Chapter 11** (this volume), the remit of the Polynesian Society was promoting 'the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology and Antiquities of the Polynesian races'. Polynesia was meant in the wide sense of the whole of the Pacific and Australia, this being the common English usage of the time. Just as the Asiatic Society had involved Indian members from 1829 and had its first Indian president in 1885 (Chakrabarty 2008), the Polynesian Society encouraged Māori involvement and published many papers in its flagship *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (JPS) by Māori and other Pacific scholars. Smith, as well as being the founder of the Society, which held its first formal meeting on 8 January 1892, edited the first 30 volumes of its *Journal* until his death in 1922.

The exhibit at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington on Smith and the Society described in Nolden (**Chapter 11**, this volume) reminds us of the key role of archives for construction of a history of Pacific archaeology, not least in enabling investigation of the widespread academic networks of the time. These linked the far-flung islands of the Pacific, and the, in

this case British, colonies in New Zealand and Australia to the major centres of academic power in places such as Oxford and Cambridge, and Harvard University in the USA.⁴

Although the Polynesian Society did not begin the renaissance of publication of Pacific (mainly Polynesian) oral literature in English translation or summary, the work of Abraham Fornander in Hawai‘i being an inspiration for much of what followed (Fornander 1878–85),⁵ it was an important venue for publication of Māori traditions. As with Fornander, however, many of these Polynesian traditions were presented by Smith and others through a very distorted European lens (Simmons 1969, 1976; Sorrenson 1979).⁶ Ultimately these manipulations did a lot of damage to the credibility of Pacific oral traditions as a source of ‘real’ history from the 1960s onwards, a legacy that is still very much with us today. Smith’s fundamental ideas went back at least to Forster’s 1778 treatment, with the idea of New Zealand’s original population being Melanesian or mixed Melanesian–West Polynesian and called ‘Moriōri’ after the inhabitants of the Chatham Islands, who were seen as their last unconquered representatives (Clayworth 2001). The Eastern Polynesian Māori later arrived on the ‘Great Fleet’ of seven canoes and wiped out the previous inhabitants (see Howe 2003 for a comprehensive summary of the history of ideas about the human settlement of New Zealand). There were vestiges here too of von Haast’s initial contrast of Palaeolithic moa-hunters and Neolithic Māori farmers to explain his two-part archaeological sequence for New Zealand (see Brooks, **Chapter 9**, this volume). Earlier echoes can again be seen in Smith’s characterisation of the original homeland of the Polynesians as being in India but as having important external influences from even further west:

4 As noted earlier, the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford were both founded in 1884, the first primarily on the basis of two extensive donations of Pacific collections and the latter from the collections, including Pacific items, of Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (Bowden 1991; Ebin and Swallow 1984). Harvard had had a considerably longer association with anthropology, and its Peabody Museum was founded in 1866 (see Browman and Williams 2013). It is notable that the first curator (later director) of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu from 1889 to 1917, William T. Brigham, was a Harvard alumnus (Rose 1980:21–46).

5 This is not, of course, to claim that Fornander was the first to record oral traditions, only the first to use them in so comprehensive a manner to reconstruct a historical narrative. There were several major contributors to the recording of Māori traditional histories from the 1850s onwards: William Colenso, George Grey, Richard Taylor and others, and William Wyatt Gill’s contributions to recording Cook Islands traditions from the 1850s onwards are also notable (see Luomala 1947 for references).

6 That said, the agency of Smith’s major Māori interlocutor, H.T. Whatahoro, should not be underplayed. As Howe (2003:163) notes: ‘If Smith used Whatahoro, so did Whatahoro use Smith to publish his beliefs’. The footnote for this statement cites Clayworth (2001).

There are traces of such influences to be found from East Africa, Egypt, and very strongly from some Semitic source, possibly Arabia. Dravidian and North Indian influences are to be observed in custom, physique and language. (Smith 1898:10, quoted in Howe 2003:195; see also the extended treatment in Smith 1910, based on articles originally published in JPS)

The debate over Smith's views and those of other scholars of similar persuasion such as Elsdon Best continued throughout the twentieth century (Howe 2003:171–176). We shall return to them again later as we chart the growth of more specifically archaeological views of Pacific (pre)history.

As noted above, the Polynesian Society was not the only gathering point for scholars interested in Pacific origins and migrations. The Hawaiian Historical Society was founded on 5 January 1892 'as a local Antiquarian and Historical Society, affiliated with the proposed Polynesian Society of New Zealand' following an informal meeting on 29 December 1891 (Hoes 1892:110). In its early years its members had some involvement with archaeological and traditional histories but this tailed off in the years after World War II.⁷ A third society that had an interest in the origins and migrations of Pacific peoples was the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, founded in 1888 (AAAS 1889) and modelled on its British equivalent, founded in 1830. In its early years many Protestant missionaries were active in its annual conferences, such as Robert Codrington, James Copeland, R. Benjamin Danks, Samuel Ella, John Fraser, William Gill, George Pratt, Richard Rickard and Arthur Webb, just to mention those whose Pacific papers were published in the first two *Reports* of the AAAS in 1889 and 1890.

Alfred Cort Haddon was among the first professional ethnologists to be employed by a university, although his career began as a biologist. In 1898 he led the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait, involving other significant scholars of the Pacific past such as W.H.R. Rivers, Charles Seligman[n]⁸ and the linguist Sidney Ray. It was among the first of the comprehensive anthropological expeditions,

⁷ This postwar lessening of interest in non-written sources for Hawaiian history is clear from a perusal of the *Index* to its publications (Hunter 1968).

⁸ According to Seligman[n]'s obituarist, his surname was originally spelt 'Seligmann', but he 'dropped the last letter of his surname after 1914', presumably in response to anti-German sentiment associated with World War I (Myers 1941:627).

a multidisciplinary team approach that, to a large extent, fell by the wayside with the development of single-scholar ethnography as pioneered by Malinowski, among others. With the benefit of hindsight one can see that with the failure of such an approach to take off, the full potential for archaeology as a major component within anthropology also faded, at least within what became the Commonwealth. Haddon is often considered a distinguished ancestor for social anthropologists, but the ethnology he practised was a broad church and he can be claimed as much by Pacific archaeologists as a pioneering exponent. This is made clear in Anita Herle and Duncan Wright's treatment of him as a self-described 'palaeontologist' (Herle and Wright, **Chapter 12**, this volume) and their discussion of his continued relevance to archaeological research questions and practice in the Torres Strait.

Haddon's interest in 'understanding human variation and the distribution of populations over time' (Herle and Wright, **Chapter 12**, this volume) used material culture comparisons, bioanthropology and linguistics. In his comparative study of New Guinea stone clubs and other work on stone adzes, he saw the potential of artefact provenance studies to illuminate trading relationships. Like many scholars before and after him, he tended to conflate time and space, with statements such as 'doubtless our Neolithic ancestors did what our contemporary "Neolithic" Papuans are doing now' (quoted by Herle and Wright, **Chapter 12**, this volume), drawing comparisons between the recent discovery of Neolithic Swiss lake villages on piles and the layout of modern coastal villages near Port Moresby.

Although Haddon himself never excavated, his recording of often recently abandoned ritual sites in the Torres Strait has inspired much recent archaeological research there, often instigated by Indigenous communities. There has been radiocarbon dating of some of these sites and further elucidation of the history and development of particular cult activity. The detailed records of Haddon's expedition, while not in the strict sense of the word archaeological, continue to inform archaeological practice today in a very useful synergy.

While Haddon did not undertake archaeological excavations, these were soon to take place on New Guinea with work at Wanigela (now within Oro Province of PNG) commencing in 1904. This was, in effect, a salvage operation initiated by lay missionary Percy Money following the levelling of mounds for construction of an Anglican mission station, as described here by Elizabeth Bonshek (**Chapter 13**, this volume). Money

had already made an agreement with the Australian Museum to collect material culture from the area, but it was Resident Magistrate Charles Monckton who made sure that much of the excavated material ended up at the British Museum. He also sought expert advice from Charles Seligmann in conserving human skeletons from burials with chemicals, but the attempt failed.

Prominent among the archaeological finds were carved cone shells as well as decorated pottery of a style not recognised by local people. The cone shells in particular were soon used as evidence in theories about the origins of the area's inhabitants; they started off as archaeological specimens but soon became framed within ethnological debates of the time. This is not surprising as there was very little other archaeological evidence around to compare them to. The big names of early Pacific speculative history and anthropology all knew of the three cone shells in the British Museum and others to be found in Sydney and Vienna. Seligmann and T. Athol Joyce (1907) were the first to publish details of the finds, in the 75th birthday festschrift for early ethnologist E.B. Tylor, but they also feature in the work of Rudolf Pöch (see below), Robert Etheridge, Finsch, Haddon, and E.W.P. Chinnery, and the later syntheses of Robert Heine-Geldern and Alphonse Riesenfeld (Spriggs 2013). Some pioneer New Guinea archaeologists such as Jack Golson, J. Peter White and Brian Egloff also gave them due consideration, and they continue to attract interest in archaeological analyses (Ambrose et al. 2012; Wilson 2002). As Bonshek (**Chapter 13**, this volume) demonstrates, there is still much that can be learned about the different art styles and connections of the wider Massim area of PNG.

Monckton stated that he had been told by someone that the pottery was identical to that 'dug up on an island in the Mediterranean' and said to be the oldest then known (1922:117). Seligmann and Joyce (1907) were mainly content to describe the Wanigela finds and those found during mining operations in the Yodda Valley on the mainland and on Misima Island, rather than to speculate on their origins. But in a paper describing further Yodda Valley stone artefacts and mentioning Wanigela pottery and *Conus* rings sent by Money to the Australian Museum, Curator Robert Etheridge concluded:

I think it may now fairly be conceded there is ample evidence of the existence of an extinct, or at any rate former population in Eastern New Guinea, of a highly interesting nature. Although the

information to hand is not sufficient to prove the hypothesis, it is possible that this [Wanigela] pottery and the buried works of art of the Yodda Valley Goldfield are the productions of one and the same people. (Etheridge 1908:28)

When he wrote, Etheridge had already seen Rudolf Pöch's publication on his own excavations at Wanigela. As noted by Hilary Howes (**Chapter 14**, this volume; see also Howes 2017), Pöch had arrived in New Guinea from Austria under the auspices of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna in July 1904 to carry out ethnological research, having earlier been a student of archaeologist and ethnologist Felix von Luschan, who became the first full professor of anthropology at the University of Berlin in 1909. When Pöch reached Wanigela, Money had withdrawn from the area for the malarial rainy season, leaving the field, and the excavation of an intact mound, to Pöch, encouraged by Monckton's successor G.O. Manning. Pöch's account of the research was published very quickly after his return to Vienna (Pöch 1907, and other publications cited by Howes, **Chapter 14**, this volume), suggesting that the pottery derived from 'a population whose culture was doubtless a higher one' (quoted in Howes, **Chapter 14**, this volume, from her translation).

Pöch had been interested in finding 'traces of a Palaeolithic era in New Guinea' (cited in Howes, **Chapter 14**, this volume). This was a bit of a continental obsession at the time, spurred on by the discovery of *Homo erectus* fossils on Java by Eugene Dubois in 1891–92 (Shipman 2001). Dubois had similarly inspired the Sarasin cousins, Paul and Fritz, to undertake research on Sulawesi in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) in 1893–96 and 1902, where they believed they had found evidence at least of 'mesolithic' occupation in caves and encountered a group they called Toaleans still living in the caves, whom they saw as direct descendants of this culture (Kempers 1982:20).

Fritz Sarasin later led an expedition to New Caledonia in 1910–12 along with Jean Roux, again inspired by the idea of finding traces of a 'primitive' Palaeolithic occupation in the Pacific (Sarasin 2009 [orig. 1929]). Sarasin had shifted his focus to New Caledonia as representing the most 'primitive' Melanesian population and because of its proximity and possible land bridge links to Australia, whose Indigenous population were seen as representing the last survivors of a Palaeolithic lifestyle – yet again space and time were being confounded (Kaufmann 2009). His younger Basel Museum colleague Felix Speiser undertook parallel research in the neighbouring New Hebrides

archipelago (now Vanuatu), also from 1910 to 1912 and with similar intentions (Speiser 1991 [orig. 1923]). They made significant collections of material culture and engaged in ethnographic fieldwork, but also conducted archaeological excavations of sorts.

Sarasin and Speiser both concluded that there was no trace of any Palaeolithic occupation to be found in the islands – still the case today – although Sarasin in particular saw the many flaked tools he encountered in New Caledonia as indicating a Neolithic occupation with still strongly Palaeolithic influences.⁹ He also investigated the site on the Foué Peninsula of New Caledonia, now known as Lapita (Sarasin 2009:33, cf. Sarasin 1917:121–123), although preceded and informed by previous research there of the geologist Piroutet (1909).

The year 1909 was indeed a key one for Pacific studies of prehistoric pottery, as this was the year Catholic missionary priest Father Otto Meyer began his own excavations on Watom Island, off the eastern end of New Britain in then-German New Guinea, as recounted here by Hilary Howes (**Chapter 15**, this volume; see also Dotte-Sarout and Howes 2019; Howes 2017). What he had found, and was the first to illustrate in line drawings, was what we now know as Lapita pottery, the earliest South Pacific Island pottery style and, beyond the main Solomons chain, the undisputed type-fossil of initial human settlement of the rest of Island Melanesia and Western Polynesia. Piroutet had found the same in New Caledonia but his description was only of ‘*jolis débris*’ (‘beautiful fragments’) (1909:608) and the connection between the two areas was not to be made until 1949 (Spriggs, in press).¹⁰

Father Meyer’s exemplary excavations, which continued in 1922 and 1924, led to the recovery of considerable quantities of pottery decorated with dentate (‘toothed’) stamps at about 1.5 m below the surface under a layer we now know is volcanic ash from a major eruption of the nearby Rabaul volcano. He quickly published accounts of his research in the Catholic anthropology journal, *Anthropos*, edited by Father Wilhelm Schmidt,

9 In the 2009 French translation of Sarasin the statement is given in bold as ‘*C’est un néolithique à traditions encore fortement paléolithiques*’ (Sarasin 2009:36). Speiser records his own dashed Palaeolithic hopes but without such a qualification (1991:83).

10 Piroutet was later to give a more detailed description, likening some of the designs to Corinthian vases of the seventh century BCE and one of them to ‘palmettes impressed by a roulette on Etruscan *bucchero nero* pottery’ (Piroutet 1917:260, my translation from the French). This linking to Mediterranean pottery styles recalls Monckton’s (1922) interpretation of the Wanigela pottery, although that is not of Lapita style.

as did Suas in Vanuatu, as noted earlier (Meyer 1909a, 1909b, 1910). Meyer clearly wanted scholars to be aware of his finds, and he also made an effort to distribute potsherds and other artefacts to museums in Germany, France and Australia, as Howes describes (see too Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, this volume for the Australian collection). He was interested in what the metropolitan experts might have to say of its origins, or perhaps he just wanted to persuade them of his own interpretations, based on surprisingly wide reading, that there was a South American, specifically Peruvian, connection for the pottery (Howes 2017:43). We shall encounter Lapita pottery again several times in this volume.

While Meyer's original discovery was made following storm damage to the coastline at his mission station, the next discovery of Lapita was again as a result of human activity, in this case the digging of drains and planting work at a commercial plantation at Munuwai on New Ireland, German New Guinea, in 1910. As seen with Meyer's donations of pottery to various museums overseas, international networks of collection and distribution of Pacific artefacts were well established by this time. In the Munuwai case, Mrs Madelonne Krockenberger, wife of the plantation owner, forwarded a small collection of artefacts to ethnologist Georg Friederici (1928:52). Unnoticed until the CBAP Project in 2019, among them was what we can now recognise as a complete Lapita-style pot-stand with cut-out decoration.¹¹ Efforts are now being made to find the exact location of the site and the current whereabouts of the Lapita pot. The accompanying photograph in Friederici's article was the first to illustrate Lapita pottery, Meyer having only presented rather rough line drawings in his publications (Spriggs, in press).

The Germans were active in collecting both ethnographic and archaeological artefacts just prior to the loss of their Pacific and other colonies during World War I. Micronesia was another major area of interest of the 1908–10 Südsee-Expedition, which focused on the Bismarck Archipelago, Palau, Nauru and the Caroline Islands. It was organised by Georg Thilenius, the first director of the Museum of Ethnology in Hamburg, funded by generous donations from Hamburg's well-off citizens (see Howes, **Chapter 16**, this volume). Another of von Luschan's Berlin students, Paul Hambruch, spent six months as part of the expedition on the island of Ponape (now Pohnpei), site of the famous ruins of the stone

11 I thank Hilary Howes for providing a translation of the relevant passages in Friederici (1928), and for alerting me to the photograph of the pot-stand.

‘city’ of Nan Madol. The site had been excavated (or rather, fossicked) for a single day in 1907 by German Governor Viktor Berg. His death within 24 hours was seen by the local population as retribution for disturbing a sacred burial ground.¹² Hambruch was obviously more careful in his own surveys and excavations at Nan Madol during 1910. Howes (**Chapter 16**, this volume) gives a rich description of how his work was shaped by ‘colonialism, Christianity, and racial ideology, as well as Indigenous and women’s agency’. Almost immediately after he left there was an uprising by the people of Sokehs District, which resulted in the public execution of 15 men and the exile of the entire district population to Palau.

Indigenous agency is shown particularly in the persons of Ettekar, Hambruch’s translator during his time on Pohnpei, and the titleholder, the *nahlaimw* of Madolenihmw, described by Hambruch as ‘the proprietor of the ruins’. The *nahlaimw* conveyed most of the traditions that Hambruch later published concerning Nan Madol. Howes suggests that he may have wanted to make sure that his traditional knowledge did not die with him, and – perhaps as important – that it was his version of traditional history that was sanctified by being the published version. This version is still very much contested today by other groups on the island. One recalls the role and equally complex motivations of the main Māori interlocutor of Smith, Whatahoro.

The story of Hambruch on Pohnpei also introduces another ‘hidden history’ theme the CBAP Project has been trying to uncover: the role of women in the history of Pacific archaeology. In this case, the focus is on Anneliese Eilers, Thilenius and Hambruch’s student and one of the first women in the German-speaking lands to obtain a PhD in ethnology, in 1927. Hambruch died in 1933 with only one of what were to become three volumes of his study of Pohnpei already published. Eilers put together the second and third volumes, the latter a 400-plus-page monograph containing the site map of Nan Madol, still frequently reproduced by archaeologists today, and the abundant oral traditions about the site. As Howes reminds us, without her efforts all we would have of Hambruch’s study of Nan Madol would be a single four-page article from 1911. And yet it is Hambruch who is remembered, usually without any recognition of Eilers’s efforts to bring his project to fruition

12 From my own experience of the Pacific I would suggest he was poisoned using local herbs either in his kava or with his dinner. The outpouring of grief from some of the local population may, at least in part, have been to allay any suspicion of involvement. It was ever thus!

three years after his death. She was perhaps given more credit for the other three volumes from the expedition that she organised and saw published (Beer 2007:54–58).¹³

The German-speakers were not the only scholars engaging in archaeological excavation in the early years of the twentieth century before World War I. Mara Mulrooney and Jillian Swift (**Chapter 17**, this volume) provide a very useful overview of the excavation undertaken by Australian-born John F.G. Stokes, of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, in 1913 at the Kamōhio fishing shrine and/or fishhook manufacturing workshop on Kaho‘olawe island in Hawai‘i. It was the first stratigraphic excavation to be carried out in Hawai‘i and yielded a rich assemblage of fishhook-related materials and unique carved sea urchin spines. Stokes was possibly the first person in the Pacific Islands to hold down a job that was primarily involved in archaeological research. He accompanied Felix von Luschan on a collecting expedition to O‘ahu burial caves in 1914 (Brigham 1915). There has recently been something of a renaissance of interest in Stokes’s career; details of his surveys, particularly of Hawaiian temple sites or *heiau*, can be found in Flexner and Kirch (2016), Flexner et al. (2017) and with further information on his career in Spriggs (2017). All of these studies of Stokes’s work have benefited from the extensive archives, including field notebooks, maps and photographs, held at the Bishop Museum.

Stokes was hired by the museum’s first director, William T. Brigham, in 1899 and by 1903 was given the title of curator of Polynesian ethnology. His constant problem was finding time or motivation to bring his many research projects to publication, and his Kaho‘olawe general survey and this particular excavation were victims of this. They were eventually published by Gilbert McAllister after Stokes had been sacked from the museum for non-completion of work at the end of 1929 (McAllister 1933). It is always hard to write up somebody else’s work and it seems McAllister either could not understand or did not realise the significance of the stratigraphy that Stokes had uncovered. As Kirch (1985:12–13, quoted by Mulrooney and Swift, **Chapter 17**, this volume) pointed out: ‘the stratigraphic associations so carefully noted by Stokes were ignored’ by McAllister in his publication. Mulrooney and Swift also note that Stokes’s material, both his Hawaiian work and his research on Rapa Island

13 I am grateful to Hilary Howes for providing an English translation of this entry in Bettina Beer’s book.

in the Australs from 1920 to 1922, continue to be of tremendous use to archaeologists working in these places today. There are plans to publish more of Stokes's pioneering work.

The expedition of Katherine and William Scoresby Routledge to Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in 1914–15 is the last of the pre–World War I Pacific expeditions, as discussed by Jo Anne Van Tilburg (**Chapter 18**, this volume). The Mana Expedition also involved pioneering excavations, but is more important today for its meticulous recording of the stone *moai* statues and Katherine's collection of oral traditions and toponyms that were fast disappearing as the Indigenous population were corralled into Hangaroa settlement and forbidden to access ancestral lands. Van Tilburg brings out both the good and bad in the Routledges, seemingly almost completely bad in the case of Scoresby, and the great extent to which the agency of Katherine's local interlocutor, Juan Tepano, was so significant to the success of the venture. Katherine, as a 'new woman', university-educated when it was still rare for women, was in some ways betwixt and between, as was Tepano, described as a man 'between worlds'. He spoke Rapa Nui, Spanish and some English, had travelled widely in the Chilean Navy, was village headman and foreman of the colonial sheep ranch, and was very knowledgeable about Rapa Nui traditions. As Van Tilburg notes, he inhabited neither of these worlds, cosmopolitan Chilean and Rapa Nui, 'with complete comfort'. Their collaboration produced 'an irreplaceable archive in support of Rapa Nui archaeology, conservation and ethnohistory' (Van Tilburg, **Chapter 18**, this volume), accessible at the Royal Geographical Society in London. Only a little of its value was indicated by the book and article Katherine Routledge published before mental illness took its toll.

Juan Tepano was to go on to be the main interlocutor too of the next scholarly expedition to Rapa Nui, the Franco–Belgian Expedition of 1934–35 (Métraux 1940:3–4; see also Laurière 2021). In part based on models provided by Katherine Routledge's photographs of Rapa Nui wooden carvings in the British Museum, Tepano was also to take up woodcarving; several of the current carvers on the island trace their artistic lineage back to him (see Lavachery 2021). As was shown with the case of Paul Hambruch above (Howes, **Chapter 16**, this volume), the absolute reliance of many foreign scholars on knowledgeable and interested Indigenous interlocutors was so often crucial to the success of the research described in this volume. Of course, this remains the case today and Van Tilburg mentions her own long-term close collaboration with a grandson

of Tepano, Cristián Arévalo Pakarati. One of CBAP's themes has been to investigate the lives of these often-forgotten Indigenous experts and to bring them to the forefront.

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9

Sir Julius von Haast and Roger Duff

Emma Brooks

As the most durable class of material culture in the Pacific, stone artefacts have played a central role in explanations of culture change and transmission, migration and origins for over 150 years. In New Zealand Sir Julius von Haast was one of the first to use these artefacts and their archaeological context to develop a dual-phase model to explain the extinction of moa and the time depth of human interaction with these giant birds. Even though his ideas have long since proved to be incorrect, we continue to acknowledge his contribution to the scholarly tradition of archaeological research in New Zealand. Nearly 60 years later, Roger Duff put forward a model of culture change, heavily reliant on adze form, that firmly rooted the origins of Māori culture in East Polynesia. His typology is still widely used across the Pacific today.

Haast (1822–1887) in many respects can be considered the ‘father’ of New Zealand archaeology (Walter 2004:126). This is not for the durability of his theories on the prehistory of New Zealand but rather because of his rigorous application of theory and the high standard of his fieldwork and recording. Indeed, as Walter notes:

although his interpretations of New Zealand prehistory were mostly wrong, we recognise in von Haast’s work a level of methodological systematics, chain of reasoning, and connection with theory that we value in the best archaeology of our own times everywhere. (Walter 2004:126)

Haast stood at the centre of the debate around moa extinction in the second half of the nineteenth century and drew on geology, archaeology and traditional history to validate his hypotheses (Anderson 1989).

Haast was a scholar with a broad interest in the natural sciences. Following his appointment as Canterbury provincial geologist in 1861 and then director of the Canterbury Museum in 1868, he was soon caught up in the intellectual challenge of trying to figure out the role that humans may have played in the extinction of moa and the timing of this extinction. Over a period of 11 years he carried out investigations at several sites in Canterbury – including Rakaia River Mouth (1869), the Redcliffs sand hills (1865–73), Moa Bone Point Cave (1872) and Weka Pass Rock Shelter (1877) – and Otago, namely Shag River Mouth (1872 and 1874) and Otokia River Mouth, Brighton (1880). He also reported on artefacts found at Bruce Bay, Westland, in 1868. Haast's Moa Bone Point Cave investigations were the first stratigraphic archaeological investigation undertaken in Polynesia.

A uniformitarian geologist, Haast's ideas were clearly influenced by Scottish geologist Charles Lyell, French archaeologist Jacques Boucher de Perthes and probably English polymath John Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times* (1865; Walter 2004:126). Using the newly conceived European framework of the emergence of the Neolithic from an earlier Palaeolithic period, Haast applied this directly to a New Zealand setting. In his model, moa were directly analogous to the long-extinct megafauna of Palaeolithic Europe (Haast 1871:75) and the association of moa bones with flaked stone tools 'which in every respect resemble those of the mammoth and rhinoceros beds in Europe' (Haast 1871:85) supported his contention that moa were hunted by a Palaeolithic people in the distant past. Haast's Palaeolithic moa-hunters were responsible for the extinction of the giant bird and they were succeeded by a Neolithic Māori who lived mainly on fish and shellfish and who produced sophisticated polished stone tools.

As early as 1862, Haast had proposed that New Zealand was occupied by a pre-Māori people, based on the discovery of stone artefacts found in swamps and beneath large trees in the Wellington region that appeared to be quite distinct from Māori material culture (von Haast 1948:228). The discovery in Bruce Bay, Westland, in 1868 of a polished stone adze and sandstone sharpening tool beneath a primeval forest confirmed for him

that the people inhabiting or visiting this island at that remote period were much more advanced in civilization than the Moa-hunters, whose tools consisted only of chipped pieces of sandstone, flint, and similar silicious rocks without any attempt at polish. (Haast 1870:119)

The apparent antiquity of these artefacts cast his moa-hunters significantly back in time.

The long time depth allowed Haast to propose that the North and South Islands had been joined by a land bridge. This hypothesis served to explain the presence of North Island obsidian in South Island sites as a ‘people in such a low state of civilisation’ could not possibly have been capable of canoe travel between the islands (Haast 1871:84). Furthermore, the presence of land connecting New Zealand with continental parts of the Pacific allowed for these moa-hunting people to be autochthones who had become stranded from an undefined Pacific homeland following a change in sea level (Haast 1871:84). These interpretations of New Zealand prehistory are among those described by Walter as ‘mostly wrong’. A brief summary of current understandings of New Zealand prehistory, including the process of human settlement of New Zealand and the approximate date of the extinction of moa, is provided at the end of this chapter.

Haast’s investigations in the dunes at Redcliffs (near Moa Bone Point Cave) beginning in 1865 identified extensive areas of ovens associated with moa bone and eggshell, which were covered by a layer of culturally sterile sand on top of which were large shell middens (Haast 1874:75–78). Any admixture of these two layers was attributed to erosion. The Rakaia River Mouth site that Haast visited in 1869 provided him with what he considered to be conclusive evidence for these two separate groups. At the site he observed ovens and middens of moa bone covering an area of about 10–20 ha associated with ‘primitive knives’ of sandstone and other stone flakes and tools (Haast 1871:83). A sample of these flaked tools were illustrated in his address to the Canterbury Philosophical Institute to support his argument that the moa-hunters were a Palaeolithic society (Haast 1871:Plate VII) (Figure 9.1). Caches of polished stone tools including adzes and other scattered artefacts were attributed to a later Māori population who occupied the site over a considerable period of time. He described a similar distinction between moa-containing middens and shellfish deposits at the Shag River Mouth in 1862 and 1874 – a distinction fiercely challenged by Frederick Hutton of the Otago Museum (Hutton 1876).



Figure 9.1. Flaked stone tools from the Rakaia River Mouth site.

These artefacts were illustrated by Haast in his 1871 paper to demonstrate the level of stone working technology used by the moa-hunters.

Source: Canterbury Museum (E70.57a, E70.57b, E138.316, E138.316.4).

An often overlooked aspect of Haast's work at the Rakaia River Mouth (and later at Shag River Mouth and Moa Bone Point Cave) is the detailed information that he provided about the fauna at the site, both in terms of species present but also taphonomic factors such as butchery evidence and animal gnaw marks (Allen and Nagaoka 2004:195–197). There has been a tendency to focus on the moa, which were at the heart of the debate, but Haast also identified other bird species, sea mammals and shellfish in the sites that he investigated.

Haast's assertion that the extinction of the moa had occurred deep in the past was at odds with other prominent scientists of the time, such as James Hector (1872), Walter Mantell (1869, 1873) and F.W. Hutton (1876), who all believed that the moa were only recently extinct and had been hunted by Māori. Haast used the scarcity of references to moa and moa-hunting in Māori tradition to support his geological and archaeological inferences.

The Moa Bone Point Cave investigations in 1872 were intended to resolve the question over the antiquity of the moa-hunters and whether they possessed polished stone artefacts. Haast employed two workmen to carry out the actual excavation, due to his commitments as director of the Canterbury Museum, and under his direction they excavated two trenches within the cave. Two distinct layers were identified; an upper layer that contained a range of timber, fibre and stone artefacts that were clearly Māori in origin, separated from a lower layer of moa bone, flaked stone tools and a polished adze. The association of this polished adze with the moa bone and other tools forced Haast to concede that the moa-hunters did in fact produce polished stone tools and that his attempts to force the European model of Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods into the New Zealand context were not going to work. He continued to argue for a significant time gap between the extinction of the moa and the arrival of Māori but this was now in thousands of years rather than hundreds of thousands (Green 1972:18).

Haast was also one of the first Europeans to take a particular interest in rock art. In 1876 he employed Thomas Cousins to record the drawings in the Weka Pass rock-shelter in North Canterbury. He also engaged museum employee William Sparks to undertake an archaeological investigation of the shelter. These investigations identified three cultural layers, the lowest containing moa bone and the upper evidence of European use of the shelter. Disappointed by the small quantity of material culture found

during these investigations, Haast concluded that the shelter had only ever been occupied on a temporary basis (1877:53). Of most importance, however, was the art itself, which to Haast proved ‘beyond a doubt, that New Zealand many centuries ago, has been visited by a people having different manners, customs and religious conceptions than the Maoris possess’ (Haast 1879:427).

Haast continued to hold tenaciously to his views, his concession over the Palaeolithic moa-hunters notwithstanding, despite vehement opposition, but by the end of the nineteenth century an increasing number of sites were being discovered that challenged Haast’s model (Anderson 1989:106).

It will thus be seen, that my former views, published in 1871, when these important ethnological questions were first critically examined by me from a geological point of view, have with one exception been fully confirmed by further more extended researches. This exception is the occurrence in Moa-hunter kitchen middens of polished stone implements, together with chipped ones, a fact proved beyond a doubt, during my excavations in the Moa-bone Point Cave. However, this does not lessen in any way the proofs of their age, because as previously pointed out, well finished polished stone implements have been found at the West Coast, in beds, the great age of which cannot be doubted. (Haast 1879:431)

Just over 50 years after Haast’s death, another Canterbury Museum figure made a significant contribution to the development of ideas about New Zealand and Pacific archaeology. Roger Duff (1912–1978) was appointed ethnologist at the museum in 1938. He went on to become director in 1948 and, like Haast, held this role until his death. Duff’s mentor was H.D. Skinner at the Otago Museum (see also White, **Chapter 23**, this volume) and many of his ideas built on Skinner’s earlier work.

The discovery of the Wairau Bar site in 1939 proved a critical moment in Duff’s career. Using the rich artefact assemblage from the site, Duff revived Haast’s moa-hunters but demonstrated that they represented an earlier phase of Māori culture that had its origins in East Polynesia. His moa-hunter period of Māori culture was characterised particularly by tanged adzes (Figure 9.2), stone reels and imitation whale-tooth pendants, all of which had also been found at the margins of East Polynesia. At the other end of the spectrum, the material culture of Māori was defined by that observed by Cook and other European observers in the late eighteenth century (Duff 1956:13).



Figure 9.2. The Duff Type 1A 'horned' adze with its quadrangular cross-section and marked tang is the most distinctive of the early archaic East Polynesian adze suite.

The discovery of this particular example from the west coast of the South Island allowed Duff to extend the distribution of this adze type beyond Marlborough, Canterbury and Otago.

Source: Canterbury Museum (E143.145).

Duff's theoretical framework was essentially an age-area hypothesis whereby it is assumed that the oldest artefact forms have the widest geographic distribution and the younger ones have a more restricted range (Duff 1959:127). A further assumption is that change occurs at a faster pace in the central areas than at the margins. The moa-hunter culture was effectively a South Island occurrence with its expression lasting longest in Southland. Cultural change and innovation occurred in the North Island but it was the arrival of the so-called Great Fleet (drawn from traditional histories and following Buck's ethnologically based developmental stages, see also Furey, **Chapter 31**, this volume), which brought kūmara and taro to New Zealand, that really triggered significant change. These new cultural traits were introduced to the South Island from the north, eventually reaching the far south not long before European arrival in the late eighteenth century. The model relied on a great degree of conservatism in artefact styles and the people represented by the moa-hunter phase were

that portion of the first eastern Polynesian migrants to New Zealand whose culture remained largely static and did not obviously respond to the new environments [...] their conservatism suggests that they represent a single homogenous wave, whereas the marginal distribution of their culture within New Zealand suggests that they were its first human settlers. (Duff 1956:16)

There are tensions within Duff's model. On the one hand, he argued that the introduction of horticultural crops initiated a major period of cultural and economic change, but on the other that Māori culture developed locally out of the moa-hunter culture (Allen 1987:11). Furthermore, Duff's use of traditional data such as Stephenson Percy Smith's canoe chronology (see also Nolden, **Chapter 11**, this volume) confused matters since these traditional accounts argued for cultural replacement with the arrival of the Fleet, whereas in Duff's model these arrivals simply sped up changes that were already slowly underway (Allen 1987:11).

Duff's model for New Zealand prehistory was soon challenged by overseas-trained archaeologists who began to fill the university departments during the 1950s and who brought with them new methodological and theoretical approaches (Davidson 2000). Scholars like Jack Golson (see also Furey, **Chapter 31**, this volume) critiqued Duff's use of traditional and ethnological information on the grounds that they had no place in an archaeological model and that the term moa-hunter was inappropriate to describe assemblages that had no direct association with moa (e.g. Golson 1959). Duff did not significantly revise his model in the face of these criticisms. He was prepared to adopt a series of phases by way of compromise, but with little conviction (Anderson 1989:109).



Figure 9.3. Duff Type 1A from Bora Bora, collected by Reverend J. Arundel in 1838.

Source: Canterbury Museum (E149.10).

Duff amassed an enormous wealth of data on adzes from museum collections all over the world to support his distributional studies, which he expanded into the Pacific. He proposed that ancestral Polynesians originated in Island Southeast Asia, possibly the Philippines, and travelled through Micronesia to central East Polynesia (1959:126). From here they then radiated out to the rest of Polynesia. The Society Islands sat at the heart of the East Polynesian model but for many years he had no definitive evidence to support this contention. In 1948 he found his 'smoking gun' in the museum

of the Whitby Literary Society, which had a quadrangular tanged adze with lugs strikingly similar in form to those found in the moa-hunter sites of the South Island of New Zealand (Figure 9.3). This adze had strong provenance, having been acquired in Bora Bora by the Reverend J. Arundel, secretary to the London Missionary Society, in 1838 (Duff 1960:280).

Perhaps Duff's most enduring legacy to New Zealand and Pacific archaeology is his adze typology. Although the typology was intended to support his distributional ideas described above, its ongoing use demonstrates its usefulness in classifying the suite of adze types across the Pacific. This typology was built on that of Skinner, who had already developed a Pacific-wide classification largely based on cross-section and outline, with additional characteristics such as presence or absence of a tang, the nature of the bevel and the relative length of the cutting edge also considered (Skinner 1923:89). Duff's first published typology was based on the analysis of a cache of adzes from Motukarara near Lake Ellesmere, Canterbury. In it he reduced the number of Skinner's types from 10 to four based on three criteria: cross-section, tang and the width of the cutting edge (Duff 1940: 294). By the time *The Moa-hunter Period of Māori Culture* (1950) was published, Duff had refined his typology to include five types, with the intention that this typology could be applied across all Polynesian adzes. The illustration of several examples of types from outside of New Zealand in his 1950 publication reinforces this intention. A sixth type (adzes of circular cross-section) was added to the 1956 edition. He subsequently went on to publish descriptions of adzes from both East Polynesia (1959) and Southeast Asia (1970). Although alternative typologies based on functional and other attributes have subsequently been proposed (e.g. Cleghorn 1984; Shipton et al. 2016), Duff's typology has largely remained the Pacific standard.

Duff's contribution to Pacific archaeology was not limited to his adze studies. He initiated the first major archaeological work in the Cook Islands with a Canterbury Museum project on Rarotonga in 1962–64, comprising an extensive archaeological survey and selected investigations of key sites (Trotter 1974). He was particularly active in the field in New Zealand, leading work on a number of sites, including a re-examination of Moa Bone Point Cave in order to resolve some of the stratigraphic issues raised in Haast's work, as well as excavations of several key later Māori sites on the Kaikōura coast, including Pariwhakatau and Takahanga Pā.

He was active in the recording of threatened central South Island rock art sites and was proactive in advocating for improved archaeological site and portable artefact protection in New Zealand.

In the nearly 150 years since Haast undertook the first rigorous archaeological investigations in New Zealand, our understanding about the relationship between humans and moa has advanced significantly. We can now assert with much certainty that the process of extinction was rapid and that it only occurred several hundred years ago rather than several thousand. We know with certainty that the first people to interact with moa were Polynesians who arrived by sea as part of a planned colonisation event. However, like Duff, we continue to seek explanations for the drivers of cultural change that saw the emergence of Māori culture from this East Polynesian ancestry.

It did not prove possible to mount an exhibition of objects highlighted in this chapter at the Canterbury Museum.

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10

The Pacific archaeology and ethnography of Hjalmar Stolpe and the *Vanadis* Expedition, 1883–85

Aoife O'Brien

Cultural safety advice: Readers are advised that this chapter includes images of human remains.

Introduction

(Knut) Hjalmar Stolpe (1841–1905) has often been referred to as the founder of Swedish ethnography (Culin 1906:155; Larsson 2013:305). However, his contribution to ethnography, anthropology and archaeology in a Pacific context is not as widely known as perhaps it should be. Focusing on Stolpe's role as ethnographer during the *Vanadis* expedition, specifically the Pacific portion of this voyage between May and August 1884, this chapter considers how the combination of these disciplines shaped Stolpe's work and the types of objects he acquired.

The *Vanadis* expedition was a Swedish–Norwegian government-funded scientific and trade mission that circumnavigated the globe between 1883 and 1885. The voyage was to promote Swedish–Norwegian commerce by developing global economic trade connections with the countries the expedition visited, which would in turn strengthen diplomatic and

commercial ties. Furthermore, the journey was used as an educational and training exercise for the Swedish navy that crewed the ship. A final remit was that the expedition be used as an opportunity to make scientific observations and collections for the Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien/The Royal Academy of Sciences. For this purpose, Stolpe, then an employee of the Naturhistoriska Riksmuseet/National Museum of Natural History, was hired as ethnographer while Oscar Birger Ekholm (1861–90) was employed as professional photographer.

Apparently, Stolpe did not keep journals during the *Vanadis* journey. However, included in the Hjalmar Stolpe archive held at Etnografiska Museet/The Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, is a series of *dagböcker*/notebooks written by him during the expedition (Museum of Ethnography, Professor Hjalmar Stolpes efterlämnade handlingar 1883–1885, Ö1: 10, Dagböcker).¹ One notebook, Volume 3, documents Stolpe's time in Nuku Hiva, Fakarava and Tahiti, while Volume 4 refers to Hawai'i and Jaluit. This chapter uses these notebooks as a primary source of information, offering as they do personal insights into the themes that Stolpe was interested in at the time, such as tattoo patterns, the way in which he worked and how he acquired objects. At each place the ship stopped, Stolpe quickly recorded different types of information in the notebooks – places visited, lists of objects purchased and from whom, local words and their translations, sketches of objects, sketches and information of tattoo patterns and ornamentation, and the names, gender, age and height of people photographed. Although by no means complete or detailed, it is plausible that Stolpe later referred to information and observations made in the notebooks when drafting publications.

Archaeology and object collecting

The Royal Academy's primary instruction to Stolpe was to undertake ethnographic and anthropological research and to collect ethnographic objects for the creation of a new Ethnography Museum in Stockholm.² As

1 In total there are nine notebooks from Stolpe's *Vanadis* voyage: Volumes 1 and 3–9, as well as an unnumbered/untitled notebook. Volume 2, which should refer to time spent in South America, is currently unaccounted for.

2 Stolpe received 10,000 Swedish kronor from Pontus Fürstenberg, a Gothenburg-based art dealer and merchant, £100 from the Royal Geographical Society and several stipends from The Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography to purchase objects and put towards photography costs during the expedition (Ljungström 2004:81–83). However, while in the Pacific he ran short of cash and was aided by King Oscar II who donated 6,000 Swedish kronor to assist (Erikson 2015:310).

part of his work, Stolpe was required to take anthropometric measurements from Indigenous peoples, to collect skulls and, where possible, entire skeletons for scientific analysis (Erikson 2015:265). Bo G. Erikson has pointed out that the main reason ethnography and physical anthropology were given priority over archaeology was that two of the three professors responsible for drafting Stolpe's instructions were Gustaf von Düben and Gustaf Retzius, two of the leading physical anthropologists of the day in Sweden (Bo G. Erikson pers. comm. 2018; Erikson 2015:225).

With these mandates, opportunities for archaeological work were rather limited. A qualifier in Stolpe's instructions stated that, if possible, he was to undertake archaeological excavation, with Peru and Japan being singled out by the Royal Academy as potential sites. However, this proved difficult to achieve as the amount of time spent in most locations did not allow for archaeological excavations to take place, nor indeed did it allow Stolpe adequate time to engage in research and collecting. The shortness of time spent ashore caused considerable friction between Stolpe and Otto Lagerberg, the captain of the *Vanadis*. Lagerberg apparently viewed ethnographic collecting to be of secondary importance to *Vanadis*' economic, diplomatic and naval education mission (Erikson 2015:265–266).

Their journey through the Pacific lasted from May to August 1884. Stopping first at Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas Islands (8–12 May), the ship travelled on to Fakarava Atoll in the Tuamotu Islands (15–17 May), Tahiti in the Society Islands (19 May – 2 June), O'ahu in the Hawaiian Islands (20 June – 10 July) and Jaluit Atoll in the Marshall Islands (26 July – 2 August). As the stays on the islands were generally very short, apart from Tahiti and O'ahu where they stopped for several weeks, Stolpe was largely reliant upon local guides and resident Westerners for objects. Several of the resident traders he purchased from had previously supplied objects to museums in Europe. Of the over 7,500 objects from the *Vanadis* expedition that entered the Museum of Ethnography collection, around 1,000 were collected in the Pacific.³ The collection is a mix of object types and materials, with a strong emphasis on creating a representative catalogue of the material culture that defined the lives of the people Stolpe collected from. This included examples of tools and utensils, weapons, ornaments and dress. Archaeological objects were acquired where possible, but ethnographic objects dominate.

3 Evidence suggests that Stolpe collected around 10,000 objects during the voyage but that not all entered the museum (Erikson 2015:347, 382). It is likely he made a private ethnographic collection outside of his official collecting.

During his time in the Pacific, Stolpe was developing his theories on ornamentation and the evolution of art styles among Indigenous races, which he would publish several years after the voyage (Stolpe 1890, 1896, 1927; Steinberg and Prost 2007:111). In this work, he was building upon the comparative object and ornament research he had initiated during his 1880–81 tour through Europe, during which he undertook extensive research on ethnographic collections held in museum collections. At many museums, Stolpe made drawings or rubbings of decorative patterns or specific object styles, which helped him formulate and develop his ideas.⁴

If we examine the archaeology or stone-related objects Stolpe purchased or acquired during the *Vanadis* expedition, we can see a similar concern with acquiring sets of the same ‘types’ of object in each location. Utilitarian objects such as stone adze heads, pounders and mortars were acquired in each location visited in the Pacific, presumably for comparative purposes. An estimated 28 pounders, 33 adze heads and four mortars were acquired by Stolpe and other crew members in the Marquesas Islands, Hawai‘i and Tahiti. Stolpe appeared interested in collecting objects in various states of finish and of differing quality. Adze heads range from those that feature finely worked and polished surfaces and bear little evidence of use to others that are coarser and show signs of significant use (Figure 10.1).



Figure 10.1. A large stone adze head (unhafted) with a roughly worked surface, collected in the Hawaiian Islands.

There is considerable damage to the blade edge.

Source: National Museums of World Culture – Museum of Ethnography, Sweden (Adze head, Inventory No. 1887.08.1723); collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1599403. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) licence.

⁴ Rubbings and drawings from his 1880–81 tour are now part of the Stolpe archive at the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm.

Stolpe acquired a range of pounders – important objects used in the preparation of food. The variances and similarities in the shape of the pounders, as well as the different types of stone used to create them, seemed to interest him. While most pounders were made from basalt, one said to have come from Mangaia in the Cook Islands, which Stolpe purchased in Tahiti, was carved from a distinct yellow-coloured stone (Museum of Ethnography, Object ID 1887.08.1587). Another pounder, also purchased in Tahiti, was fashioned from coral, indicating a flexibility in the choices Indigenous craftspeople had when it came to creating such objects (Museum of Ethnography, Object ID 1887.08.1463) (Figure 10.2). A fine-grained basalt pounder (*popoi*) Stolpe purchased in Nuku Hiva in the Marquesas Islands features a carved tiki head in Janus form (Museum of Ethnography, Object ID 1887.08.1314) (Figure 10.3). The finely carved features of each face and the decorative motifs depicted between them would surely have appealed to Stolpe's interest in ornamentation and tattoo patterns.



Figure 10.2. A pounder (*penu*) carved from coral, collected at Paea, Tahiti.

Source: National Museums of World Culture – Museum of Ethnography, Sweden (Pounder, Inventory No. 1887.08.1463): collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1599222. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) licence.



Figure 10.3. A finely carved tiki-headed pounder (*popoi*) in Janus form, collected in the Marquesas Islands.

The stone is very fine grained with minor damage to the surface.

Source: National Museums of World Culture – Museum of Ethnography, Sweden (Pounder, Inventory No. 1887.08.1314): collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1204514. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) licence.

By the time of the *Vanadis* expedition, many of the islands visited had been under colonial rule for many years and the Indigenous inhabitants Christianised. In Tahiti, objects associated with former beliefs were, in some cases, discarded or commodified and Stolpe was able to purchase five stone *ti'i*, god images, at Paea (for example, Museum of Ethnography, Object ID 1887.08.1479) (Figure 10.4). Stolpe recorded some object purchases in his notebooks, occasionally including sketches of the object and the amount paid, but he did not always identify the person(s) from whom he acquired them. As such, it is possible that he paid Indigenous guides for objects acquired or taken from shrines he visited.



Figure 10.4. Tahitian god image (*ti'i*) purchased by Stolpe between May and June 1884.

Source: National Museums of World Culture – Museum of Ethnography, Sweden (God image, Inventory No. 1887.08.1479): collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1599238. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) licence.

As he was interested in understanding the evolution of ornament through comparative typology, by collecting the same types of object in different geographic locations within the Pacific, Stolpe could potentially chart similarities or differences across the region. In doing so, he could potentially understand how seemingly isolated communities developed object form and decoration within their material culture, or how ideas spread from one community to another.

Archaeological survey and human remains

As noted above, Stolpe did not have time to engage in archaeological excavations during his often-fleeting visits to these islands. However, in the notebooks Stolpe referenced a few occasions when he and Ekholm had opportunities to venture inland, to visit archaeological and burial sites, to survey and to photograph. Photography was an important

aspect of the documentation and information collecting Stolpe engaged in. It was used to document people, objects, canoes, villages, scenes of daily life, landscapes and sacred sites or shrines, with Stolpe frequently recording information of photos taken in his notebooks. As expedition photographer, Ekholm appears to have been somewhat under Stolpe's direction in terms of the subjects selected for photography. During the voyage, he took an estimated 700 photographs, roughly 200 of which were taken in the Pacific. Glass plates and prints of these images form part of the *Vanadis* collection held at the Museum of Ethnography.

Alongside ethnography collecting and photography, Stolpe was active in collecting other items. In his notebook, Stolpe recorded paying someone identified as a 'Kanak' on Nuku Hiva \$14 for five crania and a child's coffin (Museum of Ethnography, Object IDs 1887.08.1291–1296). The notebook does not clarify if these were remains Stolpe found during his excursion inland and the payment offered by way of compensation to the guides/locals, or if the remains were offered to him by a local. As Stolpe had instructions to collect human remains during the expedition, excursions inland and to archaeological sites such as graveyards became opportunities to locate burials and remove bones, particularly skulls. At Paea, Tahiti, in May 1884 Stolpe surveyed a burial cave together with a Tahiti guide, identified in Stolpe's notebook as Kanakea. Ekholm took two photographs of the cave entrance, one showing a human skull in situ and a second featuring Kanakea and Stolpe inside the cave with Stolpe holding the skull (Museum of Ethnography, Photograph ID 2-163 and 0237.0009) (Figure 10.5).⁵ He entered the cave to examine the burial and noted the dimensions of the cave, including the width and height of the main and side chambers, an outline of which he sketched in his notebook. Although given Museum of Ethnography accession numbers, the Nuku Hiva ancestral remains did not physically enter the museum collections. They ultimately became part of the Karolinska Institutet collections and were repatriated in 2015. Similarly, no human remains from Tahiti entered the Museum of Ethnography's collection, but Bo G. Erikson suggests that Stolpe did indeed remove this skull (Bo G. Erikson pers. comm. 2018).

5 We were initially concerned about potential community sensitivities regarding depictions of human remains in this photograph and are grateful to the Department of Culture and Heritage (Direction de la Culture et de Patrimoine, DCP) in Tahiti for recommending that the best way to balance historical objectivity and potential community concerns would be to publish this photograph in its entirety, without obscuring the human remains, and to include cultural safety advice at the beginning of the chapter (Anatauarii Leal-Tamarii pers. comm. 2021).



Figure 10.5. Hjalmar Stolpe alongside Kanakea, a local guide, photographed removing a skull from a burial cave at Paea, Tahiti.

Source: Photo by Oscar Ekholm, 1884. National Museums of World Culture Museum of Ethnography, Sweden (Image No. 0237.0009, PD): collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/1461519.

While on O‘ahu, Stolpe surveyed several burial caves in the Nu‘uanu Valley which he documented and sketched in his notebook (*Dagböcker/Notebook Volume 4*). The first cave was located at a height of 650 ft and contained the remains of several individuals including a coffin that had been painted red. Grave offerings, including a tobacco pipe and some glass beads, were present. In a second cave lower down, at about 100 ft, Stolpe observed a more recent burial, with the body still in a state of decomposition but clothed. Kukui nuts had been placed close to the body. While he entered the cave and documented the remains and grave goods, Stolpe appears to have left both sites intact. However, during a visit to Waimanalo a few days later, he found what he described as a common graveyard located in relatively sandy soil (*Dagböcker/Notebook Volume 4*; Erikson 2015:299). From this site he removed several skeletons and crania that were sent to Sweden and entered the collections of the Karolinska Institutet in Stockholm, the former Department of Anatomy at Uppsala University, and the Historiska museet in Stockholm. These remains were repatriated to Hawai‘i in 2009 (Erikson 2015:299–300).

Stolpe had expressed dissatisfaction with the anthropometric data he was required to collect by the Royal Academy and quickly ceased that aspect of his work, believing that the time required to prepare casts and busts took too much time away from ethnographic collecting (Erikson 2015:288). However, he still actively acquired, indeed sought out, human remains for collection and scientific analysis. The scientific data believed to be attainable from such remains perhaps outweighed any moral compulsions Stolpe may have felt in engaging in acts that were tantamount to grave robbing.

Conclusion

Stolpe was clearly a gifted ethnographer and was genuinely interested in accurately recording information on the Indigenous peoples he encountered, yet his attitude towards the collection of human remains is problematic and difficult to reconcile. As an archaeologist and ethnographer, Stolpe's collecting instructions from the Royal Academy clearly stated that human remains were to be acquired, and these were instructions he adhered to. While his instructions regarding acquiring anthropometric data were quickly sidelined to allow him to concentrate on ethnographic collecting, the same could not be said when it came to collecting human remains.

The realities of the *Vanadis* voyage and the limited opportunities presented to engage in in-depth ethnographic research on the peoples he encountered and their material culture did frustrate Stolpe. However, he made the most of the time he had in each location, furiously scribbling in his notebooks, recording objects purchased and their Indigenous names, sketching sites visited and the layout of graves, illustrating tattoo motifs and recording the names, age and gender of people photographed. Additionally, Ekholm's photographs of sites of archaeological and ethnographic interest were valuable visual documentation of the islands visited and the lives of Pacific Islanders. Stolpe's notebooks offer an overview and some insights into themes that occupied him during his time in the Pacific. The material culture he collected, particularly the multiple examples of object 'types', indicate the confluence of ethnographic, anthropological and archaeological thought that influenced and directed his collecting.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Elisabet Lind for her assistance translating Stolpe's almost illegible handwritten notes from his *dagböcker*/notebooks. It was no easy task. My thanks also to Bo G. Erikson and Håkan Wahlquist for their comments and assistance.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Etnografiska Museet/Museum of Ethnography, National Museums of World Culture, Stockholm from March 2020 to September 2021.

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11

Stephenson Percy Smith (1840–1922), founder of the Polynesian Society

Sascha Nolden

The collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, in Wellington include papers of Stephenson Percy Smith and of the Polynesian Society. Smith had a long and successful career as a surveyor and public servant in New Zealand, devoted himself to ethnological research, and founded the Polynesian Society in 1892. As Spriggs has observed, the Polynesian Society was the most prominent of the major institutions and societies with an interest in Pacific archaeology and anthropology formed in the 1880s and 1890s. Its flagship journal, the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (JPS), was ‘an important venue for publication of Maori traditions’, although many of these ‘were presented by Smith and others through a very distorted European lens’, with lasting consequences (Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, this volume). JPS also published contributions in the fields of antiquarianism, archaeology, history, philology, physical anthropology and social/cultural anthropology (then usually termed ‘ethnology’). This inclusion of a wide range of discipline areas reflects the continued currency of an holistic approach to the ‘science of man’ (see also Mann, **Chapter 3**, and Dotte-Sarout, **Chapter 4**, both this volume). This chapter comprises a biographical introduction to Stephenson Percy Smith and a description of the founding of the

Polynesian Society, as well as a description of the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition at the Alexander Turnbull Library and a brief overview of the Library's Smith and Polynesian Society collections.

The stated purpose of the Polynesian Society, co-founded in 1892 by Smith and surveyor Edward Robert Tregear (1846–1931), was

to promote the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, History and Antiquities of the Polynesian races, by the publication of an official journal [...] and by the collection of books, manuscripts, photographs, relics, and other illustrations. (Tregear and Smith 1892:3)

The term 'Polynesia' was 'intended to include Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Malaysia, as well as Polynesia proper' (Tregear and Smith 1892:3). As Richards et al. (2019) have shown, although the term 'Archaeology' did not appear in the JPS index until 1933, papers discussing Polynesian prehistory and/or what would now be considered archaeological techniques were published in JPS from the very beginning.

Smith, along with Tregear and Irish-born politician and amateur naturalist Joshua Rutland (1836–1915), was particularly interested in these topics (Richards et al. 2019:324–328; see also Godley 1922). Among his early publications in JPS was a paper on 'Stone Implements from the Chatham Islands' and a series of contributions in JPS's dedicated Notes and Queries section on various aspects of the migrations and origins of people in Polynesia, including the likelihood that subsurface archaeological evidence – in this case 'stone hatchets of the usual Polynesian type', 'dug up in the soil' on Sunday Island (the largest of the main Kermadec Islands, also known as Raoul Island) – bore witness to past visits to 'those solitary islands' by 'some numbers of the Polynesian race' (Smith 1892, 1893; see also Richards et al. 2019:324–328). Although the majority of scholarly attention and critique of Smith's work has been directed towards his writings on Māori and the settlement of New Zealand, Whimp (2014) argues convincingly that it was Smith's work on the island Pacific outside New Zealand – above all the existence, nature and location of Hawaiki, the 'reputed homeland and point of origin' of the Polynesians – that came to dominate his studies (Whimp 2014:119).

JPS has been described as 'one of the oldest continuously published ethnographic periodicals in the world' (Sorrenson 1992:7). Smith was largely responsible for the production of the first 30 volumes of the

journal, which may be seen to represent a significant part of his legacy. It is also important to note, as Spriggs (**Chapter 8**, this volume) has done, that the Polynesian Society encouraged Māori involvement and that JPS published many papers by Māori and other Pacific Islander scholars.

The life and career of Stephenson Percy Smith

Stephenson Percy Smith (1840–1922) has been the subject of numerous biographical dictionary entries and publications (Bagnall 1966; Byrnes 1993; Scholefield 1940). Another important source is a series of obituaries and other commemorative memorial pieces published in JPS in 1922 by Smith's fellow society members. These included Tregear, ethnographer Elsdon Best (1856–1931) and Otago museum curator Henry Devenish Skinner (1886–1978) (Best 1922; *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1922; Skinner 1922; Tregear 1922; on Skinner see also White, **Chapter 23**, this volume). Two further contributions – one authored by interpreter and genealogist Hare Hongi, also known as Henry Matthew Stowell (1859–1944), the other by anthropologist, doctor and politician Te Rangi Hiroa, also known as Peter Henry Buck (1877–1951) – were published in te reo Māori (the Māori language) with English translations (Hiroa 1922; Hongi 1922). Various obituaries in daily newspapers also add details. The contemporary writings from the time of Smith's passing collectively provide a timeline of his life and career, along with an insight into his personality and traits as witnessed by some of those who knew him best.

The fact that two obituary memorial tributes were composed in te reo Māori was very fitting. Smith was noted for his efforts

to acquire a knowledge of the Maori language, and his efforts to obtain a mastery over that language were so persistent that he came to be regarded as one of the most accomplished Maori scholars in the Dominion [i.e. New Zealand]. (*Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1922:67)¹

1 On 26 September 1907 the colony of New Zealand ceased to exist. New Zealand became a dominion within the British Empire. The shift from colony to dominion was a change of name only and did not result in New Zealand becoming any more or less independent from Britain than it had been before. Nevertheless, other parts of the Empire, including Australia and Canada, also became dominions at this time, wanting a distinct status that would not see them confused with lesser 'colonies' (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, New Zealand Government 2018).

In the English translation of his te reo words of farewell for Smith as the late president of the society, Hongi wrote, ‘Greetings unto thee as the supreme head of the institution which (more than any other) has embalmed and conserved the choicest remains preserved in the language of our forefathers’ (Hongi 1922:79). Hiroa also gave recognition to the important contribution Smith made to Māori scholarship, highlighting that ‘Though in his veins there was no drop of Maori blood, yet in thoughts and ideals, he was more Maori than the present generation of Maoris’ (Hiroa 1922:82). Finally, Skinner summed up some of the key qualities that formed the basis for the high esteem in which Smith was held, writing:

My memory of him embodies several elements – the impression of unusual strength of intellect, of complete mastery of the material in his own field, and of boundless kindness and lenience towards the unbalanced enthusiasms of youth. (Skinner 1922:84)

The newspaper and JPS obituaries provide pertinent details of Smith’s life. He was born in Beccles, Suffolk, on 11 June 1840, the son of John Stephenson Smith (1811–1874) and Hannah Stephenson Smith, née Hursthouse (1813–1891). The family arrived in New Plymouth, on the west coast of New Zealand’s North Island, on 7 February 1850 on the ship *Pekin*. On 4 February 1855 Smith joined the Survey Department in New Plymouth under Octavius Carrington (1816–1901) as a cadet and went on to be appointed assistant surveyor in 1857. His early adventures in the North Island saw him in the role of an explorer, capturing the scenery in a series of artistic impressions and writing a detailed account, which was later published (Smith 1953).

In his career as a surveyor Smith went on to be the district surveyor for Kaipara in 1859 and joined the Native Land Purchase Office in Auckland in October that year. In 1863 he married Mary Ann Crompton (1842–1911) and returned to Taranaki as district surveyor in March 1865. During 1866–67 he was stationed at Patea, and from January 1868 to February 1869 he surveyed the Chatham Islands. In February 1870 he transferred to the Inspector of Surveys Department in Auckland, before being appointed chief surveyor for Auckland provincial district on 25 January 1877, promoted to assistant surveyor-general in September 1882, and in January 1889 appointed surveyor-general and secretary of Crown lands (see:

illuminated address, Puke Ariki ARC2002-592). He thus became the head of the Lands and Survey Department, before retiring from the public service after 45 years on 31 October 1900 (*Evening Post* 1922:8).

During the final decade of his long career in the public service, Smith founded the Polynesian Society, as described in more detail below. He also made a visit to the Kermadec Islands on the government steamship *Stella* under Captain Fairchild, and took every opportunity to travel extensively in the Pacific, including four months as resident in Niue in 1901 (Smith 1903:2). Seen in combination with his scholarly interests, Smith's career as a surveyor was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it 'allowed him to pursue his intense interest in Māori culture and language [...] and to develop his genealogical, ethnological, and ethnographic skills' (Whimp 2014:40). Certainly his publications in JPS, outlined earlier in this chapter, often relied on observations made and artefacts collected in areas he had visited in the course of his professional duties, including the Chatham and Kermadec Islands. On the other hand, his surveying activities transformed 'vast areas of Māori land into colonial entities', thus effectively contributing to the dispossession of the very peoples whose culture and language so fascinated him (Whimp 2014:40; for a comparable example see Thomas 2011).

Lake Rotomahana and the district around nearby Mount Tarawera were of special interest to Smith, as he had first visited the area in 1858 and created one of the earliest surviving sketch maps of the lake (Alexander Turnbull Library [ATL] MS-2015). Soon after the volcanic eruption of 10 June 1886 he led two expeditions to the area, from 14 to 17 June and from 27 July to 12 August (Bagnall 1966:266). He also made a topographical survey (*Hawera & Normanby Star* 1922:5) resulting in an official government report titled 'Volcanic Eruption at Tarawera', complete with sketches and maps (Smith 1886).

Smith is noted for the diversity of his roles and positions held, including chair of the board of Land Purchase Commissioners and member of the Public Trust Office Board, the Government Life Insurance Board, and the Native Reserve Board. He was also a governor of the New Zealand Institute, a corresponding member of the Royal Geographical Society of Queensland, a member of the Historical Society of Honolulu, and was made a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1880 (*Auckland Star* 1922:8). On a more local level, he was governor of the New Plymouth

High School and a member of the Mokau River Board, New Plymouth Recreation Ground Board and Mount Egmont National Park Board (Scholefield 1940:313).

In 1920 Smith was awarded the Hector Medal by the New Zealand Institute, now the Royal Society of New Zealand (Puke Ariki A74.789). He died at his home in New Plymouth on 19 April 1922 at the age of 81 (Byrnes 1993:471).

Scholefield noted that ‘Smith was much more than a mere surveyor. He was interested in botany, conchology and geology, and had some scientific knowledge of all’ (Scholefield 1940:313). Bagnall assessed the basis for Smith’s success, writing: ‘His appointment as Surveyor-General on 29 January 1889 was the merited culmination of a career marked by energy, application, tact, and originality’ (Bagnall 1966:266). Tregear, who worked very closely with Smith during the founding years of the Polynesian Society, concluded that Smith’s ‘moral strength, purity of life and conduct, and his high ideals had their source in a religious belief too deep for words, but moulding every thought and action’ (Tregear 1922:74). And Elsdon Best wrote that Smith’s ‘outstanding and fundamental qualities’, ‘the qualities that made for eminence, the attributes that compelled admiration, respect, and downright affection in all who came into contact with him, were those of character and ability’ (Best 1922:75).

The founding of the Polynesian Society

The Polynesian Society was officially founded at its first meeting, held in Wellington on 8 January 1892 (Sorrenson 1992:7). The previous year Smith had been working to gauge support and interest, as well as drafting his proposed outline and scope for the aims of the society. In his diaries Smith made various entries regarding milestones in the preparation for the founding of the Polynesian Society. On 31 May 1891 he wrote: ‘At home all day. Preparing circular & lists re proposed “Polynesian Society”’. (ATL MS-1990). For 6 July 1891 he recorded his activity as: ‘At the Office. Commenced to send out circulars re “Polynesian Society”’. (ATL MS-1990). Early in the following year these preparations came to fruition when his entry for 8 January 1892 notes:

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At the Office. In the evening attended a meeting in the Museum Library to establish a 'Polynesian Society', which I had called, after sending out nearly 400 circulars to all over the world. (ATL MS-1991)

The list of names annotated with the heading 'List of Persons to whom original circular re forming Polynesian Society was sent' is held in the collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL MS-Papers-1187-125).

There is no doubt that Smith was the main driving force behind the establishment and founding of the society. Sorrenson accurately records that 'Smith was undoubtedly in command' and describes the three-decade period from the foundation in 1892 to the death of Smith in 1922 as the foundation years. The original principles of promoting 'the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology and Antiquities of the Polynesian races' continued as part of the core of the scope, with Polynesian as a term always interpreted broadly (The Polynesian Society 2019).

During the foundation years Smith was highly instrumental in personally managing and running many aspects of the society and its operations. With membership widely dispersed in New Zealand and beyond, the journal was the main means of communication and dissemination. Smith was editor of the journal and the author of many articles; he also served the society in various capacities, including secretary and president. The society was based around a core group in Wellington until the time when Smith retired to New Plymouth in 1901 and the society's operations were relocated with him. This included the printing of the journal, which was taken on by Thomas Avery & Sons. Following his death, the society's operations were once again moved to Wellington in 1925, and for some time the coeditor of the journal was Johannes Andersen, librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library. A decision regarding the location of the society's library was reached by postal ballot, resulting in the library being placed on indefinite deposit with the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1958 (The Polynesian Society 2019).

Exhibition

The *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition, presented in two display cases in the Katherine Mansfield Reading Room of the Alexander Turnbull Library, features a small selection of objects from two collections of the library: those of Stephenson Percy Smith and the Polynesian Society. The objects selected as exhibits, reproduced as Figures 11.1 to 11.5, all represent periods and aspects of Smith's life and work – a watercolour from his youth capturing an episode of adventure in the New Zealand landscape painted in 1859, a carte de visite portrait from c. 1876 when he was a surveyor and public servant, a printed circular of 1891 resulting in the founding of the Polynesian Society the following year, an illustrated testimonial marking his retirement dated 1901, and an oil portrait of 1917 when he had returned to New Plymouth. The selected exhibits showcase some of the wide range of formats in the collections that help to illustrate the life and work of Smith and the founding of the Polynesian Society.

The first exhibit is a portrait of Smith by Harry Egmont Fookes (1868–1947), painted in oil on canvas and mounted in a wooden frame (Figure 11.1). It is dated 1917, when both the artist and subject were living in New Plymouth. The portrait was possibly painted from life, but is more likely based on a photograph taken at Smith's residence, 'Matai-Moana', in which he is portrayed seated on a bench in the garden (*Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1922:74). Fookes was a telegraphist and amateur artist, the son of Albert Cracroft and Harriet Fookes, née Hirst. Educated at Nelson College, he passed his Civil Service Exams in October 1883, worked as a telegraphist in Wellington and was later appointed telegraph superintendent in New Plymouth. He married Eleanor Mary Rochfort (1872–1944) in 1898. Fookes died on 26 December 1947 in New Plymouth and he is buried in the city's Te Henui cemetery.

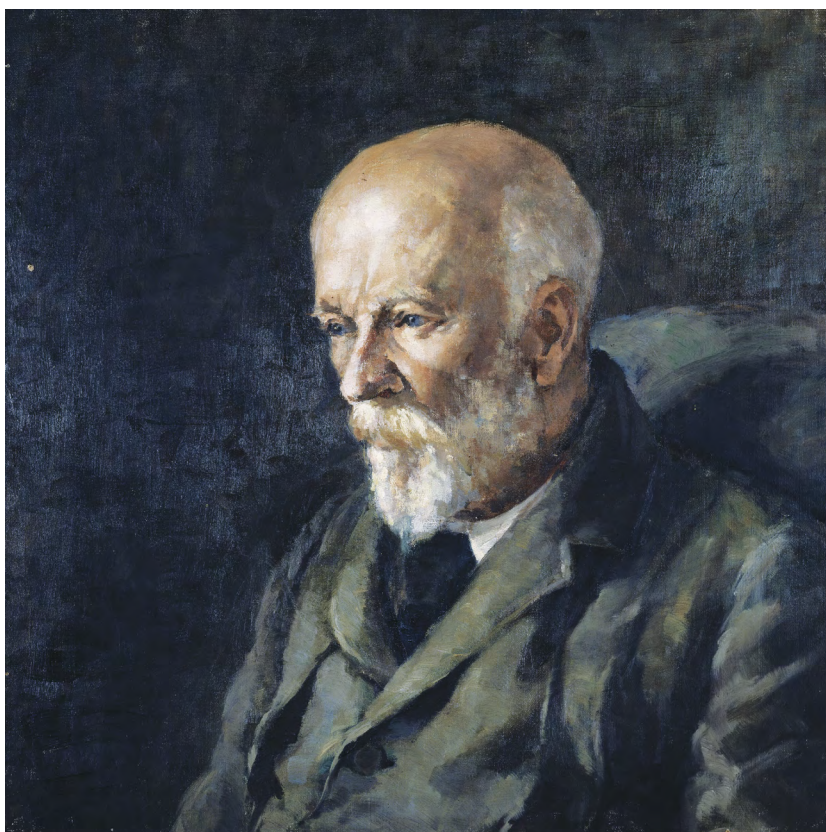


Figure 11.1. Harry Egmont Fookes (1868–1947): Portrait of Stephenson Percy Smith, founder of the Polynesian Society.

Oil on canvas, 500 x 502 mm, 1917.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL G-487).

The second exhibit is a carte de visite portrait of Smith by Hemus & Hanna photography studio in Queen Street, Auckland (Figure 11.2). The mount features studio imprints recto and verso and an inscription annotated verso. The albumen photograph on printed mount is undated, but is attributed to c. 1876 based on the reference in the inscription to 'Inspector Surveys for North Island', a position held by Smith from 1870 to January 1877, combined with the period of the studio operation at this Queen Street address from 1876 to 1882. John Robert Hanna (1850–1915) and Charles Hemus (1849–1925) first established their studio together in September 1875, and after their partnership was dissolved in 1885 both operated other photographic businesses in Auckland.

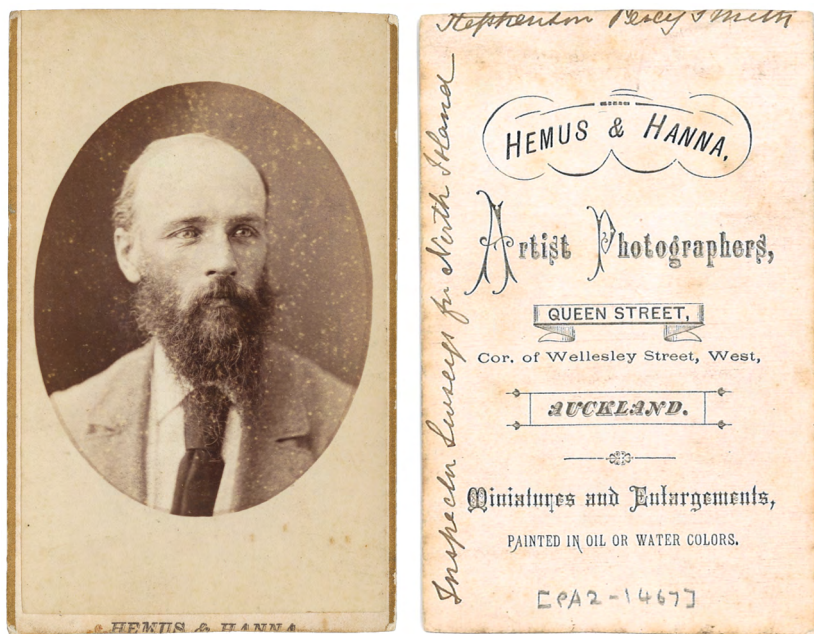


Figure 11.2. Hemus & Hanna: Stephenson Percy Smith (1840–1922) (left) and annotated reverse (right).

Carte de visite, 101 x 64 mm, c. 1876.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL PA2-1467).

The third exhibit, a watercolour painting by Smith dated January 1859 depicting men paddling in a canoe and standing on the edge of the river, captures an episode on the Mokau River on 7 January 1858 during his exploratory journey in the central North Island (Figure 11.3). Smith was a teenage survey department cadet at the time and recorded the new surroundings he encountered during adventures in the remote parts of New Zealand in the best tradition of naturalist explorers. This is one selected example from a group of watercolour sketches by Smith from this period held in the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL A-137-001 to A-137-006). A narrative account of this journey based on his diary was printed and published as a pamphlet by *Taranaki News* in 1858, and Smith created a grangerised, or extra-illustrated, annotated copy with sketches inserted (ATL MS-2014).



Figure 11.3. Stephenson Percy Smith (1840–1922): Scene on the Mokau River, 7 January 1858.

Watercolour on paper, 215 x 255 mm, January 1859.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL A-137-005).

The fourth exhibit is a circular prepared by Smith and sent out to some 400 individuals, outlining the scope and intentions of the proposed Polynesian Society. The circular is dated 19 June 1891, from 41 Tinakori Road in Wellington, and this copy from the papers of the Polynesian Society is annotated on the second page with a list of 10 names of members and their membership subscription. In another annotated column is a list of expenses, including cost of printing circular, envelopes and postage stamps. The circular is printed as a bifolium in fine letterpress on laid paper with ‘Spicer Brothers’ watermark (Figure 11.4).

The text of the circular records Smith's intentions to broadly model the proposed new society 'on the lines and with the objects of the celebrated Asiatic Society', founded in 1784. Smith defines the term 'Polynesian' in its broadest, most encompassing form, including Australia, and then goes on to outline the objectives in 16 points. The second page addresses readers who may have an interest in the society and does not hesitate to appeal on the basis of the urgency in preserving Indigenous and cultural knowledge, stating:

This generation should avoid, in the eyes of those who will come after them, the reproach of having neglected a plain and manifest duty, which must be done within a very few years or not at all.

The fifth and final exhibit is a testimonial presented to Smith to mark his retirement after a long and successful career in the New Zealand public service, culminating in the position of surveyor-general and secretary of Crown lands. It was prepared by the artist and draughtsman George Neville Sturtevant (1858–1937), head of the lithography department of the Government Printing Office in Wellington. The testimonial is painted in watercolour with detailing in gilt and ink, and text in calligraphy, headed: 'Stephenson Percy Smith Esq[ui]re F.R.G.S, Surveyor-General and Secretary for Crown Lands'. It concludes with a text in te reo Māori: 'Tena te haere na, Tenei te noho nei, Taukiri hoki e! Matou ka raru. Matou ka mihi nei. Haere, e koro e! Haere ki raro' (You depart, yet we remain, such woe! We are distressed. We salute you. Farewell Sir! Go north).

The testimonial features a list of names of the officers of the District Lands and Survey branches, as well as decorative scenes and landscapes to represent different events and stages of Smith's career in various parts of New Zealand. The design includes vignettes showing a Māori chief, the 'Landing Place of "Tainui" Kawhia H[arbou]r', 'Tarawera' showing the steaming Mount Tarawera in 1886, 'The true pioneer: – The Surveyor' depicting a surveyors' camp, and a settlement 'At the Kermadec I[sland]s'. In addition, there is a view of the Southern Alps, a scene in Taranaki, 'The first attack, Road-making', 'Victory! The smiling home' with a pastoral scene, a section of kauri forest, and a mining operation at the Grahamstown Goldfield near Thames with working mines, mine machinery and houses. The whole is surrounded and divided into sections by painted Māori carvings, interspersed with a theodolite (portable surveying instrument) and numerous plant species native to New Zealand, including kowhai, a tree-fern, native clematis, a nikau palm and flax (Figure 11.5).



Figure 11.5. George Neville Sturtevant (1858–1937): Testimonial presented to Stephenson Percy Smith, Surveyor-General and Secretary of Crown Lands.

Ink and watercolour on paper, 604 x 905 mm, 1901.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL D-007-002).

Overview of relevant archival collections

As already mentioned, the Alexander Turnbull Library holds archival collections relating to Stephenson Percy Smith and to the Polynesian Society. The collection of Smith's papers includes a series of his diaries along with some manuscripts, notebooks and sketches. The main run of 50 diaries for the period 1863–1912 (ATL MS-1961 to MS-2011) is preceded by the diary and materials relating to his journey into the interior of the North Island in 1858 (ATL MS-2012 to MS-2015). In addition, there are letterbooks from the period 1861–76 (ATL MS-2020 to MS-2022) and notebooks relating to the Chatham Islands (ATL MS-2014), Kermadec Islands (ATL MS-2025) and Niue (ATL MS-2026). There are also Smith's notebooks relating to post-eruption expeditions to the Mount Tarawera area in 1886 (ATL qMS-1836; and McLean family: Papers MSX-5136), and papers relating to the Crompton-Smith family (ATL 88-362). Other significant holdings of Smith archival materials are held in MS 281 at Auckland Museum (Auckland Museum Library MS 281) and at Puke Ariki in New Plymouth (e.g. ARC2002-300).

The papers of the Polynesian Society held at the Alexander Turnbull Library comprise records of the society including correspondence and minute books and an important collection of manuscripts. These are held under 'Polynesian Society: Records' (ATL MS-Group-0677) and 'Polynesian Society: Further Records' (ATL 80-115), while there is also a small group of 13 black and white photographs, 'Polynesian Society: Photographs' (ATL PAColl-7273), donated by the Polynesian Society in 1954. More recent records are held by the Polynesian Society at the University of Auckland. The JPS has been digitised and is available online (*Journal of the Polynesian Society* 2019). The journal and archival collections represent a valuable resource for research into a broad range of subjects as represented by the interests of Smith and the activities and scope of the Polynesian Society.

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Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display in the Katherine Mansfield Reading Room at the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, from 2 March to 1 August 2020.

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12

Alfred Haddon: A ‘palaeontologist’ in the Torres Strait

Anita Herle and Duncan Wright

By these various means I succeeded in reconstructing the ceremonies very much in the same manner as the palaeontologist reconstructs extinct animals from fragmentary remains. (Haddon 1893:141)

Introduction

Alfred Cort Haddon is widely acknowledged for his groundbreaking ethnological work in the Torres Strait and south-east New Guinea, and for his impact on the professionalisation of anthropology in the UK and beyond. A Cambridge-trained naturalist scientist, he first went to the Torres Strait in 1888 to study marine biology, but his attention soon shifted to the Islanders with whom he lived and worked. Sharing the concerns of elders that traditional knowledge and practices were rapidly disappearing as a result of missionisation, colonisation and the expanding marine industry, he returned 10 years later as the leader of the 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait. Haddon’s vision of anthropology was remarkably comprehensive. In addition to his broad scientific background, collectively the seven expedition members had expertise in ethnography, medicine, experimental psychology, linguistics

and music (Figure 12.1).¹ With the invaluable input of named Islanders, the expedition members generated an enormous range of information and materials, including field notes, diaries, drawings, artefacts, photographs, film, sound recordings, biological and zoological specimens and extensive publications, most notably the six volumes of the expedition's *Reports* (Haddon 1901–35; see also Herle and Rouse 1998). Within a developing 'science of man', this article outlines how Haddon's interests, methodologies and analyses were deeply informed by late nineteenth-century archaeology. Drawing on recent case studies, the second half of the article assesses the far-reaching impact of Haddon's research and detailed recording for community archaeology in the region today.

Haddon was not involved in archaeological excavations. Yet his focus on salvaging a precolonial Islander past from an assemblage of fragments, his interest in deep history and his underlying research questions closely overlapped with archaeological ideas and practices in the late nineteenth century. Focusing on the universal characteristics of humankind, and working within evolutionary and diffusionist paradigms, Haddon's central concern was understanding human variation and the distribution of populations over time, based on the comparative analysis of material culture, human physical characteristics and linguistics (Haddon 1904; Urry 1998). In addition to his extensive published works, Haddon's personal journals from his Torres Strait expeditions provide insights into his theoretical interests and reveal the broader social, political and intellectual context of his research (Herle and Philp 2020).

1 In addition to Haddon, the expedition members were: William Rivers, a medical doctor trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital and Cambridge lecturer in the physiology of the senses; Charles Seligman[n] and William MacDougall, both physicians at St Thomas's Hospital in London; Charles Myers, a physician and psychologist with expertise in hearing and music; Sidney Ray, a London schoolteacher and self-taught expert on Oceanic languages; and Haddon's former student and recent graduate Anthony Wilkin (Herle and Rouse 1998). According to Seligman[n]'s obituarist, his surname was originally spelt 'Seligmann', but he 'dropped the last letter of his surname after 1914', presumably in response to anti-German sentiment associated with World War I (Myers 1941:627).



Figure 12.1. Members of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait with their assistants shortly after their arrival on Mer.

Seated (left–right): Jimmy Rice and Debe Wali. First row: Alfred Haddon, Charlie Ontong, Anthony Wilkin. Second row: William Rivers and Sidney Ray. Back row: William McDougall, Charles Myers, Charles Seligmann. Mer, Torres Strait, May 1898.

Source: Photo courtesy of University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Haddon collection (MAA N.22900).

Haddon's training in natural sciences at the University of Cambridge encompassed zoology, embryology, physiology and comparative anatomy (Rouse 1998). During his first expedition, in addition to his work in marine biology and ethnology, he also recorded the geological features of the islands and reefs, outlining the long-term processes that led to the formation of volcanic islands and coral atolls. Haddon (1935:76) recognised that artefact geochemistry may provide important information about deep human history. On Kiwai island, for example, Haddon managed to obtain one of the large stone adze heads found in the region, speculating that they were used as articles of barter.²

As no stone occurs for many miles and none of this kind is known in the district, the implements have in all probability come down from the Fly River, and it is also probable that stone implements have been out of use for perhaps a century, owing to the natives getting iron from passing ships and wrecks and then bartering it to their neighbours, thus in two or three generations the knowledge of stone implements could readily die out. (Haddon 1898:221 in Herle and Philp 2020:287)

Haddon avidly collected and studied stone clubs and adze heads, comparatively exploring their production, morphology and distribution as a means of understanding distant and more recent history and the movement of people and things. When visiting the Port Moresby compound of customs officer David Ballantine in July 1898, Haddon was fascinated with his collection of over 90 stone clubs and seized the opportunity to produce a descriptive catalogue of all of the types, 'the first time that Papua stone clubs have been systematically described and their areas of distribution demarcated' (Haddon 1898:153 in Herle and Philp 2020:233). This work was readily published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (Haddon 1900).

Once again, Haddon (1935:76) recognised the importance of artefact geochemistry for understanding provenance. Wilkin was informed on Mabuig that club manufacture occurred on Dauan, Saibai and Mer. Haddon retorted that 'they [clubs] certainly were not made on Saibai nor by the Miriam [Meriam]; there may have been a factory on Dauan, but I consider this very doubtful' (Haddon 1935:76; see also Haddon 1912:190–193). A 'factory for making – or at least grinding – stone

² See, for example, the fine-grained Kiwai stone axe blade, 46 cm in length, collected by Haddon on Kiwai in September 1898 (MAA Z 9863).

implements' (Haddon 1935:76) was later 'discovered' on Yam Island by the Mamoose (chief) Maino, and revealed to Haddon during his short visit with his daughter Kathleen in 1914 (K. Haddon 1914) (Figures 12.2 and 12.3).

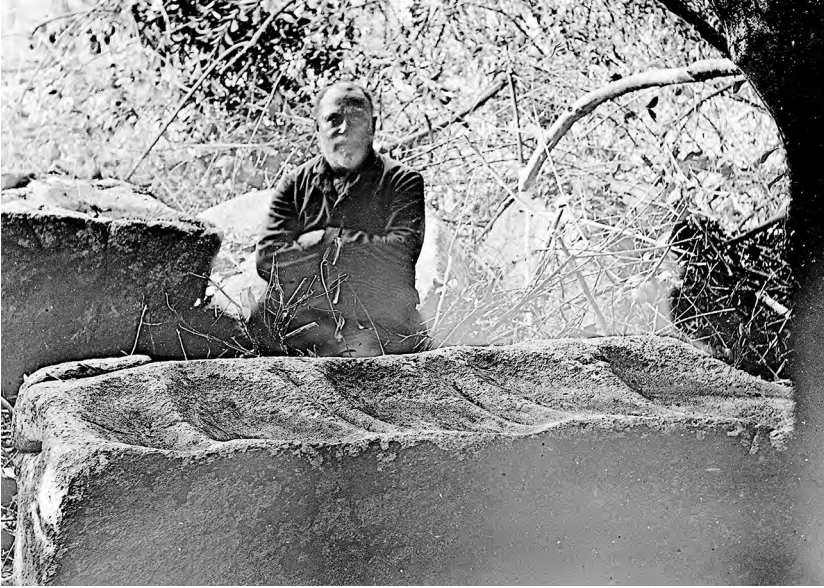


Figure 12.2. Maino, the Mamoose (chief) of Tudu and Yam, sitting behind the stone grinding slab.

Photo by Kathleen Haddon, Damu, Yam, Torres Strait, September 1914.

Source: Photo courtesy of MAA (MAA N.23060).

Despite Haddon's scepticism, a more recent archaeological survey corroborates the existence of a stone artefact quarry on Dauan (Vanderwal 1973:182). This site contained the 'pole end of a broken adze or axe rough-out' manufactured from a 'relatively coarse grained slatey grey to green igneous rock' consistent with the local geology. In addition, geological testing of Kiwai axes from the Queensland Museum and other private collections suggests that the fine-grained granite most likely originates from outcrops common in the Western and Central Islands of the Torres Strait (McNiven et al. 2004), a possibility that Haddon later acknowledged (1935:76). The evident movement of these artefacts across the Coral Sea corridor (and particularly between the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea) echoes Haddon's expectation that the history of this region was built around symbiotic trading relationships between Papuans and Torres Strait Islanders.



Figure 12.3. Gabagaba club with large biconvex stone head secured with fine binding on a bamboo handle.

These clubs were widely traded throughout the region. L 85 cm; head: D 15.5 cm. Collected by Haddon, Muralag, Torres Strait, 1888.

Source: Photo courtesy of MAA (MAA Z 9807).

Haddon was particularly fascinated by ‘survivals’, artefacts and practices that harked back to a distant and often presumed Neolithic past. In 1888, on Mer, Haddon collected a hoe blade made from a polished *Cymbium* shell, which he had mounted on a wooden handle ‘in old time fashion’,³ and he keenly sought comparative examples in New Guinea. Ten years later in Mowatta, Haddon recorded his excitement: ‘[h]ardly anything during this whole trip pleased me more than to secure some specimens of this very rude and primitive agricultural implement’ (Haddon 1898:225 in Herle and Philp 2020:290). He also noted with relish what he saw as similarities between past and present practices, describing ‘Neolithic man making a canoe at Kerepuna’ (Haddon 1898:116 in Herle and Philp 2020:206) and remarking on witnessing the ‘extremes of culture’ when he saw his Papuan friend Gewe, dressed in European clothes, ‘solemnly chipping a hole in a stone club with a piece of flint!’ (Haddon 1898:140 in Herle and Philp 2020:223). Seeing a man at Inawa ‘sitting on a platform of a house making wooden arrow points with a boar’s tusk’, he ‘bought the lot’ (Haddon 1898:175 in Herle and Philp 2020:246).

3 This hoe is now in the British Museum (Oc,89+.214).

Haddon was initially attracted to the Torres Strait region as a dynamic and intermediary zone for field research in marine biology and later for ethnology. Yet the societies that he wanted to understand were more complex and much older than he envisaged (Wright et al. 2013). His understanding of the chronology of a deep past was rather fuzzy, and, like many of his contemporaries, he erroneously conflated long ago with far away, at times comparing nineteenth-century Islander and Papuan peoples with those of European antiquity.⁴ Through personal contacts and scholarly organisations such as the Anthropological Institute in London, Haddon keenly followed the latest discoveries in archaeology. In both 1888 and 1898 Haddon frequently referred to the recent archaeological discovery of Swiss lake dwellings built on piles, which were deemed to provide evidence for the ‘ascent’ of man between the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. Haddon outlined what he understood as the evolutionary development of house types, from the Aboriginal wind screens he encountered in Cape York to the raised houses on Saibai island, with their external staircases and lower section enclosed with thatch. He was particularly interested in New Guinea sea-villages and at Hula got the men to demonstrate the process of pile driving, which he duly photographed.⁵ Even the recent history of warfare between competing villages was described in reference to the ancient past. On sighting the charred stumps, which were all that remained of the village of East Kapakapa after it was attacked by a band of Hula men, he commented: ‘All, or nearly all, the inhabitants were killed and the village was destroyed by fire – a repetition of the history of the Swiss pile dwellings’⁶ (Haddon 1898–99:100 in Herle and Philp 2020:192). Haddon (1899 cited in Edwards 2000:114) made further reference to parallel (pre)histories when describing pottery manufacture, going so far as to suggest that the pottery series developed during his research should be published with commentary in ‘The Reliquary and Illustrated Antiquary as it will be of interest to archaeologists, for doubtless our Neolithic ancestors did what our contemporary “Neolithic” Papuans are doing now’.

4 This racist notion was prevalent in Euro-American scientific and popular culture well into the twentieth century. See also Dotte-Sarout, **Chapter 4**, this volume.

5 See: photograph of men demonstrating the process of pile driving with a sea village in the background, Hula, 11 June 1898 (MAA N.36119.ACH2).

6 Kapakapa (Gaba Gaba) was attacked by Hula men around 1880 (van Heekeren 2012:54–55).

Haddon and archaeology

Haddon's collections and the detailed information he published in the *Reports* have continued to be a crucial resource for Islanders and researchers working in the region. His careful documentation of ritual sites has been of particular importance to recent archaeological research, with some work initiated by Islanders as a means of understanding their own past. According to David:

archaeological research on religion and ritual in Torres Strait has largely taken Haddon's anthropological records as a starting point upon which ritual sites and paraphernalia, and systems of cosmological organization (e.g. totemic networks) could be systematically characterised and historicized. (2011:492)



Figure 12.4. Cygnet Repu painting his maternal totem (*awgadh*), the *kaigas* (shovel-nose skate), on a rock off to the side of the Pulu kod, Torres Strait, 2001.

Source: Photo courtesy of Ian McNiven (Monash University).

The excavation of the great *kod* of Pulu with the members of the Goemulgal Kod is an outstanding example of direct engagement with Haddon's work on multiple levels (McNiven et al. 2009). Inspired by Haddon's writings and the collaborative project to excavate the *kod*, Cygnet Repu painted his maternal totem (*awgadh*), the *kaigas* (shovel-nose skate or shark), in ochre on a nearby rock (Figure 12.4). The peanut tin containing ochre and the

brush he used were later donated to University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) to join the materials in the Haddon collection.

The Waiet archaeology project (2013–present)

In the Coral and Arafura Sea corridor (spanning Papua New Guinea, the Torres Strait and far north Australia), communities identify powerful ‘culture heroes’, reforming ancestors who brought sacred knowledge, later to be shared by masked performers during restricted ceremonies (e.g. McConnel 1936; Whitehorse 1996:705). Arguably these were particularly prominent in the Torres Strait, where a ‘national religion’ (i.e. lacking totemic restrictions) formed around ‘a definite personal relation with a superhuman individual’ (Haddon 1908:45). Protean in their ability to transform, these ‘culture hero fetish-based headhunting cults’ were associated with new sacred knowledge relating to warfare, headhunting and mortuary practices (McNiven 2015:173). This was transmitted to future generations through single or (as was the case for the Malu-Bomai Cult on Mer) multiple initiation ceremonies.

In 2013, Cygnet Repu (from Mabuiag in Western Torres Strait, WTS) and Falen D. Passi (from Eastern Torres Strait, ETS) initiated a project that aimed to bring Islanders together the ‘traditional way’ (Cygnet Repu pers. comm. 2016), through shared affiliation with the Waiet (Waiet in ETS) culture hero. An archaeologist from The Australian National University, Duncan Wright, was recruited to excavate important places along the Waiet pathway and locate objects and archives associated with this culture hero.

In 2016, Dauareb representatives, the descendants of the Waiet Zogo Le (ritual practitioners), established a field camp for archaeological research. This was located at Teg on Dauar, a place used centuries earlier by new initiates prior to their transportation to the major ceremony ground on Waier (Balaga Zaro pers. comm. 2016; Haddon 1928; Wright et al. 2018). Mirroring this performance, the archaeology field crew travelled by boat into the Ne embayment on Waier. It was observed that this site had been significantly denuded of ritual installations at the time of this visit; however, detailed records in Haddon (1928), including drawings by Torres Strait

Islanders, allow us to resurrect elements of these rituals. This is further assisted through the discovery of objects once located at this place, now stored in the Queensland Museum, Brisbane (a near life-sized turtle shell effigy representing Waiat), Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow (*Zogo baur* posts) and MAA (models of Waiat and his ‘canoe platform’) (Figure 12.5).



Figure 12.5. Model of Waiat holding a drum.

Made from carved and painted soft wood with pearl shell eyes, cassowary feathers and turtle shell decoration. H 34 cm, L 29 cm, W 7 cm.

Note: The original was made of turtle shell and kept in a cave on Waier. Commissioned by Haddon through Jack Bruce, along with models of *Ad-giz* (ancestors). Collected Mer, c. 1903.

Source: Photo courtesy of MAA (MAA Z 9453).

Shell sampled from installations surviving at the Waiet site on Waier (and described in detail by Haddon approximately 120 years previously) were radiocarbon dated to within the past 300 years (Wright et al. 2018). This supported Haddon's supposition that the Waiet cult represented a recent phase of ritual in the Torres Strait. Conversely, subsurface assessment identified mortuary activities dating back 1,700 years but apparently continuing within the much more recent period (Figure 12.6). A 300 BP shift was observed towards an assemblage incorporating bones belonging to children, as well as association of human bone with a turtle shell effigy. This suggested a long heritage for mortuary rituals, possibly involving a staged and orderly process by which new (but related) rituals were emplaced within existing cosmologies (Wright et al. 2018). Discovery of an exotic (most likely Papua New Guinean) pottery fragment immediately underlying funeral remains (approximately 1123–1517 cal. BP) provided an intriguing insight into transitioning ideas and materials, potentially echoed within the Waiet narrative (Wright et al. 2018:131).



Figure 12.6. Excavation of Square B at Ne on Waier with (left to right) Glenn van der Kolk, James Zaro and Sunny Passi, July 2016.

Source: Photo courtesy Duncan Wright.

Archaeology research has now been completed on Woeydhul in WTS (Wright et al. 2021). Preliminary results suggest a slightly longer chronology for the Waiet cult in this region (>800 BP in WTS), with ritual syncretism also likely to occur at this site (Wright et al. 2021). Metanarratives of widespread ritual entanglement are hard to isolate through archaeology, although a shared late Holocene age provides indirect support for this. Both sites provide evidence for formalised, invariant and regionally variable activities (Haddon 1928, 1935). Startling archaeological and ethnographic comparisons exist at a local scale, including excavation of a range of organic tools that have no precedent in Torres Strait archaeological records but are prominent in Waiet ethnographies (Wright et al. 2021). At the same time, a level of detail is provided by subsurface archaeology that identifies ritual elements unsuspected by Haddon. It is a case study, in short, that demonstrates the power of multidisciplinary research by which the natural limitations of archaeological practice are countered by detailed nineteenth-century ethnographic records. Torres Strait Islanders and academics alike have an enviable situation when it comes to contextualising contemporary knowledge about deep history – a remarkable archive collated by an individual who worked closely with named Islanders to reconstruct and record a precolonial past.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology from March 2020 to December 2022.

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13

Patterns of connection: The Wanigela shells revisited

Elizabeth Bonshek

Some interesting relics of a by-gone age were found at Collingwood Bay, during some excavations that were being made there, consisting of fragments of pottery and carved conch shells. The examination of these articles by specialists may help ethnologists to determine whether the present population is aboriginal or not. (Monckton 1905:11)

So reported Charles Arthur Whitmore Monckton (1873–1936), the buccaneering resident magistrate of the North East Division, British New Guinea (Lutton 1978, 1986). In 1905 he sent three engraved *Conus* shells (Figure 13.1), 333 pot sherds and other finds to the British Museum (Oc1905,0209.1–Oc1905,0209.330). These were unearthed during the construction of a new site for the Anglican Mission Station in Wanigela on the north coast of Collingwood Bay. Ten other *Conus* shells were found: Percy Money, the lay missionary who organised the relocation of the station, collected six; his superior, Rev. Chignell, collected two; Charles Seligman[n],¹ who was collecting for the British Museum, obtained one; and the Viennese ethnologist Rudolf Pöch (see also Howes, **Chapter 14**, this volume) obtained another, along with human remains, in 1905.

¹ According to Seligman[n]'s obituarist, his surname was originally spelt 'Seligmann', but he 'dropped the last letter of his surname after 1914', presumably in response to anti-German sentiment associated with World War I (Myers 1941:627).



Figure 13.1. *Conus* shells, collected by C.A.W. Monckton in Wanigela.

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum (Oc1905, 0209.336–338). Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

The 1904 excavation represents the first archaeological dig in Papua New Guinea and provided the foundation upon which ethnologists theorised Pacific origins prior to the development of modern archaeology (Spriggs 2013). In 1971, the first of 19 additional *Conus* shells was found in the northern Massim islands up to 500 km away, bringing the total to 32. These shells are now located in museums and private collections (see Ambrose et al. 2012:114–115). Four of them, including one of Money’s shells (E15596B), were dated to between AD 1101 and AD 1495.²

In an analysis of the designs on the shells, Ambrose et al. (2012) argue that they represent the earliest evidence of the contemporary Massim design tradition on the New Guinea mainland. Were the mounds in Wanigela in which the shells were found created in an outpost of the progenitors of the contemporary Massim tradition? Or do they demonstrate connections through trade up until AD 1465–1495? The presence of spiral motifs and a curvilinear design aesthetic has formed the focus of this interpretation, inspired by the contemporary importance of *Conus* shells in the *kula* trade of the Massim. But must the suggestion that the *Conus* shells represent a continuity with Massim art styles necessarily exclude connection to contemporary art styles of the Wanigela area?

² The dates were: Budibudi JFB.088.1, AD 1165–1250 and AD 1101–1281; JFB.088.2, AD 1212–1281 and AD 1166–1301 (both from the Jolika Collection); Bickler5, AD 1195–1290 and AD 1125–1320 (private collection); and Wanigela E15596B, AD 1410–1465 and AD 1350–1495 (Australian Museum) (Ambrose et al. 2012:128).

The historical context of Monckton's finds

Charles Seligmann and Thomas Athol Joyce record that Mr Monckton informed them that the excavated site was 'an old village site of a forgotten people' (Seligmann and Joyce 1907:329). How did Monckton know this?

Monckton established the government station at Cape Nelson, 40 km north of Wanigela, in 1901 and reported on all progress in colonial activities to the British New Guinea Administration. The Anglican Mission outpost was established earlier, in 1899, by Reverend Abbot and his party. It was located on the beach near some villages, one of which was stockaded (Chignell 1913:18). Abbot left a year later. Money arrived in 1901 and was joined by Reverend Chignell in 1907. By 1904 Money was corresponding with Robert Etheridge (1846–1920), curator at the Australian Museum, Sydney, and making an ethnological collection for the museum (Bonshek 1989). Monckton referred to Money's great knowledge of Wanigela and alluded to his 'manuscript', which had not yet been published because it was a work in progress (Monckton 1905:34).

Money wrote to Etheridge on 24 September 1904, noting he had a 'good collection of ancient pottery' that he would send once he had written his report (Australian Museum Archives AMS9, Letter Received M:85/1904). However, he delayed sending the materials, later explaining to Etheridge that someone had thrown his notes away. He summarised what he remembered and sent the finds, accompanied with his own classification of them. Most of the pottery fragments were picked up at Murin Creek about three miles inland and Money suspected they had washed downriver. He concluded that similar fragments found in the Wanigela mounds on the coast were brought in from Murin, because so few were discovered in the mounds. His only comment on the *Conus* shells was that the one with a 'duck' on it was 'particularly interesting' (Australian Museum Archives AMS9, Letter Received M:2/1906; registered into Australian Museum as E15597 and illustrated in Ambrose et al. 2012:116).

Money had enquired among the local population about the excavated material and recorded how some of the enigmatic pottery fragments might have been used (Australian Museum Archives AMS9, Letter Received M:2/1906, Money to Etheridge, 18 November 1905). He also met an old woman who said she was the sole survivor of the clan that had lived on the excavated site. But because she had grown up a mile south, she had never seen the village, nor could she speak her clan's language.

A very old man, who identified his clan, said he had known her father and her paternal clan and that the latter had not spoken Ubir, or any other language then spoken in Wanigela. His own clan had lived adjacent. Money continued:

Both of these old folk agreed on the following points – they had never seen the villages of the [woman’s clan], they had never seen anyone making pottery like the fragments which have been unearthed & had never seen perfect specimens in use. Therefore I conclude that nothing to help us can be gathered from the natives. (Australian Museum Archives AMS9 M:1/1906, Money to Etheridge, 18 November 1905)

Money’s conclusion must have fed into Monckton’s report.

The importance of spirals

Neither Money nor Monckton were ethnologists. It fell to Seligmann, Joyce, Etheridge and Pöch and subsequent theorists to build arguments for the origins of New Guineans in the Pacific, based on the comparison of spiral motifs on shells, potsherds, lime spatulas and stone monoliths (Spriggs 2013). Spirals continued to attract attention in the 1970s, with archaeologists suggesting connections to Dong Son motifs from southern China and northern Vietnam dating to 2,000 years ago. In his overview, Spriggs summarised: does the prehistoric culture of Collingwood Bay hold the key to the immediate origins of the art styles of the Massim and confirm its Dong Son inspiration? (Spriggs 2013:9–10).

Between 1967 and 1969 Brian Egloff excavated new sites at Wanigela, establishing dates of between 1,000 to 500 years BP for the pottery fragments he dug up near the site of Money’s excavations. However, he did not find any shells. Together with the dates for similar pottery found by Vincent Kwebu in the Massim (Spriggs 2013:10), the *Conus* shells were estimated, by association, to be 1,500 to 1,000 years BP. Extending beyond the immediate region, Meredith Wilson (in Spriggs 2013:10) has suggested that three of the *Conus* shells and an incised monolith found in Goodenough Bay are most closely linked to a spiral-based tradition from East New Britain and New Ireland engraved rock art, forming a part of a widespread Austronesian Engraved Style spreading into Milne Bay Province by 2,000 years BP (Spriggs 2013:10). The discovery of additional incised *Conus* shells in New Caledonia, in Lapita contexts

dating to some 3,000 years ago, pushes their antiquity further back. Again Spriggs asks: Are the shells direct descendants of Lapita practice? Or are they a reinvention of such practices to reproduce Southeast Asian Dong Son designs on nonmetal artefacts?

Theorising Wanigela designs

The dates associated with the four shells place them within Phase 2 (Expansion Phase, AD 950–1450) of the three-phase development proposed for Massim prehistory. However, the Wanigela shell fell closer to the date range associated with Phase 3, known as the Refuge Phase (AD 1450–1850) (Ambrose et al. 2012:128–129).

During Phases 1 and 2 the people of the northern Massim were using pots made of clay originating from Wanigela and Goodenough Island (Ambrose et al. 2012:129), while their stone, used in burial practices, originated from Woodlark Island. In Phase 2, the people of the Trobriand Islands stopped importing stone. In Phase 3 evidence of trade connections between the New Guinea mainland and the islands of the northern Massim disappeared and the latter turned southwards for inter-island trade and engagement. How do the designs on the shells relate to the dates established?

Ambrose et al.'s (2012) stylistic analysis of form and surface design used contemporary Massim designs as a reference point. Large *Conus* shells are available in the Massim: they are important in the production of *mwali* (armshells) in the regional exchange known as the *kula* and the spiral is used in contemporary Massim woodcarving. Thus, contemporary Massim carving motifs were used as defining characteristics of the prehistoric group.

The designs were classified as 'framing', characteristic of the Massim, or 'all over decoration', characteristic of Wanigela (2012:120, Fig. 10). Five motifs – circles/spirals, 'inward scrolls', bird figures (2012:116, Fig. 4e), concentric circles (2012:119, Fig. 7c) and 'face' motifs (2012:116, Fig. 4c) – were identified as diagnostic of the contemporary Massim style.

Shells with rectilinear designs were considered untypical, or aberrant to contemporary Massim style. These might be designs imitative of the Collingwood Bay style and together with the later date for the Wanigela shells, these might represent the process of disconnection from the south.

Collingwood Bay style

If we open up an analysis of Collingwood Bay style to include different object types made by women and men, an expansion upon rectilinear/geometric motifs emerges. Continuing the use of contemporary analogy, the upturned dish in Figure 13.2 and the woman's barkcloth in Figure 13.3 show asymmetrical scrolls, meandering curvilinear style and geometric elements coexisting.

Meandering lines, hooks, scrolls, concentric circles and 'S' shapes occur on pots and barkcloth in Percy Money's collection (Bonshek 1989:114, 116, 120, 122–123, 138, 176 and 178).³ Frank Hurley's (1924:110) photograph of public mourning in Wanigela depicts two widows, one hidden beneath a cloth adorned with meandering designs and a second under a cloth with what is probably a crocodile motif on it.



Figure 13.2. Upturned dish.

Source: Author's collection (acquired 2003).

³ See Anna Karina Hermkens (2013) for contemporary and historical examples of barkcloth and John Barker (2008) for contemporary Maisin manufacture.



Figure 13.3. Woman's barkcloth, acquired by Percy Money.

Source: Photo by Ric Bolzan, AMS/M1711/4. Courtesy of Australian Museum Archives (E13157).

The use of recognisable animal forms (such as the bird on the Wanigela shell, E15597) appears twice in Money's collection (a crocodile, Bonshek 1989:126, 168). The woman's barkcloth collected by Rev. Abbot in 1899–1900 (Figure 13.4) shows a reptile together with variations on a theme of concentric circles:⁴ squared-off circles divided into four, star-like arrangements, together with hooks, single 'V' and double 'V' shapes.

⁴ The use of concentric circles on carved coconut shells is seen in Beran and Aguirre (2009:85) and also on Money's cloth and pots (Bonshek 1989:134, 152, 156).

The detail of a design on a man's barkcloth (Figure 13.5) shows the typical structured, repeating segments (or 'framing') used on many cloths (Figure 13.6 and also Figure 13.3). Further, Money identified lines that informants told him were a 'path' and these effectively separate areas of design on pots too (Bonshek 1989:204, 206). This is consistent with the division of the surface into three, illustrated by the northern Massim shell known as 'Imdeduya' (Ambrose et al. 2012:119, fig 9c).

The designs on the *Conus* shells resonate with contemporary designs in the Massim but they also have elements that resonate with contemporary Collingwood Bay, which is not restricted to one visual aesthetic.

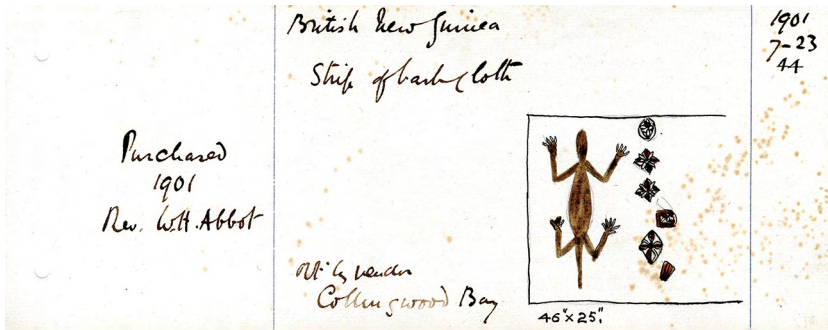


Figure 13.4. Registration slip for a woman's barkcloth, acquired by Rev. Abbot.

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum (Oc1901,0723.44). Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

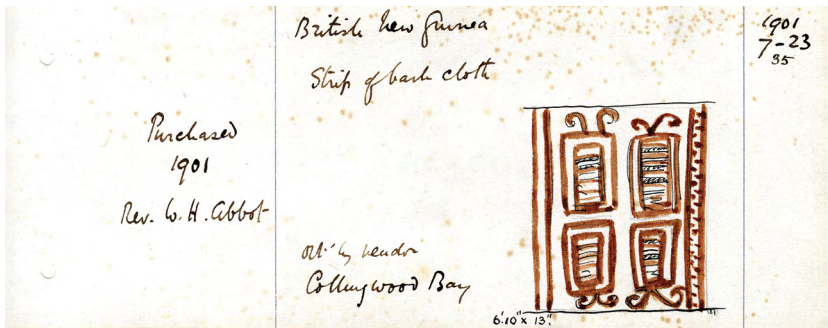


Figure 13.5. Registration slip for a man's bark loincloth, collected by Rev. Abbott.

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum (Oc. 1901, 0723.35). Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

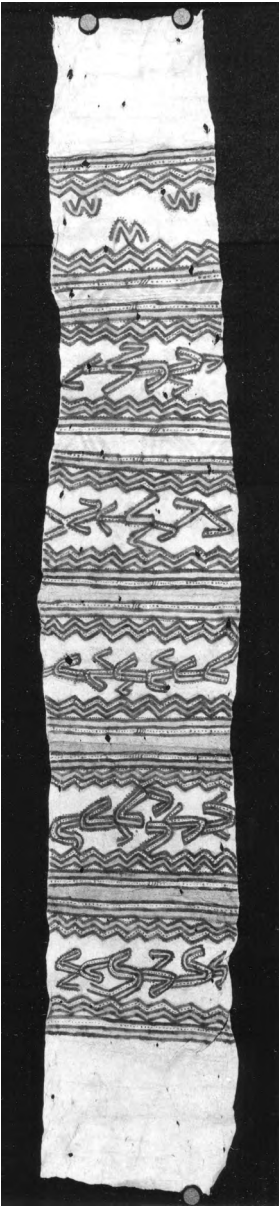


Figure 13.6. A man's barkcloth, acquired by Percy Money.

Source: Photo by Ric Bolzan, AMS391/M01754/04. Courtesy of Australian Museum Archives (E16335).

Motifs, connection and movement

Money named many of the motifs on the objects he collected, and recorded clans and their language association (Bonshek 1989:203–208). His notes refer to Ubir, Oyan and Onjob clans in Wanigela as well as the Maisin of Uiaku living to the south.

Several of the motifs are clan designs: *baifafaro* in Ubir (Bonshek 2008). *Baifafaro* also include cultural practices particular to a clan. Other designs are not prescriptive and are placed on objects used for local and regional trade or exchange.

The exchange of pots made by women was (and remains) central to this exchange network. Money noted exchanges for barkcloth made by the neighbouring Maisin women in Uiaku. This exchange occurred despite the ability of Wanigela women to make barkcloth (which, in 2001–03, they say was stolen from them through sorcery). Designs circulated within and beyond Wanigela regardless of different languages and clan affiliations (43.5 per cent of the designs on the pots and cloth in the Money collection overlap, Bonshek 1989:83). Motifs cut

across different media, clans, languages and villages. This concurrence reflects a history of connection between groups, not only within Wanigela but throughout the region.

The connections between people are extensive. No longer common knowledge, up until World War II shell necklaces (known in Ubir as *nunug*) were acquired by some clans through long-distance voyages following traditional paths (known in Ubir as *eta*), facilitated by a series of trade partners located at various villages along the south coast. Each clan had a series of trading partners: some clans looked to the south, while others looked to the north.

This complexity is obscure in the historical records, although glimpses emerge in the administration's reports on tribal warfare in the area. Money signposts connections between groups in his observations on the exchanges between Maisin and Wanigela. But *baifafaro* were also gifted to secure alliances and provide protection. In contemporary Wanigela there are some designs that several clans have the right to use and these are evidence of connections and engagements (Bonshek 2008). Designs do not necessarily indicate membership of a group via linear descent or language affiliation but diffuse across boundaries via social connection and political negotiation.

Today Wanigela is home to 51 patrilineal clans, paired as senior and junior brothers, belonging to four language groups. They are connected by marriage and alliances that formerly governed raiding and warfare (Bonshek 2005). Not all the clans that have ever lived in Wanigela continue there today. Knowledgeable people can recount up to seven generations back, suggesting that all clans present today were present in Money's time.

The clans moved into Collingwood Bay at different times, arriving from inland and from the north and south, some by foot and some by canoe. Each has their own account of migration into the bay (Bonshek 2005). Mackenzie Asor (1974), an Ubir, Sabarar clansman, recounted the story of the culture hero Dararuk and the movement of the clans in mythic time. As a boy Dararuk became so unhappy at the death of his pet that he cried inconsolably. So great was his grief that the clans of his village left in despair, heading off in all directions, but especially to Tanam (Cape Nelson) and Gorof (Cape Vogel). Abandoned and exposed to sorcery in his coastal village in Collingwood Bay, Dararuk left and headed towards

Goodenough Island – at that time joined to the mainland – where he was adopted by a kind old lady and they both lived in a tree, at Woyar (Goodenough). When he grew up, he was so handsome that he attracted the attention of all women who saw him. Motivated by jealousy, their husbands banded together to chop down the tree in which he lived. Dararuk responded by distributing among the men all the things that distinguished the clans. Dararuk and his grandmother bored two holes in the tree where they hid as the tree was chopped and then burned. The two branches that protected them flew away. Eventually Dararuk emerged in the river and lived among the people in secret until they had forgotten the earlier attack.

Asor interprets the story of Dararuk's distribution of distinctive customs to the clans as their dispersal from Goodenough Bay to Collingwood Bay and identifies two movements: one outwards from a site in Collingwood Bay and another suggesting a movement back in from Goodenough. In the 1960s Margaret Stephens recorded that the Ubir migrated from the Cape Vogel area, the Oyan from Uwe and the Onjob from Mt Victoria (1974:33).

During my ethnographic present, migration stories were not discussed publicly and tension surrounded the question of who among the clans arrived in Collingwood Bay first (Bonshek 2008). Perhaps this was also the case during Money's time.

Some accounts (Bonshek 2005) say that an argument between the clans caused the residents of the stockaded village to disband. Perhaps the distribution of the mission's buildings between the villages of Rainu and Oeresan was an attempt to resolve rivalry between the two groups. Chignell (1911:19–20) recounts that he and the South Sea Islander staff settled in Oeresan (an Oyan village), and Money and schoolchildren (and the goats) resided in Rainu (an Ubir village). At that time Old Komabun (an Ubir village) was already established half a mile north across the river, while the Onjob lived one mile inland at Aieram and the Aisor-speaking people lived at Murin and Naukwate.

In hindsight, what can be made of the information that the mission's new site was the prior residence of a known clan – a site Money concluded had been long abandoned?

The story of the extinction of a descent line frames Money's interpretation of disconnection. But it could be argued that the elderly woman's memory (and that of the elderly man corroborating her story) constituted a connection with the people who used to live on the new mission site. And what had been the relationship, or alliance, that must have existed between the two clans that had lived in close proximity? If, by 1904, only one clan remained, had an alliance broken down? Had the clans been brothers? Had one chosen to depart? Had one been made to depart, perhaps through sorcery? By 1904 the Tribal Wars had not yet ceased: fighting in the region ended with the 'Breaking of the Spear' held on 12 March 1905 (Bonshek 2005:82). It could be that at the time Money made his inquiries, he also unwittingly recorded tensions between clans, encountering both memory and active forgetting (Bonshek 2008:93). It seems unlikely that clans who have genealogies of six to seven generations would not know something of the former residents, especially with one still living among them.

Who were the prior residents of the new mission site? How long ago had the old woman's family left the site? And why? How long had they lived there? Did they engrave the *Conus* shells or bring them in through exchange networks, or did they bring them with them as they migrated into Collingwood Bay? Do the dates established for the Wanigela *Conus* shells place them beyond the reach of social memory in 1904?

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the British Museum from March 2020.

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14

Superiority complex: Rudolf Pöch's interpretations of archaeological finds at Wanigela

Hilary Howes

Cultural safety advice: Readers are advised that this chapter includes images of human remains.

When Austrian medical doctor and anthropologist Rudolf Pöch (Figure 14.1) arrived in New Guinea in July 1904 to commence an expedition lasting almost two years, archaeology was only one of several topics on his agenda. His work plan was divided into three main areas: physical anthropology and ethnology; tropical hygiene and other medical investigations; and observations, collections and photography in the fields of biology and natural history. He imagined that his activities in physical anthropology and ethnology might include finding 'traces of a Palaeolithic era in New Guinea', but he also planned to measure and photograph living individuals, acquire human skulls, skeletons, hair and soft tissue samples, investigate language diversity and sensory physiology, record songs and dances, and collect material culture (Pöch 1905a:2–11).

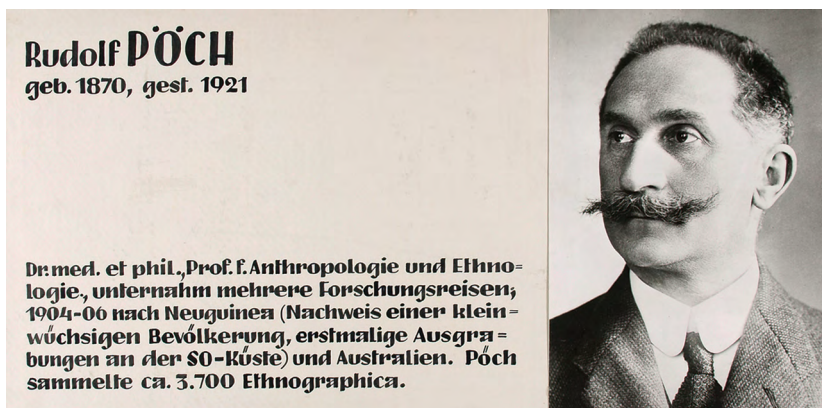


Figure 14.1. Rudolf Pöch, b. 1870, d. 1921 (undated).

The accompanying text states that Pöch undertook 'the first excavations on the south-east coast' of New Guinea.

Source: Reproduction courtesy KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Vienna, Photographic Collection (photographic print on card, VF 42245).

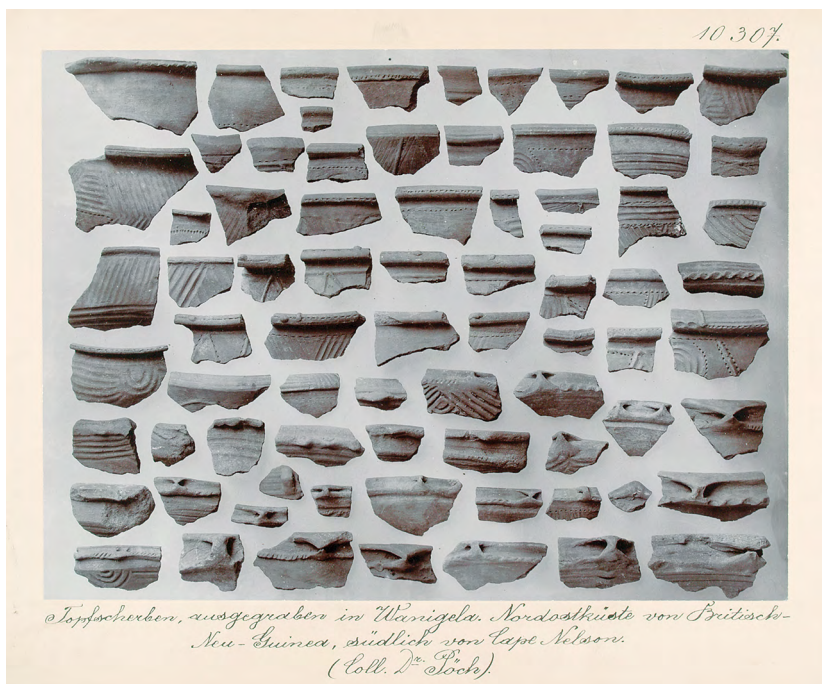


Figure 14.2. Some of the potsherds excavated at Wanigela, Collingwood Bay, British New Guinea (now Oro Province, PNG), 1905.

Source: Reproduction courtesy KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Vienna, Photographic Collection (photographic print on card, VF 10307).

In his own opinion and that of his contemporaries, Pöch's expedition was a resounding success. His archaeological finds alone – sourced from excavations near the Anglican Mission Station at Wanigela, Collingwood Bay, in what was then British New Guinea (now Oro Province, Papua New Guinea [PNG]) – amounted to over 1,200 potsherds (Figure 14.2), as well as a strikingly carved piece of *Conus* shell (Figure 14.3), various other shell and stone artefacts, obsidian splinters, fragments of (possibly pig) bone, a piece of charred wood and four human skeletons. In addition, he had travelled extensively in British, Dutch and German New Guinea, with a shorter visit to Australia, and had assembled almost 100 human skulls, some 2,000 items of material culture, over 1,000 photographs, several dozen film and sound recordings, and over 2,000 mammal, bird, reptile and insect specimens (Pöch 1905a, 1905b, 1906a, 1906b, 1915:4). Most of Pöch's archaeological finds, with the exception of the human skeletons, are now held in the Weltmuseum (former Ethnological Museum) in Vienna (Reinhard Blumauer pers. comm. 2019; Jan Hasselberg pers. comm. 2017).



Figure 14.3. Engraved *Conus* shell excavated at Wanigela, Collingwood Bay, British New Guinea (now Oro Province, PNG), 1905.

Source: Reproduction courtesy KHM-Museumsverband, Weltmuseum Vienna, Oceania and Australia Collection (VO 78.172).

Pöch's involvement in Pacific archaeology has received little scholarly attention to date (but see Howes 2017; Spriggs 2013). Instead, most recent assessments of his life and work have focused on one of two topics. First, his large-scale studies of the 'racial characteristics' of prisoners of war (POWs) in Austrian and German POW camps during World War I have served to demonstrate the close wartime cooperation between the human sciences – especially physical anthropology – and the governmental–military complex. Within this context, Pöch has been identified as one of the 'figureheads of the generation that abandoned the [anthropological] discipline's liberal tradition' and steered it towards 'an illiberal paradigm

conducive to National Socialist [Nazi] cooptation' (Berner 2010a:253, 2010b:19; see also Berner 2007; Berner et al. 2011; Evans 2002, 2003, 2010; Lange 2010, 2011, 2013; Lange and Gingrich 2014; Rathkolb et al. 2013:223–225; Scheer 2010; Turda 2013; Weindling 2013). Second, Pöch's acquisitions of human remains in South Africa and Australia have attracted sustained criticism as particularly egregious examples of 'appropriative and unscrupulous' behaviour, involving 'systematic grave robbery' and 'clandestine deals for newly dead corpses in the name of science' (Legassick and Rassool 2000:12; see also Andrew and Matiasek 2017; Berner et al. 2011; Kirchner and Teschler-Nicola 2016; Legassick 2008; Rathkolb et al. 2013:223–225; Teschler-Nicola 2011, 2013; Weiss-Krejci 2013). Some of these human remains have been repatriated in recent years to their countries of origin (Andrew and Matiasek 2017; Australian Department of Communications and the Arts n.d.; Australian Embassy Vienna 2011; Rassool 2015; Teschler-Nicola 2013; Weiss-Krejci 2013).

This chapter examines Pöch's excavations at Wanigela within a broader context, taking into consideration the ways in which his working methods and conclusions were shaped by colonial power structures, racial theories, and research priorities in the human sciences at the turn of the twentieth century.

'Objects of scientific observation and study': Pöch's career

Pöch's New Guinea/Australia expedition was his first explicitly anthropological expedition, but it was not the first time he had travelled overseas to undertake scientific research. In 1897, shortly after completing a medical degree at the University of Vienna, he travelled to Bombay (now Mumbai, India) as a member of the Austrian Plague Commission (Kupferschmidt 1997:52). In 1902, after a year's study of physical anthropology and ethnology at the University of Berlin, he was sent to West Africa by the Institute for Maritime and Tropical Diseases (now the Bernhard Nocht Institute for Tropical Medicine) in Hamburg, Germany, to study malaria (Fleischer 2000). He later asserted that his 'closer acquaintance [...] with the natives' in Bombay's Plague Hospital had helped kindle his interest in human beings as 'object[s] of scientific observation and study, not only from a medical perspective, but from an anthropological and ethnological one' (Pöch 1915:3). During his

expedition to West Africa, he took the opportunity to make ethnographic observations and assemble collections in addition to his medical research (Pöch 1915:4).

Pöch's New Guinea/Australia expedition built on these earlier expeditions and became the springboard for a flourishing career. His travels in New Guinea and Australia were self-funded, but his second major anthropological expedition, which took him to South Africa from 1907 to 1909, was commissioned and funded by the Imperial Academy of Sciences (IAS) in Vienna. Shortly after returning from South Africa, he obtained a position as an unsalaried junior professor at the University of Vienna; from 1910 to 1913 he offered tertiary courses in physical anthropology, 'racial biology' and comparative craniology, as well as working as a salaried assistant at the IAS Phonogram Archive. In 1913 he completed his doctoral dissertation, 'Studies of Natives of New South Wales and of Australian Skulls', on the basis of anthropometric measurements carried out, and Australian Indigenous ancestral remains obtained, during his New Guinea/Australia expedition. He was appointed associate professor of anthropology and ethnography at the University of Vienna the same year. In 1919 he became the university's first full professor of anthropology and ethnography; he also married one of his former students, Helene (Hella) Schürer von Waldheim. Only two years later, aged 41, he died of pancreatic necrosis (for general biographical information, see Oberhammer 1921; Pöch 1915:3–6; Regal and Nanut 2010; Szilvássy et al. 1980; Teschler-Nicola 2011:53; Weninger 1933, 1980).

Pöch's influence on physical anthropology and 'racial biology' in Austria extended well beyond his death. The Austrian Academy of Sciences published 12 volumes based on his observations and collections from expeditions and POW camps over the period 1927–62, two of which related specifically to New Guinea (Bondy-Horowitz 1930; Graf 1950; Szilvássy et al. 1980:758). A number of Pöch's students also continued to pursue research in his fields of specialisation (Bernier 2007, 2010b; Fuchs 2002a, 2002c). His widow Hella Pöch cultivated a close relationship with the NSDAP (Nazi) Office of Racial Policy in Germany in the years preceding the Anschluss, acted as a 'racial assessor' in Austria thereafter, and persisted with racial research even after the collapse of the Nazi regime (Fuchs 2002b; Pöch 1957).

‘Inferior development’: Pöch’s superiority complex

Knowing all this, it is difficult not to depict Rudolf Pöch as a caricature, a cardboard cut-out combining in one person the very worst aspects of colonial brutality and white supremacist thought. His correspondence, field journals and reports from his New Guinea/Australia expedition do little to dispel this impression. Clearly he believed without question that the Indigenous inhabitants of Australia and New Guinea were biologically inferior. For example, his first report from the field identified ‘the often receding and “poorly filled” forehead’ of the approximately 150 Indigenous people he had examined and measured along New Guinea’s north-east coast as the ‘most conspicuous indication of inferior development’, while a letter to a family friend described Australia as ‘the land of the most primitive black human race’ (Natural History Museum [NHM] Archive, Rudolf Pöch to Frau Overbeck, 1 July 1905; Pöch 1905a:440). It is true that such beliefs, although not universally held, were widespread among Western scientists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see for example Erckenbrecht 2010; Kühnast 2018; Poignant 2004; Scheps 2013; Winkelmann and Teßmann 2013). However, unlike some of his contemporaries (see for example Howes 2011, 2012, 2013), Pöch seemingly experienced nothing in the course of his New Guinea/Australia expedition that led him to question these preconceptions. Even though many of his encounters with Indigenous New Guineans left him with positive impressions, the best compliment he could muster towards the end of his expedition was a backhanded one: ‘It is possible to be very fond of these people, despite their brown skin and inferiority’ (NHM Archive, Rudolf Pöch to Unnamed, 8 December 1905).

Pöch’s correspondence and field journals also reveal that he used a combination of payment and threatened or actual violence in order to achieve his goals. If we take his pursuit of human remains in New Guinea and Australia as an example, it appears that in some cases he was able to obtain them with permission. While inland from Finschhafen on the Huon Peninsula (now Morobe Province, PNG), he wrote that people who had committed a crime or were suspected of sorcery were ‘often killed by their next of kin’, and that the inhabitants of settlements

he had visited ‘allowed me to dig up these slain criminals’. Whether he compensated them in cash or kind for facilitating access to these human remains is unclear; however, he noted that people from the same region assisted him on his travels ‘in return for small gifts, show[ing] me the way and help[ing] me carry my things’ (NHM Archive, Rudolf Pöch to Frau Overbeck, 1 July 1905). In other cases he openly described using force. In New Ireland, infuriated that his guides had ‘given [him] the run-around’ by offering conflicting information on the location of burial caves, he threatened one of them by putting a knife to his throat. Shortly after this incident, he found a sympathiser in the local Methodist missionary, the Reverend William Cox,¹ who ‘appeared to be free from [any] sentimental overestimation of the qualities of the natives’ and willingly helped Pöch plunder a burial cave near his mission station (NHM Archive, Rudolf Pöch correspondence book entry ‘My last trek in New Ireland’, 22–26 May 1905).

‘Exceedingly threadbare’: The limitations of Pöch’s research

A similar combination of payment, (potential) violence, and the assistance and support of fellow Europeans facilitated Pöch’s excavations at Wanigela in December 1905. From October 1905 to January 1906 he was based at the British government station at Cape Nelson (Figure 14.4) (now Oro Province, PNG), where Resident Magistrate Guy Manning ‘hospitably accommodated and supported [...] my work in every way’ (Pöch 1906a:601). It was Manning who offered Pöch ‘the opportunity [...] to travel with him in his whaleboat to Collingwood Bay’, and it was Manning who arranged for ‘police officers [to be] taken to supervise the work, as well as spades and mattocks’ (Pöch 1907b:68). Although none of Pöch’s accounts of the excavations mention actual violence, the inhabitants of Wanigela would have had good reason to construe the presence of police as a threat. One of the first actions of Charles Monckton, Manning’s predecessor as resident magistrate of the North-Eastern Division, after he took office in 1900 was ‘raiding two Maisin villages south of Wanigela,

1 Cox, who later became chair of the New Britain mission district, is best known for his involvement in the Cox Affair of October 1914, in which he was attacked and beaten in New Ireland by German civilians who suspected him of being a spy (Australian War Memorial n.d.; Hiery 1995:36–38; Reeson 2013:319–320).

during which his police shot dead at least six men and wounded an unknown number as well as destroying canoes'. In subsequent years, 'the police periodically raided villages in [southern Collingwood Bay] to forcibly recruit carriers for expeditions into the Musa, the home of much feared enemies of the coastal people' (John Barker pers. comm. 2017; see also Barker 1985:80–82, 1987:73; Lutton 1978, 1986). However, Pöch also ensured that 'all discoveries [during the excavations] were rewarded'. This encouraged local people 'to dig in other places on their own initiative, including at a more distant mound, a good distance inland', and bring him 'particularly fine pieces to sell, which they had found on earlier occasions and had kept in their houses as rarities' (Pöch 1907b:69).



Figure 14.4. Government cutter *Murúa* in Tufi Harbour, Cape Nelson, British New Guinea (now Oro Province, PNG), 1905.

Source: Reproduction courtesy Anthropologische Abteilung, NHM Wien, Anthropological Department (photographic print, 34.250).



Figure 14.5. Excavations in Wanigela, Collingwood Bay, British New Guinea (now Oro Province, PNG), 1905.

Source: Reproduction courtesy Anthropologische Abteilung, NHM Wien, Anthropological Department (photographic print, 34.357).

Pöck tended to describe his activities in the first person, emphasising his personal achievements as an explorer and scientist: ‘I carried out prehistoric excavations’, he claimed, ‘I myself dug through a previously untouched hill’ (NHM Archive, Rudolf Pöck to Richard Thurnwald, 20 December 1905; Pöck 1907c). However, some of his descriptions and particularly his photographs (Figure 14.5)² reveal that the excavations at Wanigela were a group effort; they would not have succeeded without the assistance of local people and representatives of the British colonial administration. At a still more basic level, without the combined efforts of local people, the British colonial administration, and Australian missionaries, Pöck would not even have known that Wanigela was a suitable place to undertake archaeological excavations. He had read a report by Monckton describing ‘an old village site of a forgotten people, and a quantity of broken and ancient pottery [...] of curious and unique

² We were initially concerned about potential community sensitivities regarding depictions of human remains in this photograph and are grateful to Leviticus Iriso, Koreaf Villages, and community leader for the Onjob people of Wanigela, for confirming that it is acceptable for this photograph to be used in its entirety, without obscuring the human remains (Elizabeth Bonshek pers. comm. 2020).

design and shapes', found during 'excavations carried out by the [Anglican] mission and natives [...] in Collingwood Bay' (Monckton 1905:33). Pöch's account of these excavations erased the involvement of local people and attributed the archaeological work solely to Europeans: Monckton, who had not in fact participated, and Percy Money, district missionary at Wanigela from 1901 to 1910 (Pöch 1907c).

Elizabeth Bonshek's exploration of Money's excavations at Wanigela (see Bonshek, **Chapter 13**, this volume) reveals that Money had 'enquired among the local population about the excavated material' and 'recorded how some of the enigmatic pottery fragments might have been used'. More striking still, he had spoken to eyewitnesses who recalled 'the clan that had lived on the excavated site': an old woman who said she was the clan's 'sole survivor', and an old man whose clan had lived adjacent. Pöch's writings give no indication that he was aware of these eyewitnesses' existence. Their testimonies were not acknowledged in Monckton's report, and Pöch did not actually meet Money during his visit to Wanigela; he reported regretfully that Money 'had had to leave the station [...] during the rainy season on account of blackwater fever, as he had already come down with it once' (Pöch 1907b:68). Whether or not Pöch endeavoured to obtain information about the excavation site from local people directly is not clear. However, his arrival in the presence of the resident magistrate and police, as well as his intrusive physical examinations and photographs of local people for anthropological purposes, presumably did not encourage them to confide in him. Money, who had 'built a good relationship with the local people', 'could speak the language', and might therefore have facilitated 'a degree of [local] cooperation', was not on hand to assist (John Barker pers. comm. 2017). In any case, Pöch's own 'language skills' were 'exceedingly threadbare', as he acknowledged in a rare moment of self-awareness to his friend and fellow ethnologist Richard Thurnwald. As a result, he added, his plans to undertake 'more subtle investigations of ideas of the supernatural and the like' among Indigenous New Guineans had 'amounted to nothing [...] since Pidgin English or a missionary are about as suitable for such investigations as a hedgehog for wiping one's arse' (NHM Archive, Rudolf Pöch to Richard Thurnwald, 20 December 1905).

‘Vanished potters’ settlements’: Interpreting the Wanigela excavations

Unburdened by any knowledge of local eyewitnesses to the former inhabitants of the excavated site, Pöch was free to categorise his finds as ‘prehistoric’, claiming that ‘no tradition about them exists, tradition being the sole unwritten history of New Guinea’ (Pöch 1907a:137). He declared that the potsherds and carved *Conus* shell he had discovered, like those sent by Monckton to the British Museum, revealed a ‘greater technical perfection of the potter’s art and an ornamentation foreign to this region’ (Pöch 1907b:67). His ‘examination of the human skulls and skeletons’ found at the excavation site convinced him that ‘the people in question appear[ed] not to have been substantially different from the present-day inhabitants’ (Pöch 1907c), but this did not discourage him from explaining the finds as a straightforward example of complete population replacement. To his mind, the old potsherds were ‘far superior to the current pottery in strength, size and fine workmanship’; this was sufficient to identify the makers of the pots as ‘a population whose culture was doubtless a higher one’ (Pöch 1906a:6). He proposed ‘immigration by a more cultivated people from the island groups further to the south-east in the Pacific Ocean’, arguing that ‘this supposition [was] strengthened’ by ‘the higher culture still existing today in the Trobriand Islands’ – notably ‘the well-developed chiefly rank’, indicative of ‘Polynesian influence’ – and ‘the pottery in the Amphlett Group’, ‘known today for the largest and most beautiful pots’ (Pöch 1907a:139).

Pöch supported these arguments with references to published overviews of archaeological and ethnographic work in New Guinea by British ethnologists Alfred Haddon, Thomas Joyce and Charles Seligman[n]³ (Haddon 1894; Seligmann and Joyce 1907). He speculated that the ‘vanished potters’ settlements’ revealed by his excavations could be interpreted as ‘a colony of tribes from the Massim district’ (Pöch 1907b:71). Haddon had identified the Massim district as an ‘ethnographical region’ encompassing the south-eastern tip of mainland New Guinea and various offshore island groups, including the Trobriand and D’Entrecasteaux

3 According to Seligman[n]’s obituarist, his surname was originally spelt ‘Seligmann’, but he ‘dropped the last letter of his surname after 1914’, presumably in response to anti-German sentiment associated with World War I (Myers 1941:627). In 1907 he was still publishing under his original surname, ‘Seligmann’.

Islands, Woodlark Island (Murua) and the Louisiade Archipelago (Haddon 1894:184, 1900:416; see also Shaw 2016:107). He characterised this region primarily by similarities in styles of ornamentation, notably ‘scroll patterns’, animal and human forms, and spirals (Haddon 1900:436). Pöch believed that the ornaments engraved on the *Conus* shell found during his excavations – ‘spirals that turn back on themselves, with elliptical centrepieces inserted between them’ – might reveal ‘connections to the Massim district’ (Pöch 1907b:71). However, he cautioned that ‘a closer comparison’ revealed ‘a number of differences’ to the ‘present-day art [...] of, for example, the Trobriand Islands’ (Pöch 1907b:71; see also Pöch 1907c). Potentially change over time could account for these differences, but Pöch was uncertain whether this explanation would be ‘sufficient to overcome the difficulty of the differences between styles’, noting that ‘we have no experience of the length of time necessary to alter the style of such primitive tribes’ (Pöch 1907b:71).

More recent archaeological and ethnoarchaeological research has confirmed Pöch’s suppositions of prehistoric connections between Wanigela and the Massim district (Ambrose et al. 2012; Egloff 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1978, 1979; Key 1968; Lauer 1970, 1971, 1973; Shaw 2016). Engraved *Conus* shell valuables are still assigned to the Massim art style, and have now been found as far afield as Budibudi Atoll, some 500 km from Collingwood Bay (Ambrose et al. 2012). Using petrographic analysis of potsherds and radiocarbon dating of wood charcoal and shell samples, Wal Ambrose, Brian Egloff and others have proposed a three-phase model of the deep past in the northern Massim. The first two phases, c. 1500–1000 BP and c. 1000–500 BP, were characterised by ‘strong links between the groups living along the northern part of the eastern tip of New Guinea and the islands of the northern Massim’, whereas in the third phase (c. 500–100 BP) ‘strong trade contact’ between the New Guinea mainland and the islands of the northern Massim was ‘replaced by inter-island trade’ (Ambrose et al. 2012:128).

Pöch was working from a comparatively limited evidence base and did not have access to modern methods of absolute dating and compositional analysis. However, these factors cannot completely explain his preference for a relatively static and value-laden explanation of past human behaviour, namely immigration to the Wanigela area of ‘a more cultivated people’ from nearby island groups, rather than the dynamic social and trading networks postulated by more recent researchers. His own observations had convinced him that the ‘widespread assumption that individual

Papuan tribes live completely isolated from one another' was incorrect; instead, 'extensive trade flows' connected New Guinea's Indigenous inhabitants across great distances (Pöch 1905a:440). He documented multiple examples of such trade flows, and witnessed at least one at first hand: the annual *hiri* trade cycle, in which tens of thousands of clay pots were transported by sailing ship (*lakatoi*) from Port Moresby some 400 km westwards to the Gulf of Papua, where they were exchanged for hundreds of tons of sago flour (Pöch 1906a:608–609, 1907d:614; see also Skelly and David 2017). Yet, seemingly, it did not occur to him that similar processes might have underlain the results of his archaeological excavations. Could his perceptions of biological and cultural hierarchies have impinged? He certainly perceived the cultural life of the inhabitants of Wanigela and surrounding areas as both primitive and static, as the following anecdote demonstrates:

In celebration of the king's birthday, the resident magistrate, G.O. Manning, invited the natives of the North-Eastern Division to dances at the Government station at Cape Nelson. Some 700 men came [...] I admired the great influence which the Government there, in scarce five years, had acquired over a territory as large as my native land of Lower Austria, and inhabited by Papuans who, from immemorial time, had lived in tribal fights and man-hunting. (Pöch 1907d:614)

A final anecdote reveals the errors in scientific reasoning that could result from cultural prejudice. As already mentioned, Pöch considered the ancient potsherds uncovered at Wanigela 'far superior to the current pottery in strength, size and fine workmanship'; he noted dismissively that the modern pots were 'much weaker' and their walls 'much thinner' (Pöch 1907b:69–70). In complete contrast to this assessment, Egloff's investigations of 'the fabrication, form and function of contemporary pottery' in Wanigela in the years 1967–69 revealed that Wanigela vessels were a valued trade good in the surrounding region precisely because of 'their thin walls which permit the rapid cooking of food, while using a minimum of firewood' (Egloff 1973:77). He noted that 'they have reached the optimum point where the wall is thin enough to readily transmit heat without sacrificing durability' and concluded: 'Technical excellence of the vessel wall is one of the hallmarks of Wanigela pottery' (Egloff 1973:78).

Acknowledgements

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Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Weltmuseum Vienna from March 2020.

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15

Global journeys of Lapita potsherds from the Bismarck Archipelago

Hilary Howes

Anyone who has taken even a passing interest in the prehistory of the Pacific will have encountered the terms ‘Lapita culture’ or ‘Lapita peoples’. The archaeologist Thomas S. Dye has summarised the significance of Lapita for Pacific archaeology as follows:

The established facts of the Lapita archaeological record reveal one of the greatest migrations in world prehistory. The culture’s distinctive archaeological characteristic is a pottery design system in which geometric motifs are stamped with a toothed tool into the wet clay of certain [...] vessel forms [...] Sherds of these so-called dentate stamped vessels [...] point strongly to a community of culture spread over a vast portion of the Pacific [...] At the western end of its range, from New Guinea to the Solomon Islands, the pottery was produced and deposited on islands that had been inhabited for tens of thousands of years. East of this, however, Lapita is the founding culture and the Lapita peoples are now recognized as the discoverers of the Santa Cruz Islands, Vanuatu, Loyalty Islands, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa, a prodigious achievement accomplished in an archaeological heartbeat. (Dye 2000:362)

The name ‘Lapita’ was first used in 1952 by two Americans, anthropologist E.W. Gifford and archaeologist Richard Shutler Jr, who apparently misheard the local name (Xapeta‘a) for the site where they were conducting excavations on New Caledonia’s Foué Peninsula (Gifford and Shutler 1956; see also Sand and Kirch 2002). Gifford and Shutler realised that the potsherds they had found in New Caledonia belonged to the same tradition as others found previously in the Bismarck Archipelago, Tonga and Fiji (Gifford 1951; McKern 1929).

However, the earliest detailed description (including drawings) of what was later recognised as Lapita pottery came from a German Catholic missionary, Father Otto Meyer MSC,¹ stationed on Watom Island in the Bismarck Archipelago (Meyer 1909a). When Meyer penned this description in 1909, no comparable pottery had been recognised from anywhere else in the Pacific, and many techniques now used by archaeologists, notably radiocarbon dating and x-ray fluorescence, were decades away from being developed. Meyer nevertheless considered his initial chance finds sufficiently important to follow them up with systematic excavations, publish a further two articles, and donate extensive collections of potsherds to at least eight museums in five countries.

This chapter draws on archival research in Australian and European institutions to illuminate the global journeys of these potsherds, the networks of missionary contact and scientific exchange along which they travelled, and their continuing significance for Pacific archaeology today. As Meyer is central to this story, a brief biographical outline is also offered here.

Rudolf Otto Meyer (Figure 15.1) was born in 1877 in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, now a city in the German state of Lower Saxony. He spent the majority of his childhood in Kleve (Cleves), close to the Dutch border; his father was employed as senior teacher at Kleve’s agricultural college from 1879 until his death in 1897. Meyer’s spiritual journey towards becoming a missionary was also a physical journey through Western Europe; he was confirmed into the Catholic faith in Antwerp in 1890, commenced his novitiate in Salzburg in 1896, and took his final orders in 1900 in Hiltrup (now a suburb of Münster), where the Missionaries of the

1 The abbreviation MSC comes from the French name for Meyer’s order, *Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur*, Missionaries of the Sacred Heart.

Sacred Heart of Jesus, originally a French order, had recently established a German province and mission house. In 1902 he was sent to the Vicariate of Rabaul and took up residence at Reber Mission Station on Watom Island (Figure 15.2). He remained there, apart from a year's home leave, until shortly before his death (MSC Archive, Sig. 565b, Questionnaire for new entrants; Stresemann 1938). In September 1937, having suffered a stroke earlier in the year, he departed for Sydney to undertake a rest cure, but was reluctant to remain long: 'he was anxious to return to the mission and to his beloved Vuatom [Watom]' (Zwinge 1938:79). In December he obtained his doctor's permission to travel; however, he passed away on board the ship that was to have borne him home, and was buried in Nudgee Catholic Cemetery in Brisbane (Anon. 1937; Howes 2016, 2017; Smith 1937; Zwinge 1938).



Figure 15.1. Father Otto Meyer (1877–1937) and companions at Rakival, Watom Island, c. 1903.

Photographer unknown. The pile of logs further up the beach marks the mouth of the stream bed where Meyer first found Lapita potsherds (Jim Specht pers. comm. 2019).

Source: Reproduced with the author's permission from Hiery (2005:146). Original held in the Archive of the Sacred Heart Missionaries in Vunapope, East New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea.

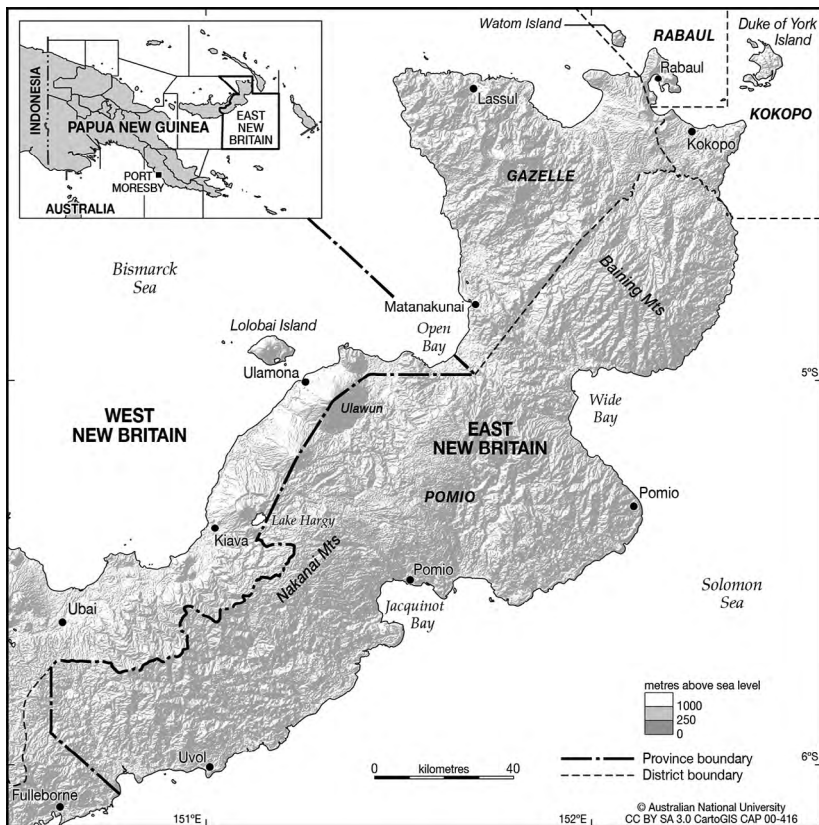


Figure 15.2. Location map of Watom Island.

Source: Map reproduced with the permission of CartoGIS Services, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

Meyer had a longstanding interest in scientific research and collecting. Shortly after arriving in Hilstrup to prepare for his final orders, he and two fellow students established the Hilstrup Mission Museum, an in-house collection of ethnographic, zoological and botanical specimens (MSC Archive, Sig. 1267a:16; Linckens 1922:142; Raesfeld 1903). They were encouraged in this venture by their Provincial Superior, Father Hubert Linckens MSC, who had donated ethnographic objects collected in New Britain to the First German Colonial Exhibition of 1896 in Berlin. These objects were later incorporated into the collections of Berlin's Ethnological Museum (Luschan 1897:73, 85). During his time on Watom, Meyer was particularly active in observing, describing and collecting specimens of birds and birds' eggs; he also documented local ceremonies and oral traditions, as well as material culture and subsistence practices (see Hüskes 1932:212 for a list of Meyer's publications).

The Hiltrup Mission Museum was the first institution to receive potsherds from Watom. In 1910 Meyer forwarded to the museum ‘the entire yield of pottery vessels’ he had found to date (Meyer 1910:1161). These included his first chance finds, ‘two fragments of vessels similar to pots or pitchers’ exposed by heavy rain, as well as further potsherds uncovered during deliberate ‘excavations [he had] arranged’ after finding ‘the site whence they [had] all originate[d]’, ‘a pit’ that had been ‘dug beside [his] house’ a few years previously (Meyer 1909a:251, 1909b:1093).

Hiltrup was not immune to the forces shaping twentieth-century European history. Over the years 1940–42, in what was later termed the *Klostersturm* or ‘storming of the monasteries’, the Nazi regime seized over 300 Catholic monasteries and convents, including the Sacred Heart Mission House, confiscated their contents, and drove out their inhabitants (Mertens 2006, 2009). For much of the war the collections of the Hiltrup Mission Museum were stored in two separate locations: the zoological specimens were held in the Provincial Museum of Natural History in Münster, while the ethnological items entered the depot of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin. Bomb damage and multiple relocations took their toll, but parts of the collections survived, and by 1950 Meyer’s potsherds were again on display in Hiltrup’s Sacred Heart Mission House (MSC Archive, Braam Mapped Teil 1, Johann Braam to Jos. Averbeck, 21 November 1945; MSC Archive, Sig. 1366:4, 38). In the 1960s the Hiltrup Mission Museum was disbanded and sold to a private collector, Thomas Schultze-Westrum, who on-sold parts of the collections in the 1970s to the Museum of Cultures in Basel, Switzerland (Museum der Kulturen Basel [MKB] Archive, Thomas Schultze-Westrum to Jim Specht, 23 March 1976). Meyer’s potsherds remain there to this day.

Meyer continued excavating after 1910, although he did not publish again on the results. In 1912–13, during a year’s home leave, he donated potsherds to the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum – Cultures of the World in Cologne (RJM) (Figures 15.3 and 15.4), the Ethnological Museum in Berlin (EMB), and the Institute of Human Palaeontology in Paris (RJM Archive, Otto Meyer to Wilhelm Foy, 30 September 1912; EMB Archive, Otto Meyer to Royal Ethnological Museum Berlin, undated [1913]; Dotte-Sarout and Howes 2019). It seems these donations were made at Meyer’s own initiative; there is no evidence that they were solicited by museum personnel. Possibly the choice of Berlin was influenced by Linckens, given his pre-existing connections to Berlin’s Ethnological Museum, outlined above.



Figure 15.3. Potsherds donated by Meyer, clearly from the same pot.

Source: Left, Museum of Cultures, Basel (Vb28524.2). Right, Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne (28554). Photographs courtesy Jim Specht.



Figure 15.4. Potsherds donated by Meyer, almost certainly from the same pot.

Source: Left, Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac, Paris (72.73.334.17). Right, Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne (28576). Photographs courtesy Jim Specht.

Cologne may have come to Meyer’s attention through *Anthropos*, the journal in which he published his three articles on potsherds and other excavated artefacts (Meyer 1909a, 1909b, 1910). Although *Anthropos* had been established by a Catholic missionary, Father Wilhelm Schmidt SVD,² primarily as a vehicle for Catholic missionaries to publish their ethnographic observations, it also published and reviewed works by non-missionaries, including Wilhelm Foy, then director of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum (Foy 1906; Schmidt 1905:6). Schmidt himself reviewed two of Foy’s publications and wrote approvingly of the

2 The abbreviation SVD comes from the Latin name of Schmidt’s order, *Societas Verbi Divini*, the Society of the Divine Word.

‘Cologne Museum’ as an ‘outstanding contributor to the progress of our science [ethnology]’ (Schmidt 1909, 1910:1174). In particular, Schmidt praised the use of ‘culture circles’ as an explanatory device to classify and interpret the museum’s collections. ‘Culture circle theory’, which sought to map the distribution of cultural traits – including material culture and aspects of social organisation – in space and time, is now most closely associated with Schmidt himself, as well as his fellow Divine Word missionaries in the Vienna School of Ethnology (Aigner, **Chapter 22**, this volume; see also Brandewie 1990:107–114). However, Schmidt clearly drew much of his initial inspiration from Foy and Fritz Graebner, Foy’s assistant at the museum, who succeeded him as director in 1925. Schmidt referred to Foy and Graebner as the ‘Cologne School’, even if his understanding of culture circles later diverged from theirs (Tönnies et al. 1929:176; see also Graebner 1905; Leser 1977; Schmidt 1935).

Despite the strong influence of culture circle theory on the early development of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, its collections were not confined to culture circle interpretations. Margarete Schurig, one of the first women to complete a doctorate in ethnography in the German-speaking lands, studied collections of pottery in various European museums, including the potsherds Meyer had donated to Cologne, while completing her dissertation (Spriggs, **Chapter 19**, this volume; see also Schurig 1930:34, 174, 178). The resulting monograph, *Die Südseetöpferei (Pacific Pottery)*, 1930, explicitly criticised Graebner’s application of culture circle theory to the Pacific. Schurig noted that Graebner had failed to consider linguistic evidence when identifying supposedly distinct cultural areas, and that his reliance on a so-called ‘criterion of form’ led him to assume cultural relationships between different areas on the basis of superficial similarities in pottery vessels, whereas in several cases documentary evidence revealed that these vessels were made using very different techniques (Schurig 1930:201–203). *Die Südseetöpferei* was the first attempt at a comprehensive description of pottery-making techniques and traditions across the Pacific region and remained the foremost text on the subject for over 30 years (Beer 2007:201–203; Spriggs 2004).

In 1916 or later, following his donations to Hilstrup, Cologne, Berlin and Paris, Meyer made a further donation of potsherds, this time to the National Museum of Victoria, now Melbourne Museum (see Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, this volume for the story of the Melbourne Museum collection). At some point he also donated potsherds to local museums in Rabaul and at the Catholic headquarters in Vunapope, both on the main island of New Britain.

Meyer's last documented donation of potsherds was to a fellow religious, the Marist Father Patrick O'Reilly. As his name suggests, O'Reilly was descended from an Irish sea-captain's son who migrated to France. In 1934–35, at the behest of Paul Rivet, then director of the Trocadero Museum of Ethnography in Paris, he undertook a one-year expedition to the Solomon Islands and New Britain. O'Reilly returned with over 2,000 objects, many collected indirectly through missionary networks (see Haddow et al. 2020). These included potsherds and non-ceramic objects (such as stone and shell items, bones and charcoal fragments) from Meyer's excavations. Meyer had documented finding such objects during his excavations as early as 1910; however, the O'Reilly collection is the only one containing non-ceramic objects specifically attributed to pottery-bearing levels, although Meyer did also donate stone and shell items from Watom Island to other museums (Dotte-Sarout and Howes 2019; Jim Specht pers. comm. 2019).

O'Reilly also obtained further information about the context of Meyer's finds, including a map showing three separate excavation sites and a stratigraphic profile for each site (Figure 15.5). Either he or a certain 'Miss Schargorodski', an assistant at the museum, divided the pottery into 'Melanesian' and 'non-Melanesian' types, and hinted at the possible existence of a 'non-Melanesian' culture, predating and not related to the current inhabitants, in the Bismarck Archipelago and Solomon Islands. O'Reilly's colleagues at the museum suggested connections between the patterns on the 'non-Melanesian' potsherds and others from South Asia, Southeast Asia, and South America (Dotte-Sarout and Howes 2019).

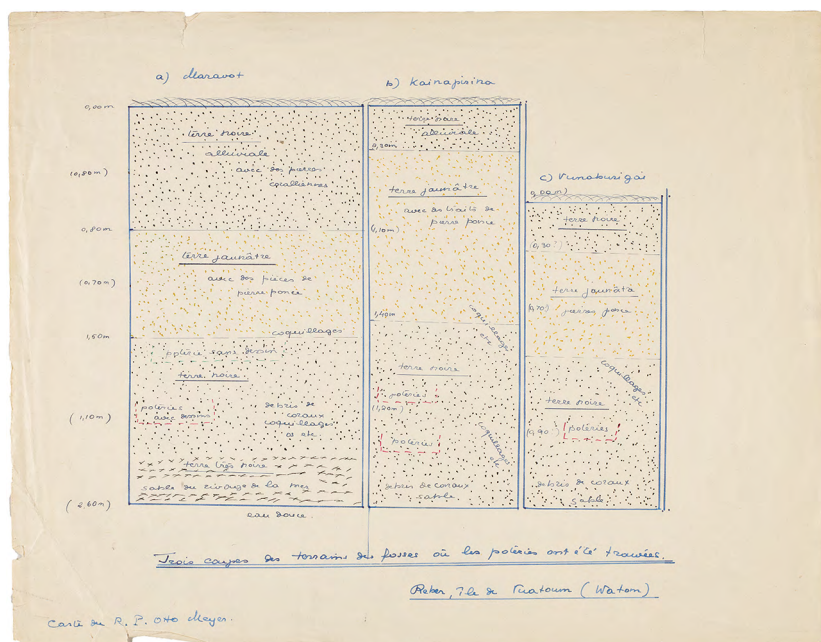


Figure 15.5. ‘Three excavation profiles from the trenches where the pottery was found, map of Father O. Meyer’.

One of two manuscript reproductions of stratigraphic profiles from Watom Island kept in the archives of the Meyer/O’Reilly collection of the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.

Source: © musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (71.1956.57 [Père O’Reilly] file D001126_SC_0006_0007).

In fact almost everyone who examined Meyer’s potsherds prior to Gifford’s 1952 excavations suggested connections to places far from Watom Island. South America was particularly popular, but Japan, Spain and even ‘the Western European cultural circle’ were mooted (MSC Archive, File on Johann Braam, Sig. 1267a:55; EMB Archive, File on acquisitions of ethnological objects from Australia, E No. 20/13, (August) Eichhorn, annotation to Otto Meyer to Royal Ethnological Museum Berlin, 5 January 1913). In the rush to identify distant origins, few paused to note that Meyer’s first instinct had been to record local people’s responses to the potsherds (Howes 2017). They identified some of the markings by name, and suggested that they had ‘probably [been] made by Pir, the legendary person of their tales’ (Meyer 1909a:251–252). Meyer also sought to link archaeological finds with current local practices, noting that the human teeth uncovered were ‘gleaming brown, perhaps previously

blackened, as the people still do', and that some of the marine species found were still popular as food, whereas others were no longer eaten (Meyer 1910:1160–1161).

More recent archaeological investigations of Lapita culture have increasingly seen value in Meyer's holistic, place-based approach. The Lapita Homeland Project of 1984–85, which funded large-scale excavations in the Bismarck Archipelago, arose from archaeologists' belief in 'the need to re-establish the importance' of this area in 'Lapita discussions', and their dissatisfaction with arguments that neglected the possibility of Indigenous development of the Lapita cultural complex in the Bismarck Archipelago in favour of an 'entirely intrusive [...] model of migration' that imagined 'waves of colonists' from Southeast Asia 'streaming eastwards and bearing their superior technology, social organisation and subsistence modes towards a Polynesia-to-be, essentially by-passing the inhabited islands of Melanesia' (Allen and Gosden 1991:1–2). Roger Green and Dimitri Anson, who re-excavated the Watom Island site in 1985, praised Meyer's 'early contribution to defining what is today known as the Lapita cultural complex, i.e., the extension of Lapita to the non-ceramic items associated with the dentate-stamped pottery' (Green and Anson 2000:185). Indeed, Meyer's excavations continue to intrigue archaeologists. Further excavations of the Reber-Rakival site, the location of Meyer's first finds, were undertaken in 2008–09, revealing that 'previous excavations had not reached the base of the site', and finding 'evidence of human occupation [...] up to 0.8 m deeper than previously known' (Petchey et al. 2016:12). Separately, Jim Specht, who has been researching Watom Island archaeology since the mid-1960s (e.g. Specht 1968, 2003), is currently heading a project to record each of Meyer's collections photographically and publish them as a single virtual collection, making it possible to 're-unite' sherds from the same vessels.

Among Pacific Islanders, Lapita makes its presence felt in various ways (see also 'Rakival Mission, Watom Island Meeting' and 'Statement by Rakival People', **Appendix**, this volume). On Watom itself, when the two double canoes of the Lapita Voyage, a major expedition in experimental marine archaeology, visited in 2009, voyage participants encountered a local guide 'who knew all about the Lapita finds and the various archaeological digs that had taken place' (Boon 2009; Hympendahl 2013). In the Santa Cruz Islands, Oliver Lueb has documented both the sale of Lapita potsherds as tourist souvenirs and the use of Lapita to assert continuity with the traditions of the past and locate the Santa Cruz Islands within global

and Christian history. During a presentation to tourists on the island of Nendö, Lueb saw a man wearing a tapa cloth on which was written that Lapita potters ‘lived on Trevanion [Malo Island, offshore of Nendö] about the time King Solomon ruled Jerusalem in Judea about 1,000 years, B.C.’ (Lueb 2018:75, 167–168). In Vanuatu, Richard Shing has noted that although ‘[f]or a long time Pacific Islanders have been wary of archaeology, often associating it with grave digging, a practice that [...] in many Pacific cultures is considered sacrilegious’, collaborative awareness programs are helping ni-Vanuatu gain ‘a much better appreciation of archaeology’. When Shing and his colleagues ‘talk about Lapita’, their local audiences often react with ‘shock, surprise and excitement and they are keen to know more’ (Shing 2013:189, 196).

Nevertheless, archaeology in the Pacific remains a highly political pursuit (Spriggs 1999:114–121). With regard to Lapita specifically, the existence of Lapita sites across the south-western Pacific has enabled present-day Pacific Islanders ‘to demonstrate that [...] their ancestors have played a part in the great history of humanity’, but it has also given rise to ‘a contentious debate around the concept of origins’ and fears that archaeological research that contradicts Pacific Islanders’ beliefs about their own history could undermine existing social structures (Sand et al. 2006:335–336). In order to resolve such difficulties, New Caledonian archaeologists Christophe Sand, Jacques Bole and André Ouetcho have looked to ‘the emergence of new generations of indigenous archaeologists conducting scientific research on their own past’ (Sand et al. 2006:341). These new generations are indeed emerging (e.g. Dotte-Sarout et al. 2018). There has also been a recent intensification of interest in Germany’s colonial and mission history among German-speaking scholars (e.g. Hempenstall 2018; Hensel and Rommé 2018; Mückler 2010, 2014; Rüegg 2018). Seen in parallel, these two developments offer the hopeful prospect of future collaboration and mutual investigation of a shared past.

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16

Shell trumpets sounding in the stone city: Paul Hambruch and Nan Madol

Hilary Howes

On April 29, 1907, [German Governor Viktor] Berg visited Nan Madol, the ancient ruins in [the district of] Madolenihmw, in order to search for the bones of Sau Deleurs [...] the ancient rulers of Ponape [Pohnpei]. His mistress, Kedinsairirin [...] was a member of the ruling clan of [Madolenihmw]. She and her family protested that the place where he planned to dig was sacred and that he would suffer spiritual retribution. Berg did not heed the warnings. He went to Pan Kedara [Pahnkedira], the ancient center of Sau Deleur rule, and dug up unusually large human bones. That night, people heard the sound of the Triton shell [Figure 16.1] trumpeting from Pan Kedara [...] The sound seemed to come from the spot where Berg dug; but those who went, found no one blowing the trumpet shell. The sound continued through the night, and Berg died the following day [...] The Ponapeans believed, and still believe, that Berg died of spiritual retribution (*riabla*). They were saddened by his death, and many attended his funeral. (Ehrlich 1978b:117–118)



Figure 16.1. Shell trumpet, probably *Charonia tritonis*, one of two excavated by Paul Hambruch at Pahnkedira, Nan Madol, Pohnpei, 1910.

Source: Reproduction courtesy Museum am Rothenbaum, Hamburg (685 II / Ham Pon 140/28a). © Museum am Rothenbaum – Cultures and Arts of the World (MARKK).



Figure 16.2. Paul Hambruch seated on the western wall of the *lolong* of Inas, Pohnpei, 1910.

Note: Hambruch described *loulun* or *lolun* (now spelled *lolong*) as stone arrangements on cult sites, often indicating a burial place, and usually dedicated to a local protective deity, in this case the female deity Inas (Hambruch and Eilers 1936:3, 22, 96; see also Seikel 2016:3). This *lolong* was located on the *tol en loui* (Hill of Loui) in the district of Nett.

Source: Reproduction courtesy Museum am Rothenbaum, Hamburg (glass negative, 3.1081a / Ham 1081a). © MARKK.

The above quotation captures something of the awe and mystery surrounding Nan Madol, currently Micronesia's only World Heritage site (UNESCO n.d.). It also reveals that German ethnologist Paul Hambruch (Figure 16.2), whose survey and excavations of Nan Madol in 1910 are the subject of this chapter, was only one of many visitors fascinated by these monumental stone structures and the complex social and religious practices associated with them (see also Howes 2019, 2021).

Hambruch's archaeological investigations and documentation of relevant oral traditions were more extensive than any previous work. His three volumes on Pohnpei, published 1932–36, are considered 'the gold standard of ethnography' for 'anthropologists working in Micronesia' today (Petersen 2007:317). His map of the Nan Madol site is still used by archaeologists, 'not just for its completeness, but for the myriad of information it holds with regard to indigenous traditions' (McCoy et al. 2015:6; see also Kirch 2017:173–183; McCoy and Athens 2012). This chapter discusses the ways in which Hambruch's work was shaped by colonialism, Christianity and racial ideology, as well as Indigenous and women's agency.

The colonial context of Hambruch's work

Hambruch spent six months (March–September 1910) on Pohnpei, making observations and assembling collections in the 'four fields' of anthropology: sociocultural anthropology, archaeology, physical anthropology and linguistics (Hambruch 1932:v; see also Balée 2009; Hicks 2013). His work was part of the Hamburg South Seas Expedition of 1908–10. Georg Thilenius, first director of the Museum of Ethnology in Hamburg (now the Museum am Rothenbaum – Cultures and Arts of the World [MARKK]), designed the expedition to serve both scientific and 'practical' (colonial) purposes. 'In the tropics', he pointed out, 'the native is the labourer of the white man'; any decline in Indigenous populations thus posed a threat to the success of colonial endeavours. Information gathered during anthropological investigations could help inform 'practical measures' that would ensure the 'preservation and increase' of Indigenous populations and enable existing social structures to be 'exploited for the white man's purposes' (Thilenius 1904, quoted in Fischer 1981:38). Thilenius intended these practical measures to benefit Germany directly. The expedition focused on areas of the Pacific acquired

as protectorates by the German Empire over the period 1884–1900, including the Bismarck Archipelago, Palau, Nauru and the Caroline Islands (Gründer 2001; Sapper et al. 1920).

Funding came from the Hamburg Scientific Foundation, established in 1907 with donations from Hamburg's well-to-do citizens. The foundation committed over 600,000 marks – then more than six times the average Hamburg house price – to realise Thilenius's vision (Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung n.d.). This largesse enabled Thilenius to hire and fit out a steamer exclusively for expedition purposes, pay the wages of a dozen scientists and ship's officers, purchase scientific equipment and the services of 'native assistants', and publish 30 richly illustrated volumes on the expedition's results (Thilenius 1927:33–40). No previous visitor to Nan Madol had benefited from such favourable working conditions.

Expedition members were also supported by the German colonial administration. Hambruch's field journals mention unrest among the Indigenous Pohnpeian population, noting that the intervention of Melanesian police troops from German New Guinea was necessary to 'restore calm' (MARKK Archive, File on Paul Hambruch, SÜD 2.1.3, 19 April 1910, 22 April 1910; see also Fischer 1981:132). But a larger storm was brewing. In October 1910, only a month after Hambruch's departure, the people of Pohnpei's Sokehs district rose up against German rule. They killed the German district commissioner, Gustav Boeder, three other German officials, and several of their Islander assistants. In retaliation, German warships bombarded the Sokehs warriors' mountain stronghold with naval artillery. When the warriors eventually surrendered, the Germans condemned 15 men to public execution by firing squad, and forcibly exiled the entire remaining population of Sokehs to Palau, more than 2,500 km away (Ehrlich 1978b:155–196; Hemptenstall 1978:87–118).

Hemptenstall (1978:viii, 2018:144) identifies the Sokehs Uprising as 'a colonial trauma' for Germany and 'the most serious threat to imperial domination within Micronesia, perhaps within the whole Pacific'. Its causes were complex. Newer religious rivalries compounded longstanding conflicts between the island's five districts. Some districts sided with the American Protestant missionaries who had established a presence on Pohnpei in 1852; others had converted to Catholicism during the Spanish administration of the island. In 1899, shaken by an earlier uprising that had succeeded in temporarily expelling the entire Spanish colony from Pohnpei, Spain sold the Caroline Islands to Germany for 17 million marks (Hanlon 1988:144–165; Hezel 1983:306–318). German

administrators initially took a relatively sensitive approach, but Boeder's insistence on compulsory labour obligations and fondness for brutal corporal punishment further inflamed tensions (Ehrlich 1978b:155–196; Hempenstall 1978:87–118).

Nan Madol also played a key role in the Sokehs Uprising. A month before the uprising, one of the corners of the stone wall on the islet of Pahnkedira collapsed. According to oral tradition, the wall's corners had been built by master builders from four different districts: Madolenihmw, Kiti, Sokehs and Katau. They founded the stones on spiritual power, and 'said to one another that should any corner crumble, the area which it represented would come upon hard times or be destroyed' (Kohler 2015:219). In September 1910 it was the *keimw en Sokehs*, the Sokehs corner, that collapsed.



Figure 16.3. The *keimw en Sokehs* (Sokehs corner) of Pahnkedira, seen from Idehd, Nan Madol, Pohnpei, 1910.

Source: Reproduction courtesy Museum am Rothenbaum, Hamburg (glass negative, 3.1120 / Ham 1120). © MARKK.

The fatalism accompanying the collapse of the *keimw en Sokehs* helped crystallise existing tensions into action. 'The end of Sokehs had been predicted and it merely remained to fulfil the prophecy' (Ehrlich 1978b:164; see also Hempenstall 1978:104). Hambruch was aware of the legend and had actually photographed the *keimw en*

Sokehs before it crumbled (Figure 16.3). Although he noted that after its collapse ‘the people of Pohnpei took it for granted that *Sokehs* must fall’ (Hambruch and Eilers 1936:27), he did not mention the incident in his description of events leading up to the *Sokehs* Uprising. He acknowledged Boeder’s heavy-handed approach, but considered Pohnpei’s American Protestant missionaries the prime culprits, blaming them for fomenting unrest and re-educating ‘amiable natives [...] to become sly, devious and self-interested’ (Hambruch 1932:v).

‘Destroyed [...] by foreign influences’: Hambruch’s view of Pohnpeian culture

Hambruch was convinced that Indigenous politics in Pohnpei prior to the *Sokehs* Uprising ‘bore the stamp [of] the puritanical Boston Mission’ (Hambruch 1932:194 note 1). The prime example, he believed, was Henry Nanpei of the Kiti district. Born into a position of relatively low customary status, Nanpei sought and found ‘an alternative route’ to influence through trade, education, Protestantism and ‘a facility with Western ways’ (Ehrlich 1978a:138, 1978b:77). With a small group of educated Protestant Pohnpeians whose access to customary power was similarly limited, he ‘engaged in a series of activities and initiatives [including] gun-running, agitation against German rule, and a movement to create parliamentary institutions’ (Petersen 2007:325; see also Ehrlich 1978a, 1978b; Hempenstall 1978:75–116).

Recent accounts unanimously describe Nanpei as a man of ‘extraordinary influence’, ‘Pohnpei’s most astute politician and skilled entrepreneur’ (Ehrlich 1978b:14; Petersen 2007:327). All highlight his agency in exploiting the opportunities offered by recent changes to Pohnpeian society, especially the presence of Christian missionaries (for comparable cases see Haddow 2019; Maxwell 2015; Yates 2013). They also interpret his success as evidence, not of the demise of Pohnpei’s traditional chiefly system, but of its inbuilt flexibility: ‘Nanpei was proof of the system adapting to modern changes as it drew him in and employed his talents’ (Ehrlich 1978b:224; see also Petersen 2007:327–328). Hambruch saw the situation differently. He accused the missionaries of encouraging Indigenous Pohnpeian converts to consider themselves ‘the equals of the whites’, and suggested that such beliefs led to unrest and rebellion (Hambruch 1932:191). He considered Nanpei a mere ‘tool’

of the missionaries, and dismissed his efforts to establish parliamentary institutions that would ‘represent and organise Pohnpei’s interests’ as the result of American influence (Hambruch 1932:206–207, 218).

Petersen (2007) argues cogently that a ‘colonial narrative’ underlay Hambruch’s writings. First, Hambruch clearly did not see Indigenous Pohnpeians as equal to ‘the whites’, capable of self-rule or even – without missionary meddling – interested in it. He was unable to ‘understand the Pohnpeians’ opposition to German rule in Indigenous Pohnpeian terms’ (Petersen 2007:329). Second, his concept of traditional Pohnpeian society was based explicitly on racial hierarchies. Drawing on a highly problematic account by the Irish beachcomber James F. O’Connell (1972 [orig. 1836]), Hambruch claimed that Pohnpei had been occupied prior to European contact by ‘two distinctly different races: an olive-coloured race [...] considered to be descended from Malays, and the Oceanic Negroes, who are perhaps the original inhabitants’ (Hambruch 1932:366). He added that ‘the lighter race constitute[d] the ruling class [and] the Negroes [...] the common people and the serving class’ (Hambruch 1932:366). In fact there is no historical, archaeological or linguistic evidence for the existence of anything resembling such ‘racial castes’ (O’Connell 1972 [orig. 1836]:122 note 19; see also Petersen 2007:319–321). However, similar ‘conjectural histor[ies] of inevitable displacement of black-skinned autochthones by more civilized, lighter-skinned immigrants’ can be found in the works of numerous earlier European thinkers (Douglas 2008:103; see also Stocking 1986).

Petersen does not mention the term ‘salvage anthropology’, but it is just as relevant to Hambruch’s ‘colonial narrative’ as his ideas about race. Salvage anthropology took a static view of culture and saw changes to non-European cultures following European contact not as part of an ongoing process of cultural adaptation and transformation, but as a loss of original cultural purity. This widely shared view resulted in an obsession with ‘authenticity’ and extraordinary efforts to ‘rescue as much material culture as possible from the onslaught of European expansion’ (Penny 2002:29–34, 51–94; see also Buschmann 2009; Clifford et al. 1987; Schildkrout and Keim 1998; Steinmetz 2004). In keeping with this view, Hambruch believed that Pohnpeian culture ‘had been corroded by European and American influences and was rapidly disintegrating’ at the time of his visit (Hambruch 1932:v). He was convinced that missionary teachings insisting on ‘the equality of all people before God’ had destroyed ‘the life-giving basis of [Pohnpeian] culture’ and that Nanpei’s attempts

to gain influence through non-traditional routes were evidence of a toxic destabilisation of the ‘established social order’ (Hambruch 1932:v, 285; see also Petersen 2007).

It is not particularly surprising that Hambruch framed Pohnpeian culture in this way. Thilenius had drawn on salvage anthropology to justify the urgency of the expedition, insisting that cultural anthropologists must ‘observe and document the last phases of an older and distinct culture while it is still alive as a whole’, or, failing that, ‘gather together as many little-changed remnants of the old days as possible’ (Thilenius 1927:12). Hambruch attempted to do exactly this, but regretted that he had been unable to ‘piece together a whole’, as Pohnpei’s ‘superior and vigorous culture [had been] destroyed in a few years by foreign influences’ (Hambruch 1932:v). His earliest publications on Nan Madol even claimed that construction had only ceased in 1852, following the ‘sacrilegious’ intervention of American missionaries (Hambruch 1911:129, 1912:75). In fact all available historical and archaeological evidence suggests that by 1852 Nan Madol was used only occasionally for ceremonial purposes (Athens 1981:10–11; Fisher 1964; Hanlon 1990:106). Construction is now believed to date to between AD 1200 and AD 1600, after which the site was ‘gradually abandoned’ (Köhler 2015:25). In his later work Hambruch omitted these assertions, perhaps convinced by the accounts of earlier visitors who had described the site as uninhabited ruins (Hambruch 1932:99–100, 119).

‘The right informants’: Indigenous agency in Hambruch’s work

Hambruch was largely dismissive of Indigenous agency, yet his archaeological work is full of its traces. Four Pacific Islanders (Figure 16.4) accompanied him during his site survey and excavations at Nan Madol from 15 to 26 August 1910. Tuhen from Buka (now Autonomous Region of Bougainville, Papua New Guinea) and Masasion from Nusa (now New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea) came from distant parts of Germany’s Pacific territories. Their presence on Pohnpei, like that of the Melanesian police troops mentioned earlier, speaks to the mobility of Pacific Islanders during the colonial period. Wilhelm Helgenberger, whose name Hambruch also recorded as Auntol en Aru, was the son of a German man and a Pohnpeian woman. As such, he was of interest to Hambruch

as a representative of the ‘excellent material’ available on Pohnpei for ‘the study of the bastard problem’. To Hambruch’s mind, racial and cultural purity went hand in hand; children of mixed parentage were thus further evidence of the ‘advanced process of decomposition’ affecting Pohnpeian society (Hambruch 1932:366, 374, Plate 14). However, these harsh judgements clearly did not deter Hambruch from accepting Wilhelm’s assistance, both during survey and excavation work and as a source of oral traditions (Hambruch and Eilers 1936:424–434).



Figure 16.4. From left to right: Tuhen, Wilhelm (Auntol en Aru), Masasion and Etekar, Hambruch’s assistants during his visit to Nan Madol.

Source: Reproduction courtesy Museum am Rothenbaum, Hamburg (glass negative, 3.790 / Ham 790). © MARKK.

The fourth man, Etekar, whose name Hambruch also recorded as Etekar, Edgar or Edward, came from Pohnpei’s Madolenihmw district. He was an educated Protestant, a close associate of Nanpei’s and a supporter of the movement to create parliamentary institutions (Ehrlich 1978b:4, 77, 85, 137). Although Hambruch disliked these qualities, he was heavily dependent on Etekar, who acted as translator during his six months on Pohnpei and was thus crucial to the success of virtually all his work. Numerous entries in Hambruch’s field journals bewail Etekar’s absence for various reasons and the impossibility of working without him (MARKK Archive, File on Paul Hambruch, SÜD 2.1.4, 6 May 1910, 11–12 May 1910, 22–23 May 1910,

26 May–1 June 1910, 3 June 1910). In addition, Ettekar recounted oral traditions and was a key source of information about Pohnpei's recent history, having been an active participant in conflicts between Indigenous Pohnpeians, American missionaries and Spanish colonial administrators (Hambruch 1932:203 note 1, 210, 216–224, 300, Plate 13; Hambruch and Eilers 1936:424–435).

A further key figure was Nalaim en Matolenim (the *nablaimw* of Madolenihmw, Figure 16.5), whom Hambruch described as the 'proprietor of the ruins' and 'bearer of one of the highest priestly titles' in the Madolenihmw district (Hambruch 1911:129, 1912:75; Hambruch and Eilers 1936:61; see also Ehrlich 1978b:244; Kohler 2015:35, 47, 274). The *nablaimw* exercised considerable control over Hambruch's activities in Nan Madol. He arranged accommodation for Hambruch and his companions during their stay. He discussed Hambruch's plans with him before any work commenced, and led the visitors on an 'initial viewing' of the site 'for orientation purposes'. He and his chosen associates sat down with Hambruch in the evenings and explained the significance of Nan Madol's major structures (Hambruch 1911:129, 1912:75; Hambruch and Eilers 1936:11–13, 25–27).

Hambruch, naïvely delighted by this assistance, praised the 'intelligent and amiable' *nablaimw* for 'willingly giving information about what he knew'. He was equally pleased with himself for having gained access to 'the right informants', emphasising that only 'experienced natives of Madolenihmw' were in a position to 'give correct information about the structures' (Hambruch 1911:129, 1912:75; Hambruch and Eilers 1936:61). Reading against the grain, however, it is clear that the *nablaimw* deliberately chose to guide Hambruch's investigations of Nan Madol. He may have hoped to forestall inappropriate interventions such as Berg's; like others of his generation, he may have wished to ensure 'that Pohnpei's history would not die with [him]' (Petersen 1990:vi). He undoubtedly saw the advantage in directing Hambruch to record those oral traditions most likely to strengthen his own position as 'proprietor' of a sacred and highly significant site (see also Spriggs 2019). Petersen (1990:5) notes that Hambruch's texts represent 'a very localized set of Pohnpei histories' and that informants from other parts of Pohnpei 'offer decidedly different views of what took place in Pohnpei history, why it took place, and why it is significant'. Nan Madol is still a 'contested landscape', and control over it is a matter of ongoing importance to Indigenous Pohnpeians (Petersen 1995; see also Pala 2009; Rilometo 2017).



Figure 16.5. From left to right: Ettekar, Tuhen, Auntol en Aru (all standing), Nos en Matolenim (the *noahs* of Madolenihmw), Nalaim en Matolenim (the *nahlaimw* of Madolenihmw), unidentified individual (all seated).

Temple of Nankieilmwahu, Pahnkedira, Nan Madol, Pohnpei, 1910.

Note: Ettekar stands at the site where the shell trumpets were excavated (Hambruch and Eilers 1936:26–27). Early Western visitors to Pohnpei encountered a complex dual chiefly system of governance which remains in place today. Within the district of Madolenihmw, Hanlon states that *noahs* is the fourth highest title in the first ruling line and *nahlaimw* is the second highest title in the second ruling line, but cautions that ‘variations exist in the rankings of titles among the different chiefdoms and even within a single chiefdom over time’ (Hanlon 1988:212).

Source: Reproduction courtesy Museum am Rothenbaum, Hamburg (glass negative, 3.1125 / Ham 1125). © MARKK.

Finally, Hambruch’s work was also influenced by women’s agency. Hambruch saw the first of three volumes on Pohnpei through to publication, but died before completing the remaining two. Thilenius entrusted their completion to his former doctoral student Anneliese Eilers, one of the first women to obtain a PhD in ethnology in the German-speaking lands. She sorted, revised and arranged Hambruch’s manuscript material and organised the production of sketches, maps and reproductions of photographs. Without her efforts, Hambruch’s only published work on Nan Madol would be a single four-page article, rather than a 400-plus-page volume containing the site map still used by archaeologists today, numerous illustrations and photographic plates, and the texts of over 400 oral traditions in Pohnpeian and German

(Beer 2007:54–58; Eilers 1936).¹ Uncovering the hidden histories of people like Eilers, Ettekar, Wilhelm, Tuhen, Masasion and the *nahlaimw* of Madolenihmw has been one of the main aims of the Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific Project.

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1 Hambruch (1912) is a republication of Hambruch (1911); it does not include a site map, but is otherwise identical (see also Athens 1981:10).

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Huli hele nā wahi pana
(seeking out storied places):
The contributions of John
F.G. Stokes to the field of
Hawaiian archaeology

Mara A. Mulrooney and Jillian A. Swift

During the first decades of the twentieth century, John F.G. Stokes (1875–1960) carried out extensive archaeological research across the Hawaiian archipelago. The Australian-born archaeologist moved to Hawai‘i in 1899 to serve as general curator and librarian at the invitation of the first director of Bishop Museum, William T. Brigham. In 1903, Stokes was appointed to the position of curator of Polynesian ethnology. Under this title, he completed the first robust archaeological research endeavours throughout the Hawaiian Islands and beyond.

The vast majority of Stokes’s work was completed in the field of Hawaiian archaeology: Stokes was one of the first people to apply modern surveying techniques and photography to document Hawaiian archaeological sites throughout the archipelago (see Dye 1991; Flexner and Kirch 2016; Flexner et al. 2017; Kirch 1985, 2000), and he also carried out the first systematic archaeological excavations in Hawai‘i at the Kamōhio ‘Fishing Shrine’ in Kaho‘olawe (see Kirch 1985; Reeve 1993). While his pioneering work in Hawai‘i contributes the bulk of his legacy, he later worked on the island of Rapa as part of the Bayard Dominick Expedition in 1920. Stokes

was, however, frequently slow to publish the results of his fieldwork. His survey and systematic excavations at Kamōhio were later published by J. Gilbert McAllister (1933), his survey of *heiau* on Hawai‘i Island was edited by Thomas S. Dye and published in 1991, and Stokes’s ‘Ethnology of Rapa’ manuscript remains unpublished (Stokes n.d.; see also Ghasarian 2016).

A large collection of Stokes’s unpublished work in various stages of completion is held in the Bishop Museum Archives. The information compiled by Stokes is contained in a range of media including field notebooks, written correspondence, photographs and annotated maps, and his work is still widely cited by archaeologists working in Hawai‘i today. Here, we highlight some of Stokes’s contributions to the field of Hawaiian archaeology, and in particular Stokes’s work on Kaho‘olawe. Bishop Museum’s contribution to the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* multi-site exhibition featured artefacts uncovered during Stokes’s groundbreaking excavations there, as well as holdings from the Bishop Museum Archives that relate to the archipelago-wide survey, of which his excavations were part.

Survey of Hawaiian ceremonial sites, 1906–13

Shortly after Stokes arrived in Hawai‘i, he joined Director W.T. Brigham on a field trip to Waha‘ula Heiau in the Puna District, Hawai‘i Island. There, they recorded the large *luakini heiau* (sacrificial temple) attributed to Pa‘ao, a legendary chief from Tahiti, in detail. Stokes later built a model of the *heiau* in the museum’s iconic three-story Hawaiian Hall upon its opening in 1902, where it still stands today (Brigham 1900, 1903; see also Spriggs 2017). It was this early trip that initiated Stokes’s interest in recording *heiau*, and when he returned to Honolulu via the Kona District of Hawai‘i Island and Lahaina on the island of Maui, he made detailed recordings of *heiau* in those areas as well.

Stokes’s pioneering surveys began in earnest when Brigham secured a grant from the Carnegie Institution in 1906, ‘for the exploration of the *heiau* of which the remains in a more or less ruinous state are scattered over the group’ (Brigham 1907:3–4; see also Spriggs 2017). Over the next eight years, Stokes completed most of the fieldwork for

this Bishop Museum–based research program, which was driven by Brigham’s general interests in Polynesian origins and Hawaiian religious change. Stokes was tasked with documenting all of the known *heiau* throughout the archipelago in order to test the hypothesis that through time, these monumental temples shifted from terraced structures to walled enclosures. From 1906 to 1913, Stokes worked with countless local collaborators (‘informants’) to record hundreds of sites across the main Hawaiian Islands, always striving to accurately record names of places and sites. While he focused specifically on monumental *heiau* structures, he also recorded house foundations, smaller shrines such as *ko’a* (fishing shrines), and fishponds, among other cultural features. His aptitude for the Hawaiian language, which he developed over the decade following his arrival in Hawai‘i, became a crucial skill during this work. Some of Stokes’s drafted maps include the names of his local collaborators in the margins, and he often described the activities of his field crew in his detailed notebooks. For example, Lawrence Gay, Henry Judd, Henry Pilsbry and David Forbes accompanied Stokes and assisted with fieldwork on Kaho‘olawe.

Stokes not only collaborated closely with local ‘informants’ and field assistants, but also with other scholars like T.G. Thrum and W.T. Brigham while working on this multi-year project. Stokes’s staff collection in the Bishop Museum Archives includes correspondence between Stokes and Thrum (Figure 17.1), demonstrating how these two men worked together to seek out *heiau* across the archipelago. Although Stokes was slow to publish his results, which are today almost exclusively contained in unpublished materials in the Museum Archives, Thrum published extensively along the way (see, for example, Thrum 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1915, 1916; see Spriggs 2017 for a detailed synopsis of Stokes and Thrum’s relationship). In the end, Thrum compiled the most comprehensive list of *heiau* in the Hawaiian Islands (this list was published posthumously under Thrum’s sole authorship in 1938). Stokes’s extensive contributions remained unpublished, due at least in part to a series of unfortunate events that included the loss of one of Stokes’s greatest supporters after Brigham left the museum in 1917 (see Spriggs 2017). A copy of Stokes’s unpublished monograph, ‘Heiau of Moloka‘i’, completed in 1919 and held in the Museum Archives, offers one testament to Stokes’s collaborative efforts and indeed his desire to publish his results: the work contains annotations by Brigham in preparation for its inclusion in his larger book on Hawaiian religion, which itself was never published after Brigham’s departure from the museum.

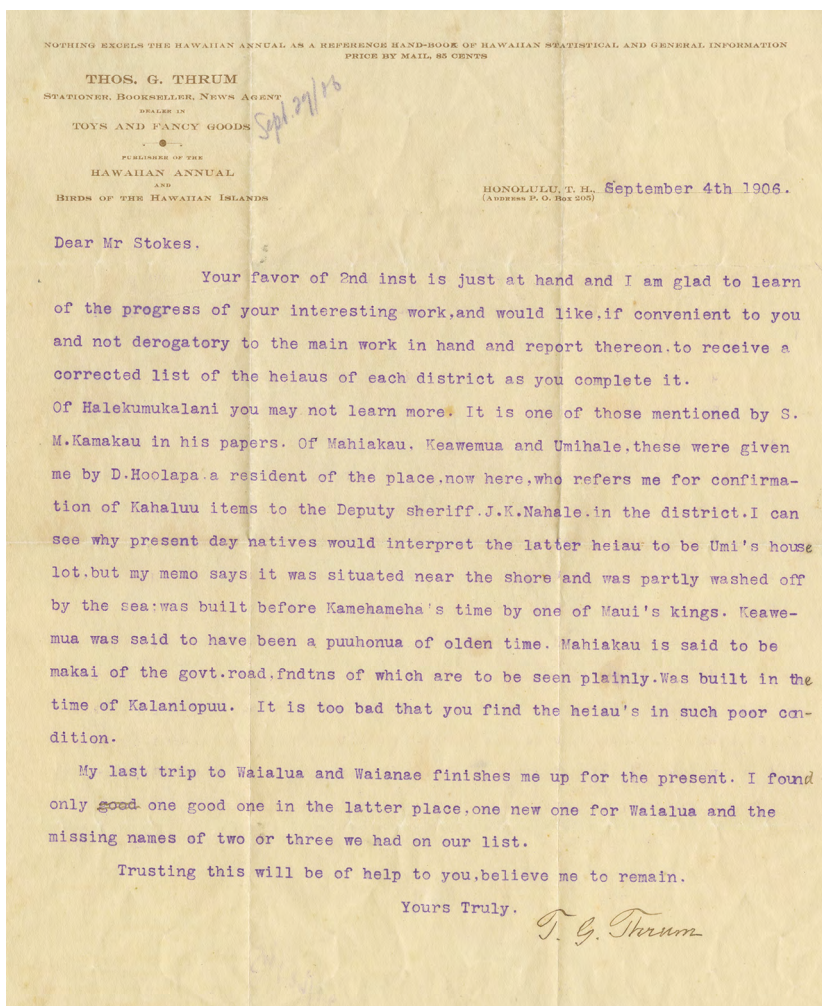


Figure 17.1. Letter from Thomas G. Thrum to J.F.G. Stokes providing information on various *heiau* sites in the Kona district of Hawai'i Island, dated 4 September 1906.

Source: Bishop Museum Archives (SM 215208).

In completing fieldwork for his most extensive project documenting *heiau* across the Hawaiian Islands, Stokes completed surveys of *heiau* on O'ahu and Hawai'i Island in 1906–07 and expanded his work to the island of Moloka'i in 1909–10, before continuing to record sites back on O'ahu and in Kaua'i in 1911, and then on Niihau in 1912. His final survey was undertaken on the smallest main Hawaiian island of Kaho'olawe in 1913. Here he faced a new challenge, as many site names had been

forgotten due to the near abandonment of the island during the previous two centuries (MacDonald 1972). In spite of this, Stokes was able to link up with local collaborators living on Maui who had connections to Kaho'olawe, including men named Nahoikaika, Kaulu, John Kanui and William H.B. Lincoln. While on Kaho'olawe, he and his field crew recorded dozens of archaeological features and places.

Kaho'olawe fieldwork of 1913

In 1913, Stokes took two trips to Kaho'olawe, and these are chronicled in two small notebooks held in the Bishop Museum Archives. During the first trip, from 25 February to 10 March 1913, he carried out an extensive survey and identified a wide variety of archaeological sites throughout the island. He mapped sites along his route (Figure 17.2) and drafted sketch maps of the sites he encountered, which included *heiau*, *ko'a*, house foundations, rock-shelters, burial sites and a range of smaller features. During Stokes's second trip to Kaho'olawe, from 18 March to 14 April 1913, he concentrated his efforts on the excavation of a site that 'had apparently been a fish heiau of great importance', located on the southern coast (Figure 17.3).



Figure 17.2. Inked map drafted by John F.G. Stokes of Kaho'olawe showing archaeological site locations.

Source: Bishop Museum Archives (SP 209126).



Figure 17.3. Annotated photo of the Kamōhio site; Kaho‘olawe, Hawai‘i.

Source: Bishop Museum Archives (SP 59486).

The site that Stokes and his field crew investigated during their second trip to Kaho‘olawe was later described as the ‘Kamohio Fishing Shrine’ in McAllister’s 1933 Bishop Museum Bulletin entitled *Archaeology of Kaho‘olawe* (McAllister 1933:13). Here, Stokes carried out the first systematic archaeological excavations in the Hawaiian Islands (see also Kirch 1985). Stokes and his field crew carefully excavated and recorded multiple terraced features at the site. The work represents a major milestone for the field of Hawaiian archaeology, as the first stratigraphically excavated site in the archipelago.



Figure 17.4. Digital scan of a bone fishhook collected by John F.G. Stokes during excavations of the Kamōhio site; Kamōhio Bay, Kaho‘olawe.

Source: Bishop Museum Ethnology Collection (object no. C.03356), Bishop Museum Archives (© 2019) (Q 210599).

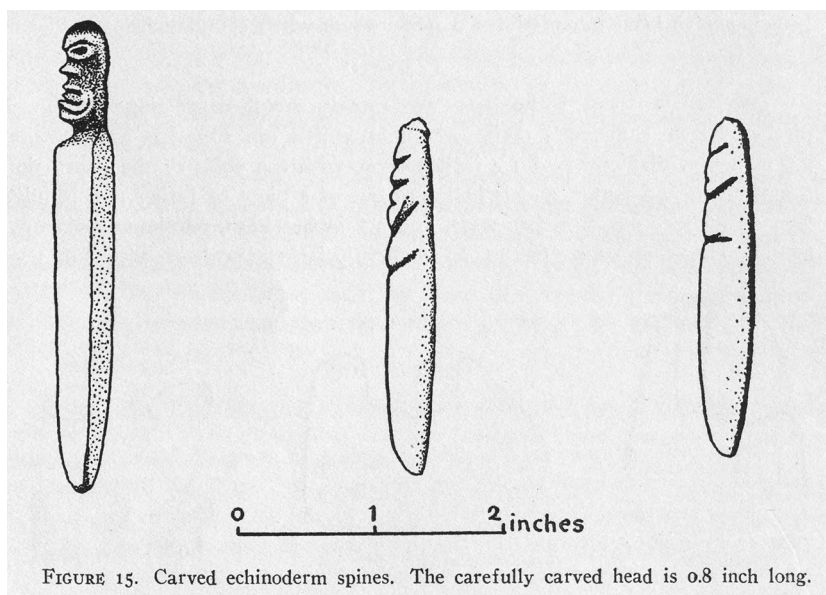


FIGURE 15. Carved echinoderm spines. The carefully carved head is 0.8 inch long.

Figure 17.5. Carved echinoderm spines from the Kamōhio site. Originally published as Figure 15 in *Archaeology of Kahoolawe* by J. Gilbert McAllister (Bishop Museum Bulletin 115).

Source: Bishop Museum Archives (SP 215210).

The excavations at Kamōhio yielded an extensive collection of artefacts that speak to the ceremonial use of the site: a wooden *ki'i*, stone images and various offerings that included coral, fish and shellfish (and among these a single offering containing around 1,800 *pipipi* shells), as well as dozens of offerings wrapped in *kapa* bundles (these included stones, floral material, food items and bones). In addition, hundreds of fishhooks (Figure 17.4), most of which were broken or unfinished, as well as fishhook blanks and tools (such as coral files) attest to the site's function as a place for fishhook manufacturing. However, the most unique artefacts uncovered during the excavations are the intricately carved urchin spines (Figure 17.5).

Based on the extensive collection of artefacts uncovered at the site, Stokes made the following conclusion:

the shelter was the abode or workshop of many successive Kahuna Kamakau or fish-hook-makers. Every craft had its guardian deity to which of course obligations were made. As time progressed the reputation of the establishment's products spread to the other

islands, until fishermen from the islands of Maui and Hawaii resorted to the spot, making offerings to the fish gods or bartering for hooks. (Quoted in McAllister 1933:17)

Stokes never published the results of his archaeological research on Kaho‘olawe. However, two decades later, McAllister drew heavily from the foundational work of Stokes to write his own Bishop Museum Bulletin, *Archaeology of Kaho‘olawe*. In the bulletin, McAllister synthesised Stokes’s work, and added information from his own weeklong field trip to Kaho‘olawe in 1931, as well as information drawn from the very limited short reports about the island that were available at the time. McAllister assigned new site numbers to the sites initially documented by Stokes and described Stokes’s work in some detail, based on his field notebooks from the staff collection in the archives. Importantly, McAllister also inventoried and described some of the extensive artefact collections from Stokes’s excavation of the stratified deposits at Kamōhio as well as the more general collections he made from throughout the island. However, as Kirch notes (1985:12–13), ‘the stratigraphic associations so carefully noted by Stokes were ignored’ by McAllister when he wrote up this work.

Reflecting on Kaho‘olawe

There is a copy of McAllister’s bulletin in the Bishop Museum Archives that was gifted to Stokes by the museum in January 1934. Robert J. Hommon (an archaeologist working in Hawai‘i who carried out numerous surveys on Kaho‘olawe for the US Navy from 1976 to 1980; see Hommon 1980) later donated this copy to Bishop Museum, which contains numerous annotations in the margins in Stokes’s handwriting. Although Stokes was fired from the museum in 1929, we know that he continued to work on some of his pending projects, including the Rapa manuscript and Honaunau report; the results of the latter were later published by E.H. Bryan Jr and K.P. Emory in 1986 (Stokes 1986a, 1986b; also see Krauss 1988:223, as cited in Spriggs 2017).

Although there is no manuscript written by Stokes on file for his Kaho‘olawe fieldwork, it is clear that he had reflected upon the excavations at Kamōhio based on the annotations he made in this copy of McAllister’s bulletin, now held in the Bishop Museum Archives. In the header on page 13 where McAllister describes the site, Stokes had crossed out the

words ‘Fishing Shrine’ from the original text, ‘Kamohio Fishing Shrine’. Next to the crossed-out words, Stokes wrote ‘Fish hook factory’, and below it, he wrote:

The industry was carried out secretly. The fish-gods would of course be present. A secondary purpose may have been a fishing shrine, although its situation is too remote for general use.

On the page facing the table of contents, Stokes wrote the following:

Unfortunate arrangement – Kamohio fish-hook factory should have been described with greater detail and accuracy, and separate from the rest of Kahoolawe. It had no necessary connection with the island, beyond its situation, and was isolated in the land side by the cliffs and precipices. Its normal approach was from the sea.

These annotations suggest that Stokes had shifted (or perhaps by then fully formulated) his interpretations of the Kamōhio site’s primary function during the years after he completed his fieldwork. His reclassification from what he describes in his field notebooks as a ‘fish heiau’ to a ‘fish-hook factory’ are intriguing, as it shifts the focus of this *wahi pana* (storied place) from its ceremonial significance to the domestic activities carried out there. Based on the material culture recovered from Stokes’s excavations and his written conclusions, it is clear that both domestic *and* ceremonial activities took place at the site. However, by shifting the focus to the domestic realm, Stokes demonstrates a deeper understanding of how domestic architecture in Hawai‘i often incorporates a sacred or ritual component, manifested in this case by the placement of shrines within larger structures (Weisler and Kirch 1985; also see Ladefoged 1998).

Stokes’s suggestion that this particular site be treated as separate from the rest of Kaho‘olawe is also noteworthy. The island of Kaho‘olawe features prominently in *mo‘olelo* (oral traditions) about Ku‘ūla, an *akua* (deity) associated with fishing. Additionally, one of the island’s ancient names is Kanaloa, after the *akua* of the sea or a namesake who voyaged to Hawai‘i from the south and made landfall at Lae o Kealaikahiki on the west end of Kaho‘olawe (Reeve 1993:v). These associations, and indeed the material remains of coastal settlements and *ko‘a* that Stokes himself documented, would be in line with his interpretation of the Kamōhio site as a place where fishhooks were manufactured and ritual activities related to fishing took place. Returning to his assertion that the site ‘had no necessary connection with the island’, there is documentation that may

suggest a connection elsewhere. In his extensive report to the Kaho‘olawe Island Conveyance Commission, Reeve notes the following in regard to a potential name associated with the site:

on an early sketch map of Kaho‘olawe, drawn around 1889 [possibly by Joseph Emerson, see Reeve 1993:66], can be found, down along the island’s southern shore, a place identified as the ‘Cave of Kunaka’. The location [...] suggests that it may lie somewhere along the western edge of Kamohio bay. (1993:154)

Kunaka is recorded as an *ali‘i* who resided in Waipi‘o Valley on Hawai‘i Island sometime around the fourteenth century (Reeve 1993:154). However, whether or not this legendary chief has any relationship with this place has yet to be determined, and may be an avenue for future research.

Conclusion

Examining Stokes’s wide body of work, it is clear that he was indeed ahead of his time in the field of Hawaiian and Pacific archaeology, both in terms of the methods he employed and the interpretations he formulated. Flexner and Kirch (2016:19–20) cite three ways in which the research Stokes carried out is notable for the history of the discipline: (1) the use of local knowledge, whether gained from historical sources authored by Native Hawaiians or from Native Hawaiian collaborators; (2) the drafting of accurate structure maps to test a hypothesis about change through time; and (3) the use of the then-new method of photography to further document sites. These same approaches are still applied by archaeologists working in the region today, and in many ways, this foundational work was crucial in paving the way for archaeology to emerge as an empirically based discipline throughout the past century.

Through the Ho‘omaka Hou Research Initiative and other recent projects, Bishop Museum has been working to improve the accessibility of its vast holdings while also reactivating legacy collections through collections-based research endeavours (Mulrooney et al. 2016). In 2016, with the generous support of the Hawai‘i Council for the Humanities, the museum launched a publicly accessible database that includes all of Stokes’s maps and photographs from his survey of Moloka‘i. Available at data.bishopmuseum.org/Stokes, the database includes 76 maps and 152 photographs. Patrick Kirch and Clive Ruggles are currently working with these materials, along with Stokes’s unpublished manuscript ‘Heiau of

Moloka‘i, to conduct new research on the *heiau* of Moloka‘i. This and other ongoing projects are a testament to the importance of Stokes’s enduring legacy in the field of Hawaiian and Pacific archaeology.

Acknowledgements

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Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Bishop Museum from March 2020 to March 2021.

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18

Intelligent eyes: Visualising Rapa Nui (Easter Island) archaeology

Jo Anne Van Tilburg

On 18 October 1914 Katherine Routledge (1866–1935) and her husband, William Scoresby Routledge (1859–1939), co-leaders of the Mana Expedition to Easter Island, were camping near Ahu Tongariki and conducting excavations of monolithic stone statues (*moai*) in Rano Raraku quarry, Rapa Nui¹ (Figure 18.1). That same day in faraway Prospect Park, Brooklyn, USA, a baby girl named Rhoda Bubendey was born. Rhoda grew up to become a famed cultural anthropologist and in 1942 married Alfred Métraux. Two years earlier he had published *Ethnography of Easter Island*, a seminal work still indispensable today. As a member of the Franco–Belgian Expedition to Easter Island in 1934–35, Alfred Métraux followed directly in the footsteps of Katherine Routledge (Figure 18.2), who had departed Rapa Nui on 18 August 1915 after 17 months in residence. Métraux, like Routledge before him, depended on a remarkable Rapanui man named Juan Tepano a Rano (known as Juan Tepano) as field guide and for introductions to the same elders Katherine had once interviewed, although, in the intervening two decades, many of those venerable persons had died. This essay provides a glimpse into the early development of the Rapa Nui archaeological survey as seen through the ‘intelligent eyes’ of

1 The modern name of the island is rendered Rapa Nui; the names of the people and language are Rapanui.

Katherine Routledge and Juan Tepano, two remarkable people from vastly different cultural backgrounds who built upon shared human qualities and similar perceptions to create a scholarly legacy of substantial value.

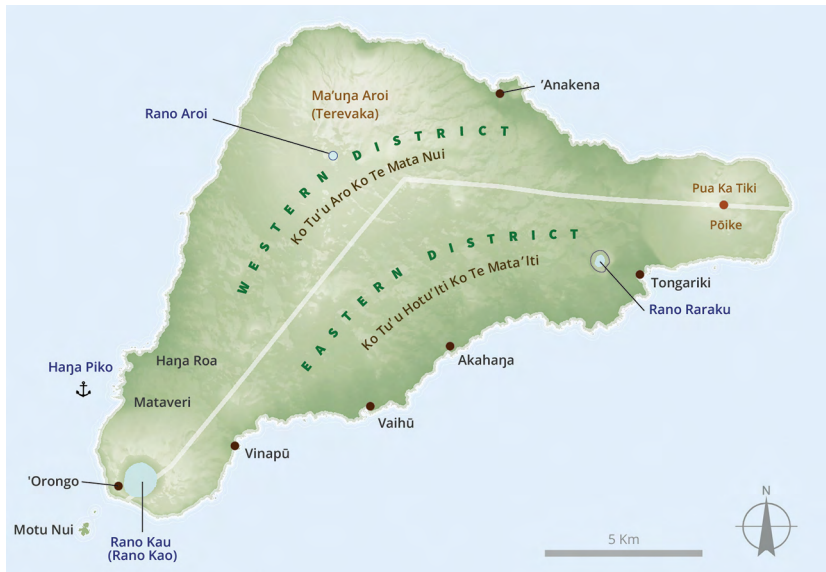


Figure 18.1. Map of Rapa Nui showing key places or sites.

Source: Cartographic Illustration by Alice Hom, Easter Island Statue Project.



Figure 18.2. Katherine Pease Routledge (1866–1935) c. 1919.

Source: Photograph by the late Peter Bucknall.

Backward glances

When reflecting on her own experiences in the field and those of her female colleagues, Rhoda Bubendey Métraux stated that ‘a woman can more easily obtain a wider picture’ of the society she is studying in the field ‘because she can enlist male support and confidence more readily than a man’ can gain access to female consultants (Swidler 1989:265). The accuracy of that subjective statement is debatable, of course, and it is obvious that collaboration is most productive when it is a two-way exchange offering mutual benefit. However, there is no doubt that support and confidence were provided to Katherine Routledge by Juan Tepano during their fieldwork together on Easter Island. He was the key conduit between her and the community’s elders and essential to her ethnographical achievement, as she herself recognised. ‘Any real success’ in her interviews with approximately a dozen Rapanui male elders and a few women in a group known as the *korohu’a* was ‘due to the intelligence of one individual who was known as Juan Tepano’ (Routledge 1919:214). ‘He made clear to the old men anything I wished to know’ and then ‘explained their answers to me’. Tepano also ‘assumed the attitude of watch-dog to prevent my being imposed on’.

There were several general research questions that the Routledges hoped to answer during their archaeological and ethnographic foray on Rapa Nui, and one of them was at the forefront for Katherine: how are the statues linked to the present inhabitants? Her personal goal was to ‘unite the information gained from locality and memory’ (Routledge 1919:214). This is an almost perfect expression of a thoughtful fieldwork plan, although it only emerged in retrospect from her Rapa Nui experiences and was not shaped in advance by a research design. The Routledges were equally energetic collectors of artefacts and human remains, although they tended to emphasise gender-specific definitions of fieldwork categories. Katherine’s framework of inquiry was provided by the nascent field of historical anthropology. Scoresby, who trained in medicine, claimed the more ‘scientific’ study of physical anthropology. Over time, however these divisions tended to blur.

It was Katherine's collaboration with Juan Tepano that salvaged oral histories preserved by knowledgeable Rapanui elders, an important aspect of cultural heritage that was at the time seriously threatened by colonialism.² Together they collected toponyms that were fast disappearing due to the forced removal of Rapanui families from ancestral lands. They mapped the rolling landscape and described the coastline's ceremonial and burial sites that Rapanui people were forbidden to access. The hand-drawn maps and place names they amassed are naturally flawed in some ways and were only summarised in Routledge's (1919, 1920) publications. However, in the 1980s the value of these documents became evident when Routledge's field notes became more widely available and as the Rapanui community emerged from the depths of colonialism to assert ancient land claims. Routledge's partial write-up of her survey notes has allowed modern archaeological field teams such as my own to attach survey points to long-ago memories.

Visibility and self-identity

I suggest that Katherine Routledge and Juan Tepano were each faced from an early age with different but equally limited options for self-expression within their respective cultures. It is also apparent that each visualised the individual trajectories of their lives as transcending the very different worlds into which they had been born. The personal invisibility each experienced, the visibility each craved and created, and the intellectual insights they gained by casting 'intelligent eyes' over the archaeological landscape of Rapa Nui are all fundamental aspects of their seminal ethnographic achievement.

The ravages of nearly a century of missionisation and colonialism created the 'mixed character' of the colonial Rapanui world that greeted the Routledges upon arrival of the Mana Expedition to Easter Island. In such a world 'elements of settler and local culture combined to shape a distinct cultural entity' characterised by hybridity and ambiguity (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002:7). Such a blended world is problematic at best

2 La Compañía Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua (the Company or, literally, the company to exploit the island) was formed by a Chilean colonial with Williamson, Balfour Co., a successful, Valparaíso-based Scottish shipping and trading firm. It imported a starter flock of 400–500 merino sheep and established a sheep ranch. The islanders were all 'in service to the Company' at 'very low wages' (Van Tilburg 2003:81, 2018). When the Mana Expedition arrived, Percival (Percy) Henry Edmunds, who became ranch manager in either 1905 or 1908 (records conflict), was in charge. He was by far the most successful manager; he married into the community and established a distinguished family line that survives to this day. His ranch manager was Juan Tepano Rano.

and was especially difficult for highly privileged British subjects of the time to visualise. Empathy was a quality Routledge often lacked but it was required to sort out patterns of behaviour and gain understanding.

Katherine had grown up in the lap of luxury in the north of England, her life deeply touched by Quaker spiritualism and shaped by that religion's long tradition of activism in the context of suffering. She loathed social injustice, and over time learned to recognise it within the Rapanui community. During one crisis she ransacked her wardrobe to provide Rapanui leadership with the fabric they required to sew a new flag and fly it when a Chilean military ship arrived. Scoresby came from an intellectually striving, modestly successful merchant family having immigrant roots in Canada and Australia. He was a committed atheist and yearned for a life of adventure far off the beaten track. Katherine and Scoresby were both self-involved but well-educated travellers who had suffered family tragedies, illnesses and personal losses. Among their worst qualities, individually and as a couple, were snobbishness, stinginess and an abiding fear of being taken advantage of by others.

To better understand the workings of the remarkable partnership that developed and played out between Katherine Routledge and Juan Tepano it is necessary to acknowledge here the philosophical gulf that developed at the same time between Katherine and her husband. It was rooted in the value – or lack of it – each saw in the people and history of Rapa Nui. Their respective views were a partial consequence of the Routledges' marriage of convenience and emerged within the context of Western materialism. The more Katherine immersed herself in her research and fieldwork, the more Scoresby removed himself from it. The more he saw of the Rapanui people, the less he liked or respected them. Eventually, he dropped many of his assigned field tasks and found respite by voyaging back and forth between Rapa Nui and mainland Chile while Katherine carried on with the survey.

Visionary choices: Limited options and acculturation

Katherine Maria Pease was born into wealth and privilege but also sadness, domestic violence and emotional deprivation. As a young, brilliant and ambitious woman she was completely invisible within an idle English country family living off a fortune made generations earlier. Her world

was the suffocating mid-Victorian realm of second-class citizenship all women of the time endured. She entered the social whirl but did not possess the traditional looks or talents thought at the time to be desirable. She refused to be forced into a domestic role and escaped to university, where she achieved honours in modern history without ever convincing her family that her education was worthwhile. As one of the first women to breach the ivy-covered walls of academia, Katherine was often lonely. She had one or two close friends but never felt ‘a sense of solidarity’ with other females on the same journey, although she often talked self-consciously about playing a role in the more abstract, general cause of women’s suffrage (as did many others at that pioneering time; Díaz-Andreu and Stig Sørensen 1998:6–11).

Katherine eventually married Scoresby and then promptly decamped with her husband to what was then British East Africa and, later, to Easter Island and the Pacific. Her sojourns abroad, like those of many other women of her day, appear to have provided freedom and access to people and fieldwork opportunities she would never have had in England. Just as Rhoda Bubendey Métraux predicted, Katherine’s gender gave her certain privileges in the field. For example, she was allowed by Kikuyu women to observe African tribal practices not widely known at the time. She became perhaps the first white woman to personally witness the practice of female circumcision (Van Tilburg 2003:63, 2018). To the chagrin of her family she spoke out loudly and publicly against abhorrent English colonial practices in Africa that are easily recognisable today as child prostitution and human trafficking.

While Katherine Routledge joined the subculture of ‘new women’ forged in the crucible of women’s suffrage, she never became fully acculturated in it, no matter what part of the world she was in at the time. Although she enjoyed shocking prudish family members and friends by dressing in costumes from Africa and telling tales from the South Pacific, Routledge retained many values and prejudices of her upbringing. She was class-conscious, suspicious and unfair in her relationships and could be enormously contradictory and pretentious. For example, she rode with an assistant into the field wearing an old duster and floppy hat that had seen better days but carried a picnic basket bulging with exotic foods. At luncheon in the field with Rapanui guides or consultants she spread a clean cloth on the ground and ate using monogrammed silverware from her yacht’s galley (Figure 18.3).



Figure 18.3. Selected pieces of Katherine Routledge's monogrammed silverware.

Manufactured by William Hutton & Sons, Sheffield, England for the Army and Navy Co-operative Society, Ltd., London, c. 1900-10.

Source: Private collection.

Personal visibility and assured self-interest

Juan (Iovani) Tepano a Rano (Parare'e) was a highly visible member of the local Rapanui community. He was gifted with good looks, keen intelligence and personal ambition but was also pious and prudish. Tepano was the son of Victoria Veriamo a Huki a Parapara and her third husband, Rano (Kaeppler and Van Tilburg 2018:47, note 2; McCall 1986). In a legal declaration made on 7 August 1914 Juan Tepano stated that his age was 38, making his birth year 1876 (Consejo de Jefes de Rapa Nui, A. Hotus y Otros 1988:319). Métraux (1940:3) says that Tepano was 'about 60' in 1934-35, thus suggesting he was born in 1874-75. However, Tepano was baptised in 1872 (Grant McCall pers. comm. 2016).

Tepano's parents were of the Tupahotu kinship group that, with other lineages, occupied Hotu 'Iti, the eastern, lower-ranked of two hereditarily designated, discrete sociopolitical regions of the island. Veriamo was born and had lived literally in the shadow of the great statues of Rano Raraku quarry. Tepano was married to María Hiona 'Aifiti Engepito Ika Tetono, with whom he had eight children (Consejo de Jefes de Rapa Nui, A. Hotus y Otros 1988). One of them, Amelia, later remembered the beautiful boots Katherine Routledge wore in the field. Tepano spoke his native language but also Spanish and knew some English. He served in the Chilean Navy and travelled far beyond his island's shores. He had the assured self-interest gained through his prominent positions as the recognised 'head man' of the island's only village and foreman of the colonial sheep ranch. He was visible to all foreigners and set apart from the local community 'by his adaptability to outsiders and willingness to participate in larger Chilean culture' (Van Tilburg 2003:80).

Tepano gained status and earned substantial economic reward by working with foreigners but also paid dearly for doing so. Some in the Rapanui community were jealous, resentful or critical; some thought he was selling their heritage to the highest bidder. He did not reject his Rapanui background but showed the world in every possible way – including by wearing elegant suits, crisp white shirts and ties, and polished boots – that he was not completely within it.³ A bare-chested photographic portrait of Tepano made by someone in the Mana Expedition shows him looking down and away from the camera, effectively separating his private persona from the 'gone native' pose he assumed.⁴ Juan Tepano, like so many others who have served as important anthropological consultants in different parts of the world, trod a tightrope stretched 'between worlds' (Karttunen 1994), neither of which he inhabited with complete comfort.

3 'Dress constitutes a fundamental marker of social and ethnic identity and was one of the ways in which Christian missionaries in Oceania sought to alter native self-representation' (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002:17).

4 The Mana Expedition set up a photography tent at Mataveru and had the latest equipment. An improvised portrait studio was created by hanging up a bolt of cloth brought for the purpose. Katherine, Scoresby and Frank T. Green, engineer aboard *Mana*, took photos at various times. Tepano and Scoresby had a major falling-out over the removal of human bones from the island, so it is doubtful that he would have sat for this photo if Scoresby was behind the camera. The photographer is unknown.

Intelligent eyes

In the preface to the second edition of her self-published *The Mystery of Easter Island* Katherine Routledge summarises, rather modestly, the value she feels the Mana Expedition's Rapa Nui work will have in future. She makes two points. First, she notes that her survey maps are backed up by hundreds of statue measurements, sketches and negatives, adding:

This record will, we venture to think, hold increased value in the future, as there is a constant tendency for the remains to suffer deterioration at the hands of nature and man. (Routledge 1919:xii)

Second, she states about the ethnographic record that 'it was our good fortune [despite] language and other difficulties, to be able with patience to rescue at the eleventh hour much of high value'. While some of her interpretations of this wealth of data do not always hold up well today, and although some of her field notes still remain to be located, the 'intelligent eyes' she and Juan Tepano each focused on the Rapa Nui landscape (Routledge 1919:xi) created an irreplaceable archive in support of Rapa Nui archaeology, conservation and ethnohistory.

Katherine Routledge felt that she had developed 'intelligent eyes' when looking at the remains of the past on Rapa Nui only after spending about six months in the field. She understood that understanding was created by time, good intellectual vision and focus aided by a strong lens of experience, and curiosity tempered by caution and humility. Understanding only comes when field experience has produced enough data to allow good comparisons and sound conclusions. Routledge brought with her the best survey tools available at the time: cameras, alidades, compasses and binoculars (Figure 18.4). She often ran out of paper to make her scribbled notes but worked with a good companion in the field who enriched the content of what she recorded. Despite their language and other differences, Routledge and Tepano communicated well. They had enough time together to be thorough in their observations and Katherine had enough leisure to digest what she saw while remaining physically within a well-defined ethnographic realm.



Figure 18.4. Boxwood alidade by Stanley, London with leather case (left); binoculars with leather case lined in blue silk (background); brass directional compass (foreground) and round wood case containing a sparkplug for yacht *Mana* (right).

Source: Private collection.

Visualising Rapa Nui

I consulted Katherine Routledge's original field notes in person in the Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers) Archive for the first time in 1986–87 (Routledge and Routledge n.d. [1914–15]; Fieldnotes RGS/WKR).⁵ I returned many times to them but have also field checked many of the places on the island that she described. I followed the tracks she traced on her sketch maps and typed survey notes. I visited her campsites on Rapa Nui and every home she lived in throughout the UK and Africa. Most of the time I was accompanied in the field by my own research colleague, the great-grandson on his mother's side of Juan Tepano.⁶

5 The late Sir Nicholas Harington (1942–2016), son of John Charles Dundas Harington (1903–1980) (Van Tilburg 2003:228–229), donated some *Mana* Expedition notes to the Royal Geographical Society, London, and stored some left by W.S. Routledge with Sir Richard Harington (1861–1931). In the late 1990s I met with Sir Nicholas Harington to examine the stored materials. They were sold in 2021 at auction in London to a private collector. At least two other private collectors still hold *Mana* Expedition materials.

6 Cristián Arévalo Pakarati is the grandson of Amelia Tepano Ika and Santiago Pakarati and, in turn, the great-grandson of Juan Tepano and María Ika. He is an artist and joined the Easter Island Statue Project team in 1989.

I have concluded that – despite the illnesses and hardships Katherine Routledge faced after departing Rapa Nui – the Mana Expedition data constitute a trustworthy legacy. In the past decade my Easter Island Statue Project (www.eisp.org) team has compiled and edited information drawn from Katherine Routledge’s unpublished field notes to create an annotated comparative research data set. Imperial values for statue dimensions, excavation levels and statue distances collected by Katherine Routledge are entered in our database under her name. Juan Tepano’s drawings, Lt. D.R. Ritchie’s survey maps and Scoresby’s site and object diagrams are entered separately under each of their names. We have localised much of their data, combined it with our own and that of other researchers, and arrayed this important information on a suite of newly constructed survey maps to visualise Rapa Nui at a specific point in time. Our draft maps have been accessed by concerned Chilean and Rapa Nui public agencies for nearly a decade, thus supporting them in undertaking what Routledge understood were crucial conservation imperatives. Ethnographic accounts of land ownership and social group identity identified in her notes help to address concerns implicit in modern development, something Juan Tepano would surely appreciate today (Consejo de Jefes de Rapa Nui, A. Hotus y Otros 1988; Métraux 1940:119–128; Routledge 1919: 223–224).

Hindsight

Looking back, we can see tangible products that came out of the Mana Expedition, each of which was invaluable to the expedition but especially important individually to Katherine Routledge, William Scoresby Routledge and Juan Tepano (Van Tilburg 2003:229). Although the yacht *Mana* was funded by Katherine and she was co-leader with Scoresby of the expedition as well as the voyage, Scoresby received and kept in his own collection the silver Challenge Cup. It was awarded to him in 1917 by special resolution of the Royal Cruising Club (Routledge 1919:388; Figure 18.5). Katherine kept her monogrammed silver plate and her field notes, packed them in numbered and labelled boxes that had once carried supplies and guarded them jealously, treasuring above all the one book she succeeded in producing: a first edition copy of *The Mystery of Easter Island*. Juan Tepano studied the many photographs Katherine showed him of Rapa Nui woodcarvings curated by the British Museum. Later in life

he took up woodcarving and used this knowledge to rediscover his own talent. Today, Juan Tepano is acknowledged by his community as central to the rebirth of woodcarving as an art form. I have identified some of his works, though they are not signed, in collections worldwide. Many modern carvers trace their artistic lineage to him as teacher or mentor (Figure 18.6).



Figure 18.5. The Challenge Cup presented to William Scoresby Routledge by the Royal Cruising Club, London, 1917. Shapland Silversmith, London.

Note: Inscribed 'Cruising Club Founded 1880 Challenge Cup 1917 Awarded by Special Resolution of the Club to W. Scoresby Routledge for his cruise in the Pacific on "Mana" and Exploration on Easter Island'.

Source: Private collection.



Figure 18.6. Two woodcarvings by the late Cristóbal Pakarati Tepano (d. c. 2000), former carver and leader within the Rapanui crafts industry encouraged by Juan Tepano Rano: *moai kavakava* (50 cm) and *moai tanata* (30 cm).

Source: Private collection.

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Part 3:
The burgeoning field
of anthropology
and archaeology,
1918–45

19

The burgeoning field of anthropology and archaeology (1918–45)

Matthew Spriggs

World War I marks a convenient break between the earlier phase of very active field research in the Pacific, described in the previous section of this volume (Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, through Van Tilburg, **Chapter 18**, this volume), and the next one, spanning the years from 1918 to 1945. Certainly there are strong continuities with the previous section as far as knowledge practices are concerned, in particular the continuing search for the origins of Pacific peoples and the ongoing involvement of missionaries (Aigner, **Chapter 22**, and Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, both this volume). However, the political landscape in the Pacific changed dramatically over the course of the ‘Great War’. All of Germany’s South Seas Protectorates were occupied by Allied forces shortly after the outbreak of war in 1914 and were permanently renounced when Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles on 28 June 1919 (Gründer 2001:44–50; Pelizaeus 2008:222–225). The League of Nations, itself a creation of the victorious Allies, subsequently distributed Germany’s former possessions among the Allied powers as mandated territories. German New Guinea, including the north-eastern quarter of mainland New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, was assigned to the Australian Commonwealth, which had already assumed responsibility for the external territory of Papua – the southern half of present-day Papua New Guinea – in 1906 (Edmundson, **Chapter 21**, this volume; see also Nelson 1982; Waiko 1983). Islands north of the equator

in the Western Pacific, including the Caroline, Mariana and Marshall Islands and Palau, were assigned to Japan (Peattie 1988). Western Samoa (now the Independent State of Samoa) was assigned to New Zealand and Nauru was administered jointly by Australia, New Zealand and the UK (Field 2006; Meleisea and Schoeffel 1987; Storr 2020).

The effects of these political ruptures are perhaps less evident in the chapters in this section than the effects of the abovementioned knowledge continuities. These can largely be attributed to the networks of scholarly communication connecting anthropologists and archaeologists of different generations, nationalities and language traditions. We see, for example, that American anthropologist Roland Burridge Dixon (Jones and Ahlgren, **Chapter 20**, this volume) met with Stephenson Percy Smith, the British-born founder of the Polynesian Society (see Nolden, **Chapter 11**, this volume), in New Zealand. Hubert Murray, Acting Administrator of the Australian Territory of Papua and later Lieutenant Governor of Papua, was influenced by a visit from the British anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon (see Herle and Wright, **Chapter 12**, this volume) to advocate for a permanent post of government anthropologist to ‘look after the collections, train patrol officers in the “rational science” of anthropology and carry out investigations as per the needs of the colony’ (Edmundson, **Chapter 21**, this volume). This is a particularly clear example of the close yet complex connection between the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology on the one hand, and the attempts of colonial authorities to more effectively administer supposedly ‘primitive’ societies on the other (see for example Asad 1973; van Bremen and Shimizu 1999; Campbell 1998; McNiven and Russell 2005; Pels and Saleminck 1999; Stocking 1991; Wolfe 1999). Further scholarly connections during this period include those of German-born missionary ethnologist and historian of religions Father Wilhelm Schmidt (Aigner, **Chapter 22**, this volume) and Australian ethnologist Dermot Casey (Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, this volume) with Father Otto Meyer (see Howes, **Chapter 15**, this volume), as well as Haddon’s formative influence on New Zealand-based museum curator Henry Devenish Skinner (White, **Chapter 23**, this volume).

Although no new Pacific territories accrued to the USA during the interwar period, American anthropologists and archaeologists were active participants in field research in the Pacific. Much of their work was determined in the 1920s by the leadership provided by the second director of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Herbert Gregory. His Yale connections led to generous private funding for the Bayard Dominick

Expedition to undertake the ‘systematic investigation of the origin, migration, and culture of the Polynesian peoples’ (Gregory 1923:21), involving natural scientists, anthropologists and archaeologists. Fieldwork took place from 1920 to 1922, and as described by Gregory:

In formulating the plans for the expedition, it was recognized that the origins and migrations of a people constitute a problem made up of many diverse elements – a problem which involves contributions not only from physical anthropology, material culture, archaeology, philology and legends, but also from economic botany, geography and zoology. A profitable search for Polynesian origins obviously involves fundamental research in two distinct fields: (1) the source of the physical racial characteristics which have combined to make the different Polynesian types; (2) the source of the original elements in the customs, habits and beliefs – in a word, the culture of the Polynesians. (Gregory 1923:21)

Four field parties were sent out, ‘the first in Tonga [Edward Gifford and William McKern], the second in the Marquesas [E.S.C. Handy, Willowdean Handy and Ralph Linton], the third in Rurutu, Raivavai, Tubuai and Rapa of the Austral Islands [involving among others Robert Aitken and J.F.G. Stokes], the fourth to the islands of the Hawaiian group [Kenneth Emory]’ (Gregory 1923). Collaboration with New Zealand colleagues also allowed measurement of living Māori and a full study of the Moriori of the Chatham Islands by Henry Devenish Skinner (further discussed later). Throughout the 1920s there were further archaeological and anthropological expeditions and collaborations of the Bishop Museum involving Niue, Samoa and the Society Islands. An expedition to Fiji, seen as the ‘gateway to Polynesia’, to be led by Edward Gifford was aborted at the last moment in 1927 (Spriggs 2019:402–404). The researchers involved were still generating publications based on this 1920s spurt of research to well after the next war, many of them published in the Bishop Museum *Bulletins*.

Despite Stokes’s demonstration in 1913 that stratigraphic excavation could yield valuable results in Eastern Polynesia, the initial results of the Bayard Dominick Expedition had not seemed so promising in archaeological terms, and discussion of Polynesian origins and migration patterns continued to rely very largely on comparison of ‘ethnographic’ material culture and considerations of physical anthropology. Gregory had early concluded that the expedition

revealed no very ancient human habitation in the central and south Pacific. For the Polynesian settlement the evidence serves to substantiate the conclusions of William Churchill, based on linguistic and cultural study. (Gregory 1923:24)

Gregory concluded that Polynesian migration had begun in AD 0 (sic), with a further wave in AD 600 and with AD 1000 as a period of major expansion.

There were of course other institutions heavily engaged with questions of Pacific archaeology, including scholars whose initial training and involvement had predated 1914 but whose greatest impact on the subject came in the interwar period. One such figure was Roland Burrage Dixon (1875–1934), associated throughout his career with Harvard University and the Peabody Museum. His story is told by Tristen Jones, Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) research assistant, and Ingrid Ahlgren, one of our project associates (Jones and Ahlgren, **Chapter 20**, this volume). Dixon was the sixth American to receive a PhD in anthropology, his being for a study of a Californian Native American group. Given the paucity of his personal papers, many of which appear to have been destroyed upon his death, it is not exactly clear when he shifted a major part of his focus to Pacific ethnology and archaeology. In 1900 he had been sent to visit the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin to examine their Northwest Coast American and Polynesian material, presumably in the company of Felix von Luschan who had worked there since 1885. In 1903 he commenced teaching the first American course on ‘Ethnology of Polynesia and Australia’. Apart from a single visit across the Pacific in 1909, Dixon was basically an armchair theorist of Oceania,¹ but a refreshingly critical commentator on the German and British diffusionist traditions of the time concerning the Pacific; Jones and Ahlgren refer to several of his significant Pacific publications.

Dixon was the mainstay of Harvard’s anthropology department and the Peabody Museum for several decades until his death and inspired many students who were later to have distinguished careers in Pacific archaeology and anthropology. The 1943 memorial volume in his honour (Coon and Andrews 1943) included contributions from former students such as Kenneth Emory, E.S.C. Handy, Ernest Hooton, William Howells,

1 He had however conducted extensive field research in North America and also in parts of Asia (Tozzer and Coon 1943).

Ralph Linton, Gordon MacGregor, Douglas Oliver² and Harry Shapiro, who were all to continue on with their Pacific interests. Dixon is part of the ‘hidden history’ of Pacific archaeology, someone rarely mentioned in general accounts but who has been revealed by the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* initiative as a key figure, not least for his training of and inspiration to later generations of Pacific scholars.

We have seen how mining, missionary and plantation activities in New Guinea had led to early archaeological investigations on that island and the neighbouring Bismarck Archipelago prior to World War I. Development activities after the Australians took over former German New Guinea during the war continued apace, both there and in the Territory of Papua, taken over by agreement from the British in 1906 (the former British New Guinea). Hubert Murray, Acting Administrator and later Lieutenant Governor of Papua from 1906 until his death in 1943, had always wanted to establish a collecting program of traditional material culture and a local museum, as described by Anna Edmundson (**Chapter 21**, this volume). He was encouraged in this ‘base-line inventory’ by Haddon, who visited Port Moresby in 1914 (see Herle and Wright, **Chapter 12**, this volume), and by 1920 had created the position of government anthropologist of Papua, held first by medical officer Walter Merish Strong.

Rock art recording was one topic of interest for Strong, but his main ethnological concentration was on the surprising artefacts coming to light at the time in the form of often highly decorated stone mortars and pestles that seemed to have no relation to modern artefact types. Strong described them as ‘the most mysterious anthropological question which I know of in Papua’ (quoted by Edmundson) and they were often seen, in the usual trope, as being a relic of a more advanced civilisation on the island.³ As Edmundson notes, these mortars and pestles featured in diffusionist, even ‘hyper-diffusionist’ explanations by scholars of the time. Chinnery (1919) saw them as the gold-crushing mortars of foreign miners, ultimately Egyptian in origin, who had penetrated the interior of New Guinea in search of minerals, just as modern itinerant miners had been doing from the beginning of the twentieth century. William Perry, in

2 Douglas Oliver was to take over the teaching of Dixon’s former Pacific courses at Harvard in 1949. One of his early students was Roger Green (see Sheppard and Furey, **Chapter 33**, this volume).

3 We now know that they were a feature of New Guinea and Bismarck Archipelago cultures of the early to mid-Holocene, part of a ritual complex possibly associated with the early spread of agriculture and prior to expansion of Lapita-related groups through the region (Swadling and Hide 2005; Swadling et al. 2008).

Children of the Sun (1923), developed these ideas much further, bringing in a range of other supposed lines of evidence to track the migrant course of his 'archaic civilisation' from Egypt through the Pacific to the Americas, with the search for gold and pearls being the major stimulus.

Strong's assistant from 1922 and successor as government anthropologist 1928–43 was F.E. Williams, with a formal qualification in anthropology from Oxford. His tenure bridged the time during which interest shifted from the evolution and/or diffusion of culture to functionalism and a desertion of interest in material culture by anthropologists. Despite his functionalist orientation, Williams did undertake small-scale excavation and recording of rock art in the earlier part of his career in Papua, as discussed by Edmundson (**Chapter 21**, this volume). The equivalent anthropological position in the League of Nations Mandate Territory of New Guinea was held by Ernest William Pearson Chinnery (1887–1972), with postwar anthropological qualifications from Cambridge where he studied under Haddon and Rivers. He had earlier held a series of positions in Papua from 1909, finishing as a resident magistrate before enlisting in war service. As discussed above, he seems to have also come under the more extreme diffusionist influence of Elliot Smith during his time in the UK. He was appointed government anthropologist of New Guinea, based in Rabaul from 1924 to 1938, adding other administrative responsibilities along the way (see Gray 2008 for his earlier career and influences). Between 1938 and 1946 he was the director of native affairs in Australia's Northern Territory.

Standing behind the leading ideas of both Chinnery and Perry was the towering figure of Grafton Elliot Smith (1871–1937), born where else but in Grafton, New South Wales. Smith was a leading intellectual of the early twentieth century and had an impact in several fields. He was the top comparative anatomist of his time, outstanding too as a neurologist and physical anthropologist, expert in the study of mummification, and contributed to our modern understanding of 'shell shock'. He held positions as professor of anatomy in Cairo (1900–09), Manchester (1909–19) and University College London (1919–36). He is of most relevance to us here as the leading exponent of ideas about the diffusion of culture out from Egypt to the rest of the world, including the Pacific (see Spriggs 2018; a somewhat uncritical biography is provided by Crook 2012). Indeed, the Pacific was crucial as the intermediary area to spread civilisational ideas to the Americas, such as pyramid building, aspects of symbolism and myth, and the attributes of divine kingship (Smith 1933).

He had no time for ideas of independent invention of technologies or concepts, apart from the single example of Egyptian civilisation. His ideas were a rejection of the stadial evolutionism of Tylor and his associates and the idea of ‘the psychic unity of mankind’, the belief that all human groups possessed ‘essentially the same kind and level of intelligence and the same basic emotions’ (Spriggs 2018:412–413; Trigger 2006:100–101). Elliot Smith was also reacting in part to German ‘Pan-Babylonianism’ ideas that all civilisation spread out from that locus – but behind both Babylon and Egypt surely are the biblical interpretations of world history we have already encountered among nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries? These were largely replaced after 1918 by (seemingly) secular ideas such as those of Elliot Smith and other long-distance diffusion enthusiasts.

Among these other enthusiasts was Catholic priest Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954), as discussed by CBAP Project Associate Katherine Aigner (**Chapter 22**, this volume). Schmidt’s earliest work was in linguistics, contributing the term ‘Austronesian’ to describe the most widespread language family of the Pacific and Island Southeast Asia (Schmidt 1899a, 1899b), and contributing as well to the systematisation of Australian linguistics. Schmidt’s major ideas of *Kulturkreise* or ‘cultural circles’ – we might say ‘cultural complexes’ – built upon those of Leo Frobenius (1873–1938) and Fritz Graebner (1877–1934). The method was basically to ‘establish a chronological sequence of cultures on the basis of the geographical distribution of a number of culture traits’ (Heine-Geldern 1964:412) and had been applied by Frobenius (1900) and Graebner (1905) to examine *Kulturschichten* or ‘cultural strata’ in the Pacific, successive cultures that had succeeded each other over time.

Schmidt took up these ideas and became the founder of the so-called ‘Vienna Culture-Historical School’, developing a series of sometimes worldwide *Kulturkreise* that succeeded each other to various degrees in different regions (Schmidt 1939; Schmidt and Koppers 1924). He found the efforts of the diffusionist school of Elliott Smith and Perry to be shoddy: ‘their lack of any real method is so complete that it can bring only discredit on the new movement’ (quoted in Penniman 1952:329). While perhaps a fair criticism, the discussions of evolution, migration and diffusion by all these authors were often more tightly defined than many such discussions today. Recast within the context of global or world systems such as ‘the Bronze-Age World System’ they point to some surprisingly modern debates (Spriggs 2018).

Schmidt's Catholic missionary contacts in the Pacific provided much of his information. They often published in Schmidt's anthropological journal *Anthropos*, which he established in 1906. This was where Otto Meyer published his discoveries of what we now know as Lapita pottery from Watom in 1909–10 (see Howes, **Chapter 15**, this volume). In setting up the major exhibition of world cultures at the Vatican in 1925, the predecessor to today's Anima Mundi Museum (Aigner with Miotk 2015), Schmidt used his ideas of *Kulturkreise* and *Urmonotheismus* (the idea of an original monotheistic religion) to organise the exhibits (Aigner, **Chapter 22**, this volume).

Margarete Schurig in 1926 was among the pioneering women to obtain a doctorate in ethnology in the German-speaking countries, her topic concerning the traditional and archaeological pottery traditions of the Pacific and parts of Island Southeast Asia. She had enrolled at the University of Leipzig after earlier training as an art teacher. She argued that particular potting techniques – coiling for instance – were associated with distinct migration events into the New Guinea area and could be separated according to language group (Beer 2007:201–203). After expanding her museum-based thesis study with visits to institutions in England, Belgium and Holland ahead of publication of her thesis, she fell ill and died in 1928 at the age of only 36. Her thesis supervisor Fritz Krause, with assistance from other colleagues, brought her work to posthumous publication (Schurig 1930). It was widely influential within the material culture field and was still being referred to by archaeologists for original information into the 1970s.⁴

The aim of these strands of German-speaking thought was to bring seemingly ahistorical cultures into a historical framework to write their history in the absence of Indigenous historical records. It was an ethnological methodology that was perhaps appropriate in the absence of directly dated archaeological remains. But like Elliot Smith's and Dixon's views of the Pacific and the external influences on its cultures, such views were destined to fade with the first sequences of archaeologically defined cultures from the region that would appear in the aftermath of World War II.

4 I acknowledge the assistance of Hilary Howes in providing me with an English translation of the Beer (2007) handbook entry on which this paragraph is very largely based.

Another prominent archaeological/ethnological figure in the Pacific of the interwar years was Henry Devenish Skinner (1886–1978), whose father had been a founding member of the Polynesian Society in 1892 along with Percy Smith. Skinner was long associated with the University of Otago (where he began the teaching of anthropology in New Zealand) and with the university-administered Otago Museum where he began employment in 1919. Moira White (**Chapter 23**, this volume) gives significant details of his career, and there are further interesting episodes recorded by anthropologist Derek Freeman (1959). Skinner had fought at Gallipoli in 1915 and was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal, had been injured and evacuated from there for an extended hospital stay and was discharged on medical grounds in 1917. He then took up anthropology at Cambridge University, yet another scholar whose career was encouraged by Haddon. His other teachers included Baron von Hügel, the founding director of what is now the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and Disney Professor of Archaeology William Ridgeway. He was active in the Royal Anthropological Institute and met many prominent figures in early British archaeology and anthropology, including the Egyptologist Flinders Petrie, W.H.R. Rivers and Grafton Elliot Smith.

He thus brought back to Otago a wealth of knowledge and influences and completed a thesis on *The Material Culture of the Moriori* – he had visited the Chatham Islands in 1919. In the thesis he had shown that the ideas of S.P. Smith and Elsdon Best – that the Moriori of the Chatham Islands were a relic of a supposed pre-Māori (Melanesian) population once spread over all of New Zealand – were unfounded. Instead, the Moriori were clearly Polynesians with closest affinities to the Māori, and their immediate origins were from New Zealand itself. As White (**Chapter 23**, this volume) recounts, the Bishop Museum published his thesis in their *Memoirs* series as *The Morioris of Chatham Islands* (Skinner 1923) constituting ‘Bayard-Dominick Expedition Publication Number 4’. A further visit to the Chathams in 1924 led to a second co-authored *Memoir* on *The Morioris* (Skinner and Baucke 1928).

Skinner marks a decisive shift from reconstruction of Polynesian prehistory based on oral traditions to that derived from comparative studies of material culture, particularly stone adze typology (Gathercole 1974:15). His student Roger Duff (see second half of Brooks, **Chapter 9**, this volume for Duff’s career), as quoted by Freeman (1959:25), adjudged that:

His message was the importance of the geographical distribution of cultural traits; the belief that no trait can yield its full meaning except in the light of its geographical range, and no less, its development in time. He taught us to study cultures as a biologist studies species, defining and classifying them with precision, comparing them in space and time.

As White (**Chapter 23**, this volume) notes, Skinner's systematic approach to adze typology had first been noticed by other scholars in his 1923 Moriori monograph. He was later part of a landmark publication, along with Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), Kenneth Emory and J.F.G. Stokes, on 'Terminology for Ground Stone Cutting-Implements in Polynesia' (Buck et al. 1930), and later expanded his adze typologies in major foundational studies, the first presented at the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East in Singapore in January 1938 (Skinner 1940, 1943). Almost as soon as taking up his positions at the University of Otago in 1919 he began a fruitful archaeological collaboration with David Teviotdale, whom he instructed in best-practice archaeological techniques of the time, seen by Freeman (1959:22), as quoted by White, as 'an association that marks for New Zealand the beginning of archaeology as a scientific discipline'.⁵ Important excavations managed by the two of them were a feature of the interwar years in the South Island, with Skinner using the artefacts recovered in a series of comparative material culture papers. Skinner, during a Rockefeller Foundation Travelling Fellowship to the USA in 1927, took the opportunity to hone his own digging skills as a participant on several excavations including classic sites like Pecos, Mimbres and Pueblo Bonito. In 1932 he worked with Kenneth Emory in French Polynesia and in 1936 in the UK with Mortimer Wheeler on the classic Iron Age hillfort excavation of Maiden Castle in Dorset (Freeman 1959:23).

Particularly after World War II, Skinner's pioneering adze studies were extended further by his student Roger Duff (see Spriggs and Howes, **Chapter 26**, this volume which begins with Duff's largely postwar career). Skinner continued in his roles at Otago University after the war, retiring in 1954, celebrated by his colleagues and students with a 1959 festschrift (Freeman and Geddes 1959) and producing a selection of his own papers, *Comparatively Speaking* (Skinner 1974), four years before his death.

5 David Teviotdale (1870–1958) was appointed as Otago Museum field archaeologist in 1929, the first such appointment in New Zealand (Gathercole 1981:166).

Father Meyer (see Howes, **Chapter 15**, this volume) had sent some of the Watom pottery to Schmidt's Vatican Exhibition in 1925 but it was not retained as part of the permanent museum that was set up as a result and was returned to New Britain. One museum that retained a small collection of pottery sent by Meyer, however, was the National Museum of Victoria (now Melbourne Museum). Spriggs (**Chapter 24**, this volume) discusses the mystery of when it actually arrived there and in what circumstances. The collection of 24 sherds that was accessioned attracted the interest of Dermot Casey (1897–1977), an honorary ethnologist at the museum from 1932. As noted in the chapter, Casey was the best-trained archaeologist in Australia at that time, having had an archaeological career working for Mortimer Wheeler in England (see also Spriggs 2020 for further details of Casey's career). His interest level in the pottery was raised further after he saw ceramics with similar toothed stamp designs from Malaysia in London museums, as well as a 2,000-year-old textile from Peru with a distinctive 'interlocking branched (cymose) key pattern' (Casey 1936:97) as found on some of the Watom sherds.

Casey asked Father Meyer to lend some further sherds for study and 'several hundred pieces' were sent in 1936 (Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, this volume). Later that year Casey published the first detailed English-language discussion of the Watom pottery (Casey 1936). It was not the first anglophone discussion of Lapita pottery, however. That honour goes to W.C. McKern (1929), who conducted archaeological research in Tonga in 1920–21 as part of the Bishop Museum's Bayard Dominick Expedition, mentioned earlier.⁶ Casey's paper was very largely ignored until the mid-1960s when the pace of Lapita research was picking up. The pottery loan had a worse fate after its return to New Britain late in 1936. Meyer died in Brisbane on his way home to Watom from medical leave in Sydney in December 1937 and artefacts and any notes on his research at his mission station were lost, while bombing in World War II destroyed both the Rabaul Museum and the Vunapope Mission on New Britain where collections of his pottery were held. Casey's drawings and descriptions are now all that remain from the 1936 loan to Melbourne.

6 Edward Gifford was the paired anthropologist on the Tongan part of the expedition (Gifford 1929). McKern's finding of the first archaeological pottery from Polynesia was to spur Gifford on to change his major interest from oral tradition recording to archaeology. See Spriggs, **Chapters 27 and 28** (this volume) for Gifford's later archaeological work in Fiji and elsewhere.

Although Casey maintained a general interest in Pacific material culture throughout his life, most of his subsequent efforts were directed towards Australian archaeology, where he was from 1956 onwards to be the ‘right-hand man’ assisting John Mulvaney in a crucial phase of the development of field archaeology in Australia (Spriggs 2020). An early synthesis of his research in that field was delivered at the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East in Singapore in January 1938 (Casey 1940), which he attended along with Skinner. Also present was Frederick D. McCarthy, Curator of Ethnology at the Australian Museum in Sydney (Macknight, **Chapter 25**, this volume). While Casey’s paper at the congress was very specifically about Australian material, McCarthy’s was more wide-ranging, bringing in as well artefactual parallels among material from island and mainland Southeast Asia, and including New Guinea and Island Melanesia in his purview (McCarthy 1940). McCarthy already had an impressive publication record in Australia and New Guinea material cultures. Casey had travelled out to Singapore at the very end of December 1937 but McCarthy had ventured to Indonesia much earlier that year to join the excavations of P.V. van Stein Callenfels on Sulawesi Island and then to visit museums on Java, as Macknight recounts. McCarthy’s experience excavating with van Stein Callenfels was a disappointing one but his museum visits did allow him to compare stone artefacts in museums in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore with those from Australia. In making such comparisons he was following in the footsteps of Fritz and Paul Sarasin who had conducted excavations on Sulawesi at the turn of the century; indeed, he specifically compared the ‘Maros points’ and other point types they had recovered to Australian types (see Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, this volume for discussion of the Sarasins).

McCarthy also compared the collections he saw in Southeast Asia with those he knew of from New Guinea, New Ireland and Bougainville such as the mortar and pestle complex also discussed in Spriggs (**Chapter 8**, this volume). As Macknight notes, his analysis was way off in this regard as he compared the mortars and pestles to ‘the late phase of the megalithic period which is associated with metal-working’ (Macknight, **Chapter 25**, this volume, quoting McCarthy 1940:45): shades here of Perry’s *Children of the Sun* and Egyptian miners! Sections of his paper were specifically on Bronze Age and ‘Megalithic’ influences on Australia. He was on firmer ground with his comparisons of microliths and other artefact types on Sulawesi and from Palaeolithic sites on Java with Australian assemblages. He also made comparisons of the latter with Hoabinhian assemblages from

Vietnam and the Malay Peninsula (McCarthy 1940), but as Macknight notes, the problem was the lack of any methods of direct dating of the Australian assemblages. McCarthy was cautious of the implications of these comparisons, stating:

A point to bear in mind in regard to Australia is that it is a land of survivals of primitive arts and practises, no doubt a result of long isolation, and, whilst the occurrence and use of types of stone tools which are of more or less great antiquity in other countries is of considerable importance and interest, it should not be allowed to confuse us in our study of the origin or age of an implement type or industry. (1940:32)

In his Singapore paper he thanked the renowned Dutch palaeoanthropologist G.H.R. von Koenigswald (1902–1982), associated with many of the *Homo erectus* discoveries on Java, and Indonesian-born archaeologist H.R. van Heekeren (1902–1974), who was to become the first synthesiser of Indonesian prehistory (van Heekeren 1957, 1958) and to train the first generation of Indonesian archaeologists as the country gained its independence at the end of the 1940s. McCarthy also drew on the diffusionist study of polished stone adzes by Robert Heine-Geldern (1885–1968), a student and colleague in Vienna of Father Schmidt, who had himself examined Australian and Pacific adzes.

All four of these scholars were to survive World War II (although van Heekeren endured forced labour on the Thai–Burma Railway under the Japanese) and to contribute to research thereafter, as of course did McCarthy. He maintained the diffusionist perspective highlighted in his Singapore paper into the late 1970s: one of his latest papers was ‘The use of stone tools to map patterns of diffusion’ (1977), where he referred to many of the classic diffusionists such as Frobenius, Elliot Smith, Graebner, Haddon and Rivers in an approving vein. He gave reference to no fewer than 15 papers by Daniel S. Davidson, the most prominent exponent of diffusion within and from outside of Australia apart from McCarthy himself.

The pre–World War I era had seen the establishment of archaeology as a discipline in the Pacific, notable for the first archaeological excavations in the region and for some attempts at social evolutionary sequence-building and understanding (see Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, this volume). The interwar period, however, was the heyday of diffusionist perspectives to explain culture change, and still without any agreed framework of absolute

dating beyond long-distance correlations of geological sequences and matching artefact types. The post–World War II period was finally to give archaeologists the chronometric tools to test and place securely their putative cultural sequences, until then based more on supposed typological correlations than firm stratigraphic evidence, as will be discussed in Spriggs and Howes (**Chapter 26**, this volume) and the chapters that follow it.

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20

A collector of ideas: Roland Burrage Dixon and the beginnings of professional American anthropology in the Pacific

Tristen Jones and Ingrid Ahlgren

The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, founded in 1866, was the seedbed of Harvard's anthropology department under the 40-year leadership of Frederic Ward Putnam, the man typically cast as the 'Father of American Archaeology'. When the museum was started with the philanthropist George Peabody's commitment of \$150,000 to the care of the Harvard trustees for the development of a museum and establishment of a related professorship, its explicit focus (as the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology) was to explore the origins of 'the aboriginal races of North and South America' (Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum for 1868).

Despite this specific directive, Oceanic collections comprised a significant contribution to its holdings from the very start, reflecting the USA's early interests in the Pacific region. The museum's Pacific collections expanded very early – in part due to an appeal for specimens in the form of a printed circular, which initially asked for contributions of Native American materials (Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum for 1868). Nearly one-third of the people who replied to that advertisement

were residents of the coast of Massachusetts, bringing in collections from the Pacific Islands, not the Americas (Watson et al. 1996). They were primarily acquired through New England's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century seafaring endeavours, beginning with the lucrative maritime fur trade that connected Russian, American and British traders to the Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest Coast, the local and trading communities of coastal China, and multiple Pacific Islander communities along the route. The maritime fur trade became critical to the fledgling USA in the 1780s. The country had been recently successful in its struggle for political independence but was now driven to establish its economic autonomy. New England's merchants needed a way to escape the depression that had followed the American Revolutionary War and had closed access to British ports. These new American citizens had to seek new commercial markets, new trading partners and new sea routes to market those American products and to sustain the national economy. Post-revolution, New England ships gradually found their way into the ports of the Baltic, the Mediterranean and around the Cape of Good Hope to the Indies. Circa 1783, three sloops (the *Harriet*, the *Empress of China* and the *Hope*) left Boston for Canton, probing the market, and within just a couple of decades American vessels setting sail for the Pacific Ocean arguably outnumbered those from all other countries. Thanks to the writings associated with Captain Cook's voyages (including those of crew member John Ledyard, a Connecticut man), ships began to engage in multi-sited trans-Pacific trade, ushering in a new era of increased contact with and exploitation of the Pacific region (Gray 2007; Malloy 1998).

As ships' crews returned to the shores of Newburyport and the surrounding towns of Essex County in Massachusetts, individual collections from the Pacific and beyond obtained during their journeys were amassed in family cabinets, closets and sheds, many eventually finding their way to the Peabody Museum. With the inclusion of these collections and those of early scientific voyages like the US Exploring Expedition of 1838–42 (see Scates Frances, **Chapter 6**, this volume), the expertise developing at the Peabody Museum turned its burgeoning comparative techniques on civilisations beyond the Americas, spawning Harvard's scholarly interest in the peoples of the Pacific and training its earliest professors.

One such scholar was Roland Burrage Dixon, whom histories of American anthropology and archaeology in the Pacific almost entirely overlook. Born in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1875, Dixon undertook all of his

formal education at Harvard University. He took an early interest in anthropology and archaeology, studying the topic for his bachelor's degree and, in 1896, participating in archaeological fieldwork in Ohio led by the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 1896–97:249). Dixon's earliest research and fieldwork focused on Native American populations. His early career years were devoted to the study of the Maidu people of northern California, for which he received his doctorate at Harvard in 1900, becoming the sixth American to receive a degree in anthropology.

Following his bachelor's degree in 1897, under instruction from the 'father of American Archaeology' Frederic Ward Putnam (Morse 1915:6), then director of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Dixon regularly travelled to New York to receive training on 'Indian languages and ethnology' from the 'father of American Anthropology' Franz Boas, who at the time was jointly appointed at Columbia University and the American Museum of Natural History (Browman and Williams 2013:210; Darnell 1970:206–222; Holloway 1997). Boas enlisted the then student Dixon to join him and his team to the Northwest Coast as a member of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition – Boas's ambitious trans-Pacific investigations of the Bering Strait renowned as the 'foremost expedition in the history of American anthropology' (Freed et al. 1988:7). After work in British Columbia, Dixon was tasked between 1895 and 1905 with documenting the Maidu, Shasta and a variety of other Native American groups in California, resulting in:

seminal ethnographies on the Shasta and Maidu; the identification of the two major California Indian linguistic stocks, Hokan and Penutian; a dissertation on California Indian languages; a monograph on Maidu myth and folktale; two of the first academic publications on basketry; and 650 Maidu artifacts for the American Museum of Natural History anthropology collections. (Bernstein 1993:20)

While Dixon would periodically continue to publish on the Maidu (in all, three books and 28 articles, including works on the Indian tribes of the USA for the Census Bureau), following his doctoral studies his geographic focus began to shift, or at least expand, towards Oceania. It is difficult to tease out the exact or direct events that precipitated this shift, as much of Dixon's papers and correspondence were reportedly destroyed at his death

(Bernstein 1993; Browman and Williams 2013).¹ However, it is clear that his scholarly regard for the region was solidified by at least 1903, when he introduced the first course in the USA on the peoples of Oceania. The subject ‘Ethnology of Polynesia and Australia’ became the seventh anthropology course offered at Harvard and the first one to branch away from its foundational focus on North America and Europe.

It is likely that Dixon’s broader interest and extensive academic reading in anthropological theory, as well as the circulating contemporary debates regarding the origins of races, cultural change and diffusionism at the turn of the century, played a role in his moving interest and specialisation towards the Pacific. Dixon, whom Boas referred to as a ‘man of wide general reading’ (in Hinsley 1992:137) and who was versant in several languages, was appointed the Peabody’s librarian in 1904, during which time he vastly increased its holdings with ‘complete sets of the serial publications of the anthropological societies and museums in various parts of the world’ (Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 1906–07:302).

Museum collections also significantly contributed to his geographic shift, for as he notes: ‘In most branches of knowledge that are pursued in Harvard University, laboratories, museums and libraries are the outgrowth of teaching and research. In anthropology, the order is reversed’ (Dixon 1930:202). Indeed, the origins of anthropology and its professionalisation at Harvard were inextricably linked to the foundation of the Peabody Museum in 1866, a museum–department model that many other universities in the US tried to emulate (Hinsley 1992). In 1900, Dixon was sent to Berlin for the months of February and May, studying the collections in the Museum für Völkerkunde, ‘especially the Pacific Coast and Polynesian material’, perhaps inspired both by his own Northwest Coast fieldwork and the Peabody Museum’s vast Oceanic collections (Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 1900–01:271).

Between 1895 and 1905, Alexander Agassiz (the son of Harvard’s Museum of Comparative Zoology controversial founder Louis Agassiz) was leading several groundbreaking United States Fish Commission

1 Bernstein (1993) reports this rumour, and Browman and Williams (2013) repeat it (citing Bernstein), although neither point to primary sources to substantiate it. Indeed, there are scant records and notebooks of Dixon’s at Harvard, a notable dearth that has perpetuated the rumours.

Expeditions across the region aboard the *Albatross*.² Alongside William McM. Woodworth from Harvard, and Charles H. Townsend and Henry F. Moore from the Smithsonian Institution, the crew of naturalists, zoologists and fishery experts, in addition to their fish and bathymetrical research, also amassed a large ethnographic collection of nearly 3,000 objects from Fiji, Cook Islands, Tonga, Tahiti, Samoa, Niue, Marshall Islands, Pohnpei, Chuuk, Kosrae, Hawai'i, Marquesas, Paumotu, Society Islands, Mangareva and Rapa Nui. These objects were collected alongside hundreds of photographs and drawings and combined represent one of the largest American collecting expeditions. Dixon studied and included many of these collections, notably the model canoes, in his books *Oceanic Mythology* and *The Building of Cultures* (Figure 20.1).



Figure 20.1. Model of an outrigger canoe (*vaka*) from Tatakoto Atoll in the Tuamotu Islands, collected by Alexander Agassiz while aboard the US Fish Commission steamer *Albatross* 1904–05.

Gift of Alexander Agassiz, 1905.

Source: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (PM05-2-70/64866).

² Alexander Agassiz had already travelled to the Pacific Islands and Australia. Overall, with five expeditionary voyages to the Pacific (1891, 1895, 1897–98, 1899–1900 and 1904–05), his collections account for thousands of cultural resources from the region held at the Peabody Museum.



Figure 20.2. *Hevehe* and *eharo* masks from the Elema District of Papua New Guinea, on display at the Peabody Museum, c. 1893. Museum Collection.

Source: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (PM2004.24.1121).

Furthermore, in 1891 the museum had purchased 130 objects from Australian naturalist and collector A.P. Goodwin, obtained as part of the Mount Owen Stanley Expedition in Papua New Guinea in 1889.³ The extensive materials from the Elema District, featuring a number of large *hevehe* and *eharo* masks, were packed 20 to a display case shortly after arrival at the Peabody Museum for showcasing to the world (Figure 20.2).

The South Seas and Mount Owen Stanley collections are some of the major and significant Oceanic collections obtained by the Peabody Museum between 1890 and 1905, and together with other notable collections (Accession 99-12) acquired from Boston Museum of Natural History and Charles Willson Peale's Museum in Philadelphia, illustrate the magnitude of Oceanic material culture that was flooding into the Peabody Museum during the same period that Dixon was studying

3 Nearly three decades later, Goodwin sold another 137 objects from the same collecting period and region (Accession 18-25).

and teaching there. It was also during this time that the anthropology department and the Peabody Museum were undergoing major changes and expansion as interest in the field of anthropology grew in its efforts to professionalise the field. The new Warren Ethnological Gallery of the Peabody Museum opened to the public in May of 1898, exhibiting ‘a very valuable collection of clothing, ornaments, spears, models of boats and similar objects collected in Australia, Polynesia, Hawaii, Samoa, the Fiji Islands, and the Northwest coast of America’ (*The Harvard Crimson*, 10 May 1898).

While Dixon travelled widely for his work, he only made one trip to the Pacific region, in 1909. He set sail from Seattle, Washington, on 18 June aboard the TSS *Makura* to explore the Pacific, making him the first professionally trained American anthropologist to investigate the region firsthand. After stopping in Honolulu, where he visited the Bishop Museum, he docked in Suva, Fiji, in early July. Dixon was taken by the beauty of the island and its inhabitants, declaring to his Harvard friends via a personal quarterly newsletter;

The people are physically the most splendid I ever saw. Tall, finely built and muscled. They do not tend so much to fat as the Polynesians do. Their hair in a magnificent pompadour four inches long is either black or light brown, having been bleached with lime. They have often very fine strong faces and are very animated talkers, full of fun and are very kind and hospitable to the stranger. Their walk is a revelation in what dignity can be [...] Of the country I can say little, for it would take tomes to describe its beauties. (Circular Quarterly 1902–1952, Houghton Library Harvard University)

While in Fiji, Dixon explored the region of Viti Levu on foot and by canoe, guided by his ‘Fijian boy’, who was the son of one of the big chiefs (but unnamed by Dixon). From Fiji, he moved on to Aotearoa/New Zealand, visiting both the North and South Islands. Here he met with curators at both the Canterbury and Auckland museums. While in the North Island Dixon also made a visit to meet Stephenson Percy Smith in New Plymouth, as noted in Smith’s personal diary (Alexander Turnbull Library, Stephenson Percy Smith diary entry, ATL MS-2008, p. 67).

During Dixon's stay in Christchurch he was interviewed by a reporter for *The Press* (4 August 1909), where he commented on the purpose of his trip, his research interest and his positive opinion of the work undertaken by New Zealand researchers, as debated within the pages of the Polynesian Society. He states:

One thing of interest here, is that there is evidence of a sporadic contact of people from the Pacific with the people of America. One cannot say yet that there is more than a mere probability of this contact, and it is entirely out of the question that the origin of the people is to be sought in the Pacific as some people suppose. A few features may however, have been derived from the suggestions of the Polynesian people who have drifted ashore onto the coast of America. If people came ashore they would have speedily been absorbed or killed off by the Indians. Nothing survived except the idea of the plank canoe, which is a typical Polynesian thing, untypical of America and yet it is to be found on the Californian coast and the coast of Chile. (*The Press*, 4 August 1909)

This interview, and Dixon's trip, was then reported in multiple news outlets in both New Zealand and Australia (*Australasian*, Saturday 21 August 1909, p. 55; *Dominion*, 4 August 1909; *New Zealand Herald*, 4 August 1909; *Taranaki Daily News*, 5 August 1909). By mid-August Dixon had set sail for Australia aboard the TSS *Manuka*, stopping first in Hobart, Tasmania, and then onto the mainland. While in Australia he again prioritised visiting notable museums, such as the Adelaide Museum (now the South Australian Museum) and the Australian Museum in Sydney. In Adelaide, he was hosted by Edward Charles Stirling, then director of the Adelaide Museum. From Adelaide, Dixon sent back to his colleagues a postcard noting how productive the trip was for the Peabody Museum and its potential to acquire 'a lot of good things' (Figure 20.3). Following Dixon's Adelaide trip, Stirling sent a letter of introduction ahead of Dixon to Robert Etheridge Jr, the director of the Australian Museum in Sydney, requesting Etheridge help 'his friend' by 'show[ing] him all you can of your fine ethnological collection and help him in the understanding thereof' (Australian Museum Archives AMS 6-Letter 653-1909). Dixon visited the Australian Museum over two days – 25 and 26 August 1909 – and upon the conclusion of his visit requested 12 photographs of material culture objects from the collections, mostly ceremonial objects, from Australia, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Zealand.



Figure 20.3. Postcard labelled 'Native Woman South. Aust.'

Sent by Dixon from the South Australian Museum in Adelaide to Professor Putnam at the Peabody, dated 18 August 1909.

Note: The text reads: 'Dear Profs, Already on my way home. Am finding much of great interest in the Museum. Think we can get a lot of good things in Sydney with Stirling here at Adelaide. Sincerely, R.B.D.' Museum Collection.

Source: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (PM2004.29.21655).

In the course of his global travels, Dixon acquired a variety of ethnographic materials, including nearly 600 objects from Southeast Asia and a significant collection of Maidu material culture, which he systematically compiled for the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Yet from Oceania, the Peabody Museum catalogue attributes a total of only seven objects to Dixon (Accessions 9-29; 12-31; and the posthumous accession 36-45). Of these, only two are confirmed to be from Fiji: a printed *masi* (bark cloth) and a probable *gata* club. Another bark cloth (Figure 20.4) is recorded as being ‘sent to Dr. Dixon by his Fiji boy’ from Viti Levu. It was most likely purchased in Fiji, but its distinctive design suggests it is actually a *siapo* cloth made by neighbouring Samoans. Additional provenance information is unknown, and it remains unclear whether Dixon’s unnamed ‘Fiji boy’ assisted in the procurement of the rest of his small collection.

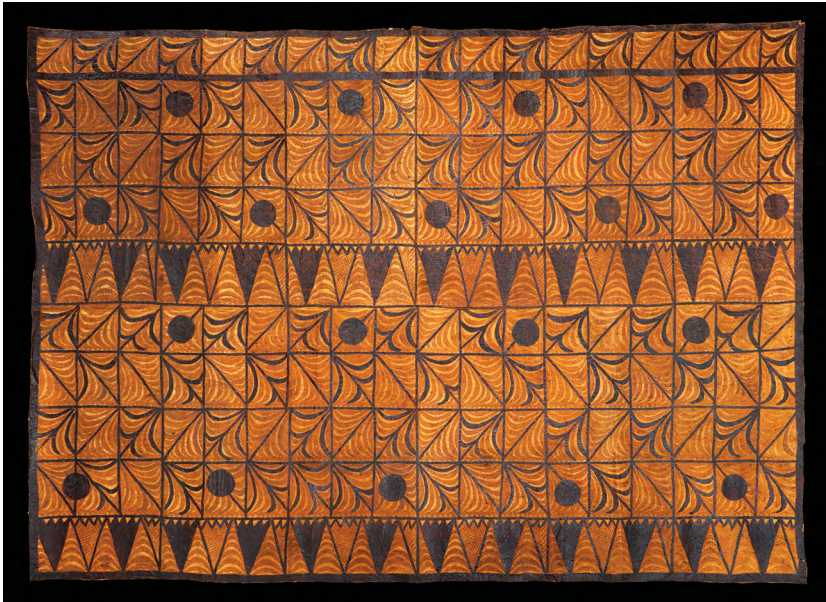


Figure 20.4. Samoan *siapo'elei* (barkcloth decorated using the rubbing or imprinting method) ‘sent to Dr. Dixon by his Fiji boy’.

Gift of Dr R.B. Dixon, 1912.

Source: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (PM12-31-70/84109).

Given Dixon's travels and position at the Peabody, it is surprising that he did not procure more ethnographic materials during his Pacific trip and also failed to negotiate object exchanges with the many museums, even though his postcard indicated the potential opportunities. It is possible that the Peabody's own extensive collection made additional acquisitions of similar provenance superfluous in the eyes of Dixon and the Peabody, while photographs could more easily be used for comparative and pedagogical purposes. What is known from Dixon's own letters to his friends (Circular Quarterly 1902–1952, Houghton Library Harvard University), numerous museums' archives and the Peabody annual reports is that Dixon took many photographs and purchased 'several hundred' photographic prints of material culture objects of 'anthropological interest' for the museum (Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 1908–09:271). Perhaps in line with his mostly overlooked legacy and the rumoured destruction of his personal and scholarly materials after his death, an accession of Dixon's photographs (Accession 47-26) was eventually slotted for deaccessioning by the Peabody in the 1950s due to a staff member's determination that they held 'no anthropological value' (Accession 47-26). The collection went missing over the years but was rediscovered in an unlabelled box by the Peabody's Senior Archivist Katherine Satriano in 2019 during the course of research for the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibit at the Peabody Museum. Most likely incomplete, the current collection hosts a series of dated albums of negatives from Dixon's travels, including one from his time in Fiji that features an as-yet unidentified Fijian locale, his 'Fijian boy' guide and images taken aboard what is presumably the TSS *Manuka*. The collection also includes loose negatives taken of photographs appearing on the pages of German and English publications, clubs in a museum case (see Figure 20.5) and copy negatives from Alexander Agassiz's Pacific expeditions.

Several of these images reappear printed and pasted onto a large collection of what the Peabody Museum refers to as 'H-Boards' – folder-sized cardstock featuring reproductions of photographic prints visualising material culture, ordered geographically (Figure 20.5). There is little documentation about the history, use and purpose of the H-Boards, although the museum's annual reports suggest the then collection of 15,000 photographs was assembled and filed 'on cards of uniform size, classified and arranged' from 1915 onwards (Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 1915–16:254), and it is presumed they were used for reference, research and teaching.

UNCOVERING PACIFIC PASTS

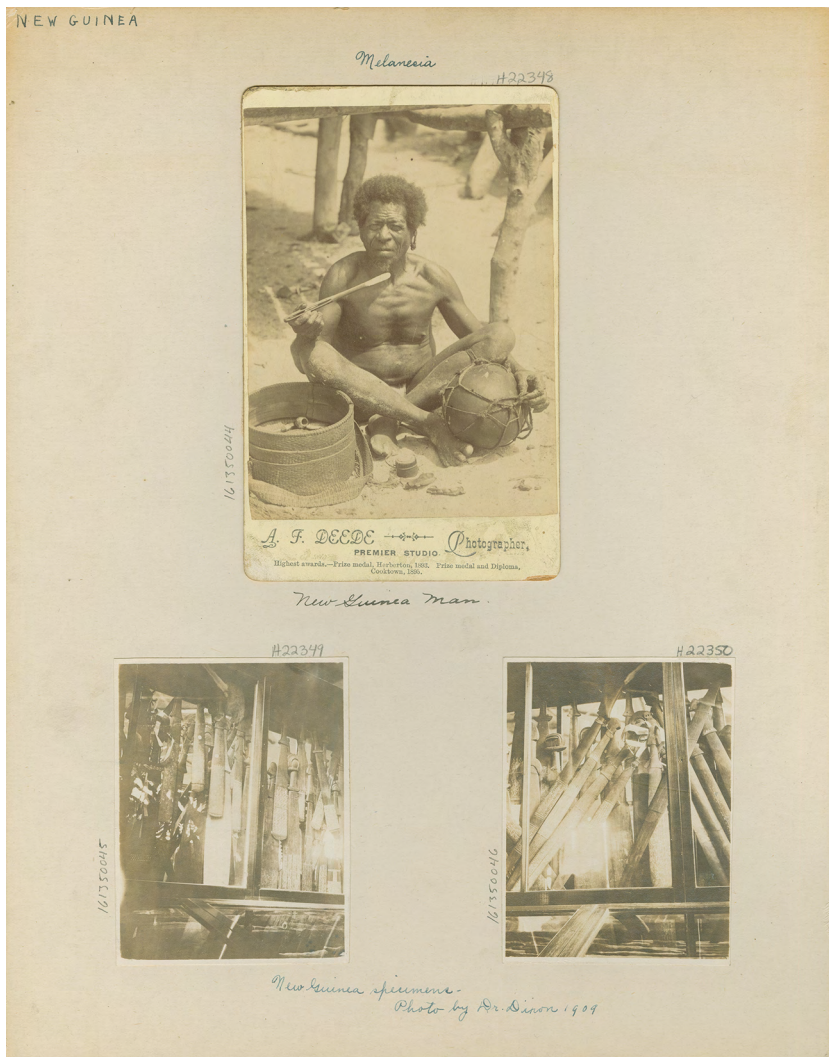


Figure 20.5. One of the Peabody Museum's 'H-Boards', labelled both 'Melanesia' and 'NEW GUINEA', mounted with an 1890s postcard print of an unnamed New Guinea man, alongside two photographs Dixon took of New Guinea and Trobriand Island clubs displayed in a (presumably Australian) museum.

Source: © President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (PM2004.29.22348-.22350).

In 1916 Dixon published his first major work about the region, entitled *Oceanic Mythology*. His motivations for the monograph exceeded simply documenting and reporting on the types of myths widespread across the Pacific. He sought to map the diffusion of myths as evidence for migration waves of people (Dixon 1916:xiii). Dixon concluded that the distribution of myths in Oceania coincided with other forms of evidence, thus verifying multiple waves of migration by peoples in the Pacific, west to east (Dixon 1916:305–306). Dixon’s objectives and his research interest as illustrated in *Oceanic Mythology* – mapping the diffusion of anthropological evidence (in this instance myths and language) – became a recurring focus of all his subsequent major works throughout his life, including *The Racial History of Man* (1923), *The Building of Cultures* (1928) and other notable articles such as: ‘The Independence of the Culture of the American Indian’ (1912); ‘Culture Contact and Migration versus Independent Origin: A Plea for More Light’ (1918); ‘A New Theory of Polynesian Origins’ (1920); ‘The Problem of the Sweet Potato in Polynesia’ (1932); and ‘Contacts With America Across The Southern Pacific’ (1933). In these publications, Dixon focuses on mapping distribution of racial types, material culture objects and their styles, technological innovations and introduced plants, referring in all instances to data and collections amassed by others. In this way, Dixon is best understood as the quintessential armchair anthropologist, a collector and analyst of ideas. However, in tracing the dispersal of culture and people through space and time, Dixon, unlike many of his contemporaries at the time (predominantly ethnologists in the British and German traditions such as Fritz Graebner, W.H.R. Rivers and Grafton Elliot Smith), questioned the ‘Diffusionist model’ as the only mechanism to explain cultural change (Trigger 2006:228). Diffusionists such as Grafton Elliot Smith argued that the primary mechanism to explain cultural similarities between disconnected populations was through the direct transmission of ideas (Spriggs 2018; see also Spriggs, **Chapter 19**, Edmundson, **Chapter 21**, and Aigner, **Chapter 22**, all this volume). This is most poignantly illustrated in the differences in the 1911 addresses given by Dixon and Rivers to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the British Association for the Advancement of Science, respectively. While Dixon used his speech to eloquently critique Graebner’s diffusionist argument for the spread of Melanesian bow culture in North America (Dixon 1912), Rivers was espousing ‘that I have been led quite independently to much the same general position as that of the German scholar’ (Rivers 1911:388).

In the history books, Dixon is perhaps most well known for his ill-fated 1923 publication *The Racial History of Man*. The book presents a narrative of migrations of peoples across the globe, according to racial types using a novel methodology (Tozzer and Kroeber 1936). Dixon combined three physical measurements – the length–breadth, height–length and nasal indices – at the time collected as standard measurements in somatological studies used as a tool for classifying human populations’ racial types and their associated cognitive and cultural traits. By the time of the book’s publication in 1923, Dixon’s methodology and ideas were considered grossly outdated, with renowned physical anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička labelling the work a ‘disaster’ (Hrdlička 1923:724; Sullivan 1923). Dixon was aware that it was a risky enterprise for an anthropologist, librarian and museum curator with a PhD in Native American Indian linguistics – as he never actively trained or worked as a physical anthropologist or collected his own data – to present such a work to his academic colleagues. Unsurprisingly then, *The Racial History of Man* is not fondly remembered in the annals of anthropology’s disciplinary history, with Dixon himself facetiously referring to the book as ‘my crime’ (Tozzer and Coon 1943:xi).

Dixon’s ideas of race and evolution were particularly influential on Ernest Hooton, as evidenced in the similarities between Dixon’s *The Racial History of Man* (1923) and Hooton’s *Up from the Ape* (1931) (Caspari 2003). Hooton was appointed as an instructor in anthropology and associate curator of somatology at Harvard in 1913, and went on to teach the founding generation of physical anthropologists in the US (Shapiro 1954). Such was Dixon’s influence on Hooton that it was he who commissioned Dixon’s festschrift, *Studies in the Anthropology of Oceania and Asia* (Coon et al. 1943), which contained contributions from Dixon’s students, including H.L. Shapiro, C.S. Coon, J.M. Andrews, K.P. Emory, E.S.G. Handy, W.W. Howells and D.L. Oliver, among others.

Dixon, like Hooton, was also a prolific teacher and widely acknowledged as the ‘workhorse’ of Harvard’s anthropology department in its early years, establishing and expanding the curriculum for the better part of four decades (Hinsley 1992:137–138; Hooton 1936:523–527). After Putnam’s initial direction, no one in Harvard’s anthropology department has taught, or introduced, more regular courses during their tenure. Between 1902 and 1935, Dixon taught more than 50 per cent of the courses each year and oversaw nearly half of the graduate students’ courses of research.

Dixon's specialisation on the Pacific has had long-lasting impacts for scholarship in the region; indeed, it can easily be argued that he began the Americanist anthropological research tradition in the region. His courses 'Ethnology of Polynesia and Australia' (or its iterations reflecting contemporary anthropological trends: 'Ethnology of Oceania', 'Ethnography of Oceania', 'Races and Cultures of Oceania') were taught at Harvard annually, with rare exception, long after his death in 1935. Carlton Coon, Donald Scott and J.O. Brew taught the course biannually until 1949, when another Harvard graduate, Douglas Oliver, took the reins, expanding the class catalogue on Oceanic studies dramatically. Oliver attracted a new cohort of students that would become the first postwar generation of US professionally trained anthropologists and archaeologists to work in the region, including the likes of Harry Shapiro and William W. Howells. Dixon also taught and was involved in some of the earliest archaeological investigations of Polynesia, advising on the design of the fieldwork for the pivotal Bayard Dominick Expedition of 1920 that launched the careers of Edward S.C. Handy, Ralph Linton and Kenneth P. Emory.

Roland Burrage Dixon trained the first generation of American anthropologists and archaeologists that went on to establish the now dominant Americanist academic tradition in the Pacific. He was also the first academically trained disciplinary professional to explore the Pacific from the US firsthand. Yet, to date, most disciplinary histories neglect any major contributions by him. New research exploring his influence on his peers and students, and evaluating his academic works and critiques of dominant theoretical paradigms within anthropology at the time, is now required to assess his impact and until now unknown legacy in the history of anthropology.

Acknowledgements

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21

Searching for origins: Archaeology and the government officers of Papua

Anna Edmundson

Certain objects of special interest have from time to time been discovered which have passed into the hands of private collectors outside the territory; such for instance are a stone figure of, apparently, a winged serpent [Figure 21.1], found underneath a gravel drift in the old bed of a creek in the Northern Division, and a small stone object representing a man, once perhaps worshipped as an idol [...] (Murray to Minister, 18 December 1907, NAA: A1/15 1921/24811)

In 1906 Australia took control of the colony of British New Guinea, renaming it the Australian Territory of Papua. The following year Judge Hubert Murray, Acting Administrator (later Lieutenant Governor of Papua), wrote to the Australian Government concerned about the loss of significant items of material culture, which were being sold into private collections. Murray was particularly worried about the loss of what he called ‘antiquities’; prehistoric stone artefacts including intricately carved monoliths, large stone mortars and curiously carved pestles (often in the form of zoomorphic or anthropomorphic figures), which were no longer being made in Papua. The solution he proposed was to establish an official government collecting program and a museum to house the collection (Murray to Minister, 18 December 1907, National Archives of Australia (NAA): A1/15 1921/24811).



Figure 21.1. Stone pestle, found on the Aikora River, Oro Province.

Sold to the British Museum in 1908 by Captain F.R. Barton. This is most likely the 'winged serpent' that Murray refers to in his letter.

Source: British Museum Collection (Oc1908,0423.1). © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

Murray's plans received formal approval in January 1908 and in May his intention to establish an Anthropology Museum was published in the government *Gazette*, including a call for donations from government officers (Government Secretaries Department 1908). In 1911, Murray passed an order that government agents could no longer collect or trade ethnographic or natural history specimens for their own private purposes (Executive Council, Territory of Papua, Executive Order 24 July 1911, NAA: A1, 1911/12991). Voluntary donations soon became mandatory duties as subsequent edicts established collecting as part of the requisite duties of government officers (Edmundson 2013). The passing of the *Papuan Antiquities Ordinance* No 4 of 1913 further extended his control over the collection of significant material culture. The Act ensured that before any export of significant Papuan artefacts could occur, permission needed to be obtained from the commissioner for native affairs. Any artefacts collected in contravention of the Act were to be confiscated and added to the official government collection, which over time became known as the Papuan Official Collection (POC).

Murray's primary objective for the POC was to create a baseline inventory of Papuan material culture (Figure 21.2) before it changed substantially under the impact of colonisation. He often alluded to the value of ethnographic collecting as part of a wider platform for understanding the internal logics of Papuan cultures, but over time he began to realise that the interpretation and care of the collection called for the work of a trained anthropologist (Edmundson 2019). After a visit from the British anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon in 1914 (see also Herle and Wright, **Chapter 12**, this volume), Murray began advocating for a permanent post of government anthropologist: someone who could look after the collections, train patrol officers in the 'rational science' of anthropology and carry out investigations as per the needs of the colony (Murray to Minister, 4 October 1916, NAA: A452, 1959/4708). Up until the early 1950s, most of the archaeological excavations carried out in Papua were conducted by informed, but untrained, amateurs (Spriggs 2013). The majority of these were government officers working under the Australian Administration.¹ From 1920 onwards, archaeological investigations came under the jurisdiction of the newly established post of government anthropologist.

1 See for example Austin (1939), Chinnery (1919, 1927), Lyons (1911), Monckton (1905), Murray (1925, 1926, 1928, 1932), Strong (1921, 1922, 1923, 1924) and Williams (1930a, 1930b, 1931, 1937).



Figure 21.2. Mortar collected before 1915 by J.H.P. Murray, location unknown.

Source: National Museum of Australia, Papuan Official Collection, (1985.0339.1306). Photo by George Serras.

Walter Mersh Strong

Papua's first government anthropologist, Walter Mersh Strong, was a medical doctor who specialised in tropical health and medicine (Denoon 1990). Strong had arrived in Papua (then British New Guinea) as part of a 1904 expedition led by the anthropologist Charles Seligman[n]² and sponsored by the American philanthropist Major William Cooke Daniels.³ Although the expedition was not a success, Strong decided to stay, joining the government service as an assistant resident magistrate, resident magistrate and, finally, chief medical officer. In 1920, while still retaining his position as chief medical officer, Strong became the Territory's inaugural government anthropologist. Although not a keen

2 According to Seligman[n]'s obituarist, his surname was originally spelt 'Seligmann', but he 'dropped the last letter of his surname after 1914', presumably in response to anti-German sentiment associated with World War I (Myers 1941:627).

3 Seligmann led the ethnographic expedition; Daniels oversaw the administration and the study and collection of material culture and Strong served as assistant. The findings of the Cook–Daniels Expedition were never formally published but were later incorporated into Seligmann's comprehensive *The Melanesians of Papua New Guinea*, published in 1910 (Haddon 1934:1–4).

fieldworker (Denoon 1990), he was fascinated by debates regarding the origins of Papuan peoples and contributed two publications on possible links between languages and cultural origins while still an assistant resident magistrate (Strong 1908, 1916). After becoming government anthropologist, Strong became interested in the discovery of megalithic sites and artefacts. He recorded and photographed some of the earliest rock art in the territory, along with several stone mortars and a pestle (from the POC) that he associated with the makers of the art (Strong 1922, 1923, 1924).

When Europeans first came across the presence of large stone mortars on the island of New Guinea, they had little idea of what to make of them. C.A.W. Monckton, Resident Magistrate of what was then the Northeast Division, British New Guinea, sent the earliest recorded example (Figure 21.3) to the British Museum in 1904 (Monckton 1905; see also Bonshek, **Chapter 13**, this volume; Seligmann and Joyce 1907; Spriggs 2013). Since local people no longer made these items and claimed no knowledge of their purpose, their origins became a central topic of debate in anthropological discussions on the prehistory of the southwest Pacific.



Figure 21.3. Stone mortar and pestle, collected May 1904 by C.A.W. Monckton on the Yodda Goldfields, Oro Province.

Source: British Museum Collection (Oc1904,1123.1.a&b). © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence.

One widely held theory was that these artefacts had been introduced to Papua by an 'archaic civilisation', which had since disappeared. In his first report as government anthropologist, Strong addressed the idea at some length:

Many anthropologists hold that around, say, B.C. 1000, there was a race located in Egypt, which used to traverse the sea of the Pacific in search of gold and other wealth, and that such wanderers settled in Papua. This race is also supposed to have introduced a special culture, associated with a culture found in Egypt and elsewhere, wherever they settled. (Strong 1921:31)

The discovery of stone mortars and pestles (Figures 21.3 and 21.4) on the Lakekamu and Yodda goldfields further added to the idea that they were associated with gold mining. This was the view of Patrol Officer E.P. Chinnery, who was later to become government anthropologist of the neighbouring Territory of New Guinea.⁴ Chinnery (1919) proposed that the stone mortars and pestles found on the island of New Guinea had been brought by an ancient 'race' of Egyptians who had used them to crush quartz to extract gold. His work came to the attention of the anthropologist William Perry, who reproduced Chinnery's arguments in his highly successful publication, *Children of the Sun* (1923:29, 80, 199, 836). Perry was a disciple of the Australian anatomist Grafton Elliot Smith, who famously theorised that all human civilisation derived from a single origin – ancient Egypt – whose culture had spread globally through trade and migration, leaving behind telltale signs such as megalithic stonework and sun worship (Smith 1915). Strong wrote:

It has been supposed that the primary purpose of the [Egyptian] migration was for the purpose of searching for gold and other wealth, and that they also brought into the Indian and Pacific oceans the use of stone, terraced irrigation, metal working, house-building, and rice-growing, and that their descendants have remained until now [...] (Strong 1921:31)

This became known as the Heliocentric or Pan-Egyptian school of diffusion.⁵

4 Chinnery was appointed government anthropologist of the Australian Mandated Territory of New Guinea in 1924. The Territories of Papua and New Guinea came under joint administration after 1949. Papua New Guinea became a fully independent nation in 1975.

5 Diffusion theory was a branch of anthropology concerned with the origins and spread of human cultures across space and time. One of its underlying premises was that human migration and cultural 'evolution' could be reconstructed through studying traces of the past in the form of contemporary material culture, ideas, languages and social behaviours (Winthrop 1991:83–84). Egyptocentric diffusion theories reached their height in the 1920s but were largely abandoned by the 1930s.



Figure 21.4. Pestle collected in 1911 by Davy James, a miner on the Lakekamu Goldfields, Gulf Province.

Source: National Museum of Australia, Papuan Official Collection, (1985.0339.1304).
Photo by George Serras.

The debate over whether a former ‘civilisation’ had brought megalithic (large-stone) culture to the peoples of the south-west Pacific captured the attention of numerous anthropologists during the first three decades of the twentieth century, as well as drawing in government officers, including Strong’s superior, Murray.⁶ While Murray initially held that the ‘antiquities’ unearthed in Papua may have been made by a more ‘advanced race’ (Murray 1912:372–374), he began to question this idea the longer he lived in Papua, eventually becoming one of Perry’s staunchest critics (Murray 1926, 1928). Strong was equally unimpressed with Chinnery and Perry’s hypothesis:

I cannot say that this view appeals at all to me. Even the European has never successfully crushed quartz for gold on the mainland of Papua; and if prehistoric wanderers have at all generally profitably worked gold in stone hand-power mortars, surely the present-day miner, with the help of machinery, would long ago have found some of these sources of gold-quartz, and Papua would have ranked as a great gold-producing country (Strong 1921:31).

Strong went on to argue that since gold had never been found in local quartz deposits, the mortars must instead have been used for milling grain. However, he was forced to concede that grain was not grown in New Guinea. In the end he was left to conclude: ‘the origin of these stone mortars is the most mysterious anthropological question which I know of in Papua’ (Strong 1921:31).⁷

F.E. Williams

Strong’s successor, Francis Edgar Williams, belonged to a new generation of anthropologists who began to shift the field of inquiry from the evolution and diffusion of human cultures to studying how extant tribal societies functioned as holistic entities. Williams was employed as an assistant government anthropologist in 1922, and as government anthropologist from 1928 until his death in 1943. He was a dedicated researcher who is believed to have spent more time engaged in fieldwork

6 See for example Chinnery (1919, 1927), Haddon (1925), Murray (1926, 1928), Perry (1926, 1928), Rivers (1914), Seligmann and Joyce (1907) and Seligmann (1910).

7 Modern archaeological techniques, such as radiocarbon dating and analysis of plant residues, have now conclusively proven that stone mortars and pestles were used for processing tubers, forest fruits and nuts by the ancestors of modern day Papua New Guineans as part of an early agricultural complex dating between 8000 and 3000 BP (Field et al. 2020; Shaw et al. 2020; Swadling and Hide 2005:293).

in Papua than any other anthropologist before or since (Young and Clarke 2001). Unlike Strong, who had trained as a medical practitioner, Williams arrived in Papua newly graduated from Oxford University with a diploma in anthropology (Strong 1922:24). In relation to collecting practices, Williams was ahead of his time. He advocated detailed documentation of all objects collected, put great emphasis on ethical collecting and stated that the cause of science did not justify collecting practices that robbed a society of its important material culture (Williams 1923). Nonetheless, as government anthropologist his duties included collecting as well as practical investigations and survey work. Williams was the first government officer to undertake a systematic survey of rock art in the territory, and during his tenure, he conducted at least three excavations in Papua (at Boianai, Wagava and Kitava).

In February 1926, Williams began excavating a stone circle known as 'Wakeke's House' near the Anglican Mission at Boianai in Goodenough Bay. The area of Goodenough Bay was well known for the presence of stone arrangements and petroglyphs scattered in and around four locations: the villages of Boianai, Meitepana and Radava (known collectively as Boianai); Wedau and Wamira; Garuwai; and Taupota (Egloff 1970:147). The most famous of these was at the village of Boianai with its large pavements and petroglyphs in addition to intricately carved stones (Figure 21.5), which drew the attention of European collectors. Boianai's carved stones and pavements were locally associated with mythical beings, the most famous of these being Wakeke, an ancestor hero and founder of the village.

Williams was a keen photographer and his collection of almost 2,000 glass plates and negatives, now housed at the National Archives of Australia, contains 25 photographs taken during his stay at Boianai. At the site known as Wakeke's House, Williams photographed a small stone mortar in situ, said to be around 24 inches in diameter. The stone bowl was said to be the home of Wakeke when he was in snake form. The nearby stone cairns were reputed to be the house posts of what was once Wakeke's House. The photos indicate that although the dig was only active for a day, the material unearthed by Williams during this time included three clay pots either containing or covering human skulls (Williams Photograph, February 1926, NAA: A6510, 994). Although the excavation was too brief to be conclusive, Williams found remains relating to five individuals in association with pottery fragments and concluded that these may have been burial plots (Williams 1931:135–38).



Figure 21.5. Carved stone, Boianai, Milne Bay Province.

Collected/donated by J.H.P. Murray before 1925.

Source: National Museum of Australia, Papuan Official Collection (1985.0339.0856).

Photo by George Serras.

It may be that the discovery of funerary remains caused distress, or Williams may not have adequately explained the process that was about to occur, but almost as soon as Williams had begun the excavation (Figure 21.6) it was called to a halt:

Thinking I had the full consent of the villagers I proceeded to excavate this site with all possible care, but at the end of the first day's work was informed by the missionary stationed at Boianai [Reverend Wilfred Light] that the people were greatly perturbed in the matter. They thought that some dire results would follow the disturbance of these stones and the remains we had discovered, and they had asked the missionary to intervene. In accordance with the principles we follow in Papua I could do nothing but accede to the wishes of the people to whom these stones belonged, and the excavations were filled in on the following day. (Williams 1931:138)⁸

8 Unlike many of his contemporaries, Williams did not attribute the stone cairns at Boianai to exotic origins, concluding: 'There is no necessity to postulate some bygone vanished people who have left nothing but these petroglyphs behind them' (1931:38–39).

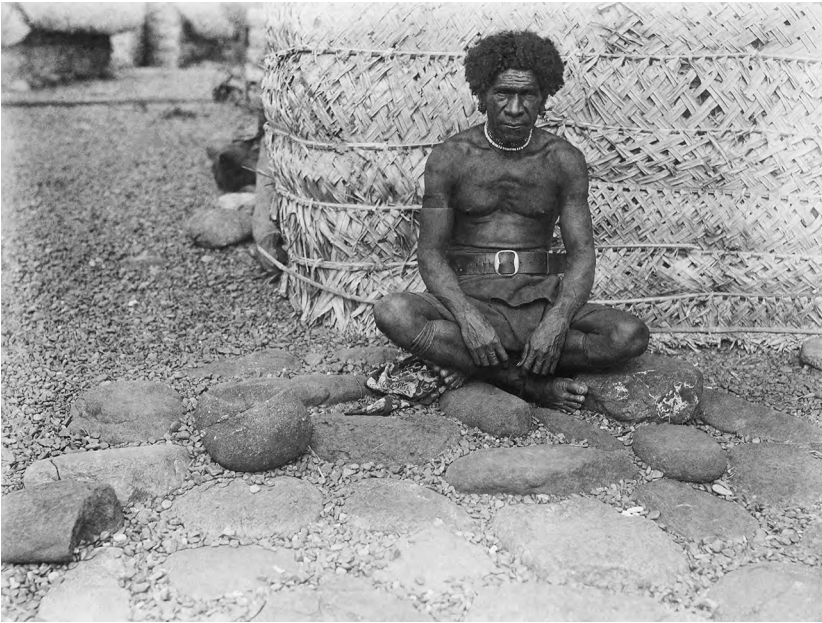


Figure 21.6. Photograph by F.E. Williams, Boianai Excavation, Milne Bay Province.

Original caption reads: 'Wareki's [sic] "pannikin" and V C "Johnson" - Excavation - February 1926 - Papua, Central, Boianai - Francis Edgar Williams'.

Source: Image courtesy of the National Archives of Australia (NAA: A6510, 997).

Despite his anthropological training Williams had failed to understand the cultural logics at play. Because they had 'denied all knowledge' of the stones, Williams had assumed that the local residents were not interested in them. However, for the people of Boianai, the disinclination to discuss the stones may have indicated, not a lack of interest, but the exact opposite.⁹ For them, these were not scientific specimens, but animate objects, with tangible links to an ancestral hero who was not to be disturbed without the risk of great ill-fortune.

Over time, Williams's experiences in Papua led him to develop a greater understanding of the significance of these types of objects from a Papuan viewpoint. Williams belonged to an emerging school of anthropology known as functionalism, which advocated for the need to study cultural systems in situ, rather than to remove tangible cultural heritage for study

9 When the archaeologist Brian Egloff visited Boianai in 1968 he discovered that local people still regretted the Williams dig and were wary of anyone else disturbing the stones (Egloff 1970:154).

and display in overseas institutions. The longer Williams spent engaged in fieldwork and observing village life from the inside, the more convinced he became that collectors and the administration had gotten things wrong: ‘From the anthropological stand-point,’ he argued, ‘the ceremony is the thing, and [...] the interests of science would be best served by preserving, not the ceremonial object, but the ceremony itself’ (Williams 1923:19).

Conclusion

In the first two decades of the twentieth century anthropological research was dominated by evolutionary and diffusionist paradigms; the search for origins. Over time anthropologists and archaeologists alike began to abandon hyper-diffusionist theories and to concentrate more directly on local and regional systems. Although Williams and others observed early on that similarities could be found among the various megalithic sites in Papua, during this early period, scholars of prehistory were hampered by a methodological imperative to look for universal rather than local connections. This meant trying to piece together multiple tides of human movement and ideas over several millennia, based on only a very limited sample of sites and objects. The hyper-diffusionist approach so favoured by early scholars gave way to more systematic research, which began to map in more granular detail the many connections across linguistics, genetics and material culture, which modern archaeologists use to uncover the many waves of human migration to and from the Western Pacific. This is still a work in progress.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the National Museum of Australia from February to July 2020.

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22

Father Wilhelm Schmidt, Indigenous beliefs and Oceanic collections in the Vatican's Anima Mundi Museum

Katherine Aigner

In a biography of the history of Pacific archaeology, Father Wilhelm Schmidt (1868–1954) is a notable contributor with a wide sphere of influence. He demonstrates the entwined nature of the roots of ethnographical, anthropological and archaeological research in the early stages where disciplines engaged with remote and largely unknown Indigenous peoples.

In 1906, Schmidt quoted one of his mentors, Friedrich Ratzel, in rejecting the belief of the separation of humankind into the so-called *Naturvölker* and *Kulturvölker*, or ‘progression’ from nature to culture (Brandewie 1990:102–103). His life’s work would try to clarify the problem:

For a long time people have been concerned in great detail mainly with those groups which have the most highly developed cultures, so much so that these groups alone began to represent mankind and were considered exclusively responsible for world history [...] the concept of mankind should not be understood in a superficial way [...] one can no longer write a world history without mentioning those groups who were till now thought

to be without history because they had no writing or left no traces of themselves hammered in stone. History is interaction! In comparison how unimportant it is whether groups have writing or not. How irrelevant to the actual doing and creating is the written description thereof. (Schmidt 1906:600, quoted in Brandewie 1990:102)

Schmidt believed that all humanity had history and culture. In his many writings, while he accepted the basic facts, he famously refuted the dominant theory of Darwinian evolution. He opposed evolutionism's application of the concept of natural law to the study of culture and society, stating instead 'that cultural growth is cyclic and proceeds in waves' (Brandewie 1982:154, 1990:103).¹ He hypothesised that cultures developed from a diffusion of ideas and technology coming out from 'innovation centres' where individuals' abilities could affect history (Brandewie 1990:185). He stimulated the study of world cultures in Europe and strove to show the value of Indigenous cultures to Europeans, contributing to an awareness, understanding and perhaps acceptance of 'otherness' (BurrIDGE 1973:17, quoted in Peterson and Kenny 2017:7).

Schmidt desired to learn, not from written history, but from living cultures – a call still echoed by Indigenous peoples today. His earliest ethnographic writings² ushered in a new era of study of so-called 'hunters and gatherers'; he stressed their similarity, 'true humanity', morality and 'intelligence' (Brandewie 1990:103, 184–185). This paper profiles his thinking and influence in what he tried to achieve at the time in relation to bringing awareness of the cultures of the Pacific to Europe, through some of the objects from the Oceanic collection in the Vatican's Anima Mundi: Peoples, Arts and Cultures Museum.

1 Schmidt criticised E.B. Tylor because 'his method was wrong ... he misconstrued or ignored the ethnographic facts' (Brandewie 1982:158). I acknowledge the important work of Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia. Until the 1967 referendum approved the deletion of Section 127 of the Australian Constitution, which stated that 'in reckoning the numbers of people of the Commonwealth, or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives shall not be counted', Indigenous Australians were not recognised as part of the Australian population (Attwood and Markus 2007; Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) n.d.). Some scholars (e.g. Wood 2015:286) have interpreted s 127 as meaning that Indigenous Australians were not considered part of the 'human' population. While others have disputed this interpretation, Indigenous Australians involved in campaigning for a 'yes' vote certainly identify the desire to 'have more "status" as human beings' and to 'see white Australians ... affirming at last that they believe we are human beings' as reasons for seeking change (Attwood and Markus 2007:51–52, 130, 132, 158).

2 *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*, 1910 (*The Place of Pygmy Peoples in the Developmental History of Humankind*) and *Völker und Kulturen (Peoples and Cultures)*, finished in 1914 (Brandewie 1990:185).

Born in 1868 in Hörde, now part of Dortmund in northern Germany, Wilhelm Schmidt joined the Society of the Divine Word (SVD, *Societas Verbi Divini*) and, after nine years of ‘humanistic, philosophical, and theological study’, was ordained in 1892 (Bornemann 1982:16, quoted in Brandewie 1990:77). From 1909 he agitated for a chair of ethnology at the University of Vienna and, in 1929, became founder, professor and head of the Institut für Völkerkunde and leading proponent of the ‘Vienna Cultural-Historical School’ of ethnology (Brandewie 1990:99). From the late imperial and colonial period of Europe there was interest in ethnography, but Vienna and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, situated on the western side of the ‘Eastern world’, were also multiethnic so there was little interest in distinguishing so-called ‘civilised’ and ‘primitive’ peoples (Gingrich 2005:78–85, n.d.). Father Schmidt ‘successfully promoted the increased separation of ethnography from physical anthropology at the University of Vienna’ (Gingrich n.d.). He set out a founding orientation and theory of ethnology, promoted studies of social and cultural life, and supported a ‘rapid development’ of ‘ethnological research’ (Haekel et al. 1956:1–16, quoted in Brandewie 1990:99).

Schmidt composed over 60 pieces of sacral music, published over 700 books and articles, and founded several academic journals: *Anthropos* (1906),³ which published thousands of photographs, articles and reviews and continues to be a significant platform for scientific studies today; *Monumenta Serica* (1935); *Annali Lateranensi* (1937); and *(Asian) Folklore Studies* (1942) (*Anthropos* n.d.). After 1939, he lived in Fribourg, Switzerland, and was professor until 1948.⁴ As a professor and editor, his theories influenced many young students and priests who went to live in some of the most remote areas of the world, including Oceania where they were active from the late nineteenth century on. He encouraged missionaries to learn local languages, to better understand the peoples they worked among and to ‘advance the study of Völkerkunde, the world’s cultures and languages’ (*Anthropology Research* n.d.). Schmidt promoted a scientific approach and was the driving force for a system of research infrastructure that fostered networks that also included secular scientists, university institutes, academic journals and missionary and secular museums.⁵ He died in 1954 in Switzerland, aged 86.

3 *Anthropos: International Review of Ethnology and Linguistics*. Schmidt established the *Anthropos* Institute and Library in 1931 (in Mödling, near Vienna, Austria; now in Sankt Augustin, Germany) as a working community of editors and coworkers for the *Anthropos* journal and remained director until 1950 (Steyler n.d.).

4 He was a lecturer until 1942, then professor.

5 For example, he was president of the IV International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Vienna in 1952 and received honorary degrees from six universities.

While British anthropologists were comparatively more likely to embrace the evolutionary ideas of Darwin, the ‘dynamic and interactionist’ diffusion ideas of cultural growth promoted by Schmidt had a greater influence on German-speaking thinkers (Brandewie 1982:154; Ganter 2018:189).⁶ German ‘*Ethnologie*’ encompassed a broader study between historical and geographical perspectives of cultural groups, also including language, songs, mythical narratives, folklore, ritual and material objects (Brandewie 1990:98; Peterson and Kenny 2017:4). Schmidt refined the theory of *Kulturkreise* (‘cultural circles’) of Fritz Graebner (1877–1934) to three major stages and used a method he called ‘culture-history’ to classify and study cultural traits (see Schmidt 1931:238–239). He believed studying the historical dimension was essential to understanding the cultural data. His studies of language and material culture influenced the future direction of archaeological research.⁷

Linguistics

Initially, Schmidt’s interest in linguistics focused on the study of the languages of Papua New Guinea and then gradually expanded to include the rest of Oceania and Australia. He gained a certain degree of recognition in academic circles for the seriousness and depth of his analyses. Even today, despite all the progress made in this field, some findings of his research are still used and cited, including the term ‘Austronesian’, which he coined in 1899 to indicate a family of four related linguistic groups: Indonesian, Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian (Lukas 2006).

According to his biographer Brandewie (1990:46), Schmidt

had studied and could speak or read at least the following: Hebrew, Arabic, Syrian, Aramaic, Samaritan, either Assyrian or Ethiopian, or both [...] Latin, French, Polish, Czech, Spanish, English, Greek, Italian, and Dutch, in addition, of course, to German, and there may have been more. But it was in the comparative study of the languages of Melanesia, Southeast Asia, and Australia that he began his scientific work.

⁶ The thirteenth-century scholastic philosopher Saint Thomas Aquinas OP influenced Schmidt, who developed ‘encyclopaedic’ systems of knowledge (Brandewie 1990:77–91, 344; Swain 1993:72).

⁷ His *Kulturkreise* theory also influenced researchers in Australia, including Norman Tindale and D.S. Davidson, who studied ‘spatial distribution of material culture and patterns of diffusion’, as well as Joseph Birdsell and Carl Strehlow (Peterson and Kenny 2017:18, 361).

Known for his study of language families of the world:

Why did he begin with Melanesia and the South Seas? Because of his contacts with SVD missionaries, who had recently opened a mission in New Guinea, in the part known at that time as *Kaiserwilhelmsland* (1898). Schmidt's very first publication is a reworking of ethnographic materials collected by Fr. Vormann, a missionary in New Guinea. He already realized what valuable contributions missionaries could make to ethnology, especially to religious ethnology and to comparative religion. (Brandewie 1990:46–47)

Brandewie summarised Schmidt's contribution in the linguistic field: 'He proved that the languages of Oceania are most closely connected with those of South Asia.'⁸ He was the first to show the order existing in the languages of Australia' (1990:344). In 1919, Schmidt published *Die Gliederung der australischen Sprachen* (The structure of Australian languages).

Urmonotheismus: 'Primeval monotheism and primeval revelation'

The best known among Schmidt's numerous academic publications is the 12-volume monumental work *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (The origin of the idea of God), composed between 1912 and his death. For Australia, he had the help of Father Ernest Worms's fieldwork, which was published in 1968 as *Australische Eingeborenen-Religionen* (Australian Aboriginal religions). Using the 'cultural circle' theory, Schmidt believed the original message from God to humankind was found not in the religions of the so-called 'higher civilisations', but in those groups labelled at the time as having 'animistic beliefs' – that is, those peoples who still lived close to their environment (God), and were connected to the seasons and animal migrations, for example. Schmidt tried to attribute to each cultural circle a specific type of religion, concluding that in the most ancient cultures, that is, those with the simplest material culture, *monotheism* was the original form of religion, where traces of belief in a Supreme Being are still found.

8 Schmidt's identification of the close connection between Oceanic and South Asian languages, specifically those within the Austronesian language family, is still current. Austronesian languages are spoken throughout the Malay Peninsula, Maritime Southeast Asia, Madagascar, islands of the Pacific Ocean, the Philippines and Taiwan. It is the fifth largest language family by numbers (Blust 2008).

Schmidt thus reversed the then popular viewpoint that monotheism came at the end of the religious evolution of humanity. He believed the contrary was true: if we want to know something of the original message of God, we must learn from these older cultures (*Altvölker*). What takes place after is not evolution, but degeneration. Schmidt dramatically concluded *The Origin and Growth of Religion* (1931:289–290):

as external civilization increased in splendour and wealth, so religion came to be expressed in forms of ever-increasing magnificence and opulence [...] more priests and servants, more sacrifices and ceremonies were instituted [...] despite the glory and wealth of the outward form, the inner kernel of religion often disappeared and its essential strength weakened. The results of this, both moral and social, were anything but desirable, leading to extreme degradation and even to the deification of the immoral and antisocial [...] But all the while, the ancient primitive religion still continued among the few remainders of the primitive culture, preserved by fragmentary peoples driven into the most distant regions [...]

Schmidt spent most of his life in Europe,⁹ relying on the fieldwork of his trusted collaborators for precise ethnographic materials, most of whom were also SVD priests. These included Paul Schebesta for the peoples at the time known as the ‘Bushmen’ and ‘Pygmies’ (Africa and Southeast Asia), Wilhelm Koppers and Martin Gusinde for the Fuegini (South America), Philipp Beck among the Negritos in the Philippines, and Franz Kirschbaum and Georg Höltker for peoples in Papua New Guinea.¹⁰ All were scholars who in one way or another made their contribution in the field of ethnology. Through them, Schmidt amassed a large amount of material about the ‘existence of a belief in a high god’ at a time when anthropologists could not ‘find anything but “supernatural powers”’ (Rahmann 1975:211–212).¹¹

9 Giving guest lectures in Japan, the USA (Princeton and Berkeley) and notably China in 1935, where he lectured at Yanjing and Qinghua universities, while based at Furen University (Anthropos n.d.).

10 Kirschbaum lived on the Sepik for over 20 years, from the founding of Marienberg in 1913 to 1939, immersed in the study of languages and cultures. He accompanied several ethnographic expeditions and sent hundreds of works to Rome in the 1920s and 1930s, which were displayed in the 1925 exhibition and the new museum.

11 His associate and critic Father R. Rahmann described *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* as ‘a warm-hearted apology [...] for primordial man’ (Rahmann 1975:212).

The Vatican's 1925 exhibition

Schmidt was an early proponent of what are known today as world culture museums. He founded the museum at St Gabriel, a large SVD mission community outside Vienna, established in 1889, and by around 1900, objects were arriving from China and Oceania for an exhibition. Focused on agriculture, academic education and research, St Gabriel had an extensive library and through the reputation of Schmidt, developed an image as a community engaged in scientific research worldwide.

From 1923 to 1928 Schmidt was called to Rome to establish museums for 'comparative religion and ethnology' and Pope Pius XI, a visionary and 'man of science', invited him to organise the great Vatican Exhibition of 1925 (Schmidt in Bornemann 1982:166, as quoted in Brandewie 1990:178). The exhibition included objects already in Rome at the Museo Borgiano of Propaganda Fide – such as the statue of the god Tu, sent to Pope Gregory XVI in 1836 from Mangareva in Polynesia (inventory no. 100189) – as well as literally tens of thousands of objects from communities around the world (Figure 22.1). It was an opportunity for Schmidt to explain his categorisation of world cultures through the display of cultural artefacts, and demonstrate his central theories of *Kulturkreise* and *Urmonotheismus*, to 'put gradually together from many faded fragments a life-like picture of this [original] religion' (Schmidt 1931:289–290).

Schmidt found preparation for the exhibition 'strenuous and taxing', working every day 'without a break' (Schmidt, quoted in Brandewie 1990:181). It opened according to schedule on 21 December 1924 and remained open for a year, attracting over a million visitors and displaying 100,000 objects, with dioramas, explanatory panels, photographs, maps and paintings. Held in 24 specially designed pavilions inside the Vatican State, the Ethnology Hall was where 'hunter-gatherers' had the most important space, then 'nomadic herders' and then 'more recent civilizations' from Melanesia and New Guinea. It was a great success. Pope Pius XI spoke of it as a 'book of world cultures', the complexity of humanity offered to a European audience ravaged by one world war and heading into another (Aigner et al. 2012). Pius XI decided to transform the exhibition into a permanent museum, locating it in the Lateran Palace in Rome. Sixty per cent of the objects were returned to the communities who lent them, as promised; only a core collection remained for the permanent museum.



Figure 22.1. *Iniet* figure, Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain, Papua New Guinea.

Before 1910. Stone, red ochre. 38.5 × 15 × 5.5 cm.

Source: Photo Copyright © Governorate of the Vatican City State–Directorate of the Vatican Museums (inv. 109090).

Schmidt looked to the example of Bernhard Ankermann and Fritz Graebner who, as curators of the rich ethnographic material in the Berlin Ethnological Museum, succeeded in displaying their theories of *Kulturkreise*. For Schmidt, the Vatican's new ethnological museum, solemnly inaugurated on 21 December 1927, provided an opportunity to both educate and demonstrate intangible cultural beliefs such as religion. He was the first director of the museum, now called Anima Mundi, from 1926 to 1939. Representing Australia and the Pacific world, the first room was dedicated to Insular Southeast Asia, the Philippines and Micronesia; the second to Polynesia and Melanesia; the third to New Guinea and Australia; and the fourth to Africa (Figure 22.2). A model of a *Haus Tambaran* from the Sepik River, still in the museum today, was one of the main attractions. The French Marist missionary Father Patrick O'Reilly sent a collection from Bougainville, including a commissioned carving of the Madonna in local style by Joseph Guenou (Figure 22.3). Schmidt also collaborated with other well-known anthropologists, including Gregory Bateson, who couriered feathered shields from Kirschbaum in Papua New Guinea to the museum in 1930 (Aigner and Mapelli 2022).¹²



Figure 22.2. 'Rongorongo tablets', Rapa Nui (Easter Island).

Coated plaster with etchings. Late nineteenth – early twentieth century.

Source: Photo Copyright © Governorate of the Vatican City State – Directorate of the Vatican Museums (inv. 124713; 124714).

¹² In 1922 the superior general of the SVDs, Father William Gier, went to Papua with Father Bruno Hagspiel, who published *Along the Mission Trail: III. In New Guinea* (1926), which recounted local rituals and objects, including feathered 'shields' (see Boissonnas 2018:110).



Figure 22.3. Left: the artist Joseph Guenou (Toroa people) with his life-size wooden carving of Madonna and a suckling baby Jesus in local style, with red hair and skirt, in 1935, Rorovana, Bougainville. Right: *Madonna and Child* (Rorovana, Bougainville), by Joseph Guenou. Early 20th century. Wood, pigment.

Source: Left: Photo © Marist Archives, Rome (APM 2507). Right: Photo Copyright © Governorate of the Vatican City State–Directorate of the Vatican Museums (left: inv. 112773; right; inv. 112773).

Archaeology was exemplified in the 1925 exhibition by the *Sala della Preistoria* (Prehistory Gallery), which Schmidt specifically wanted included in the new museum.¹³ The internationally famous French scholar of prehistory, the abbé Henri Breuil (1877–1961), gave him many objects relating to France. However, Schmidt wanted a wider representation. He spent three weeks in Paris with Breuil in 1926 and then included archaeological materials from Africa, the Americas and Australia in the new museum.¹⁴ *Anthropos* had

13 For much of this information, I follow Cook (2016).

14 Viktor Lebzelter (1889–1936) from the University of Vienna was partly funded by the Vatican (1926–28), through Schmidt, to travel to the Kalahari Desert and collect materials and information related to the San people, once known as ‘Bushmen’. However, Schmidt worried that Lebzelter was focusing too much on collecting archaeological rather than ethnographic material (Cook 2016:42–45). Schmidt’s general view was that it was more important to focus on the present than on the distant past. According to him, the key to the original message of God, in fact, could be found more in the living tradition of the most remote Indigenous groups than in what he saw as the silence of the archaeological past.

published early articles relating to Pacific archaeology in 1909–10, including the first accounts and illustrations of Lapita pottery by Father Otto Meyer MSC (*Missionnaires de Sacré-Coeur*, Missionaries of the Sacred Heart: Casey 1936:94; Dotte-Sarout and Howes 2018; see also Howes, **Chapter 15**, and Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, both this volume). Meyer had ‘discovered’ the Lapita pottery in 1909 on the island of Watom (New Britain) and sent examples for the 1925 exhibition, which were returned to Rabaul in New Britain when it closed. In 1947 German Father Ernest (Ernst) Ailred Worms (1891–1963), who lived in Australia from 1930, sent ‘Kimberley points’ and other archaeological materials (Figure 22.4).¹⁵ Extensive documentation still exists at the Anthropos Institute of stone artefacts acquired by Father Höltker in New Guinea from 1936 to 1939, including the ‘magic stone’ (Figure 22.5) in the museum collection (inv. 125794) (Howes 2018).

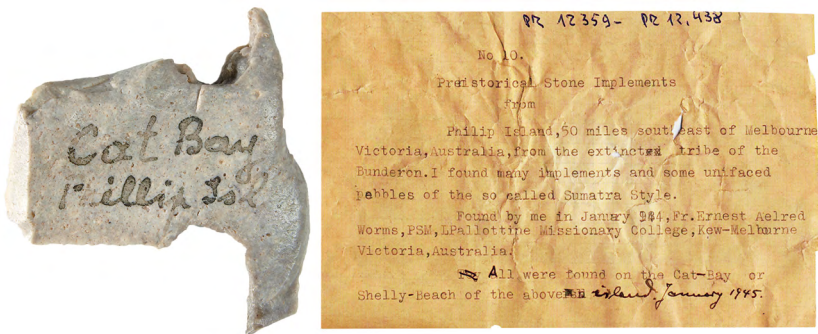


Figure 22.4. Example of stone (flint and chert) from Phillip Island, Victoria, Australia with note from Fr Worms concerning microliths collected on Phillip Island in 1945.

Source: Photo Copyright © Governorate of the Vatican City State–Directorate of the Vatican Museums (inv. 127073).

¹⁵ Worms was also interested in archaeological items from inland areas, such as from Broken Hill, but particularly on Phillip Island, in Victoria. Special attention was given to the Bunderon or Boonwurrung people – because of colonisation their numbers had waned, to the point that Worms had erroneously written that the stone flakes he sent had come from the ‘extinct tribe of the Bunderon’. But on a reconnection journey, we learnt they continue to thrive and are now known as the Boon Wurrung people of Victoria (Aigner and Edizioni Musei Vaticani 2017:84–85).



Figure 22.5. 'Magic stone' from the Noupa River, Rai Coast, Madang Province, Papua New Guinea.

Source: Photo Copyright © Governorate of the Vatican City State–Directorate of the Vatican Museums (inv. 125794).

Importantly, Father Schmidt's work drew attention to the significance of Indigenous cultures, a counteraction to the dominant theories of the time. Although his emphasis on the belief in a Supreme Being was criticised (Sharpe 1975; Swain and Australian Association for the Study of Religions 1985), he affirmed the intrinsic value and sophisticated beliefs of Indigenous spirituality and culture, promoting Indigenous peoples as highly civilised (see Wood 2015). Because of this, ethnology came under *Geisteswissenschaften*, the humanities, rather than *Naturwissenschaften*, the natural sciences (Brandewie 1990:343). Schmidt emphasised that ethnology belonged 'to a brand of history' that he called 'culture-history', where humankind could also make their own history, more freely than

scientists had previously admitted (Brandewie 1990:343). His ideas may have influenced Pius XI, who often asked for his opinion; his 1926 mission encyclical, *Rerum ecclesiae* (The church), emphasised developing a ‘native clergy and hierarchy’ in countries with missions with ‘an institution indigenous to the land’ (Brandewie 1990:184–186). Schmidt positioned Indigenous peoples in world history and highlighted the intrinsic value of their cultures in closeness and protection of the natural world. Indigenous custodians today continue to speak out about disappearing ecosystems as sea levels rise around the world. Indeed, Pope Francis’s 2015 encyclical *Laudato Si’: On Care of Our Common Home* highlighted these issues. Schmidt refined the method of historical ethnology, fostered an appreciation of the world’s oldest cultures and ‘inflamed’ those he trained with a ‘love for science’ (Brandewie 1990:344).

Conclusion

Through the extent of his academic, political and missionary networks, Schmidt stimulated new directions in research and became a significant figure in the development of archaeology in the Pacific. The Vatican’s museum was built according to his theoretical orientation. Objects, including archaeological items, from Australia and Oceania were thus incorporated into this general context. Brandewie commented:

For this, he and the museum were criticized by those who did not agree with his understanding of ethnology [...] But this approach stood firm in the museum until the whole was transferred, long after Schmidt’s death, to the Vatican itself [...] Neither the culture circles nor Schmidt are represented there any more. (1990:183)

Although the number of objects on display have diminished from Schmidt’s time, the main works from Australia and Oceania that he so much admired remain.¹⁶ In the new layout, the result of renovation work started in 2017, many examples from the Pacific continue to educate audiences in Europe today.

¹⁶ See Aigner and Miotk (2015:391–398).

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Father Nicola Mapelli, director of the Vatican's Anima Mundi Museum, Tony Swain and Nicolas Peterson for reading the draft. Thank you for your generosity and insights.

Objects highlighted in this chapter are on display at the Vatican Museums' Anima Mundi: Peoples, Arts and Cultures. The permanent Australia–Oceania display was inaugurated by a visit of Pope Francis in October 2019.

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23

H.D. Skinner

Moira White

Henry Devenish Skinner (1886–1978) was an enthusiastic, energetic and reputedly charming recent Cambridge graduate when he began work as assistant curator at Otago Museum, Dunedin, in 1919. He immediately embarked on the purposeful expansion of the museum's anthropological and archaeological collections, prepared for teaching duties at the University of Otago, where he established a new course in anthropology, and set in motion an ambitious research plan.

Pākehā had questioned when Māori settled Aotearoa/New Zealand, and from where, since their own, later arrival. Discussion was a matter of public interest in Skinner's childhood, and the subject of academic dialogue among scholars working in the wider Pacific throughout his career. At a time when anthropology was seen as a discipline comprising separate fields, each of which brought different types of information from its own techniques and methodologies to bear on broader issues, Skinner sought to contribute to the debate on the settlement of Polynesia through material culture studies.

To this end, he first pursued publication of his study of the material culture of the Moriori people of the Chatham Islands, situated approx. 870 km east of Christchurch, New Zealand. By his own account, his interest in this area dated from about 1906 (Skinner 1923:3). Before the outbreak of World War I he had begun an examination of museum and private collections in New Zealand, and planned a visit to the Islands. Enlistment

and engagement, however, meant a hiatus in this research. Following his discharge from the army on medical grounds in England in 1917, he resumed the work. He visited private and public British collections, read Lieutenant William Broughton's log in the British Museum, began writing a thesis and enrolled in the anthropology course at Cambridge University (Figure 23.1). On his return to New Zealand, among the demands and exciting potential of his new position, he again pursued options for visiting the Islands.

No. 224001

POLICE CERTIFICATE OF IDENTITY.
(See instructions overleaf.)

PHOTOGRAPH.

SURNAME (in block letters) SKINNER

Christian Names Henry Devenish

Age 30 Height 5ft 6in Profession or Occupation Student

Permanent Address { 35 Rusell Road
Cambridge

DECLARATION.—I declare that the above particulars are true.
Signature of person named above { H. Devenish Skinner

CERTIFICATE A.—I certify that the above description and photograph is that of Mr. H. D. Skinner

Signature of Police or responsible householder { Alfred C. Haddon

Address 3, Cranmer Rd., Cambridge Date Aug. 18, 1918

CERTIFICATE B.—I certify that Mr. A. C. Haddon, who has signed the above Certificate A is a responsible householder in this district.

Signature of Police Alfred Hargreaves, Police Supt

Police Station Cambridge Borough Date 18 Aug 1918

PERMIT
(For conditions see back.)

PERMIT TO IRELAND
21 AUG 1918
VALID FOR 3 MONTHS
V. B. Thomas



Figure 23.1. H.D. Skinner's English Police Certificate of Identity, 1918; his description and photograph certified by A.C. Haddon.

Source: With the permission of H.D. Skinner's family.

Adzes

At a Science Congress meeting in Christchurch, Skinner told listeners that ‘the special interest of Moriori material culture lay in the light it threw on the history of Maori material culture and art’ (Anon 1919). Later that year he wrote to geologist Herbert Gregory at Yale University, director of the Bishop Museum in Hawai‘i from 1919 to 1936, that he had ‘an exhaustive work’ (Otago Museum Archive (OM), Skinner to Gregory, 13 September 1919) on Moriori material culture almost ready for publication. He added:

Our principal problem is the determination of what elements may be regarded as essentially Polynesian, and which as borrowings. It can be attacked only after an intensive study of the material culture of each island group in Polynesia and its borders. (OM Archive, Skinner to Gregory, 13 September 1919)

Anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon (see also Herle and Wright, **Chapter 12**, this volume) had encouraged Skinner’s taxonomic studies at Cambridge (Gathercole 1979:108) and they were foundational to this work. Begun during his time at Cambridge, it took form four years later as *The Morioris of Chatham Islands*. In it, Skinner described various aspects of Moriori material culture, including a proposed classification of stone tool types. He believed indicating ‘comparative examples’ (Skinner 1923:5) would help to ‘determine the closeness of the relationship between the material culture of the Morioris and that of other parts of Polynesia’ (Skinner 1923:5).

‘In the section which deals with axes, adzes, and chisels’, he wrote:

what is believed to be a new method has been followed. The implements have been classified into groups or types, and it happens that no type has been erected that does not also exist in some other part of the Pacific. For each type a ‘type specimen’ has been named, and wherever possible its front, side, and back views have been given, as well as the cross section [...] It is believed that by this method students will be able to obtain a much more accurate knowledge of the form and relative size of these implements. (Skinner 1923:5)

All were figured at a uniform scale. He continued:

The types that have been erected correspond to fairly well-marked groups of adzes, the shape and size of each group being determined no doubt by the use to which it was put. As to what that use was for each particular implement we can only conjecture. (Skinner 1923:89)

His confidence in the reality of his results is evident in the conclusion of a 1920 offer to a colleague: 'If you will send me photos of the Maori adzes that you have I may be able to send you examples of missing types' (OM Archive, Skinner to Stokes, 12 July 1920).

Gregory facilitated publication of the manuscript in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Memoir series. When Skinner wrote to say he had mailed the three parcels containing its maps, text and illustrations to Hawai'i, he added:

At one stage of the research I thought that I should be content with a purely descriptive memoir, but I decided to demonstrate the solution of the problem of origins, and I think you will agree that it adds greatly to the interest, and perhaps I may say the importance of the memoir. (OM Archive, Skinner to Gregory, 16 September 1921)

He finished:

It is with a feeling of great relief that I realise the completion of my first work of any size. I am deeply grateful to you for your encouragement and for undertaking its publication. (OM Archive, Skinner to Gregory, 16 September 1921)

One senses an exhilaration when he speaks of his hopes for the potential of this methodology.

The review of this volume by anthropologist Te Rangi Hīroa (Peter Buck) showed his agreement with Skinner when he wrote that:

the most outstanding section that shows much original work is that dealing with adzes [...] The descriptions and figures of the types will enable students of Pacific regions to make comparisons with other areas by a common method. (Buck 1924:67–68)

Similarly, ethnologist Edward Smith Craighill Handy's review commented:

The section devoted to adzes is the most important in this study. It will be of interest to all students of material culture, as well as to Polynesian ethnographers, for it is a distinct contribution in the line of establishing a method of comparing adze forms. (Handy 1925:334)

Noting also anthropologist Ralph Linton's descriptions of Marquesan adzes, Handy said that both men had 'demonstrated that Polynesian adzes [...] fall into definite classes; and that the distribution of types [...] is significant ethnographically' (Handy 1925:334).



Louis Sullivan wrote directly from the American Museum of Natural History to tell Skinner:

how much I enjoyed your splendid paper on 'The Morioris of Chatham Islands'. It fits in very well with physical findings [...] I believe the prospects for a partial solution of the Polynesian problems are brighter than they have been for some time. (Sullivan to Skinner, 18 December 1923) (Figure 23.2)¹

Figure 23.2. The Percy Smith Prize medal awarded for research in Anthropology to H.D. Skinner in 1926.

Source: With the permission of H.D. Skinner's family.

¹ The original of this letter has not been located in the Otago Museum archives.

Later, anthropologist J.D. Freeman said this memoir was:

a landmark in the history of Polynesian ethnology. It was the first systematic account of the material culture of a Polynesian people, and set new standards in description, classification and analysis. (Freeman 1959:16)

About 70 years after its publication, historian Michael King wrote that Skinner's 'analysis of material culture, particularly artefacts [...] showed beyond doubt that the Moriori were Polynesian, that the special features of their culture had evolved on the Chathams, and that their probable place of origin immediately prior to the Chathams was New Zealand'. Sounding perplexed, he added that nevertheless Skinner's 'measured and scholarly findings failed to penetrate the public consciousness' (King 1993).

Today, the Deed of Settlement² between Crown and Moriori acknowledges:

Morioki karāpuna (ancestors) were the waina-pono (original inhabitants) of Rēkohu, Rangihau, Hokoreoro (South East Island), and other nearby islands (making up the Chatham Islands). They arrived sometime between 1000 and 1400 CE and all Morioki hokopapa to (are descended from) the founding ancestor Rongomaiwhenua. (New Zealand Government 2019)

The next step

After the memoir, Skinner expanded the geographical area of his interest. 'In matters of science', he had written to Haddon:

we are rapidly being pulled within the American orbit. – I have just finished my Morioki MS which has been altered, enlarged, and entirely re-written, and in a week or two will dispatch it to Honolulu [...] Now that the Morioki material is off my hands

2 A Deed of Settlement documents the kinds of redress negotiated in a historical Treaty of Waitangi settlement. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by Māori *rangatira* (chiefs) and representatives of the British Crown in 1840. It enabled Māori to keep *rangatiratanga* (chieftainship) over their resources and guaranteed Māori the rights and privileges of British citizens. Historical claims are made by Māori against the Crown (now the government of New Zealand) for breaches of the Treaty before 1992. Historical settlements aim to resolve these claims and provide some redress to claimant groups in the form of a Crown acknowledgement and apology, cultural redress, and/or commercial and financial redress (New Zealand Government 2021).

I hope to begin on Maori culture, working it in areas as outlined in my paper in this month's J.P.S. (OM Archive, Skinner to Haddon, 23 June 1921)

In the paper to which he referred (Skinner 1921), he outlined a number of culture areas for New Zealand, each described by a set of material culture and other attributes.

Skinner also continued thinking about adzes. In 1928 he republished line drawings of his types with amended descriptions, stating his belief that they were 'established as objective realities' (Skinner and Bauke 1928:10). While in 1923, Skinner had suggested a minor revision of the terms used to describe adzes in ethnographer Elsdon Best's monograph (Best 1912), seven years later he and three colleagues went further, publishing 'Terminology for Ground Stone Cutting-Implements in Polynesia' (Buck et al. 1930). That paper asserted 'the need for precise definitions of forms and of processes of manufacture'. The authors argued that the variation in terms they and others had used in previous publications made 'comparison uncertain' and allowed 'inadequate provision for precise technical definition of the remarkable assemblage of ground stone cutting-tools from Polynesia as a whole' (Buck et al. 1930:174).

The interest in culture-historical analyses was widespread among scholars who sought to understand the distribution of adzes in Oceania before the development of dating techniques that would allow more precise chronological control. In 1935, a report from the Science Congress of the Royal Society of New Zealand, held in Dunedin, said:

Mr H.D. Skinner gave a very clear classification of adzes from Murihiku, illustrated by the Museum case displays. Seven distinct types were shown to have existed, and that some such classification could be made for the Chatham Islands and the Cook Islands was proved by an examination of the cases. (Anon. 1935)

In 1938, Skinner presented his study of Māori adzes at the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East in Singapore.³ It was published in the proceedings (Skinner 1938). He gave two reasons for the focus on Murihiku, a name he used to designate 'the districts of Westland, South Canterbury, Otago Southland, and Stewart Island' (Skinner 1938:142).

3 This was only the third meeting held before World War II; the fourth and final was held in 1953, in Manila, with the Eighth Pacific Science Congress.

The first was that the area ‘produced ground stone cutting implements in greater variety and in greater beauty than any other region in Polynesia, or perhaps in the whole world’ (Skinner 1938:142). The second was practical and twofold. On the one hand, it related to the volume of *taoka* (treasured possessions) available for detailed study in Otago Museum (notwithstanding his extensive knowledge of material in other collections around the world), some of which ‘had been recovered from stratified sites, data not yet secured in any other part of Polynesia’ (Skinner 1938:142). On the other, it referred to the opportunity to collaborate with artist Lily Daff, assistant in charge of installation and exhibition at the museum, in the drawings of the type specimens (Figure 23.3).



Figure 23.3. Duncan Macdonald presented this black basalt *tuki*, found in 1873 at Lovell’s Flat, Otago, to Otago Museum.

H.D. Skinner chose it to illustrate the type specimen of a 1C in his classification. He added that it was ‘a beautiful adze’.

Source: Otago Museum Collection (D23.682) with kind permission of Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou, and the Otago Museum Māori Advisory Committee.

The bound copy of the reprint Skinner presented to Otago Museum has the words ‘axes, chisels and gouges’ scored for removal on the title page. There is also an appealing handwritten note in the upper right corner: ‘This article is part of a larger memoir, and incidentally shows evidence of its origin. H.D.S.’

In 1938 Skinner concluded:

The classification here proposed is designed to apply ultimately to the adzes of Polynesia as a whole. It has been applied to very large New Zealand collections, to a large collection from the Chatham islands, to a large Cook islands collection, and to smaller collections from Rapa, the Society islands, and the Marquesas. In all these cases it can be applied with ease. (Skinner 1938:171)

However, in the same paragraph he anticipated that additional varieties would be required for a Polynesian typology. Half a decade later he published 'The Classification of Greywacke and Nephrite Adzes from Murihiku, N.Z.' (Skinner 1943), acknowledging the impact that material and manufacturing techniques might have on form.

In 1940 ethnologist Roger Duff, who had studied under Skinner at the University of Otago (see also Brooks, **Chapter 9**, this volume), published 'A Cache of Adzes from Motukarara' (Duff 1940). He suggested reducing Skinner's 10 types to four, each with a number of varieties. The year 1945 saw what Duff described as 'a suggested revision of the standard typology of the adzes of New Zealand, as published by Skinner (1938 and 1943)' (Duff 1945:147). Thereafter this became the accepted reference. Other typologies have since been proposed, and studies of adze typologies undertaken (e.g. Best 1977; Cleghorn 1984; Park 1972). It would seem that, for many later scholars, as well as for Skinner, documenting the diversity of stone adzes in the Pacific Islands has appeared 'critical to understanding the relationship between past human populations' (Shipton et al. 2016:361).

Summary

H.D. Skinner returned to Aotearoa/New Zealand from Cambridge near the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, and near the beginning of archaeology and professional anthropology in the Pacific. He worked at Otago Museum for nearly 40 years, becoming director in 1937, a role he held until the late 1950s.

Skinner's fascination with form and material culture remained with him throughout that time. He valued precision in thought and observation. Although not primarily an archaeologist, he understood it to be an essential part of anthropology (Figure 23.4). His association with self-taught archaeologist David Teviotdale has been argued to mark the beginning of archaeology as a scientific discipline in New Zealand (Freeman 1959:22). He was the founding chair of the New Zealand Archaeological Association.



Figure 23.4. H.D. Skinner (left, foreground, with rucksack) at an Otago beach archaeological site.

Source: Otago Museum archives.

Skinner's adze classification may have been replaced by others, but it was a significant milestone in Pacific material culture dialogue. Through it and his delineation of culture areas in New Zealand, as well as a long series of publications, museum displays structured on morphological and typological connections and groupings, lectures and less formal interactions, Skinner sought to offer a methodological framework for facilitating discussion and comparison.

Two significant publications organised by Skinner's associates remain widely used. A collection of anthropological essays written by former students and colleagues (Freeman and Geddes 1959) was both a personal and a professional tribute (Figure 23.5). Later, the wonderfully titled *Comparatively Speaking* (Skinner 1974), 'one man's approach to the study of Oceanic culture history' as the paper cover described it, appeared after his retirement. In it, some of his earlier papers were republished, including the 1938 'Maori Adzes from the Murihiku Region', besides five new papers, some of which were co-authored.

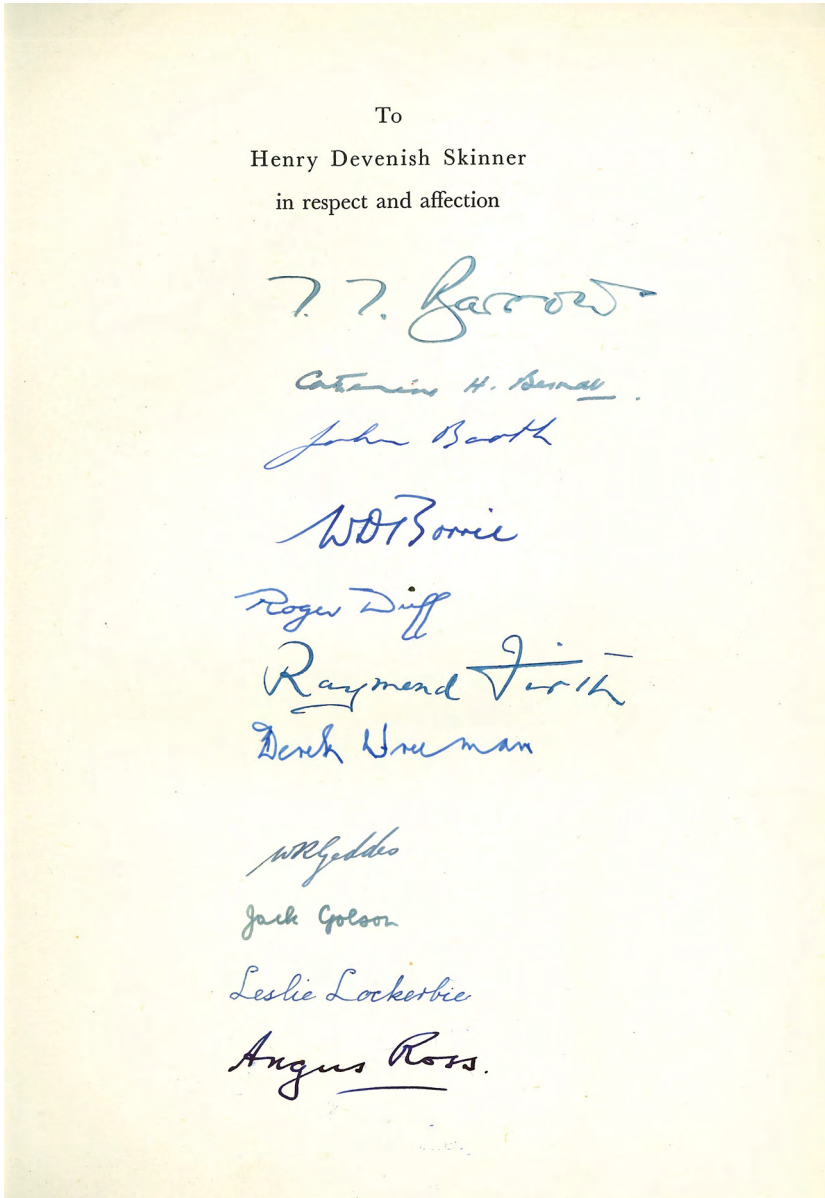


Figure 23.5. The dedication page of H.D. Skinner's personal copy of *Anthropology in the South Seas* was signed by the contributing authors. Source: Otago Museum Library.

In 1923 Skinner described his Type I adze as ‘more thoroughly characteristic of Polynesia as a whole than is any other class of objects’ (Skinner 1923:92). How fitting, then, that in 1959 J.D. Freeman should have imagined that if a portrait were to be painted of H.D. Skinner holding an object that symbolised his professional career, that *taoka* would be a tanged adze from Murihiku.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at Otago Museum from February to July 2020.

Acknowledgements

My grateful thanks to members of H.D. Skinner’s family for reading an earlier draft of this paper, and to my colleague Rachel Wesley for conversations about H.D. Skinner’s archaeology.

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24

The vicissitudes of Lapita pottery, 1909–45: The Melbourne witness

Matthew Spriggs

The Lapita culture represents the culture of the initial inhabitants of southern Remote Oceania, that area of the Pacific beyond New Guinea and its satellite islands and the main Solomon Islands chain known as Near Oceania. While Near Oceania has been inhabited for 45,000 or more years, the islands of the western part of southern Remote Oceania (the Reefs–Santa Cruz, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, and Wallis and Futuna) were first settled around 3,000 years ago, with Eastern Polynesia being, in the main, settled almost 2,000 years later, within the last 1,200 years (Kirch 2017). The 27 sherds of Lapita pottery in the Melbourne Museum collection, from the island of Watom off New Britain, Papua New Guinea (PNG), are the largest number held in any Australian official depository; on grounds of rarity alone they should be considered one of the museum’s Pacific treasures.

Father Otto Meyer

The sherds were donated by Father Otto Meyer (1877–1937). He was a Sacred Heart Catholic missionary based on Watom Island between 1902 and shortly before his death in 1937 (for details of his life, see Howes, **Chapter 15**, this volume; Dotte-Sarout and Howes 2019; Howes 2017; and for how he is remembered on Watom Island today, see ‘Rakival Mission, Watom Island Meeting’ and ‘Statement by Rakival People’, **Appendix**, this

volume). The pottery sherds may have been held at the museum for around 100 years – when they arrived is not fully settled – but they have very rarely, if ever, been on public display (Figures 24.1–24.3). For perhaps the first 50 years of their time at what was then the National Museum Melbourne (also known as the National Museum of Victoria), their true value in tracing the migrations of early Pacific peoples was unappreciated and their cultural affiliation was unclear. Only with the rapid expansion of archaeology in the Western Pacific from the 1950s onwards was the Lapita ‘trail’ of pottery from the Bismarck Archipelago through Island Melanesia and into Western Polynesia revealed and dated. Its ultimate connections back into Island Southeast Asia and Taiwan were largely argued on the basis of a shared ‘Neolithic’ culture, meaning in this case agriculturally based subsistence and the use of pottery, as well as an indicative link between the distribution of Austronesian languages and the spread of such pottery-using cultures through Island Southeast Asia and out into the Pacific. The languages could be traced back to Taiwan, and that island produced the earliest dated pottery found in Island Southeast Asia. This further cemented the connection between the spread of languages and culture in the region, a connection that very firmly still stands (Kirch 2017).



Figure 24.1. Watom Island Lapita sherd from Meyer Donation.

Source: Museums Victoria Indigenous Collections, (Registration X 032087). Used with permission.



Figure 24.2. Watom Island Lapita sherd from Meyer Donation.

Source: Museums Victoria Indigenous Collections, (Registration X 032087). Used with permission.



Figure 24.3. Watom Island Lapita sherd from Meyer Donation.

Source: Museums Victoria Indigenous Collections, (Registration X 032087). Used with permission.

None of this was known, however, back in 1909 when Meyer found decorated potsherds eroding out on the beach at his mission station on Watom after a storm caused stream flooding. Local people were little guide as to the origins of the pottery; they did not make pottery themselves, although they offered interpretations of some of the geometric designs on the sherds, and Meyer seemed to suggest that the ‘sophisticated’ pottery was made by an earlier culture (Howes 2017:43). As well as being a priest, Meyer was a keen scholar of natural science, publishing some 30 or so scientific papers during his time on Watom. The pottery was sufficiently notable that Meyer devoted three papers to its investigation, published in the Catholic anthropological journal *Anthropos* in 1909 and 1910 (Meyer 1909a, 1909b, 1910), and was to refer to his findings again in later published and unpublished works. These papers are remarkable for their time, reporting on Meyer’s archaeological excavations where the pottery was generally found at a depth often of 1.5 m below the present ground surface, under a sterile yellow layer we now know to have been a volcanic ash or tephra deposit caused by the major Rabaul Caldera-forming eruption that took place somewhere between AD 667 and 699, some 1,350–1,325 or so years ago (McKee et al. 2015; cf. Specht 1968). Meyer presented drawings of some of the decorated sherds he found, and even attempted a brief stylistic analysis. The work was considerably ahead of its time.

Distributing Watom

Meyer clearly wanted to get further opinions on the origins and date of the potsherds. As well as publishing illustrations of them he sent collections to various European museums. The illustrated sherds and others were sent to the Hilstrup Mission Museum, Münster, in 1910, and are now in the Museum der Kulturen in Basel, Switzerland. Further depositions were made in 1912 and 1913 to museums in Cologne and Berlin in Germany (for details see Howes, **Chapter 15**, this volume). Australian forces occupied German New Guinea, including New Britain, near the start of World War I in 1914 (Craig et al. 2015). This led to the amassing of the War Museum Collection of some 600 (mainly) ethnographic objects as ‘war trophies or curios’ that came to Museums Victoria between 1915 and 1920. The Watom sherds of Meyer are said to be numbered among them (Craig et al. 2015:210–211).

If the Melbourne Museum's original Accession Register is to be believed, the collection number 32087 for the Watom sherds is part of a series (31956–32419) that originated from the War Museum Loan Collection and was placed on permanent loan on 10 September 1925. Accession 32087 is said to have come from Father Meyer with the locality as 'Island of Watom. New Britain 1909'. The objects before and after this entry are dated as collected in 1919.¹ The description reads:

Pottery – 24 pieces, broken, dug up by Father Meyer on the Island of Watom. They were found at about a depth of 4 feet, about 50 yards from the high water, on one of the very few level patches of Watom. He found in all about 2cwt [c. 100 kg], the majority not being marked. Nothing like it is made by the Natives of the Island. No complete article was found. He dug the first piece up about 1909. The pottery of Peru is the nearest approach to it.

This explains the 1909 date in the locality column of the Accession Register, but not when Meyer presumably donated the collection. It is also not clear to whom he donated it – collectors for the War Museum or directly to the National Museum of Victoria. Craig et al. (2015) assume the former but provide no details; presumably they were following the general note in the Accession Register.

Dermot Casey and Watom

The collection appears to have gone unremarked until Dermot Casey (1897–1977) was appointed honorary ethnologist of the National Museum Melbourne upon his return from the UK around the end of 1931. Casey, the younger brother of the politician and later Governor-General of Australia R.G. Casey, came from an established Melbourne upper-class family. He had gone to the UK in June 1928 where he pursued archaeological interests, becoming a student and field assistant to Mortimer Wheeler, then the director of the London Museum, who was just starting to teach the first university-level courses in archaeology in London. Wheeler described him as 'one of the most percipient excavators within

¹ This might seem fortuitous, the register being copied out later, but in the Papers of E.W.P. Chinnery, National Library of Australia, is a photograph of some of the Melbourne sherds, presumably sent to E.W.P. Chinnery by the Museum's Honorary Ethnologist Dermot Casey at some stage, which is labelled on the back 'dug up by Father Myer [sic], RC Mission – 1919', MS766, Box 44, File 33. Is it just an error for 1909?

my knowledge’ and believed that Casey, ‘but for the counter-attraction of his natal Australia, would have risen high as a field-archaeologist’ (Wheeler 1955:98). Upon his return, Casey was without doubt the most highly trained archaeologist in Australia. As his publications and activities show, he pursued wide interests in Australian and New Guinea archaeology during the rest of the 1930s (Spriggs 2019:3–4, 2020).

At Casey’s urging, Museum Director D.J. Mahony wrote to Monseigneur Vesters, Bishop of New Guinea at Vunapope near Rabaul on New Britain, noting: ‘About 1916 the Rev Father Myer [sic] kindly presented to this Museum some fragments of pottery which he had dug up some years previously’ (Mahony to Vesters, undated but response dates it to 19 September 1932, Ethnology – Pottery file, First Peoples’ Collection, Museums Victoria). Mahony sought further information on Casey’s behalf, including an address for Father Meyer. The bishop responded that he had forwarded the enquiry to Meyer on Watom (Vesters to Mahony, 5 October 1932, received at Museum 24 October 1932. Ethnology – Pottery file). Meyer then responded directly to Mahony on 18 October 1932 (original letter in Ethnology – Pottery file, typescript copy AIATSIS [Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies], Casey Collection MS 1326.A (l)(5)(i)). He noted that:

In 1922 Mr Stanley, the Government geologist from Papua, made a report about the matter. (Some of his explanations, however, are not quite correct.)

Geologist Evan Stanley had been an enthusiastic amateur historian and thought the pottery had derived from a Spanish shipwreck of the sixteenth century. In a letter from Meyer to his fellow priest, the anthropologist Father Patrick O’Reilly who visited him in June 1935, Meyer recalled: ‘Now some weeks ago, I heard that the English [sic – Australians] thought they might find Spanish gold, hence the Government’s interest in the pottery’ (translation of letter c. 1934–35, in Anson 2000:23). However, Meyer also claimed that he had persuaded Stanley that the pottery was older:

If I can permit myself the luxury of having an opinion, it is this: I believe that if the motifs mainly resemble those of South America, for example Peru, more than others, there could have been contacts between this local ancient culture and that of South America. But I, poor hermit, what do I know of these scientific questions which are still so perplexing, even for you, the scientists, by the grace of God.

Meyer had clearly thought there was a Peruvian connection before meeting Stanley in 1922, from his reading of Buschan (1910) and one of the editions of Hoernes's *Urgeschichte der Menschheit*, where illustrations of Peruvian designs – presumably those shown to Stanley by Meyer – were seen as similar to the Watom pieces.²

Casey's interest in the Watom pottery was revived early in 1936, when he wrote to Meyer that he had seen very similar designs on pottery from the Malay Peninsula in Southeast Asia in both the British Museum and the India Museum in London,³ during a visit in the second half of 1933. He asked Meyer to send him some further examples of the Watom pottery for study and return, and also requested that Meyer ask the Vunapope Catholic Mission's museum for a further loan of potsherds. He noted that he had written to Territory of New Guinea Government Anthropologist E.W.P. Chinnery to see if further specimens could be lent from the Rabaul Museum (Casey to Meyer, 17 March 1936, Ethnology – Pottery file). His letter to Chinnery of the same day can be found in the Casey Collection in AIATSIS but seems to have got no response; no pottery was sent from that museum (AIATSIS, MS 1326.A (l)(5)(i)).

Meyer replied in the affirmative and hoped that Casey would be able to throw 'more light on the origin of this strange old potteries' (Meyer to Casey, 23 April 1936, received at Museum 6 May, Ethnology – Pottery file). Sent even earlier than this but received the same day was a letter from Vunapope saying that they were sending a case with 19 small packages of pottery in it (P. Ischler to Casey, 16 April 1936, Ethnology – Pottery file). An attached note lists 85 potsherds in this consignment. Museum Director Mahony responded on 12 June in letters to Meyer and to Father Ischler, noting receipt of both the Vunapope and Meyer collections and enclosing a money order to cover the postage (Mahony to Meyer, 12 June 1936, Ethnology – Pottery file). The pottery was returned soon after 26 August that year, when a requisition order to send back the pottery was filed (Requisition Order, Ethnology – Pottery file).

2 There were several editions of this work and it is not clear which one Meyer was referring to.

3 This was in fact a collection known as the 'India Museum' in the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington. The collection retained its separate identity until 1945: www.trc-leiden.nl/trc-needles/collections/europe/india-museum-london, retrieved 15 May 2020.

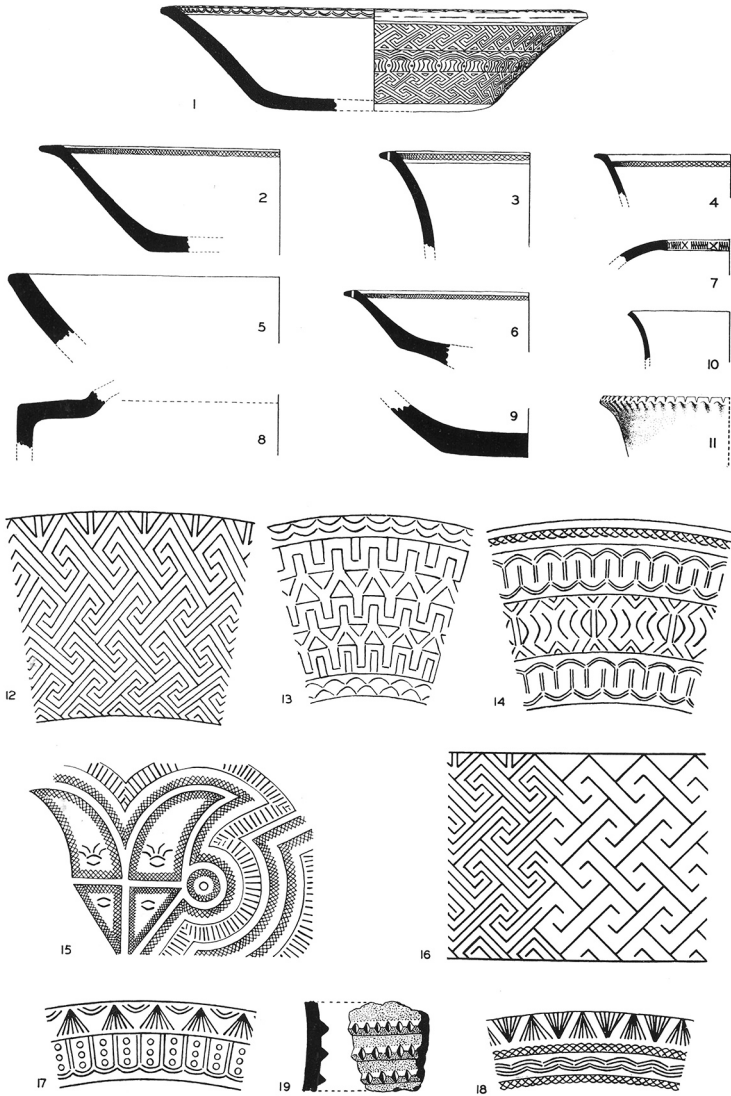


Figure 24.4. Plate VIII illustrating Watom Lapita pottery sent to Dermot Casey from Father Meyer and from the Mission Museum at Kokopo, East New Britain in 1936.

Source: *Memoirs of the National Museum Melbourne* 9, September 1936 (Casey 1936).

There is no record of how many sherds Meyer sent, but the weight of his package of 12 lbs compared to the package of 85 sherds from Vunapope weighing 20 lbs might suggest about 50 sherds were included. Casey's report in the *Memoirs of the National Museum Melbourne* published in November 1936, however, talks of 'several hundred pieces' (Casey 1936:95). About 17 of the sherds are illustrated in Casey's article, the precise number being unknown as some drawings are schematic renderings of the designs, others show the vessel shape in section and two show decorations on the inside of the rim from what may be vessels whose main design fields on the external surface were illustrated elsewhere on the page (Figure 24.4). Only one illustration seems to be from the collection already held by the National Museum, and even that could simply be illustrating a sherd from the loaned collection with a similar motif.

The lack of overlap between the earlier, retained, collection and those illustrated by Casey is significant because his 1936 report is the only record of these 'several hundred' pieces. During fighting between Allied forces and the Japanese in World War II, the Vunapope Mission was levelled by bombing and the Rabaul Museum too was destroyed (Specht to Casey, 6 December 1965, from information gathered on his first trip to Watom, AIATSIS, MS 1326.A (1)(5)(i)). A few years before, Father Meyer had died on a ship docking at New Farm Wharf in Brisbane on 14 December 1937. He had been convalescing at the Mission Procure in Coogee, Sydney, after illness and was returning to Watom to die among his flock. He was buried the same day in Nudgee cemetery.⁴ After his death one assumes that his possessions were removed from Watom to Vunapope for safekeeping, and thus were subsequently destroyed there during the war.

Meyer was the conduit for procuring further important Pacific specimens for the National Museum Melbourne, hand-carrying obsidian artefacts and stone mortars from New Britain, New Ireland and Lihir to Sydney and then shipping them to Melbourne in October 1937. This was on behalf of Father Neuhaus of the Sacred Heart Mission, just two months before

4 Father Meyer's death on board the SS *Nellore* was reported widely in the Brisbane and regional Queensland and New South Wales papers, as well as in the Catholic press. See, for instance, *The Telegraph* (Brisbane), 14 December 1937, p. 1; *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), 15 December 1937, pp. 1, 13 (retrieved 9 November 2019 from Trove: trove.nla.gov.au).

Meyer's death (see Museums Victoria, First Peoples' Collection, Neuhaus (sic), Father (PNG) (1937–41) file and AIATSIS, MS 1326.A (j)(1) and (2)).⁵

Casey's 1936 paper on the Watom pottery was largely descriptive but justified by the fact that at the time it was 'of a type quite different from any of the wares known from New Guinea or the adjacent islands, and the Watom Island natives had no knowledge of it' (Casey 1936:94). In addition (during his 1933 visit to the UK), Casey had noted use of the same technique – what we now know as dentate-stamping – and some of the same decorative designs on nineteenth-century pottery from Perak on the Malaysian mainland in the India Museum collection, London. Examples of similar designs were seen on Malay water bottles and jars in the British Museum as well. Casey made a most percipient observation that at least one design, which he labels as an 'interlocking branched (cymose) key pattern', appeared 'to be derived from plaited basketwork' (Casey 1936:97). He noted that designs of the same general type are found 'on fabrics and basketware from Indonesia, and occasionally on early Chinese bronzes', with further related patterns from Sumatra and Kalimantan (Casey 1936:97).

He seemed particularly taken, however, by close parallels with the design on an embroidered fabric from a grave in Nasca, Peru, dating from 200 BC to AD 200 that he had seen in the British Museum. He had written to a curator there, to secure a photo that he then had rendered as his Figure 5 (our Figure 24.5) (Casey to H.J. Braunholtz, Assistant Keeper of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, 16 March 1936, and response 1 April 1936, AIATSIS, MS 1326.A (l)(5)(i)). One wonders if the reference in the Accession Register, doubtless originally from Meyer himself, that the closest parallels to the Watom pottery were with Peruvian ceramics, had led Casey to seek out a Peruvian parallel? He concludes, however: 'It is not suggested that there is necessarily any connection between the two, although the patterns are almost identical, and the writer does not know of this particular design occurring elsewhere' (Casey 1936:97).

5 Casey later published on these and other artefacts in the *Memoir* series (Casey 1939).

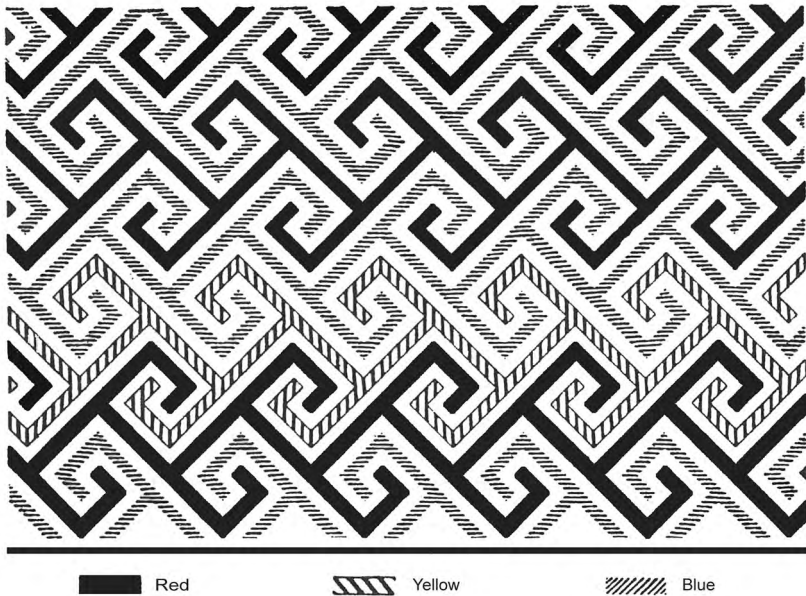


Figure 24.5. ‘Fig. 5 Ancient Embroidered Fabric, Nasca, Peru (British Museum)’.

Source: *Memoirs of the National Museum Melbourne* 9, September 1936 (Casey 1936:96).

The Lapita ‘community of culture’

Casey was the first person to write in English about the Watom pottery in any detail, although the first person to write in English and provide photographs of Lapita pottery was W.C. McKern (1929:115–119, Plate VI) reporting on the discovery of what we now know to be Lapita pottery on Tongatapu, Tonga. The Lapita designs on that pottery were quite simple in form and the connection between pottery from the two areas was not remarked upon by anyone until briefly alluded to by Edward Gifford (1953:68) and later – without reference – by Gifford and Richard Shutler Jr, the first people to record the name of the New Caledonian site of Lapita, their Site 13. They wrote: ‘The roulette (dotted line) marks on Tongan pottery also suggests site 13 and Ile des Pins styles’ (1956:94). Gifford (1951:236) had already noted similarities between the Île des Pins, Tonga and Fiji pottery decoration but at the time believed the pottery to date to late in the Fiji sequence.

The Île des Pins site mentioned is another classic Lapita site at the beach of St Maurice, in the Saint François area, near Vao village. This was excavated in 1947 by Maurice Lenormand, André Arnould and Jacques Avias after Lenormand was alerted to its presence by Father Boutin, head of the Catholic Mission at Vao (Avias 1950:130–131; Lenormand 1948). It was the pottery from this site that Avias and, independently, Father O'Reilly recognised in early 1949 as similar to that from Watom (as recounted by Avias 1950:131–132; cf. Avias 1949). Avias also hypothesised – it seems he had not yet examined any specimens – that a site on the Foué Peninsula near Koné on the mainland of New Caledonia examined by Piroutet sometime between 1900 and 1909 (Piroutet 1917:260; cf. Piroutet 1909) might include similar pottery (Avias 1950:122–123, 136); this was, of course, Site 13, Lapita. It was presumably due to Avias's mention of Piroutet's work that Gifford and Shutler excavated the site in the first place.

As noted above, Gifford was the first to draw attention as well to parallels between the pottery at the Île des Pins and that found by Lindsay Verrier and Ratu Rabici Logavatu at the Sigatoka Sand Dunes on Viti Levu, Fiji, in 1948 shortly after Gifford's 1947 expedition to Fiji had concluded (Gifford 1951:236; cf. Gifford 1953:68). The Sigatoka find occurred in time for the pottery to be described and illustrated in Gifford's Fiji monograph (Gifford 1951:232, 236, 252, Plate 19). For details of Verrier and Ratu Rabici Logavatu's discovery see Spriggs, **Chapter 27** and **Chapter 28**, both this volume. Gifford does not seem to have been aware of Avias's publications when he wrote his monograph and so does not mention any parallels with Watom. But what is perhaps more surprising is that none of these writers were aware of Casey's 1936 publication. It is never mentioned in the writings of Avias, Gifford, Lenormand or any other researchers working in New Caledonia or Fiji in the 1940s and 1950s and even escaped the eagle-eye of Alphonse Riesenfeld in his encyclopaedic grand synthesis of Melanesian prehistory, *The Megalithic Culture of Melanesia* (1950), although he did refer to it in a slightly later paper (Riesenfeld 1952). Avias and Riesenfeld were, however, well aware of Meyer's own publications on Watom by 1950, as was Gifford by 1953.

Casey's paper is first referred to in print in a Lapita context in publications in 1967 and 1968 (Golson 1968; Specht 1967, 1968), although Jim Specht's correspondence with Casey in 1965 shows he was aware of the publication before his own research at Watom that year (AIATSIS,

MS 1326.A (l)(5)(i)). But what of Lapita itself, used to describe a style of pottery shared between these various areas of Melanesia and Western Polynesia? It is true that Jack Golson wrote in 1961 of:

some early community of culture linking New Caledonia, Tonga, and Samoa, antedating (on present evidence) the ‘Melanesian’ cultures of the first and ancestral to the historic Western Polynesian cultures of the other two [...] expressed in terms of variants of the same pottery tradition. (Golson 1961:176)

But Golson gave no name to this community! The honour of doing so may rest with Bruce Palmer, director of the Fiji Museum between 1963 and 1973 and a former student of Golson’s. The use of Lapita as a name for more than a location where this style of pottery was found first occurs in a 1965 paper of Palmer’s and by the following year he was using ‘Lapita pottery’ in this wider sense in the title of a paper (Palmer 1965, 1966).

Garanger (1966) used Lapita in this stylistic sense in a paper dated as written in Papeete, Tahiti, in February 1965. In that paper he cited recent research by Davidson, Golson, Green, Palmer, Poulsen and Shutler, and discussed a visit he had made to Palmer at the Fiji Museum. This tends to confirm the point made by Kirch (who thought Palmer 1966 was the first published reference) that ‘the term may well have been in use colloquially among Oceanic archaeologists prior to this date’ (Kirch 1988:1 fn. 1). A probably independent usage of ‘Vao-Lapita-Vuatom’ to describe the Lapita style occurs in another publication, written some time before August 1965, by French administrator and amateur archaeologist Bernard Hébert (1963–65). Garanger (1966:76 fn. 5) mentioned having examined Hébert’s pottery collection in Nouméa. Papers presented in August 1966 at a conference in Japan but not published until 1968 use Lapita in its wider sense (Yawata and Sinoto 1968), as does a footnote in a linguistic paper by Green (1966).

A last question

We return to the question of when the Lapita sherds entered the National Museum collections. In a later series of communications with Jim Specht, who followed up Meyer’s excavations at Watom in 1965–66, Casey quoted an additional phrase from what was presumably a later version of the museum register after his 1936 paper had been published in the *Memoir* series: ‘Lent by Father Meyer Sept 1925. See covering letter on file

7.1.26, and Memoir'. He notes that the detailed information contained in the register entry must have come from that letter but was unable to locate it. It is not in the file concerning the Watom collection (AIATSIS, MS 1326.A (l)(5)(i)). Relocation of this letter would at least clear up the question of whether the Lapita sherds entered the museum's collections as part of the War Museum collection or not.

It did not prove possible to mount an exhibition of objects highlighted in this chapter at the Melbourne Museum, despite plans to do so.

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25

Looking beyond Australia's shores in the 1930s: F.D. McCarthy in Southeast Asia

Campbell Macknight

By the early 1930s, research into the social organisation, the art and the past of Aboriginal Australians was being vigorously pursued in various institutions across Australia. Melbourne had failed to follow up the work of Baldwin Spencer at the beginning of the century, and now Sydney and Adelaide were the new centres. Both the Australian Museum in Sydney and the South Australian Museum in Adelaide saw ethnology as within their remit and interpreted this very widely. Support from both the University of Sydney and the University of Adelaide came principally from the medical faculties with their interest in the origins of Aboriginal Australians. Australia's first university Department of Anthropology began at the University of Sydney in 1925 with a focus on research in both Australia and New Guinea.

The various museums all had a long history of collecting Aboriginal artefacts, especially stone tools, and there were sporadic efforts to estimate the antiquity of human occupation of the continent. Norman Tindale, originally an entomologist, and Herbert Hale, then director of the South Australian Museum, dug the classic archaeological site of Devon Downs in 1929. In 1932, F.D. McCarthy transferred from the bird and reptile department of the Australian Museum to become assistant

ethnologist, and soon curator of ethnology. In the same year, he joined the Anthropological Society of New South Wales and entered the world of stone tool collectors. Archaeological surveys and excavations by the society soon followed (McCarthy 1984).

These early excavators recognised that different deposits, often the successive layers laid down on the floor of a cave, yielded different types of artefacts; that is, they could see change over time. Without any means of absolute dating, however, they could only compare one site with another on the basis of similar stone artefacts. McCarthy, together with his colleague and eventual wife, Elsie Brammell, set about developing a standard classification of stone implements, which was later expanded to cover wood and bone materials.

It was through his contacts with physical anthropologists in Sydney University's Department of Anatomy that McCarthy was given the chance in 1937 to visit Southeast Asia. He was invited by Dr P.V. van Stein Callenfels, then the prehistorian in the Archaeological Service of the Dutch East Indies, to assist with excavations in Sulawesi (then called Celebes), to visit museums in Java and finally to go on to Singapore (Australian Museum Archives [AM] 234/37, van Stein Callenfels to Shellshear, 3 April 1937). In the event, McCarthy was also invited to present a paper in Singapore at the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East in late January 1938. Right from the beginning, a key purpose of the trip was to compare stone implements and other finds in Southeast Asia with those in Australia. The assumption was that any similarities observed would indicate some kind of prehistoric contact, whether in the actual movement of people or by the diffusion of ideas.

Happily, the proceedings of the Singapore congress were published in 1940, before the Japanese invasion swept away the certainties of the time, so in McCarthy's lengthy paper we can get a good idea of the conclusions from his travels (McCarthy 1940). We also have his letters and reports to the Australian Museum and a daily diary that contains much information about his ideas as they developed (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies [AIATSIS] MS 3513/21/12). Taken together, we have a detailed view of archaeological problems and work in Australia and Southeast Asia as seen by an active fieldworker and museum curator in the late 1930s.

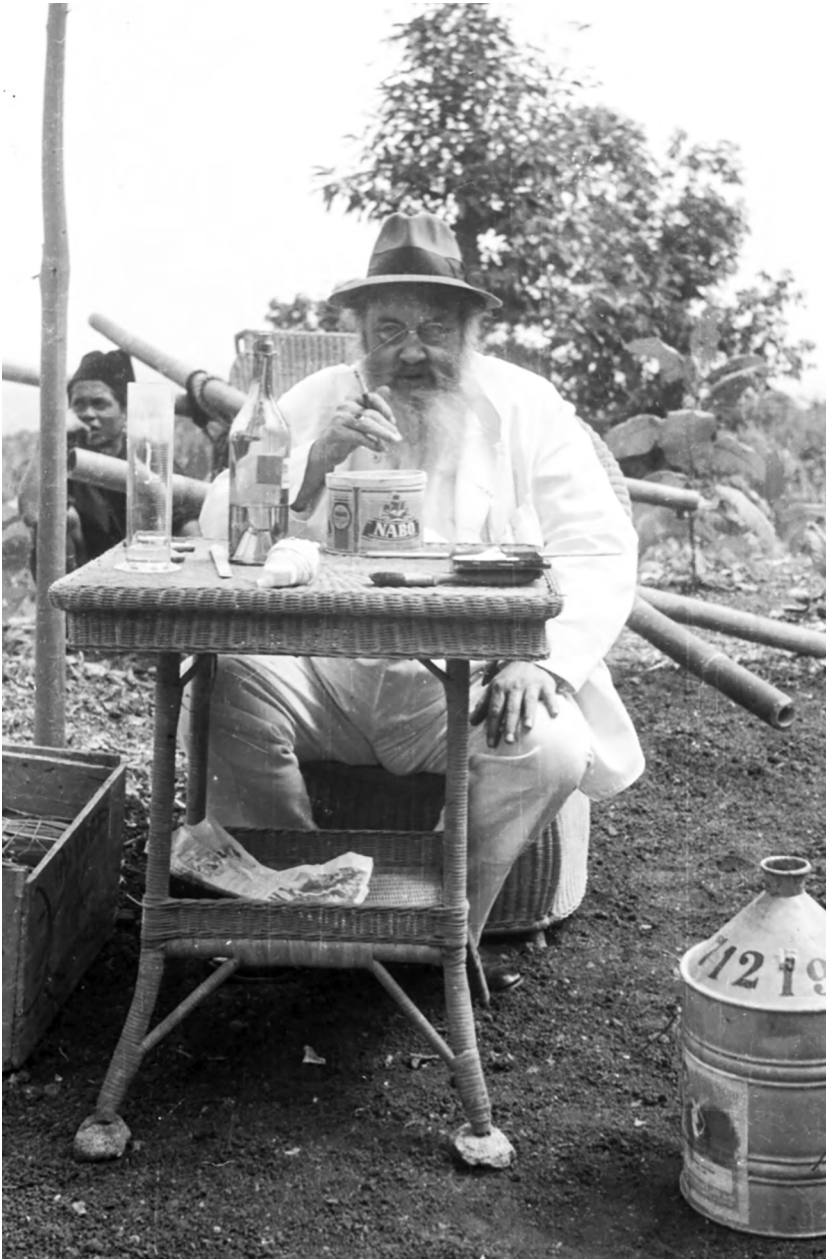


Figure 25.1. P.V. van Stein Callenfels at Leang Codong, South Sulawesi, 29 August 1937. This was his only visit to the site.

Source: Photographer F.D. McCarthy. Reproduction courtesy Australian Museum Archives (AMS683/J/12).



Figure 25.2. Excavation in progress at Panisi' Tabbuttu, South Sulawesi, July 1937.

Note: The man in the white shirt is W.J.A. Willems; the man with the broad hat is Munaf, the long-suffering assistant to van Stein Callenfels; the man in the white shorts is probably a local doctor. Note the theodolite in the background.

Source: Photographer F.D. McCarthy. Reproduction courtesy Australian Museum Archives (AMS683/M/23).

The possibility of significant similarities between stone artefacts in Sulawesi and Australia goes back to the publication by Paul and Fritz Sarasin of their archaeological discoveries in Sulawesi at the beginning of the twentieth century and their comparison of these finds with Australian materials (Macknight 2018). McCarthy, who had had to face the situation in Australia where there was not much other than stone implements to go on, brought his experience to bear on the issue. Thus, he could correct van Stein Callenfels's sloppy use of the term 'microlith' when he recognised true microliths, that is, small flakes with backs for hafting produced by bipolar retouch, in the deposits they were excavating in Sulawesi (AIATSIS, MS 3513/21/12:79). The Australian comparisons were never far away and implements similar to the backed adze-flakes, called *elouera* in the Australian context, were recognised both in Sulawesi and Java. Like many others, McCarthy could not resist noting the technical similarities between the small points with serrated edges and a concave base from Sulawesi, known today as Maros points, and the points with serrated edges and a convex base from the Kimberley region of north-western Australia (McCarthy 1940:40). More distant expressions of this 'microlithic culture' were noted in India and Japan (AIATSIS, MS 3513/21/12:12, 42).

Most of the data for McCarthy's quest to find links between Australia and Southeast Asia came from his work with museum collections. For example, in his Singapore conference paper, when discussing the distribution of 'round-axes' and the hammer dressing technique, he added new examples from the Malay Peninsula that he had seen in the Raffles Museum in Singapore and material he knew well from the Australian Museum in Sydney. This fuller information allowed him to reach new conclusions about, as he saw it, the diffusion of 'round-axes' and hammer dressing through New Guinea to Cape York and eastern Australia (McCarthy 1940:41).

Things became more difficult with older and simpler types of stone artefacts. Although he could point to some similarities between apparently early Australian stone artefacts and the 'Palaeolithic' material he saw in Java, he was unwilling to claim a direct connection that would imply a vast age for humanity in Australia. He was content merely to suggest that the similarities supported a relatively early date for the material in Australia (McCarthy 1940:30–32). For other types, such as the 'horse-hoof core', he judged that it occurred in so many different contexts in Australia that any similarity with early Javanese material was coincidental

(McCarthy 1940:32). There was also the question of whether this was really a core, as generally agreed today, or, as maintained by G.H.R. von Koenigswald, the expert in Java with whom McCarthy had extensive contact, the type was really an implement in its own right (AIATSIS, MS 3513/21/12:23 Nov. 1937).

Some of McCarthy's conclusions now seem far-fetched. He suggested links between stone mortars and pestles from New Guinea, New Ireland and Bougainville and those of Island Southeast Asia within 'the late phase of the megalithic period which is associated with metal-working' (McCarthy 1940:45). He also saw features of Aboriginal art in central Australia and the Kimberley as very probably deriving from Bronze Age expansion to the north (McCarthy 1940:45). Such speculations show the problems of interpretation without independent chronological control.

By the time he returned to Sydney after the Singapore congress in 1938, McCarthy was confident that 'our present knowledge of prehistory is such that the path of the aborigines to Australia can be said definitely to be via the Malay Archipelago and New Guinea' (AM 183/38, Report, p. 5). Two major difficulties, however, lay in the way of defining this path more closely.

The first difficulty was the problem of associating stone artefacts with people. Could one link particular artefacts or types of implement with a distinct population and thus trace the movement of 'races', or was the distribution of an artefact or concept to be explained by the diffusion of ideas? This is a classic problem of archaeological interpretation, but the limited data McCarthy and his contemporaries had at their disposal made it next to impossible to resolve the issues. There were clear genetic differences between groups across Island Southeast Asia, the south-west Pacific and Australia, but even the terms with which to discuss these differences were confused. McCarthy records his dissatisfaction with terms such as 'Papuo-Melanesoid' and 'Australo-Melanesoid', although is not sure of better ones (AIATSIS, MS 3513/21/12:18 Nov. 1937). What is striking to the modern reader is the absence of any reference to linguistics and, in particular, the distribution of Austronesian languages (see also Aigner, **Chapter 22**, this volume). It is a reminder of how much of the present understanding of the region's prehistory is based on Austronesian linguistics.

The second difficulty was the lack of any means of absolute dating that would allow changes in one area to be correlated with changes in another. While the early hominin remains in Java and the stone artefacts they produced could be linked with various palaeontological strata in Java, no such dating was available in Australia and there were still no absolute dates. Occasional finds of bronze objects or imported ceramics generally proved too insubstantial to provide firm comparative dating. The whole structure of regional prehistory, as elsewhere in the world, now hangs on absolute dating, especially radiocarbon dating that was introduced from the 1950s onwards (see also Spriggs and Howes, **Chapter 26**, and Litster et al., **Chapter 32**, both this volume). An explicit aim of the joint Indonesian–Australian expedition to Sulawesi in 1969 was to provide radiocarbon dates for sites like those McCarthy had helped to excavate three decades earlier (Macknight 2018; Mulvaney and Soejono 1971).

Whatever the limitations of McCarthy's archaeological work and efforts to create a secure prehistory for the region, the range of his interests and attention was remarkable. Constrained in part by his need to recuperate after illness, he spent over a month in and around Bandung in West Java and had sustained contact with G.H.R. von Koenigswald, the palaeoanthropologist. When given the chance to handle a recently found *Pithecanthropus* (*Homo erectus*) skull, he felt as though it was a 'sacred object'. Particularly given that the impetus for the trip had come from the physical anthropologists in Sydney, there was much discussion of fossil finds in Australia. At the other end of the chronological scale, he discussed with A.A. Cense, the government linguist in Makassar, the trepang fishermen who had visited northern Australia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He regretted that he was not well enough to accompany Cense to meet an old captain who had made the journey. Ten years later, he was to be in Arnhem Land investigating the industry from the other end. At dinner in Singapore, he met Teilhard de Chardin, the famous thinker and palaeoanthropologist, and took part in a conversation about religion and evolution, as well as exchanging palaeoanthropological gossip. Given an opportunity just before the Singapore congress, he travelled to Malaya where he joined H.D. Noone and other anthropologists working with Temiar, Senoi and Semang peoples (Figure 25.3). His photographs of these tribal groups and their way of life were clearly intended for museum use.

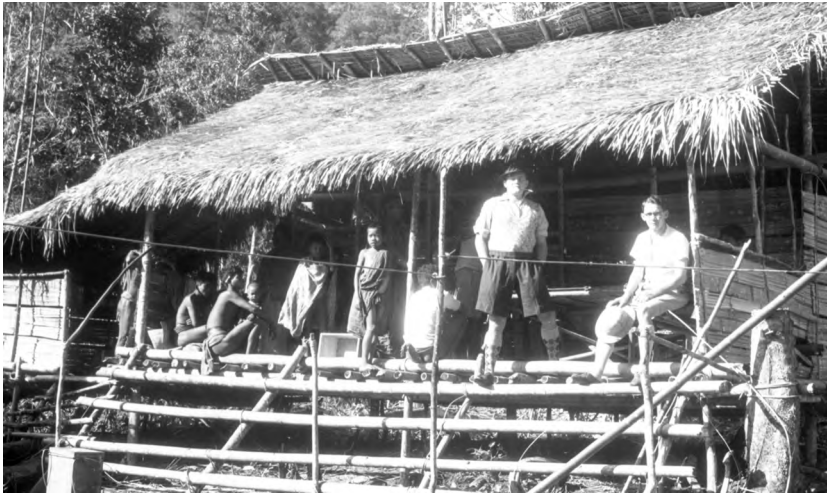


Figure 25.3. F.D. McCarthy, seated with glasses, and H.D. (Pat) Noone, standing, with Temiar and Senoi people at Kedol, Cameron Highlands, Malaya, in January 1938.

Source: Photographer unknown. Reproduction courtesy Australian Museum Archives (AMS683/B/27).

While much of this may have been a steep learning curve for McCarthy, who actually had had limited formal education, he brought a wealth of experience from his years of working in the Australian Museum. He was constantly observing the natural world, especially the birds. He described in detail the local people in Sulawesi and happily spent a day helping to measure the physical characteristics of prisoners in a gaol. He wondered about the political future of the Dutch East Indies and took detailed notes on ceremonies and dances he witnessed. Museum matters were constantly in his mind, whether the display and captioning arrangements in the museums he was visiting and the possibilities for layout and display at home in Sydney, or potential exchange of specimens between museums. He was particularly impressed by the scale models of volcanoes in the Dutch museums in Java and pushed hard to arrange exchanges of fossil skull casts. He was in no doubt that museums were institutions for research and public education. They were also staffed by men – almost exclusively men in those days – about whom a variety of views and gossip are recorded in his diary. The collegial help and hospitality extended to him was very extensive, though the warmth of his welcome may also have had something to do with his own enthusiasm and openness to ideas.

The most telling indicator of McCarthy's view of himself as a museum man and of his understanding of the scope of the Australian Museum of which he was such a committed staff member lies in what he tried to collect for the museum, even if he failed to meet what he saw as the huge potential. He was in the midst of people about whose languages, cultures and histories he knew next to nothing from his upbringing in early twentieth-century Australia. Everything about the natural world, from volcanoes to tropical plants and animals, was utterly different from the environment he knew so well around Sydney. As guides and mentors, he had access to the best experts and those driving the very latest scientific research. How could he help his museum present this wealth of information to the Australian public?

Though his diary is full of plans to collect material and to arrange exchanges between institutions, the items in the museum's collections that can now be identified as coming from his trip are relatively few. A major reason for this outcome was an urgent injunction from Dr Charles Anderson, director of the Australian Museum, not to spend money on collecting material (AIATSIS, MS 3513/21/12:18 Nov. 1937). There was also little enthusiasm from others in the museum to follow up McCarthy's contacts and promises. None of his plans for scale geological models or fossil skull material seems to have borne fruit. Though he took with him a collection of Australian stone artefacts, some of which, at least, he gave to van Stein Callenfels (AIATSIS, MS 3513/21/12:132), the only reciprocation was a collection of obsidian flakes from Bandung and a quadrangular stone chisel from southern Java, neither of which is mentioned in the diary and that may have come from Dutch friends in Bandung.

Among the collectible items of contemporary material culture, musical instruments were available, cheap and represented an art form unfamiliar in Australia. Only one instrument bought in Sulawesi has survived, but most of the collection of instruments he made in Bandung with the help of a young Dutch friend can now be identified (AIATSIS, MS 3513/21/12:10 Nov. 1937). The diary includes a chart comparing the European and Javanese musical modes and explaining the use of the instruments. Some items were too big to collect, such as the fish traps that he had hoped to get near Makassar. Whole houses, however, could be represented by models and the exact circumstances in which the two examples from Sulawesi were obtained are described in detail in the diary (AIATSIS, MS 3513/21/12:62, 140). Although he resolved to make a collection of household items, the only result of this was an arrangement

by a Dutch official to have ‘some old type pottery made for me at 25 cents a piece’ (AIATSIS, MS 3513/21/12:140) (Figure 25.4). This arrangement produced six spectacular earthenware pots. In fact, they turn out to be more interesting as demonstrating local capacity to satisfy the taste of colonial rulers than as examples of Indigenous material culture (Macknight 1993). The safe arrival of the house models and the pots in Sydney is probably due to the care of Dutch friends in Watampone who packed and sent the items on after McCarthy had left the area.



Figure 25.4. Terracotta pot and lid with deeply carved floral decoration. Made to order for F.D. McCarthy in or near Watampone, South Sulawesi, in 1937.

Overall height of pot 245 mm and maximum diameter 255 mm. See Macknight (1993:161–162) for detailed description.

Source: Photographer S. Florek. Courtesy of the Australian Museum (iE44350+04).

McCarthy also had an informed interest in art and there are many comments in his diary on paintings he saw in Dutch houses. After the conclusion of the 1938 congress, he returned to Australia through Java and Bali, essentially as a tourist. He gave up his diary entries in Yogyakarta with the calculation that he had just enough money to get home if he was careful. That did not prevent him, however, from buying three paintings in Bali that have also ended up in the museum's collection.

More than 80 years after McCarthy's trip, we are less impressed than he was with the use of stone implement types as markers of prehistoric contacts between Australia and Island Southeast Asia; the whole subject has been transformed by new methods and a wealth of discoveries. Ironically perhaps, given that McCarthy made only slight reference to interactions with local people since his focus was on the Dutch, British and other Europeans in the Indies, a long-term result of his work has been the extensive collaboration and warm relations between later Australian and Indonesian archaeologists, especially in Sulawesi. This example of looking beyond Australia's shores, which is vigorously sustained by today's archaeologists, has produced the oldest continuous field of cooperation between our two countries.

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It did not prove possible to mount an exhibition of objects highlighted in this chapter at the Australian Museum.

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**Part 4: Archaeology
as a profession
in the Pacific,
1945–present**

26

Archaeology as a profession in the Pacific (1945 – present)

Matthew Spriggs and Hilary Howes

This chapter introduces the fourth and final section of *Uncovering Pacific Pasts: Histories of Archaeology in Oceania*, covering the period from the end of World War II to the present day. The chapters in this section deal predominantly with ‘professional’ archaeologists, in the sense of individuals ‘employed primarily as [...] archaeologist[s] and trained as such’ (Spriggs 2020:3). No value judgement in favour of ‘professional’ as opposed to ‘amateur’ archaeologists is implied. On the contrary, the points made recently in relation to Australian archaeology by Spriggs (2020) and Urwin and Spriggs (2021) are equally true for archaeology in the Pacific. Attempting to make a sharp distinction between ‘professional’ and ‘amateur’ archaeology in the interwar period is unhelpful and misleading. The work of so-called ‘professional’ postwar archaeologists overlapped with and depended on the work of ‘amateur’ scholars, and ‘modern’ phenomena such as systematic archaeological research, multidisciplinary programs, nuanced interpretations and advocacy for the conservation of Indigenous cultural heritage all predated the end of World War II.

One of the most significant advances in postwar archaeology was undoubtedly the development of radiocarbon dating and other absolute dating techniques. As a result of what is often termed the ‘radiocarbon revolution’, archaeologists were able to begin constructing ‘independent chronologies for disparate sites’, rather than relying on ‘the relative ordering of events through stratigraphies at individual sites, and typologies

and seriations between sites', as had previously been standard practice (Wood 2015:61; see also Marra 2019). Radiocarbon dates often suggested quite different interpretations of ancient artefacts and past events to those produced by more traditional archaeological techniques. In some cases this led to a welcome overturning of outdated and inaccurate theories. In others early radiocarbon dates were later found to be erroneous and had the unfortunate effect of casting unjustified doubt on alternative forms of evidence such as oral tradition. Examples of both scenarios, relating to Norwegian adventurer Thor Heyerdahl and to American archaeologist Robert Suggs, respectively, are discussed in more detail below.

The application of newly developed scientific techniques in Pacific archaeology is a consistent theme in the chapters in this section. In addition to radiocarbon dating, these techniques include portable x-ray fluorescence (pXRF), thin-section petrography and the PIXE/PIGME analytical system measuring proton-induced x-rays and gamma rays (Ambrose 1976; Ambrose et al. 1981; Ambrose and Duerden 1982; Bird et al. 1981). All can be used to trace particular kinds of inorganic materials – stone, obsidian (volcanic glass), and mineral tempers used in pottery-making (e.g. beach sand, alluvial sands, crushed rock) – to specific geological settings, and thus to map the probable sources of artefacts made from these materials. Where artefacts have been found in locations significantly different from their probable source, conclusions can be drawn about their past movement through migrations or trade networks. Examples include Melanesian obsidians found in one location and sourced to another 270 km away (Litster et al., **Chapter 32**, this volume), potsherds unearthed from rock-shelters on Santa Ana, Solomon Islands, in 1966 by W.H. Davenport (Katz and Boileau, **Chapter 35**, this volume), and stone artefacts acquired from various Pacific Islands in the 1790s by the crew of HMS *Pandora* (Mann, **Chapter 3**, this volume).

Another recently developed technique not discussed in the chapters in this section, ancient DNA (aDNA) analysis, is increasingly being used to draw conclusions about the ancestry and past migrations of Pacific Islanders. While promising, it is not without controversy (Bedford et al. 2018; Lipson et al. 2020; Posth et al. 2018, 2019; Skoglund et al. 2016; Spriggs et al. 2019; Spriggs and Reich 2020). Generally speaking, it is important to bear in mind that even the most sophisticated scientific techniques are not infallible, and that archaeology in the Pacific, as elsewhere, is far from being an apolitical pursuit (Sand et al. 2006; Spriggs 1999).

Politically and economically, the postwar era in the Pacific has been profoundly shaped by the transition of many Pacific Island nations from colonial rule to full independence. The period 1962–94 saw 14 successful declarations of independence, including Samoa (1962), Nauru (1968), Fiji and Tonga (both 1970), Papua New Guinea (PNG, 1975), the Solomon Islands and Tuvalu (both 1978), Kiribati (1979), Vanuatu (1980), the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia (both 1986), and Palau (1994) (Banivanua Mar 2016; see also Denoon 2003; Quanchi 2008). Other parts of the Pacific retain some form of dependent status, including Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands and American Samoa (all dependent territories of the USA); French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna, and New Caledonia (all overseas collectivities of France); Hawai‘i, still the fiftieth state of the USA; West Papua, an administrative region of Indonesia with an active armed independence movement; and Rapa Nui/Easter Island, a special territory of Chile (Chavel 2015; Crippa 2014; Delsing 2011; Fisher 2019; Kauanui 2018; Maclellan 2015; Rauzon 2016; Webb-Gannon 2021). The former PNG province of North Solomons, after a protracted armed conflict and subsequent peace agreement, is now the Autonomous Region of Bougainville and in a 2019 referendum voted for full independence from PNG. Its future status is currently under negotiation (Boege 2020; Connell 2020).

The move towards political independence in the Pacific has been accompanied by an increasing awareness among archaeological practitioners of the need to decolonise archaeological theory and practice. At a theoretical level, decolonisation involves recognising that archaeology is at heart ‘a colonialist endeavour’, ‘based on [...] the values of Western cultures’ and ‘solidly grounded in Western ways of knowing the world’ (Smith and Wobst 2005:4; see also Effros and Lai 2018; McNiven and Russell 2005, 2008). At a practical level, it can take various forms. These can include efforts to secure the return of human remains, funerary objects and sacred objects to their traditional owners/source communities; within the Pacific, such efforts have been particularly evident to date in settler colonial societies including Hawai‘i, New Zealand and Rapa Nui/Easter Island (Aranui 2018; Arthur 2020; Ayau 2020; Ayau and Tengan 2002; David et al. 2020; Ormond-Parker 2005; Zimmerman 1989). They can also include efforts to ensure that Indigenous voices are heard and Indigenous knowledge and priorities integrated with archaeological practice, as in the example of the Waiet Archaeology Project described in Herle and Wright (**Chapter 12**, this volume), which was initiated by

Torres Strait Islander elders and community leaders. Decolonisation can also be facilitated by ‘the emergence of new generations of indigenous archaeologists conducting scientific research on their own past’ (Sand et al. 2006:341; see also Dotte-Sarout et al. 2018; Sand 2008, 2018). Finally, decolonisation can and should involve a critical self-consciousness of disciplinary history, a consideration that has been at the heart of the Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project from its inception (Spriggs 2016).

As the above paragraphs have already demonstrated, the chapters in this section frequently intersect with those in earlier sections in terms of collections, institutions, personnel and theories. The second half of Emma Brooks’s **Chapter 9** (this volume), accompanying the exhibition at Canterbury Museum in New Zealand, concerns Roger Duff (1912–1978). He was first employed by the museum as an ethnologist in 1938, having been a student of Skinner in anthropology prior to that (see White, **Chapter 23**, this volume), and he succeeded Robert Falla as director in 1948. As most of his career was after World War II, it is appropriate that he starts our consideration of the professionalisation of archaeology in the Pacific. As Brooks (**Chapter 9**, this volume) notes, he revived the moa-hunter period of his distant predecessor von Haast, but with the difference that he now saw it as Eastern Polynesian in origin. He saw the moa-hunters as the first Polynesian migration to New Zealand and the supposed ‘Great Fleet’ of European-interpreted oral traditions as a later migration. Using the ‘age-area’ method, he considered that the oldest cultural traits would be those most widely distributed and that cultures would change much faster in the centre of their distribution than in the margins. He thus saw the Society Islands as the major cultural ‘hub’ of Central East Polynesia.

In 1940 he had taken up Skinner’s work on stone adze typology and reduced Skinner’s 10 types for the Murihuku region to four (Duff 1940; see also White, **Chapter 23**, this volume). His 1945 paper was a revision of Skinner’s wider coverage of adze typology from 1940 and 1943 (Duff 1945; Skinner 1940, 1943; see also Shipton et al. 2018). A scholarship from the British Council allowed Duff to visit museums in the UK and also to appraise and arrange the purchase of the important Oldman Collection of Māori and other Polynesian artefacts by the New Zealand Government; Duff made sure that they were distributed among all major New Zealand museums (Davidson 2000). His rather inexpert excavations at one of the earliest New Zealand colonisation sites at Wairau Bar began in 1942 and

the spectacular artefacts found there in association with burials helped define his moa-hunter period (Duff 1950), for the publication of which he was awarded a Doctor of Science by the University of New Zealand in 1951. Wairau Bar remains one of the most important archaeological sites in New Zealand (see for instance the recent publication of aDNA studies on the human remains: Knapp et al. 2017). In the 1950 publication, his earlier four adze types became five and were argued to be applicable all over Polynesia. A sixth type was added in his second edition (Duff 1956) and wider East Polynesian (Duff 1959) and then Southeast Asian adzes (Duff 1970) were later included; the intention, of course, was to trace Polynesian migrations using stone adze typology and changes over time. He initiated the modern archaeological study of the Cook Islands with the Canterbury Museum expedition of 1962–64, work later followed up by Peter Bellwood (b. 1943) when he was appointed to Auckland University in 1967 (Bellwood 1978).

Davidson (2000) suggests that Duff was somewhat unlucky as a scholar, as his postwar research was soon challenged by new ideas brought into New Zealand archaeology by the 1950s expansion of universities and appointments in them of overseas-trained archaeologists from 1954, such as Jack Golson and Roger Green (see Furey, **Chapter 31**, and Sheppard and Furey, **Chapter 33**, both this volume) at Auckland, and Skinner's successor at Otago University in 1958, Peter Gathercole. Duff's rather profligate mixture of archaeological typology and a naïve argumentation from 'doctored' oral traditions was convincingly debunked by Golson, criticism that Duff did not take well. But his adze typology research is still constantly referred to by Polynesian archaeologists (see, for instance, Richards 2019), along with his work at Wairau Bar, and he left a further legacy from his energetic time as Canterbury Museum director, making that institution 'a lively and popular centre of public education' (Davidson 2000).

Another significant Pacific archaeological figure active both before and after World War II was Edward Winslow Gifford (1887–1959), who spent almost his entire career at the University of California in the San Francisco area working at what is now the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley (Spriggs 2019a). His work with the archaeologist McKern in Tonga in 1920–21 has already been mentioned (Spriggs, **Chapter 19**, this volume, fn. 6). On that project Gifford's task was collecting oral traditions, but he realised that to answer questions of the settlement of the Pacific one would need both to follow the migratory

trail back to the west, beyond the boundaries of geographical Polynesia, and to engage in archaeological excavation; clearly the answers he sought were beyond the time frame of oral histories (Spriggs, **Chapter 27**, this volume; see also Spriggs, **Chapter 28**, this volume). His 1947 archaeological expedition to Fiji, accompanied as always by his wife Delila Gifford (1888–1983), was the first major postwar Pacific archaeological survey and excavations (Gifford 1951). He was then drawn after several false starts to New Caledonia in 1952, along with archaeological student Richard Shutler Jr (1921–2007) and Shutler’s first wife Mary Elizabeth or ‘Betty’ Shutler (1929–2018), herself a trained archaeologist (Gifford and Shutler 1956). Gifford’s final expedition was to Yap in Micronesia in 1956. He died before that project could be written up and it was brought to completion by Delila (Gifford and Gifford 1959).

The focus of Spriggs, **Chapter 27**, this volume, is on the small box of pottery sent to Gifford in 1948, after he had left Fiji, by local doctor Lindsay Verrier and Ratu Rabici Logavatu, who had earlier assisted Gifford during his Fijian sojourn. Among the sherds from the Sigatoka Sand Dunes were at least two sherds of what we now know as Lapita pottery, the first to be found in Fiji. Gifford’s cultural sequence, when radiocarbon dates became available to him from 1952 on (Gifford 1952), went back about 2,000 years, but he at first attributed the Sigatoka pottery, which he described as ‘roulette-incised’, to a very late phase of the Fijian pottery sequence. Gifford further compared it to elaborately decorated pottery recently found on the Île des Pins in New Caledonia (Lenormand 1948) and the pottery McKern had recovered in Tonga during their 1920–21 expedition. At the same time, geologist Jacques Avias and Father O’Reilly – the latter having visited Father Meyer on New Britain and seen the pottery from Watom (see Howes, **Chapter 15**, this volume) – had both independently made a connection between Meyer’s findings and the Île des Pins pottery. Avias also tentatively suggested a link to pottery from the Foué Peninsula near Koné on the New Caledonian mainland, first reported by Piroutet and Sarasin (see Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, this volume). All of their discussions would have been much advanced by a reading of Casey (1936), but his work remained unnoticed until the 1960s (see Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, this volume).

The full geographical distribution of this pottery from the Bismarck Archipelago through to Fiji and Tonga was only recognised by Gifford after the 1952 New Caledonian expedition, when he and Shutler conducted the first formal archaeological excavations at Site 13 on the

Foué Peninsula. This was the site whose name Gifford (notoriously hard of hearing by this stage) interpreted as ‘Lapita’ (Gifford and Shutler 1956). As noted in Spriggs, **Chapter 27**, this volume, how Lapita came to be the label for the entire style of pottery and later the Lapita culture as a whole is a complex story explored elsewhere (Spriggs in press). While the research in Yap in 1956 produced less spectacular results than Gifford’s previous Pacific expeditions, it did form a useful basis for later work conducted there (Gifford and Gifford 1959).

Delila Gifford played an important role in much of his research and was herself a malacologist of some renown, but the fieldnotes from Edward Gifford’s expeditions show little trace of her contribution; more can be found from stories passed down to their grandchildren and from personal letters.¹ It is notable that only after he had died was her name recognised beyond the acknowledgements page in his publications, and that was in the Yap volume (above) that she had seen through to publication.

Another key figure on the 1947 Fiji expedition whose contribution has also not been given its due was Ratu Rabici Logavatu (1924–2005), the young Fijian chosen by the Fijian (Native) Administration to accompany Gifford on his surveys and excavations (Spriggs, **Chapter 28**, this volume). As shown by his involvement in the Sigatoka finds sent to Gifford in 1948 (Spriggs, **Chapter 27**, this volume), he was much more than a simple Indigenous assistant, and was a key part of the success of the project, even to the extent of writing an appendix to the report that was, in the end, left off presumably because of limitations on the monograph’s length. Rabici directed his own excavations, prepared site plans, recorded burials and did independent surveys of areas that Gifford was unable to reach, such as the summit of Uluinavatu (Spriggs 2019a). Rabici is an example, like Juan Tepano on Rapa Nui (see Van Tilburg, **Chapter 18**, this volume), of the many Indigenous interlocutors of archaeologists working in the Pacific, who have rarely received the recognition they deserve for their contributions to projects. Only much more recently have the names of Indigenous interlocutors/colleagues appeared on archaeological reports from the region as a matter of course.

1 I was privileged to meet two of the Giffords’ granddaughters, Maureen Frederickson and Karen Slattery, in Chico, California, in 2015, introduced by fellow Gifford-ophile Matthew James of Sonoma State University. Maureen Frederickson very kindly allowed me to copy relevant family papers in her possession. There are extensive Gifford letters in the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, part of CU-23, the Department of Anthropology Correspondence files, and these often provide brief detail about Delila’s participation.

As well as Gifford's foundational 1947 research, another significant expedition took place that year, one that was to receive much more attention worldwide. This was Thor Heyerdahl's (1914–2002) Kon-Tiki raft experimental voyage from Peru to the Tuamotu Islands in Eastern Polynesia (see Solsvik, **Chapter 29**, this volume). It would fall today within the ambit of 'experimental archaeology', building a raft using traditional materials and design as recorded from the South American coast to see whether it was possible for a balsa raft to travel from the Americas to Polynesia. But Heyerdahl's theory was much wider than establishing the possibility of contact with Polynesia from the Americas. His grand ideas started with his conversations with the Marquesan elder Tei Tetua (c. 1865–?) during his and his first wife Liv Torp-Heyerdahl's (1916–69) Polynesian adventure in 1937. Ostensibly an academic zoological expedition to collect insects, that aim clashed with and ultimately was defeated by their fantasy of a 'back to nature' idyllic interlude in the South Seas. Encountering the impressive Marquesan stone remains of temple and house platforms, irrigation systems and hidden burial caves (some of the latter looted by the Heyerdahls in defiance of French law and local sensitivities: Melander 2017), they found it hard to square this impressiveness with the colonially controlled and downtrodden lifestyle of the Marquesans of the time. Indeed – as we have seen, this was a common trope of the time and earlier (see Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, this volume) – they concluded that the megalithic constructions must have been made by an earlier superior civilisation (Melander 2019a).

Heyerdahl's serious reading into Polynesian studies did not begin until he stayed in the USA and Canada during the war years. While there he developed his 'Kon-Tiki theory' of a two-stage settlement of Polynesia, not from the west, as in most theories of the time, but from the Americas. He saw the Kon-Tiki raft expedition of 1947 as demonstrating, at least to his satisfaction, that his theory was correct (Heyerdahl 1950). In summary, the first settlement of Polynesia had been by a group of Caucasian 'white bearded men' who had created the high civilisations of Central and South America. They were 'step-pyramid builders, sun-worshippers, transoceanic voyagers and stone tool users' (Melander 2019a:380), who then moved west into the Pacific having 'set sail from the Tiahuanaco area of modern Bolivia, led by the Inca sun-god Con-Tici Viracocha' (Melander 2019a:381) and following the winds and currents to reach Polynesia about 500 CE. It was as if Perry's 'Children of the Sun' (1923) had reached the Pacific by going the other way around the world.

The theory was a bricolage of older and already discredited ideas, as revealed by CBAP scholar Victor Melander's recently completed PhD thesis (Melander 2020). The second wave of settlement was supposedly by Austronesian-speaking 'Maori-Polynesians' ultimately from Southeast Asia who had travelled up through Asia and into North America. They sailed from the Northwest Coast to Hawai'i and then on to the rest of Polynesia at about 1000 CE and upon encountering the Caucasian first settlers they 'assimilated or eliminated' them (Melander 2019a:381).

Heyerdahl finally published his grand theory in detail in *American Indians in the Pacific: The Theory Behind the Kon-Tiki Expedition* (1952). Although Heyerdahl often argued that his was a lone voice of reason against the prejudices of Pacific scholars of the time and ignored by them, the truth was actually quite different (Melander 2019b). In fact he was given a remarkably even-handed hearing by Pacific anthropologists and archaeologists and his ideas were generally welcomed and encouraged – this explains the 1961 invitation mentioned by Solsvik (**Chapter 29**, this volume) to join the Board of the Pacific Area Archaeology Program (PAAP). But, like Roger Duff during the same period in the 1950s, Heyerdahl's ideas were very quickly contradicted by excavations and associated radiocarbon dates from across the Pacific, being obtained by archaeologists holding some of the first professional academic positions in that field: 'the likelihood of the theory became more and more distant each time a shovel broke new ground' (Melander 2019b:7). As historian Greg Denning noted, his value was perhaps greatest in inspiring generations of Pacific archaeologists to 'prove Heyerdahl wrong' (2004:47, quoted by Melander 2019a:7). Again, as Solsvik notes, his leadership and ability to attract funds following the fame of the Kon-Tiki Expedition led to the 1955–56 Easter Island Expedition, where he had the good sense to invite professional archaeologists to participate. It was the first postwar investigation of Rapa Nui and of several other island groups and produced the initial radiocarbon dates for that island. The decision to 'self-publish' with his own funds, however, was seen by some of the archaeological participants and by other scholars as a mistake, and his own interpretations of their generally cautious conclusions, published in his popular work *Aku-Aku: The Mystery of Easter Island* (1958), were generally dismissed (see Solsvik, **Chapter 29**, this volume).

Although Heyerdahl maintained cordial relations with some Pacific archaeologists such as Kenneth Emory of the Bishop Museum, he considered that in general he had many enemies and he became

increasingly sensitive to criticism. Thomas Barthel (1923–1997), who had conducted his own archaeological research on Rapa Nui in 1957–58 soon after Heyerdahl's expedition there (see Fischer 2010), was chosen to review the first academic publication on the Heyerdahl group's work for *American Anthropologist*. Heyerdahl considered Barthel very much a rival and saw this choice of reviewer as part of an academic conspiracy against him. This led him to withdraw from the PAAP in 1963, most certainly limiting its scope and publication of results (Solsvik, **Chapter 29**, this volume). Heyerdahl did not return to the Pacific until 1986,² happily again accompanied by academic archaeologists employed by the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo. The involvement of the museum in Polynesian archaeology has continued ever since, including in repatriating artefacts collected by the 1955–56 expedition.

Until his death in 2002 Heyerdahl maintained his Kon-Tiki theory, becoming ever more isolated from the academic recognition he craved. His ideas became ever more encompassing, with a naïve consideration of local oral traditions whether in Scandinavia or the Pacific, reminiscent in many ways of the approach of S. Percy Smith and the other early members of the Polynesian Society. As the first radiocarbon dates from the Pacific tended to contradict dating derived from 'generation-counts' from oral traditions, such traditions came to be generally discounted in the Pacific by most archaeologists, and Heyerdahl must certainly share some of the blame for this general scepticism of their value in reconstructing the Polynesian past. In criticising his and other researchers' reliance on oral traditions, Robert Suggs (1932–2021) stated that the dates they suggested for the settlement of the Marquesas at 950 CE and 900–1200 CE for Hawai'i were 'with errors of as much as 1,000 years in a 2000 year period' (1960:772). But radiocarbon dating was itself still very much experimental, and some of the early dates cited by Suggs turned out to be quite inaccurate. The oral tradition dates he cast scorn on for these two archipelagos in fact fit much better with the current understanding of chronology than those he was claiming! In New Zealand a date for settlement of 800 CE was accepted for several decades, seeming to dispute Māori genealogical reckonings of settlement in the thirteenth century. But more recently the time frame of initial Māori settlement has been established as most likely within the 1250–1300 CE window (Higham et al. 1999; Hogg et al. 2003). In this

2 He continued to publish on the Pacific throughout the 1960s up until 1969, which is perhaps really when his initial Pacific involvement ceased. But his 1960s publications are significant for not engaging with the growing literature of Pacific archaeology in that decade (Spriggs 2014a:176).

last case, perhaps it is surely now time for archaeologists to reassess the value of particular Māori traditions of settlement, shorn of their early Polynesian Society attempts at synthesis and ‘tidying up’.

In **Chapter 30**, this volume, Dotte-Sarout et al. take up the CBAP theme of giving due recognition to early Indigenous interlocutors, in this case also a member of that other underrepresented group: a woman. They consider the long involvement and key role of Aurora Germaine Tetunui Natua (1909–1992) in the development of Tahitian archaeology. Her mother’s family had been involved in the establishment of the Société des Études Océaniques (SEO) in Tahiti in 1917 and Aurora was educated both academically and in the traditions of her family from Tahiti and Maupiti. Raised in Tahiti, she is recorded as assisting the anthropologist Alfred Métraux during his 1935 visit to Tahiti, fresh from the Franco–Belgian Expedition to Easter Island. She spent the years of World War II in occupied France, becoming one of the members of the Société des Océanistes in Paris during the first year of its existence. As Dotte-Sarout et al. (**Chapter 30**, this volume) note, she would have been one of the very first Indigenous Pacific Islanders to be admitted to the group. Pastor Maurice Leenhardt, a key ethnologist of New Caledonia, and Father Patrick O’Reilly were the president and general secretary, respectively, of the Océanistes at the time, and she also had contact with Paul Rivet, director of the Musée de l’Homme.

Her impressive Paris connections may well have been why, upon her return to Tahiti in 1946, she was appointed as librarian of the SEO and curator of their museum, later reorganised as the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles. She held both of these positions until the late 1970s. It is not that her archaeological role has been ignored – she appears very frequently in the published acknowledgements of anthropologists and archaeologists throughout her life – but these do not provide the detail needed to assess her importance to the entire enterprise of archaeology in French Polynesia over several decades. To fill in the gaps, a reading ‘against the grain’ of other people’s accounts is needed, skilfully provided by Dotte-Sarout and her colleagues using the example of Emory and Sinoto’s 1960–65 Bishop Museum expeditions to Maupiti and other parts of French Polynesia. These were part of the 1961 Pacific Science Congress Pacific Area Archaeological Program or PAAP, already mentioned in relation to Heyerdahl’s initial participation in and then withdrawal from it. Aurora Natua is revealed as clearly being a key factor in the success of this work, negotiating both official and local landowner and community permissions and assisting in

the excavations and surveys. She fulfilled similar roles in relation to much of the archaeological research carried out in French Polynesia over the years. Dotte-Sarout et al. mention that a tape in Tahitian by Natua was played to interested persons in the Marquesas during work there in the early 1960s to inform them about the Bishop Museum and the purposes of the team's research.

The late 1940s into the 1950s were a period of tremendous expansion in Pacific archaeological survey and excavations, albeit in large measure in Polynesia only. There was some significant Micronesian work as well, such as the Giffords' 1956 work in Yap (Gifford and Gifford 1959), Douglas and Carolyn Osborne's 1954–55 work in Palau (Osborne 1966)³ and Alex Spoehr's 1949–50 work on Tinian, Saipan and Rota in the Marianas that produced what was at that time the earliest radiocarbon date from the Pacific, in those pre-calibration days listed as 1527 BCE (Spoehr 1957). Spoehr's efforts built on the foundational work in the Marianas of a further pioneering female archaeologist, Laura Thompson (e.g. Thompson 1932, 1940). We have already seen the important work in Fiji and New Caledonia by Gifford and colleagues. Additional survey work in Fiji was carried out from 1951 on by Oxford University-trained Aubrey Parke (1925–2007), a government officer until Fiji's independence in 1970 (Spriggs 2014b).⁴ The rest of Melanesia was still very much a blank archaeological canvas until the very end of the 1950s. Eastern Polynesia was the early focus of research in the 1950s, with Western Polynesia only coming into the picture with Jack Golson's work in Tonga and Samoa in 1957 (see Furey, **Chapter 31**, this volume). Golson (b. 1926) also undertook the first systematic excavations on the Île des Pins in New Caledonia in 1959–60, accompanied by his Auckland colleague Wal Ambrose.

The 1950s saw projects in Hawai'i at classic sites such as Kuli'ou'ou rock-shelter on O'ahu, from where the first published Pacific radiocarbon date was obtained (again pre-calibration) of 1004 CE (Libby 1951), and at Nu'alolo Kai on Kaua'i (Kirch 1985:15–16). These excavations were

3 Details of the career of the Osbornes can be found on the Bowers Museum (Santa Ana, California) website: www.bowers.org/index.php/collection/collection-blog/the-osborne-collection-to-begin-a-biography (retrieved 3 July 2020). Carolyn Osborne is yet another female Pacific archaeologist who has not received the recognition due to her.

4 Until Golson's arrival in New Zealand in 1954, Parke was probably the most highly trained archaeologist based in the Pacific region. He continued to publish on his Fijian and Rotuman researches of the 1950s and 1960s long after he left Fiji, and returned for further fieldwork there in the 1990s, leading to the award of his PhD at the age of nearly 81 in 2006 (published as Parke 2014), the second-oldest student ever to gain a PhD at ANU.

led by Emory, after July 1954 accompanied by his recent recruit from Japan, Yoshihiko Sinoto, previously a specialist in Japanese Jomon period archaeology (Sinoto 2016). PhD student Robert Suggs was to institute modern archaeology in the Marquesas Islands in 1956–58, obtaining precociously early, and later shown to be erroneous, dates from the centuries around the BCE/CE transition as the settlement date for that archipelago in association with occasional potsherds, otherwise unknown in Eastern Polynesia (Suggs 1961). Heyerdahl's major 1955–56 expedition to Rapa Nui has already been mentioned, as has Barthel's even longer period of research on the island in 1957–58. Douglas Oliver's Harvard student Roger Green (1932–2009) commenced work on Mangareva and on Mo'orea in the Society Islands in 1959–60, accompanied by his then wife Kaye Green (Green et al. 1967). He is the subject of **Chapter 33** in this volume, by Peter Sheppard and Louise Furey.

New Zealand was another centre of research, with the less controlled excavation methods of Skinner, Duff and Teviotdale being quickly replaced by the 'Willey–Wheeler way'⁵ introduced by Jack Golson (see Furey, **Chapter 31**, this volume), and further stimulated during 1958–59 by the presence of Roger Green on a visiting Fulbright Fellowship in Auckland. Golson had pushed for the founding of the New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA) within six months of his arrival from the UK in 1954 to take up the first academic post in regional archaeology in Australasia at what became Auckland University. The NZAA was to form a major vehicle of recruitment of students to Auckland and dissemination of new archaeological techniques through its annual conference and training excavations. Furey covers Golson's eight years in New Zealand and assesses his lasting legacy.

Golson's career is then carried forward in the following **Chapter 32**, this volume, by CBAP members Mirani Litster, Tristen Jones and Hilary Howes, charting his post-1961 time at The Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra, where he was to establish a Department of Prehistory within the Research School of Pacific Studies. Until 1969 it was a unit within the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, with Golson appointed as its foundation professor in that year. The department had an archaeological science focus from its establishment, with early appointments of Wal Ambrose from Auckland in 1963 who, with Green, was one of the Pacific

5 Taken from the words of a New Zealand Archaeological Association campfire song, with some of the words reproduced by Groube (1993).

pioneers of obsidian analysis (Ambrose and Green 1962), Con Key in 1965, a Dutch geologist who developed chemical characterisation methods and, in the same year, Henry Polach to set up a radiocarbon laboratory at ANU and who contributed to basic research on refining the radiocarbon technique (for more detail of the research of all three of them see Spriggs 2019b:fn. 1, 14–16). There was also collaboration with the Department of Biogeography and Geomorphology in the Research School, which later merged with Prehistory to form what is now known as Archaeology and Natural History within the College of Asia and the Pacific, bringing major expertise in Pacific palaeoenvironmental analysis with it.

Golson's unit was to focus on Australia's then territories of Papua and New Guinea (to become independent as Papua New Guinea in 1975), Melanesia more generally and Western Polynesia. It was felt at the time that Eastern Polynesia was well covered out of Hawai'i and New Zealand. Golson was very aware of significant work already undertaken across the region of interest and much of the unit and then department's early projects were explicitly developed as PhD projects to follow up on earlier work, bringing the latest archaeological science techniques to bear on some of the classic sites in the region: PhD student J. Peter White was sent to the New Guinea Highlands to follow up on Susan Bulmer's pioneering research (see Summerhayes, **Chapter 34**, this volume for Bulmer), Brian Egloff was sent to Wanigela to follow up on early twentieth-century work there (see Bonshek, **Chapter 13**, and Howes, **Chapter 14**, both this volume), and their fellow student Jim Specht was sent to Watom to reinvestigate Father Meyer's mission station sites (see Howes, **Chapter 15**, and Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, both this volume). Further students and staff were sent to reconnoitre various New Guinea sites previously investigated by colonial government officers (see Edmundson, **Chapter 21**, this volume for some detail of these). Colin Smart was sent to New Caledonia to follow up on Gifford and Shutler's 1952 excavations and Jens Poulsen to Tonga to follow up on Golson's 1957 study when he was based at Auckland, which itself had built on McKern's 1920–21 study on Tongatapu of the first pottery found in Polynesia (McKern 1929).

Roger Green was Jack Golson's successor at Auckland in 1961 and a broad outline of his later career is given by Sheppard and Furey (**Chapter 33**, this volume). Over his 50-plus-year career working in the Pacific he contributed to many areas of research in East and West Polynesia and Island Melanesia, in particular bringing a distinctive American approach

to settlement pattern analysis, having been taught at Harvard by Gordon Willey who was one of the pioneers of this approach. Its Pacific application was said to be the first time this approach was used outside the Americas (Spriggs 2019b:12). With Janet Davidson he undertook a major settlement pattern study in (Western) Samoa in 1963–64, following up Golson's earlier work there (Green and Davidson 1969, 1974), and while based in Hawai'i from 1966 to 1970 at Bishop Museum, he helped to initiate major settlement patterns studies of the dryland Lapakahi field system on Hawai'i, and of dryland and irrigated systems on O'ahu and Moloka'i (Kirch 1985:18–19).

The expertise gained in these projects led him upon his return to Auckland to launch the ambitious Southeast Solomons Culture History Project, co-directed by New Zealand ethnobotanist Doug Yen, an earlier collaborator of Golson's and at the time based at Bishop Museum. The project looked at islands either side of the major divide between Near and Remote Oceania (Green 1991), separating the main Solomon Chain from the eastern outer islands of the Solomons, now Temotu Province. Phase I of the project ran from 1970 to 1972 (Green and Cresswell 1976) and Phase II from 1977 to 1979. Phase I included the extensive area excavation of the Lapita site of Nenumbo in the Reef Islands, the largest such excavation to that time. The follow-up Phase II led, as Sheppard and Furey note, to major monographs on Tikopia (Kirch and Yen 1982) and Taumako in the Duff Group (Leach and Davidson 2008), as well as many other academic papers. This project, the first major archaeological survey work in the Solomon Islands, was foundational for the archaeology conducted in later years in the archipelago (Walter and Sheppard 2017). Associated projects included the location and excavation of sites associated with the 1595 Spanish expedition of discovery to Santa Cruz, including one seemingly associated with the fate of one of the lost vessels of that expedition on Makira (Allen and Green 1972).

Glenn Summerhayes (**Chapter 34**, this volume) considers the role of Sue Bulmer (1933–2016) in the development of New Guinea archaeology. Accompanying her husband, anthropologist Ralph Bulmer, to New Guinea in 1959–60, Sue Bulmer pioneered modern archaeology in the Highlands region with rock-shelter excavations that revealed sequences going back into the Pleistocene (Bulmer and Bulmer 1964). Her research formed the basis for a master's thesis under Roger Green at Auckland University in 1966, although her Auckland studies had originally commenced under Jack Golson in 1957 (Golson 2016). She moved to Port Moresby

between 1968 and 1972 and conducted research on the Papuan south coast exchange systems and pottery sequences, complementary to some of the work being done by ANU students in the region at the same time. This led to her PhD, completed in 1978 at University of Papua New Guinea. An opportunity for fieldwork with her husband in the Kaironk Valley in 1971–72 and a return trip from Auckland in 1973–74 allowed extensive excavations at the important open hilltop site of Wanelek, which produced a long, if intermittent, sequence. She later pursued a career with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust in Auckland as a field archaeologist and made further significant contributions to heritage management in New Zealand (Golson 2016). As with Green's work in the Solomon Islands, Bulmer's New Guinea work, especially that in the Highlands and the Kaironk, was truly foundational, particularly for the establishment of prehistoric sequences bridging the hunter-gatherer to agriculture transition.⁶

The penultimate chapter in the volume, illustrative of one of the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibitions, held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, is by Adria H. Katz and Marie-Claude Boileau (**Chapter 35**, this volume). It examines anthropologist William Davenport's (1922–2004) test excavations in the Solomon Islands while he was engaged in ethnographic fieldwork in 1964–66. In 1964 he had excavated at Vatulumu Posovi on Guadalcanal with Tom Russell and J.L.O. Tedder, with Roger Green later obtaining radiocarbon dates from some of their samples. Although they excavated out most of the rock-shelter deposit, a small remnant remained for ANU PhD student David Roe to excavate in the late 1980s. Roe was also able to examine what remained of their finds and fieldnotes to provide a detailed overview of the shelter's occupation and the associated petroglyphs on the cave wall. Some of these had extended below the 1964 ground level and Roe was able to provide estimates of the dates they were carved into the soft-rock walls (Roe 1992a, 1992b). In 1966, as Katz and Boileau note, Davenport excavated several sites on Santa Ana, finding the only pottery-bearing sites known to this day in the central Solomons – sites that continue to excite archaeological interest.

6 Coming out sadly just after her death, Sue Bulmer's research was the subject of a special issue of *Archaeology in Oceania* in 2016 that covers her career and impact in detail (Denham and White 2016).

Davenport's work inspired Roger Green to return as part of the Southeast Solomons Project to re-excavate one of the cave sites. Roe's reanalysis of Vatulumu Posovi and Katz and Boileau's petrographic analysis of some of the sherds from Davenport's Santa Ana excavations are good examples of one theme of the CBAP Project: the value of reanalysing the materials from old excavations and collections using modern analytical techniques, in order to bring insights from them to bear on modern-day archaeological questions; in this case the former distribution of pottery in the Solomons. One of the sherds must have been made from clay and temper from Makira (formerly San Cristobal) or Ulawa, while another might have been locally manufactured. We can thus extend the search for early pottery to Makira and Ulawa as well as the current 'outlier' of Santa Ana. Both Green on Santa Ana and Roe on Guadalcanal were following the long-established Golson strategy of re-excavating old excavation sites using more advanced recovery techniques. The early pottery of Santa Ana continues to interest archaeologists, with Peter Sheppard leading a recent third archaeological project (after Davenport and then Green) on the island.

Returning to Litster et al. (**Chapter 32**, this volume), which details the history of ANU involvement in Pacific archaeology up to the end of the 1970s, a few highlights need to be mentioned. Golson's major fieldwork from 1972 onward focused on the early agricultural site at Kuk Swamp, near Mount Hagen in the Western Highlands of New Guinea. His research there, assisted by many specialists and students, led to the inscription of Kuk onto the World Heritage Register in 2008. The substantive report on the research at Kuk finally came out in 2017, when Golson was over 90 years old: perseverance had paid off (Golson et al. 2017).⁷ There are of course far too many other archaeological projects of the 1960s and 1970s to take notice of here, the decades when the careers began of many of the senior generation of archaeologists still active in the region today. There are also sensitivities in examining the careers of those still alive; these have been very largely omitted here and from the exhibitions. Other major

7 After Golson's retirement in 1991 he was replaced as professor by Atholl Anderson from Otago University. During his tenure the remit of the department expanded to include many parts of Eastern Polynesia, but the earlier strategy of ANU was continued in revisiting sites often investigated many years earlier and using novel techniques to reanalyse and redate them. Anderson returned to sites investigated by Sinoto in the Marquesas, by Emory and Sinoto in the Society Islands, and by Heyerdahl and before him Stokes on the Island of Rapa in the Australs, all part of a project to provide firmer dates for the chronology of East Polynesian settlement (Anderson and Kennett 2012; Anderson and Sinoto 2002).

figures of that era include the French archaeologist José Garanger and Gifford's student of the 1950s, Richard Shutler Jr and Mary Elizabeth Shutler (Shutler and Shutler 1965) with their foundational research in Vanuatu beginning in 1963. Garanger's brilliant use of oral traditions to discover the spectacular burial site of Chief Roi Mata was particularly notable (Garanger 1972). The consonance between the oral traditions and the archaeology led to the inscription of Chief Roi Mata's Domain into the World Heritage Register in 2008, Vanuatu's first World Heritage site.

This distinctive francophone tradition of combining oral traditions and archaeology has since been used with good effect by Garanger's students and, along with Kirch's similar approach on Tikopia (Kirch and Yen 1982) and in Hawai'i (Kirch 2018), has done much to restore interest in and respect for Indigenous oral traditions in the Pacific after their near total rejection by archaeologists working in the Pacific during the 1960s and 1970s. It may be that we are coming full circle, with oral traditions destined again to play a major role in the interpretation of the region's past, a move likely to gain more interest from, and the necessary involvement in interpretation of archaeological findings by, Indigenous scholars and communities across the Pacific.

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27

The first Lapita pottery found in Fiji: Links to an early Pacific world

Matthew Spriggs

Accession 948 in what is now the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology of the University of California Berkeley, logged in on 25 October 1948, does not on the face of it seem such an interesting collection.¹ It consists of an almost random collection of potsherds of different styles and ages, a stone adze and a nondescript stone flake collected from the Sigatoka Sand Dunes on Viti Levu in Fiji. It was sent to Director Edward Gifford at the museum by a medical doctor, Lindsay Verrier, who worked for the colonial administration in Fiji. At the time, Fiji was still ruled by the UK as a Crown Colony, becoming an independent nation in 1970.

1 The museum was originally called the University of California Museum of Anthropology and subsequently the Lowie Museum of Anthropology. It changed to its present name in 1991, recognising the role of the founding benefactress when it was established in 1901 (see hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu, retrieved 20 November 2019). I would like to thank museum personnel Leslie Freund, Ira Jacknis, Adam Nilsen and Linda Waterfield and the staff of the Bancroft Library at University of California Berkeley (hence UCB) for their assistance in research for this paper, and Paul Geraghty of University of the South Pacific, Fiji, for translations from Fijian.

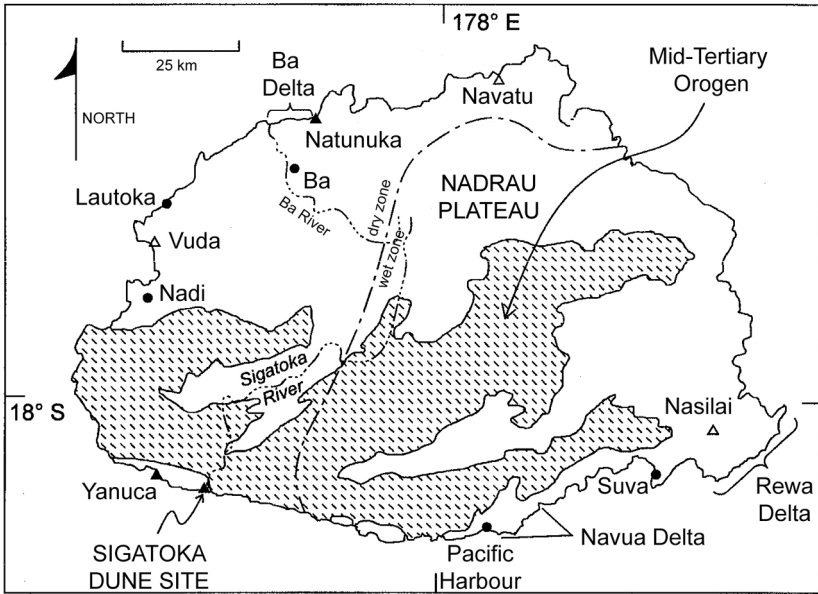


Figure 27.1. Location of the Sigatoka Dune Complex.

Note: Version from Dickinson et al. 1998:4.

Source: Courtesy of David Burley.

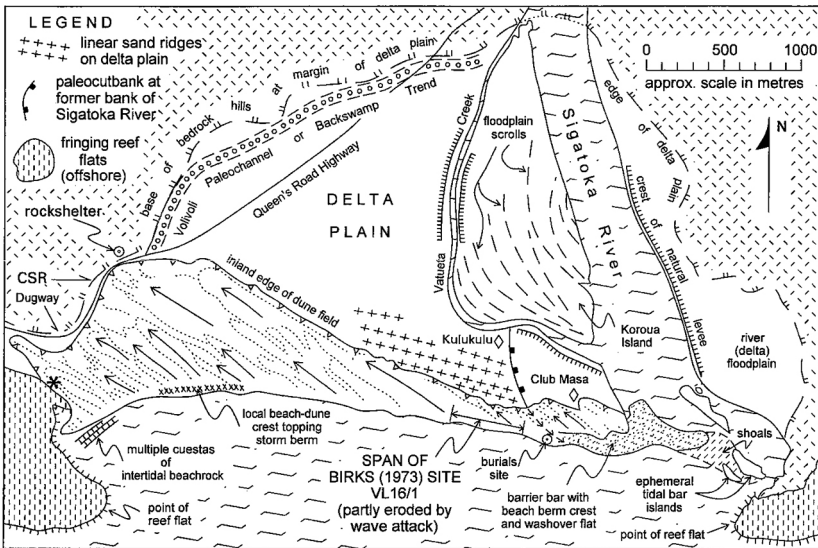


Figure 27.2. Geomorphic sketch map of the Sigatoka Dune Complex.

The asterisk near the western end of the Dune Complex marks the Nagarai site VL 16/22 (version from Dickinson et al. 1998:5).

Source: Courtesy of David Burley.

We now know that among the collected artefacts were at least three (two were subsequently glued together) dentate-stamped Lapita sherds. Lapita is the name of the style of pottery representing the first settlement, about 3,000/2,800 years ago, of those parts of Island Melanesia and Western Polynesia beyond the main Solomon Islands chain, the area called by archaeologists ‘Remote Oceania’, including Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. Its full distribution is from the island of New Guinea, through the Bismarcks and Solomons and east as far as Samoa (Kirch 2017:74–106). Accession 948 included the first sherds of Lapita pottery found in Fiji and a key clue as to its first settlers. But it took some years before its significance was realised, the story we will tease out below (see also Howes, **Chapter 15**, and Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, both this volume for more on the story of Lapita).

The Sigatoka Sand Dunes (Figure 27.1) are among the largest and highest in the Pacific Islands, covering 240 ha and attaining a maximum height of nearly 60 m. They are fed by sand brought down the Sigatoka River, which defines their eastern end and whose freshwater outflow has prevented the growth of a protective reef. They are thus exposed to the full force of the waves. Sand blowouts periodically expose ancient land surfaces with cultural remains on them, the earliest dating to well before the dunes themselves began to form about 1,500 years ago, back to near the initial settlement of Fiji about 3000 BP (Figure 27.2). The dunes have been subject to sometimes intensive archaeological interest since the 1940s, with ongoing excavations as burials and other remains come to light after storms. The landscape is continually shifting, covering up and revealing a rich archaeological record (see Anderson et al. 2006; Burley and Connaughton 2010; Burley and Dickinson 2004, and references therein).

On 24 February 1947 Edward Gifford and his wife Delila (Figure 27.3) had stepped ashore in Suva, Fiji, from the MV *Thor I* to undertake the first major post–World War II archaeological expedition in the Pacific Islands. During a nearly seven-month stay, Gifford surveyed for sites on the largest island of Viti Levu (including among the Sigatoka Dunes) and excavated at two significant places, Navatu and Vuda, directed there by the then head of the Fijian (Native) Administration, Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna (Gifford 1951; see also Spriggs 2019). Sukuna had sent along a young Fijian chief, Ratu Rabici Vuikandavu Logavatu, to assist Gifford and also be the eyes and ears of the Fijian Administration on the project; the two became firm friends and continued to correspond until shortly before Gifford’s death (see Spriggs, **Chapter 28**, this volume for further

information on Logavatu). The excavations produced a nearly 2,000-year-old sequence of occupation for the island when the first radiocarbon dates were published in 1955, only five years after this direct dating technique became available to archaeologists.²



Figure 27.3. Delila and Edward Gifford in San Francisco, immediately prior to their departure for Fiji, 1947, from the frontispiece of Delila's Fiji scrapbook, in possession of Mrs Maureen Frederickson.

Source: Photograph courtesy of Mrs Maureen Frederickson.

2 Gifford had received the first Fijian radiocarbon date earlier and had published it in 1952, but the full suite of dates, including the c. 2000 BP date, only became available later: see Gifford 1952, 1955.

The major monograph on Gifford's work was produced in a most timely fashion in 1951, printed by the University of California Press (Gifford 1951).³ In it was additional information derived from the small collection sent by Dr Verrier, at the time the acting medical officer for Nadroga-Navosa at Lawaqa, where fortuitously Ratu Rabici Logavatu was also now stationed as a provincial scribe. Verrier and Gifford had met during Gifford's expedition the previous year, when Verrier was posted as the medical officer at the main airport serving Fiji at Nadi. He had visited Gifford's excavation at the Vuda site in company with the US Army Representative in Fiji, Captain Leo Moore (University of California, Berkeley [UCB], Bancroft Library, CU-23, Box 187, Leo Moore to Gifford, 22 October 1947 and Gifford to Moore, 12 November 1947). In September 1948 Verrier wrote to Gifford about a package of artefacts from Sigatoka that he was separately sending to him in San Francisco:

at one or two spots there have been appearing weathered skeletons and about a dozen house-platforms or mere fire-hearths with artefacts. I have been down several times and have gathered (and now send you) all samples of interest, bearing decoration, also a broken axe, and a flint that seems to have been used as a scraper. You will see that two of the pieces (3 really, but 2 of them fit neatly into a single whole) have queer decoration in disjointed lines. I cannot imagine how this can be done, nor can anyone I have asked. The people nowadays do not do anything like this, I think. (UCB, Bancroft Library, CU-23, Box 187, Verrier to Gifford, 11 September 1948)

From the photograph included in Gifford's monograph (reproduced in Spriggs, **Chapter 28**, this volume, Figure 28.2) it is clear that this 'queer decoration' (Figure 27.4) was in fact Lapita-style pottery (Gifford 1951:Plates 19c and d).

In the same letter, Verrier noted 'I have been down several times (once with Rabici)' and presented a theory on the development of the Sigatoka Sand Dunes based on human-induced erosion of the uplands of the Sigatoka Valley, a hypothesis largely confirmed by subsequent archaeological and geomorphological research (Anderson et al. 2006; Dickinson et al. 1998).

³ Page ii of the published work records that the manuscript was submitted by the editors on 19 September 1950 and issued on 23 February 1951.

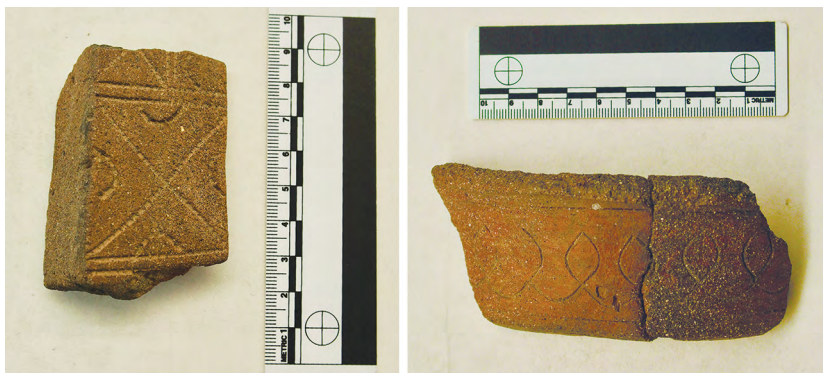


Figure 27.4. ‘Queer decoration’: The Lapita sherds sent by Lindsay Verrier to Edward Gifford in 1948.

Source: Photograph by Matthew Spriggs.

The package sent by Verrier was eventually received on 25 October 1948, accessioned as No. 948 and catalogued as 11/3267-3291 (UCB, Accession 948, copy of Hearst Museum Accession files). Gifford thanked Verrier the next day and sent him an international money order to cover the postage costs for the package (UCB, Bancroft Library, CU-23, Box 187, Gifford to Verrier, 26 October 1948).⁴ The following day Gifford wrote to Logavatu, noting that ‘you and he [Verrier] were on a collecting trip in the sand dunes’ and seeking to establish where exactly the artefacts were found; in Verrier’s original letter of 11 September he had merely noted that they came from the ‘west side’. Gifford and Logavatu had themselves visited the dunes on 13 May and 15 May 1947 accompanied by Nemani Tubou of Volivoli village and the *Mbuli* (local chief) of Sigatoka, finding artefacts at two separate sites described by Gifford as ‘Eastern Singatoka Sand Dunes (Site 20)’ and ‘Nanggarai, Western Singatoka Sand Dunes (Site 21)’ (Gifford 1951:251–252).⁵ From Logavatu’s reply

4 Verrier had been transferred to Labasa on the Island of Vanua Levu, leaving on 13 September, the day he posted the package to Gifford from Suva (see UCB, Bancroft Library, CU-23 Box 187, Rabici to Gifford, 18 November 1948). Although they exchanged letters after that date, no further information pertaining to the Sigatoka collection is found in the correspondence in the Bancroft Library collection.

5 It seems likely from his site descriptions (Gifford 1951:251–252; Gifford fieldnotes in the Hearst Museum) that Gifford’s site numbers were designed merely to designate the western and eastern parts of the dune system, but later renumbering by the Fiji Museum of the sites as VL16/1 and VL16/2 referred to more restricted areas where material was visible in the early 1960s; some of the subsequent confusion derives from this shift in site designation. In a letter in Fijian dated 16 May 1947, reporting back on Gifford’s activities to G. Kingsley Roth, Deputy to Sir Lala Sukuna, Logavatu wrote (English translation by Paul Geraghty): ‘On Thursday morning we went again to the sand dunes past Volivoli (Naqarai is the general name for all the sand dunes). In a gully were found many fragments of pots, but it is not known if it was a village formerly or not; no local knew.’ The original letter is in Cambridge University Library, G.K. Roth Collection, MS. Add. 8780, Box 7, item 65, ‘Excavations’.

of 18 November 1948 Gifford determined that the site the pottery came from was Site 21 and stated so in his monograph. Logavatu had written (phrasing as in original):

All specimens were collected from the same places we hunted but most from the spot where brown soil visible. There also few pieces which you may have noticed have wavy or ?cross markings similar to some of Uluinavatu. Those were found on different location. They are from a valley pass [sic: past] our starting point towards Yadua, in other words on Lautoka side. If I remember well our trip to sand dunes with Dr Verrier was in May, probably on the 16th. (UCB, Bancroft Library, CU-23 Box 187, Rabici to Gifford, 18 November 1948)⁶

The description of a valley past their previous starting point towards Yadua must refer to a location somewhere west of where Gifford and Logavatu had observed and collected material at Site 21, with the valley referred to presumably being the Yalasuna River/Creek valley that debouches immediately east of Yadua village (see map in Kumar et al. 2004:112).

The ‘wavy or ?cross markings’ presumably describe the Lapita sherds, further confirming that they were found on the trip when Logavatu accompanied Verrier. Logavatu’s interpretation of them as similar to that which Gifford and he had excavated at Navatu appears to have influenced Gifford’s later description of them as representing the ‘later Fijian style’. In both cases this was because of unfamiliarity with this ‘new’ type of pottery and the small size of the sample available.⁷ The description of the Lapita sherds as coming from further west than the other sherds collected by Verrier would seem to confirm Gifford’s interpretation of an origin from Site 21 *sensu lato*. It was – in the absence of knowledge of this key piece of correspondence – later disputed by Green and Palmer (1964). They adjudged the Lapita sherds to have in fact come from Site 20 instead (later renumbered by the Fiji Museum as site VL16/1). Green and Palmer published this contention in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, admitting that they had asked Verrier himself to describe where he had found the sherds ‘without informing him of our suspicions’ (1964:329): but which sherds? Logavatu was describing two separate sites, one to the west

6 Gifford’s reply was dated 8 January 1949: UCB, Bancroft Library, CU-23, Box 187.

7 Gifford’s initial reaction to seeing photos of Lenormand’s (1948) Lapita pottery from the Île des Pins was that ‘It suggests the later Fijian style of decoration, but is more elaborate’, a similarly erroneous judgment: see UCB, Bancroft Library, CU-23, Box 187, Gifford to Jean Hagen, 5 January 1949.

with Lapita sherds (from his description to the west of where they had previously visited at Site 21) and the other further east along the dunes, which almost certainly was Site 20. Gifford too seems to have failed to appreciate this distinction but was at least more correct in attributing the Lapita sherds to his Site 21 area – that is, to the western end of the dunes – than to Site 20, towards the eastern end.

The Green and Palmer article drew a vigorous response from Verrier in a letter to the editor (1965). He wrote:

The two gentlemen who called on me on 24th August last without, as they report, telling me what they had in mind, succeeded so well in hiding their aim that they managed to conceal their meaning too. Consequently your readers may be assured that any site-attributions made by my friend the late Professor E.W. Gifford remain, for the present, so far as I am concerned, precisely where he left them. (Verrier 1965:125)

Later academics, following Palmer's original dismissal of Verrier's 'retraction' (Palmer 1966:373), appear simply to have ignored his objections. But in fact the clue to the real location of the first Lapita pottery found at Sigatoka is perhaps to be found on the next page of Palmer's article, where he notes that 'other Lapita sherds have come from an excavated site VL16/22 which lies well to the west of Gifford's site 21' (Palmer 1966:374). He was here referring to the 1965 excavations of Lawrence and Helen Birks of the site of Nagarai as part of the Fiji Museum's Sigatoka Research Project – significantly the site name 'Nanggarai' that Gifford attributed to Site 21. Palmer had also the previous year admitted in relation to site VL16/1 (Gifford's Site 20) that the Lapita sherds supposedly from there illustrated by Gifford 'are the only examples amongst the tens of thousands examined at Sigatoka' (Palmer 1965:26), although later research did reveal a small number of dentate-stamped vessels (Birks 1973). The lack of such sherds at the time, however, appeared to give him no cause to doubt his and Green's 'revision' of the find spot to the eastern end of the Sigatoka Dunes, and also does not appear to have troubled other archaeologists who have followed their lead!

It could be argued that it would be more plausible to attribute the Lapita sherds found by Verrier and Rabici to present-numbered site VL16/22 Naqarai or its vicinity (arguably included within Gifford's conception of Site 21) than it is to attribute them to VL16/1 (certainly Gifford's Site 20) as every archaeologist since Green and Palmer has done. Or, rather, it might

be had Birks (1973:113) not illustrated an almost exactly identical Lapita sherd to Gifford's (1951) Plate 19c, one of five sherds of Pot 55, said to have been excavated from Locality 42A/X within VL16/1 in the 1965 season, featuring Mead motif M30.2 (Mead 1975). Birks notes the similarity to the sherd collected by Verrier and Rabici, noting it as 'probably from the same vessel' (Birks 1973:27). Palmer (1966:374) had earlier flagged this connection, noting that the Birks 'have one particular sherd identical with that figured by Gifford and it could conceivably come from the same dish'. It thus appears that identical sherds almost certainly from the rim of the same vessel were found 17 years apart at VL16/1 and that Rabici's memory of where the earlier Lapita sherds were from was confused.⁸

There is some more recent evidence to back up the attribution of the Verrier/Rabici sherds to VL16/1 in the form of a very distinctive Lapita pot excavated in 2004 from the site and reported on by Burley and Connaughton (2010). They note that the upper band of decoration is Mead's motif M12.2 (Mead 1975) but failed to observe that this is exactly the same motif (albeit not from the same pot) as that in Gifford's (1951) Plate 19d, the other dentate-stamped sherd sent by Verrier. On this basis we have to conclude that the reattribution of the Verrier/Rabici Lapita sherds from Site 21 to Site 20 (the later VL16/1) was justified.

Gifford's opinion of the date of the sherds we now know to belong to the Lapita tradition was that they were associated with the Late period in Fiji; that is, the last few hundred years (Gifford 1951:236). He detected decorative similarities of this 'roulette-incised' ware with pottery reported in 1948 from the Île des Pins (Lenormand 1948) and with pottery found during his and McKern's 1920–21 expedition to Tonga (McKern 1929:Plate VI). No dates were available for any of this pottery when Gifford was writing, but all this was to change after his next expedition in 1952 to New Caledonia, accompanied by Delila Gifford, Richard Shutler Jr and Mary Elizabeth Shutler (Gifford and Shutler 1956).

This included the first formal excavations at Site 13 on the Foué Peninsula near Koné on the west coast, the site recorded by Gifford as 'Lapita'. The site had first been recorded in the early 1900s (Piroutet 1909), and its 'pointillé' decoration noted on a visit by Fritz Sarasin in 1911 (Sarasin

8 It does seem almost too good to be true that almost completely identical sherds, in terms of size and coverage of an exactly similar segment of the design could have been found at that distance in time from continuously shifting dunes. Enquiries of the Fiji Museum in November 2019 failed to locate the sherd in question from the Birks' excavation.

1917a:119, 1917b:122).⁹ This is what we now know as dentate-stamped decoration, produced by impressing toothed stamps of different sizes and lengths into the wet clay of the pot prior to firing. Jacques Avias (1949) had earlier suggested, on the basis of the published description, that pottery from what would later be known as Site 13 or Lapita would turn out to be similar to that from the Île des Pins and more significantly to that from Watom Island, off the coast of East New Britain in the Bismarck Archipelago discovered by Father Otto Meyer (see Howes, **Chapter 15**, and Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, both this volume for further details). And so it was. Gifford (1953) had completed the comparison, bringing in the Verrier collection sherds from Sigatoka and the Tongan pottery as well.

How the name for all of this pottery came to be the ‘Lapita style’ is another story (Spriggs in press), but in part it was to do with Site 13 Lapita being the first directly radiocarbon dated site of this culture, with dates of ‘846 B.C.’ and ‘481 B.C.’ being given (Gifford and Shutler 1956:89–92) – this was of course in the days before recalibration of radiocarbon dates to calendar years, which would push the ages back slightly further. This gave the clue that the Sigatoka sherds were early rather than late, and similarly provided a much greater antiquity than thought for the Tongan pottery as well.

Gifford’s journey to establishing the age and full distribution of the Lapita culture had not started in Fiji but in Tonga in 1920–21, but those few sherds sent in Verrier’s parcel late in 1948 were very quickly to assume a key significance. Links between the design on these sherds and those from the Île des Pins led directly to Gifford’s decision to mount his next Pacific archaeological expedition to New Caledonia and the excavations at Site 13 or Lapita. Recognition of this pottery as being part of an early ‘community of culture’ (Golson 1961:176) linking Polynesia and Melanesia led directly to further work at Sigatoka in the mid-1960s that has continued almost every year to the present, and to further elucidation of the spread of this foundational culture through Near Oceania and into Remote Oceania, and the tracing of its links back into Island Southeast Asia.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology from February to March 2020.

9 Technically speaking the term ‘pointillé’ is the designation by the French translator of Sarasin, Jean Roux (Sarasin 1917b:122). In the original German version of the same year the term was ‘mit Einstichmustern’ (Sarasin 1917a:119).

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28

Ratu Rabici Logavatu and Aubrey Parke: Two archaeological pioneers of the Fijian Administration

Matthew Spriggs

This chapter tells the story of the pioneering archaeological endeavours carried out by two members of the Fijian Administration. The administration was set up in 1944 by the efforts of Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna and wartime Governor of Fiji Sir Philip Mitchell as a new system of government for the Native Fijian (*iTaukei*) population of the then British Crown Colony of Fiji and Rotuma. Sukuna was appointed as its first secretary of Fijian affairs or *Talai* (see Spriggs 2019 for background and references).

The first of these pioneers was Ratu Rabici Vuikadavu Logavatu (1924–2005), seconded from the Fiji Administration in 1947 to assist the archaeological expedition of Edward Winslow Gifford (1887–1959) of the University of California at Berkeley, USA. Gifford was accompanied by his wife Delila, who was a noted expert in Pacific marine shells (see Spriggs, **Chapter 27**, this volume, Figure 27.3). Ratu Rabici was the personal choice of Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna for the role of ‘minder’. As well as assistant to Gifford he was clearly also assigned to be the ‘eyes and ears’ of the Fijian Administration, to smooth over difficulties and

misunderstandings with local communities and to make sure Gifford's work did not impact negatively upon the *iTaukei* population. He proved adept at all these roles. As Gifford prepared his materials for publication (Gifford 1951a, 1951b) he frequently consulted by letter with Ratu Rabici to check details of places and people.¹ Their warm correspondence continued until Gifford's death in 1959 (Spriggs 2019).

The second archaeological pioneer was Aubrey Parke (1925–2007), appointed to the British Colonial Service and sent to Fiji as an administrative officer in 1951. During his 20 years in Fiji he held many roles in the Fijian and Colonial administrations, including as deputy *Talai* (deputy secretary of Fijian affairs) for a time in the mid-1960s and then commissioner, Northern District.² He had been interested in archaeology from his boyhood in Dorset and had been trained in archaeological techniques before World War II by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and later by Stuart Piggott, two of the foremost archaeologists of their generation. He never held any official position in Fiji as an archaeologist, although he was an honorary ethnologist and sometime trustee of the Fiji Museum. He was, in fact, upon his arrival in Fiji in 1951 the most highly trained archaeologist in the Western Pacific. He pursued his archaeological interests in Fiji and Rotuma during weekends and holidays throughout his time in Fiji, recording many sites and excavating several of them. Ratu Rabici was active in archaeology only in the period 1947–50, and Parke for a much longer period, including return visits to Fiji after independence in 1970.

1 The correspondence between them can be found in the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), Bancroft Library, Department of Anthropology files, Collection CU-23, Series 4, Correspondence 1901–1957. For further details see Spriggs 2019:fn. 2.

2 Some details of Parke's employment in Fiji can be found in Fiji National Archives, PF 3705A/EDP No. 247, Parke, A.L. He had positions as district officer (DO), Ra, in the early 1950s, was twice in the 1950s DO for Lautoka, Nadi and the Yasawa Group, and after that was DO Suva and DO Navua, while in 1964 he was briefly stationed as DO Rotuma. After his time as deputy *Talai* he became commissioner, Northern Division, which included Vanua Levu (Parke 2014:xix–xx).

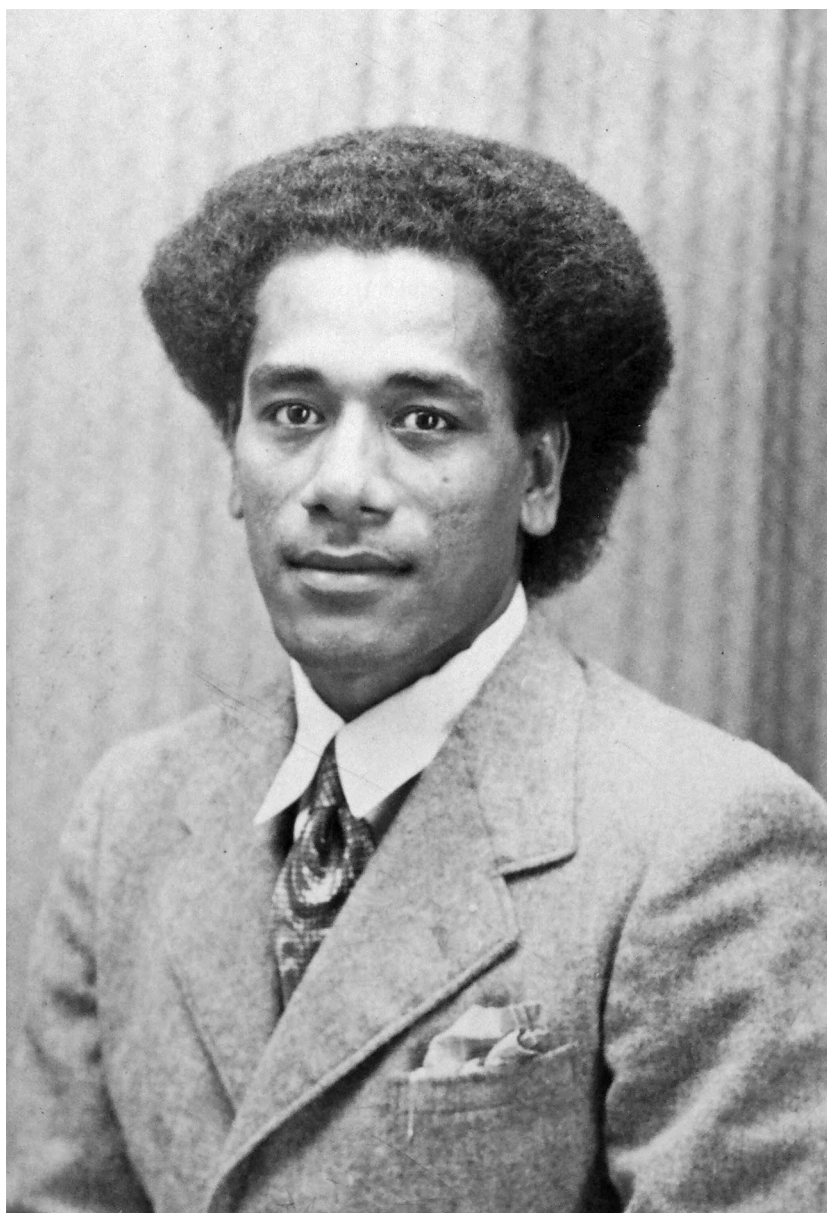


Figure 28.1. Ratu Rabici Logavatu, May 1954.

He sent the photograph to Gifford in a letter of 21 May 1956. The photograph is in the possession of Maureen Frederickson.

Source: Photograph courtesy of Maureen Frederickson.

Ratu Rabici Logavatu

Ratu Rabici (Figure 28.1) was a younger son of Emori Logavatu and a great-grandson of the Tui Dreketi, a signatory of the Deed of Cession in 1874. He had been educated at Queen Victoria School in Suva. The family were from Burebasaga in Rewa District. He joined the Colonial Service in January 1944 as a clerk in training.³ Before Gifford's 1947 expedition he had been an assistant to the chief health inspector but he was then seconded to the Fijian Administration. He was to prove invaluable to Gifford, quickly picking up skills in archaeological excavation, to add to the surveying skills he had been trained in earlier. Gifford also schooled him in photography, which became a lifetime hobby of his, and after the expedition gave Ratu Rabici his first camera. In 1947 Gifford was already 60 years old and was not fit enough to visit some of the cultural sites of interest, so he sent Ratu Rabici to scale the peak of Uluinavatu and for a horseback survey of parts of Nakauvadra on Viti Levu. Rabici's written account of these surveys and associated oral traditions was meant to be included as an eighth appendix to Gifford's monograph *Archaeological Excavations in Fiji* but was cut out at the last moment, presumably by the publishers on grounds of cost (Spriggs 2019:411). Only some of his observations were able to be included in the text of the final publication (Gifford 1951a:194, 211, 218, 221, 245, 249).

Gifford's fieldnotes of the expedition are held in the Hearst Museum and the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley (UCB). Much of Ratu Rabici's work can be found there – maps and surveys of sites, photographs and even perspective drawings of sites, and notes of excavations that Ratu Rabici supervised while Gifford dug elsewhere on the sites of Navatu and Vuda.⁴ Ratu Rabici was key in making sure the correct protocols were followed on entering villages and negotiating access to sites, and in informing local chiefs and communities of the purposes of the work. He was able to smooth over injured feelings when a key landowner's rights were inadvertently infringed upon and when the discovery and removal of a human skeleton at Navatu led to the spirit possession of a local chief and pastor. In this latter case a kava ceremony and the rapid reburial of the skeleton appeased the spirits and brought the pastor back to health.

3 Details of Ratu Rabici's career can be found in the Fiji National Archives, NPP426-1 and NPP426-2, Ratu Rabici Logavatu.

4 Ratu Rabici's collaboration with Gifford is fully referenced in Spriggs 2019:409–412, from UCB, Hearst Museum and Bancroft Library files.

There was definitely ‘covert control’ exercised by Sir Lala Sukuna over the places visited and excavated by Gifford (Spriggs 2019). It seems that Ratu Sukuna’s interest was in seeing if the archaeology could provide evidence in relation to various land issues. Both Vuda and Navatu, the two sites excavated in some detail by the expedition, were important in traditions of the arrival of the first ancestors of the Fijians. After visiting the excavation at Navatu, Sukuna concluded that archaeology could not answer the questions that interested him. Although he remained helpful and supportive of Gifford, his subsequent *Annual Report* made no mention of the research; Sir Lala had many other things on his mind as 1947 drew to a close.⁵ During the expedition Ratu Rabici was independently reporting on progress of the expedition to the deputy *Talai*, the anthropologist George Kingsley Roth (1903–1960). Only one of Rabici’s letters to Roth in Fijian can be found in Roth’s archives in the Cambridge University Library in the UK, but there were clearly more (Spriggs 2019:402, 411 fn. 37).

After Gifford returned to the USA in September 1947, he corresponded regularly with Ratu Rabici as analyses of the pottery and other finds progressed and as Gifford prepared his major monograph for publication. The preceding chapter here (Spriggs, **Chapter 27**, this volume) reports on the serendipitous find of the first Lapita pottery in Fiji by Ratu Rabici, at the time a provincial scribe, and the acting district medical officer for Nadroga-Navosa, Lindsay Verrier, both based at Lawaqa. Lapita pottery was the style used by Fiji’s earliest inhabitants and the find was later to prove important in working out the distribution of this widespread pottery style. It was found on a visit to the Sigatoka Sand Dunes in May 1948, showing that Ratu Rabici retained an interest in archaeology after Gifford’s departure. Verrier sent the pottery to Gifford in time for the latter to include photographs and a description of it in his monograph (Figure 28.2). The find by Rabici and Verrier was later to inspire a major series of excavations at Sigatoka in the 1960s through to the 2000s (summarised in Dickinson et al. 1998; see also Burley and Dickinson 2004), making the Sigatoka Dunes one of the most famous archaeological sites in the Pacific.

5 Secretary for Fiji Affairs, *Annual Report 1947*, Legislative Council, Fiji, Council Paper no. 52, published 1948, Government Press, Suva. A copy in the Cambridge University Library, Roth Collection, Add. MS. 8780m Box 1, item 3 was consulted. For the varied tasks that Sukuna was involved in in 1947 see also Spriggs 2019:401. Similarly, the *Annual Report 1951* (published 1953) made no mention of the publication of Gifford’s research.



Figure 28.2. The Lapita pottery discovered by Ratu Rabici and Lindsay Verrier.

Source: Copyright © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California, photograph from Gifford 1951a:Plate 19 (Accession No. Acc. 916).



Figure 28.3. Meeting the Logavatu family.

Left to right: Ratu Rabici's second daughter, Bulou Salata Seniloli Logavatu Ratukalou, Bulou Vularewa Colata (Rabici Gifford's wife), and Ratu Rabici's second son, Ratu Rabici Gifford Vuikadavu meeting with Matthew Spriggs, Suva, Fiji, October 2019.

Source: Photograph by Rosemary Leona.

Ratu Rabici wrote to Gifford on more personal matters for another decade; the last known letter is from 1957, detailing his marriage and the birth and upbringing of his children, and sending photographs of them to Gifford and his wife Delila. Gifford regularly sent Ratu Rabici new issues of US postage stamps for his collection. The second son of Ratu Rabici was named Rabici Gifford Vuikadavu and the first daughter Varanise Delilah. Gifford's family kept up some communication with the Logavatu family for a while through Varanise Delilah, who migrated to the USA, and one of Gifford's granddaughters attempted unsuccessfully to find Ratu Rabici during a visit to Fiji in the 1970s (Maureen Frederickson pers. comm. 2015). The author re-established archaeological contact with Ratu Rabici's children in 2019 in preparation for the exhibition at the Fiji Museum. The 'digital repatriation' to the children of correspondence and photographs sent between Gifford and Ratu Rabici has been a particularly satisfying part of the Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project (Figure 28.3).

Ratu Rabici's early involvement in archaeology in Fiji had been almost completely forgotten by his family. It does not seem that his interest continued past completion of Gifford's work in 1951. He continued, however, as a hard-working member of the Fiji Administration. In March 1953 he was appointed assistant Roko Tui Ba, or assistant governor of Ba Province. In May 1957 he was promoted to serve as Roko Tui Rewa and for a time as acting Roko Tui Lomaiviti. He was sent on secondment to the UK in 1959 to gain further administrative experience. Amusing letters to his boss back in Fiji detail him adjusting to the cold climate and strange habits of the English. He returned to take up his governorship of Rewa again in 1960 and, in addition, was appointed as Fijian magistrate for Rewa in January 1964. Very sadly, in 1967 when driving on official business he had a serious road accident and, after a long spell in hospital recuperating from spinal injuries, he had to retire on medical grounds the following year. He passed away in 2005, leaving nine children by his first and second marriages. His interest in photography was passed on through his family, and two of his grandchildren are today professional photographers (Ratu Rabici Gifford Vuikadavu Logavatu pers. comm. 2020).

Aubrey Parke

Aubrey Parke (Figure 28.4) was born in Moreton, Dorset, England, attended Winchester Public School and during World War II served in the Royal Air Force as a navigator/bomb aimer.⁶ As a young teenager he worked on the iconic Maiden Castle excavation of an Iron Age hillfort in Dorset that had been stormed by the Roman legions during the Claudian conquest begun in AD 43. The excavations were directed by the celebrated archaeologist Mortimer (later Sir Mortimer) Wheeler. Parke continued his archaeological interests during the war when he excavated an ancient earthwork in 'difficult wartime conditions' (Bowen 1990:21). In fact, the adjacent airfield was being strafed by German fighter planes at the time! After the war he took a degree in 'Greats' (Greek and Latin) at Lincoln College, Oxford, and continued his archaeological interests and training. He even directed his own excavations at a bell barrow (burial mound) in Dorset while training for the Colonial Service (Parke 1954).

⁶ For the biographical detail on which this account is based see Spriggs 2014.

He arrived in Fiji as an administrative officer in 1951 and quickly involved himself in the administration of the Fiji Museum and in archaeological surveys, often in later years accompanied by his wife Tamaris. He met Ratu Rabici soon after his arrival and communicated with E.W. Gifford about having done so: ‘I like him immensely and we tour together’ (UCB, Bancroft Library, Department of Anthropology files, CU-23, Box 118, Parke to Gifford, 22 December 1953, Gifford to Parke, 28 December 1953).⁷ He also noted he had borrowed one of Gifford’s publications from Ratu Rabici, and at his request Gifford sent Parke offprints of nearly all his Fijian papers. Although Ratu Rabici and Parke had further official dealings in later years, there is no record of any joint archaeological endeavours. In his December 1953 letter to Gifford, Parke noted that he had been district officer in Ra Province, but was now district officer for Lautoka, Nadi and the Yasawa Islands. Parke’s first home leave back to the UK was in 1955–56. During that furlough he directed an excavation in Dorchester, Dorset (reported in Farrar 1957), and also met and married Tamaris.



Figure 28.4. Aubrey Parke aged nearly 81, at his PhD graduation ceremony in hospital in Canberra, 21 October 2006.

Source: Photograph courtesy of John Parke.

He carried out many surveys of sites on Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, as official duties permitted, and deposited the finds in the Fiji Museum (Parke 1965, 1971, 1972, 2000a, 2001a, 2003a). The first professional curator of the museum, Bruce Palmer, was appointed in 1963 and transformed it into a major research institution. In his first *Annual Report* for 1963, Palmer thanked Parke for his ‘useful preparatory research’ (Palmer 1963). In 1964 came the opportunity to visit Rotuma as relieving district officer from the end of February until the start of June, during a campaign of clearing bush to plant coconuts (Parke 1964). Parke’s posting on Rotuma

⁷ Surprisingly, there is no trace of any further correspondence between the two.

allowed much time to investigate the archaeology and oral traditions of the island group, leading to several significant publications (Parke 1969, 2000b, 2001b, 2003b). The artefacts recovered during surveys and the excavation of chiefly tombs – work carried out with permission of the Island Council – are now in the Fiji Museum collections (Figure 28.5). When the Navatanitawake ceremonial mound on the island of Bau was to be refitted as a Council House in 1970, Aubrey led a salvage excavation team to recover details of the mound’s earlier use (Parke 1993, 1998).



Figure 28.5. Artefacts from Rotuma collected by Aubrey Parke, 1964 and now in the Fiji Museum.

Source: Photographs by Tristen Jones.

Most of Parke’s publications appeared after he left Fiji just after independence. He became the administrative officer at Canberra College of Advanced Education, later to become the University of Canberra. He also enrolled at The Australian National University (ANU) and did a master’s degree in linguistics in 1981. He progressed to a PhD and carried out further archaeological fieldwork in Fiji in the 1990s but ill-health in later life meant it took him until 2006 to complete it. But complete it he did, and the degree was awarded to him in his hospital bed during his final illness. He was the second oldest person to be awarded a PhD at the ANU. Aubrey Parke passed away early in 2007.

The PhD thesis dealt with the history and traditions of 123 *yavusa* or major descent groups, concentrating on Rakiraki in the north-east and Vuda/Nadi/Nawaka in the west of Viti Levu, and on the western archipelago of the Yasawa group, based on information very largely collected during Aubrey’s time as a government officer. The thesis was published posthumously, edited by the author and Deryck Scarr, as *Degei’s Descendants: Spirits, Place and People in Pre-Cession Fiji* (Parke 2014). Available for free download, it remains one of the most popular works in the ANU Press catalogue, with many of the downloads coming from Fiji (Figure 28.6).

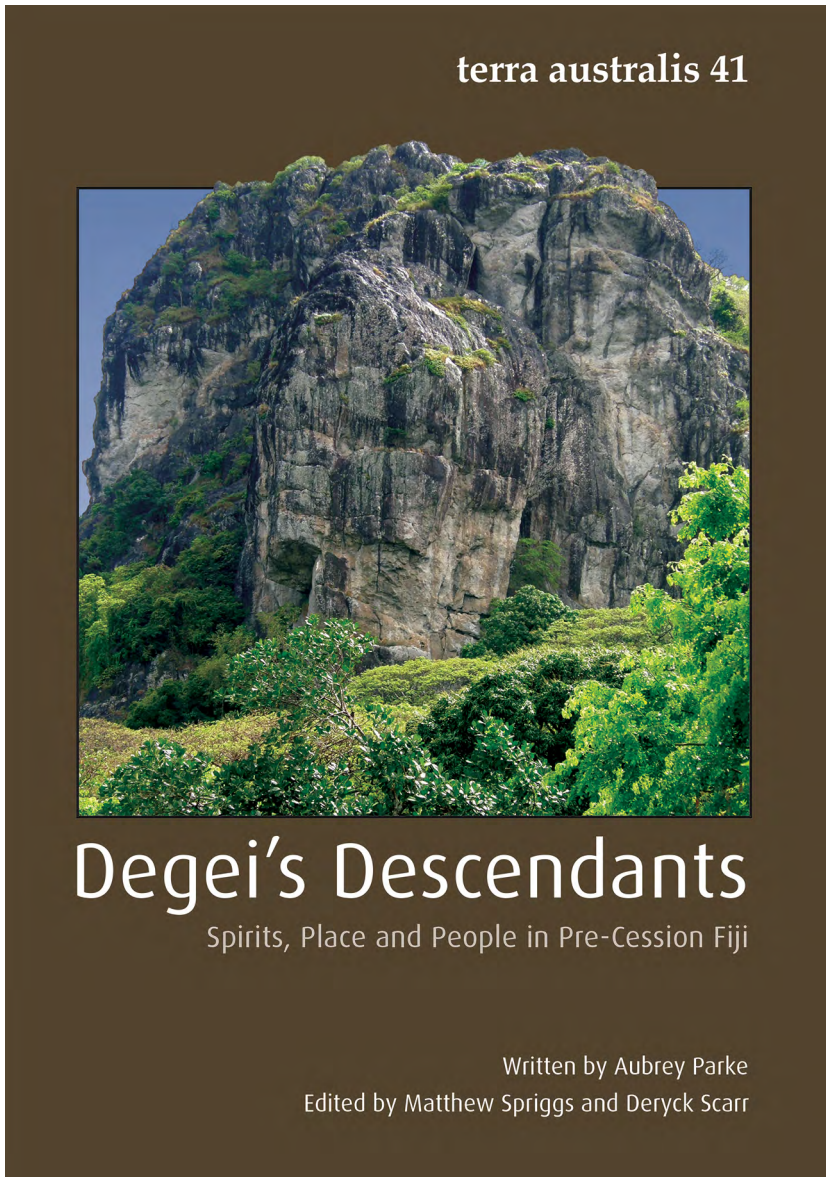


Figure 28.6. The front cover of Aubrey Parke's *Degei's Descendants*, Terra Australis 41.

Source: Courtesy of ANU Press; original photograph of Uluinavatu by Matthew Spriggs.

In the final decades of his life Aubrey was a prolific author on the linguistics, ethnography and archaeology of Fiji, perhaps realising that his time was short. Several further manuscripts remain in various libraries and collections, attesting to his considerable knowledge and understanding of things Fijian. Parke also assisted other researchers working on Fijian topics, such as Robert Dixon who fulsomely acknowledged this in *Grammar of Boumaa Fijian* (Dixon 1988). At his funeral in Canberra the coffin was carried from the church by *iTaukei* bearers, showing the considerable regard in which he was held by the expatriate Fijian and Rotuman community in Australia.

Aubrey Parke was technically an ‘amateur’ in that he was never employed specifically as an archaeologist. However, in terms of those living and working in the Western Pacific at the start of the 1950s he was without doubt the most highly trained person in the discipline of archaeology. He was in touch with those, such as Professor Gifford, who were kick-starting archaeology in the region after World War II, and he was among the pioneers of an archaeology informed by oral traditions that is only now really coming back into its own, after a period when such oral sources were largely disparaged. He operated entirely in local languages wherever he worked and was evidently a gifted linguist as well as archaeologist. He has been largely ignored in the history of archaeology in the region until now because the vast majority of his publications came long after he had left Fiji, particularly in the years between 1993 and 2003 and culminating in his 2006 thesis.

Conclusion

Both Ratu Rabici and Aubrey Parke were Fiji-based archaeological pioneers, and both worked for extended periods for the Fijian Administration, from the 1940s in the case of Ratu Rabici and the early 1950s in the case of Aubrey Parke. Neither of their stories is well known within Pacific archaeology, but both played significant roles in bringing Fiji’s ancient past to light. Edward Gifford very much relied on Rabici’s skills and assistance during his 1947 expedition and during the preparation of his major publications on Fiji. Ratu Rabici’s senior administrative roles in the Fijian Administration from the later 1950s until his retirement in 1968 meant that he had no further opportunity to pursue any archaeological interests he may have had. Similarly, Aubrey Parke clearly played a significant supporting role in establishing the Fiji Museum as a major

research institution in the 1960s. But again, his time in Fiji was spent primarily as a senior administrator, rising to the rank of deputy secretary of Fijian affairs by 1965. His archaeological career blossomed after he left Fiji in 1971, when he had the time to complete several major books and papers based on his earlier observations. This meant that he was never as well known in Fiji for his research contribution as he perhaps should have been, and some of his important research remains unpublished.

Acknowledgements

Detailed acknowledgements are given in earlier publications (Spriggs 2014, 2019), but I would particularly like to acknowledge the encouragement and friendship of Ratu Rabici's family during and subsequent to my October 2019 visit to Fiji, and also the continuing interest of Aubrey Parke's son, John Parke. The assistance of the Fiji Museum through Director Sipiriano Nemani and the archaeologist Elia Nakoro is also acknowledged, as is the gracious help of the National Archives of Fiji, particularly its former director, Opeta Alefaio.

The Fiji Museum is planning to redisplay its archaeological collections once the COVID crisis there passes, and will incorporate CBAP research into Rabici and Parke, as well as Parke's artefacts repatriated to Fiji from ANU.

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29

Thor Heyerdahl and the Kon-Tiki Museum's research in the Marquesas and on Rapa Nui/ Easter Island, 1955–63

Reidar Solsvik

When Thor Heyerdahl was attempting to live a primitive life on Fatuhiva, in the Marquesas, in 1937, did he already dream of undertaking a large-scale exploration of the prehistory of the Polynesian islands (Bakke and Solsvik 2020; Heyerdahl 1936)? Being on a one-man (and wife) expedition to collect insects and other fauna examples for the Museum of Natural History in Oslo, Norway, he developed an appetite for prehistoric explorations. His goal at the end of his first expedition was to go home and organise a large cross-disciplinary expedition to study and research Fatuhivan prehistory (Figure 29.1), whose remains he had found scattered throughout the landscape (Heyerdahl 1937).

Following his Kon-Tiki Expedition by raft from Peru to the Tuamotus in 1947, which catapulted him to global fame as an adventurer par excellence, Heyerdahl reached the pinnacle of his career as a Polynesian ethnologist at the 10th Pacific Science Congress in Hawai'i in 1961 (Figure 29.2). Here he participated in writing some of the conclusions of *Section X. Anthropology*, and it was presented by contemporary newspapers as one of his great victories. Heyerdahl and the Kon-Tiki Museum in Oslo, only founded 12 years prior, volunteered at the congress to become one of the key institutions for future scientific research and conservation of Polynesian prehistory.



Figure 29.1. After Thor Heyerdahl returned from Fatuhiva in 1938, he organised a window exhibit with his photos and some of the artefacts that he had collected. This shows his growing interest in the prehistory of these islands and his love for museum exhibitions.

Source: Photo from the Kon-Tiki Museum Archive.



Figure 29.2. Thor Heyerdahl lecturing at the 10th Pacific Science Congress in Honolulu, 1961.

Source: Photo from the Kon-Tiki Museum Archive.



Figure 29.3. Excavation of a habitation cave in the Hanapete'o Valley, Hiva Oa, by Arne Skjølsvold and Gonzalo Figueroa, one of two teams sent to investigate Marquesas prehistory by the Kon-Tiki Museum in 1963.

Source: Photo from the Kon-Tiki Museum Archive, photographed by Arne Skjølsvold.

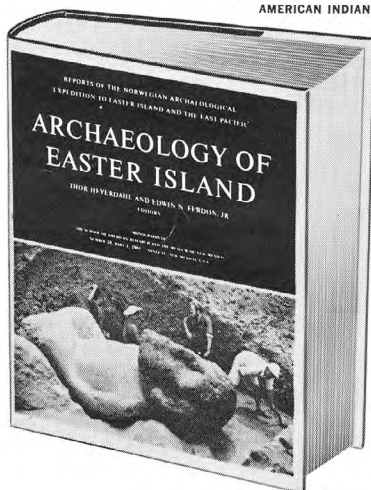
Teaming up with Kenneth Emory and Yoshihiko H. Sinoto of the Bishop Museum on the Board of the Pacific Area Archaeological Program (PAAP, see also Dotte-Sarout et al., **Chapter 30**, this volume), Heyerdahl was going to lead the exploration of the prehistory of the Marquesas Islands (Solsvik 2006:193–202). They made plans for a multi-pronged research program, deploying three field teams. The Bishop Museum team, led by Sinoto, was to undertake a variety of work in the island group. Another team led by Carlyle S. Smith of the Museum of Anthropology, Kansas University, and financed by the Kon-Tiki Museum, was going to investigate *tohua* structures (centres for assembly and public festivities) in Autonoa (Smith n.d.). A third team, headed by Arne Skjølsvold and Gonzalo Figueroa, was to search for early habitation sites and early ceremonial architecture around Hiva Oa (Figure 29.3), and in particular in the Puamau Valley on the island's north-east coast (Skjølsvold 1972, n.d.).

But a snake had crawled into paradise. In 1961, Heyerdahl had privately financed the publication of the investigations and excavations carried out on Rapa Nui/Easter Island by the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific in 1955–56 (Heyerdahl and Ferdon 1961). American anthropologist and archaeologist William Mulloy had argued in a private letter to Heyerdahl that the reports should be published by a well-known publisher of Pacific archaeology such as the Bernice Pauahi

Bishop Museum. However, due to a backlog at the Bishop Museum Press, the reports would not be put into print until several years later. Heyerdahl opted to edit and publish these reports himself (Figure 29.4) with the help of American ethnologist and archaeologist Edwin N. Ferdon, the School of American Research and his Swedish publisher – Forum Publishing House.

THOR HEYERDAHL'S

famous bestsellers *Kon-Tiki* and *Aku-Aku* raised a storm of controversy over Polynesian race origins and "the secrets of Easter Island." Now *EASTER ISLAND* is the official documentation for *Aku-Aku* as *AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE PACIFIC* was for *Kon-Tiki*.



Thor Heyerdahl is to be awarded the coveted VEGA MEDAL by the King of Sweden on April 24th for contributions to Geographical Science.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF EASTER ISLAND

Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific; **Thor Heyerdahl and Edwin N. Ferdon**, editors with contributions by William Mulloy, Arne Skjolsvold, Carlyle S. Smith.

Here is the scientific report of the findings of Thor Heyerdahl and his team of archaeological experts when they systematically studied the mysteries of Easter Island. This long-awaited work includes ten foldout maps, 96 pages of photographs and hundreds of maps and drawings. A

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AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE PACIFIC
Photographs, 912 pages, 7" x 10", \$15.00



RAND McNALLY & COMPANY, P. O. Box 7600, Chicago 80, Illinois

Figure 29.4. Advertisement for *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific. Volume 1: Archaeology of Easter Island* published in 1961 and edited by Thor Heyerdahl and Edwin N. Ferdon Jr.

Source: Scan from the Kon-Tiki Museum Archive.

American Anthropologist decided to review *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific. Volume I: Archaeology of Easter Island* in its fall edition in 1963. Acting on the advice of a longstanding Heyerdahl antagonist, Swiss ethnologist Alfred Métraux, the editor chose the German anthropologist and former wartime German cryptographer Thomas Barthel (Barthel 1963). Originally interested in the undeciphered rongo-rongo script of Rapa Nui/Easter Island, Barthel had studied anthropology and prehistory, and had recently concluded a lengthy fieldwork season on Rapa Nui. It was no secret that Barthel had extensively criticised Heyerdahl to his friends and colleagues. Barthel also claimed that he had identified a palaeolithic substratum on the island during archaeological excavations. Heyerdahl flew into a rage when he received the news that Barthel was going to review *Archaeology of Easter Island*. He considered this to be an orchestrated attempt at a professional assassination, not only of himself but also of his colleagues Ferdon, Smith, Mulloy and Skjølsvold. Heyerdahl concluded that they would not receive a fair review and that the scientific reports of the five months' intensive study of Rapa Nui's prehistory were not being taken seriously, mainly because the work had been financed and published by Heyerdahl himself. In a typical response, attempting to protect his friends, Heyerdahl stated publicly that he was withdrawing from the field of Polynesian research (Heyerdahl 1963). Consequently, he also pulled out of the PAAP scientific program planned at the 11th Pacific Science Congress two years previously. The fieldwork already organised and funded by the Kon-Tiki Museum went ahead as planned, but without the massive attention and funds that Heyerdahl's international fame might have contributed.

We can only speculate whether or not archaeological excavations carried out in the Marquesas in the early 1960s would have been dramatically different if Heyerdahl had stayed the course. Very few of these extensive excavations were ever published, and much remains unpublished even today. The Bishop Museum investigations are comparatively well known from internal reports. The most extensive publication became Skjølsvold's *Excavations of a Habitation Cave, Hanapete'o, Hiva Oa, Marquesas*, published by the Bishop Museum as *Pacific Anthropological Records* no. 16 in 1972. Sinoto published a few shorter papers summarising the most important data, which have been highly influential (i.e. Sinoto 1966).

Why did these three eminent researchers not publish more extensively? The main reason seems to have been that the excavation results themselves were regarded as a failure. This research program was organised as

a further exploration of the pioneering research of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition's excavation work on Hiva Oa and Nukuhiva in 1956 (Figure 29.5), and of Robert C. Suggs's more extensive work (1961), in particular his excavation of the Hanatekua dune site with its very early carbon-14 dates (see also Spriggs and Howes, **Chapter 26**, this volume). Sinoto, Skjølsvold, Figueroa and Smith clearly expected to find sites of an equal antiquity and were probably disappointed when all their samples only produced dates from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries (Emory and Sinoto 1965; Skjølsvold 1972, n.d.; Smith n.d.). The belief in a far earlier cultural stratum in these islands made their work seem insignificant in comparison to Suggs's very early dates. In fact, Skjølsvold and Figueroa's investigation of a developmental sequence of a *tobua* in the Puamau Valley, detailing the architectural development of this site from c. AD 1450 onwards, made a significant contribution towards the study of Polynesian ceremonial structures. The lack of a driving force focused on rapid publication of results and further investigations, which Thor Heyerdahl surely would have been dedicated to accomplishing, probably contributed to the disintegration of the project and its vanishing focus.



Figure 29.5. Excavation of 'Site of Paeke', Taipai Valley, Nukuhiva, in 1956.

This was one of two sites in the Marquesas excavated by Thor Heyerdahl's Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific.

Source: Photo from the Kon-Tiki Museum Archive, photographed by Erling Schjerven.

The lack of success of this project – as defined by unearthing early radiocarbon dates – and the failure to publish the results of its many excavations have contributed to the lingering idea of a great antiquity of Polynesian culture in the Marquesas, which was revived in the 1980s. This belief was only dispelled by fieldwork by Barry Rolett (Rolett 1998; Rolett and Conte 1995), Matthew Spriggs's (1989) idea of chronometric hygiene and further archaeological investigations by Atholl Anderson (Anderson et al. 1994).

The most important result of the initial collaboration between the Bishop Museum and the Kon-Tiki Museum was continued only by Sinoto through his extensive excavations of the Hane Dune site.

Rapa Nui/Easter Island

Thor Heyerdahl first read about Easter Island in 1926, when the St George expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific was financed by a media consortium (Bakke and Solsvik 2020). His own expedition in 1955–56 followed almost exactly the same route as the British expedition 30 years before.

Unlike the St George expedition, Heyerdahl did not rely on a media consortium to finance the expedition. Like Katherine Routledge, almost 40 years prior (see also Van Tilburg, **Chapter 18**, this volume), Heyerdahl used his own private funds and enjoyed the resulting total freedom to investigate. Unlike the Routledges, who opted out of paying the salary for an archaeologist because they wanted to install a proper bath on their yacht (Van Tilburg 2003), Heyerdahl focused on bringing along professional scholars. He initially hired three of them, and when plans to bring a palaeobotanist fell through, Heyerdahl hired two additional archaeologists.

On 27 October the expedition ship *Chr. Bjelland* dropped anchor outside the famous *ahu* (stone platform) Vinapu on the north-east coast of Rapa Nui with Heyerdahl, Skjølsvold, Ferdon, Mulloy, Smith and Figueroa on deck. Several hundred local residents and a handful of Chilean officials greeted the famous Norwegian explorer. This was the beginning of five intensive months of survey and excavations, the first professional subsurface archaeology ever undertaken on this isolated

island. The resulting publication presented a first cultural chronology of Rapa Nui based on archaeological methods and became the standard reference for its prehistory for several decades.

Heyerdahl presented his own interpretation of Rapa Nui history in *Aku-Aku: The Secret of Easter Island* (1958). The book revamped public interest in the island and contributed greatly to the increase in tourism in the late 1960s after the Hangaroa Airport opened. For Heyerdahl, Rapa Nui was his dream of paradise come true – not as a lush, white sandy beach with palm trees and beautiful women, but as an island permeated with a prehistoric and cultural mystery that he could solve. Who had carved the monolithic *moai* (stone statues) and when? How had they been transported from the Rano Raraku quarry to the *ahu* around the island's perimeter? What was their purpose? Rapa Nui was the island that had awoken his interest in the prehistory of humankind when he was only 12 years old. In high school he told a classmate: 'It's not only in geography that we can make discoveries. There are still many great challenges in the world, among other things the mystery of Easter Island' (Jacoby 1968:238). When he returned to the island in 1986, Heyerdahl came full circle when he was adopted by the *korohua*, the council of elders on Rapa Nui. As a member of the local community, he gained rights to settle permanently there if he so chose.

The Kon-Tiki Museum has continued the relationship with the local community and has undertaken several archaeological projects on the island, including the excavation of *ahu NauNau* at Anakena, 1986–88, discovering the earliest settlement to date of the island (Skjølsvold et al. 1994). In the spring of 2019, the Kon-Tiki Museum and the Chilean Government – on behalf of the Rapa Nui community – signed a memorandum of understanding regarding repatriation of archaeological artefacts from Heyerdahl's work on the island in 1955–56. The relationship between Rapa Nui and Heyerdahl thus continues through his scientific legacy, the Kon-Tiki Museum.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Kon-Tiki Museum from July to September 2020 and from July to September 2021.

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30

Aurora Natua and the Motu Paeao site: Unlocking French Polynesia’s islands for Pacific archaeologists

Emilie Dotte-Sarout, Tamara Maric
and Guillaume Molle

The immediate interest of Westerners in the origins of ‘Polynesians’ – despite the fluid historical definition of this term – is a well-analysed fact (i.e. Chazine 1983; Clark 2003; Di Piazza 2021; Douglas 2010; Douglas and Ballard 2008; Garanger 1982; Kirch 2017). This early focus on Polynesian origins and settlement processes developed exponentially from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century, as part of racist theories seeking to understand the astonishing diversity of humanity in its physiological and sociocultural or linguistic traits.

In the islands of Central–Eastern Polynesia that progressively became integrated into the *Etablissements Français de l’Océanie* (EFO – future French Polynesia) (Figure 30.1), approaching the past through material culture studies was quite rare during this period (but see Haddow 2017). Throughout the Pacific, archaeological¹ investigations were first undertaken in the very last decades of the nineteenth century, concurrently with the

1 We define an ‘archaeological approach’ as follows: presenting the discovery of material culture remains for which evidence of antiquity is recorded and used for the analysis of the finds, and subsequently offering interpretations of the history of Pacific populations based on such remains.

notion of prehistory and the discipline of archaeology being implemented in Europe (Dotte-Sarout and Spriggs 2017; Howes and Spriggs 2019; Richards et al. 2019; see also Spriggs, **Chapter 8**, this volume). In the French islands of Eastern Polynesia, the first archaeological interpretations of material culture remains – in particular of monumental structures – were published at the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries by two men working within the French colonial system: the administrator of the Marquesas Islands Dr Louis Tautain (Tautain 1897) and the naturalist Léon Seurat on a mission for the Musée National d’Histoire Naturelle in the Tuamotu-Gambier Islands (Seurat 1905).

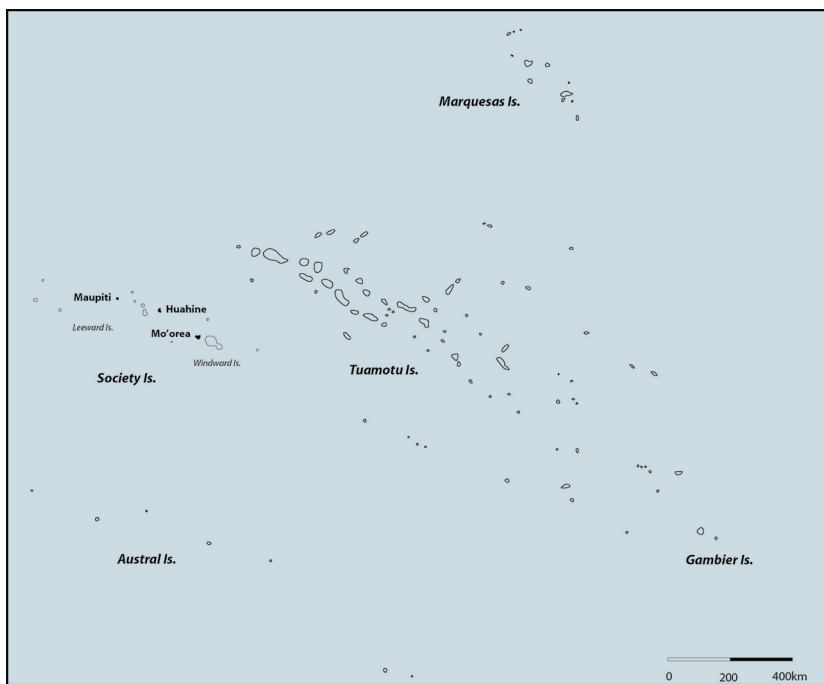


Figure 30.1. Map of French Polynesia (ex-EFO) showing island groups and main islands, including those mentioned in the text.

Source: Map created by G. Molle.

Among those who shared an early interest in ancient cultural sites of Central–Eastern Polynesia, it is noteworthy that an illustrator stands out as being the only woman in this field in the nineteenth century: Adèle Garreau de Dombasle, travelling through the Pacific with her companion Edmond de Ginoux de la Coche during the 1840s (de la Grandville 2001; Jaillet

2021).² This is remarkable as the history of anthropology in general, and archaeology in particular, remains mainly populated by male characters, both because of sociocultural historical constraints that long limited the engagement of women in such fields and because of gender-biased narratives in the history of science (Claassen 1994; Dotte-Sarout 2021; McDonald 2004; Watts 2007). Likewise, the essential role of Indigenous collaborators has long gone unnoticed in the history of archaeology (Spriggs 2019). In French Polynesia, accounts of the history of archaeology are similarly limited in their inclusion of female and/or Mā'ohi personages. However, some of the most significant archaeological collections held by the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles (MTI) contain items of material culture with particular histories that can serve to illustrate the role of one such overlooked key figure in the development of professional archaeology. Aurora Germaine Tetunui Natua, whose life spanned most of the twentieth century, became known as a 'Tahitian scholar' and her professional life was intertwined with the history of Polynesian archaeology and its extended web of connections, from Maupiti to Pape'ete, Paris and Honolulu.

The pendants exhibited at the MTI as part of the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition (see Figure 30.2) are representative of a significant site in the history of Polynesian archaeology: Motu Paeao in Maupiti (see Figure 30.1). Together with the site of Hane in the Marquesas, excavated during an associated fieldwork program (see also Solsvik, **Chapter 29**, this volume), it was assigned a significant role in the new interpretations proposed for the settlement of Polynesia during the 1960s by leading archaeologists Yosihiko Sinoto and Kenneth Emory of the Bishop Museum in Hawai'i (Emory and Sinoto 1964a, 1964b; Sinoto 1966). These sites were excavated as part of the Bishop Museum Tahitian Archaeological Expeditions of 1962, 1963 and 1964 (prolonged in 1965) that were largely supported by the North American National Science Foundation and launched in part following the resolutions taken at the seminal 10th Annual Pacific Science Congress establishing the international Pacific Area Archaeology Program (Emory and Sinoto 1964a; Solheim 1961; see also Kahn and Sinoto 2017). By examining the contextual information available for the excavation of the site and the analysis of the finds, we offer a reconsideration of the essential role played by Aurora Natua in this important historical phase of Pacific archaeology. This gives

2 Some of the sketches made by Adèle de Dombasle during her travels in South America and Polynesia are now kept at the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac (MQB-JC) and available online (collection arts graphiques 'Adèle de Dombasle').

us an opportunity to move from the objects to the making of history, highlighting the professional story of the woman who stands behind these remarkable artefacts and more generally her contributions to the dynamics at play in the mid-twentieth century, a period of exponential growth in the archaeology of French Polynesia.

The Motu Paeao pendants and the writing of East Polynesian archaeology

The pendants found at the Motu Paeao site in Maupiti are made of whale tooth, carved and polished in the shape of a slightly convex point and perforated on each side of the proximal end – sometimes exhibiting a lipped rim, most likely to have been suspended on a necklace (Figure 30.2). The pendants show varied levels of preservation or degrees of alteration – including possible rat-gnawing marks (Emory and Sinoto 1964a, 1965) – and range in length from more than 8 cm to less than 2 cm. They were found in association with distinct individual burials, recovered and donated to the Musée de Pape'ete³ over the course of three years, 1961 to 1963 (Emory and Sinoto 1964a:150).



Figure 30.2. The 18 whale-tooth pendants found at the Motu Paeao burial site and now in the collections of the MTI.

Source: Copyright MTI; photo by E. Dotte-Sarout 2018.

3 The Musée de Pape'ete, established at the beginning of the twentieth century, transferred its collections to the newly created MTI in 1974.

Paeao is a small *motu* (islet) located on the northern fringing reef of Maupiti, in the Leeward Islands of French Polynesia. Due to their importance in the Polynesian settlement debates, the excavations and discoveries made at the site of Motu Paeao, together with their regional interpretations, have been extensively discussed (Emory and Sinoto 1964a, 1964b; Garanger 1967; Kirch 1986; Sinoto 1963, 1983). The site was later reinvestigated and redated by Anderson and Conte (Anderson et al. 2000). Details of the original excavations and their context are given mainly in Sinoto and Emory's academic articles (Emory and Sinoto 1964a; Sinoto 1963) and unpublished field report (Emory and Sinoto 1965), but also in Kenneth Emory's biography (Krauss 1988) and in two papers published in French by the Pape'ete-based *Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques* (BSEO) (Emory 1964; Emory and Sinoto 1964c – both written in 1963, immediately after the last fieldwork session).

The burial site of Motu Paeao was first discovered in 1961 by a local planter, referred to as 'Mr Pofatu' by Sinoto and Emory, while digging postholes for fence construction (Emory and Sinoto 1964a; Sinoto 1963; see also Kraus 1988). Mr Pofatu then discovered a skull and two of the whale-tooth pendants, together with an adze. Just one year before, archaeologist Yosihiko Sinoto had visited Maupiti as part of a general survey of the Society Islands (Sinoto 2016),⁴ led in collaboration between the Bishop Museum of Hawai'i and the French institution for scientific research in overseas territories, the ORSTOM⁵ (Sinoto and Verin 1965). Although they judged the returns of their efforts as 'disappointingly meager' (Emory and Sinoto 1965:3), the local population (and the French Administration) had then been made well aware of the American scientists' interest in ancient remains found in the islands. Mr Pofatu, after reburying the skull, hence passed on the artefacts to the medical practitioner posted on the island, Bruno Schmidt, who had met with Sinoto on Maupiti in 1960.

In his biography of Kenneth Emory, journalist Bob Krauss related the serendipity of the archaeologists' first observation of the artefacts, leading to the excavation of what would become a key archaeological site in Polynesia: 'the discovery met Yosi walking down Pomare Boulevard in Papeete'. Sinoto, having arrived back in Tahiti three days earlier for the

4 Sinoto was by then a recent employee of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Hawai'i, working as the assistant of archaeologist Kenneth Emory, while finishing his doctorate with the University of Hokkaido.

5 The abbreviation ORSTOM is derived from the French name for the institute, Office de la recherche scientifique et technique d'outre-mer.

new Tahitian Archaeological Expedition, ‘was out for an evening stroll on May 20 [1962] when a voice called’ (Krauss 1988:379). Schmidt insisted that the archaeologists have a look at the objects. In their report to the Bishop Museum, they recorded having examined ‘M. Bruno Schmidt’s artifacts from the Maupiti burial ground’ on 21 May 1962 (Emory and Sinoto 1965:5). With excitement, they noted ‘the remarkable similarity of the pendants to those found in necklaces worn by Moa-hunters of New Zealand’ (Emory and Sinoto 1964a:144) and the possibility that they could represent an early common phase of Polynesian cultures (Emory and Sinoto 1964a; Krauss 1988:379–380). Three weeks later, when Sinoto arrived on Maupiti to excavate the site at Paeao, he was accompanied by ‘Miss Aurora Natua’ and ‘Mr Tihoti Russell’ (Emory and Sinoto 1965:5). Both Aurora Natua and Tihoti Russell had become local assistants to the Bishop Museum team during previous visits, working especially closely with them during the 1960 surveys (Krauss 1988:370–375) and providing an essential official collaboration with the local institutions responsible for the management of cultural heritage on the islands: the Musée de Pape‘ete and the Société des Etudes Océaniques (SEO).

This learned society based in Pape‘ete was founded in 1917 by a group of local notables (French residents or government representatives and Tahitian royal or *Demi* families),⁶ with the aim of studying every anthropological aspect (including archaeological ones) of the local Polynesian people and of urgently gathering, preserving and protecting ‘the last evidences of the Maori civilisation’.⁷ Together with the creation of the society, a *Bulletin* was launched and the project to establish a local research centre comprising a library and a museum managed by the SEO was highlighted, eventually materialising in the early 1920s. At the same time, a decree was passed forbidding any export of historical objects out of the EFO islands, while the governor put each island’s administrator in charge of protecting cultural sites, documents or objects and of encouraging local owners of such objects to contact the Musée de Pape‘ete, ‘the only one authorised to acquire those’, for any donation (cited in Mu-Liepmann 2017:76). Clearly apparent was also the will to counter the scientific enterprises then led in

6 *Demi* denotes families or persons with mixed European and Polynesian heritage, descendants from higher or chiefly lineages and still positioned today among the higher strata of society in French Polynesia.

7 ‘Maori’ in this case should be understood as ‘Mā‘ohi’ (i.e. Polynesian). Quote from the Decree of January 1st 1917 taken by Governor Gustave Julien. The decree details that the society is to ‘locally study all questions relating to the anthropology, ethnography, philology, archaeology, the history and institutions, mores, customs and traditions of the maoris of Eastern Polynesia’ (Article 1er, Arrêté du 1er Janvier 1917, *Journal Officiel des Etablissements Français de l’Océanie*) (see Julien 2017:340–342).

the region by Anglophone institutions such as the Bishop Museum of Hawai'i and the Polynesian Society of New Zealand, and to regulate their developing interests in the French islands of Central–Eastern Polynesia. By the 1960s, the museum and library of the SEO were located together in a dedicated building in Pape'ete's city centre. For more than 15 years, both had been under the management of an experienced, extremely knowledgeable and well-connected local figure: Aurora Germaine Tetunui Natua (Figure 30.3). Natua is cited as one of the most 'prominent among local residents' who assisted Emory and Sinoto during their first mission together in French Polynesia, in 1960 (Emory 1962:117), and she was considered a local correspondent of the Bishop Museum from 1959.⁸ Russell, working with the SEO on *marae* restorations, had been 'trained' by the Bishop Museum team to collaborate especially on surface collection and proper identification of cultural artefacts after encountering Sinoto on Ra'iatea in 1960; he collected many of the items eventually deposited at the MTI (Lavondès 1973; Krauss 1988:383).



Figure 30.3. 'Aurora Natua at Papeete Museum', 1960.

Photo by Yosihiko H. Sinoto.

Source: Published with the authorisation of the Bishop Museum Archives (Image ID SXS_215221). Copyright Bishop Museum.

⁸ As stated in the exhibition *100 ans d'une histoire commune – Musée de Tahiti et des Îles, Société des Études Océaniques*, MTI, Pape'ete, 25 juillet–31 décembre 2017.

During their short 1962 fieldwork season on Paeao (15–17 June), Sinoto, Natua and Russell excavated the burial discovered in 1961, unearthing a number of artefacts (adzes, pearl shell fishhooks, a human tooth pendant and an additional whale-tooth ornament). These finds confirmed Sinoto and Emory's first observations of Mr Pofatu and Schmidt's artefacts: the material culture associated with this burial was similar to that found a few years earlier at the Wairau Bar site in New Zealand (Duff 1956), interpreted as a first settlement site and associated with the 'Moa-Hunter' or 'archaic Maori' culture (Emory and Sinoto 1964a, 1964c, 1965; see also Brooks, **Chapter 9**, and Spriggs and Howes, **Chapter 26**, both this volume). A second field season was organised in May 1963 'over four weeks of intensive digging' (Emory and Sinoto 1964a), with Emory joining the team and seven (unidentified) local men employed. The extensive excavations led to the discovery of 14 other burials and more associated ornaments, including 18 more whale-tooth pendants.⁹ All of the skeletons were reburied while the artefacts were donated to the Musée de Pape'ete (Emory and Sinoto 1964a, 1964c). Based on the morphology of the whale-tooth pendants, fishhooks and adzes, and on the orientation of the burials, Emory and Sinoto proposed that the Motu Paeao site marked a 'pre-Moa Hunters' culture, representative of an archaic Polynesian culture in Central–Eastern Polynesia and displaying close affinities with the material culture of Western Polynesia – hence supporting the idea of 'an ancient current of civilisation moving from Western Polynesia to Eastern Polynesia' (Emory 1964:379; see also Emory and Sinoto 1964a, 1964b, 1964c). They further relied on a stylistic comparative analysis of these diagnostic artefacts to establish their settlement model of Eastern Polynesia, one with a significant legacy in the region's archaeology (Emory and Sinoto 1964a, 1964c; Sinoto 1963, 1983; see also discussions in Anderson et al. 2000; Kahn and Sinoto 2017).

Aurora Natua: The indispensable key collaborator

As the curator and librarian of the SEO, Aurora Natua would definitely have been a central collaborator for collecting and curating the artefacts, as well as for their initial analyses using the museum's collections and library. In their 1965 report, Emory and Sinoto recorded several work sessions

9 Today the MTI retains 18 of the overall 21 pendants unearthed. Ma3G13-2, Ma3C15-1 and Ma3E12-10 (evidently from the 1963 excavations) appear to have been taken away to the Bishop Museum.

and meetings with Natua at the Musée de Pape‘ete throughout the three missions between 1962 and 1964. Even more importantly, she would also have been a key person for establishing relations with the local community and the traditional owners of the lands, appearing as a complex process in the details given throughout the published and unpublished records of the excavations. As discussed below, she had filled the role of interpreter and assistant to other international scientific teams before and, crucially, she originated, from her father’s side, from Maupiti (Aurima-Devatine 2017; Margueron 2017). Indeed, Emory is said to have ‘sent Yosi to Maupiti along with Aurora Natua to act as an interpreter’ (Krauss 1988:380) and both archaeologists regularly acknowledged the participation of Natua, ‘conservatrice of the Papeete Museum’, in their publications and report (Emory 1962; Emory and Sinoto 1964a, 1965).¹⁰ They also explained how, on their first visit to the site in 1962 with Aurora Natua, Mr Pofatu had to be ‘persuaded to take them to the spot of the discovery and to allow its excavation’ (Emory and Sinoto 1964a:144). In a preceding paper, Emory had insisted on the fact that conducting excavations in French Polynesia was long and complicated because land owners had to (be convinced to) give their authorisation in advance, which ‘involved lengthy explanations that required the presence of someone fluent in the Tahitian or French language’ (Emory 1962:118) – someone who could explain the value of archaeological work and gain the trust of local inhabitants. At this time, Natua was the only person able to fill this role as she had both extensive experience with the Western academic world and deep personal connections with local inhabitants, in addition to her expert knowledge of Tahitian language¹¹ and material culture (Natua 1992).

While helping the researchers to gain access to the lands, she might also have secured a form of local control of their work, ensuring that excavations were not done without prior written consent given by the traditional owners, and that all collected artefacts were to be deposited with the Musée de Pape‘ete – as per the statutes of the SEO. Again, Emory and Sinoto detailed how they could not remove any human remains from the burial ground, ‘in the interest of maintaining good relations with the inhabitants’ and in the face of their sensitivity about the removal of the bones (Emory and Sinoto 1964a:147). Further, Emory lamented

10 Though interestingly her participation is not mentioned in the two 1964 papers of the BSEO.

11 She was recognised as an expert in Tahitian language and oral traditions, and her only authored book (written in 1982 and published the year of her death, in 1992) was written entirely in Tahitian – a study of all available sources to reconstitute the history of the land of Ariitia (Punaauia district on Tahiti) and of the ‘royal’ Marae Taputapuatea of Atahuru that existed there until the early nineteenth century.

the lengthy process they had to undertake in order to gain written legal permission from the landowners before returning for their extensive excavations in 1963 (Emory 1964). The team wrote about the signatures they had to obtain from nine landowners of Motu Paeao, certifying their agreement ‘to leave all the artefacts in the permanent care of the Papeete Museum, in the name of Teriinoho a Puihi, the ancestor from whom the present owners hold their claim to the land’ (Emory 1964:156).

The 1965 report shows that a similar process was to be undertaken for all the sites excavated in the Society Islands as part of the same mission, and it records the presence of Aurora Natua during initial surveys and excavations on Huahine, Ra‘iatea and Mo‘orea from 1960 to 1964 (Emory and Sinoto 1965; see also Krauss 1988:370–390). The report on the associated fieldwork undertaken in the Marquesas even states that the team played ‘a tape narrated in Tahitian by Aurora Natua about Bishop Museum and our work’ to the workmen employed for the excavations (Sinoto and Kellum 1965:Appendix A).

Overall, Aurora Natua was hence present in the archaeological operations from the very beginning – as negotiator and supervisor of the land access for fieldwork – to the final stages of conservation and analysis of the artefacts discovered – as recognised scholar, librarian and curator. She was a necessary collaborator, both as a representative of the local institution in charge of managing and controlling all matters related to cultural heritage in French Polynesia, but also as an Indigenous expert able to translate between the Western researchers and local communities: a key person in the literal sense of the word, opening the doors of Polynesian archaeology to outsider scientists.

In fact, the precious collaboration of Aurora Natua in anthropological research conducted in French Polynesia is traceable in a long trail of acknowledgements, in references to her name and to her collaboration found in several published and unpublished outputs produced between the 1950s and 1980s. For instance, in the publication of the Pacific Science Board’s 1952 Coral Atoll Expedition in the Tuamotu island of Raroia she is thanked for her ‘invaluable services’ as the assistant of anthropologist Bengt Danielsson (Danielsson 1954:1) and acknowledged as the ‘Tahitian scholar’ who aided him in negotiations between expedition members and Raroia inhabitants (Newell 1954:3). Danielsson, who helped and advised Emory and Sinoto during their 1960s archaeological expedition in French Polynesia, might have recommended Natua as a collaborator for the Bishop Museum team. It is also possible, however, that Emory had met her during

his numerous stays in Tahiti since the 1920s, or through his wife's local family.¹² In any case, Aurora Natua figures prominently in the 1960s Tahitian chapters of Emory's biography, where she is noted for her 'encyclopaedic knowledge of Tahitian families, genealogies, and island history' and described as 'indispensable' to Emory and Sinoto's work (Krauss 1988:371–372, 384–385). She appears to have become close to the archaeologists, visiting when their families came to stay on the islands or hosting them in her own family in Tahiti (Figure 30.4) (Krauss 1988:375, 381). Emory is also said to have secured some financial support¹³ that 'subsidized Aurora's labors for Bishop Museum' in 1963, when her small salary at the Musée de Pape'ete appeared to be threatened (Krauss 1988:385).



Figure 30.4. Kenneth Pike Emory, Marguerite Emory and Aurora Natua at Hitiaa, Tahiti, French Polynesia, 1960.

Source: Published with the authorisation of the Bishop Museum Archives (Image ID SXS_215220). Copyright Bishop Museum.

Later on, in the works of Anne Lavondès on the collections of the MTI, her essential collaboration, expertise and legacy in preserving and cataloguing ancient artefacts are recognised and valued with a lot of

12 On his first stay in Tahiti, in 1925, Kenneth Emory had met and married Marguerite Thuret, a descendant, on her mother's side, of Tahitian and Huahine royal families (Krauss 1988).

13 Through an anonymous donation of US\$1,000/year from a private benefactor and friend of Emory's.

respect; Lavondès states finally that ‘only she, to tell the truth, knows these objects perfectly’ (Lavondès 1979:447; see also Lavondès 1973). Indeed, her work as the longest serving curator and librarian of the SEO, from 1946 to the late 1970s, was foundational for the SEO and the collections of the future MTI. Her essential contribution to research activities conducted in French Polynesia has recently been celebrated locally; she has been recognised as ‘the living memory’ of the SEO (Guehenec 2017), an expert with ‘exceptional knowledge about the ancient Polynesian culture’ (Margueron 2017), ‘informant, collaborator, outstanding adviser, whose contribution to scientific research in Polynesia was established, massive, fundamental: sharing her personal notes, elements of knowledge gathered over her life’ with the researchers she chose to help (Aurima-Devatine 2017:190). She has also been described as ‘very independent, austere, solitary’, even ‘dreaded’ and ‘very demanding’ (Aurima-Devatine 2017:188).

Aurora Natua’s connections to archaeological and anthropological research in French Polynesia can be traced back to her mother’s family and its early involvement in the SEO: the Drollet family, an ancient and respected family of *Demis*. Alexandre Drollet – interpreter and expert in Tahitian language (O’Reilly and Teissier 1975:151), one of the original members of the SEO upon its creation in 1917 – was the uncle of Pauline Drollet, Aurora Natua’s mother. Born in Pape’ete in 1909 in such an important family with strong Indigenous links to Tahiti and Maupiti, a respected social position and scholarly tradition, Aurora Natua may well have benefited from quality education and been raised with a strong awareness of the traditional past of her islands. Biographical elements are scarce, but in 1928, a 19-year-old Aurora Natua was recorded among the few visitors to the newly established Musée de Pape’ete managed by the SEO (Babin 2017:84). She appears to have remained in Pape’ete until the late 1930s; she assisted Alfred Métraux during his 1935 visit to Tahiti (Mu-Liepmann 2017:79) and was living in Punaauia in 1937 (Natua 1992:11).¹⁴ She is said to have ‘spent the war [World War II] in France’ (Margueron 2017) and is listed among the new members joining the Parisian Société des Océanistes in its first official year of existence, in 1945 (certainly one of the

14 Based on the French translation of the text by John Martin, typescript kept at the Service de Documentation du Musée de Tahiti et des Îles.

very first Pacific Islanders to become a member).¹⁵ There, she would have been in direct contact with some of the figures from the French academic circles who were instrumental in developing francophone archaeology in the Pacific: Paul Rivet, director of the Musée de l'Homme, as well as Pastor Maurice Leenhardt and Father Patrick O'Reilly, respectively president and general secretary of the Société des Océanistes.¹⁶

In 1946, Aurora Natua was back in Tahiti: she became a member of the SEO, immediately starting in her position as librarian and curator of the MTI, presented as follows by the new president of the SEO, Pastor Rey-Lescure:

Our new archivist-librarian, Miss A. Natua is known by many among you since she is from a local family [...] Miss Natua, who has just spent the war years in France, was able to get in contact with the directors of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, to which our Society should become annexed, with such a patronage we could go far. (Rey-Lescure 1947)¹⁷

Importantly, it was also during this meeting that another woman entered the committee of the society for the first time: Miss Janine Laguesse (from another longstanding local family, in this case of settlers) as archivist-secretary. This arrival of women in some of the management roles of the society was a little revolution:

The statutes might not have anticipated the introduction of ladies to our committee, but electors like us, they must receive our solicitude; let's offer them a place before they demand some, the gesture will be on our side. (Rey-Lescure 1947)

Both Aurora Natua and Janine Laguesse became the longest serving members of the SEO (more than 30 and 50 years, respectively). Although it is difficult to establish the degree of mutual support between these women who were the first to venture into a very male-dominated intellectual and

15 List of members in July 1949 (Société des Océanistes 1949:175–184); a 'Miss Tetua Nalua' (Natua?), candidate to become a member of the society under the patronage of Maurice Leenhardt and Mme Peaucellier (of Tahiti), appears in the minutes of the 21 December 1945 meeting of the SO (Société des Océanistes 1946:209–213).

16 Further research is needed to investigate her participation in the meetings and activities led by the society or its preceding group, the Centre d'Etudes Océaniques du Musée de l'Homme, active during the war under the patronage of Paul Rivet.

17 Probably not incidentally, she was presented to the SEO by Rey-Lescure himself, the nephew of Maurice Leenhardt, who had just supported her membership of the Société des Océanistes in Paris the year before.

elite world, it seems pertinent that, nearly 20 years later, Aurora Natua supported the membership candidature to the Société des Océanistes of a young archaeologist from Mo‘orea – the very first woman to write and publish a thesis on East Polynesian archaeology: Marimari Kellum.¹⁸

Conclusion

The Motu Paeao pendants are emblematic of a site that proved critical in the history of archaeological theories about the settlement of Polynesia. Investigating how these objects came to be excavated in the first place, how they could be examined and the site accessed reveals the important role played by a Mā‘ohi woman scholar whose contributions to anthropological research in French Polynesia deserve to be re-established in the history of our discipline. Aurora Natua’s collaboration was indispensable to the archaeologists throughout the whole process of their field research, from access to the site and community support to conservation and analysis of the artefacts. As an Indigenous collaborator, she provided the necessary translation – of language *and* concepts – between the scientists and the local communities, while ensuring some form of local ownership or control over the scientific work and the cultural heritage discovered. As a woman, she paved the way for a younger generation to become more openly and directly involved in Polynesian archaeology. Remarkably, in the early 1960s her path crossed those of the first young women who would graduate as archaeologists in Polynesia. Indeed, at that time in the French Polynesian islands not only was Aurora Natua working alongside archaeologists Kenneth Emory and Yosi Sinoto, but also Marimari Kellum as the assistant of Sinoto (and a graduate student at the University of Hawai‘i), as well as Janet Davidson and Kaye Green as the assistants of Roger Green (and graduate students at Auckland University, see also Sheppard and Furey, **Chapter 33**, this volume)¹⁹ (Green et al. 1967; Kellum-Ottino 1971; Sinoto and Kellum 1965). Personal life trajectories and long-term historical dynamics seem to have converged towards

18 Minutes of the meeting of 22 November 1963 (Société des Océanistes 1964:99).

19 Ann Rappaport (then a graduate student at Columbia University) was also engaged in excavations with husband Roy Rappaport at this time, as original members of the Bishop Museum expedition assigned to the associated American Museum expedition led by Roger Green, but their expertise lay mainly in environmental studies and cultural anthropology. They also benefited from the collaboration of Aurora Natua (as documented in photos from the University of California San Diego digital collections of Roy Rappaport papers, MSS 0516).

the small island of Mo'orea in particular, where the itineraries of these pioneering women intersected between 1961 and 1962, in a striking moment of history.

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31

Jack Golson in New Zealand

Louise Furey

In 1954, at the age of 28, Jack Golson accepted the foundational position of lecturer in archaeology in the anthropology department at the University of Auckland. Golson was Cambridge-trained, a student of Grahame Clark, and influenced by the field methodologies of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, which placed emphasis on stratigraphy and detailed record keeping. The introduction of new ideas and approaches was an important first step in the modern study of the past in New Zealand.

At the time, the study of Māori prehistory was dominated by South Island museum professionals H.D. Skinner at Otago Museum (see also White, **Chapter 23**, this volume) and Roger Duff at Canterbury Museum (see also Brooks, **Chapter 9**, this volume). Excavations were being carried out in the South Island, and although useful information mainly relating to material culture was being collected, the prime purpose was to obtain artefacts for museum collections. In addition, there were independent fossickers and collectors who were motivated by the thrill of the find and who had little interest in the past.

Museum specialists were attracted to artefact-rich sites that also contained sea mammal bones and extinct birds including moa (*Dinornithiformes*). The artefacts were, however, stylistically different to those held in established museum collections, and the objects collected mainly from the North Island by early European visitors. Skinner and Duff attributed the distinctive adzes, fishhooks and ornaments being found in South Island sites to an earlier East Polynesian cultural group

that, in the North Island, was influenced by a later group of Polynesians bringing new ideas, agriculture and different artefact forms. These were not new ideas and built on earlier interpretations by Julius von Haast, director of Canterbury Museum from 1868 to 1887 (collection. canterburymuseum.com; see also Brooks, **Chapter 9**, this volume). There were also a group of individuals who approached the subject of Māori origins from the perspective of oral histories and in the process created an alternative history. Legitimate Māori *waka* (canoe) traditions from different regions were amalgamated to create the ‘Great Fleet’ myth, in which Māori ancestors arriving on a contingent of *waka* found an existing population that was overcome by the new arrivals. The misappropriated traditions, with embellishments, were taught in New Zealand schools for many years and occasionally still surface despite 60-plus years of archaeological research refuting the ideas. The traditionalists, and their interpretation of history, held sway over the learned society journals in the first half of the twentieth century.

Over the next eight years, Golson (Figure 31.1) began investigating the previously unknown archaeology of the North Island, redressing the South Island ‘moa-hunter’ emphasis, and in doing so initiated an integrated New Zealand-wide Māori archaeology. Soon after arrival he commenced a program of excavation. Each university holiday period, and weekends, there were excavations in progress, including Taylors Hill (Te Taurere) in Auckland, Oruarangi on the Hauraki Plains, Ahuahu Great Mercury Island, Sarah’s Gully and Opito on the nearby Coromandel Peninsula mainland, and Kauri Point Pā in the Bay of Plenty. Initially there were no trained archaeology students to call upon, so Golson reached out to the wider student community, gathering around him a workforce of dedicated and increasingly skilled archaeologists. Among them was Wal Ambrose, who went on to have a distinguished career in archaeology in Canberra. Golson himself did not write detailed accounts of his excavations in New Zealand, but left notes, drawings and photographs showing skillful excavations (Figure 31.2), which have enabled other archaeologists to complete the final write-up.

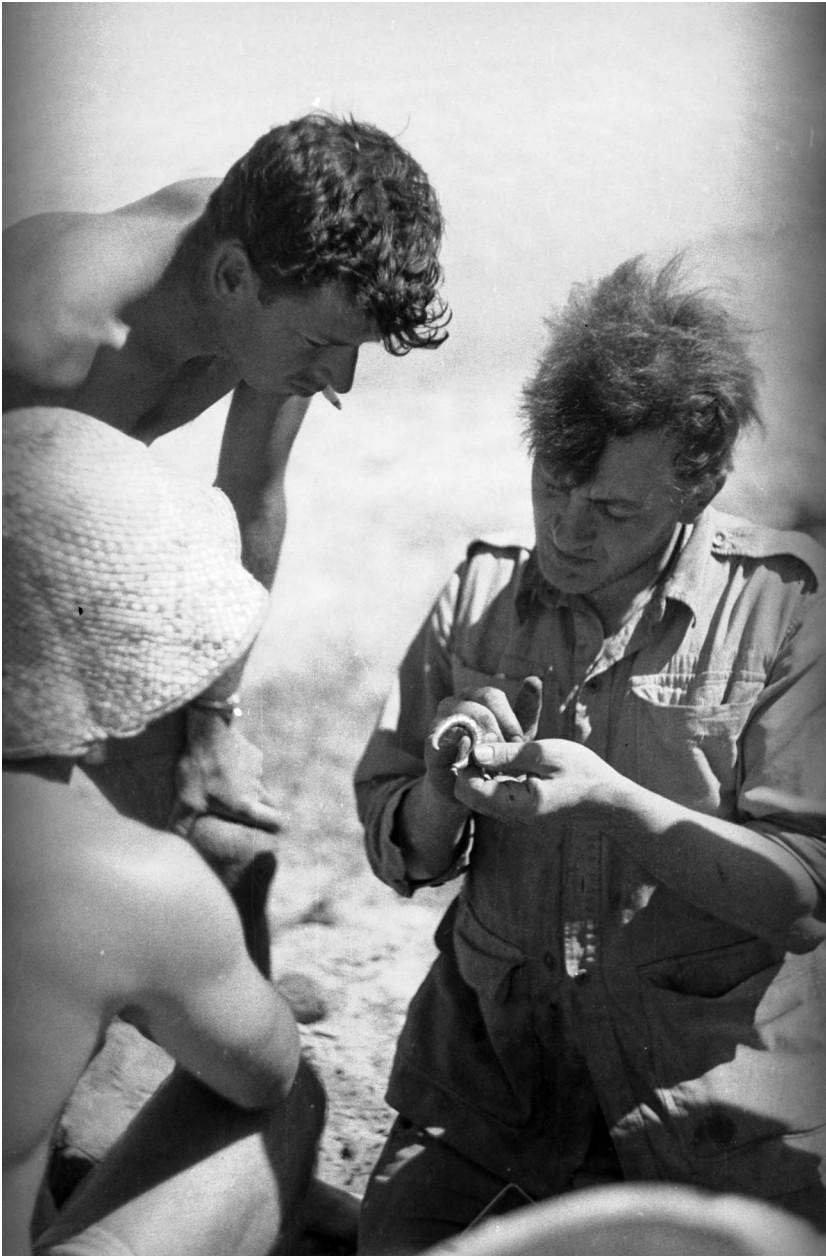


Figure 31.1. Jack Golson, 1956–57, inspecting a one-piece fishhook made of moa bone at Sarah’s Gully, New Zealand.

Source: Anthropology Photo Archive, University of Auckland.



Figure 31.2. Excavation of kūmara storage pits with postholes, Matakawau Stingray Point Pa, Ahuahu Great Mercury Island, 1956.

Source: Anthropology Photo Archive, University of Auckland.

After establishing that early sites in the North Island contained moa, although in smaller numbers compared to South Island sites, he expanded his investigations to a wider range of site types in the North Island. The newly developed radiocarbon dating techniques reduced reliance on artefacts for relative dating and allowed sites with features including postholes, pits, drains and ditches, but without artefacts, to be placed in a temporal context. Golson also collaborated with natural scientists and geologists, using tephra (dust and rock fragments ejected into the air by a volcanic eruption) as a chronological marker at Pig Bay on Motutapu Island (Golson and Brothers 1959), and was influenced by botanist Doug Yen and his study of climatic limitations to the growing of kūmara in New Zealand (Yen 1961).

Within six months of arriving in Auckland, Golson had persuaded museum colleagues and collectors to come together to form the New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA) (Prickett 2004). Fossickers and the staunch promoters of the ‘Great Fleet’ myth were also included in the hope that they would be open to new ideas, although with mixed success, and there were often heated discussions (Groube 2003; Prickett 2004). Golson’s ability to get along with all comers, including landowners and Māori, enabled him to drive changes in attitude without alienating people. Annual conferences brought together an increasing number of individuals interested in New Zealand archaeology to discuss and debate ideas, and research results were published in a quarterly ‘newsletter’, although this name was a misnomer for the quantity and quality of original research results. Within a few years of Golson’s 1961 departure to The Australian

National University (ANU) in Canberra, a new way of doing archaeology was in place, shifting the emphasis from the museums to the universities, and from the amateurs to the professionals (Gathercole 2004).

From the beginning Golson championed other issues, including site protection and the recording of archaeological sites. The volcanic cones of Auckland were being destroyed by quarrying, but they were also Māori *pā*, with extensive terracing, kūmara storage pits and defensive features, and were unique monumental structures. Golson carried out excavations on Te Taurere Taylors Hill and Maungarei Mt Wellington in advance of quarrying, and published a booklet drawing attention to the destruction of the cones and their Māori history (Golson 1957). He continued to advocate for site protection mechanisms, later taken up by his successor Roger Green (see also Sheppard and Furey, **Chapter 33**, this volume), but legislation to that effect was not enacted until 1975. Golson's other major achievement was his contribution to the founding of the NZAA Site Recording Scheme in 1955 (Golson 1955), which required negotiation among the factions of the membership to ensure its successful adoption: the scheme was seen by fossickers as an attempt to rein them in and force them to share information on sites. From small beginnings and the initial handbook guide to the recording of archaeological sites (Golson and Green 1958), the scheme has developed into a large and invaluable database, now digitised and online as Archsite, consisting of over 60,000 individual records of occupation places of Māori and European origin.

Of Golson's 26 publications on New Zealand archaeology (Anon. 1993), his overview paper *Culture Change in Prehistoric New Zealand* (Golson 1959) is most widely cited. His intention was to standardise the generalised terminology used in the literature and provide clear definitions. For instance, Skinner and Duff used the term 'moa hunter' to describe early material culture because it was found in association with moa, but Golson considered the term inappropriate as sites in the North Island containing moa also contained sea mammals, fish and shellfish, which formed a more significant contribution to the diet. He proposed new terms as a means of ordering the data, which could be applied to the archaeology of both islands: 'Archaic' for the early evidence of the New Zealand East Polynesian Culture, and 'Classic Maori' for the time of European contact in the eighteenth century. The paper also examined the evidence available to clarify if the differences in material culture between early and late could be attributed to cultural replacement, as proposed by Skinner (1921) and Duff (1956), or to internal change. The fact that Golson at that time

was unable to reach a conclusion either way demonstrates how little information was available. By 1961 (Golson and Gathercole 1962) he was able to positively state that the differences in artefact styles were due to local development of the East Polynesian culture. Using a theoretical framework based on the work of Gordon Willey and Philip Phillips in North America and Gordon Childe in Europe, Golson organised North and South Island material culture into phases (chronological) and aspects (the regional expression of phases). He highlighted differences in form and type using common artefacts such as adzes, fishhooks and ornaments, as well as distinctive items from each phase (Figure 31.3). He could only identify the two ends of the sequence, and concluded change must have happened in an elusive middle phase. One of the most important observations of the paper was that regional histories were important for understanding the big picture. The range of latitude, diverse climate and environments meant that there was no standard form of material culture even within the early/late divisions. Golson (1986) reflected that his work was unable to make an impact due to the narrow, artefact-based emphasis, although he did draw in horticulture and settlement patterns to a small extent.

The 1959 paper caused ongoing problems. Initially there were arguments over terminology of phase and aspect and the 'Archaic/Classic' division, which is now more commonly referred to as early/late, but the concepts also set up a dichotomy between the two ends of the Māori sequence, with an elusive middle period in which all change took place (Davidson 1993). Archaeologists for a long time hoped to find a continuously occupied site that would demonstrate a period of change and the reasons for it, and Golson dug at Oruarangi with this in mind. We now know that there is no transitional period; broadly speaking, every artefact type has undergone continual change in stylistic attributes despite being used for the same purpose at each end of the sequence (Furey 2004), although some new object types such as weapons made an appearance mid-sequence. It is also evident that the raw material used in manufacture changed over time. For example, use of moa bone was substituted with dog or human bone, or wood, and basalt and argillite were replaced by sedimentary greywacke and pounamu (nephrite), which required modification to the manufacturing process and the shape of the object.



Figure 31.3. Artefact styles and types replicating the illustrations in Golson's (1959) paper.

On the left are adzes, fishhooks and ornaments representative of early Polynesian material culture, and on the right are artefact styles from the late eighteenth century.

Source: Auckland Museum.

An unforeseen consequence of Golson's paper and other discussions around that time was the ongoing lack of interest in material culture by later New Zealand archaeologists after the realisation that artefacts were of little use in explaining culture change (Davidson 1993). Instead economics and settlement patterns became the focus.

After Golson left New Zealand, he continued to clarify his 1959 paper, reiterating that the traditionalists' view was not only erroneous but was long out of date and unhelpful, and that the previous artefact-centric approach to history ignored the non-artefactual changes (Golson and Gathercole 1962). On further reflection, the main goal of writing the paper was establishing an archaeological methodology and organisation of the data, rather than explaining Māori prehistory (Golson 1986). Golson widely acknowledged that his thinking on this subject was influenced by discussions with Roger Green during his 1959 visit to Auckland. Green (1963) took a different approach, using settlement pattern theory that incorporated ecology, subsistence and settlement patterns, and the data generated by excavations by Golson and himself, to identify six stages of change in the upper North Island (Auckland Province).

Golson expanded his archaeological research outside New Zealand in 1957 under the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program jointly funded by the Bishop Museum, University of Hawai'i and Yale University. He carried out five weeks of fieldwork in Tonga, testing six sites including the Mangaia Mound excavated by McKern in 1929 (Davidson 1965:66), and four weeks in Western Samoa with Wal Ambrose excavating several low mounds at Vailele, including Va-1 (Figure 31.4), which produced ceramics in the earliest layer (Golson 1969; Green 1993). The Tongan research has not been written up by Golson, but others returned to continue the excavation (Davidson 1965:66). Roger Green attributed Golson with setting him on the path to the major field program in Western Samoa, co-directed by Janet Davidson (Green 1993). Golson's skills in synthesising data meant he was able to recognise that the plainware ceramic fragments he dug up in Tonga were similar to the sherds being excavated further to the west in New Caledonia. Sometime later he coined the phrase 'communities of culture' (Golson 1971) as people creating the distinctive Lapita ceramics spread out through Near and Remote Oceania. This became the title of the festschrift honouring him after his retirement from ANU in 1991 (Spriggs et al. 1993).

Golson made important contributions to New Zealand archaeology, elevating excavations to new standards of methodology and data collecting. From this a history was beginning to emerge, where Polynesians arrived in a previously uninhabited land, had a mixed economy, including gardening in the northern areas where kūmara growing was viable, and cohabited with moa for a short time before they were made extinct, and where cultural change was internal and not subject to outside influences.



Figure 31.4. Jack Golson excavating at Vailele, Upolu, Western Samoa, 1957.

Source: Anthropology Photo Archive, University of Auckland.

Archaeology as a discipline in New Zealand universities grew when Peter Gathercole, a Cambridge contemporary and friend of Jack Golson's, was appointed in 1958 to a joint Otago Museum and Otago University position. The foundations were then built on by others, including Roger Green with his pioneering work on settlement patterns, which included environmental considerations, and later by Wilfred Shawcross on economic archaeology, Helen Leach's study of Māori horticulture and the role climate played in its viability, Foss Leach's work with artefacts and applications of science to archaeology, and Janet Davidson's work on Auckland's regional sequence and Pacific archaeology.

For the 50th anniversary of the NZAA in 2004, the next generation of archaeologists contributed to a book that discussed the state of New Zealand archaeology (Furey and Holdaway 2004). All authors referred to the groundwork laid by Golson before identifying how far the understanding of New Zealand's past has come, but also setting the directions for the future.

Golson argued from the beginning that New Zealand's past is a Māori past and that Māori should be involved. In the early years of the NZAA there was a position on the governing council for a Māori representative, and the original discussions around the code of ethics included respect for Māori (Golson 2004), though this was not included in the final version of the constitution of the NZAA. This was a profound idea for 1950s New Zealand society and Golson's influence can be detected. The 1959 NZAA conference was held in Rotorua because of its large Māori population and rich Māori history. After a *pōwhiri* (welcome) at Ohinemutu Marae, Golson led a training excavation on Pakotore Pā, but only after seeking permission from current landowners and traditional Māori owners (Golson 2004). He later championed Indigenous involvement in archaeology in Australia and Papua New Guinea, and his commitment was acknowledged by the World Archaeological Congress. As archaeologists in New Zealand, we have made improvements to our relationships with Māori over the decades, and with an increasingly bicultural approach to New Zealand society, full partnership is a goal that must be actively sought. This extends to encouraging more Māori students to study and practise archaeology, but also to incorporating the Māori world view in interpretations of their past.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira from February to May 2020.

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32

An emerging major centre: Pacific archaeology at The Australian National University (1961–79)

Mirani Litster, Tristen Jones and Hilary Howes

Pacific archaeology at The Australian National University (ANU) developed out of the (then) Research School of Pacific Studies (RSPacS), which was ‘geared to the systematic extension of knowledge by theoretical and empirical study of the vast Pacific region’ (Firth 1996:5; Stewart 2008). Although archaeology was not explicitly within the initial vision for the school in 1946 (Firth 1996:5), by 1959 an advertisement had been placed in the *Canberra Times* for a fellowship in ‘prehistory’ within the Department of Anthropology and Sociology. Cambridge graduate and formally trained medievalist Jack Golson took up the position in 1961, arriving at ANU from Auckland, where he was previously appointed and had conducted much pioneering Pacific archaeology (Jackson 2014; see also Furey, **Chapter 31**, this volume). The aim of Golson’s appointment was to ‘devis[e] a programme of research in the archaeologically underdeveloped fields of Australian and Southwest Pacific prehistory [...] with a particular commitment to Papua New Guinea’ (Golson 2006:109). Eight years later, in 1969, the Department of Prehistory – the first dedicated archaeology department at ANU – was formed with Golson as foundation professor (Department of Prehistory 1970; see Figure 32.1).



Figure 32.1. Founding members of the Department of Prehistory during the early years.

Left to right: Unknown, Ron Lampert, D.J. Mulvaney, Leslie Howard, Jack Golson, Eleanor Crosby, Brian Egloff and Ian Glover, undated.

Source: Wal Ambrose.

Early Pacific archaeology at ANU emphasised the complex technological and social changes among Pacific Island cultures throughout Melanesia and Polynesia, in particular the ‘labour intensive cultivation’ systems of highland New Guinea, the place of Vanuatu in the settlement of the Pacific and the expansion of Lapita cultures throughout Island Melanesia and Polynesia. Much of this early research laid the foundation for future archaeological enquiries across Australasia and the Pacific (Department of Prehistory 1971). A large body of archival and archaeological materials were amassed from the early investigations and are today mostly located in the departmental archives (now the Department of Archaeology and Natural History), in personal collections and in the Pacific Archives at ANU. In 2020, as part of the larger international multi-institution exhibition *Uncovering Pacific Pasts*, some of these objects and archives were selected for display in the Menzies Library in order to showcase early ANU Pacific archaeology. This chapter provides the background for that exhibition.

Regional focus¹

Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea (PNG) was the major focus of archaeology at ANU during the 1960s–70s (Golson 2006; Murray and White 1981:261). Following in the footsteps of Sue Bulmer (see Summerhayes, **Chapter 34**, this volume), John Peter White (Figure 32.2) embarked on PhD fieldwork in the Eastern Highlands in 1963. His thesis ‘Taim Bilong Bipo: Investigations Towards a Prehistory of the Papua New Guinea Highlands’ (1970) investigated the time depth of human occupation and spatial variation in the archaeological record of the region. White also produced two films, *The Bowmakers* (1964) and *Axes and Are: Stone Tools of the Duna* (1977), that documented skilled senior village men manufacturing stone and wooden tools.



Figure 32.2. Jack Golson and J. Peter White in New Guinea.

Source: J. Peter White.

¹ Major investigations in Papua New Guinea, Tonga and Vanuatu are detailed here and form the basis of the Menzies exhibition. Smaller studies were also conducted elsewhere in the Pacific, including New Zealand and New Caledonia, but are not overviewed here.

Soon afterwards, in 1965, Jim Specht began his PhD fieldwork on Watom Island, where missionary Father Otto Meyer first discovered Lapita pottery in 1909 (see Howes, **Chapter 15**, and Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, both this volume). Specht also visited Talasea on the Willaumez Peninsula, around 270 km away, as well as the northern Solomon Islands. Specht (1968) sourced 2,000-year-old obsidian artefacts he excavated on Watom to Talasea, evidencing the Talasea area as a regional centre for obsidian procurement and distribution.

In 1967 two scholars commenced PhD fieldwork. Peter Lauer investigated pottery traditions in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands for his PhD thesis submitted in 1970. Taking an ethnographic and ethnohistorical approach, he analysed surface collections of ceramic sherds in former village sites while also studying active pottery-making (Lauer 1970). Brian Egloff began fieldwork in the Massim, focusing on the Wanigela area of Collingwood Bay. Wanigela had been recognised as an area of archaeological significance as early as 1905 by Charles Monckton and Rudolf Pösch; however, Egloff was the first trained archaeologist to conduct excavations there (Shaw 2016; see also Bonshek, **Chapter 13**, and Howes, **Chapter 14**, both this volume). His findings supported the idea of a large prehistoric interaction sphere encompassing Collingwood Bay, the Trobriand Islands and the D'Entrecasteaux Islands.

In 1969, the foundation year of the Department of Prehistory, Ron Lampert investigated stone axes from the New Guinea Highlands and Eleanor Crosby examined various Melanesian hafted adzes and axes from Australian, New Zealand and Papua New Guinean collections. Les Groube accompanied Ron Vanderwal on PhD fieldwork on the southern coast of mainland New Guinea (Department of Prehistory 1970; Vanderwal 1973). Following the completion of his PhD research, Vanderwal refocused his research to concentrate on the Torres Strait. He undertook the first professional archaeological field research in the Torres Strait in 1972, realising the potential of the region as a contact zone between Aboriginal Australia and Melanesia. His research placed the significance of the archaeology of the Torres Strait on the map, and the questions posed by Vanderwal – particularly those focused on regional trade and exchange networks and his ethnographical approach to investigating archaeology – remain influential on archaeological research programs to this day (Carter 2010; McNiven 2010; McNiven and Green 2010).

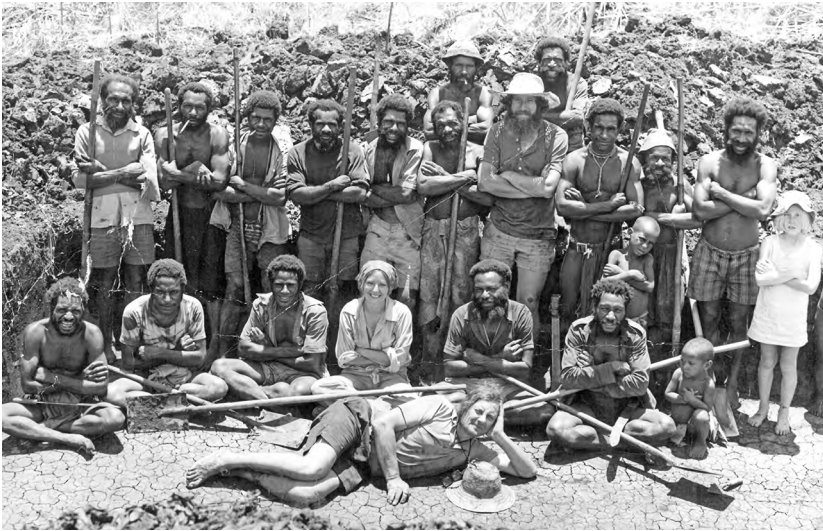


Figure 32.3. Jack Golson, Philip Hughes and team at Kuk Swamp excavation.

Source: Archaeology and Natural History, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific (CAP) Archives.

The 1970s ushered in a major phase of research, the most significant in scale and outcome being Golson's investigations of agriculture in the Highlands – the 'Kuk Project' in the Wahgi Valley in 1972 (Golson 2017; Murray and White 1981). This multidisciplinary fieldwork program centred on Kuk Swamp (Figure 32.3) in the Highlands of PNG. Golson and his team interpreted their finds as representing the independent origin of agriculture in PNG during the early Holocene (Denham et al. 2003; Golson 2017). The excavations also returned various agricultural tools, including long-handled wooden implements with paddle-shaped blades (Golson 2017). The Kuk Project established New Guinea as a location of independent agricultural development and plant domestication during the early Holocene, leading to the inscription of Kuk Swamp on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2008.

Under the guidance of Golson, Ole Christensen joined the 'massive Wahgi campaign' (Department of Prehistory 1975). His PhD research included excavation, ethnographic recording of gardening and hunting and stone artefact analyses in the Manim and Upper Wahgi Valleys (Department of Prehistory 1975). At the age of 29, at an 'advanced' stage of research, Christensen suffered a fatal car accident (Department

of Prehistory 1975). Committed to ensuring his work not go unfinished, Alison Garnett produced site reports from his notes and processed the ‘abundant’ botanical materials from the sites, in particular *Pandanus* seeds (Christensen 1975; Department of Prehistory 1976; Lilley 1994).

E.J. (Jim) Allen – the first PhD graduate in historical archaeology in Australia – returned to ANU from an appointment at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG). Allen led large-scale investigations on south Papuan trade systems on the small island of Motupore between 1970 and 1975, during which he was accompanied by Sandra Bowdler (then UPNG), Mary-Jane Mountain (then UPNG), Alan Thorne (ANU) and Pamela Swadling (then UPNG). The work on Motupore was continued by staff at UPNG, including Les Groube in 1978 and more recently by Matthew Leavesley in 2016 (Allen 2017a, 2017b). Under the guidance of Allen, Geoff Irwin commenced his PhD research on the small island of Mailu in south-eastern PNG in 1972. Through field surveys, test excavations and pottery analyses, Irwin investigated the emergence of Mailu as a central locale in the region (Irwin 1977).

In 1976 Jim Rhoads – who had previously been involved in the Kuk Project – began ethnoarchaeological research on sago palm use in the Kikori River Delta region for his PhD titled ‘Through a Glass Darkly’ (Rhoads 1980). Rhoads (1980) suggested that the Waira region had been occupied over the last 3,000 years and hypothesised that between 1200 and 1500 BP, intensified coastal trade connected the sago-producing communities of the Gulf with easterly pottery-producing communities.

During 1977–79, research in the Admiralty Island Group was conducted by Jean Kennedy and Wal Ambrose, who were accompanied by Allen and Edward Harris (Department of Prehistory 1978; Kennedy 1979, 1981a). Kennedy had just arrived from Hawai‘i and ‘took up her appointment as research fellow in the field’ to survey with Ambrose and Harris, which resulted in the location of 80 sites on Manus, Lou and other islands (Department of Prehistory 1978; Kennedy 1979). Two excavations of Kohin Cave on Manus Island were undertaken in 1978 and 1979, returning pottery and Lou Island obsidian. Four pottery sherds from lower stratigraphic layers were ‘decorated with dentate-stamped impressions, distinctive of the Lapita style’ (Kennedy 1981b). These results were published by Kennedy in *Science* in 1981.

Arriving from UPNG in 1978, Mary-Jane Mountain joined the department as a PhD scholar. Mountain focused her analysis on the archaeological fauna from the Nombe rock-shelter (Department of Prehistory 1979; Mountain 1991), which had previously been excavated (under the name of ‘Niobe’) by J. Peter White (White 1972). Mountain recovered the remains of four extinct herbivores and also documented sporadic cultural activity at the site from 25,000 BP to 15,000 BP, which was followed by intense human settlement in the early Holocene (Mountain 1991).

Tonga

Tonga became an early focus of ANU archaeological research in Polynesia. Jens Poulsen built on early foundation work by Golson by excavating six archaeological sites on Tongatapu Island. Poulsen’s investigations focused on pottery and also recovered the oldest tattoo comb in Oceania, dating to approximately 2700 BP (Clark and Langley 2020). Jens Poulsen submitted his thesis ‘A Contribution to the Prehistory of the Tongan Islands’ in 1967.

Poulsen was followed by Les Groube, who began excavations in 1965 and 1968, including Vuki’s Mound at Tongatapu. Here, the excavation showed that pottery was made and discarded over only a short period, despite its abundance. Groube (1971) produced an important synthesis in his paper ‘Tonga, Lapita Pottery, and Polynesian Origins’ in 1971. Between 1970 and 1980, interest in Tongan archaeology ‘waned’ (Burley 1998:347).

Vanuatu

By 1970, the Department of Prehistory had identified several avenues for future research, one of which was the position of Vanuatu (then the New Hebrides) in the early occupation of the Pacific (Department of Prehistory 1971). Les Groube planned a project in 1970 and two years later had carried out surveys in the south of Vanuatu, focusing on Aneityum, with a smaller period spent on Erromango (Department of Prehistory 1973:6). Groube noted the impressive taro systems on Aneityum, and excavation showed the environmental impacts of intensification. Groube also spent six weeks in the northern Banks Islands, recording surface features (Ward 1979; see also Leach and Leach 2018).

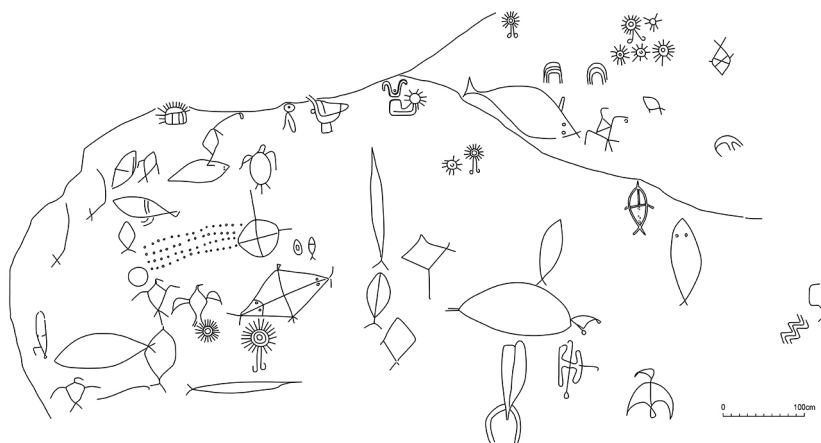


Figure 32.4. Aname rock art site, Aneityum, Vanuatu, drawn by Winifred Mumford while working with Norma McArthur on her doctoral fieldwork in 1973.

Source: Winifred Mumford's illustration reproduced from Spriggs and Mumford (1989:18) by CAP Cartography.

Also on Aneityum, PhD student Norma McArthur undertook research into the historical demography of the island (McArthur 1974). McArthur's fieldwork – conducted with the assistance of Winifred Mumford – examined archaeological evidence for depopulation, building on her previous study of historical records from Aneityum, which indicated massive depopulation at European contact. McArthur completed her PhD, 'Population and Prehistory: Aneityum', in 1974. Rock art was recorded by Winifred Mumford and McArthur during this fieldwork (see Figure 32.4).

Later, Graeme K. Ward conducted PhD research on the Banks Islands. He investigated their role in the settlement of the region and the first occupants' adaptations to small tropical island environments. He was supervised initially by Les Groube, then by Jack Golson, who encouraged him to shift focus from recent settlement patterns to settlement and resource exploitation over a longer period. Ward conducted surveys in 1973 and fieldwork in 1974 accompanied by his wife and two young daughters. This was the first detailed archaeological research of the area (Figure 32.5). Ward recovered pottery sherds from Pakea Island that were approximately 2,000 years old. The site also returned many *Tridacna* shell adzes from excavations. His thesis 'Prehistoric Settlement and Economy in a Tropical Small Island Environment: The Banks Islands, Insular Melanesia' was awarded in 1979.



Figure 32.5. Site BN-PK-1, Pakea Island. Pakea excavation crew taking a break, November 1974.

Left to right: Okis Taso (Mota), Fred Bolav (Gaua), Christova Lulumle (Ureparapara), Dudley Tula (Mota), Simon Peter (Mota).

Source: Graeme K. Ward.

Matthew Spriggs arrived in Australia in 1977 to commence fieldwork on Aneityum in 1978, where – inspired by Groube’s previous work – he investigated agricultural intensification, in particular taro irrigation (Spriggs 1981). Spriggs had met Groube as an undergraduate in the United Kingdom where Groube had moved after leaving ANU; a Groube lecture at Cambridge about his Aneityum research led directly to Spriggs’s application to ANU. Spriggs spent four months on Aneityum and recorded almost 300 separate examples of prehistoric irrigation systems; he also spent two months on Maewo in the north, and a shorter period at Col de Pirogue in New Caledonia, where he collected information on ‘technical aspects, labour inputs and yields’ (Department of Prehistory 1979).

His research continued in 1979, by which stage he had catalogued over 800 sites on Aneityum and conducted further study of traditional irrigation on Maewo and in New Caledonia (Department of Prehistory 1980).

Archaeological science and interdisciplinary research

One of Golson's main objectives was to build scientific analytical capacity and breadth of expertise in the staff. From the outset, cutting-edge archaeological science and interdisciplinary research were engaged in RSPacS.

Several appointments were integral to the development of archaeological science, in particular Wal Ambrose, who joined ANU in 1963. He established an international reputation in conservation, especially the conservation of wooden artefacts by freeze-drying, and in archaeometry (Department of Prehistory 1970). Ambrose's characterisation of obsidian sources from the Bismarck Archipelago helped lay the groundwork for the highly productive Lapita Homeland Project of 1983–91. His cooperation with the Australian Atomic Energy Commission (now ANSTO, the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation) led to the development of the PIXE/PIGME analytical system, widely adopted over the following 20 years (Golson 1997).

In 1965, pioneer archaeological scientist Con Key, who had trained in geology in the Netherlands and South Africa, was hired for a five-year research fellowship in Golson's unit within the anthropology and sociology department at ANU. Key initiated numerous innovative characterisation studies of pottery and obsidian. His studies of ethnographic and prehistoric pottery in the Massim area of PNG showed exchange between the Collingwood Bay area and the Trobriand Islands. Using spectrographic analysis of trace elements, he also undertook the first archaeologically oriented study of Melanesian obsidians, indicating that obsidian at the Lapita sites on Watom Island was derived from the Talasea area of West New Britain, 270 km away. Geochemical sourcing became a broader strength of the department and its research outputs (e.g. Smith et al. 1977; Ward 1977; Ward and Smith 1974).

In 1965, Henry Polach was invited to ANU to set up a radiocarbon lab, which was jointly coordinated between the Department of Geophysics and Geochemistry, the Research School of Physical Sciences and the

Department of Prehistory (Barbetti and Head 1997). Henry Polach had an important role in basic radiocarbon research, from defining how ages are calculated to producing the IAEA-C6 standard (a ‘known age’ sample). This sucrose sugar standard was produced for ANU in 1971 and is still used in many radiocarbon laboratories worldwide (Polach 1976:122). Two seminal papers in *Archaeometry* by Graeme K. Ward and Sue Wilson – ‘Procedures for Comparing and Combining Radiocarbon Age Determinations: A Critique’ (Ward and Wilson 1978) and ‘Evaluation and Clustering of Radiocarbon Age Estimates: Procedures and Paradigms’ (Wilson and Ward 1981) – were initiated through discussions with Polach. These publications continue to be cited widely today.

Key collaborations were also made between the archaeology and biogeography scholars in RSPacS. Significantly, in 1966 Ambrose and Golson joined Lampert and biogeography PhD student Jocelyn Wheeler (now Powell) to investigate a swamp in the Wahgi Valley. These collaborations set in motion the long-running Kuk Swamp investigations and Wahgi campaign (Golson 2006:113).

Pacific archaeology in ‘the Faculties’

In 1973, Cambridge-trained Peter Bellwood joined a newly founded, second archaeology department at ANU, led by John Mulvaney in the Faculty of Arts. Although Bellwood’s career has focused on Island and Mainland Southeast Asia, during these early years in the Faculty of Arts, he contributed two major works to Pacific archaeology – *Man’s Conquest of the Pacific* (1978) and *The Polynesians* (1978). Prior to his appointment at ANU he excavated in New Zealand, the Cook Islands and also French Polynesia.

A legacy of Pacific research at ANU

Today, the legacy of these significant early threads of research remains – no longer the Department of Prehistory and Faculty of Arts, but Archaeology and Natural History and the School of Archaeology and Anthropology, respectively. Significantly, the link between biogeography and archaeology continues in Archaeology and Natural History today. Many major recent research programs in Pacific archaeology continue to be driven by ANU researchers. One example is the major investigation of

Teouma, the oldest cemetery in the Pacific, found in Vanuatu in 2003. Stuart Bedford and Matthew Spriggs directed the project, which has since become the subject of substantial international palaeogenomic research (Skoglund et al. 2016). The first major historiography of the region was led by Matthew Spriggs and the Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific Project in 2015–20. Pacific research at ANU has also expanded, fuelled in part by Atholl Anderson's headship of Archaeology and Natural History in the 1990s, to include Niue, Fiji, Norfolk Island, Guam, Lord Howe Island, Tuvalu, Kiribati Island, Palau, Juan Fernandez, Mangareva, Rapa, Galapagos and French Polynesia (Leach 2008).

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Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display in the Menzies Library at The Australian National University from March 2020 to January 2021.

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33

Roger Curtis Green (1932–2009)

Peter Sheppard and Louise Furey

Roger Green arrived in New Zealand in 1961 as a lecturer in archaeology at the University of Auckland, filling the position left vacant by Jack Golson's departure to The Australian National University in Canberra, Australia (see also Furey, **Chapter 31**, and Litster et al, **Chapter 32**, both this volume). Green returned to Hawai'i in 1967 but made New Zealand his permanent home from 1973 when he was given a personal chair at the University of Auckland. Green retired in 1992 as emeritus professor but energetically continued research into Pacific settlement until his death. He is widely acknowledged as an enormously influential archaeologist in Pacific archaeology with a prodigious output of research papers (Davidson et al. 1996).

Green obtained degrees at the University of New Mexico and Harvard University before being awarded a Fulbright Fellowship in 1958, during which he was introduced to Polynesian archaeology. He first visited Hawai'i before spending nine months in Auckland with the intention of gaining experience prior to commencing fieldwork in the Opunohu Valley, Mo'orea, French Polynesia, under the supervision of Douglas Oliver, anthropologist at Harvard University. While in New Zealand, Green familiarised himself with New Zealand archaeology, conducting several excavations including at Tairua on the Coromandel Peninsula (Smart and Green 1962). Auckland University anthropology department colleagues were Bruce Biggs, linguist, who later became head of Māori

Studies, and Ralph Bulmer, anthropologist (see also Summerhayes, **Chapter 34**, this volume). Biggs introduced Green to historical linguistics (Pawley 2010), which over many years was widely incorporated into his research on settlement of the Pacific. Green also collaborated with Jack Golson to write the first handbook for site recording in New Zealand (Golson and Green 1959), which informed his later work on developing a recording scheme for the Solomon Islands (Green 1972).

Green's first foray into tropical Polynesia was to Mangareva in the late 1950s, sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History. The unpublished report of his excavation, initially intended to be his PhD dissertation at Harvard, was revised and finally published many years later. A survey of the Opunohu Valley on Mo'orea followed, accompanied by extensive excavations. Green's work was influenced by new theoretical approaches to settlement patterns developed by Gordon Willey, but also incorporated ethnohistory as a direct result of his tutelage by Douglas Oliver (Davidson 1996:11).

Green was appointed lecturer at the University of Auckland in 1961 and was the sole archaeologist there for several years, before the appointment of further archaeologists. In the period between 1961 and 1967, when he left Auckland for the Bishop Museum in Hawai'i, he carried out further excavations in New Zealand, including additional work at Tairua, where in 1964 a pearl shell trolling lure shank was recovered from the fourteenth-century site containing extinct birds including moa (Green 1967). This remarkable find was the first, and only, archaeologically excavated object with a direct connection to tropical East Polynesia where Māori ancestors originated (Figure 33.1). In the early 1960s the dorso-ventral rectangular-sectioned form was thought to be unique to New Zealand and a local innovation, but an example was subsequently found at Hane in the Marquesas by Sinoto in 1965 (Green 1967:86).



Figure 33.1. Pearl shell lure, Tairua, New Zealand.

Source: Collection Auckland Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.

Green's background in geology led him to understand very early the potential for studying exchange and interaction using the sourcing of lithic materials, an interest that he would maintain throughout his career. His work on the sources of New Zealand obsidian and characterisation of archaeological obsidian began in 1962 (Green 1962), making him a global leader in this type of analysis, which was just starting to be employed in North America and the Near East (Cann and Renfrew 1964).

Green's main interest was in settlement patterns in the wider Polynesian area. With Janet Davidson of Auckland Museum, he coordinated an extensive program of excavations in Western Samoa (Figure 33.2) over seven months in 1963–64, later editing a two-volume publication of the results (Green and Davidson 1969, 1974). The project was funded by the National Science Foundation through the Bishop Museum and was one of several projects exploring the archaeology of Polynesia (Green 1964). Many archaeology students were involved and given opportunities that enhanced their own research profiles. Some of the same individuals went on to work with Green on other later projects.



Figure 33.2. Roger Green at Falevao, Upolu, Western Samoa, 1967.

Source: Anthropology Photo Archive, University of Auckland.

Green returned to Auckland from Hawai'i in 1970 as a James Cook research fellow affiliated to Auckland Museum. It was during this time that he organised the first stage of the Southeast Solomons Research Project, co-directed by Doug Yen, ethnobotanist then based in Hawai'i. The project was a large multidisciplinary one, involving researchers in linguistics, anthropology, material culture, ethnobotany, historical research and archaeology, and was unique at that time. His experience in setting up the Samoan project, and the contract-based work in Hawai'i such as in the Makāha Valley on O'ahu, gave Green the credentials to take on the more ambitious Solomons project.

The primary goal of this project was to investigate and develop a prehistory for both sides of what Green would come to call the division between Near and Remote Oceania. This boundary was created by a 400 km water gap between the eastern end of the main Solomon Islands (Ulawa, Makira, Santa Ana) and the Reef/Santa Cruz Islands, which are the first landfall to the east in Remote Oceania. Crossing this gap was hypothesised to represent the first colonisation of Remote Oceania and the Western Pacific. Earlier finds of very distinctive Lapita pottery in the Bismarck Archipelago (see Howes, **Chapter 15**, and Spriggs, **Chapter 24**, both this volume), and in New Caledonia, Fiji (see Spriggs, **Chapter 27**, this volume) and Tonga, allowed Jack Golson (1959) to postulate that there had once been a continuous culture straddling Island Melanesia and Western Polynesia, ancestral to all the peoples of Remote Oceania including Polynesians. In the early 1970s knowledge of the Lapita sites and the chronology of movement into the Pacific was still limited, and Roger Green was determined to fill that gap.

Green and Yen – along with students and colleagues, many of whom have gone on to become eminent archaeologists – set out in the first stage (1970–72) of the Southeast Solomons Culture History Project to systematically study islands either side of the Near/Remote Oceania divide through 15 field projects (Green and Cresswell 1976). In the Eastern Solomons, Graeme Ward and Gilbert Hendren studied Ulawa, Pamela Swadling and Roger Green Santa Ana, and Roger Green and Michael Kaschko eastern Makira (San Cristobal). In each of these areas they created the foundation culture history, including the documentation of the late sixteenth-century Spanish occupation at Pamua, Makira, related to the ill-fated expeditions of Alvaro de Mendaña de Neyra, the first Europeans to sight what they called the Solomon Islands. But despite considerable fieldwork throughout these islands only a few very poor

quality plain pottery sherds, quite unlike the elaborate Lapita pottery, were recovered from excavations on Santa Ana, following initial finds some years earlier by the anthropologist William Davenport (see Katz and Boileau, **Chapter 35**, this volume). The expectations of a continuous distribution of Lapita ceramics from the Bismarcks to Remote Oceania through the eastern Solomons were not met.



Figure 33.3. Nenumbo (Site SE-RF-2), Te Motu Taiba, Reef Islands, Solomon Islands, 1971.

Source: Anthropology Photo Archive, University of Auckland.

The picture on the eastern side of the divide was remarkably different. In almost every sheltered bay and lagoon studied in the islands of the Temotu Province of the Solomons, Lapita ceramics were quickly found. As in the Eastern Solomons considerable work was devoted to development of cultural sequences, including that of Douglas Yen on Santa Cruz (Nendö) and Patrick Kirch and Paul Rosendahl in Anuta,

with Jim Allen studying the Mendaña settlement in Graciosa Bay on Santa Cruz. Green focused on excavation of large Lapita sites in the Reef Islands and on the south coast of Santa Cruz. Areal excavations at Nenumbo (SE-RF-2; Figure 33.3) in the Reef Islands revealed the first Lapita house, along with considerable quantities of obsidian derived from sources in the Bismarck Archipelago (Sheppard and Green 1991) and found in all the Lapita sites of Temotu, demonstrating direct ongoing contact with that region. Other exotic materials, including the metavolcanic rock used to make a large adze (Figure 33.4) and chert from the Eastern Solomons, suggest other connections back to the west. The Nenumbo site produced one of the first large assemblages of Lapita ceramics, including the first discovery of a complete anthropomorphic face motif (Figure 33.5), possibly representing a Lapita ancestor. Dating these sites was difficult given poor charcoal preservation. However, they provided a chronology that suggested movement into Remote Oceania began after 3200 BP.



Figure 33.4. Adze, Nenumbo (Site SE-RF-2).

Source: Anthropology Photo Archive, University of Auckland.



Figure 33.5. Anthropomorphic motif (Site SE-RF-2).

Source: Anthropology Photo Archive, University of Auckland.

The success of finding early Lapita occupation in Temotu called for further research in the region in Stage 2 (1977–79) of the project (Yen 1982). This included additional excavation of Lapita and post-Lapita sites in the Reef Islands by Green, additional fieldwork in Santa Cruz (Patrick McCoy and Paul Cleghorn), Vanikoro (Kirch), the Banks Islands (Ward, see also Litster et al., **Chapter 32**, this volume) and Anuta (Kirch), and substantial work on Tikopia (Kirch and Yen) and in the Duff Group (Foss Leach and Janet Davidson). The latter two projects led to significant monographs and well-developed culture histories of these Polynesian Outliers (Kirch and Yen 1982; Leach and Davison 2008).

This team-based research program provided one of the first models in the Pacific of an integrated anthropological approach to archaeology. This stemmed both from Green's training and commitment to American four-field anthropology (archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, biological anthropology), but also from his early training in geology and interest

in the development of archaeological science. As indicated above, this program provided early training for an influential generation of Pacific archaeologists and served as a model for the Lapita Homeland Project, which in the 1980s turned to finding Lapita origins in the Bismarck Archipelago (Allen and Gosden 1991; see also Litster et al., **Chapter 32**, this volume).

In a career spanning 50 years, Green worked across the breadth of the Pacific from New Britain in the Bismarck Archipelago of New Guinea to Hawai'i, New Zealand and Easter Island in East Polynesia, conducting or sponsoring, through students and colleagues, research in most places in between. He maintained a wide network of colleagues from whom he was always searching for the latest data to incorporate into his growing understanding of Pacific prehistory. His publication list was extensive yet contained few books, and he liked to say he was as proud of his small contributions to local societies or journals as of his top-ranked journal articles. In his later career, however, he was especially proud of his co-authored book with Patrick Kirch (Kirch and Green 2001), *Hawaiki, Ancestral Polynesia: An Essay in Historical Anthropology*, which allowed him to express his dedication to a historical anthropology; to integrate his long interest in linguistics with his archaeological knowledge; and to provide, in one place, his model of the development and growth of Polynesia, which was the core of his academic life and interest.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira from February to May 2020.

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34

Sue Bulmer and New Guinea archaeology

Glenn R. Summerhayes

Introduction

The year 1959 marked the beginning of modern archaeological excavations in Papua New Guinea. Over sixty years ago, a 26-year-old American anthropology student, Sue Bulmer, excavated the sites of Yuku and Kiowa in the Central Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Thus began the remarkable career of Sue Bulmer, a true trailblazer in our discipline. This career further blossomed when in 1968 Bulmer became a resident of Port Moresby and focused her attention on the archaeology of the south Papuan Coast. Bulmer's career will be looked at through three of her most important works: Central Highlands, Papuan South Coast, Wanelek and the Kaironk Valley.

Central New Guinea: The early days

The year 1964 marked a turning point in the archaeology of Papua New Guinea with the publication of Sue and Ralph Bulmer's 'The Prehistory of the Australian New Guinea Highlands' in the leading anthropological journal *American Anthropologist*. This landmark paper was a result of the first modern archaeological fieldwork in the area (1959–60), undertaken by Sue. It also formed the basis for her 1966 Master of Arts dissertation at the University of Auckland. The 1964 paper was based

on the excavations of Yuku and Kiowa, the former located near Lai River in Western Highlands at c. 1,250 m above sea level, the latter in the Eastern Highlands at c. 1,550 m above sea level. The excavations identified change over time and allowed the reporting of a three-phase occupation of the Highlands: Phase I showed a pre-Neolithic hunting and gathering society; Phase II indicated economic change (agriculture) and new tool kits such as waisted axes, lenticular sectioned adze-axes, and pestle-mortars; and Phase III incorporated planilateral sectioned adze-axes and the presence of pots in the eastern Highlands. These three phases later expanded into five. Of importance was the early realisation that there were no subsequent movements of people into the Highlands after initial settlement. Although no radiocarbon dates were available at the time of publication, Bulmer argued that, based on occupation in Australia, New Guinea was occupied by 12,000 years ago and probably well before that. When dates were available they confirmed an occupation at both sites beginning in the terminal Pleistocene and throughout the Holocene. The 1964 article is remarkable not only for reporting the earliest modern excavations in New Guinea, but also for its modelling of a changing past.



Figure 34.1. Waisted tool from Yuku, which Bulmer saw as part of her Phase II.

Source: Photo by Glenn Summerhayes.

Both Yuku and Kiowa contained waisted tools (Figure 34.1), which Bulmer interpreted as a hoe and as part of her Phase II. She saw these as ‘a tool kit of pre-agricultural people in the Highlands’ (Bulmer and Bulmer 1964:65), although she did not discount their later use in gardening.

Papuan Coast – late 60s/early 70s: Time to write a PhD

Bulmer became a resident of Port Moresby in January 1968 and thus began her groundbreaking archaeological research into the Port Moresby area. Her main aim was to examine cultural change focusing on prehistoric evidence different to that recorded in the 1960s. During the late 60s and until the end of 1972, Bulmer undertook survey and excavation work along the Papuan coastline as part of her PhD research at the University of Papua New Guinea. Bulmer excavated a number of important sites, including Nebira 2 (ACJ) in 1968–69, Eriama 1 (ACV) in 1969 and Taurama (AJA) in 1972. From these excavations, and also from surface collections of 67 archaeological sites from the Port Moresby region, Bulmer developed a cultural sequence of three periods based on six styles covering 2,000 years up to the ethnographic trading systems seen in the ethnographic past. She also identified a major gap in the sequence around 1200 BP, called the Papuan Hiccup, where she postulated outside influence with intrusive styles of pottery. The work laid down the basis for the archaeology of this region. She left Papua New Guinea at the end of 1972 and relocated with her husband to Auckland, New Zealand, where she finished her analysis and completed her PhD in 1978.

Three sherds (Figure 34.2) from her excavations at Taurama were selected for the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition at the Papua New Guinea Museum and Art Gallery in Port Moresby and are shown below.

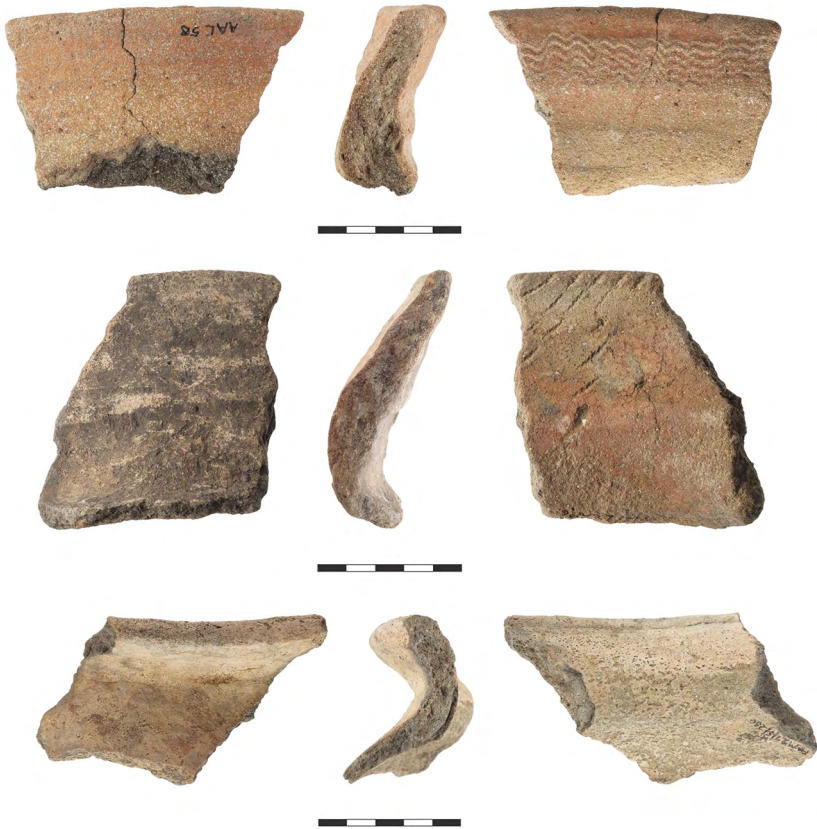


Figure 34.2. Three pot sherds from South Coast Papua, from excavation site AAL in Taurama.

Source: Photo by Glenn Summerhayes.

Wanelek – the Kaironk Valley: An excursion from her PhD research

In 1971–72 Sue Bulmer and her children joined her husband Ralph in the Kaironk Valley, located in the Bismarck Schrader Ranges, at the western end of Madang Province. Ralph Bulmer was undertaking anthropological research in this valley that he began in 1959–60. Such an opportunity allowed Sue to undertake groundbreaking archaeological fieldwork. Sue returned twice in 1972 and later in 1973–74 and excavated the site of Wanelek (JAO) (c. 1,700 m above sea level) that was discovered in a road-widening operation. The excavation of Wanelek (Figure 34.3)

demonstrated human occupation from 16,000 years ago. Finds argued to be house structures and the early mid-Holocene presence of pottery generated much debate among archaeologists. Wanelek is important as an indicator of contact between coastal communities and the interior. On the basis of pottery and also stone tool technology, Bulmer argued that Wanelek indicated early contacts with Austronesian-speaking communities on the north coast. Archaeological finds also included mid-Holocene pestles and mortars, indicating nut cracking. Also found were axe blades, which indicated trade with the Hagen tribes to the south. They were traded in from the Jimi quarries in finished form.



Figure 34.3. Sue Bulmer's excavation site at Wanelek in the Kaironk Valley, 1972.

Source: Photo with permission of Glenn Summerhayes.

Sue Bulmer described these axes in her 1964 paper 'Prehistoric Stone Implements from the New Guinea Highlands', published in the journal *Oceania*:

The Kaironk blades are all nearly rectangular in cross-section, with only slightly curved faces, and are all ungripped, almost completely polished, and have gradual symmetrical bevelling on both faces with only final sharpening from one face. The blades are thickest at or near the poll, and have markedly curved cutting edges.

One blade is shaped by sawing along its sides, and others could have been but are so completely polished that no traces are visible. Likewise, it is not possible to know the character of the original flaking or shaping from these well-finished blades. All are made of contact metamorphosed argillites and tuffaceous greywackes (petrographic groups II-III), materials which were probably available only from a limited number of sources. (Bulmer 1964a:250)

Objects from Bulmer's work in the Kaironk Valley selected for the exhibition include a tanged blade (Figure 34.4), an imported Jimi axe (Figure 34.5) and a broken pestle (Figure 34.6).



Figure 34.4. Tanged blade from Wanelek.

Source: Photo by Glenn Summerhayes.



Figure 34.6. Pestle from the Kaironk Valley.

Source: Photo by Glenn Summerhayes.



Figure 34.5. Jimi axe from Kaironk Valley.

Source: Photo by Glenn Summerhayes.

Conclusion

Sue Bulmer was a pioneering archaeologist unravelling the past of Papua New Guinea. Her groundbreaking work in the Central Highlands, the Kaironk Valley and the Papuan coast around Port Moresby laid the fundamental framework for subsequent modelling of these regions' pasts.

Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery in April 2020.

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35

Then and now: W.H. Davenport's 1966 archaeological expedition to Santa Ana with new data on the plainware pottery

Adria H. Katz and Marie-Claude Boileau

Introduction

When William H. Davenport, curator of the Oceanian Section of the Penn Museum (the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA), went in 1964–66 to the islands of Santa Ana and Santa Catalina in the Solomon Islands to do 13 months of ethnographic fieldwork, he noticed ‘a number of promising archaeological sites’ and proceeded to excavate several of them on Guadalcanal and Santa Ana (Davenport 1968:31, 1972:165). Excavation costs on Santa Ana were met by the Penn Museum and the materials recovered came to the museum (Davenport 1972:166 footnote 1, 183 footnote 15). The Penn Museum Oceanian collections are almost entirely ethnographic, and Davenport’s Santa Ana expedition was one of only two expeditions to the Pacific with an archaeological component ever sponsored by the museum. The first was a field trip to Western Australia in 1930 by D.S. Davidson, then a member of the Penn

Department of Anthropology and later curator of the Oceanian Section, which included an archaeological reconnaissance of the Katherine River – Victoria River region (Davidson 1935:145).

Davenport noted that ‘one of the most rewarding results of these small excavations was the discovery of a coarse, friable red pottery in the cave sites’ (Davenport 1968:3). Pottery was unknown on the island at that time, and ‘the people did not even recognize it as something man-made’ (Davenport 1972:182–183). More than 50 years later, Davenport’s unexpected discovery of plainware sherds in the Santa Ana rock-shelters remains unique to this area of the Solomon Islands (Walter and Sheppard 2009, 2017). To contribute new data to the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition on the history of archaeology in Oceania, petrographic analysis was conducted on four sherds excavated by Davenport at Feru II and Rate. Preliminary results link the ceramic objects to the nearby islands, probably San Cristobal, either as finished objects or clays brought to Santa Ana.

Davenport’s excavations on Santa Ana

Davenport’s excavations in the Solomon Islands began at the Vatulumu Posovi cave site on Guadalcanal (Davenport et al. n.d.) and continued on Santa Ana, where he excavated one midden (Maworo, near Gupuna Village) and three shallow coastline caves (Feru I and II on the south coast, and Rate on the west coast). On property near Gupuna Village belonging to Geoffrey Kuper, Davenport noted several middens ‘associated with previous and present settlement areas’. He could not excavate the largest and most interesting-looking ones because he had no proper earth-moving equipment, but with Kuper’s support and local labour he cut test trenches through one small midden (Maworo) (Davenport 1972:165). Geoffrey Kuper was the son of German planter Heinrich/Henry Kuper, who came to Santa Ana in 1912 and married Augusta Kafagamurironga, daughter of a paramount chief. Kuper reported hearing stories from his mother about previous habitation in the area: ‘according to Mrs. Henry Kuper, a Solomon Islander who was born on Santa Ana, the midden is believed to have been deposited by a small settlement of people who lived there not long before the establishment of Gupuna Village’ (Davenport

1972:169), which ‘seems to have occurred no more than a century ago. Some elderly informants place it in their own parents’ generation’ (Davenport 1972:168).

During the week of 6–12 May 1966 (Penn Museum Archives [PMA], William Davenport Papers. Guadalcanal & San Cristobal Islands – Santa Ana Excavations 1966), Davenport had one central longitudinal and three crosswise 1 m wide trenches cut through the midden and the excavated soil screened through 1/4-inch wire mesh (Davenport 1972:169). Faunal remains recovered included three dog teeth, pig bones, fish bones and shellfish – among which were 18 kinds considered edible and five (including the two considered inedible) used as materials for artefacts (Davenport 1972:169–170). Artefacts found included fragments of men’s *Tridacna* arm rings; fragments of women’s *Trochus* arm rings; pieces of *Nautilus* and *Conus* shell inlay (one of each); an unfinished *Trochus* shell lure for a composite bonito fishhook; a piece of black-lip pearl shell (possible scraper or peeler); 56 chalcedony flakes (finger-held blades); and more than 96 pieces of volcanic stone, some blackened by fire and all apparently fragmented by heat, probably from stones used in earth ovens (Davenport 1972:169–172).

The following week, during 13–24 May, Davenport excavated a shoreline cave on the south coast of Santa Ana (Feru I) (PMA William Davenport Papers). Feru I is a shallow cave, an undercutting made by the sea at the base of a limestone terrace (Figure 35.1). At the front, Davenport observed a volcanic stone, about 50 cm in diameter with an artificially pitted surface, an anvil on which Canarium almonds had been cracked (Davenport 1972:172). Excavation was by artificial strata. Below 150 cm, evidence of human use or occupation was ‘meager’ and below a depth of 200 cm evidence of human use ceased (Davenport 1972:174). Later that year, in November, Davenport excavated a second, nearby cave (Feru II). Feru II is another shallow cave, about 25 m west of Feru I. It, too, was excavated by artificial strata. All traces of human use ceased at about 216 cm (Davenport 1972:175). Then, on 17–19 November, Davenport excavated a third shallow cave, Rate, on the west side of Santa Ana, ‘about two and one-half miles walking distance along the shore from the Feru sites’ (Davenport 1972:178).



Figure 35.1. Excavation of the Feru I cave site, 18 May 1966.

Source: Penn Museum.

Material recovered from the three caves included fish and pig bones, one possible dog bone, 24 species of edible shellfish, crab claws (some charred), charred coral (possible evidence of burning to produce lime for betel), *Canarium* almond shells, chalcedony flakes (what inhabitants call *neki*), split and cracked volcanic stones (fragments of oven stones), a piece of black-lip pearl shell (possible scraper), three possible whetstones, water-worn pebbles (possible hammerstones), fragments of a *Tridacna* coconut grater blade, two fragments of women's *Trochus* arm rings, a fragment of a man's *Tridacna* shell nose septum skewer, a fragment of a man's pearl shell nose tip ornament and three pieces of shell cut for inlay (Davenport 1972:169–180). The Feru II and Rate sites also yielded, in the lowest levels of the excavations, fragments of pottery (Davenport 1972:176–177, 179).

Davenport suggested that the Santa Ana cave sites 'were probably used only as temporary shelters for fishing and marine collecting along the extensive reefs that ring the island', noting that:

the midden site yielded the same array of objects as were found in caves, plus a few more personal and household artifacts more closely associated with settled life in a hamlet (as contrasted with the specialized, temporary use of the caves). (Davenport 1968:31)

In fact, however, the cave sites yielded most of the same type of artefacts found in the midden, including fragments of women's *Trochus* arm rings, pieces of shell inlay, possible scrapers of black-lip pearl shell, chalcedony flakes, fragments of oven stones and whetstones. Found in the midden but not in any of the caves were only fragments of men's *Tridacna* arm rings and an unfinished *Trochus* shell bonito lure. And the caves yielded 'personal and household artifacts' associated with settled life such as chalcedony flakes, whetstones and hammerstones, fragments of coconut grater blades, stone adze blades and pottery not found in the midden. As Pamela Swadling (1976:127) put it: 'Coastal fishermen, seafood gatherers, storm refugees or recluses are hardly likely to have produced the large range of artefacts found.'

Many of the archaeological artefacts recovered by Davenport on Santa Ana have counterparts in his ethnographic collection from Santa Ana, Santa Catalina and the adjacent Star Harbour region of San Cristobal, objects that illuminate the cultural significance of the corresponding prehistoric examples. Pieces of *Nautilus* and *Conus* shell shaped like those found archaeologically are inlaid in sacred bonito canoes, caskets for the bones of the honoured dead, serving bowls for commemorative feasts and individual communion bowls (Figure 35.2). A rare man's nose ornament, of a type a fragment of which was found at one of the archaeological sites, was given to Davenport by a Gupuna man who had kept it as a memento of the man for whom it was made, an esteemed forebear. Such nose ornaments were worn in the recent past only on important social occasions by 'men of great prestige' (Davenport 1968:19) (Figure 35.3).



Figure 35.2. Triangular *Nautilus* shell inlay from the Rate cave site (67-33-62, above left), semicircular *Conus* shell inlay from the Maworo midden (67-33-16, above right) and ethnographic ritual bowl with both kinds of inlay (67-5-7, below).

Source: Penn Museum.



Figure 35.3. Ethnographic men's nose ornament (67-5-85, left) and archaeological fragment of similar ornament from the Rate cave site (67-33-101, right).

Source: Penn Museum.

The plainware sherds

Recovered from the cave excavations were a rim sherd and six body sherds from Feru II and a neck sherd from Rate (Figure 35.4). The fact that sherds similar in colour and texture were found at two sites at some distance from each other led Davenport to conclude that ‘pottery was in general use on the island’ (Davenport 1972:183). Like the chalcedony flakes, which, the inhabitants suggested, had to be imported from San Cristobal (or more likely Ulawa: Green 1976:144), and the red whetstone found at Feru I, which Davenport characterised in his field notes as being ‘from San Cristobal’ (PMA Davenport Papers), sherds from the Feru sites could not have been locally sourced, but ‘could be placed within the mineralogy and geographic nature of San Cristobal’ (Swadling 1976:127).



Figure 35.4. Rim sherd from the Feru II cave site (67-33-81, right) and neck sherd from the Rate cave site (67-33-96 and 67-33-97, left).

Source: Penn Museum.

Recent scholarship has expanded the known distribution of historical and archaeological pottery within the Solomon Islands (Carter et al. 2012), but the Santa Ana plainware sherds remain unlike other assemblages (Swadling 1976; Walter and Sheppard 2017). And to date, no Lapita pottery has been found in the Central Solomons (Walter and Sheppard 2017:60–64). Radiocarbon dates of the plainware sherds remain problematic. Early radiocarbon samples, first from Davenport’s excavated context and then from Roger Green’s re-excavation of Feru II (see Sheppard and Furey, **Chapter 33**, this volume), have provided very different dates. A charcoal sample collected from the level from which the sherds were recovered at Feru II between 70 and 130 cm was dated to 1275±105 BP (Davenport 1972:178). A charcoal sample from the level from which the sherd was recovered at Rate (Sample D, I-2882) was dated as 1910±135 BP (Davenport 1972:179–180). Subsequently, Roger Green revisited Feru II and revised the stratigraphy, dividing it into upper and

lower levels separated by a layer of sterile sand (Black and Green 1975:30; Swadling 1976). He collected 18 additional sherds (Swadling 1976:127) and came up with much earlier dates for the lowest, pottery-bearing deposit. Samples from this layer were dated to 3250 ± 70 BP and 3140 ± 70 BP, indicating that the pottery was much older (Black and Green 1975; Kirch and Rosendahl 1976:235).

To investigate further the Santa Ana sherds excavated by Davenport, we conducted petrographic analysis to determine, if possible, their provenance. Santa Ana's geology is essentially composed of Pleistocene reef limestone (Coulson 1985; Geological map of the British Solomon Islands, 1:1,000,000; Petterson et al. 1999), with volcanic rocks outcropping in a small area on the northern part of the island (Davenport 1972:166; Green 1978:4). According to Davenport (1972:166), the shallow soils are sandy and poor. It seems therefore unlikely that clay, or potting clay, was readily available on Santa Ana for ceramic production of any scale.

Tempering practices in Oceania have been extensively studied by thin-section petrography on prehistoric pottery (Chiu et al. 2016; Dickinson 1978, 1998, 2001; Dickinson et al. 2013; Rye 1976). Dickinson's research on Oceanian tempers is supported by hundreds of samples from island groups in the southern and western Pacific Ocean (Dickinson 1998:263). The lack of good potting clays in the Solomon Islands seems to have led the ancient potters to mix in coarse inorganic additives (i.e. tempers) in their clay paste preparation. Since calcareous inclusions from the reef limestone were commonly used in Oceania but are not diagnostic of a specific location (Dickinson 2006), the focus of the petrographic research has been on the silicate tempers, such as beach sand, alluvial sands and crushed rock, which are more diagnostic. These tempers are characteristic of specific geological settings within an island and between islands, making thin-section petrography the best analytical technique to source archaeological ceramics from Solomon Islands.

Petrographic analysis was conducted at the Penn Museum's Center for the Analysis of Archaeological Materials on four plainware ceramic sherds, including a rim with a serially incised lip from Feru II and a neck sherd from Rate. Preliminary results show that the four sherds can be divided into two distinct petrofabric groups based on the mineralogy of the coarse fraction: (1) Rate Petrofabric, a single-sample petrofabric characterised by calcareous sand temper from reef detritus; and (2) Feru Petrofabric with three samples characterised by weathered volcanic sand and other silicate inclusions (Figure 35.5).

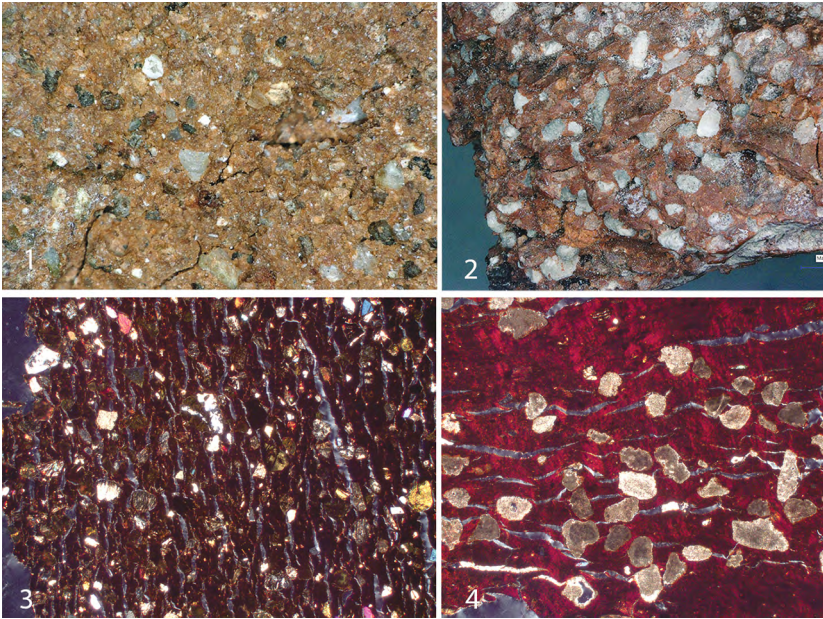


Figure 35.5. (1) 67-33-81 surface and (2) microphotograph in XPL (cross-polarised light) of Feru Petrofabric; (3) 67-33-96 surface and (4) microphotograph in XPL of Rate Petrofabric.

Source: Penn Museum.

The single-sample Rate Petrofabric has well-sorted inclusions with a bimodal grain-size distribution. The coarse fraction is characterised by predominant (over 70 per cent of total coarse fraction inclusions) micritic limestone clasts and rare (2–0.5 per cent) inclusions of fibrous amphibole, pyroxenes, iron oxide opaques, plagioclase feldspars and weathered volcanic rock fragments. It is moderately porous with predominant planar voids strongly oriented parallel to the vessel's wall. This type of microstructure is often observed in petrofabrics of pots formed with a beating technique. The groundmass is bright red to red with strong optical activity and bi-strial birefringent fabrics, suggesting a low firing temperature. The Rate Petrofabric may have been produced on Santa Ana based on the non-calcareous mineralogy derived from volcanic sources. However, the calcareous temper is not diagnostic and the overall mineralogy could match sand tempers from other islands.

The Feru Petrofabric is moderately sorted with a unimodal grain-size distribution and has a coarse fraction characterised by frequent (c. 50 per cent) very weathered volcanic inclusions, along with few (5–15 per cent)

chert, pyroxenes, plagioclase feldspars (both fresh and altered), and iron oxide opaques, less than 2 per cent argillite, mono- and polycrystalline quartz, and traces (<0.5 per cent) of amphibole and chlorite inclusions. It is a fairly porous petrofabric with elongated voids strongly oriented parallel to the vessel's walls, suggesting the pots were made using a beating technique. The rim may have been coiled or attached using a different technique since the pores are equant and randomly oriented. The groundmass is dark brown with weak optical activity and a speckled birefringent fabric. Together these observations suggest a short firing at relatively low firing temperatures. It is also quite possible that the three sherds belonged to the same pot.

The Feru Petrofabric does not match Santa Ana's geology and has a mineralogy consistent with the surficial geology of San Cristobal. The basement sequence of the island is represented by basaltic lithologies interbedded by limestone, basalt breccias, cherts and sandstones, while the cover sequence comprises dacite, basalt, sandstone and siltstone (Petterson et al. 2009). According to Dickinson's division of Oceania into five main petrographic regional temper provinces (Dickinson 1998; Dickinson and Shutler 1971, 2000), Santa Ana, in relation to its major island San Cristobal, belongs to the 'Dissected Orogen' temper province (Dickinson and Shutler 2000:Figure 3). Our results align with Dickinson's analysis of five Feru sherds from Roger Green's re-excavation (Dickinson 1978). The five samples represent four different temper groups, two of which are calcareous, and sample S1 is most like our Rate single-sample petrofabric. One sample, 'DAV' (Dickinson 1978:3), has the same inclusion types (volcanic, pyroxene, quartz and chert) and abundance as the Feru Petrofabric. Dickinson, who also analysed sherds from the Santa Cruz island group, contrasted the mafic inclusions of the Feru tempers, characterised by pyroxene minerals, to those of the Santa Cruz tempers that are characterised by abundant hornblende and olivine (Dickinson 1978:4–5) and concluded that the 'DAV' sample was not from Santa Cruz. We can further eliminate Choiseul and Bougainville based on the ongoing petrographic analysis of pots from these islands (part of the ethnographic collection at the Penn Museum), which exhibit different types of volcanic sand tempers (i.e. abundance of hornblende amphibole and plagioclase feldspars).

In conclusion, but without comparative ceramic material from San Cristobal, we tentatively, like Dickinson for his 'DAV' Feru sample, link the volcanic sand tempered Feru sherds to San Cristobal, and perhaps

Ulawa, which has the same surficial geology as San Cristobal. Roger Green also connected the communities of Santa Ana to those of San Cristobal based on similarities in ‘portable artifacts’ as evidenced by his excavation at Na Mughā, a Late Prehistoric site in the Star Harbour region, San Cristobal (Green 1976). The new petrographic data presented in this chapter fit well with other studies and suggest that the inhabitants of the Feru II and Rate rock-shelters most likely acquired pottery, along with other goods and raw materials, on nearby volcanic islands.

Acknowledgements

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Objects highlighted in this chapter were on display at the Penn Museum from August 2020 to December 2021.

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36

Conclusion: Highlights from the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition

Tristen Jones, Hilary Howes and Matthew Spriggs

The *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition opened to the public in the respective participating institutions in March 2020. The geographic scope of the objects installed for display spanned from Canberra, Australia, to Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, from Cologne, Germany, to Canterbury, New Zealand, and from Honolulu, Hawai‘i, to Honiara, Solomon Islands. While *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* was being installed in gallery spaces, a novel coronavirus – COVID-19 – was spreading like wildfire through communities across the globe, closing public collecting institutions to visitors and wreaking devastation on the health and livelihoods of millions of people. In many instances the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* displays were only able to be opened to the public for some weeks, in other instances the exhibit’s display period was extended or delayed into the future. Indeed, the closure of public collecting institutions and public spaces quickly extended to entire lockdowns of all but essential services of entire towns and cities, including their universities, in the UK, Europe, New Zealand, Australia and the USA. This resulted in significant delays in the production of this catalogue and the postponement of Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP)-affiliated events such as the *Histories of Archaeology* conference.¹

¹ The *Histories of Archaeology* conference was held at The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, 22–25 November 2021 as an online event.

One of the main benefits of the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition format was that the displays dispersed across the world would form a combined exhibition presented online. The exhibition website – www.uncoveringpacificpasts.org – showcases the objects that were displayed in the participating institutions, and this catalogue expands upon the website in telling the objects' stories and contextualising them historically. The catalogue publisher, ANU Press, is a peer reviewed open-access university press, enabling free, unlimited downloadable content to interested viewers and readers. Accessibility to the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* object stories, and to the broader topic of histories of archaeology, was a primary objective of the CBAP Project. As is evident in the physical movement of objects from communities to foreign lands, itself a hallmark of the colonial past of many of the displayed objects themselves, in many instances the cultural custodians of the objects have little access to their removed cultural heritage in the present day. The format of the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition was one way to remedy that. Other ways have encompassed community consultations (see Appendix) and the inclusion of Indigenous voices by some of the participating museums in their *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* displays (Figure 36.1).² The responsibility to engage with collections' cultural custodians and the pivot to online interactive content in museum practice are of course not new, but in the case of *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* they have provided a vital platform to engage not only with local Indigenous communities but the wider public in the COVID-19 era.

Archaeological materials often represent a significant component of the collections held by museums. Unfortunately, these collections also represent some of the objects least likely to be exhibited for display. In the case of the mortar and pestle and carved stone from the Papuan Official Collection at the National Museum of Australia, their inclusion in *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* constitutes the first time since their collection around 100 years ago that these objects have been displayed to the public (Figure 36.2; see also Edmundson, **Chapter 21**, this volume). Given that this collection represents one of the very few major national collections of material culture amassed by the Australian Government in its colonial administration of international territories, this is an important contribution of *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* in highlighting to the general Australian public ways in which our nation has actively engaged in colonial collecting enterprises.

2 For the personal reflections of five Indigenous scholars from Oceania on the object displays at the Harvard University Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology visit: www.peabody.harvard.edu/uncovering-pacific-pasts.




Figure 36.1. *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* display showing ‘Voices from the Pacific’ at the Harvard University Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA. This exhibition was on display from March 2020 to March 2021.

Source: Ingrid Ahlgren.



UNCOVERING PACIFIC PASTS
HISTORIES OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Uncovering Pacific Pasts

Objects have many tales to tell: stories of who made them, who used them and who traded them. *Uncovering Pacific Pasts: Histories of Archaeology in Oceania* explores ideas, people and networks at the centre of the development of Pacific archaeology.

The National Museum of Australia has collaborated with the Australian National University to exhibit objects from the Papuan Official Collection. This collection is made up of cultural material acquired by government officers in the Australian-administered Territory of Papua during the early 20th century.






Figure 36.2. Digital object label for the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* display showcasing objects from the Papuan Official Collection at the National Museum of Australia, Canberra, Australia. These objects were on display from February to July 2020.

Source: Laura Cook.

Additionally, although not verifiable in museum records (particularly challenging due to the patchy nature of museum records from the turn of twentieth century or before), museum curatorial staff consider it highly likely that the majority of the objects and archival material displayed in *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* at, among others, the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum – Cultures of the World, Cologne, the Museum am Rothenbaum – Cultures and Arts of the World (MARKK), Hamburg, and the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, are also being displayed for the very first time. As Jeanette Kokott, curator of Oceania Collections at MARKK, reflects:

I find it fascinating that this project directs attention to aspects of collections which until now had mostly gone unnoticed within the framework of prevailing research questions and exhibition topics. (Jeanette Kokott pers. comm. 2020)

One of the main highlights of the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition is that it has shone a light on the value of archaeological collections – their usefulness in informing disciplinary histories and most importantly, the interest that local Indigenous communities have in re-engaging with archaeological objects and the places those objects have come from. For the community from Rakival Mission on Watom Island, the display of the Lapita potsherds at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum – Cultures of the World, Cologne, Germany (Figure 36.3), and the historical mystery that surrounds the Lapita sherds from Museums Victoria provide an avenue for reconnecting with the tangible heritage of physical space that is their current site of worship and renewing social collective memories focused on their heritage. The possibility of re-engaging with objects that connect people with their ancestors is a powerful and important one for current Oceanic peoples. As Tarisi Vunidilo states in a poem that reflects on the Fijian *liku* (skirt) exhibited at *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* in the Harvard University Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, it is vital to ‘Na kenai tukutuku meu wasea vei ira na makubuda me ra kua ni guilecava na maqosa ni ligadra na buda / share [these objects] with our grandchildren of tomorrow so they must not forget the work of our grandmothers’.³

3 Video copyright President and Fellows of Harvard College. Featuring Fijian *liku*. Gift of the Smithsonian Institution, 1867. Copyright Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, President and Fellows of Harvard College, PM 67-24-70/659.



Figure 36.3. *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum – Cultures of the World, Cologne, featuring Lapita potsherds excavated on Watom Island by Father Otto Meyer and local assistants. This exhibition was on display from March to August 2020.

Source: Oliver Lueb.

In addition to the object stories told here, some astute readers will have noticed that there are additional objects present online for which there are no written chapters. Several museums and collecting institutions decided to mount displays but were unable to contribute chapters within the catalogue timeframe, some examples being the South Australian Museum (Figure 36.4) and the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (Figure 36.5). Other participants sought to engage students as a way of facilitating learning about the history of archaeology, another main focus of the CBAP Project. A notable highlight includes the animation of drawings from William Davenport's ethnographic collection to complement their display at The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. During his fieldwork Davenport collaborated with several local male artists who provided him with beautiful drawings and recounted the myth of Karemanua. Students from the University of Pennsylvania Spring 2020 Fine Arts Department animation program have turned these drawings into an animated retelling of the myth.⁴

⁴ To view the animation visit: vimeo.com/404053459/677a7906f9.

This creative adaptation of archival materials showcases how objects and archives can be reimagined and reinterpreted not only by their cultural custodians but also by younger generations. This reimagining of objects creates multiplicities of object stories. The diversity of object stories in *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* not only illustrates changing interpretations of objects from original collectors to later scholars but also demonstrates the changing methods and approaches of archaeologists to the material past. The University of Pennsylvania Museum's petrographic analysis of Davenport's plainware sherds (Katz and Boileau, **Chapter 35**, this volume) and the use of geochemical analysis on the *Pandora* finds (Mann, **Chapter 3**, this volume) to answer provenance questions are good examples of how an object's reimagining can be underpinned by modern archaeological methods.



Figure 36.4. *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition at the South Australian Museum. These objects were on display from March 2020 to August 2021.

Source: Stephen Zagala.



Figure 36.5. Vianney Atpatoun, a retired employee of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre/Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta (VKS), in front of the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition on display at the VKS in Port Vila from November 2020. An extension to the current exhibition is planned for display from early in 2023.

Source: Matthew Spriggs.

Another major aim of *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* and the CBAP Project more generally has been to highlight the significant contributions of historically marginalised voices in the histories of archaeology and anthropology and the important roles they have played in our fields of study. The displays at the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles – Te Fare Manaha, Puna'auia, Tahiti, and the Mana Gallery, Rapa Nui (with future exhibitions planned at the Museo Antropológico P. Sebastián Englert – Museo de Rapa Nui, the Fiji Museum and the Vanuatu National Museum), touch on the important contribution of Indigenous scholars and interlocutors to Pacific archaeological research.⁵ Much more work remains to be done. Since the CBAP Project's official conclusion on 30 March 2020, former CBAP postdoctoral fellow Dr Emilie Dotte-Sarout has embarked on a new research project focusing on some of the hidden figures of our

⁵ Such contributions are discussed particularly in Brooks, **Chapter 9**; Howes, **Chapter 16**; Van Tilburg, **Chapter 18**; Spriggs, **Chapter 28**; and Dotte-Sarout et al., **Chapter 30**, all this volume.

history. Her *Pacific Matildas: Finding the Women in the History of Pacific Archaeology* project aims to investigate the scientific lives of the first women who conducted archaeological work in Oceania, and will document their hidden contributions, ensuring their stories and legacies become part of broader narratives in the history of science.⁶

We hope that the object stories showcased in the *Uncovering Pacific Pasts* exhibition, this catalogue and the other published research resulting from the CBAP Project ignite an enthusiasm for future scholarship on the history of archaeology in the Pacific. Many stories still remain to be told.

⁶ See: www.uwa.edu.au/projects/pacific-matildas-finding-the-women-in-the-history-of-pacific-archaeology.

Appendix: Statement by Rakival people

Rakival Mission, Watom Island Meeting (1 March 2020)

1. The meeting involved Watom Local-Level Government (LLG) President, Enos Pulumen; Rakival Ward Member, Mr Pentecost Lome; about 35 members of the St. Michael Parish Catholic Mission, Rakival and Kepas Paon (facilitator/recorder);
2. Ward Councilor Lome introduced discussion and explained the request by Kepas Paon to seek further information on their knowledge and feelings about the Lapita findings at Rakival. He further acknowledged from his own understanding the work of Father Otto Meyer and other archaeologists who carried out studies at Rakival. Although not actually seeing Fr. Meyer in person, the link of the Lapita Culture to Watom Island may have never been known without his efforts. Lome had in his possession a copy of a volume of “New Zealand Journal of Archaeology” Volume 20, 1998, which was left by the Otago NZ University team who carried out studies at Rakival in the 2000s, which he encouraged his people to read and familiarize about the work on Lapita culture;
3. Watom Is. Local-Level Government President, Enos Pulumen urged the people to learn more of the findings and understand its value to the heritage of Watom Island. Development initiatives on the island must incorporate this heritage to ensure that it is protected for future generations. Apart from Lapita, Rakival is strategically located to host proposed infrastructure that will benefit the whole island. Perhaps there will come a time when the writings of foreign archaeologists and museums will be a resource for educational material about Lapita culture by our own local writers;

4. Kepas Paon simply informed the meeting that the people behind the Lapita exhibition (thru Professor Mathew Spriggs) at Melbourne Museum want to understand the people's feelings about the discovery of Lapita culture on the island and whether they remember any stories about Fr. Otto Meyer. This information would be important to make the exhibition more locality authentic. Kepas explained the important role of Fr. Meyer and his interest in discovering and preserving the Lapita find at Rakival for future generations. He hoped that they would later be available for photographs for the exhibition;
5. All who spoke remember the archaeological excavations that took place well after Fr. Otto Meyer's death. They remember his residence which was in a dilapidated state until its removal. A memorial to the late missionary was installed and during relocation when the new church was built the monument was lost. The new church is actually built over the old church where Fr. Otto Meyer served;
6. The Rakival Council Member and his predecessor both raised support to protect the excavation pits and its contents to remain the property of Rakival, and to be preserved for those museums that provide a house for Lapita safe keeping;
7. The people value the work that Fr. Otto Meyer invested into the Lapita discovery and for recognizing its historical value that the people themselves would have missed. The people would love to have a memorial built to this innovative missionary for advanced knowledge of the subject matter, and that none of their forefathers would have insight into;
8. Such a monument should include a small museum on the mission where Otto Meyer served that will foster further study if necessary into the extent of Lapita culture on the island and its related connections in the world. Their efforts to do this in the past have been in vain despite promised help from government authorities. The current local government executive is exploring ways to support the people's wishes according to the representatives present;
9. They are also inquisitive as to how Lapita culture relates to them as a people on Watom Island, who as a community speak a unique dialect of the Tolai language from other Watom Island villages. It is of course changing now due to inter-community influences;
10. They asked 'How much of our past is still yet to be revealed after this initial discovery?'

Statement by Rakival People



Figure A.1. Some of St Michael's Church, Rakival, parishioners posing in front of the church where Fr Otto Meyer served as a missionary. This building is built over the old concrete slab of Fr Otto Meyer's church.

Source: Photo by Kepas Paon.

We the people of St. Michael Parish, Rakival (referred to in Lapita writings as Reber-Rakival) and the people of Watom Island are the proud host of the Lapita find on our land.

We acknowledge the contribution of Father Otto Meyer, who alone understood the significance of the findings and whom without his efforts the Lapita link to our island would have never been made known to the world.

We are also intrigued to learn more about what remains unrevealed of our island that may add value to the search of knowledge to serve our future generations and humanity generally in understanding our past. More effort on our part with support from our stakeholders is needed to expose more information about Lapita culture to the new and future generations so that they may value it more than what their past generation may have not appreciated or known of the past.

We look forward to future collaboration with Melbourne Museum, Papua New Guinea Museum, and other hosts of evidence of Lapita Culture in revealing more knowledge about it.



Figure A.2. Watom Island Local Council President Mr Enos ToPulumen (in blue cap) and Rakival Ward Councillor Mr Penticost ToLome (in white shirt), showing the *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* Volume 20, 1998, along with some interested parishioners.

Source: Photo by Kepas Paon.



Figure A.3. The beachfront of St Michael’s Church, Rakival, Watom Island. Two excavation sites are just a few feet from the church.

Source: Photo by Kepas Paon.



Figure A.4. Parishioners laPhilomena Lome, laRegina Pidik, laResina Ludwik and laSamuelsia Okor (left to right) outside on the church lawn.

Source: Photo by Kepas Paon.



Figure A.5. Parishioners laTheresia Talil, laDorothy Bosko, laPhilomena Lome and laKavivil Kulap (left to right) outside on the church lawn.

Source: Photo by Kepas Paon.



Figure A.6. Parishioners, led by Sammy To Iguna, standing over one of the excavation sites a few feet from the church building.

Source: Photo by Kepas Paon.

The editors would like to express their thanks to Kepas Paon for facilitating the community meeting at Rakival and for his interest and support of the Uncovering Pacific Pasts project.

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