THE USES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE FORENSIC METHOD IN ASSESSING MARMADUKE TUNSTALL'S COLLECTIONS AND HAWAIIAN WICKER HEADS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis uses a method termed 'forensic', which parallels the procedure used within courtrooms for assessing evidence. It builds up a picture by assembling evidence and assessing its truth or otherwise; it is an approach that privileges facts rather than theoretical systems. The forensic method is applied to data assembled concerning Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790) of Wycliffe, North Yorkshire and his ethnographic and natural history collections. Tunstall was a wealthy amateur scientist and a collector of natural history specimens, antiquities and other artefacts. Part of his collection survives in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.

A biography of Tunstall was compiled using both primary sources and previously published biographies. Further insight into Tunstall's life and interests was provided by a series of letters mainly from him to his half-brother William Constable.

All of the surviving material from Marmaduke Tunstall's natural history collection in the Hancock Museum was documented, and the history of the overall *corpus* of material was analysed to account for the elements now missing from it.

The major surviving part of Tunstall's collection is the ethnographic material, and this includes an assemblage of artefacts from the Pacific Islands (mainly, Polynesia) that is of international importance. Several are object types of extreme rarity, and one of the rarest is a wicker head made in Hawaii. Although there is no previous consensus as to what Hawaiian wicker heads represent, it has long been realised that they were items of extremely high socio-religious status in Hawaii prior to the 19th century.

A major part of the overall project was to address the question as to what was the function of Hawaiian wicker heads. In order to do this, they were placed in a broad context of Polynesian religious and social practices, using mainly published works on the history, geography and anthropology of Polynesia, and especially Hawaii.

The thesis, therefore, comprises two contrasting but complementary parts. The first builds a concise picture of the life and correspondence of Marmaduke Tunstall, of the fate of his collections, and documents all surviving items from his natural history and ethnographic collections. The second part presents an extended discussion centred on Hawaiian wicker heads.

The success of the forensic method in addressing the two major elements of the project was assessed. It was found that the portions that relate closely to the experience of the investigator (especially in Part One) were satisfactorily resolved. However, some of the issues concerning the social and religious practices of 18th century Polynesia were not only complex but also involved processes and systems that were far removed from the experience of the investigator: the forensic method was found to be of limited use in resolving these issues.

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ONE : INTRODUCTION

This study looks at the life of an 18th century English naturalist, Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790) of Wycliffe, North Yorkshire and at surviving material from his collections. Tunstall was a wealthy amateur scientist and a collector of natural history specimens, antiquities and other artefacts. Part of his collection survives in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Investigation began in 1995, when twenty-five bird specimens from Marmaduke Tunstall's collection were rediscovered in the Hancock Museum. Most of these specimens had been figured by Thomas Bewick in 1791 (Jessop, 1999a). A project was initiated to document all of the surviving material from Marmaduke Tunstall's natural history collection in the Hancock Museum and to discover, if possible, the fate of the missing specimens. At about the same time another researcher (M.J. Boyd), acting independently, discovered several manuscripts at Burton Constable Hall in East Yorkshire that shed light on the life and activities of Marmaduke Tunstall. A joint study resulted in papers on Tunstall's life (Boyd & Jessop, 1998) and his correspondence (Jessop & Boyd, 1999).

It was then realized that an important collection of 18th century ethnographic material, partly originating in Tunstall's collection, also survives in the Hancock Museum. This material was incorporated into the scope of the project and a detailed curatorial report was prepared (see Appendix 3). One of the artefacts is a Hawaiian wicker head, which is one of the rarest types of object in the 18th century collections and following discussion with the Anthropology Department of Durham University, this led to an analysis of Hawaiian wicker heads.

This analysis was carried out by placing them in a broad context of Polynesian religious and social practices. To do this, published sources were used to assemble a body of evidence that could be tested for consistency.

Consequently, this thesis now comprises two contrasting but complementary parts. In the first, a picture is built up of Marmaduke Tunstall and his achievements. Sources include manuscripts plus published material that is readily available in libraries in Northeast England. The subject is close enough to the experience of a 20th century Western academic that there have been few problems in contextualising the material. A historical review of related literature shows that there have not been major paradigmatic shifts in the past two centuries that affect the way most historians of natural history would approach the project. Although the curatorial assessment of the collection required intense attention to detail, it was not necessary to fit it into a framework of critical or cultural theory (such as postmodernism, feminism, structuralism, relativism) in order to make it succeed.

In the second part, a picture is built up of the use and history of Hawaiian wicker heads. The source material is almost all contained in published work, much of it recent re-publication of otherwise rare 18th- and 19th century literature. The vast majority of references were purchased from the U.S.A.: they are not readily available in libraries in England. The subject is unfamiliar to most Western academics and therefore needed extensive recontextualisation. A historical review of the related literature showed that there have been several major developments - paradigmatic shifts - within the past two centuries in the way that Polynesians and their societies have been viewed by outsiders. There was a need for intense attention to the consistencies of evidence but this need was generated by the approach adopted.

The material is presented in two sections, corresponding to the schema outlined above. A large mass of detail has been removed into appendices so as not to break the flow of discussion. Three of these appendices relate to Part One and the fourth to Part Two: the removal of this material from the body of the thesis may give an initial impression of imbalance between the two parts by making Part One appear smaller.

The subject of the thesis can be justified on several grounds. Marmaduke Tunstall's collection was the foundation of the museum in which I work: to study it is to study the basal strata of the Hancock Museum's collections. The way the collection was

augmented, split, displayed, stored, discarded, over two centuries can be seen as an embodiment of the attitudes and aspirations of a succession of curators. The surviving items include historical material of considerable academic interest. Marmaduke Tunstall was active during a period (the late 18th century) in which the habit of collecting greatly increased: a study of him cross-pollinates the study of other collectors, his contemporaries, friends and correspondents. Hawaiian wicker heads were selected for in-depth study because they seemed, *prima facie*, to be objects of importance. They were brought to England at a crucial time in the history of Hawaii, and to study them sheds light on the power relations of Hawaiian chiefs and people, the interaction between Hawaiians and Europeans, and the history of European museums and collections.

The project required a body of archival material and artefacts to have a realistic chance of success. Because I work at the Hancock Museum, repository of the bulk of Tunstall's surviving collections, there was a level of access to objects that would not otherwise be available. There was also easy access to a quantity of archival material (including manuscripts in the Natural History Society of Northumbria and the Newcastle Literary & Philosophical Society) and locally published works (such as Fox, 1827; Russell-Goddard, 1929) relating to the history of the Hancock Museum and its collections. It was expected that use of these archives would enable the assembly of a broad picture of Marmaduke Tunstall's life and the fate of his collections.

For the study of Hawaiian wicker heads, there was very little archive material locally available. The surviving examples are scattered in museums through Europe and America and therefore not readily accessible. Fortunately, there is much interest in the history of the Pacific in the late 18th century, the time in which most wicker heads were transferred to Western ownership. Not only are large volumes of manuscripts relating to Captain Cook's voyages in print, but much of the relevant 18th century travel literature has been reprinted in recent years. It would have been desirable to extend this study through ethnographic fieldwork in Hawaii as well as visits to all museums holding wicker heads: limitations in funding and time (full-time employment restricts my ability to spend time travelling) ruled out these avenues. This part of the project was, therefore, conceived in terms of a literature study.

TWO

BACKGROUND : MUSEUM RESEARCH

MUSEUM STUDENTS, CONNOISSEURS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHERS

It is necessary to place the research within the overall framework of museum research by looking at the various fields of academic endeavour carried out in, or concerning, museums. Museum based research is diverse in nature and is carried out by people with very varying worldviews. There are several distinctive ways in which museums, their contents and their operation have been studied and there is diversity not only among the researchers but also in the audiences at which their products are aimed.

MUSEOLOGY AND MUSEOGRAPHY

The first area to be considered is the academic discipline of Museum Studies, usually known as Museology outside of North America and Britain. Researchers in Museology are often interested in the theory and practice of museums: what they are, the ways they develop, are managed, promoted and used. This discipline includes analysis of exhibitions, the educational functions of museums and studies of how the success or otherwise of these activities can be assessed. Part of the agendum of Museum Studies is to define the concept 'museum' and to answer the question "what is Museology" (e.g. Stransky, 1980; Sola, 1987). Museum Studies is, in Britain at least, an activity principally practiced in university departments rather than by people working in museums and the literature is aimed principally at other researchers in the field. A fairly large, and rapidly growing, body of literature has developed mostly within the past three decades: a recent review of this area (Knell, 1994) listed 4254 references, and there are currently (September 2003) about 700 volumes relating to Museum Studies on the shelves of Newcastle University Library, most of them being recently published. A

British body that is very active in the field, Leicester University's Museum Studies department, has produced a number of Museological books within the past decade, often using an approach drawn from the Social Sciences. Pearce (1992) and Pearce (1995) might be taken as typical examples.

Some researchers separate this theoretical approach from studies of the practical tasks, such as conservation and curation, which are carried out in museums. The term Museography is now in use to refer to this practical approach. The Museographical literature includes what might be called "How To..." books, targeted at curators working in museums. These offer practical advice on, for instance, how to mount exhibitions (e.g. Belcher, 1991) or how to prepare and produce exhibition labels (Serrell, 1996). One of the most notable examples, if only because of its large size and its extensive circulation in Britain, was the *Manual of Curatorship* (Thompson, 1992). This was a multi-author work, and most of the 70 contributors were practicing curators (49 were museum curators, 2 were art gallery curators, 4 worked in universities and the 15 others were mostly private consultants). Their overall aim was to provide guidance, both practical and broadly philosophical, on how to operate the various functions of museums. Other works have followed in a similar vein but aimed at specialist markets: Stansfield *et al.* (1995) for instance provided a *Manual of Curatorship* for natural history curators and a more recent work (Carter & Walker, 1999) also provides practical advice on how to care for natural history collections.

SUBJECT SPECIALISTS

Many people working in museums carry out research that has no connection with either Museology or Museography. Many subject specialists - biologists, geologists, applied artists, anthropologists etc. - enter the profession because they are interested in their subject specialism rather than in the theory and practice of museums. Their research reflects this, as it also reflects their academic training. Thus, biological curators generate literature that is not only biological but is also scientific, for instance with embedded concepts of objective truth and with the aim of minimising observer bias. On the other hand, curators who are social scientists by training may place the observer at the core of the subject being studied and have relativistic views of concepts such as truth. As will

be discussed below, the ethnographic literature involves curators with an artistic background as well as those trained in anthropology, and they also bring differing approaches to the subject.

Curators often extend their interests away from their initial specialism and towards the history of their museums (e.g. Jessop & Sinclair, 1996; Markham, 1990), or biography of associated people (e.g. Boyd & Jessop, 1998), or they may compile catalogues of collections in their care (e.g. Jessop & Starkey, 1998; Newman, McLean & Hudson, 1996; White, 1990; Davis & Brewer, 1986). This historical literature is highly relevant to the section on Marmaduke Tunstall and his collections and will be reviewed in detail below.

Among the subject specialisms broadly relevant to this thesis, we could look first towards the artists. This is relevant, because artefacts from the Pacific are displayed in Art Museums (see, e.g. Kjellgren, 2001), command high prices in the international art market (major auctions are frequently held by Christie's of London and Amsterdam, Sotheby's of London and Philip's of London), and have been subjected to artistic analysis. Recently, Heerman (2001) has approached the art of New Britain from a Fine Art approach, using it to question the validity of the idea of the Artistic Impulse (the concept that art is produced by an artist's self-generated impulses, without the need for reference to the outside world); on the other hand, the anthropologist Kaeppler (in Kjellgren, 2001) has redefined Art and Aesthetics in a way that encompasses Polynesian activities.

A component of art criticism is connoisseurship. Connoisseurship is the ability to exercise judgement about the 'quality' of artworks and forms part of the overall view of museums as being places containing objects of high value (artistic as well as financial). The art-connoisseur curator must therefore be seen to have the skills to recognise where the artefacts in his/her institution lie within an artistic hierarchy. Connoisseurs may minimise the social-historical or ethnographic context of artefacts and consider them only as artworks. Thus, for instance, a connoisseur, Sieber (introduction to Pelrine, 1996) wrote of discussing with a collector Wielgus which items were "aesthetically the

weakest, which the strongest" in his collection, and which was the "finest example of a given type" of artefact. Sieber wrote of Wielgus that he had "a most discerning eye and nearly impeccable taste".

The literature arising from connoisseurship often includes books - such as Pelrine's (1996) catalogue of the Wielgus collection - that are finely illustrated and produced to a high quality. They may have general circulation but are sometimes aimed towards the collector's market and function as reference material enabling collectors and art dealers to assess objects they encounter. Curator-connoisseurs, collectors and dealers sometimes work together, the private collections being legitimised by association with museums of international standing and the museums gaining the opportunity to display prestigious collections. Examples of the symbiosis include an exhibition catalogue (Isaac & Blurton, 2000) co-written by the Burma specialist at the British Museum and a collector, the text being illustrated with photographs of the 'finest' examples of Burmese lacquer-ware available; also Manuel Keene's (2001) catalogue of the Mughal jewelled art belonging to Sheikh Al-Sabah that was displayed at the British Museum.

Connoisseurship has a long tradition. Laurent (1816) may be cited as an early example. Laurent's two books, the *Musée Royal* and *Musée Francais* presented six folio volumes of engraved plates of items in the Louvre. Initially sold at a price of £300, it made a statement about the quality of what was then the French royal collection of artworks. The same philosophy, of presenting *Chefs-d'Oeuvre*, was behind the much more modest catalogue published by the *Musée de l'Homme* in 1965 (Anon., 1965). In recent times the vast improvements in photographic technology have enabled the cheap reproduction of fine-quality colour images. Finely illustrated volumes published in quarto format include Neyt's (1994) work on the Luba, which arose from a Museum exhibition as did Brown's 1998 volume on the American Northwest Coast and Gunn's (1997) on New Ireland. There are hundreds of similar volumes currently available, often with scholarly texts written by experts in their fields.

The phenomenon of connoisseurship being used in relation to ethnographic artefacts in museum displays is widespread. American examples include Art Museums such as the

Metropolitan Museum in New York, in the Museum of African Art, Sackler and Freer Galleries in Washington and the Boston Fine Art Museum. In Europe the latest additions to the *genre* are the display of Tribal Art at the Musée des Arts et Civilisations in Paris (see Corbey, 2000), the new galleries associated with the Great Court at the British Museum and the redeveloped British galleries at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Moving to anthropology, there has been some debate as to what is an anthropological approach to Art (see Layton, 2003). Within a museum context, tension sometimes arises between connoisseurs and anthropologists when considering displays, the latter seeking ethnographic contextualisation of artefacts. For instance, the major *Maori* exhibition at the British Museum in 1998 said nothing concerning Maori people and their culture. However, it was not the aim of the curators to present an ethnographic display, and if viewed as a selection of finely crafted artefacts chosen and displayed by connoisseurs of Maori art then it was undoubtedly a success. Similar tension arose after the opening in summer 1999 of the Chase Manhattan Gallery of North America in the British Museum (see discussion by Peers, 2000; King, 2001) when criticism was made over the absence of a Native American voice in the interpretation.

Corbey (2001) highlighted this tension in a review of an exhibition at the Royal Museum for Central Africa at Tervuren (Belgium). The museum had traditionally presented artefacts as Art in the connoisseur tradition. One young anthropological curator was quoted by Corbey as saying: "They've now once again been deployed differently, this time in a dialogue between cultures and a long-overdue self-critical historical investigation". This quote guides us towards the core of the anthropologists' program: to concepts of analysis, of dialogue and of self-criticism. This attitude is also evident in the ethnographic gallery (developed mid-1990s) at the Horniman Museum (London), where the curators abrogated their traditional role of interpreter by inviting Africans to write the labels for objects originating in their cultures.

One more approach can be seen within the underlying philosophies behind the foundation, in the late 19th century, of ethnographic museums such as the Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford) and the American Museum of Natural History (New York). These are

very distinct both from ideas of fine art, from connoisseurship and from anthropology as currently practised and had more in common with Natural History. The displays at the Pitt Rivers Museum were set up (and remain so) along systematic lines to show developmental series in, for instance, arrows, knives and hats throughout the world. This parallels 19th century displays of systematic zoology, botany and geology in which the museum was an outward sign of a worldview that believed it is a worthwhile endeavour to analyse, differentiate, classify and systematise all parts of the world about us. This viewpoint justified the American Museum of Natural History in placing the Hall of Pacific People and Halls of American Indians alongside the Hall of North American Mammals and Hall of Ornithischian Dinosaurs.

The literature of this tradition flourished during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and could be typified by Joyce's (1925) *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* of the British Museum, which lays out the different groups of the world on geographical lines. At the same time both the Smithsonian Institution (Washington) and the American Museum of Natural History were publishing extensive volumes of ethnographic *Bulletins* and *Memoirs* whose descriptions of material cultures (e.g. Inuit stone lamps; Native American tobacco pipes) were not essentially dissimilar to zoological taxonomic revisions.

This class of literature became much less common in the second half of the 20th century (the situation relating to Polynesian material culture will be examined in more detail in Part Two of this thesis). The reason for its decline was possibly that it no longer had an audience. University academics of the late 20th century who are interested in Museology or Anthropology would probably find the papers too detailed in information and lacking in theoretical strength; there are very few ethnographic curators who need systematic revisions in order to curate their collections; connoisseurs generally do not collect, say, African spears or Oceanic paddles. Also, whereas curators of biology, geology and applied art can claim a large constituency of interested amateurs, there is very little interest among the public at large in ethnographic artefacts.

HISTORIANS OF NATURAL HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

This thesis is not simply about objects, it also touches on their history, the history of natural history and the history of ethnography. It is therefore worthwhile placing it in context of other similar studies.

A later chapter reviews the history of the literature relating to Polynesian ethnography, emphasising the different worldviews that the various authors have brought to the subject, from the notion of the Noble Savage to postcolonialism. If 'natural history collectors and collecting' is taken as a subject equal to 'the people of Polynesia' the most obvious difference in the literature is that there have been no comparable paradigm shifts over the past two centuries. This is not to say that natural history itself has been static in the same period. The widespread acceptance of the binomial system and the consequent blossoming of zoological systematics in the late 18th centuries onwards; the impact of evolutionary thinking in the mid-19th century; the increasing professionalism and dominance of Biology (as against Natural History) in the 20th have all had their impact on the way naturalists approach their subject.

There is now a fairly large body of literature on the history of natural history, despite there being few people being employed professionally in the discipline. One reason for this interest is the stress that systematists place on authorial priority and on the development of studies in their field. Anyone revising the species of a genus, family etc. needs to know which species have been described, when they were described, who described them and how they were placed in various taxa. Interest in the lives and careers of the authors flow from these needs. It is often necessary to find type specimens, and from this flows interest in the activities of cabinet-collectors and field-collectors and in the history of collections and institutions. It is sometimes necessary to establish the history of a publication, and from this flows an interest in the development of the literature.

The resulting literature is rich in accounts of people, their lives, travels, collections and observations; also in accounts of the history and development of institutions. Authors

working in this field have tended to take an approach that would be regarded as plain and inelegant by academics working in the discipline of history as a Humanity or Social Science (Pearce, 1995 said it was commonly "soft and sentimental in the poorest sense") who would feel the need to place their subjects in cultural context (e.g. Marmaduke Tunstall as a product of the Age of Enlightenment; Alfred Russell Wallace as a compliant colonialist; Maria Merian as a proto-feminist). Some classic examples that could be said to typify the genre of the history of natural history include Raven's (1950) account of the life and works of John Ray; Wellisch (1975) on Conrad Gesner; Norman (1944) on C.D. Sherborn; Beaglehole (1974) on Captain James Cook; Miller (1973) on the British Museum, and Allingham (1924) on Stevens' auction house. The one major specialist journal *Archives of Natural History* (from 1936 to date) also lacks the theory-dominated papers that typify series like *Journal of Material Culture* or *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.*

The secondary literature in the field is also wide, notable examples being the *Compendium of the Biographical Literature on Deceased Entomologists* (Gilbert, 1977), *Collectiones entomologicae* (Horn *et al*, 1990), *Litteratura taxonomica dipterorum* (Evenhuis, 1997), *British Natural History Books 1495-1900* (Freeman, 1980), *Natural History Manuscript Resources in the British Isles* (Bridson *et al.*, 1980) and *Natural History Auctions 1770-1972* (Chalmers-Hunt, J.M., 1976).

With my own background of two decades of interest in this area, it was a surprise to discover that comparable volumes are not available for the ethnographer, neither in the field of biography, nor bibliography, nor archival research. There is no ethnographic journal comparable to *Archives of Natural History* and the secondary literature is virtually non-existent. Thus it is presently difficult to trace ethnographic material as it moves from one collector to another because the researcher cannot easily find information about disposal of collections. It is also not easy to find letters or diaries of ethnographers or to discover basic information about their lives, unless they are also naturalists, or famous enough to merit an entry in (for instance) the *Dictionary of National Biography.* It has been pointed out above that there is a paucity of ethnographic curators in Britain, but there also appears to be little interest in universities in the history

of anthropology compared with, for instance, the history of biology.

SYSTEMATIC AND NON-SYSTEMATIC COLLECTIONS

An apparent dichotomy in the nature of collections is relevant to this thesis and needs to be explored, if briefly. It has long been recognised that museums house, on the one hand, systematic collections (items such as butterflies, plants and fossils that are readily placed in ordered systems) and, on the other, assemblages that are not easily systematised (which might include, for instance a single collection containing Cromwell's death mask, a mechanical spider and a piece of the Berlin wall). These latter, traditionally referred to as 'curiosities', have been called 'fetishistic collections' in recent literature (e.g. Pearce, 1992). Both terms tend to imply that the presence of such material in museums is an oddity that needs to be justified, and I prefer instead to adopt the term non-systematic collections.

Systematic collections have long been crucial in the development of museums as academic bodies, with the associated tradition, especially in the natural sciences and archaeology, of using the specimens as an aid to construct classifications. These classifications can then be developed as guides for the identification of similar material. Such synoptic studies within zoology and botany remain the major focus of institutions like the Natural History Museum in London. On the other hand, study of individually distinctive objects in museum collections often relies on a process of contextualisation; of placing the objects within their time, their place, or the community that created or curated them. Artefacts of this nature can sometimes be foci of contention (see Greenfield, 1996): in recent years, the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Isle of Lewis chess set and a Lakota Ghost Dance shirt have attracted the sort of widespread attention that a bird, butterfly or fish rarely could.

One approach to researching systematisable artefacts parallels systematic zoology in some ways. An investigator studying, for instance, shoes could look at assemblages of shoe specimens and classify and systematise them as shoe species (slipper, mud skate,

boot, brogue etc.). Classification systems exist in most museum specialisms, and typological studies of objects have been particularly prevalent in archaeology. They are useful is in enabling non-specialists to identify artefacts by comparison: for an ethnographer, in placing a *nkissi* figure as being made by Ba Yombe or Ba Kongo carvers, a food pounder as being Hawaiian or Marquesan, a mask as being Kwakwakawakw or Nuu-chah-nulth.

A totally different approach is to look at objects as examples of something produced and used by particular people. Thus the shoes could be identified as an Ainu shoe, a Chinese lady's slipper, etc. The crucial factor here is placing the objects within the context of the life of people operating within a culture. It is at this point that material culture and taxonomy divide, for a 'culture', unlike a 'species' is not composed of individuals that all and individually conform to a Platonic ideal.

The approach of situating an object within a cultural context is particularly useful in the case of objects that are not readily systematised. Cromwell's head, an example cited above, could be studied in terms of the cult of personalia, or by placing Cromwell in the context of his time, his religion, his reputation as a parliamentarian or dictator or his enduring fame.

The two approaches, of systematic study and cultural contextualisation, seldom exist independently. It is no more possible to make a thorough study of a Ba Yombe nail fetish figure without an awareness of the cultures of the lower Congo than it is to place the same fetish within its socio-religious context without an awareness of West African artforms. Some studies very successfully combine the two approaches, Clunie (1977), for instance, classified and systematised Fijian weaponry and also placed the weapons within the context of production, use and possession as symbols of status; Gunn (1997) reviewed religious artworks of New Ireland, placing them within the context of ceremonial use; Ohnemus (1988) outlined the ethnology of the Admiralty Islanders to contextualise the range of material objects they make and use.

This thesis is concerned with a variety of subjects that fall within several of the fields outlined above: biography, systematic (ornithological) collections and non-systematic (ethnographic) collections. Whereas the majority of the artefacts in the non-systematic collections are described only briefly, Part Two involves a major exercise in contextualising a single object.

TWO : AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The project, outlined informally in the Introduction (above), can be more formally stated in terms of the following aims and objectives:

AIM

The aim is to test the limits of the forensic approach to biographical and object-based research.

OBJECTIVES

1. To test whether use of the forensic approach applied to biographical research can achieve an account of the life and achievements of Marmaduke Tunstall that illuminates further study of his collections.

2. To test whether use of the forensic approach applied to archival and object-based research can lead to a comprehensive account of the fate of Marmaduke Tunstall's collections.

3. To test whether use of the forensic approach applied to archival, literature- and object-based research can yield information on wicker heads: especially on their function in Hawaiian Society, the circumstances of their transfer to Western museums and their current status.

The objectives relate to three elements that are inter-related: first Marmaduke Tunstall, secondly his collections in general and thirdly Hawaiian wicker heads in particular. The first two elements tie closely to one another and form one cohesive unit: to understand the collections it is useful to know who assembled them, to know about the man it is useful to know what he collected. The third element of the study, on Hawaiian wicker heads, is a development from the broad study of a whole collection towards an in-depth study of a single type of item within it. It is informed by the other two parts. However, rather than studying the artefacts solely as part of one man's collection, it looks further outwards towards the development of Polynesian-Western relations over historical time and to material that has survived elsewhere than the Hancock Museum.

The three objectives are addressed by means of an empirical and positivist method, which is termed the forensic method. This will be defined in the following chapter, before proceeding to a prescription of the practical steps taken to achieve the objectives.

THREE

METHOD - THE FORENSIC APPROACH

The method used in the thesis is termed the forensic approach. It stands in the tradition of empirical and positivist natural science, and constitutes a continuation of my previous experience in carrying out object based research on natural history material in museums.

It is worth stating, at the outset, alternative – and equally valid – approaches that may have been taken and led the study along different paths. The thesis is not concerned with museology: it does not consider how Tunstall's collection in general or wicker heads in particular might contribute to social change, education, empowerment; it does not suggest ways in which it might be managed, conserved or restored; it does not consider them as a paradigm of contested ownership between the museum community and elsewhere; questions are asked about 'restitution', but this is not a major theme. It is not concerned with art criticism, whether as questions of analysis of form and surface or of placing the artefacts in a context of connoisseurship.

Although there is a lot of material on the history of the people of Hawaii, the approach is not one of anthropology or history as practised in universities today, for instance it does not fit the material into the context of theories of (for example) Mauss, Levi-Strauss or Durkheim, nor is it concerned with power relations for instance between male and female, Western and non-Western, ruler and ruled.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

WHAT IS THE 'FORENSIC APPROACH' ?

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (Murray *et al.*, 1933) defines the term forensic as something 'pertaining to, connected with, or used in courts of law; suitable or analogous to pleadings in court'. Even if the strict procedures of the courtroom have not been adopted in this thesis, the underlying philosophy is similar. This philosophy was

discussed by Patterson (1996): modern British thinking about forensic practice derives in a great part from the late 18th and early 19th Century Enlightenment and especially the work of Jeremy Bentham. Bentham conceived a theory of truth in which events have an existence that is independent of human observation, and true statements are believed to correspond to the facts of these events. An inductive method (in which one proceeds from items of data towards conclusions) is used to reconstruct events by assembling statements. Additionally, it is believed that truth is of such a nature that it will be evident to all people intelligent enough to comprehend the evidence. The central role of the courtroom must be to assemble evidence without restrictions of rigid rules so that the truth will be found.

A key requirement in Bentham's philosophy is a minimum of rules and *a priori* beliefs. It challenged older systems that required events to correspond to statements made by other authorities such as 'the ancients' (incidentally, running counter to many modern studies in Social Sciences, in which situations are analysed in relation to the theories of major thinkers), or to Holy Writ. The simplicity of Bentham's project is unworkable in practice and in fact there are complex rules of evidence used in courtroom situations. However, these all trend towards making the decision as to the proof beyond reasonable doubt that a particular situation did or did not occur. There is a tradition of fair admissibility and reliance on first-hand (rather than hearsay) evidence.

In the past few decades it has become clear to legal thinkers that Bentham's philosophy contains a flaw. It fails to recognise that the system itself, and 'truth', are embedded in the social norms of their own culture (indeed, we will see in a later chapter how the Hawaiian concept of truth was very different to the Western concept). However, in day-to-day practice the Benthamist philosophy still operates in Court: individual evidence is assembled and presented to lay people (not specialists) and an overall picture is built up so that they will be able to decide the truth.

Because the procedure used in this thesis parallels this legal process, it is termed the forensic method. I am not alone in using the term 'forensic' for the application of scientific knowledge outside of courtroom situations. For instance, Noon (2001) wrote

of 'forensic engineering', his emphasis being not on Engineering as a suite of knowledge but of the way the subject matter was approached forensically. He likened the method to building a picture puzzle from hundreds of disparate pieces, they being fitted together in a logical context. He laid stress on evidence, objectivity and minimising *a priori* assumptions. Others, such as Baldwin and French (1990), have communicated their experience of using their specialism in a courtroom: in their case, they needed to convince juries that phonetics was sufficiently rigorous to enable identification of suspects.

As already stated, the forensic approach is in the empirical tradition. Empiricism is a practice founded on experiment and observation rather than theory. As Festinger & Katz (1953) stated, the basic conviction of empiricism is that if you ask the right questions then you can formulate principles on which nature operates. Scientists work with an empirical philosophy, but, following the widely accepted definition of Popper (1959), the scientific approach contains the additional element of needing to test falsifiable hypotheses. Because this thesis does not include falsifiable hypotheses, it is not strictly speaking a scientific study.

The forensic approach is also a positivist one. Positivism is a system that recognises only facts and observable phenomena, and does not concern itself with metaphysics and *a priori* explanations. Originally conceived and used by Augustus Comte in the mid-19th century (see his collected works, Comte, 1875) to study the structures and dynamics of societies, ironically it is a method that has generally been abandoned by the Social Sciences. Positivism became prominent in the early to mid 20th century when it was espoused by a group of philosophers including Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) and Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889-1951) (see Ayer, 1959). The Logical Positivists were analytical philosophers interested in defining existence based on evidence rather than theory, and they rejected the view that there is a difference between the natural and social sciences. The opposite view is now current. As a practical example, a positivist approach to cannibalism would look for evidence that cannibalism took place at certain places and certain times. A non-positivist approach – the one most likely adopted by a social scientist or anthropologist today – would look for the meanings of cannibalism

embedded in, for instance, language, material culture, social customs or gender relations. It is important to note that if this alternative non-positivist approach was taken towards wicker heads, a major element of the present study, this thesis would take a very different path.

It is perhaps worth noting other pathways that could have been adopted.

The principal aim of the Social Scientist is to explain social phenomena, rather than the behaviour of individuals (Coleman, 1990). The current trend is to study people as actors (or agents) within social systems and to construe social systems as being made of the activities of these actors. This method is termed ethnomethodology. An ethnomethodologist may have made a prosopographical[1] study of Marmaduke Tunstall and his circle, or the aims and objectives of the series of curators of his collection, or the role of objects (or collections of objects) in generating social order, or have deconstructed gender- or power relations in the production and use of wicker heads.

Whereas the ethnomethodologist aims to describe and define social situations in a non-judgemental manner, in recent years a body of researchers has sought to incorporate criticism, value judgements and notions of justice into their understanding. This is Critical Theory and the process is termed critiquing (see, e.g. Hobart, 1993), it incorporates the post-modern notion of the central role of the researcher into the ethnomethodological process. Critical theory contrasts with Positivism in that it allows the incorporation of ethics into the method. A critique of Marmaduke Tunstall may have considered the way in which the labour of his tenants was manifested in his collections; how the philosophical and materialist aspirations of subsequent owners of his collection (members of the Literary & Philosophical Society and later the Natural History Society of Northumbria) related to other bodies in Newcastle (for instance, religious bodies); the power relations between the Western world and Hawaii as manifested in the transfer of Wicker heads.

1 Prosopography is the collective study of the lives of a group of actors in history (see Allen, 1990)

Semiotics, the study of codes and symbols is a method initially used by philosophers but now widely adopted in the study of cultural phenomena. Semiotic studies can be non-positivist by involving discussion of metaphor, transformation and metaphysics. A semiotic approach to Tunstall's collection could consider the role of the objects as symbols of intellectual, as well as material, wealth; of the transformation from an object made and used in the Pacific towards an object stored and studied in a museum; of the metaphysical relation of certain items known to have had intense religious significance (such as the Maori rei puta, Maori feeding funnel, Hawaiian wicker head).

As noted in the discussion (above) of subject specialisms in relation to studying objets in museums, artists and art-historians may have an approach that is very distinct both to the natural sciences and social sciences. This may be based on matters of aesthetics, or purity of style and in the case of, for instance, Pelrine (1996), Heerman (2001), Neyt (1994) and Ortiz (1994) attempts have been made to interpret non-Western art within these concepts. An approach to wicker heads within this approach could consider the way the forms occupies space; the effect of surface texture and colour (or the way the texture of the wicker is subverted by the overlying feathers), or the power of the stare. Tunstall's artefacts could, perhaps, inspire practicing artists, in the same way that Melanesian sculpture inspired Breton and Giacometti.

These distinctive methodologies might be said to be culturally embedded in the different academics who use them (see Ernest, 1994)[1]. Scientists are likely to be empiricists and positivist; social scientists likely to use non-empirical, non-positivist approaches such as semiotics, ethnomethodology or critical theory; artists likely to employ aesthetics and value-judgement. In the case of this thesis, my own approach has partly been dictated by my training as a biologist and research in biology and the history of natural history.[2]

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1 Approaches that cut across these categories may be rare, but not non-existent. For instance Phillips (1999) considered the question of authenticity in the presentation of artworks in Art Galleries. He discussed not only forensic evidence (labels, signatures, canvas types etc.) as to the authenticity of paintings, but also aesthetic evidence about the authenticity of the way the paintings were presented (should they be varnished, how should they be hung, is it 'authentic' for them to be in Art Galleries at all).

2 For example, one previous study (Jessop, 1985) was on the systematics of a genus of dung beetles called *Eurysternus*. Using objects, specimens identifiable as *Eurysternus* in museums and private collections, decisions were made as to the specific identity of each specimen based on recognisable characters. The

PRAXIS - PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The philosophy of the forensic approach has been outlined, and distinction has been drawn between it and several of the methodologies principally used within the Social Sciences. It remains to describe the practical steps to be taken in using the forensic method to address the aims and objectives outlined above.

The objectives relate to three elements: Marmaduke Tunstall, his collections in general, and Hawaiian wicker heads in particular. The intention of carrying out the third element of the study, on Hawaiian wicker heads, is to develop the broad study of a whole collection towards an in-depth study of a single type of item within it. In line with this process of continuation, the same methodology was chosen to pursue the third objective as in pursuing the first two.

In practical terms, pursuit of the objectives can be broken down into a number of elements, which I will term praxes[1]. These praxes constitute the practical (in contrast to the theoretical) methodical framework in which this thesis operates.

The praxes are:

1. To search archival and literature sources for information relating to Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790). To assemble items of evidence in order to build an overall picture of the man and his achievements. (Addressing the first objective).

2. To search the stores and archives at the Hancock Museum to determine how

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literature, in the form of published papers, was analysed in order to correlate the species I had recognised with those previously named. Several species were recognised as being previously unknown. Thus, that study used evidence in order to make decisions as to the status of species and the attribution of individual specimens to each species.

The forensic method was also used with some success in a historical study, examining evidence in Sir Hans Sloane's (1660-1753) correspondence relating to the existence of a 17th century naturalists' club in London (Jessop, 1989).

1 Singular praxis, used in the sense of constituting a practical exercise.

much of Tunstall's collection survives. (Addressing the second objective).

4. To use primary and secondary literature as well as archival sources to understand the nature of Hawaiian wicker heads. (Addressing the third objective). This process of understanding will encompass the following procedures:

a) To use primary and secondary literature to become familiar with the history and nature of Polynesian societies and how they have been studied over the past two centuries.

b) To carry out a search of the literature relating to Hawaiian wicker heads.

c) To use literature sources and to make contacts with museum curators in order to determine how many wicker heads survive and what are their individual histories.

d) To carry out a literature search in order to be able to place wicker heads in the context of Polynesian figurative art.

e) To use the several published accounts of 18th century exploration in order to compile first-hand information on Hawaii and on wicker heads in particular. To assess the reliability of these accounts.

f) To use the several published accounts of the voyage of the *Blonde* in order to compile first-hand information on the acquisition of the last wicker heads known to have left the islands.

g) To use traditionary and western accounts in order to build up a picture of how wicker heads were used.

h) To use primary literature in order to follow changes in the ways western observers have interpreted wicker heads.

i) To use the information gained by the above process in order to assess how wicker heads are affected by United States legislation relating to Native American property rights. (Partly addressing the third objective).

This list may initially give an impression of an imbalance between the first two objectives and the third. This is only because the pathway towards achieving an understanding of wicker heads has been closely specified. The apparent.imbalance was not reflected in the total effort expended in addressing the objectives, nor will it appear in the overall space allotted to them in the body of the thesis.

PART ONE

FIVE : MARMADUKE TUNSTALL AND HIS COLLECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790) (Figure 1) was a naturalist, antiquary and collector. Active in London during the 1760s and early 1770s, he built up an extensive Library and a Museum that was particularly notable for its systematic collection of British birds. Tunstall corresponded with several of the leading British naturalists and with Linnaeus, and made his collections available for study to several authors. At the age of 33 Tunstall retired to a country estate at Wycliffe on the south bank of the River Tees, where he spent the rest of his life.

George Townshend Fox published biographical notes on Marmaduke Tunstall in his *Synopsis of the Newcastle Museum* (Fox, 1827). Without the information provided by Fox we would know very little indeed about Tunstall's background, activities and character but, ironically, with this extensive information to hand no subsequent researchers seem to have been tempted to trawl archive sources to find out more about him. Thus, subsequent accounts, e.g. Russell Goddard (1929) and Whitehead (1969) have been derived almost exclusively from Fox.

In 1995, a small but important remnant of Marmaduke Tunstall's bird collection was rediscovered in the Hancock Museum and this was a spur to research the origin of the material. At the same time a second researcher (M.J. Boyd) realised that specimens and portraits relating to Marmaduke Tunstall had been preserved for two centuries by the Constable family and still survive at Burton Constable Hall; also that there were hitherto-overlooked manuscripts in the Burton Constable Archive at the East Yorkshire

County Record Office (Beverley) and in the Bodleian Library (Oxford). During the course of subsequent research, further manuscript material was located at Durham County Record Office. A paper was prepared for publication (Jessop & Boyd, 1998). Subsequent to that paper a large body of Tunstall's notes on various species of animals was discovered in the Blacker-Wood library (McGill University, Montreal).

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Marmaduke Tunstall's entry into the world was marked by his father when he wrote, "My second wife was brought to bed of a son 22^{d} of July 1743" on the endpapers of his copy of Boyer's 1715 edition of the *Royal Dictionary*[1]. The child was named Marmaduke Cuthbert Constable (Hamilton, 1906), but the middle name was almost invariably later dropped, and he was known to his family as 'Duke' or 'Dukey'. He did not assume the surname of Tunstall until 1760.

Marmaduke Tunstall, as he is best known, was born into a world of wealth and privilege. Members of his family owned extensive estates in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and were related to many of the land-owning families of the region. The largest Constable estate was at Burton Constable in Holderness (East Yorkshire), where several thousand hectares of rich agricultural land surrounded the family seat at which Marmaduke Tunstall was born. There had once been a title in the immediate family, that of Viscount Dunbar. This had lapsed with the death of Marmaduke Tunstall's great-uncle in 1718, but his father could still lay claim to the honorific title of Lord Paramount of the Seignory of Holderness. Fox (1827) provided a genealogy and sketch of the history of the family from the later middle ages onwards, and a genealogy was given independently by Hamilton (1906).

The life of the Constables was shaped not only by their wealth, but also by their faith.

1 The volume survives in the Long Gallery library at Burton Constable Hall (shelf number G413).

Many of them were staunch Roman Catholics, indeed Hamilton's genealogy shows that several female members became nuns. Their adherence to the Old Faith influenced both their education (they were ineligible to enter either of the English universities) and as Catholics they were debarred from holding public office at that time. Fortunately, they had the wealth and position to follow their own interests without need for outside employment.

Marmaduke Tunstall's father, Cuthbert Constable (*circa* 1680-1747), certainly deserves more attention than he has so far received. Styled 'the catholic Maecenas of his age' (Maecenas was a close acquaintance of the Roman Emperor Augustus, and was noted for his patronage of, particularly, the literary arts), he held a medical degree from the University of Montpellier, and was noted for his own learning and as a patron of the learning of others (Cooper, 1887)

Cuthbert inherited the Burton Constable estate in 1718, following the death of his maternal uncle William Constable, 4th Viscount Dunbar (1653-1718). As a condition of the inheritance Cuthbert was obliged to change his surname from Tunstall to Constable. He married twice and had five children, four of whom reached adulthood. Here we need only be concerned with the two sons, the half-brothers William and Marmaduke. William (1721-1791) was the second child of Cuthbert's first marriage, to Amey Clifford, who died in 1731.

Three years after Amey's death, Cuthbert Constable's bachelor brother, Marmaduke Tunstall (1672-1760) of Wycliffe in North Yorkshire (now, following administrative changes, in County Durham), made a Deed of Settlement by which his estates and other property were to pass on his death to Cuthbert "and his male issue, by any *after-taken* wife, such issue taking upon them the name of Tunstall on coming into possession", noting that he "was desirous that his brother should marry again for the support of the name and family of the Tunstalls..." (Fox, 1827). This document was to be a crucial factor in the life of the then-unborn Marmaduke Tunstall, otherwise his father might not have remarried and the North Yorkshire estates would have passed to William Constable. In 1735 Cuthbert Constable did indeed remarry, his second wife being

Elizabeth Heneage (? - 1762), daughter of George Heneage of Hainton in Lincolnshire. In 1743, when Cuthbert was in his early-sixties, she bore him a second son, our Marmaduke.

Cuthbert Constable died in 1747, and his elder son William inherited the Burton Constable estates. Elizabeth Heneage died in 1762, by which time her son Marmaduke had acquired the estates of Wycliffe and Scargill, following the death of his uncle Marmaduke in 1760.

YOUTH, AND EDUCATION

Marmaduke Tunstall's father died when he was four years old and his mother received a thousand pounds to maintain him until he came of age[1]. In the absence of his father, his elder brother appears to have influenced his upbringing. A letter from William Constable to Elizabeth Heneage[2] written when Marmaduke was 18 years old outlines plans for the young man's education. The letter shows him (referred to as 'Dukey') to be a serious, perhaps somewhat gauche, young man who seems to have led a sheltered childhood:

> ... [at Paris] he might During the progress of the year see all the best Cabinets relating to the study of Natural Philosophy, & have without inconveniencing his studies, or interrupting them, the best Dancing Master & a fencing Master and as our friend seems Chiefly to Want, a Genteel Carriage, & perhaps Confidence.
>
> ... [later, at Angers] he woud Get into the Company of young People, Company which he must Come into some time or other, he might accustom himself to the Company of Ladys, G[---] fiddles, Danse with young women, & have some little vanity as to person & Gentility.

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1 Copy of the will of Cuthbert Constable, in the East Yorkshire County Record Office, DDCC 134/39.

2East Yorkshire County Record Office, DDCC 144/9.

... Poor Dukey's objection to wicked Company is a proof of Great Virtue,
But Virtue ought to Depend on himself & not on others.

Like his father before him Marmaduke Tunstall was sent to Douai College in France to be educated, afterwards proceeding to Paris to study under a tutor: he is known to have been in Paris in 1762[1]. Apparently, he did not proceed to university in Paris to take a degree: perhaps the difference between Marmaduke and his father was that Cuthbert did not, as a youth, expect a large inheritance and therefore prepared to earn his living through a profession, whereas Marmaduke knew he would one day inherit the estates in North Yorkshire.

A GENTLEMAN OF PROPERTY

Marmaduke succeeded to the North Yorkshire estates of Wycliffe, Hutton, Long Villers and Scargill (usually referred to collectively, as 'Wycliffe') in 1760 at the age of 17, and made the necessary change in his surname from Constable to Tunstall. A plan of the Wycliffe estate, drawn by John Bailey in 1789, still survives[2]. It shows a Georgian Hall standing in a park-like landscape, with orchard, nursery, fish pond, deer park, fields and woods. Several picturesque views of the Hall and grounds were published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth Centuries, including engravings of a sketch by J.M.W. Turner (published in Whitaker, 1823) and of an oil painting by George Cuit (1743 - 1818). The engraving of the latter, by Middiman, was published by J. Walker of London in 1793 (Figure 2).

It seems that Marmaduke Tunstall did not move his base to North Yorkshire until middle life. According to Fox (1827), moving only in 1776, although he began building the hall

1An incomplete letter in Marmaduke Tunstall's hand, housed in East Yorkshire County Record Office, DDCC 144/10, includes the phrase "when in Paris in 1762...".

2Manuscript volume entitled "A Survey of the Manors of Wycliffe and Hutton in the County of York belonging to Marmaduke Tunstall Esqre, By John Bailey 1789", preserved in the library of Burton Constable Hall.

at Wycliffe in 1764 (Nichols, 1825). In 1754-56, before going to Douai, he spent the winters in London, and during the 1760s and 1770s he occupied a house in London's Welbeck Street, near his half brother William Constable's rented house in Mansfield Street. He was living at Welbeck Street in 1771 when elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The estate at Wycliffe and Hutton totalled 2,579 acres, with 20 land-holding tenants and several tenants of cottages. There was a moor managed for Red Grouse - a "pretty large tract of moor ... where I have known 25 or 30 brace killed in a day" (*teste* Fox, 1827). The uncle Marmaduke intended to leave the estate to his nephew free of debt: "Master Dukey at my Death will I hope enter upon the Estate heretofore discharged of all manner of Incumbrances"[1]. However, the inheritance did not bring financial wealth, and documents in the Durham County Record Office show that Marmaduke Tunstall continued to rely on his family for financial support.[2]

The rent of the Wycliffe estates brought an annual income of £2,300 in 1790. Under normal circumstances this would have been enough to maintain the Tunstalls in comfort and to give them a respectable place in rural Society: "The character of a farmer here is so respectable, that gentlemen who possess landed property from 500l. to 1500l. a year, think it is no debasement to follow the profession" (Bailey and Culley, 1800).

However, debts may have mounted during Marmaduke Tunstall's time in London. No doubt there had been a major drain on his resources, for in addition to maintaining a rented house in a fashionable area this was the time when the great bulk of the library and museum were assembled. A document summarising the legal history of the Wycliffe estates seems to indicate that the estates were 'sold' (perhaps in the form of a

1 Letter from Marmaduke Tunstall *senior* to Elizabeth Heneage, dated 14 November 1755, in East Yorkshire County Record Office file DDCC 144/9.

2 Durham County Record Office, D/Sa/F 154.6 (hereafter DCRO). This document summarises the legal complexities surrounding the estates between 1730 and 1765. It is in Tunstall's hand, and can be dated as being pre-1775, as his half-brother is described in the document as a bachelor. On 12 October 1767, William Constable released Marmaduke Tunstall and his estate from £5,000 + interest charged by the will of his late uncle. D/Sa/F 154.4 shows that a mortgage of £6,100 was raised on the estate, the money being provided by Mary Tunstall's uncle William Salvin of Croxdale in County Durham.

leasehold, or perhaps a mortgage was raised: the document is not clear) to Leyne Boldero[1] in 1764.

In 1776, at the age of 33, Marmaduke Tunstall married, and moved north to live at Wycliffe. The new Mrs Tunstall had close relatives (the Salvins of Croxdale) living in neighbouring County Durham, and this could have influenced the move, certainly there seems to have been close affection between the Tunstalls and Salvins[2]. The considerable wealth of Mrs Tunstall's maternal uncle William Salvin may have become available to release the estates from whatever financial hold Leyne Boldero still had upon them.

It is tempting to divide Marmaduke Tunstall's life strictly into a 'London Period' and a 'Wycliffe Period'. According to one account (Watson *in* Nichols, 1814) he once lived chiefly in London, but soon after his marriage 'retired' to Wycliffe. It is quite possible, however, that before 1776 he moved between the two, spending part of the year in the Capital and part on his estate in Yorkshire.

ACADEMIC INTERESTS

Marmaduke Tunstall was debarred from some occupations because of his religion, but it would perhaps be too simplistic to argue that he became a 'scientist' or an 'academic' because of this. The inherited estates in North Yorkshire, the comfort they provided and the work they entailed would have a much greater influence on the allocation of his time and resources than factors arising from religion.

Marmaduke Tunstall was part of a circle of intellectuals in late 18th century England that included several of the leading naturalists of the day. He corresponded with Thomas

1 The Boldero family were bankers. Leyne Boldero lived at South Cave, near Hull (A.G. Credland, *pers. comm.*).

2 Reference to visits, exchange of gifts, etc. in Durham County Record Office, D/Sa/C 377. One room at Wycliffe was known as "Miss Salvin's Room", East Yorkshire County Record Office, DDCC 145/27.

Pennant[1] and could refer to his 'worthy friend' Daniel Solander[2] in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks (Jessop and Boyd, 1999), from whom he received specimens. Following the return of Cook's second (1772-1775) voyage, Johann Forster took insects to Solander, from which specimens could be selected for Marmaduke Tunstall (Whitehead, 1969). John Latham[3] was also a correspondent, and Marmaduke compiled a series of notes on birds to send to him (cited by Fox, 1827 as the *Tunst ms*). At least three letters passed between him and Linnaeus (Hopkinson, 1824). However, the surviving letters are not enough to gauge the intensity of the friendships, nor what was Marmaduke's standing in the hierarchy of naturalists.

Marmaduke Tunstall's membership of societies reflected his interests. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1774, some three years after his election to Fellowship of the Royal Society in 1771. His proposer for the latter, Daines Barrington[4], described him as "a gentleman of most general erudition and more particularly versed in every branch of Natural History" (*teste* Newton, 1880).

When his impressive Museum and known academic interests are considered it is a little surprising that Marmaduke Tunstall never published anything of any great extent or importance. An illustrated account of British birds based on his collection and his own observations would surely have found a ready market at that period. His only ornithological publication is disappointing. In 1771 he published privately a four-page folio work Ornithologia *Britannica* (Tunstall, 1771), which was considered a rare tract a hundred years later and was the first in a series reprinted by the Willughby Society (Newton, 1880). The *Ornithologia* comprised a list of British birds, and gave their English, French and Latin names. As a bare species list without any descriptive, habitat or distributional data, the work is of very little value, perhaps its greatest point of interest being the steel engraving by Mazell[5] from a drawing by Peter Brown[1] of a pair of

1 Thomas Pennant (1726-1798), traveller, writer and Man of Letters. He wrote a number of books in the latter part of the 18th century on Natural History and Travel.
2 Daniel Carl Solander (1733-1782), naturalist who sailed with Sir Joseph Banks on the *Endeavour* circumnavigation of 1768-1771.
3 John Latham (1740-1837), naturalist who published major ornithological studies in the late 18th century.
4 Daines Barrington (1727-1800), lawyer, antiquary and naturalist.
5 Peter Mazell was a professional etcher/engraver. Working in London, he produced at least 600

Dippers (*Cinclus cinclus*) in Marmaduke Tunstall's collection.

Marmaduke Tunstall's only other publication was a paper in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (Tunstall, 1783) on the subject of lunar rainbows. This is also a minor contribution, merely comprising extracts of two letters to Sir Joseph Banks,[2] and giving the impression of not being properly prepared for publication.

Although his published work was scant, Marmaduke Tunstall prepared copious manuscript notes on a range of natural history subjects. Two sets of his notes were eventually published. A manuscript addressed to John Latham and containing comments on Latham's *Synopsis* were quoted extensively by Fox (1827), and an account of the British 'wild' white cattle that Marmaduke Tunstall had prepared for publication was used by Bewick in his *History of Quadrupeds* (Boyd, 1996; Jessop and Boyd, 1996). However, the largest manuscript has lain dormant since his death. It was seen by Thomas Bewick, who wrote to Ralph Beilby in August 1791 on visiting Wycliffe after Tunstall's death:

> "...was kept busy for two or three days ... in looking thro' *part* of the very rare and curious Books on natural His^{y} with which this valuable Library I believe is more amply furnished than any other, I think one may venture to Say in the Kingdom - you would be amazed at M Tunstals industry - to skim over his own remarks wou'd take a much longer time than I can possibly spare - he has not only put down every thing that came under his own observation on the habits & propensities of Animals &c. with numberless Anecdotes - but he has quoted every thing that he thou't curious from other Authors.... I have looked thro' Edwards, Buffon, Albin, Pennant, Lewen [sic], Catesby, Brown & many others the grandest Editions" (*ex* Bain, 1981)

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plates between 1760 and 1797.

1 Peter Brown, flower painter and ornithological artist. His *New Illustrations of Zoology* (1776) had text written by Thomas Pennant and illustrations by Brown.

2 A draft of one of these letters, dated October 1782, survives in the Bodleian Library: MS English Letters C229, ff74-75 (Jessop and Boyd, 1999). The acceptance note from the Secretary of the Royal Society survives (East Yorkshire County Record Office DDCC 144/10).

George Allan saw these notes in 1791, when they were interleaved in a copy of Pennant's *British Zoology* (Fox, 1827: 38-39). After remaining in Tunstall's family for a century they were auctioned in 1899, and subsequently taken out of the book (between 1899 and 1922). They are now in the Blacker-Wood Library at McGill University (Montreal) bound in four volumes.

The notes show that Tunstall's interest in natural history went far beyond accumulating series of preserved specimens. While it would be unfair to expect him to be a field naturalist in the modern sense (e.g. by going into the field deliberately to observe and record behaviour and distribution) there are some aspects of the hobby that have changed little in the past 200 years. For instance, Tunstall's notes act as a depository for distributional records - species x was seen at place y by Mr z - which presage Biological Recording, one of the obsessions of the 20th century naturalist. His records of the presence of rare species in the district around Wycliffe and notes on the dates of arrival of migrant birds are essentially modern in character.

Tunstall's notes differ from recent practice in including information about domesticated species. Few naturalists today are interested in agriculture unless involved in the industry, but Tunstall recorded the weights of prodigious cattle and made comments on horses, pigs and sheep. His observations on the flavour of various bird species, then available as wild-caught specimens at London's Leadenhall market, might strike a 20th century reader as bizarre, but show in passing what a restricted diet we have today compared to two centuries ago.

LITERATURE USED BY MARMADUKE TUNSTALL

In placing Marmaduke Tunstall as a naturalist of his time it is worth considering the literature available to him, and which he used in his studies.

Stimulated by the success of the botanical and zoological works of Linnaeus, whose encyclopaedic works were the first to apply consistently the binomial system, other

zoologists went on to discover and describe 'new' species and genera. The late 18th century saw a sudden flowering of systematics and taxonomy, and we know from Tunstall's letters (Jessop & Boyd, 1999) that he kept up-to-date even when living in remote Wycliffe. He supplied money and specimens to support Peter Brown's (1776) *New Illustrations of Zoology*. He had Rösel von Rosenhof's (1746-1761) *Monatlichherausgegebenen Insecten-Belustigung* (although he could not read the German text), Lacepède's (1789) *Histoire Naturelle des ... serpens*, Cramer's (1779-1782) *Uitlandsche Kapellen*, Ernst's (1779-1792) *Insectes d'Europe*, Olivier's (1789-1808) *Entomologie ... Coléoptères* and several works on systematic botany. Some of the books on birds and butterflies and Curtis's (1777-1798) *Flora Londinensis* were part-works, and their attraction probably lay as much in their finely-illustrated colour plates as in the usefulness of their text.

James Bolton's (1788-1791) *History of Fungusses growing about Halifax*, was a systematic treatise on which Tunstall gave an interesting opinion. Bolton's book, a regional fungus flora, has been described as a 'one of the few mycological landmarks in the eighteenth century' (Watling & Seaward, 1981). Tunstall realised what many taxonomists, even today, fail to realise - that making lists of species is the beginning, and not the end, of zoology and botany "books of Natural History ought to give more of life & manners of all things if they could; But it is easier to draw pictures and give names, than to penetrate into their domestic oeconomy".

Studies of 'domestic oeconomy' were already being made. The most enduring was Gilbert White's *Selborne* (White, 1789), of which Tunstall commented "among many insignificant minutiae are some rather curious observations". Accessible to a general reader in a way that a taxonomic treatise never could be, White's book has rarely been out of print since it was published. One of the issues raised, the alleged hibernation of Swallows in Britain, was a topic in which Tunstall took an interest: both his letters to his brother and his Natural History Notes (now in the Blacker-Wood Library – see below) go into the matter.

Intermediate between the notes of a field naturalist and a specialist zoological treatise,

with the added bonus of attractive illustrations, were works like Beilby & Bewick's (1790) *History of Quadrupeds* (published a few months before Tunstall's death) and Pennant's (1761-1766) *British Zoology.* Tunstall's own copy of the latter was interleaved with many pages of notes (The 'Tunstall notes' discussed above) made by Tunstall giving records of species, occurrences of farm animals of prodigious size and some behavioural information.

A popular genre in the later 18th century was the County History. Usually fine-quality printing in quarto format, these works brought together information on the antiquities and natural history of a particular county, and serve as a reminder that an informed reader of Tunstall's day would be likely to be interested in a wide range of academic matter including archaeology, history and astronomy as well as zoology, botany and geology. The local County Histories were Wallis's (1769) book on Northumberland and Hutchinson's (1785-1795) on County Durham: Tunstall's name was listed among the subscribers to Wallis' s book and he provided manuscript material to Hutchinson when he was preparing his first volume. His letters show that he was familiar with comparable works on other counties, at least for Northamptonshire (Morton, 1712) and Lancashire and Derbyshire (Leigh, 1700) although he must have had several others.

The 18th century was also rich in books on travel and exploration. Like the County Histories, these were often fine-quality publications, usually in quarto and sometimes with maps and plates issued separately in folio format. As a reasonably wealthy savant, Marmaduke Tunstall could be said to typify their target audience. There is evidence that Tunstall kept up-to-date with this literature, even when in the seclusion of Wycliffe he wrote to his brother about recently-published books: Le Vaillant's (1790) *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique,* Sparrman's (1786) *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* and Bruce's (1790) *Travels to discover the source of the Nile.*

THE MUSEUM

> Mr G[eorge A[llan] has been with me to spend a day at Mr. Tunstall's. I wish you had been with us. Such a collection of books, manuscripts, paintings, prints, coins, gems &c., is not every day to be seen. I have good authority for saying they cost him above 20,000*l*. Indeed, this account came from his brother, who has still a much larger collection. For Mr. Constable's house is a palace, and the gallery a vatican; but he can well afford it, having the best fortune of any Roman Catholic commoner in the kingdom.
>
> (Rev. Daniel Watson to Harrison, *in* Longstaffe, 1854.)

If Marmaduke Tunstall is remembered at all today, it is principally because of his Museum. It was not just that the collection was so prodigious in scope and quality, but it included specimens that had associations with other leading naturalists such as Banks, Pennant and Latham, and they were made available for study by authors like Lewin and Brown.

The most unusual component of the Museum, in the context of his time, was the collection of birds, "few Gentlemen are in possession of a Museum containing so large a Collection, especially of the feathered race" (Pegge *in* Nichols, 1814). The cost of building the bird collection was estimated at between £3,000 (Nichols, 1825) and £5,000 (Nichols, 1814). When the collection was catalogued in 1827, it contained almost 600 specimens in 379 cases[1].

The bird collection was important not only because of its size: its systematic nature was unusual. There were many cabinets of curiosities in eighteenth century Europe and some contained birds but Tunstall's collection was one of the few - probably less than half a dozen throughout Europe (Farber, 1980) – that contained a systematic ornithological

1 There is evidence that a few additions were made to the bird collections by George Allan between 1792 and 1800 (Jessop, 1999).

series.

Some of the bird specimens are especially interesting. There was, for instance, a Capercaillie, *Tetrao urogallus* L. supposedly of the British race that became extinct in the late eighteenth century; one of two known juvenile specimens of the Great Auk *Pinguinis impennis* (L.), and several specimens brought back from Australia and New Zealand by Sir Joseph Banks, including a South Island Kokako, *Callaeas cinerea* (Gmelin), New-Zealand Tui, *Prosthemadera novaeseelandiae* (Gmelin), and Rainbow Lorikeet, *Trichoglossus moluccanus* (Gmelin). None of the South Seas birds in Tunstall's collection had type status (Medway, 1976).

In addition to the birds that Sir Joseph Banks brought back from the Cook's first circumnavigation on the *Endeavour*, Marmaduke Tunstall was involved in the spread of material from other Cook voyages: he probably received *Resolution* and *Adventure* voyage material from Solander (Whitehead, 1969), and sent mollusc shells from the first voyage to Linnaeus in 1772 (Whitehead, 1969).

Although Marmaduke Tunstall's natural history collections were outstanding, in fact they were only part of the Museum, and birds were only part of the natural history collections. A catalogue prepared for auction of part of the collection (Anon., 1792) included 200 various lots of shells, minerals, corals, fossils and insects. Typically of the eighteenth century, many of the lots were of shells, singly or in small numbers, but there were several entomological cabinets, one of 80 drawers, a cabinet of woods from 'the Brazils', and two cabinets containing a miniature collection of minerals scientifically arranged and numbered.

Several lots in the 1792 sale also indicate Tunstall's interest in the South Seas: several items from Tahiti and Hawaii included, *inter alia* bark cloth, fish hooks, combs, etc. and a "feather cloak, uncommonly large, such as is worn by the chiefs in the Sandwich Islands".

We may presume that the Museum was essentially assembled during Marmaduke

Tunstall's 'London Period', between the mid 1760s and 1776, but specimens were still being added to the collection in the late 1780s - for instance a pair of Scaup, *Aythya marila* (Linnaeus), could not have been acquired before December 1788 (*vide infra*). There are, however, very few specimens that can be dated accurately. The earliest surviving Marmaduke Tunstall item (in William Constable's geological cabinet at Burton Constable Hall) is a geological specimen, a fossil coral of Dinantian (Carboniferous) age, labelled in Marmaduke Tunstall's own hand "Wycliffe aug: 28-1763". A Gyr Falcon, *Falco rusticolus* Linnaeus, was presented to him by the Earl of Orford in 1775 and twenty three further specimens can be dated as pre-1776, as Brown (1776) published figures of them in that year. The material from Cook's voyages can be assigned earliest-possible dates, but they may have circulated between various collectors before being acquired by Marmaduke Tunstall. Unfortunately the provenance data for some of the most interesting specimens, like the Grey-headed Duck, *Tadorna cana* Gmelin (Jessop, 1999b), the Capercaillie and the juvenile Great Auk are either non-existent or unreliable.

Although Tunstall himself did not publish anything on the contents of his Museum, he certainly acted, like his father before him, as a 'Maecenas' - a patron of learning. For instance, not only did he make the bird collection available to Peter Brown, for his *New Illustrations of Zoology* (Brown, 1776), but he also provided financial support: "money, without which the work would never have come out & which will never be repaid".[1] There is evidence, from Nichol (1814, 1825), that he also supported the publication of several antiquarian works.

Several of the specimens figured by Brown later became the name-bearing types of nominal taxa, and one of them still survives in the Hancock Museum (Jessop and Prŷs-Jones, *in press*). This is the 'Green-headed Bunting', a specimen which was also figured by William Lewin (Lewin, 1790) and which is the holotype of two nominal taxa,

1 Marmaduke Tunstall to Thomas Pennant, [1781]. Bodleian Library: MS English Letters C229, ff90-95 (Jessop and Boyd, 1999).

Emberiza chlorocephala Gmelin, 1789 and *Emberiza tunstalli* Latham, 1790.

Moving the Museum North

Following his move to Wycliffe, Marmaduke Tunstall's Museum remained in London for seven years until he had built a "handsome, large airy room, in the back of the house, much better than that in London" (*teste* Fox, 1827) to house it. The Museum Room measured 45 x 20 feet, and there was a separate library 30 x 20 feet (Nichols, 1825).

Fox (1827) was uncertain about the year the Museum was moved to Wycliffe, but documents in the Constable family's archive[1] make it clear that it was transferred from London in 1783. During the last period of its stay in the Capital it was stored in William Constable's house in Mansfield Street. Late in 1782 Tunstall wrote to Thomas Pennant " tho' every year I have proposed to have my museum down & have a place built on purpose, yet always hitherto something overseen has prevented me finishing my apartment for it, my brother is so kind as to afford it a good asylum".[2] In 1781, Tunstall wrote to Thomas Pennant that he "Had one of Sr A. Lever's men to repair damages &c in museum".[3]

Documents surviving in the Burton Constable Archive provide what is perhaps the only surviving evidence of the cost of moving a museum in the eighteenth century. A bill from James Ward for packing up and transporting the Museum, involving two weeks' work at Mansfield Street in June 1783, three months work at Wycliffe, and "to coach and Expenses back" on the first of October totalled £37.12.0. On 15 October Marmaduke Tunstall wrote to William Salvin that visitors had called to inspect the Museum, but that it was not yet ready, being "in rubbish, the chymneys putting up and painting".[4]

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1 East Yorkshire County Record Office, DDCC 2/56-57.

2 Bodleian Library, English Letters C229, f.90.

3 Bodleian Library, English Letters C229, ff. 90-95.

4 Durham County Record Office, D/Sa/C 277.12.

John Goundry, taxidermist

Through Fox (1827) and Bewick (1975), we know the name of the man who prepared at least some of Marmaduke Tunstall's bird mounts. Fox referred once, on page 244, to Old John Goundry, Mr Tunstall's "joiner and bird-stuffer", who was still living at Wycliffe in 1827. Goundry was a tenant on the Wycliffe estate, his house being shown on Bailey's 1789 plan beside the church and river, with a garden of 20 perches.

John Goundry was certainly preparing specimens in 1790, when he stuffed a Stoat for William Salvin (letter from Tunstall to William Salvin, 24 May 1790). Goundry probably also prepared a male and female Scaup in December 1788, the first specimens of that species Marmaduke Tunstall had seen. The pair of Scaup survived in the museum at least until 1827[1] but have since been discarded. It not possible to say with certainty that any of the mounts that still survive are John Goundry's handiwork: the Museum was probably largely assembled prior to 1776 and lay in London until 1783, and it is unlikely that specimens would be sent from London to Wycliffe for stuffing.

There seems to have been a fair degree of familiarity between Marmaduke Tunstall and John Goundry, not only is the familiar 'Jacky' used, but John and George Goundry were two of three witnesses to Tunstall's will in 1789.[2]

1 DCRO, D/Sa/C 105, 108. Marmaduke Tunstall to William Salvin, 31 December 1788 and 24 May 1790).

2 East Yorkshire County Record Office, DDCC 134/57. Marmaduke Tunstall's will: dated 1 December 1789, date of probate 17 March 1791.

TUNSTALL'S CHARACTER

Various contemporaries commented on Marmaduke Tunstall's amiability. Altogether, an impression is given of a likeable and knowledgeable, if somewhat shy and homely individual. This impression is strengthened by reading his personal correspondence (Jessop and Boyd, 1999), where reference is made to a man of "sweetness of character", "suavity of manners and cheerful polite conversation". The Revd Zouch (*in* Nichols, 1825) wrote of "a sweet affability of disposition, an engaging urbanity of manners, and enlarged liberality of thought. The words of passion and resentment never dropped from his lips; he was all mildness and benevolence. His deeds of charity were many; he was literally the poor man's friend".

An article by Pegge (*in* Nichols, 1814) was in a similar vein:

> He was a friend to Establishments in Religion, but a warm advocate for a general toleration ... His morals were the morals enforced by our common Lord and Saviour in the Sermon on the Mount. He was a friend to merit in distress, however distant the object. And it is hard to say, whether his Domesticks, his Tenants, or the Poor, will most lament his death. In a word, this excellent man believed what he professed, and acted upon principle.

Thomas Bewick commented that in 1791 both George Goundry and the Revd Thomas Zouch spoke very kindly of their late neighbour. Zouch (an Anglican cleric), Tunstall (a Roman Catholic landowner) and Goundry (a Deist artisan) "lived in constant charity and good will towards each other". With a tear on his cheek, George Goundry would

> enumerate the charities and liberality of the late Mr Tunstal[sic], and as a proof of the latter he instanced his being at a great expense in privately contributing *very greatly* towards the pewing of Wycliffe Church (Bewick, 1975).

In 1827, John Goundry criticised a drawing of Marmaduke Tunstall, for "scarcely possessing that sweetness of character which shone so conspicuously in his revered master". Certainly the portrait in oils, still surviving at Burton Constable (Figure 1) shows a much more cheerful and affable man than the somewhat purse-lipped character illustrated in the engraving reproduced by Fox.

DOMESTIC LIFE

In 1776, Marmaduke Tunstall married Mary, daughter of Mary and George Markham of Lincolnshire (or, of Ollerton, Nottinghamshire: Hamilton, 1906). Mary Tunstall 's maternal uncle William Salvin and his family lived at Croxdale in County Durham (Hutchinson, 1823), and their proximity may have been an inducement for the Tunstalls to move to Wycliffe to live. Pegge's article (*in* Nichols, 1814) on Tunstall gives an insight into the married couple, Mary's "constant and affectionate attention to him, together with a taste like his own for retired life, rendered them perfectly happy in each other. Had it not been for this predilection for retirement, their suavity of manners and cheerful polite conversation would have been a great acquisition to Society".

A letter from Thomas Bewick to Ralph Beilby, written during his stay at Wycliffe in July 1791[1], gives an independent first-hand account of life in the Tunstall household, albeit after Marmaduke's death.

> The family at Wycliffe Hall are all Roman Catholicks - have prayers (in a Chappell within the House) twice a day - the doors are lock'd and all is quiet during the time of service - but they don't mind me I am left alone, at my employment... their [*sic*] is no drinking - no excess - a single glass of wine or so is all - I believe I shall be quite weaned by the time I return to NC again - I sleep at one house, get my victuals at

1 The letter was published in 1996, in the 203rd Annual Report of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne.

another, and have to go backwards and forwards to the Hall to work - it is rather inconvenient but I must make it do - I am also obliged to shave myself - there is no Barbers here.

The Tunstalls had no children, but a series of letters from Marmaduke to William Salvin[1] show a close affection between them and Mary's younger cousin Margaret Salvin. After Marmaduke Tunstall's death, Mary sought assistance from her uncle in sorting out her financial affairs.[2] She reported to William Salvin in December 1791 that Mrs Constable's trustees had paid out her legacy and mortgage of £8,000. Connection between Mary and her husband's family seems to have been severed after 1791 and she left the district, living in several religious houses. She died at Shepton Mallet in Somerset (or, at Hammersmith (Hamilton, 1906)) in October 1825.

DEATH, AND SETTLEMENT OF THE ESTATE

Marmaduke Tunstall died suddenly on 11 October 1790 in his 48th year, and was buried in the chancel of the church at Wycliffe. More than thirty years later, Fox consulted John Goundry, who was still living at Wycliffe, and noted 'there is reason to conclude the cause of it [Tunstall's death] to have been hydrothorax'. Hydrothorax is an accumulation of fluid in one or both pleural cavities and is a symptom, not a disease. The usual causes of hydrothorax are tuberculosis, pneumonia or lung cancer. As death was said to be sudden, this probably rules out lung cancer or tuberculosis, which would both be accompanied by a period of ill-health: the most likely cause of death was a severe attack of pneumonia.

The death was marked by a brief obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* ([Watson], 1790), half of which is taken up with the full title of the *Ornithologia Britannica*! Perhaps after fifteen years away from the capital, leading a secluded life in Yorkshire,

1 DCRO, D/Sa/C 277. Twenty-one letters, dated between 1774 and 1790.

2 DCRO, D/Sa/C 91.

there were few *literati* who would still remember him. Only later, through the works of Nichols (1814, 1825) and Fox (1827) were his life and character made public.

SIX : THE FATE OF MARMADUKE TUNSTALL'S COLLECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Having established the history of the collector, it is now necessary to follow the fate of Marmaduke Tunstall's collections. Although it has been claimed that Marmaduke Tunstall's collections survive today in the Hancock Museum (Davis and Holmes, 1993), even when the material discovered in the course of this project (1995-1999) is added to the few specimens previously recognised it is clear that what survives in the Hancock Museum is just a very minor portion of Tunstall's original collections - a small remnant of that part of it which came to Newcastle in 1822. This section describes in broad terms the fate of the collections over the two centuries since Tunstall's death, and lists the surviving material.

1790-1800. INITIAL BREAK-UP OF THE COLLECTION

Marmaduke Tunstall died at his home at Wycliffe, North Yorkshire on 11 October 1790, after an illness of only two hours. He had no children and there is no evidence that Mrs Tunstall influenced the fate of her husband's collections.

By the conditions of Marmaduke Tunstall's will the bulk of his estate passed to his half-brother William Constable. The will went to Probate on 17 March 1791, but a mere two months later (on 18 May), William Constable also died. In the interval, it seems that he had already made much progress in settling the debts and mortgages and by late October 1791, a year after Marmaduke Tunstall's death, the whole of his debts and legacies were ready to be paid out[1]. A letter from a solicitor to Mrs Tunstall's uncle indicates that just

1 DCRO, D/Sa/F 154.4 (Henry Bell to William Salvin, 28 October 1791).

before his death, William Constable had decided to sell the Wycliffe estate[1]. It is quite probable that his finances were unable to bear the additional strain of the heavily-mortgaged North Yorkshire properties, and they would also have provided an extra burden to the administrative work arising from his other, already extensive, property at Burton Constable.

Following William Constable's death, the Wycliffe and Burton Constable estates passed to his nephew Edward Sheldon (1750-1803), and the break-up of Tunstall's collections continued. Although Fox (1827) suggested that it was Sheldon who sold the Museum, books and pictures, there is evidence that much of the Museum had already been sold before Wycliffe came into Sheldon's possession. An inventory of Wycliffe made after William Constable's death,[2] which was intended to list all of his possessions, contains no mention of specimens, books or bookcases. At that time the Museum Room contained: a large table with leaves, small table, horse shoe table, eight chairs, fire furniture, old japan pearl table and two cabinets of fossils [note added to this item: *sent to Christies*]. The inventory also shows that Marmaduke Tunstall had left debts of £22,610. Possibly, William Constable needed money rapidly to settle immediate debts, and the contents of the Library and Museum were assets that could be easily realised. It is also possible that he may simply have been unable to find room within Burton Constable to house the Museum and books and knew they would have to be sold eventually, so he took advantage of immediate offers to buy them.

According to Fox (1827) "Mr Allan was the purchaser of the Museum, and Mr Todd, of York, bookseller, of the books". Todd sold the books by catalogue in 1792 (no copy of the catalogue has been traced). William Constable's own library, his "Natural Curiosities" and his collection of scientific instruments were not sold, and some still remain at Burton Constable Hall. Some of Marmaduke Tunstall's geological specimens

1 DCRO D/Sa/F 154.2. Letter from Henry Bell to William Salvin, 22 June 1791.

2 East Yorkshire County Record Office, DDCC 145/27.

also survive at Burton Constable Hall among William Constable's geology cabinet (M.J. Boyd, *pers. comm.*), but may have been sent there during Tunstall's lifetime rather than after his death.

Although it has been widely assumed that George Allan bought the whole of Marmaduke Tunstall's Museum, in fact he acquired only part of it. Allan bought mainly the birds, for which he paid £700 (not "just under £77" as stated by Jackson, 1985). Thomas Bewick visited Wycliffe in July and August 1791 to sketch birds for use in his *History of British Birds*. Shortly afterwards, the collection was removed: Allan wrote to Bewick on 2 December 1791 (*teste* Fox, 1827) that he hoped to have all, or the greater part of his purchase moved to Darlington by Christmas.

The remainder of Marmaduke Tunstall's collections (which, it must be assumed, had been removed from Wycliffe before William Constable's inventory was made) were sold by auction, by Christie's of Pall Mall, London on 14-15 May 1792 (Anon., 1792; Boyd and Credland, 1984). The auction catalogue shows the collection to have been very extensive in scale, and the scope of it was similar to that of other major eighteenth century collections. Divided into 298 lots, there were many shells and minerals, "miscellaneous curiosities" including sulphur casts of medals, scientific instruments, antiquities, carvings in ivory, cabinets of insects, a cabinet of fine specimens of foreign woods, etc. Of interest to historians of the discovery of the Pacific were several lots in the second day's sale of curiosities from New Zealand and Tahiti. Messrs Christie, Manson and Woods (London) hold a copy of the catalogue, annotated with prices and names of buyers.

In January 1792, Thomas Pennant wrote to George Allan "much as I lament Mr. Tunstall, I am glad that his museum has fallen into such hands". At the end of the year, realising that the collection had been divided, Pennant wrote, "I am very sorry to hear of the fate of Mr Tunstall's collections. I know he impoverished himself by the ardour of his pursuits after these objects" (both letters cited by Fox, 1827).

ADDITIONS TO THE COLLECTION BY GEORGE ALLAN

George Allan is known to have acquired objects from sources other than Marmaduke Tunstall. Fox (1827) mentioned three collections from which Allan bought antiquities and ethnographic items, the Museums of George Humphrey[1], Daniel Boulter[2] and Sir Ashton Lever[3] (Fox, 1827). We cannot, therefore assume with certainty that any human artefact in Allan's collection passed through Marmaduke Tunstall's hands. Philipson (1981) is correct, for instance, in expressing doubt that a medieval bishop's crozier (the Sebroke Crozier) was owned by Tunstall: although it would have fitted well into the scope of his collecting activities, there is simply no evidence that it was ever in his possession. Similarly, although at least one item in Allan's collection was definitely brought to England by the crew of the *Endeavour* in 1771 (a painted paddle from New Zealand that was figured by Sydney Parkinson during the voyage) during the period that Tunstall was building his collection, given the volume of trade in South Seas items in the late eighteenth century, we cannot assume that Tunstall once owned them.

In addition to the ethnographic items and antiquities, we must allow the possibility that George Allan also acquired natural curiosities from these Museums and elsewhere.

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1 Neither Allan nor Tunstall bought items in the sale of Humphrey's Museum in 1779 (*teste* the 'Oslo' copy of Humphrey, 1779, which is annotated with prices and names of buyers). An annotated copy showing items from Humphrey's collection apparently acquired by George Allan was in the library at the Hancock Museum until 1905, when it passed to the Natural History Museum in London as part of an exchange (Sherborn, 1905).

2 The annotated copy of Boulter (1793) mentioned by Fox in 1827 survives in the library at the Hancock Museum.

3 The annotated copy of the *Companion* to the Leverian Museum (Anon., 1790), seen by Fox in 1827, has not been traced. Presumably, Allan bought items from Parkinson between 1790 and 1800.

There are very few birds listed in the *Museum Humfredianum* (Humphrey, 1779) and none in the *Companion* to Sir Ashton Lever's Museum (Anon., 1790). However, 97 natural history items, including 42 birds (mainly exotic species) and 11 mounted mammals are marked with a cross in Allan's annotated copy of the *Museum Boulterianum* (Boulter, 1793), and we may assume that Allan either bought them, or intended to buy them.

George Allan's Museum was exhibited in Darlington from 1792 to 1794 before being moved to his home at Blackwell Grange near Darlington (Philipson, 1981) where it was on show to the public until his death on 18 May 1800. Allan's Museum occupied two large rooms on the north side of the house. The larger room contained the birds, with the cases arranged back-to-back so as to divide the room into three smaller apartments (Fox, 1827).

1800-1827 FROM BLACKWELL GRANGE TO NEWCASTLE MUSEUM

After George Allan's death, there was an initial proposal to disperse his collection either through antiquaries in York or London (correspondence printed by Fox (1827: 39-40)). This scheme did not materialise and Allan's son bought the Museum from his executors. It remained at Blackwell Grange for 22 years. The contents of Blackwell Grange were scheduled to be sold by auction in July 1822 and a catalogue was prepared (Anon., 1822). Through the efforts of George Townshend Fox and others the Museum was bought by private treaty before the auction, by the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne (known locally as the 'Lit. & Phil.') for £400, considerably less than Allan had paid for the birds alone.

Fox published a catalogue in 1827 which described the history of the collection to date, provided a complete list of the specimens then in the Museum, and was, incidentally, an early model of good quality museum documentation.

The Lit. & Phil. had already acquired a range of material for its own Museum since its foundation in 1793 (Watson, 1897; Russell Goddard, 1929). For instance, as early as 1794 it received "various curiosities of Nature and Art from the islands in the South Sea, and from China, from Mr Flower Humble", and other Polynesian material was presented by Captain Wilson of *The Duff* in 1799. It had also received a gift of a Wombat and Duck-billed Platypus from Governor Hunter of New South Wales in 1798, and two Egyptian mummies and sundry Natural Curiosities and antiquities from other sources.

The collection acquired from George Allan's son was initially held in store, until it could be accommodated in the Lit. & Phil's building.

The name 'Newcastle Museum' was coined for the Museum shortly after it arrived in the city. The Newcastle Museum was for many years the largest museum in Northeast England, and was for over a century the only museum in Newcastle to which there was general public access. It influenced other museum developments, for instance Newcastle Corporation (unlike most major cities) did not develop a general municipal museum in the middle of the nineteenth century, probably because the Newcastle Museum already supplied the need. The history of the Museum between 1829 and 1929 was outlined in broad detail by Russell Goddard (1929), and Philipson (1981) gave a detailed account of its early history and the relationship between the various academic societies involved in its operation.

Early manuscript documentation

Fox referred to three early sources of information about the specimens in the Museum:

1. "*Tunst. MS*"

Fox stated in his introduction (1827: x), that "no catalogue of his [Tunstall's] was found with the Museum". However, Fox acquired an "original MS. of Mr. Tunstall's, consisting of remarks on Dr. Latham's Synopsis of Birds, apparently addressed to him soon after the publication of his earlier volume, about the year 1783, with additions and corrections, in 1784", and quoted extensively from it in his catalogue, where it is

referred to as the "Tunst. MS". The present location of this manuscript, if it still exists, is unknown.

2. *"Allan MS"*

George Allan prepared a three-volume catalogue of the collection, apparently for publication, but it was never printed. The catalogue was extensively quoted by Fox (1827), who had access to two volumes of it, covering the birds. One volume of it (the land birds) has survived and is now owned by the University of Durham[1]

1827-1884: MAJOR LOSS OF ITEMS FROM THE COLLECTION

The Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne (renamed the Natural History Society of Northumbria in 1974, and known in brief as the NHS) was formed in 1829, soon after the collection arrived in Newcastle. It seems that the NHS was founded with the principal aim of caring for the collections of the Newcastle Museum (Philipson, 1981), and from 1829 almost until the present that has been the major function of the society. The Newcastle Museum remained at the Lit and Phil's building until 1884 when it was removed to a purpose-built new home, which has been called the Hancock Museum since 1891.

The ornithological collections have been one of the major strengths of the Newcastle Museum since its acquisition of Tunstall's collection in 1822. They grew enormously throughout the nineteenth century, and now contain an internationally important collection of birds, both of mounts and study skins. A catalogue of the specimens on display in the bird gallery at the Hancock Museum was published in 1899 (Howse, 1899), which showed a major synoptic series of British birds plus a small number of exotic species, mainly from New Zealand.

Between 1827 and 1899, the dates of Fox's and Howse's catalogues, most of the 600

1 Durham University Library, Add. M.S. 598.2 A6.

bird specimens from George Allan's Museum were lost. Richard Howse used the term "Old Museum" to include all old specimens without data and there is a possibility that some "Old Museum" specimens may have originated in Tunstall's collection. However, only three birds were specifically listed by Howse as originating in the 'Wycliffe - Allan Museum': a Red-breasted Goose, the immature Great Auk and a Long-tailed Tit.

Some of Marmaduke Tunstall's specimens were not catalogued by Richard Howse, because they were not then on display in the bird room: some birds' heads were probably held in store and other bird mounts formed part of a special display of specimens figured by Bewick. Non-ornithological material (such as mollusc shells, fossils, plants) may have survived and been transferred to the Hancock Museum, but there are no detailed catalogues surviving of those parts of the collection.

Reasons for the loss of the collection

How could the bird collection, so carefully documented by Fox in 1827, be lost by 1899? There is circumstantial evidence from the minute books of the council of the NHS that all of the several factors usually involved in the attrition of museum collections - theft, sale, neglect, accident, and disposal by curators - may have been involved.

Disposal

Although some of Marmaduke Tunstall's specimens were scientifically important and all would now be of great historic interest, they may not have comprised impressive display material, and by the last decades of the nineteenth century all but a few specimens of historic importance were probably just regarded as 'old junk'. Bewick had recorded in his *Memoir*, when he used the birds at Wycliffe in 1791, that he "found the very great difference between preserved specimens and those from Nature, no regard having been paid, at that time, to fix the former in their proper attitudes, nor to place the different series of the feathers so as to fall properly upon each other" (Bewick, 1975), indicating that the material was probably even then not in good condition.

At least in the early years of the Newcastle Museum, there were attempts to make the birds more presentable for display. Some of the specimens were repaired and re-set by Richard Wingate, a local taxidermist who was employed in 1822, at a cost of £100, to clean and remount them (Russell Goddard, 1929). The NHS subsequently employed Wingate as keeper[1] of the Newcastle Museum in 1834.

If the specimens were in poor condition, the curators may have discarded them when better ones became available or when room was needed to house newly acquired material. As early as 1834, among Wingate's duties he was "to employ himself in preserving birds".[2] In subsequent years there seems to have been a project aimed at setting up exotic bird skins as mounts.[3] Several major collections were acquired by the NHS in the years following the foundation of the museum: *inter alia* corals from the Earl of Tankerville (1837), valuable minerals presented by the Emperor of Russia (1838), birds from John Gould (1832-43) and several important herbaria. No extra space was available to house them, and by the 1850s the NHS council complained that the Museum Room was too small and specimens were being held in reserve collections. In these circumstances, some of the poorer material may have been discarded to create space for the new collections.

John Hancock added specimens to the bird collections for many years, and in 1881 he offered his own collection of several thousands of mounts and skins with the proviso that "My collection of British Birds must take the place of the Society's present collection of British Birds with the exception of a few specimens" (Russell Goddard, 1929). The residue of the old NHS collection was sold to the Middlesbrough Free Library for £150. If this material still existed in Middlesbrough it would at some stage would have been passed to the Dorman Museum, but none has survived either there or

1 The Newcastle Museum, and later the Hancock Museum, had a long tradition of employing a professional Keeper, but also of having amateur honorary curators who played a large part in running the museum and maintaining the collections. John Hancock was an honorary curator for several decades, but was never employed as a keeper.

2 Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne, Council Minutes (hereafter, NHS, CM) 17.iii.1834.

3 NHS, CM 15.ii.1836 and 20.xi.1837.

at Middlesbrough Library.

A few other examples of disposal or transfer of specimens from the NHS's collections exist. In 1864 duplicate bird mounts from the storeroom were given to the Ragged School,[1] and skeletons were deposited in the museum of the College of Medicine in 1859.[2]

Sale of specimens, and suspect curators

One of the strangest episodes in the history of the NHS is the case of William King, keeper of the Museum 1840-47. Later to go on to become a professor and to write the Palaeontographical Society monograph on Permian fossils (see Pettigrew, 1979, Turner, 1979), prior to his appointment King had traded in minerals and fossils. He was employed with the stipulation that he would not "deal in the subjects of Natural History himself but shall be authorised to sell such duplicates as the society may possess under the directions of a committee formed of the honorary curators ... upon which he shall be allowed a commission of 25%".[3]

Later NHS council minutes show William King in a very poor light and although there is no direct accusation of theft of specimens or of profiteering through unauthorised sale, he certainly left his post in suspicious circumstances ... "Mr King has since dealt to a considerable amount for his own profit" ... "regarding the value of Mr King's services during the last six years the general opinion seemed to be that Mr King had done little or nothing" ... "Mr King should immediately remove his own collections from the drawers belonging to the society".[4] Eventually King was dismissed from his post[5], and on being asked to give up his keys to the Museum, he refused: the locks were changed

1 NHS, CM 8.iv.1864.

2 NHS, CM 13.x.1859.

3 NHS, CM 16.xi.1840.

4 NHS, CM 29.iii.1847.

5 NHS, CM 25.v.1847.

on the doors[1]. There seems, however, to have been a considerable amount of bad feeling and academic rivalry between King and some leading members of the NHS and it is impossible to say whether the adverse criticisms in the minute books of the council meetings present a fair picture of the true situation, especially given his later outstanding career (Turner, 1979; Pettigrew, 1979).

Notwithstanding the rights and wrongs of William King's case it must be considered unlikely that he would find buyers for bird specimens from Marmaduke Tunstall's collection (even if he wanted to sell them), if the bird mounts were as bad as Thomas Bewick had claimed half a century earlier. Few people would want to purchase these older specimens when new, good-quality, mounts were available from taxidermists such as Richard Wingate and John Hancock.

Falling plaster and building works

In the 1850s, the NHS became aware of the shortcomings of the room housing its museum. "The present roof ... excludes light to such a degree that on dull days the objects in the cases and especially in those at the sides of the room cannot be discovered at all. If ... the presently unsightly roof would be removed, and the frequently [*sic*] breakage of glass in the flat cases below by the fall of plaster from above would be obviated".[2] If there is any consolation in this, it is that the specimens would not be at risk of fading because of high light levels!

The breakage of cases from falling plaster was a recurring theme in the NHS council meetings. In 1859 it was reported that large pieces of plaster were detaching from the ceiling and falling on the cases, breaking the glass in display cases.[3]

The damage to specimens through broken cases may not have been great - the only

1 NHS, CM xi.1847.

2 NHS, CM 29.vii.1853.

3 NHS, CM 15.x.1859.

reference is to "two or three rare shells" being broken in November 1859, but in 1862-63 there was a potentially much more damaging event when a new ceiling was installed and a gallery erected around the room. It is possible that at that time the opportunity was taken to dispose of some of the older specimens.

Students

A further threat to the collections arose in the 1870s, when the University of Durham established a Chair of Biology at the College of Physical Sciences in Newcastle. The NHS council agreed to allow specimens to be used for teaching purposes as early as 1871[1]. In 1875 the council suggested that £5 would be charged for the use of specimens,[2] which would be issued under the direction of the curator[3].

It was not only the students of biology who had access to the specimens. In 1872 there was a report of "certain damage to models in the society's museum" [possibly glass models made by Blaschka, known to have been in the society's collection at that date] by students of the College of Medicine "who have by privilege access to the collections for purposes of study"[4].

In 1874 the NHS went further. Not only was this access to continue, but the professor would act as "superintendent curator of the museum". This seems to have caused considerable concern among the NHS council members. Whether it was for fear of damage to the collections, or perhaps because they felt a personal slight at having the collections they had cared for over many years being put under the control of a professor from the University of Durham, there were mass resignations from the NHS council in 1875 - two secretaries and six of the honorary curators resigned at the same time. The annual reports of the society, published in its *Transactions* (**5**: 361-384) shed very little

1 NHS, CM 23.x.1871.

2 NHS, CM 20.v.1875.

3 NHS, CM 15.vii.1875.

4 NHS, CM 22.iv.1872.

light on this controversy, although a note in the *Newcastle Express* on 14 August 1875 (a cutting of which is pasted into the NHS council's minute book) claimed that the society appeared to be going through a crisis and linked the resignations with the use of specimens for teaching.

It is not known whether damage was caused to the collections by students or whether they stole specimens, and there is no mention of such damage in the council minutes or NHS annual reports. However, If the curators needed poor-quality specimens without provenance to be regarded as disposable material for the use of undergraduates, surely they would have looked to the older museum specimens - another possible, although not provable, means of attrition of Marmaduke Tunstall's collection.

1884 - 2000: LONG PERIOD OF STASIS FOLLOWED BY RAPID CHANGE

The collections in the Hancock Museum continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, but the displays remained substantially unchanged for many years. On my own first visit to the Hancock Museum in 1970 I found most of the galleries looking as they probably did when they were installed in 1884, with groups of animals laid out in synoptic series in their nineteenth century glass-fronted wooden cases. This long period of stagnation, although undesirable in some ways, at least gave a degree of stability to the displayed objects and the high standard of labelling by the late-Victorian curators meant that most specimens had good associated provenance data.

A programme of gallery developments since the 1970s has involved the destruction of the original nineteenth century displays, none of which now remains. For some of the specimens the change was catastrophic: for example, when the bird gallery was taken down in 1979 the cases were emptied by graduate trainees who separated all the birds from their data labels. Although it has been possible to match some specimens against photographs and thus assign provenances to individual specimens, this is not always possible. Some Tunstall specimens, including at least one (a spoonbill *Platalea*

leucorodia - see Appendix Two) figured by Thomas Bewick and a Jacana (known to be on display until 1979 and missing by 1992) have been lost in recent decades.

The display of Bewick-figured birds was taken down in 1939 and the specimens were removed to country houses along with other valuable items from the collections for protection during the impending war. There is no evidence that the display was restored in 1945, and most of the specimens were discovered in the museum's attic during the 1990s. Some specimens had deteriorated while in the attic, and others have disappeared in recent decades (see Jessop, 1999a).

As a result of the recognition of Tunstall material, two purpose-built security cabinets have been purchased, and the few surviving specimens not currently on display have been placed in them. It is hoped that this measure will secure the future long-term survival of this material, which although only a fragment of Tunstall's original museum, yet comprises one of the largest surviving collections of eighteenth century mounted birds in Europe.

SUMMARY OF TUNSTALL'S COLLECTIONS

Botany

There is no evidence that Marmaduke Tunstall had an extensive herbarium. Eleven volumes of William Constable's herbarium survive at Burton Constable Hall. This may contain some specimens provided by Tunstall. No catalogue of Constable's botanical collection is currently available.

Vertebrates

The collection (mostly ornithological) survived, apparently intact, until at least 1827. By 1899 almost all of the specimens had disappeared. Twenty-five mounted birds and a turtle carapace now survive in the Hancock Museum: these are listed and discussed in Appendix Two (see also Jessop, 1999a).

Entomology

Sold by auction in 1792.

Mollusca

Sold by auction in 1792.

Corals

Sold by auction in 1792.

Geology

Sold by auction in 1792. A small number of Marmaduke Tunstall's specimens that survive at Burton Constable Hall may have been given to William Constable during Tunstall's lifetime.

Ethnography and antiquities

Some items were sold by auction in 1792. Others may have passed to George Allan, and then eventually to the Hancock Museum. The Antiquities from Allan's collection were passed to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1834 (Philipson, 1981) and have since been dispersed - some to the Museum of Antiquities in Newcastle, others to the Hancock Museum and at least two items have been sold to the British Museum. Much of George Allan's ethnographic collection has survived in the Hancock Museum (see appendix 3).

Scientific Instruments

Some items were sold by auction in 1792. William Constable possibly retained others: if so, then they survive in Burton Constable Hall. William Constable's instrument collection has been researched and catalogued in recent years (Hall, 1991a; Hall, 1991b)

Books

Todd, a bookseller of York sold the contents of Marmaduke Tunstall's library in 1792. No copy of Todd's catalogue has been located. One book with Tunstall's bookplate (Wirsling, 1775 *Marmora et adfines aliquos lapides coloribus suis exprimi*) is now owned by the NHS.

Manuscripts

The Burton Constable Archive, housed in the East Yorkshire County Records Office at Beverley, holds a number of manuscripts relating to Marmaduke Tunstall and Wycliffe. His correspondence concerning the Chillingham 'wild' white cattle has been discussed elsewhere (Jessop and Boyd, 1996). Other manuscripts which were retained by the Constable family after Marmaduke Tunstall's death were sold during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: this material included Tunstall's copy of the zoological works of Thomas Pennant, interleaved with extensive annotations. The notes survive in the Blacker-Wood Library (McGill University, Montreal[1]), having been extracted from the printed books following their sale.

The Bodleian Library (Oxford) holds a collection of letters from Tunstall to William Constable and others: these letters are discussed in detail elsewhere (Jessop and Boyd, 1999).

Durham County Record Office holds material in four files. This material mostly comprises correspondence with William Salvin concerning family matters and the finances of the Wycliffe estate.

Smaller collections of manuscripts are held by: Ushaw College (Langley Park, Durham) (two documents); National Library of Wales (one letter to Thomas Pennant); Linnean Society of London (short series of correspondence between Tunstall and Linnaeus (Davis, *in press*), and Durham University (one letter).

Paintings and prints

Some prints surviving at Burton Constable probably came from Marmaduke Tunstall's collection, but their provenance has yet to be fully researched.

1 A photocopy of the entire set of notes was provided by McGill in 2000, and has been bound and presented to the library of the Natural History Society of Northumbria.

SEVEN :
18th CENTURY ETHNOGRAPHY COLLECTIONS IN THE HANCOCK MUSEUM

INTRODUCTION

[This is a summary of 18th century ethnographic collections in the Hancock Museum, which are described in detail in appendix 3]

The ethnographic collection built up by Marmaduke Tunstall and George Allan was typical of its time, in that it contained large quantities of material from the Pacific, few artefacts from Asia and very few from Africa and the Americas. Other comparable collections assembled during the same period survive, and several have been documented, e.g in Göttingen (Hauser-Schäublin & Krüger, 1998); Florence, Berne and Leningrad (Kaeppler, 1978b); Herrnhut (Augustin, 1993) and elsewhere. We should ask how these collections developed, and how and why they differ from museums assembled at different times. While recognising that parallel developments were occurring elsewhere, for instance in Edinburgh (Taylor, 1992), most information is available for London and this is the area on which I will focus.

Collecting activity in general increased during the latter half of the 18th century, as did the number of collectors. This development paralleled wider activity in Natural History at the time, and 1750-1800 was the half-century in which the discipline became essentially modern in character (Allen, 1993). If it is an inherent trait in the human psyche to collect things, then we need to ask why this trait was so poorly developed

earlier[1]. It could be that several enabling mechanisms were not present, such as spare time, spare financial resources, the availability of things to collect, the general approval of one's peers or the mechanisms that enable a collector to acquire, exchange and transmit material to posterity.

If one enabling mechanism is the existence of a model which collectors can emulate on a smaller scale, then we might look to the major museums. Although Sloane's collection had its origins in the late 17th century, it was a private enterprise until it became the British Museum, which, when it opened to the public in 1759 was the first generally accessible collection in London. By the late 18th century, the British Museum had a gallery called 'the South Seas Room' dedicated to Pacific ethnography (Malcolm, 1803). The Leverian Museum, the only other major collection to which there was general access (and which at one time contained a larger display of Pacific ethnography than the British Museum) came to London in 1775. We must also presume that collectors would have access to other museums through their social networks.

The mechanisms that facilitated the build-up of these museums are less well known. Whereas in the late 17th century Sir Hans Sloane seems to have acquired material mainly by exchange with friends such as James Petiver, Charles du Bois, Leonard Plukenet, Adam Buddle and Martin Lister, half a century later collectors had the additional opportunity of buying their collections from dealers and auction houses. There is no published study of these dealers, but just as major museums developed in the late 18th century, and major collectors became more numerous, so do the names of a few dealers become known.

Dealers in curiosities probably dealt equally at that time in Natural and Artificial Curiosities. For instance George Humphrey (?1745-1830) was both a collector and dealer in London who traded in shells and was also commissioned to assemble an ethnographic collection for Göttingen. Daniel Boulter (of Great Yarmouth) had a private museum but also sold natural history specimens as well as artefacts (see Southwell,

1 Or at least, so *generally* developed, since examples could be cited of scattered collectors active from at least the renaissance onwards.

1909). Members of the Sowerby family were not only naturalists and artists, but also dealers in books and specimens (see Wheeler, 1974).

As for auction houses, the earliest Natural History auction in Britain was held within our period (1770) (see Chalmers-Hunt, 1976). These sales, as, for instance when Humphrey's collection was sold by Paterson of King Street in 1779, often included artefacts as well as Natural History specimens. Several well-known auction houses can trace their origin to the late 18th century: Christie's was founded in 1766, Philip's in 1796 and Sotheby's in 1744. Paterson's was founded in King Street in 1776 in a premises that was later to be occupied by a succession of auctioneers including King & Lochee and later Stevens: the latter firm trading until 1939 (see Allingham, 1824).

With these mechanisms of acquisition and exchange plus increased availability of comparative material and other ways (including literature) to understand objects, there also came about an apparent social shift, in that being a collector became 'the thing to do'. The importance of the social approbation of one's peers should not be understated: it is a strong normalising factor that not only determines 'collecting' but also what is collected. There are many exceptions, but London naturalists of the late 17th century mainly made collections of pressed plants. A century later, the trend was for mollusc shells. Another century later and the thrust of collection building was Lepidoptera and birds' eggs. The latest development is to collect records of occurrences, and not the actual objects. These shifts could be documented by looking at rising and falling auction prices, e.g. as summarised by Allingham, 1924.

Ethnographic collecting has seen similar shifts. The late 18th century was the period of the Pacific, in more ways than one (see Smith, 1985). The Tunstall-Allan collection was similar to others of their time, in that it held significant quantities of Pacific artefacts, and mainly items from Polynesia rather than Melanesia and Australia. This, of course, was largely a result of the voyages of Captain Cook, but we should ask why previous explorers did not bring back comparable amounts of material. The first western explorer to traverse the Pacific was Magellan in 1520-21, and although there were few successors in the next two centuries, not one surviving Pacific artefact was in the West before the

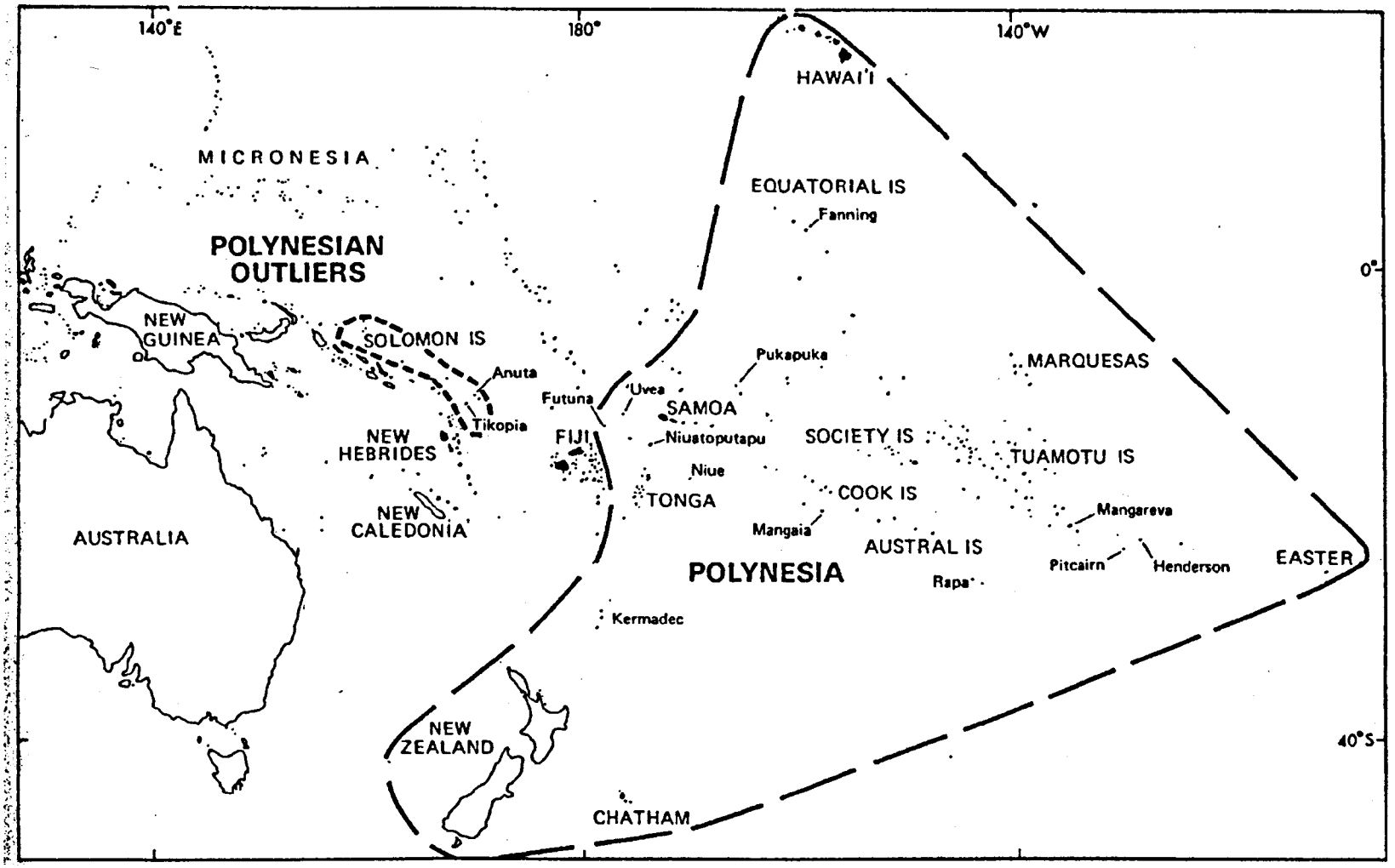
late 18th century. Even Bougainville and Wallis, who led the first vessels to reach Tahiiti brought back very little. It was the return of the *Endeavour* in 1771 that really sparked the trend for collecting 'artificial curiosities', and helped to create a market that was fed by Cook's two subsequent voyages.

It is interesting to consider what areas of the world were *not* represented in the Tunstall-Allan collections. The continent prominently under-represented is North America. Apart from the Cook voyage material from the West coast, there were (two?) scalping knives, a birch-bark canoe model, a pouch from Hudson Bay, two pairs of snow shoes, two Labrador bows, an Inuit kayak model and a fish hook. Most of this material originated through trade in the Hudson Bay area, the exception being the canoe model which is of a type made as souvenirs in the Great Lakes region. This shortage of material fits into the general European pattern: although Britain had traded with the American colonies for centuries, explorers and merchants generally did not bring/send material home. By the time the market for 'curiosities' developed in the late 18th century, it was too late: the First Nations along the eastern seaboard were rapidly diminishing and those people that were left were adopting western technology. (See Feest, 1992 for a compendium of the pathetically small amount of American material in western collections pre-1750).

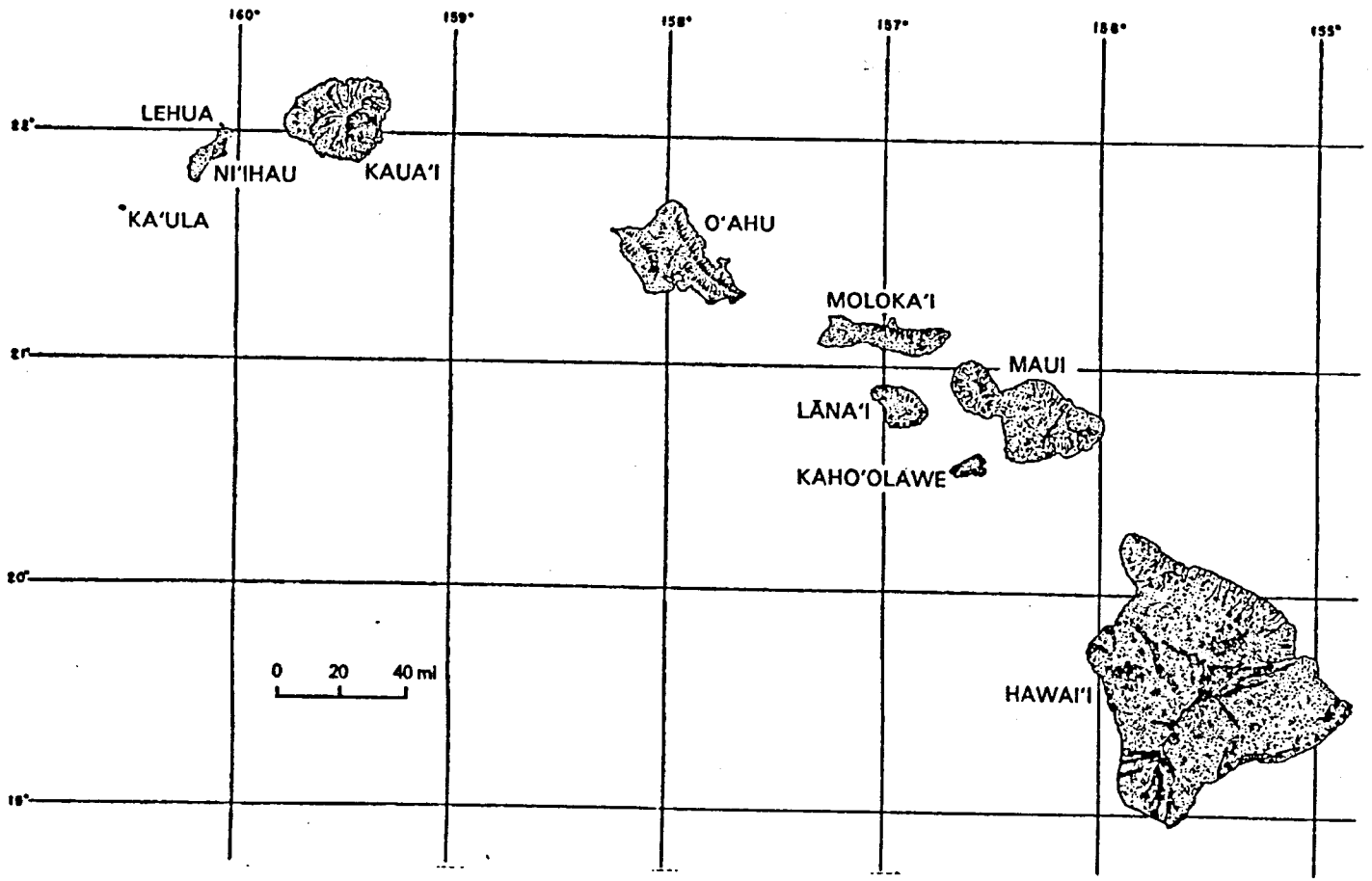
Africa is an even more neglected continent. Only one item in the Tunstall-Allan collection, a manillo (currency bar), had an African origin. This is despite the large volume of trade with West Africa. It is a mystery why 18th century collectors did not build collections of West African woodcarving, jewellry, musical instruments, clothing or weapons.

The Asian collections are a mixture, including clothing, figurines, manuscripts and carvings. Some are of a type (e.g. dotchins, krisses, chinese hat, *feng shui* compass) still made for tourists and found in curio stalls. Other material (the Chinese carved ivories) was undoubtedly made for the Western trade, but are now a much rarer class of item. The Chinese and Turkish shoes were items of day-to-day use, probably brought home by travellers because of the quality of workmanship. Spears, bows and arrows have found a place in men's collections through the centuries. There is no material, such as

Chinese porcelain vases, Japanese swords and armour or Indian miniature paintings that would be classed today among Fine Art: it is likely that in the 18th century their prices would be beyond the reach of many collectors.



Map One The major islands and island groups in the Polynesian Triangle (from Kirch, 1985)



Map Two The islands of the Hawaiian group (from Kirch, 1985)

PART TWO

EIGHT : THE WICKER HEADS OF HAWAII

INTRODUCTION

This section of the thesis examines wicker heads, a class of objects that is unique to the Hawaiian islands[1]. They are visually imposing objects. Woven of the aerial shoots of a vine with eyes formed of mother of pearl and mouth made of the teeth of dogs or sharks, like other precious artefacts of Hawaii they were covered with feathers. Wicker heads were seen, and acquired, by western visitors during a short period (between 1779 and 1825) and they are now very rare, only nineteen surviving. Their nature suggests they were formerly highly significant within Hawaiian society, but their precise role and function remain unknown. All of the nineteen known surviving examples are housed in museums.

Because the society that produced and used wicker heads changed suddenly and dramatically almost two hundred years ago, this study is a historical one. It is therefore, like a palaeontological project, affected and limited by the incompleteness of the record. In terms of the anthropologist's notion of the *other*, the people involved are removed in time, as well as place and culture from the author.

The topic, of wicker heads rather than, say, Tongan clubs or Chinese shoes (which also survive in the Hancock Museum's early collections), was chosen for several reasons. The status of the Hancock's wicker head as an artwork of world importance, the variation among the known examples (interesting in itself, given the generally conservative tendency of Polynesian art) and the possible historical connections

1 Distinction should be made between reference to archipelago known as The Hawaiian Islands and the largest island of the group, properly known as Hawai'i. The glottal stop indicator between the two final vowels in Hawai'i is very commonly omitted, and the island group is also frequently called as Hawaii. Recent academic authors, (e.g. Kirch, 1985; Hauser-Schäublin *et al.*, 1998) generally follow a convention of referring to the island group as Hawaii and the island as Hawai'i. This convention has been adopted here.

presented interesting avenues to explore.

The aim of this work was to use the forensic method to answer the question 'what are wicker heads?' It was necessary to place wicker heads within a historical context, especially of the visits of two British naval vessels; within a broad context of Polynesian history and religion; within the context of studies of Polynesian material culture and within a legal context that may influence future ownership of wicker heads. Evidence has been drawn from primary literature, secondary literature and manuscripts. A short field visit was made to Hawaii, but restrictions in time and resources ruled out extensive fieldwork.

NINE : BACKGROUND
ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF POLYNESIA

9.1 HISTORY OF POLYNESIAN STUDIES

This literature review scans a period of one quarter of a millennium. The body of material produced in that time is large and there is no intention of aiming at an exhaustive review. Instead, the various phases in the story are laid out more-or-less in chronological order, with some prominent examples and relevant developments highlighted. All of the works cited are concerned with the people of Polynesia so they could be called broadly anthropological, although some of the authors were not anthropologists by training or by intent.

Dancers in the ring

When describing his researches into the history of evolutionary thought, the American Natural Philosopher Loren Eiseley elaborated on a phrase he picked up from the writings of Sir Francis Bacon. Bacon had described people drawn into a powerful circle of thought as "dancing in little rings like persons bewitched" (Eiseley, 1975: 186-200). To Eiseley, believers in the fixity of species were dancing in one ring, and in the mid-19th century the evolutionists formed a new ring to which dancers were drawn.

Looking over the historical sequence of writings on Polynesia[1], it is interesting to note the several sequences of 'dancing rings', from the philosophers of the Noble Savage in the late 18th century, through the missionaries, the travellers and imperialists, the empiricists and so on, until in the 1990s we reach the ring of power relations. It is interesting to note that the earliest general anthropological account (Forster, 1778) addresses more or less the same problems as the latest (Oliver, 1989). Through those

1 General texts informing this chapter, but not specifically cited, are: Thomas, Guest and Detelbach *in* Forster, 1778[1996] (on background to Forster's work); Smith, 1985 (on the Western reaction to the Pacific up to 1850); Moorhead, 1965 (general); Beaglehole, 1955; 1961; 1967; 1974 (on the voyages of Cook); Ross, 1978 (on Bougainville); Joppien & Smith, 1988 (art of Cook's voyages).

two centuries, much of the writing has been descriptive-empirical: progress has been in elucidation of fact and formulation of system, rather than of theory. Within the past few years, a new obsession with attitude rather than fact has brought a novel approach to the interpretation of Polynesian societies.

Western sailors traversed the Pacific as early as Magellan's circumnavigation of 1520, and some of them encountered islands and islanders on their journeys. However, there was little interest in the peoples of Polynesia until the mid-18th century, when excitement was generated by the visits to Tahiti, first by Byron (in 1765), Wallis (1767), and then Bougainville (1768)[1]. Captain James Cook in the *Endeavour* was the first sailor to arrive in the Pacific with specific instructions to carry out anthropological fieldwork, in the words of his orders, to 'observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives' (see Beaglehole 1955, 1961, 1967 for details of these orders) of the places he visited.

Descriptive ethnography of Polynesia was included in the official publication of Cook's first voyage, which was written by Hawkesworth, an armchair traveller and professional writer who had not visited the Pacific (Hawkesworth, 1773). Hawkesworth was influenced by the French philosophers who were applying Rousseau's ideas to the South Pacific. This concept of the 'Noble Savage' in 'Arcady', of uncivilised men living in utopian conditions of peace and harmony, when applied to the Tahitians (as, for instance by Hawkesworth) was the first application of a general philosophical theory to Polynesian society: an application that was singularly selective in the evidence it privileged.

The idea of the Noble Savage soon fell out of favour in studies of the Pacific, especially following Cook's discovery of human sacrifice and cannibalism on Tahiti in his second voyage (1772-1775), and the idealising approach of Hawkeworth in the early 1770s contrasts greatly with the practical, reasoned work of Forster[2] (1778) who sailed with

1 For background on these voyages, see: Moorhead (1966); Ross (1978); Beaglehole (1968, 1974); Dunmore (1991). Byron and Wallis achieved little scientifically, Bougainville in some ways presaged Cook.

2 Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-1798) German botanist and Natural Philosopher, sometimes

Cook on his second Pacific voyage[1]. Forster's work was not a travel narrative in the sense of the official publication arising from the same adventure (Cook, 1777), but was a synthetic comparative ethnography. Another half-decade later, Western philosophical interest in the people of the Pacific seems to have been generally on the wane and for Cook's last trip, other than the official narrative (Cook & King, 1784) which in its forms follows the pattern of its predecessors, there was little significant ethnographic advance.

The next wave of visitors were the Christian missionaries, the earliest of whom arrived in Tahiti in 1796 (Wilson, 1799). Missions had been posted to all major island groups by 1825 (Lovett, 1899). Some of the missionaries contributed to the body of literature on the Pacific and its peoples, and like the earlier explorers and philosophers their writings were influenced by their world view, which in this instance was a crusading purpose to save the immortal souls of the islanders by persuading them to accept the Christian message. As usual among people with strongly held beliefs of whatever sort there was generally little interest in the opinions and strengths of the opposing faction: some published accounts (Wilson, 1799; Montgomery, 1831; Bingham, 1847) contain some useful observations but they are incidental to the narrative of conversion. Others are even less useful: Wheeler (1842) must be singled out for special notice as his narrative says much about himself and virtually nothing about the people of the Pacific.

William Ellis was the great exception to the general class of missionaries. Initially based in the Society Islands where he learned to speak the language of the people, in 1822 he travelled to Hawaii. His resulting volumes (Ellis, 1826; Ellis, 1829) show an underlying interest in the way of life of the people he had been sent to convert and are full of first-hand ethnographic description. Ellis also contributed a useful phrase to my own vocabulary, in his frequent references to the 'deluding and deluded' priesthood of Tahiti

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remembered for his character, which Dunmore (1991) described as 'cantamkerous'. His one voyage of exploration was on Cook's second circumnavigation.

1 A recent paper (Rountree, 1998) comments that the attitude embodied within Western descriptions of New Zealand Maoris became increasingly negative between Cook's first and third voyages. Rountree interprets this as a conflation of the Maori physical appearance with their physical environment (cold and wet) and morality, but the interpretation fails to place Cook and his co-navigators within their own historical-philosophical context and thus misses the underlying influence of Rousseau in the first voyage accounts.

and Hawaii: this became ironic, since his own priesthood would later come to be seen as 'deluded and deluding' by the next incomers.

Between explorers and missionaries the first members of a subculture later to become known as beachcombers arrived in the Pacific. Some encountered by Wilson on Tonga in 1797 were the only Englishmen known to have visited those islands since the time of Cook, and others came to occupy important administrative positions in Hawaii before 1800 (Kuykendall. 1938). These men (there were no known women among this clade) undoubtedly often had their own understanding of Polynesian culture based on close and prolonged contact, but few were minded to write it down. The most famous beachcomber to commit his memoirs to print was Herman Melville (Melville 1846, 1847), who despite claiming no 'pretensions to philosophic research' gave an account of life in the Marquesas containing a wealth of information based on personal observation.

As documented country-by-country by Phelps (1976), most Polynesian societies underwent a process of severe disruption in the first third of the 19th century, with the introduction of new technologies and customs, the abandonment of old technologies and customs and increasing contact with outsiders. Also at this time, some Western countries were seeking to obtain power, first by influence and then dominion among the island groups of the Pacific. The next trend in Pacific literature can be seen in books arising from this Period of Empire (which technically continues to date as the Society, Austral and Marquesas Islands are still French possessions and Rapa Nui belongs to Chile), that had a golden age *circa* 1880-1930. The literature principally includes travelogues that resulted from the increased flow of visitors attracted to a romantic South Seas made safe and accessible by improved marine technology and the administrative machinery of Empire, but there are also several accounts written by administrators about their 'subjects'.

The travelogues deserve a thesis of their own. Collectively they have a quaintness that speaks of their time, with chapters like *Yarns in the Smoking Saloon* (in Freeman, 1921) and accounts of bright young District Officers who as one account (in Grimshaw, 1908)

put it 'would shoot a duck or climb a hill at a moment's notice'. However, when viewed closely they each bear the individual marks of authorship. Reeves (1898) for instance has a major sub-theme criticising the missionaries (the 'deluding and deluded' priesthood); O'Brien (1919) has the air of detached, slightly mocking irony that marks out his self-perceived superiority; Freeman's (1921) book is full of jolly yachting yarns. The contributions of a few writers were based on more extensive visits: Beatrice Grimshaw wrote several light-hearted accounts of her extensive travels in the South Pacific (e.g. Grimshaw, 1908); Calderon (1921) lived in Tahiti for a while and Gordon Cumming (1881) in Fiji.

A few of these traveloguers tried to place their descriptions in a theoretical context. Christian's (1910) book on the Society and Marquesas groups was based on an expedition that set out deliberately to gather linguistic information as well as folklore and history. His statement about the people of Rarotonga "a mixture of Indian Siva worship, apparently, with some Arab and Persian cultus of Jinns and Peris" shows a scholarship in comparative religion that was as typical of its time as anything else noted in this chapter.

An interesting contribution was made by T.R. St Johnston, a District Commissioner in Fiji whose *South Sea Reminiscences* (1922) was sister to a work on Polynesian religion (St Johnston, 1921). His study of Polynesian religious practices was the first attempt I know of to have the stated aim of working out 'answers to the natives' problems from the natives' point of view' rather than from the unstated viewpoint of the investigator. Although not wholly successful, it was a brave attempt.

Although previously speaking in terms of waves, there has been temporal overlap in some of the types of contribution - or, to use Eiseley's analogy, in rings of dancers. The next phase, the ethnographic literature, had been accreting since the earliest Western visits to Polynesia, but began to grow considerably in the first half of the 20th century. The enabling mechanism for this growth was the foundation of two influential bodies, both of which are still active. First was the Polynesian Society, founded in 1892 in New Zealand with the aim of studying the peoples of the Pacific: the society's publications

have built into a major body of work. Most contributions to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* are short and specialised, but others are broader in scope, for instance Best's (1924) classic monograph on the New Zealand Maori, which detailed a wide range of beliefs, practices and material culture.

Secondly was the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu, which has acted as a publishing house since the 1890s. This institution has flourished as the major centre of Pacific Anthropology for much of the 20th century and its *Bulletin* series of papers on Pacific peoples by its staff and associates constitutes an impressive database on Polynesian societies. Focussed descriptions of the material culture of people of various islands in this series covered Tubuai (Aitken, 1930), Samoa (Buck, 1930), Tongareva (Buck, 1932), Manihiki & Rakahanga (Buck, 1932a), Mangareva (Buck, 1938), Kapingamarangi (Buck, 1950), Uvea (Burrows, 1937); Hawaii (Buck, 1957) and the Tokelau Islands (Macgregor, 1937). Haddon and Hornell's work on *Canoes of Oceania* was also published by the Bishop Museum, between 1936 and 1938 (Haddon & Hornell, 1975). Many of these papers were based on fieldwork in addition to library and museum research, and took a broad approach to their subject.

The trend of producing broadly descriptive works continues to date, recent specialist contributions including works on the New Zealand Maori (Starzecka, 1996), Polynesian musical instruments (Moyle, 1990) and Pacific barkcloth (Neich & Prendegrast, 1997; Kooijman, 1988).

Between the two World Wars a new type of worker began to study Polynesian people. Whereas the academics from the Bishop Museum would probably have described themselves as ethnologists, the incomers were anthropologists. Two particularly important contributions from this period were drawn from two separating strands in cultural anthropology: Firth's studies on Tikopia (*inter alia*, Firth 1936; 1939, 1959) and Mead's (1928) work on adolescence in Samoa.

Tikopia is a Polynesian cultural outlier situated between Santa Cruz and Vanuatu and Firth's choice of it as a suitable candidate for detailed fieldwork must have been

influenced by its relative isolation. Unlike, say, Tahiti and Hawaii, the culture of these Polynesians was relatively 'pristine' and this was reflected in the titles of the first two of Firth's works, each of which contained the word 'primitive'. Firth was a student of Malinowski and was concerned with analysing particular aspects of society (kinship in Firth, 1936; economy in Firth, 1939) using a functional approach and rigorous method. Like Malinowski (who claimed in the introduction to the first volume that anthropology was the Science among social sciences), Firth saw his work as a scientific analysis of field-collected data.

Mead, a student of Franz Boas, was influenced by his stress on fieldwork and in trying to understand a culture through its own values and standards. Whatever the merits of Mead's work (Freeman (1983) would have us view her as a deluded and deluding priestess; Orens (1996) made a more positive appraisal), like Firth and her tutor Boas she was also in search of the 'primitive'. In the case of Mead, the 'primitives' were adolescents living in a society of high sexual freedom and low levels of violence: incidentally harking back to the supposed attributes of the Noble Savages of the mid-18th century. We should not be concerned too much with the merits and demerits of Firth and Mead's work here; their importance to this review lies in them being typical of their time and training in the issues they addressed and the way they addressed them.

An academic debate (another of Eiseley's rings of dancers) began in the early 1940s, and still rumbles on today about the possibility of colonisation of eastern Polynesia from South America. This was presented in, *inter alia* a major two volume work (Heyerdal, *et al.*, 1961-1965). Much of the work of Heyerdal's school consisted of trying to find evidence to support a theory already formulated, a classic example of the deductive method. While few would agree with his conclusions, there is no doubt about the invaluable work done in assembling evidence about the archaeology and anthropology of the Southeast Pacific, and especially Rapa Nui (Easter Island).

A separate strand of work in recent decades has arisen through increasing interest in Polynesia by collectors of Tribal Art. Throughout the 19th century there was little recognition of Polynesian artworks as Art, but early in the 20th century a small number

of collectors (most notably Hooper, Oldman and Fuller[1]) began rescuing material from obscurity and publicising its importance. The market has since flourished, and a body of literature is flowing from it. The texts often combine fine illustrations with a text that interprets art through geography, history and anthropology. An early contribution was by Guiart (1963), but the subject was really brought into focus by Phelps's *Art and Artefacts* (1976), ostensibly a catalogue of Hooper's collection but actually containing a summary description of the geography, history, and ethnography of all Pacific groups as well as numerous photographs of artefacts. Barrow's *Art and Life in Polynesia* (1972) approached the subject from an anthropological rather than art-historian viewpoint and went far in placing artworks within the context of the cultures in which they were produced. More recently, and especially since photographic reproduction has become more affordable, a number of beautifully illustrated books have appeared. Some, such as Pelrine's (1996, on the Wielgus collection), are aimed principally at an art market; others, including Kaeppler, Kaufman & Newton (1997) and Meyer (1995) place regional art within an anthropological context.

The themes explored in the ways outlined above from the mid-18th century onwards, on material culture, language, archaeology, kinship, life-ways, etc. built up over time into a large and diverse body of literature. All of the strands were brought together within a broad interpretive framework by Douglas Oliver and presented as a textbook (Oliver, 1989). His synoptic text is the latest major contribution to Polynesian anthropology.

Current trends

As elsewhere in anthropology, most recent academic contributions have been broadly concerned with power relations, whether between men and women, consumers and producers, actors within scenarios, or 'natives' and 'intruders'. The title, alone, of a recent major contribution on Polynesia *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonization in the Pacific* (Thomas, 1991) sums up the obsessions of the period. Some shorter articles also reflect the trend: Linnekin (1988) discussed the production of Hawaiian feather cloaks in terms of gender and Thomas (1999) discussed attitudes

1 J.T. Hooper, W.O. Oldman and A.H.J. Fuller were three avid collectors based in southeast England. They each assembled large collections of Pacific artefacts: the introduction to the detailed catalogue of

towards Tahitian ponchos (*tiputa*) in terms of values and social order.

Whereas earlier papers tended to present 'new facts', current ones tend to present 'new interpretations'. The primary literature, and especially *Journal of Material Culture*, is replete with minor attitudinal corrections (Thomas, 1999, 'this paper instead emphasises the use of objects to create novel and distinctive values...'; Kuckler, 1999, 'this paper argues that the prevailing use of the term template ... is profoundly misleading').

An important, long-running and continuing argument for academics studying Polynesia has been over the Hawaiian reaction to Captain Cook. The debate has sometimes appeared more concerned with the researchers themselves than with their supposed subject matter; Obeyeskere (1997) providing a particularly fine example of a personalised attack on a rival academic, in this instance Marshall Sahlins.

Contact between Polynesians and others in the last 200 years has introduced components of change and hybridity that would be recognisable to the post-Eric Wolf generation of anthropologists (if not already aware of this trend: *vide* Firth, 1959). In Hawaii, for instance, interactions between Hawaiians and missionaries, beachcombers, whalers, ethnologists, travellers and tourists as well as with permanent immigrants from Spain, China, the Philippines and mainland America has resulted in disassembly and re-assembly of Hawaiian culture(s). One work (Kirch & Sahlins, 1992) has looked at the way Hawaiians living in one valley on Oahu reacted to encounters in a way that was mediated by Hawaiian culture.

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the Hooper collection (Phelps, 1976) gives an idea of the rivalry between them.

9.2 ORIGINS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF POLYNESIAN SOCIETIES

It is not the intention of this chapter to write a Polynesian ethnography. As stated above, others have already done this. In the overall context of Hawaii and Hawaiian wicker heads it is, however, necessary to summarise the beginnings and overall characteristics of Polynesia.

The story of the Polynesian origins is now well known in outline. Papuan and Negrito people had been present in what is now Indonesia and on the island of New Guinea since the Pleistocene. From *circa* 1600 B.C. the islands to the South and East of New Guinea were colonised by a people who made and used a distinctively decorated pottery called Lapita ware. The material evidence of this culture is distributed widely from the Admiralty Islands in the northwest to Samoa and Tonga in the southeast. At some stage during the Lapita period the social structure of the society underwent a sea change, for the nature of Melanesian society (whose Austronesian-speakers are cladistically a sister group of the Polynesians) is significantly different to that of the people to the East. The most obvious and distinctive difference between Melanesian and Polynesian cultures is that the latter are usually highly stratified, whereas the former are not. The reasons behind the development of stratification are as yet unclear (see Rousseau, 2001), but economic and social mechanisms have been invoked as explanation.

By the middle of the first millennium B.C. the Eastern Lapita culture had evolved into what has been called the 'Proto-Polynesian culture'. Around 200 B.C. Central Polynesia (the Society Islands and Marquesas) were colonised from the West and the subsequent dispersal that colonised the Polynesian Triangle radiated from that area. This radiation eventually resulted in Polynesian cultural traits being adopted by people (e.g. in Fiji and Tikopia) who are genetically akin to people of Melanesia.

It is generally seen to be an error to regard cultures as being timeless, unified, coherent and bounded. However, there is little doubt that before 1750 most island groups in

Polynesia could be characterised as having a slow rate of change ('almost timeless') in terms of language, material culture, religious beliefs and social structures; they were often also highly isolated from other communities (bounded). The social dynamic in which Polynesians operated resulted in extremely conservative societies in which there appears to have been selective pressure against change and innovation.

When first encountered by the West in the late 18th century many of the Polynesian communities possessed languages, social structures, material cultures and belief systems that were so surprisingly similar over large expanses of ocean that they caused comment even in the first Pacific ethnography (Forster, 1778). For instance, not only is the word for 'priest' almost identical throughout the area (in Hawaii *kahuna*; Society Islands *tahu'a*; Marquesas *tau'a*; New Zealand *tohunga*), but the priests operate in a similar fashion within similar belief systems (*vide* Handy, 1927). The large number of similarities over a wide range of aspects of life lead to an inescapable conclusion that they could not have developed independently: as a corollary, it is possible to reconstruct the social structure of the people of the Central Pacific at the start of the first millenium A.D. (Kirch & Green, 2001).

The various Polynesian societies were distinctive in the style of their artefacts. The styles are best seen in portrayal of the human form, in which the production of each island group is readily identifiable. Thus, in New Zealand, people are usually depicted as if defiant or insulting, with staring eyes and protruding tongues; Maori art is always rich in surface overlay. Faces in Rarotonga (Cook Islands) are identifiable by a double ridge above the eye; Rapa Nui statuettes are as distinctive *sui generis* as are Fijian clubs, Ra'ivavae (Austral Islands) paddles, Marquesas statues and Mangaia (Cook Islands) adzes. Indeed, where individuality among Polynesian craft occurs, it is noteworthy just for the fact of being individual[1].

1 The counter-argument, that academics themselves define cultural boundaries on the basis of perceived differences in material culture does not apply to Polynesia, where the sub-groups are defined by their geographic isolation.

Introduction to Hawaiians as Polynesians

The Hawaiian Islands form the northern apex of the so-called 'Polynesian Triangle', of which the southeastern and southwestern tips are New Zealand and Rapa Nui respectively. In comparison with most inhabited parts of the globe they are remote, being separated from their nearest Polynesian neighbours the Marquesas Islands by some 30° of latitude. Being volcanic, the islands of the Hawaiian chain present the opportunity for a 'high island' economy (in contrast with the depauperate 'low island' economy of an atoll such as Tokelau).

There is some uncertainty as to the date of first Hawaiian human colonisation with 'short' and 'long' estimates varying between the 1st and 9th centuries A.D., evidence both from radiocarbon dating and volcanic glass analysis having recently been shown to be unreliable (Masse & Tuggle, 1998; see also Irwin, 1998). Although there are strong oral traditions of voyaging between the Hawaiian and Society islands *circa* 12th-13th centuries and of the activities of a Tahitian priest called Pa'ao at that time, there is no physical evidence of these events (*vide* Kirch, 1985), nor of any significant communication with the outside world until James Cook's vessels *Resolution* and *Discovery* visited Kaua'i and Hawai'i in 1778 and 1779. Thus, Hawaiian culture developed without significant contact with any other people over a period of at least several centuries.

The ethnography of the Hawaiian group was typical of major eastern Polynesian communities, the lives of the islanders involving practices, beliefs and a material culture characterised by a mixture of general and widespread Polynesian traits, and features that had developed *in situ*.

The evolution of Polynesian societies has recently (Kirch & Green, 2001) been examined in detail, with a concentration on linguistic evidence. For the purposes of this thesis it can be said that in Hawaii, as elsewhere in Polynesia:

- There was a highly ranked society in which considerations of *taboo* (here called *kapu*[1]) and *mana*[2] governed interpersonal interaction; status was inherited from male and female lines; there was social separation of the sexes and some foods were denied to females. There was no differentiation into occupational classes, as e.g. merchant, military, fisherman, farmer, although there was a hereditary priesthood.

- The religious beliefs involved typical Polynesian gods such as the Polynesian 'trinity', Ku, Lono and Kanaloa, plus a number of other deities and culture-heroes such as Maui; belief in a range of lesser gods and spirits that can be influenced by ceremonies and offerings; belief in illness and death of sortilegious origin; the religious importance of people of high social status; the significance of the head, of blood, of the colour red, of feathers. There was no belief in metempsychosis, or in post-mortem judgement of the soul.

- Tools included adzes with blades made of hard volcanic stone; fish hooks; fishing

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1 *Kapu* is the Hawai'ian pronunciation of the word for the Polynesian concept *tapu* or *taboo*. *Kapu* is a quality expressed by a stative verb: a person or thing is *kapu*, it does not have *kapu*. The opposite state of *kapu* is *noa*.

Kapu has been translated as 'holy', 'sacred' or 'forbidden', and essentially connotes a thing as being marked as special in some way. Valeri (1985; 90-95) attempted to define *kapu*, but his reasoning is greatly obscured by his linguistic style: "I venture to say that the opposition *kapu/noa* reflects various aspects of the opposition between syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, without however being coextensive with it" - "Thus *kapu* indexes separation only as counterpart of metonymic, syntagmatic combination in the social hierarchy" ... etc.

I understand *kapu* as a state of untouchability. As a parallel in English society, both the altar of a church and dog's excrement are untouchable, but for different reasons. There are many known examples of Hawai'ian *kapu* of the kings and chiefs, which make them or their possessions inaccessible to people of low social standing. But, *kapu* did not simply descend from high to low in the social scale. Kepelino (1932: 142-144), for instance, gave an example where the slave class, or *kauwa*, the lowest stratum of society, were also *kapu* as also were their houses and land. A commoner, of a higher social class, trespassing on the land would suffer penalties for breaking the *kapu*

The frame of 'untouchability' was a rigid basis of Hawai'ian society, with severe consequences for anyone who infringed the rules. The state of *kapu* could, however, be relaxed by means of rituals in order to create a state of *noa*. I would translate *noa* as 'accessibility' or 'touchability', not necessarily indicating a state of equality as indicated by Valeri (if I interpret him correctly).

2 *Mana* is often crudely defined as a form of power. It is a positive principle acquired through association, and people gained *mana* through ascent from the ancestors as well as through their lives. All things, animate and inanimate, possessed a degree of *mana*. The extremely high *mana* of some chiefs rendered them dangerous to people of lesser status.

spears; bone needles; plaited cordage (sennit), and wickerwork of *Freycinetia* rootlets. There were no axes, spade- or plough-like agricultural implements. Metals and pottery were unknown.

- The weapons used were clubs, spears and daggers. Swords, bows and arrows (present on some islands, but not used as weapons) were absent as were also means of defence such as shields and body armour. Battles involved personalised conflict in which (at least) the chiefly combatants fought person-to-person.

- Domestic furniture included matting woven from *Pandanus* leaves, wooden pillows, containers of wood, coconuts or gourds. Absent were chairs or other raised seats, beds and cupboards.

- Clothing was made from bark cloth wrapped around the body (at the minimum, around the loins). The skin was extensively tattooed, and oils were rubbed on to skin; the hair was bleached with quicklime (a widespread, but not universal practice in Polynesia). Absent were woven cloth, leather, fastening devices and shoes (although Buck (1957) described sandals that were used for walking on sharp lava, their antiquity is unproven).

- Food was derived from fishing and from farming, and included pigs, chickens, taro and sweet potatoes. Vegetable food was pounded into a paste; food was cooked in underground ovens. No grains were cultivated.

- The domesticated animals were dogs, pigs and chickens, all of which were eaten. The Polynesian rat (*Rattus exulans*) was present but not eaten as on some other island groups. Absent were horses, cows, sheep, goats and cats.

- The practice of religion included temples based on raised square platforms; figures that were temporarily inhabited by the spirits of gods; specialised priests and hieratic artisans; institutionalised killing for religious purposes ('human sacrifice'). Although some days of each month were said to be the days of Ku, Kane, etc., there was no

regular weekly social worship, or Sabbath. Masks were not worn during religious practices.

Developed characteristics of Hawaiian culture included an apparent belief in a subdivision of major deities into a large number of subspecies; sculptural forms that displayed a wide range of facial expression; feather-covered cloaks and helmets worn by men of high status, and a highly developed system of chants (*mele*) and dances (*hula*). Human sacrifice was practised in socio-religious contexts but apparently there was no cannibalism practised.

'Discovery' and after

When westerners arrived in Hawaii in the late 18th century, they found the government of the islands to be divided among a number of petty chiefdoms, some of the larger islands being divided into several independent parts. The powerful chief of the island of Hawai'i, Kamehameha, extended his dominion westwards by a process of conquest until eventually he unified all of the inhabited islands: this was the origin of the recognised kingdom of Hawaii. King Kamehameha I ruled at a time of great change. Following the 'discovery' of the group by Cook and the realisation in the West of its strategic significance as the only islands of any size in the north-east Pacific, a number of merchant vessels began to visit to gather provisions (water and hogs) and for rest and recreation. As elsewhere in the Pacific, newly introduced diseases had a disastrous effect on mortality. The large number of outsiders who were so obviously immune to the consequences of breaking rules relating to *mana* and *kapu* must have also had a disruptive effect on society, although there is no record of this in the literature.

From 1800 until 1900 power over their own affairs drained from the Hawaiian people. Much of the land, which had been controlled feudally by the chiefs and later, following a major land reform, the Great *Mahele* of 1848, 'owned' in a western sense, was sold in large quantities to westerners for ranching, farming or civic development. Several world powers, especially the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and Russia imposed an increasingly

humiliating series of treaties upon the kings until in 1898 the U.S. government annexed the islands. Hawaii became the 50th state of the United States in 1959.

At present, in terms of population numbers, Hawaiians are an ethnic minority in Hawaii and a casual visitor to Honolulu might find it hard to spot a Hawaiian among the many Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos and Caucasians on the streets. Except on Ni'ihau (which is a privately owned island with limited access to outsiders), few people speak Hawaiian as a first language although most inhabitants continue to spatter their dialogue with a few common Hawaiian words.

The reaction by Hawaiians to this cultural stress has involved the usual options of assimilation, retreat or fight. Retreat involves movement away from cities into rural areas, where there is a homesteader's scheme that privileges genetic lineage in granting land tenure. To claim plots of land, homesteaders must have Hawaiian genetic descent of at least 25%, a singularly crude but administratively effective definition of ethnic status.

Fight includes the phenomenon seen world-wide, of reinventing past culture and asserting rights of control to its physical manifestations. Sahlins (1999) has highlighted some features of recently reinvented cultures: they usually appear in a form that stresses the positive (e.g. love of people for their chiefs; love of the land), eliminates the negative (e.g. human sacrifice) and leaves clear distinctions between the indigene and the White Man's culture. The mythopoeic process generates an idea of culture that is timeless, unified, coherent and bounded, and as Sahlins pointed out this mode of generating distinction strangely echoes the work of some academic ethnographers.

These trends must be separated from the pseudo-Hawaiian culture that developed during the 20th century, involving the exotic image of ukulele playing singers and grass-skirted dancers, surf boys and *aloha* shirts. Developed initially for the American sailors and cruise-vessels and today for the mainly Japanese and American tourists, the image is an essential part of the tourist industry that is vital to the economy of the islands.

In a visit to Hawaii in 1999 I saw no institution that truly celebrates, or even describes adequately the old way of life of the Hawaiian people. The Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu houses the rarest and most beautiful material culture - in effect the 'crown jewels', since many of the finest pieces were connected with royalty. However, that museum is in a state of crisis: it employs no material culture expert, it charges $50 per hour for providing research facilities (effectively denying access to less-wealthy Hawaiians wishing to research their past), the interpretation in the galleries is aimed at the scholar who already knows the subject and it still has the air of a White Man's Place.

9.3 STUDIES ON POLYNESIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

Much of the ethnographic writing on Polynesia summarised above was concerned, either directly or indirectly, with material culture and there is little point in going over the same ground again. This section briefly summarises the character of Polynesian material culture studies.

The material cultures of Polynesia were described from the time of Cook's first voyage (Hawkesworth, 1773). Artefacts of the various islands visited by Cook were described, and figured either in use or as isolated specimens: all of the illustrations have recently been republished in Joppien & Smith (1985; 1985a; 1988). The 'specimen' illustrations depicted the items outside of any context[1], paralleling the way to which animals and plants were illustrated in academic treatises. Just as animal and plants were capable of being seen as specimens for a museum rather than as components of coral reefs or rain forests, so artefacts could be Artificial Productions illustrative of the craft, or 'artifice', of the peoples encountered.

Although some artefacts were given publicity through illustration, a vastly greater number found their way to museums to be displayed or studied. The strategic failure in the study of Polynesian artefacts happened in these museum stores and displays. When presented without supporting interpretation, the objects tended to assume the role of curiosities or souvenirs[2]. This situation applied even in major institutions like the British Museum where, although Natural Curiosities and many Antiquities, particularly coins and medals came to be systematised, the ethnographic collections were comparatively neglected. This led to a lull in the detailed study of ethnographic artefacts

1 These illustrations have recently been criticised by Thomas (1994), who claimed they "radically exclude and alienate humanity". I cannot agree: the figures must be judged within the context of the people who produced and used them (an anthropological approach!), and I can see no deliberate attempt by the artists to do what Thomas claims.

2 The lack of labelling, even of material that *was* acquired as souvenirs, has led to some unusual lacunae. For instance, there is uncertainty as to exactly where Austral islands paddles (one of the most common Polynesian artefacts in museums) were produced; there can be no encyclopaedic treatment of early Polynesian barkcloth because so many early examples are unlabelled; dates of collection (if they had been preserved) might have enabled a study on the development of Mangaia adzes, etc.

throughout the 19th century and the body of published literature reflects this situation.

It must be remembered that the material culture of most Polynesian islands changed dramatically at the end of the 18th century and that by 1830 few of the items formerly produced by the 'timeless and bounded' cultures were still being made. As the objects have assumed the character of antiques, the historical archive has become an increasingly important addition to the ethnographic archive.

A great advance in the published archive appeared in the 1890s. This was Edge-Partington's (1890) encyclopaedic *Album* of drawings of provenanced artefacts, a privately published sketchbook with minimal text based mainly on study of collections in British museums. A classic example of typology acting as an enabling mechanism, the *Album* allowed curators and collectors to assign a provenance to previously unlabelled items in their care and pointed the way towards what could have been a number of synoptic, Pacific-wide studies of artefact types. However, few other academics chose to explore this avenue and there still remain gaps in the published archive: there is for instance nothing that would enable a beginner to deduce the island of origin of a Polynesian adze, a piece of patterned *tapa*, a club, a food pounder, a basket or a fishhook. Instead, the general approach to Polynesian material culture became mainly focussed on individual islands either in the overall context of the life of the islanders (e.g. Aitken, 1930) or as isolated studies (e.g. Silverthorne, 1936, on food pounders of the Society Islands).

In the 20th century, a few ethnologists, mainly working in institutions in New Zealand and Hawaii published studies that placed artefacts within cultural contexts. The most notable worker was Sir Peter Buck (also known as Te Rangi Hiroa), who published widely: his broad knowledge and his understanding of the processes of manufacture, especially of weaving and knot making was particularly outstanding. In recent years the number of professional specialists has fallen, as academic prejudices disfavour *materialistes*: for instance, there is currently no material culture expertise at the Bishop Museum.

One of the academic challenges of the second half of the 20th century has been the recontextualisation of 18th century material stripped of context by earlier generations. This has been addressed most successfully by Adrienne Kaeppler (Kaeppler, 1974; 1978; 1978a; 1978b; 1979; 1997; 1998). This process has been enabled by increased ease in mobility in recent decades coupled with developing technology in libraries and archives, allowing relatively quick finding of published and unpublished material and making it easier to visit the various museums in which older Polynesian material is housed. The archive, in a broad sense, is more accessible than ever before, which renders it increasingly ironic that many objects that lay unrecognised pre-Edge Partington are now widely publicised, whereas the number of investigators capable of studying them is diminishing.

TEN : LITERATURE REVIEW
HAWAII, AND WICKER HEADS

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Literature reviews on Hawaiian history and religion have been presented elsewhere by others, most notably by Valeri (1985: xvi-xxviii), and there is no point in simply repeating them here. The following section offers a brief outline of the nature of the Hawaiian literature, followed by an introduction to works that specifically relate to wicker heads.

Because the Hawaiian Islands occupy a key geographical position in the northern Pacific, over the last two centuries there has been a multinational flirtation with the group that has generated a large body of literature on their people - their history, religion, traditions etc. This literature began with the explorers and most notably Captain Cook's visit in 1778-79. However, by 1780 it would appear that interest in the Pacific region was generally waning, and the 'discovery' of Hawaii by no means recreated the interest inspired by Tahiti and New Zealand fifteen years earlier: there was no Hawaiian Omai and no Hawaiian 'noble savage'. Hawaii was quickly seen as a place for trade, not for philosophers.

One of the benefits of the formation of the Christian missions in the 1820s was the rapid development of widespread instruction in reading and writing, plus the formulation of a Hawaiian alphabet and orthography. This resulted (as was intended) in Hawaiian Bibles, but also in Hawaiian-language newspapers and other publications. Hawaiians started to write down their histories; and the missionaries also had their own stories to tell.

By the end of the 19th century, Hawaii belonged to America *de facto* if not *de jure*, and acquired a typically American institution of learning: a Museum. The Bernice P. Bishop Museum developed in Honolulu from the late 19th century, and flourished as *the* major

centre of Pacific Anthropology for much of the 20th. The resulting series of papers on Pacific material cultures by its staff and associates also provides an excellent resource for placing Hawaiian culture among its out-groups.

By the mid-20th century, some academics were paying attention to the history of the Hawaiian people. Two contrasting approaches could be highlighted. R.S. Kuykendall (1938) compiled data from written sources (archives, newspapers, books) to produce a history of Hawaii. The period previous to 1778 is treated in a mere 11 pages, while much of the remainder concerns interaction between Hawaiians and incomers. On the other hand Martha Beckwith, also assembled, sifted and sorted data, but she was concerned with the tales and oral traditions of the Hawaiian people: her history, although written by a Western academic, tried to place Hawaiian people at its heart.

By the later 20th century most of the important earlier sources of Hawaiian traditionary material (which had often been originally printed in Hawaiian language newspapers) had been published in English translation (e.g. Malo, 1951; Ii, 1959; Kamakau, 1991, 1992, Kepelino, 1932). Again, it might be noted that this is in part a result of the geographical situation of Hawaii - as a state of the U.S.A., a nation that is rich in the printed word. Works now available on sale include the Hawaiian annalists, diaries of visiting explorers, early travelogues and many of the Bernice P. Bishop *Bulletins* that would otherwise be very difficult of access outside of the libraries of a major metropolis.

10.2 LITERATURE ON HAWAIIAN HISTORY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Early outside interest

The earliest written account of Hawaiian anthropology is contained in the accounts of Cook's last voyage. As was the case for his two previous circumnavigations, Cook was issued with instructions from the Admiralty to 'observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives' of the places he visited (*vide* Beaglehole, 1955: cclxxxiii; Beaglehole, 1961: clxviii; Beaglehole, 1967: ccxxiii). Thus, for instance, the volumes

based on the *Endeavour* voyage (Hawkesworth, 1773) incorporated two chapters describing the Maori, their habitations, apparel, ornaments, food, cookery, manner of life, canoes and navigation, tillage, weapons, music, government, religion and language. In addition to the general narrative of events on the Hawaiian Islands, the official account of the last voyage (Cook & King, 1784) also devoted two chapters (pp 124-169 of volume 3) to a general description of the Hawaiian people.

The information provided on the Hawaiians is patchy. This is not surprising given the short length of time spent on the group, and the dramatic events that happened there. However, Cook & King's written descriptions, in addition to the drawings of people, places and events have added interest because the vessels were on Hawai'i during a major religious festival, and it is sobering to consider how little we would know if they had arrived, say, two months later.

A few of the subsequent explorers also paid some attention to Hawaiian ethnography. Lisiansky (1814) for instance gave two chapters (pp 115-137) over to an account of the islands and islanders. Others were not so forthcoming: Kotzbue (1821) declined to describe their ethnography and referred his readers to John Turnbull's account (Turnbull, 1805), a book that discussed the political and economic situation of the islands but said nothing about the customs or religion of the people.

Following the abolition of the *kapu* in 1819 and the conversion of the islanders to Christianity[1], interest in Hawaiians as an exotic people seemed to die away rapidly.

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1 Notes on a*bolition of the* kapu *and conversion to Christianity*
In response to a request from a Hawaiian Christian visiting America, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent a band of twenty one missionaries to the islands in 1819 (they arrived in 1820). The missionaries arrived to find that the *kapu* system had been abolished; Christianity had not yet been adopted as the official religion. Tyerman & Bennet, and Ellis, who were on the islands in 1822 described the people as lacking a God. The old religion was abandoned by Royal decree, and a new one filled the vacuum.

The London Missionary Society did not have a mission to the islands (Lovett, 1899) The three missionaries who landed in 1822 arrived unintentionally, having intended to sail from the Society Islands to the Marquesas! Tyerman and Bennet arrived in March 1822 and left in August. Because William Ellis could preach to the islanders in their own language, he was left behind with some Tahitian lay brethren when the other two left (Montgomery, 1831).

An oversimplistic, even naive, account of the abolition of the *kapu* was provided by Byron (1826: 45):

Visitors such as Ellis (1826), F.D. Bennett (visited Hawaii in 1834: Bennett, 1840), Tyerman & G. Bennet (*vide* Montgomery, 1831) and Wilkes (visited 1840: Wilkes, 1845) all played down the survival of older beliefs and maximised the impression of 'progress'. The story of the early work of the Christian mission was later told in detail by one of its principal agents (Bingham, 1847).

The Hawaiian writers

Although external interest in Hawaiian ethnography waned in the early to mid 19th century, at that time traditionary accounts were being written down by a small number of Hawaiians. These authors recorded incidents from days of old, and described society as they remembered it, each consciously documenting the past rather than his own present.

David Malo's compilation *Mo'olelo Hawaii* [= Hawaiian records, or notes] was written *circa* 1840, published in translation as 'Hawaiian Antiquities' in 1903 and has since been republished and reprinted. Samuel Kamakau's work on Hawaiian history first appeared in weekly newspapers from 1842-1876: some of it has since been translated into English, including *Ka Po'e Kahiko* [= People of old] (Kamakau, 1991), *Na Mo'olelo a ka Po'e Kahiko* [= Tales and traditions of the people of old] (Kamakau,

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> During the six months immediately succeeding the death of his father [on May 8th, 1819], the young king had held frequent conferences with the different chiefs on the subject of the insufficiency of their religion, of the impotence of the gods, and the oppressive nature of the tabu; and finding that they generally agreed in the expediency of a change of system, it was determined to desecrate the morais and destroy the idols. It was, however, necessary to obtain the sanction of Keopuolani the King's mother, who by birth enjoyed a higher rank among chiefs than even her son. She asked what harm the gods had done, that the chiefs should wish to destroy them. Nay, said her friends, what good have they done that we should wish to keep them? is not their worship burdensome; did they not require human sacrifice; and have we not learned from other nations that gods of wood are not able to protect us, and that the sacrifices are cruel and useless? It is good said the queen, do as you will; and on that same day the morais and hevas were destroyed or desecrated, and nothing remained but the places where the bones of some of the chiefs were deposited, and a few of the ancient priesthood, who were appointed to watch the relics.

The several accounts of newly Christianised Polynesians in Tahiti and Hawaii (Ellis, 1826; Ellis, 1829; Montgomery, 1831) seems to indicate that what the converts wanted, more than the message of the gospel, were the outward signs of religion. For instance, they wanted to discover and observe the rules of the *la tapu* [= Sabbath, a translation of 'tapu day'], to the extent of following the practices of the missionaries in not cooking on that day. They also appeared keen to own printed bibles, as much an outward sign of the new religion as 'stick gods' were of the old.

1991a) and *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Kamakau, 1992). The latter book provides a broad and invaluable Hawaiian perspective on events in the islands in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and it is unfortunate that although the material was published in the 1860s it was only made available in the English language in 1961.

John Papa Ii was part of the royal court at the time of Kamehameha I and Kamehameha II. An autobiographical account of his early experiences was published in a series of articles between 1868-1870 and later assembled as *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Ii, 1959). This, also, has been reprinted several times.

Kepelino came to the arena quite late, being born in 1830. His manuscript, published in translation in 1932 (Kepelino, 1932), is of interest mainly because of the (subconscious?) merging of new Christian traditions with older beliefs.

Academic historians and anthropologists

Kuykendall (1938), published the most detailed history of the Hawaiian Islands to date, and his painstaking assembling and presentation of facts about people, places and dates is a work that is not likely to be superseded.

In recent years, academics working in the social sciences have been looking afresh at Hawaiian history and culture. Kirch (1985) wrote an excellent introduction to Hawaiian history and prehistory. Kirch & Sahlins (1992) looked at the interaction of people, culture and history in their study of the Anahulu Valley of Oahu. Valeri (1985) compiled and analysed a large body of data on religious ritual that is sometimes relevant to the present study, but (in my opinion) his work is flawed by an obscure prose style.

The folklorists

Hawaiian chants and folklore have long been a source of interest to outsiders. A small part of the recorded historical material is relevant to the present study.

Abraham Fornander collected a large body of tales, which he assembled into a manuscript in the Hawaiian language. After his death the manuscript was acquired by the Bishop Museum, translated into English and published in three volumes (Fornander, 1916-1920), whose large size and quality of production reflect their perceived importance. Some of Fornander's material has since been republished (Elbert, 1959).

At the turn of the 20th century, Westerveldt produced several (e.g. Westerveldt, 1915) volumes of stories, the material taken from the works of Kamakau and others. His publications are principally of interest in the way the stories were interpreted for a western audience - the occupants of the Hawaiian spirit world becoming 'ghosts', 'fairies' and 'goblins'. Westerveldt's books were not intended as academic productions, and did not cite their sources: they do, however include some useful information, if interpreted with care.

The major compendium in the field is Beckwith's *Hawaiian Mythology*, originally published in 1940 and still in print. Beckwith assembled all the available material relating to all Hawaiian stories. Her work is a pivotal contribution to the subject, but one not easily comprehended by someone approaching the subject afresh.

10.3 LITERATURE ON WICKER HEADS

Works relating to European encounters of heads

The first recorded European experience of Hawaiian wicker heads occurred during the second visit of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* to the Hawaiian Group in 1779. In addition to the official account of the voyage (Cook & King, 1784), several of the officers and crew published their memoirs unofficially and without government sanction (Rickman, 1781; Zimmerman, 1781; Ellis, 1782; Ledyard, 1783). Diaries, both of the ships' captains and their officers were legally the property of the Admiralty and were handed over to Captain King before the end of the voyage: these have been made available in print in recent years (Beaglehole, 1967).

Wicker heads were seen, apparently, only on the island of Hawai'i, during the period the *Resolution* and *Discovery* were in Kealakekua Bay. They are mentioned both in published books (Cook & King, 1784; Rickman, 1781; Zimmerman, 1781; Ellis, 1782; Ledyard, 1783) and in the diaries of James King and David Samwell (*vide* Beaglehole, 1967). They were figured twice by the ship's artist Webber, and both Webber's original sketches and published versions of them were reproduced by Joppien & Smith (1988) (figs 27, 28).

Following the European realisation of the strategic situation and potential economic importance of the island group, the Hawaiian Islands were visited by a large number of vessels. Several travellers, both explorers and traders, published memoirs of their visits. However, neither Portlock (1789), nor Dixon (1789), La Pérouse (visited 1786; Dunmore, 1994-95), Vancouver (1801) nor Lisiansky (1814) mentioned wicker heads.

Wicker heads were next described in the official publication resulting from the voyage of the *Blonde*, which was in the Hawaiian group in 1825 (Byron, 1826). They are also mentioned in the diaries of three of the *Blonde*'s officers: Robert Dampier (published in 1971), Andrew Bloxam (published in 1925) and Richard Bloxam (National Library of Australia MS4255). The diaries of both Bloxams included sketches of the building - the *Hale o Keawe* - in which they saw the heads stored. A figure was also published of a head encountered in the *Hale o Keawe* (Bloxam, 1826).

Independently, the English missionary William Ellis saw the heads in the *Hale o Keawe* in 1823. Ellis, originally a missionary to the Society Islands, left Huahine in 1822 and travelled to the Hawaiian Islands with two other missionaries, Tyerman & Bennet. Already able to converse with the Tahitians in their native language, he soon acquired fluency in Hawaiian, and this makes his account (Ellis, 1826) more valuable. Initially based in Oahu, in June 1823 he undertook a tour of Maui and Hawai'i together with several missionary companions.

Ellis in 1823, and the crew of the *Blonde* in 1825, were the last outsiders to record seeing wicker heads *in situ*.

Heads in Museums - the 'curatorial' literature

Following the 1820s, Western literature was silent on the subject of wicker heads for 70 years, until three of them were figured in Edge Partington's (1890) illustrated compendium of the art and artefacts of the Pacific. Edge Partington sketched the three wicker heads then in the British Museum; he named them merely as 'heads' and made reference to Byron (1826) and Cook & King (1784).

The first attempt at discussing wicker heads systematically was by William Brigham (1899, pp 31-39) who was both Director and driving force behind the founding of the Bishop Museum. Brigham discussed and figured eight heads (the five then in the British Museum [two having been acquired since Edge Partington's *Album*], two in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum and one in Vienna). His discussion was predicated on the 'fact' that the heads represent the deity Kuka'ililmoku: central to his discussion was a proposition that the head in the Bishop Museum was an object named Kuka'ilimoku that had once belonged to the great king Kamehameha I. Brigham did not adduce any evidence in support of this hypothesis, nor did he discuss the possibility of the heads not being so.

Brigham subsequently published two supplements to his work. The first (Brigham, 1903) described and figured an additional two heads. The second supplement (Brigham, 1918) described and figured an extra one and listed the known eleven (his list included twelve entries, but two referred to the same head).

Plischke (1929) discussed the Göttingen head in detail, contributed a literature review and attempted to place wicker heads in a broader context, although he did not challenge Brigham's equation of wicker heads with Kuka'ilimoku. Thirty years later, Buck (1957) developed the subject further as part of his comprehensive study of Hawaiian material culture. He described the technology involved in the manufacture of wicker heads and the variation between the known examples. Buck noted that the Bishop Museum had records of a total of 19 heads, but it has since been realised that a head figured in Cook & King (1784) is the same as one surviving in the British Museum. This would reduce the figure to 18, but for the recent rediscovery of a previously unrecorded example in the

American Museum of Natural History.

Kaeppler, who is the Polynesian specialist at the Smithsonian Institution, has made several important contributions to the study of 18th & early 19th century Hawaiian material culture in recent decades, especially on material from Cook's last voyage surviving in museum collections. She has helped to elucidate the history of several heads, and her *corpus* of works includes discussion of examples in Göttingen (Kaeppler *in* Hauser-Schäublin & Krüger, 1998); from Bullock's Museum (Kaeppler, 1974); in the British Museum/Museum of Mankind (Kaeppler, 1979); in Leningrad, Berne & Florence (Kaeppler, 1978b), as well as a compendium of material from all three of Cook's circumnavigations (Kaeppler, 1978). Kaeppler (1978a) has also contributed to the study of the visit of the *Blonde*, and presented an analysis of the meaning of facial expression (Kaeppler, 1982; Kaeppler, Kaufmann & Newton, 1997).

Despite these analyses there are still gaps in the known history of several of the surviving heads, and these are discussed individually in Appendix Four.

ELEVEN : WICKER HEADS IN THE CONTEXT OF POLYNESIAN FIGURATIVE ART

INTRODUCTION

Wicker heads *per se* appear to be uniquely Hawaiian, but are readily placed in a wider context of the representation of the human form in Polynesia. Polynesian art has been treated by other authors (e.g. Barrow, 1972; Guiart, 1963; Meyer, 1995), and apart from summarising their work in the context of wicker heads it is only necessary to stress that the surviving examples of pre-contact and immediate post-contact Polynesian figurative art have been through a highly selective process. Zealous missionaries and converts destroyed many religious artefacts in the period 1800-1830, and what remains was mostly removed to western museums at that period. Also, most available evidence is drawn from High Island communities such as Tahiti and the Marquesas rather than Low Island cultures such as Tokelau, which were (and still are) much poorer in material resources.

Human figures are widely present, almost ubiquitous, in Polynesian art. They were made in a variety of media, including wood, stone, ivory (usually teeth of the Sperm Whale *Physeter catodon*) and wickerwork. Where the whole body is shown, the most common stance was to have the knees slightly bent and the hands either straight down by the side or placed on the abdomen. Legs, feet and hands are often under-stressed or absent, while on the other hand the head is invariably shown larger than life size. Taking a sample of 30 figures from Barrow's *Art and Life in Polynesia* (1972), the head occupied between 20% and 58% of the total height of the body (mean 37%, standard deviation 9.4): this compares with the true proportion in the human frame of 15%.

In addition to whole figures with exaggerated heads, Polynesians also made figures comprising only heads. These included some of the giant stone figures of Easter Island (although some that appear at first sight to be heads have their torso buried in the ground) and the wicker heads of Hawaii. Actual human heads were also preserved in

New Zealand, Society Islands and the Marquesas.

The variation of art-styles between island groups is large, although within any particular group the style tends to follow a narrowly defined convention. Thus, in Rarotonga (Cook Islands), faces were always portrayed with a distinctive double upper eyebrow; in New Zealand, men were generally shown in a position of defiance and there was much surface decoration; in the Marquesas, figures were often squared and the faces had unusually large eyes; in the Austral Islands, female dancers were portrayed in lively dancing poses but the facial features of individuals were only sketched out.

The conservatism of Polynesian traditions may have been a result of the social-religious milieu in which the objects were made and used. It seems that in pre-contact Polynesia there was no profane art, all crafted pieces being in some way a connection between the artist and the gods. It is known that a very important aspect of religious ceremonies was that they had to be seen to be 'carried out properly' in order to be efficacious, and to do this the incantations needed to be word-perfect, the dances needed to be repeated as they always had been and the movements of the priests and participants had to accord with tradition. With this in mind, it is not surprising that there would be a perceived right and a wrong way to carry out the artefactual process. A piece of work needed to imitate the form of previous pieces perfectly in order to be successful. This is a more satisfactory explanation of the within-class similarity of, for instance, Easter Island statues than that proposed by Metraux (1957: 153) who accused the islanders of laziness 'they too readily accepted a single formula that they could reproduce without effort'. Since there was probably as much crafted effort involved in producing the last statue as in producing the first, what Metraux was lamenting was perhaps the absence of a very European ideal of individual artistry.

However, there are undoubtedly some pieces that are highly individually distinctive. In particular, we might think of the well known creator-deity figures from the Society and Cook Islands, of which only a very few examples exist and which are all different. Similarly, although Hawaiian wooden sculptures are readily recognisable *per se*, each one is distinctive in expression, in the form of the hair, in stance and in proportion of the

body parts. In these instances, are we dealing with the artists' expression, or is the answer to be found within the function of Polynesian society? We will probably never know, but it seems not unlikely that where a figure was intended to presentify[1] an individually recognisable person, deity or *aumakua*[2] then the sculpture was allowed freedom of expression while working within the broader constraints of regional style; a freedom that would be denied to someone producing a generalised religious object. It is perhaps significant that Hawaii has both a great proliferation of named forms of the gods and a great diversity in artistic output.

Why was the head portrayed out of proportion? It could be claimed that for people everywhere the head is seen as the most 'important' part of the body, a claim for supremacy that is rivalled only by the genitalia (ithyphallic figures are present in

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1 Presentification has been defined (Kerchache, Paudrat & Stéphan, 1993: 238) as 'the action or the operation through which an entity that belongs to the invisible world becomes present in the visible world of humans'. Presentification is different from representation: a 'representation' is different from its object, a 'presentification' constitutes the same thing as the object presentified.

The meaning of presentification might be explained better with an example. To a Christian, the image on a crucifix represents Christ, but is not Christ: it is a symbol or a representation. However, to a believer in transubstantiation, a consecrated host taken during Communion is the actual body of Christ: this process is presentification, and the host then presentifies (not symbolises) Christ.

The concept of presentification is useful when dealing with Polynesian religion. As described by Handy (1927: 26), the Polynesian universe is a 'psychic dynamism manifesting itself physically', and there is a life and psychic force behind and within all natural manifestation. To Polynesians there was no gulf between what we call 'natural' and 'supernatural' (Handy, 1926: 6), all things having their complementary and interdependent physical and psychic aspects. Bearing this in mind, when a wicker head represented a god or a deified chief in a ceremony, it is much more likely that, in the minds of the participants, the god or chief was presentified in the image, rather than symbolised by it.

2 *'aumakua* and *unihipili*
It is necessary to distinguish the terms *'aumakua* and *unihipili*. Kamakau (1964: 28-29), among the Hawai'ian scholars, gave the clearest exposition. The *akua 'aumakua* (= *'aumakua* gods) were Kane, Kanaloa, Ku and Lono, and everyone is related to them through the male [human] *'aumakua* to whom they are related by descent. They were ancestral deities, and regarded as personal gods: to use an old phrase, Tutelary Spirits.

Unihipili are gods created by the deification of a human being [by, and under the control of, a single kahuna according to Emerson (1912: 6)]. They are gods of families or lineages rather than of broader social units. Kamakau (p. 55) clearly regarded them as a subset of the concept *'aumakua*. Malo (1951: 115) used *unihipili* to refer to the spirit of the deceased returning to reside within the bones, thus the *unihipili* spirit has a continued connection with the remains of its corporeal frame as well as with its descendants.

Polynesia, but not common). In Polynesia, the head assumed greater importance than in most other cultures: it was the most highly *tabu* part of the body because it possessed powerful *mana*, the head of a chief was the most highly *tabu* thing in society and a number of social conventions flowed from this belief. This belief in the pivotal importance of the head was the probable cause of the development in New Zealand and the Marquesas of head-taking traditions: in both these societies the heads of enemies and of friends were preserved as symbols of love or of contempt, and as a signal of the power and prestige of their curator.

Elements of Wicker Heads

1. Wicker

While the majority of surviving figurative art in Polynesia was of wood or stone, wickerwork was a widespread medium and a conspectus of references to wickerwork figures is presented below.

It is probably not true to say that woven or wickerwork objects were manufactured simply because this was an easier medium than, say woodcarving. Wickerwork, like netting and sennit and the 'game' of cat's cradle (which is common and widespread in Polynesia) involved a process of twisting or intertwining, and this process had a religious significance to Polynesians. There are widespread references to artisans chanting as they wove their nets or rope, and the chant was said to be woven into the finished article. Thus the efficacy of the material was enhanced. (The significance of woven objects has been discussed extensively by Kaeppler, A.L., 1997)

2. Feathers

Feathers were generally highly regarded throughout Polynesia although there has been no good explanation as to why, other than the obvious (to a westerner) link between flight and gods of the heavens. Usually the most highly prized feathers were taken from birds that were seen to be special in some way. Red was the colour associated with *mana* in Polynesia, and throughout the area red feathers were the most highly prized; in New

Zealand where there are no red birds, chiefs prized the distinctive white tufts of the Tui (*Prosthemadera novaeseelandiae*) or tail feathers of the Huia (*Heterolocha acutirostris*).

In a Pacific-wide context, we should not be surprised that the Hawaiians fabricated objects that combined wickerwork and feathers. Parallel examples occurred elsewhere, for instance some religious figures are known from the Society and Cook Islands that were bound with *tapa* and had feathers attached and some wooden figures from the same islands had dorsal cavities in which sacred feathers were housed.

The feathers were tied onto the wicker framework of wicker heads with *olona* fibre. This, like sennit, was a material into which chants were woven during the production process.

Thus wicker heads combined two highly prestigious substances, woven work and feathers. However, they also involved rather more prosaic materials, in the form of dog's teeth and pearl shell. One might predict that the mouths of wicker heads would be defined by the teeth of deceased friends or conquered enemies: the Hawaiians certainly did use human teeth in the production of other artefacts, including royal spittoons. Dogs were, apparently, not highly prized in Hawaii other than as an article of food that was available to all men (but prohibited to women, under laws of *kapu*), and they seem to have had no religious significance. The use of dog's canines is a small but enduring mystery.

As for the pearl shell that was used to form the whites of the eyes, this is a material that is very widely used for a similar purpose throughout Polynesian figurative art.

WICKER FIGURES ELSEWHERE IN POLYNESIA

Throughout this study, wicker heads are assumed to be Hawaiian even though there are, in fact, very few examples that have a definite provenance. There are rare and scattered references in the literature to wickerwork religious figures elsewhere in Polynesia, and these are reviewed below.

Woven, or wickerwork, religious figures were formerly widespread in Eastern Polynesia, although perhaps never numerous. Some may have been ephemeral, but in Hawaii they were, seemingly, long lasting structures. The only survivors are those from Hawaii and two from Rapa Nui..

A wicker figure on Tahiti

In 1769, during his first visit to the Society Group Captain Cook circumnavigated the island of Tahiti. At the northwestern part of Tiarrabou (the southeast peninsula of the island) they saw a wicker figure. Hawkesworth (1773, vol 2: 165), includes the following account, based on Cook's journal dated 29 June 1769:

> At this place we saw a very singular curiosity: it was the figure of a man, constructed of basket work, rudely made, but not ill designed; it was something more than seven feet high, and rather too bulky in proportion to its height. The wicker skeleton was completely covered with feathers, which were white where the skin was to appear, and black in the parts which it is their custom to paint or stain, and upon the head, where there was to be a representation of hair: upon the head also were four protruberances, three in front and one behind, which we should have called horns, but which the Indians dignified with the name of TATE ETE [= *te ti'i*], little men. The image was called MANIOE, and was said to be the only one of the kind in Otaheite. They attempted to give us an explanation of its use and design, but we had not then acquired enough of their language to understand them. We learnt, however, afterwards, that it was a representation of Mauwe [= Maui], one of their Eatuas, or gods of the second class.

This passage demonstrates how easily information can be lost in translation, even from an English diary to the printed English word. Beaglehole (1955: 111) quoted Cook's journal as 'we ... met with a very extraordinary curiosity called Mahuwe [= Maui] and

said by the Natives to be used in their Heiva's or publick entertainments ... it had on a maro or cloth about its loins, under which were proofs of its being intended for a figure of a man'. The name (Manioe *versus* Mahuwe) is different, and there is no indication of trying to comprehend an explanation in an unknown language.

This is the only record of a wicker figure in the Society Islands. If such figures had been at all common, they would surely have been recorded by the early explorers, if not by Ellis (1829), who wrote extensively on the religion, as well as more broadly on the anthropology of the Tahitians.

The mention of the homunculi on the head calls to mind two surviving carved wooden religious figures from Central Polynesia. One from Rurutu (Austral Islands), named as A'a and the other from Rarotonga (Cook Islands) which is unnamed. Both are carved with several small anthropoid figures placed around the body (see Barrow, 1979).

Wicker figures on Rapa Nui (Easter Island)

Two small anthropomorphic figures (40cm and 30cm. high) from Rapa Nui survive in the Peabody Museum (Cambridge, Massachusetts). Made of reeds, they are covered with tapa that is painted so as to represent tattooing patterns. There is no recorded name for these figures, but they may possibly relate to wicker objects for which the name *paina* has been recorded (*vide* Metraux, 1974 and Heyerdal *et al.*, 1961). *Paina* were figures made of a frame of reeds and sticks and covered with bark cloth The hair was represented by rushes and the eyes by circles of human cranium with black shells as pupils; feathers represented the eyebrows. Tattooing was indicated by paint. The *paina* were much larger than the two surviving figures, being between 3-4 metres high. They were placed behind the *ahu* (funerary platforms) on positions marked by circles of stones.

Paina were described in 1770 by González, who saw one in use during an apparent mortuary or memorial ceremony. The effigy was surrounded with food, which was distributed to the gathering. A man climbed into the figure and addressed the crowd

through the figure's mouth. At one stage the orator thrust his hand out of the effigy's mouth and displayed a cockerel held at arm's length. An alternative name recorded by González was *kopeka*, which means 'vengeance'.

In the 1860s the missionary Eyraud described the *Mataveri* festival, which was central to the socio-religious life of Rapa Nui. The *Mataveri* was concerned with the cult of the 'bird-man', and involved a competition to obtain the first egg of the season of the Sooty Tern. Games and feasts were associated with the *Mataveri*, and the *paina* figures appeared at that time: unfortunately, there is no detailed description of their use.

Figures on other islands

References to the existence and use of religious wicker figures among the larger and more robust Polynesian societies are few, but among the smaller and more fragile communities the evidence is scant indeed. It is possible that wicker objects were widespread in many of the islands of the Cook, Austral and other groups, but all too often there are no accounts of the anthropology of the islanders before the major upheavals associated with the introduction of Christianity.

Tongareva may be taken as an example of a minor Polynesian culture, unusual only insofar as it is the only such culture for which woven god-figures have been recorded. Tongareva is a ring of islands around a lagoon with a diameter of about 9 miles, lying at latitude 9°S, longitude 157°10'W. Politically the northernmost of the Cook Islands, it is geographically very isolated from the other Cooks. Tongareva lies about 10° of latitude North of Tahiti and 10° South of Hawaii. The major ethnography was written by Buck (1932) whose research was based on a 17-day visit he made in 1929 and a review of the scant earlier literature. 'Discovered' by the West in 1788 and initially receiving few visits, Christianity was introduced in 1854 and soon accepted. In 1864 the island was almost depopulated by Peruvian slavers who took at least 1,000 people to South America, none of whom returned. By the late 1920s, the population was less than 400. The pre-European population was about 2,000. Although Christianity had been in place for 70 years by the time of his visit, Buck's informants could list four gods who

had been in active use: Kaveaua, Maui, Matangi and Rongo-Pa. Thus, even some major members of the Polynesian pantheon - Ku, Kane, Kanaloa, Io - were already (apparently) forgotten. The Tongarevan gods were said to be invisible except to priests, who made material representations of them in coconut leaf, feathers, wood, or human hair. The only westerner to record the use of religious figures was E.H. Lamont, who had been stranded on Tongareva in 1853 (Lamont, 1867). Lamont stated that three small branches from a coconut tree were plaited into a shape resembling a man during a temple ceremony. While apparently in a state of possession by a spirit, a priest uttering prayers struck these figures violently against stones, after which they were thrown away.

Lamont also described a 'feather god', which apparently comprised a stick with a large bundle of feathers and other things fastened on to one end, and a piece of wood with hair attached: neither of these was described as being anthropomorphic.

We thus have the familiar combinations of wood, feathers and woven forms, and a mixture of human and abstract shapes. There are unanswered questions about the significance of the plaited figures. Were they indeed representations of gods, or of people? Their mode of use suggests that they were specifically made for use in one ceremony, and thus not strictly cognate with the permanent wicker heads of Hawai'i or with the wooden Tahitian god-figures (e.g. of Oro) that were stored in *marae* and occasionally inhabited by the spirit of a god.

INVENTORY OF KNOWN EXAMPLES

A separate appendix (Appendix Four) provides a list detailing descriptions and known histories of the surviving heads.

TWELVE : EXOTIC ENCOUNTERS, 1779-1825

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Western visitors to the Hawaiian Islands recorded wicker heads on three occasions between 1779 and 1825. This time frame begins with the first recorded European visit to Hawaii and ends shortly after the abolition of the old system of *kapu* and the arrival of the first Christian missionaries: as such, it covers a pivotal time in Hawaiian history. Afterwards, there is no written evidence by an outsider recording heads either being used or laid up in store, and they vanish from the primary literature.

Initially, the aim of this segment of the project was to compile relevant evidence from every available account, both published and unpublished, and compile information about wicker heads in use. As analysis progressed, it became obvious that there were inconsistencies in the 'factual evidence' presented by different witnesses, who were sometimes independently first-hand observers of the same significant event. Thus, important questions were raised as to the reliability of the written word.

12.2 FIRST ENCOUNTER, 1779

Resolution and *Discovery:* people in conflict, evidence in conflict

Cook's last voyage

Cook's 'discovery' of the Hawaiian chain during his last voyage was purely accidental. His mission, embodied in orders from the Admiralty was to search for a western entrance to the Northwest Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans across what is now northern Canada, and he was heading northwards from the Society Islands in pursuit of that aim when he encountered Kaua'i on 19 January 1778. This initial visit

was a brief one of four days: remembering the short period available for exploration in Polar Regions, there was an imperative to head northwards. After a further brief stop at Ni'ihau (30 January-2 February 1778) the vessels sailed away to the northwest coast of America and onwards to the Arctic.

Later in 1779 the ships returned with the intention of replenishing supplies (mainly hogs and water) before a further attempt at exploring the Arctic. After cruising around Maui and Hawai'i, the *Resolution* and *Discovery* entered Kealakekua Bay on 17 January 1779. After a series of dramatic events, the vessels left Hawai'i on 22 February. Calling briefly at Oahu, Kaua'i and Ni'ihau, they left the islands.

Cook's visit may, or may not, have been the first by outsiders since the Hawaiian Islands were colonised by Polynesians (Masse & Tuggle, 1997; Kirch, 1985), but it was the first to result in written account of Hawaii and its inhabitants. Although (unavoidably) ignorant of the Hawaiians and their customs, Cook's crew were not unable to communicate with the people of the islands. Some on board had learned the Polynesian language and some of its variant pronunciations during visits to New Zealand and Tahiti: Rickman (1781: 55), for instance, commented that the Tahitian Omai could not understand the language of the New Zealand Maori as well as 'some of the common men who had been frequently here before'.

The two groups (sailors and Hawaiians) involved in this encounter, could both be characterised as being a highly ranked society led by an autocrat, with a strictly enforced penal code, a society based on socio-religious unity and an *apartheid* of gender. It says something for these similarities that Cook's position on board was immediately recognised by the Hawaiians and the Hawaiian social system was equally familiar to the British. Cook himself seems to have been regarded as at least equivalent to an *ali'i*[1] since on going ashore the first day on Kaua'i he was accorded the *kapu moe* [the

1 Hawai'ian society, like that of other East Polynesian communities, was strongly hierarchical. The tiers of society were, broadly, outcasts or slaves (*kauwa*), commoners (*maka'ainana*) and chiefs (*ali'i*). Within the chiefly caste, at least, there were many gradations of status (*vide* Kamakau, 1964: 3-10) with different *kapu*: the precise grade seems to have been usually inherited, although it was possible for a ruling chief to graft himself on to a genealogy in order to acquire 'inherited' status.

prostrating *kapu*] accorded to the high chiefs. Whether this indicated that he was regarded as 'something more than mortal', as phrased by Joppien & Smith (1988:72) is open to question: however, we must always bear in mind that to a Hawai'ian at that time all and every *ali'i* were 'more than mortal', being links to the gods.

The *kapu moe* prostration must have puzzled Cook, as there was no previous history in Polynesia of British sailors being treated in such a way. It contrasted sharply with the ritualised defiance shown in New Zealand and the show of grandeur seen in Tahiti. Other aspects of the encounter, in terms of trade and pilfering were noted as being seen elsewhere.

The Hawaiian side of this initial encounter has been told by Kamakau (1992: 92-104), who recorded a tradition that one of the *kahuna* of Kaua'i declared the ships to be 'the heiau of Lono, the tower of Ke-ol-ewa and the place of sacrificing at the altar' and that various items seen on board were interpreted as being connected with the gods. According to Hawaiian tradition, the people said to each other "this is indeed Lono" (Kamakau, 1992: 93). The *kahuna* freed the *kapu* that would otherwise have caused danger of pollution by association between the people and their allegedly divine visitors, but warned that nothing should be stolen from them.

When the vessels returned a year later, news of their earlier visit had spread to the eastern islands of the Hawaiian chain, as (apparently) had venereal disease introduced by the British sailors. Cook's ships arrived at Kealakekua Bay on 17 January 1779, and departed for the first time on 4 February. A few days out to sea, the vessels encountered a storm that damaged one of the masts. It was necessary to return to Kealakekua Bay, where they arrived on 11 February. Captain Cook was killed three days later on 14 February, together with four Marines, Corporal Thomas and Privates Hinkes, Allen and Fadget (Rickman, 1781); the *Resolution* and *Discovery* left Hawai'i for the last time on 23 February.

As has been well documented (see e.g. Obeyeskere, 1997), the visit coincided with the annual festival of Makahiki, a combination of first-fruit offerings and reaffirmation of

the status of the chiefs. The records in the ships' logs of the events of this season in 1779 provide a rare calendar for this festival. It has been asserted that Cook was identified by the Hawaiians as being an embodiment of Lono, a deity that featured largely in the Makahiki rites: this has been widely debated in recent years (see Obeyesekere, 1997 for one side of the debate, and for references to the other side).

One central element of the Makahiki is a procession around the island of Hawai'i. Tribute was collected from the people of the district at each of the boundaries of the administered land divisions. This tribute was brought to Kealakekua Bay, where it was given to the chief of the island (who, in 1779, was Kalani'opu'u). Before the tribute was handed over, the chief needed to establish his right to rule by moving through a series of social and religious events - for instance he proceeded from a canoe onto dry land, dodging spears that were hurled at him (an example, if one were needed, that ritualised defiance indeed existed in Hawaii).

Certain elements involved in the Hawai'ian treatment of Cook suggest that his presence was being interpreted as part of the overall Makahiki phenomenon. For instance, he was taken to a *heiau* and made to stand in a certain position while recitations were said; he was given important objects including the feather capes and helmets belonging to an *ali'i*, and his men were housed in a *heiau* normally used during the Makahiki. However, the events that led to his death cannot simply be interpreted as a realisation by the Hawai'ians that he was not (or was no longer) Lono: for instance, the *Resolution* and *Discovery* seem to have taken on board so many hogs that there may have been a perceived danger of food shortages. Eventually, the reason for his murder may hinge on something as simple as Cook's last act, which was to lay hands on Kalani'opu'u - since the body of the *ali'i* was so highly *kapu* that nobody in Hawai'ian society was allowed to touch it without incurring death. Could it be that the islanders were reacting to Cook's act in the way that lay within their tradition?

The focus of this thesis is neither on the meaning of the Makahiki nor on the question of Cook's divinity, although these inform the background to the situation. What is being resolved is the question of wicker heads: what did the crews of the *Resolution* and

Discovery record about their names, their appearance, their use and their acquisition? It will be seen that the answer to this question is 'not much', but in following the process that leads to this answer we will see that a close analysis of the source material reveals discrepancies in the evidence.

Primary literature

As was the case for Cook's previous circumnavigations, an official publication based on the diaries of the commander (in this instance Captains Cook & King) was published, in 1784. Several unofficial accounts also resulted from the voyage. The first was published anonymously in 1781, but is generally agreed to be the work of John Rickman. Ledyard's account (1783) seems to have been based on his own recollections, backed up by reference to Rickman.

Other than that by Cook & King, the most detailed history of the whole voyage was that published by the surgeon's mate William Ellis (1782). Unfortunately, there are areas where the two versions of events do not overlap: for instance Ellis made no mention of the ceremonies on shore in Kealakekua Bay where Cook was apparently treated as a god. Other elements of interest in Ellis's account include a detailed description of the Hikiau *heiau* and two chapters (pp 138-187 of vol. 2) devoted to the natural history and ethnography of the islands.

Much more recently, all of the known manuscripts relating to Cook's voyages have been published, including those relating to the *Resolution* and *Discovery* (Beaglehole, 1967)

Events of 26 January 1779

One of the most significant events during Cook's stay in Hawai'i occurred on 26 January 1779 when the Hawai'ian chief Kalani'opu'u (known to Cook as Tereeoboo) visited the British vessels. The visit involved a procession of people in a fleet of canoes, one of which contained a number of wicker heads, and there then followed a ceremony on shore.

The several accounts of the proceedings of the day vary, and it is instructive to compare them. Because pictures speak louder than words, the most familiar image is Webber's drawing of the scene, entitled 'Tereoboo, King of Owyhee, bringing presents to Captain Cook' (Figure 30)

Relevant textual passages from the various accounts of this event are:

1) Lieutenant James King's journal, entry for January 26, 1779 (Beaglehole, 1967: 512):

> At Noon Terreeoboo in a large Canoe attended by two others set out from the Village, & paddled towards the Ships in great state. In the first Canoe was Terreeoboo, In the Second Kao with 4 Images, the third was fill'd with hogs &Vegetables, as they went along those in the Center Canoe kept Singing with much Solemnity; from which we concluded that this procession had some of their religious ceremonys mixt with it; but instead of going on board they came to our side, their appearance was very grand, the Chiefs standing up drest in their Cloaks & Caps, & in the Center Canoe were the busts of what we supposd their Gods made of basket work, variously coverd with red, black, white, & Yellow feathers, the Eyes represent'd by a bit of Pearl Oyster Shell with a black button, & the teeth were those of dogs, the mouths of all were strangely distorted, as well as other features; we drew out our little guard to receive him, & the Capt^{n} observing that the King went on shore, followd him. After we had got into the Markee, the King got up & threw in a graceful manner over the Capt^{ns} Shoulders the Cloak he himself wore, & put a featherd Cap upon his head, & a very handsome fly flap in his hand: besides which he laid down at the Captains feet 5 or 6 Cloaks more, all very beautiful, & to them of the greatest Value; his attendant brought 4 large hogs, with other refreshments which were also presented.

There was then a procession of priests, after which Cook took Kalani'opu'u on board the *Resolution*. Koa'a (whose name may be a title - *kahu*, meaning 'guardian') and

others stayed on shore, and the canoes containing the wicker heads [or that had contained the wicker heads?] were hauled up onto the beach.

2. Rickman (1781), p. 303:

> [Kalani'opu'u] was attended with more than 150 large war-canoes, himself at the head of them in a superb vessel, in which were four idols, two at each end, representing men of a monstrous size, covered with mantles of feathers, interwoven with various colours, red, black, green, and yellow. These they call E-ah-tu-a, signifying their warrior gods, without which they never engage in battle. They passed the ships, and seemed to take very little notice of them; when they landed, they hauled up their canoes on the beach, drew up in martial order, and led by the king, marched in ranks to their place of worship, distant from our tents about fifty yards; but, seeing the ground taboo'd by small green boughs, that marked the boundaries, they all made a circle round with their images in a procession, till they arrived at their Morai, where they placed their deities and deposited their arms.

This ceremony over, the chief attended with ten *ali'i*, came on board the *Resolution*, where he presented Cook with various items of food.

Rickman's account casts doubt as to the central part played in this event by the British vessels. He stated that the canoes passed the ships without taking much notice of them, and proceeded to make a religious procession with the heads to a *heiau* (but this was not the *heiau* where the crew was billeted). This parade has echoes of the use of the *ka'ai* mentioned by Malo in his description of the consecration of a *luakini* temple (which will be discussed later).

3. Ledyard (1783), p. 111:

> ... it was not until the 25th [sic] that Kireeaboo came. He was attended by a number of double canoes ... In the fore and hinder parts of his canoe were placed several ill-formed images of wicker work covered with a variety of feathers, of different colours, but chiefly red and black. These they carry to war with them.

4. William Ellis (1782), vol. 2, pp 90-91:

> The next day (26th January), the king again visited the captain, and in the afternoon went on shore in his canoe, attended by two other large canoes, each, as well as his own, carrying a vast number of caps, cloaks, images composed of basket-work, and covered with red feathers, which were intended as a present to captain Cook, who soon followed.

Concordance:

Comparison of the four accounts shows the following:

Starting point of the procession of canoes: Ellis implied that Kalani'opu'u was on board one of Cook's vessels and went ashore in his canoe; King stated he came from shore in his canoe.

Number of Canoes: 'attended by two other large canoes' (Ellis); by 'a number of double canoes' (Ledyard); by 'more than 150 large war canoes' (Rickman); in a large canoe attended by two others (King). Webber sketched three canoes, the leading one much larger than the others.

Presence of heads on the canoes: 'The priest Kao was with four heads in the second canoe' (King); 'In the fore and hinder parts of his canoe were placed several ill-formed images of wicker work' (Ledyard); 'himself at the head of them in a superb vessel, in

which were four idols, two at each end' (Rickman). Three heads are visible at the stern of the middle canoe in Webber's drawing.

Destination of the canoes: 'they came to our side ... the Capt[n] observing that the King went on shore, followd him' (King); Kalani'opu'u went [presumably, from the ship] on shore (Ellis); 'They passed the ships, and seemed to take very little notice of them; when they landed, they hauled up their canoes on the beach' (Rickman)

What happened next: 'After we had got into the Markee, the King got up & threw in a graceful manner over the Capt[ns] Shoulders the Cloak he himself wore, & put a featherd Cap upon his head, & a very handsome fly flap in his hand: besides which he laid down at the Captains feet 5 or 6 Cloaks more, all very beautiful, & to them of the greatest Value; his attendant brought 4 large hogs, with other refreshments which were also presented' (King). After which was a procession of priests.

They 'drew up in martial order, and led by the king, marched in ranks to their place of worship, distant from our tents about fifty yards; but, seeing the ground taboo'd by small green boughs, that marked the boundaries, they all made a circle round with their images in a procession, till they arrived at their Morai, where they placed their deities and deposited their arms' (Rickman).

Summary of the above

To sum up, from the evidence of the written accounts of four eye-witnesses, plus a drawing made by a fifth:

The event began when Kalani'opu'u was visiting Captain Cook, or was on shore. He proceeded from shore or from the ship in his canoe. His canoe was accompanied by between two and 150 others. One of the canoes, stated to be his or one of the others, contained some wicker heads, either four or several, either at one or at both ends of the canoe. The procession of canoes went either to the ships (or carried Kalani'opu'u from the ships) or passed them by without taking much notice of them.

All written accounts seem to agree that no gifts were presented to Cook on board ship, despite the engraving of Webber's drawing being entitled 'Tereoboo, King of Owhyhee, bringing presents to Cap[t] Cook'.

After going on shore and being followed by some British sailors led by Cook, the Hawaiians carried out a religious ceremony, either before or after making presents to Cook. After the ceremonies had been completed, the king and ten *ali'i* went on board the *Resolution*, where they presented various items of food to Cook.

Description and interpretation of heads

The confusion embodied in the descriptions of this single event extends to the information available generally about wicker heads. Taken singly, any of the several descriptions may appear quite clear, but together they are highly ambiguous. Some descriptions of heads are in the context of the procession by Kalani'opu'u, others as part of a discussion of the religious system of the islands.

1. Lieutenant James King's journal
January 26, 1779 (Beaglehole, 1967: 512) noted

> ... busts of what we supposd their Gods made of basket work, variously coverd with red, black, white, & Yellow feathers, the Eyes represent'd by a bit of Pearl Oyster Shell with a black button, & the teeth were those of dogs, the mouths of all were strangely distorted, as well as other features.

2a. David Samwell's journal
(Beaglehole, 1967: 1185) [written in February, 1779]:

> As to the Religion of these people or their Notions concerning a supreme

being we are totally ignorant of them, but they seem to be great Idolaters from the number of Images we saw among them. Of these they have various Sorts, some of which they call Etua [=*akua*], others Ete [=*e ki'i*]. They have likewise many ludicrous obscene Idols in their Houses like the Priapus of the Romans, the leud postures and actions in which these are represented are various according to the salacious Ideas of the Carver and would offend the Ear of Modesty to recount. The Etua is a large Image of wicker work covered with red feathers with Mother of pearl for Eyes, human hair fastened to the head & Dog's teeth put into the Mouth; they are made in Imitation of the human head but in general much larger than the Life, they told us that on the death of the Chiefs they knocked out the Fore teeth of these Gods in the same Manner as they do their own. The Ete is a small wooden Image which they form of various shapes and sizes & keep in their Houses & stick up in the Stern of their Canoes. Tho' they look upon these Idols as their Gods they pay no great reverence to them, for when any of us laughed at them & treated with Contempt even those we supposed the most sacred among them, the Indians instead of being offended, would join with us in ridiculing them & seemed to think as lightly of them as we did, and there was none of them that they would not sell even for trifles.

2b. David Samwell's journal

(Beaglehole, 1967: 1213), on February 17, three days after death of Cook.

Coo-aha [= Koa'a] came to the ships again today, & one time brought two of their red feathered Images or Gods as a present to Captain Clerke but he would not accept of them.

3. Zimmermann (1781, pp 76-77) reads [in translation]:

> Their idols are half-length figures of wickerwork plaited of a thin and supple kind of withe, and having a head, throat, nose, mouth and ears; the eyes are of mother-of-pearl shell, and pigs' teeth are inserted into the mouth. From the breast to over the head the figure is entirely covered with small red feathers in such quantities that the framework is not visible. These idols, and all the parts of them, are of enormous size. Some of these gods have hair set in on the back of the head, and some have caps plaited in the same way and decorated with feathers of yellow and other colours; these last have the appearance of Roman helmets.
>
> Several of these idols were brought to us in exchange; some of them we secured and brought back with us to England.
>
> The inhabitants of the island of O-waihi raised Captain Cook to the dignity of a god, and set up an idol in his honour which they called after him 'O-runa no te tuti', 'O-runa' meaning god, and 'tuti' Cook. This idol was made exactly like the others, but was adorned with white feathers instead of red, presumably because Captain Cook, being a European, had a white complexion.

The original German text for the last two paragraphs is:

> Sie trugen uns mehrere ihrer Gotzenbilder zum eintauschen an; wir handelten auch verschiedene von ihnen ein, die wir mit nach England nahmen.
>
> Herrn Cook machten jene aus der Insel O-waihi auch einem Gott, und richteten ihm zu Ehren ein Gotzenbild auf. Sie nannten es nach dessen Namen: *O-runa no ne tuti. O-runa* hies Gott, *tuti* Cook. Dieser Ubgott war wie die ihrige geformt; aber statt der rothen mut lauter wissen

Federn gezieret, vermuthlich aus der Ursache, weil herr Cook als ein Europäer von weisser Gesichstfarbe war.

4. Rickman (1781):
(discussed above)

> ... idols ... representing men of a monstrous size, covered with mantles of feathers, interwoven with various colours, red, black, green, and yellow. These they call E-ah-tu-a, signifying their warrior gods, without which they never engage in battle.

5. Ledyard (1783):
(discussed above)

> ... several ill-formed images of wicker work covered with a variety of feathers, of different colours, but chiefly red and black. These they carry to war with them.

6. Ellis (1782):
(discussed above)

> ... images composed of basket-work, and covered with red feathers, which were intended as a present to captain Cook, who soon followed.

Concordance

As has been done for the visit of 26 January, it is instructive to compare what is said in the several accounts concerning wicker heads.

Composition of the heads: basketwork or wickerwork covered with feathers

Origin of the teeth: dogs (King, Samwell); pigs (Zimmerman).

Origin of the eyes: pearl oyster shell with a black button (King); mother of pearl (Samwell, Zimmerman).

Colour of the feathers: red, black, white, & yellow (King); red (Samwell, Ellis); red, but one was made with white feathers (Zimmerman); red, black, green and yellow (Rickman); different colours, but chiefly red and black (Ledyard).

Other features: human hair fastened to the head (Samwell); some have hair set in on the back of the head, others have helmets (Zimmerman)

Size: enormous (Zimmerman); large (Samwell) monstrous (Rickman)

Expression: the mouths of all were strangely distorted (King)

Native name: Eahtua (Rickman) or Etua (Samwell), both equating to *akua*; one called 'O-runa no te tuti' was made in imitation of Cook (Zimmerman).

Function and use: supposed by British to be Hawaiian gods (King); carried to war (Ledyard; Rickman); teeth knocked out on death of a chief (Samwell)

How acquired by British: intended as a present to Captain Cook (Ellis); sold for trifling amounts (Samwell); brought to crew in exchange (Zimmerman); two were brought as presents after the death of Cook, but refused by Capt. Clerke (Samwell); not stated (King, Ledyard, Rickman).

As with the evidence concerning the procession of canoes, there is considerable variation in the accounts. Some of the physical characteristics can be confirmed by comparison with existing specimens, for instance the colours of the covering feathers were noted most frequently as red, but black, green, yellow and white feathers were mentioned. Several of the extant examples have a mixture of colours, mainly a general covering of red, with black eyebrows, a yellow sagittal crest and ring of yellow basally. None now has green or white feathers, although some heads have lost their feathers and the original colour is unknown.

Zimmerman's claim, that the Hawaiians made an image of Cook covered with white feathers is of interest. Given that the vessels were on Hawai'i for only 19 days (17 January - 4 February) before their first departure, this presents an unbelievably short time-scale for producing a completed head even if a wickerwork frame was already

available. It is surely more likely that a white-feathered head already existed and was shown (traded?) to the British, some comment being made about the colour. It might even be questioned whether Cook, after a lifetime at sea, was appreciably lighter in skin colour than a high-ranking Hawaiian (who were known for having paler skin than the *maka'inana*]. The 'white' feathers may have in fact originally been yellow *o'o* feathers, as these are very susceptible to fading.

Rickman's account of the procession of the canoes gave a hint of the use of the heads. He noted that the Hawaiians 'all made a circle round with their images in a procession, till they arrived at their Morai, where they placed their deities and deposited their arms.' The keepers of the heads making a procession is reminiscent of the description by Malo (1951, pp 159-187) of ceremonies at the consecration of a Luakini heiau. One ceremony involved the keepers of the *ka'ai* gods, each keeper with the *ka'ai* god of his chief. The *ka'ai* gods were held aloft 'each on his spear decorated with a banner', and the *kahu* ran in a circle around all the *ka'ai* gods. Later, the *kahu* stood in a line holding the *ka'ai* gods in front, before parading in a circle. This is described further, below.

The acquisition of heads by the crew of Cook's vessels is a matter of interest. They were variously stated to have been presented, sold or traded to the British sailors, but his is not easy to reconcile with their high religious significance. If the heads can be interpreted as *ka'ai* gods in the sense used by Malo, then the implication is that they were the 'property' of a chief, possibly emblems of the *'aumakua* of the chief or his family. They would therefore constitute the presence of the *'aumakua*, and by association the *mana* of the chief or his family, at whatever ceremony is being performed.

Various observers commented on the apparent disrespect shown to religious figures: King for instance noted that the priest Koa'a (whose name may indicate he was a *kahu* or guardian of the temple) spoke to all except one of the temple statues in a 'very ludicrous and slighting tone': the one statue not thus addressed being the one draped with *kapa*. However, it can not be argued that priests or people would hold the figures to be of little worth, or even dispensable, as they must have known that at some time

they would become inhabited by the spirit of a god. If the heads were indeed the visible containers of the personal gods of the chiefs and kings of Hawai'i and their families, it is barely conceivable that their *kahu* would trade them for - as Samwell said - 'trifles'. The unsanctioned disposal of a religious figure would be a very serious transgression of Hawai'ian norms of behaviour.

Either the various British accounts are simply untrue and the heads were in fact stolen, or perhaps looted from the house in which they were placed on 26 January, or the Hawaiians did not view the transfer of the heads to the British ships as being a sale or exchange transaction.

The looting option is a distinct possibility: there were plentiful opportunities to investigate the Hikiau *heiau* during the first visit, and during the mayhem following the death of Captain Cook anything could have happened. On the 19th February when the marines burned a village 'Many were put to death without mercy ... we returned to the ships before night, loaded with Indian spoils, consisting of bows and arrows, clubs and arms of all kinds which they use in battle...' (Rickman, 1781: 326). On the other hand, none of the diarists mentioned theft of religious objects, even though other reprehensible acts, like the removal of the fence around the *heiau* and the use, as trophies, of heads of slain Hawaiians were discussed.

Another possibility is that the Hawaiians deliberately placed the heads on Cook's vessels for their own religious reasons. It may have been felt that the heads would acquire *mana* by their (temporary) association with the visitors or conversely would transmit *mana* to the vessels; alternatively, the ships may have been a means of transport chosen to send (or return?) the heads to Kahiki.

Kahiki was both the fabled and actual ancient homeland of the Hawaiians. The god Lono was said to inhabit Kahiki, and the Makahiki festival celebrates His arrival from Kahiki and ends with His return there. Kahiki was not conceived as being simply a place, but broadly represented things distant in time, the horizon between sea and sky and the zone beyond that horizon (Valeri, 1985: 8-9). Kamakau (1991, pp 67-68) indicated that the

gods Kane, Kanaloa and Haumea came in spirit form from Kahiki and from the firmament, and there are traditionary stories of gods and heroes moving between Kahiki and Hawaii (*vide*, e.g. Beckwith, 1970).

Cook no doubt told the people of Hawai'i whence he had come: from Tahiti - the word being cognate with their Kahiki - and that he intended to return there. Is it too far fetched to suggest that the Hawai'ians placed the *'aumakua* in the vessels as a means of sending them to their spiritual homeland? Some support for this suggestion is a tradition reported by Beckwith (1970: 29) and recorded in 1935 that religious figures were dispatched to Kahiki: the keeper of Kamehameha's *Kaili* in Kohala made a canoe and placed the god in it, together with food, *awa* and barkcloth, and set it afloat to drift back to Kahiki.

According to Samwell (Beaglehole, 1967: 1213), on 17 February 1779, three days after death of Cook, Koa'a came to the ships and 'one time brought two of their red feathered Images or Gods as a present to Captain Clerke but he would not accept of them'. Was this meant as a placatory gesture, were the images linked in some way to the death of Cook, or was there some other reason? We will probably never know.

HEADS ON KAUAI

After leaving Hawai'i the *Resolution* and *Discovery* proceeded to Kauai, where they were visited by the king of the island. According to Samwell's journal (Beaglehole, 1967, pp 1227-1228) the chief Teeave [=Keawe] came out with several chiefs and went on board both the ships. Two feathered heads were in the stern of his canoe. This is the only visual reference to a wicker head outside of the big island of Hawai'i.

The visit of Cook's vessels generated visual and written evidence as to the appearance, significance and use of wicker heads. The reliability of this evidence has been shown to be open to doubt, however we should be grateful that there is any evidence at all. Although we might recall that Cook was ordered to compile information on the people he encountered (rather than perhaps having a self-generated interest in doing so), his voyages set a precedent in the amount of data that could be gathered and laid before the

public *via* the printed word.

We now proceed to look at the subsequent contact between Hawaii and the west, and how this throws more light on wicker heads.

12.3. WESTERN VISITORS 1792-1824

When Vancouver visited in 1792-93 (Vancouver, 1801), only thirteen years after Cook's death, considerable trade existed at Hawai'i with American and other vessels. He recorded that in March 1793 Kamehameha presented him with 'a handsome cloak formed of red and yellow feathers, with a small collection of other native curiosities', and another cloak intended as a gift to King George. There was no mention of wicker heads.

The naturalist on Vancouver's expedition was Archibald Menzies, and he made the official collection of ethnographic items. The material was subsequently lodged in the British Museum, and King (1981) detailed the American material. A catalogue of the artefacts collected by Menzies survives in the Sutro Library, California and was published by Dillon (1951): a range of items was picked up in Hawai'i, including a feather helmet and cloaks, but no feather head.

Neither Portlock nor Dixon mentioned wicker heads in their accounts of their visit to the islands in 1786-87 (Portlock, 1789; Dixon, 1789). Portlock was given feather cloaks by 'Taaao, king of Atoui' [Kaua'i], and his account included a drawing of a stick god. Dixon mentioned wooden figures.

La Pérouse was in the Sandwich group between 28th May and 1st June1786, visiting Maui and Molokini. Although in their short visit the crew managed to obtain a feather cape and *mahiole*, there was no mention of feathered heads (Dunmore, 1994-95).

Lisiansky circled the world in the *Neva* between 1803 and 1806 (Lisiansky, 1814). Between 8-19 June 1804 he was in the Hawaiian Group, first visiting Kealakekua Bay on Hawai'i for eight days before moving on to Kaua'i. Lisiansky visited a royal *heiau*, but did not mention wicker heads. He noted a number of wooden statues standing outside, arranged in semicircles. The 'chief priest of the temple' told him that 15 statues represented the 'gods of war', two the 'gods of spring', others the 'guardians of autumn'

and that the altar was dedicated to the god of joy: all concepts familiar to a western academic, but not recognisably Polynesian!

Lisiansky spoke to Young, who had lived on the islands since 1891 and who by that time possessed the status of a chief. Presumably, it was from Young that he obtained an account of the rise to power of Kamehameha that agrees with the version usually presented today. Lisiansky noted that prices of provisions were high because of the large number of American ships that called at the islands: Kealakekua had been visited by no less than 18 vessels in the previous year.

A second Russian expedition under Kotzebue in the ship *Rurick* circumnavigated 1815-1818. The report of the naturalist on board, Chamisso, was a major appendix to the published account. The *Rurick* touched at Hawai'i on 22 November 1816. The officers met Kamehameha before moving on to Oahu for recreation and re-provisioning, leaving on 14th December. Choris, the expedition's artist, sketched the 'Ahuena *heiau* at Kailua and several of its wooden statues (Kotzebue, 1821,1:310; Cox & Davenport, 1988: 80). Considerable interest should attach to these drawings, as they provide rare association of contemporary names with sketched figures. No wicker heads were mentioned by Kotzebue or by Chamisso.

12.4 THE OLD GODS CAST ASIDE

After the events of 1819, with the abolition of the *kapu* and the arrival of missionaries, European and American authors generally minimised the degree of survival of the old religion and customs. Ellis (1826: 173), for instance gave the impression of a nation that was, literally, godless: 'They said they had no god; formerly they had many, but now they had cast them all away ... We asked them if it was a good thing to have no god, and to know of no being to whom they ought to render religious homage. They said perhaps it was, for they had nothing to provide for the great sacrifices, and were under no fear of punishment for breaking the tabu...'.

This notion that the old Gods and old customs were quickly being lost was reinforced by other authors. F.D. Bennett, who visited Hawaii in 1834, said (Bennett, 1840) that 'religious [i.e. Christian] and general education' had advanced so rapidly over all the islands that 'idolatrous ceremonies are totally obliterated, and the rising generation now regard a ruined morai, or a wooden deity, with the same traditionary interest that the British attach to their druidical remains'.

Similarly, when the U.S. Exploring Expedition visited the islands in 1840, Wilkes noted (Wilkes, 1845: 41) that 'The mythology of the Hawaiians is extensive and complicated; but their gods are fast being forgotten, and few are willing to spend much time in attending to them. Little information on this subject is to be derived from anyone with whom I had an opportunity of conversing. What is known is contained in published accounts'.

How far the old religion had truly been abandoned is, for the moment, immaterial although in a much broader view it affects the way in which we regard the claims for authority by modern Hawaiian neo-religionists. It may have been the case that the travellers and missionaries were being told what they wanted to hear: a phenomenon that should be familiar to modern anthropologists. Whatever, by the mid 19th century there seems to have been little external interest in quizzing the Hawaiians about their older social and religious ways of life.

Early in this period of upheaval, wicker heads were seen *in situ* for the last time. This will be described below.

12.5 SECOND ENCOUNTER, 1823

The second mention of wicker heads in the European literature was almost fifty years after the first, and resulted from a visit by Christian missionaries who had previous first-hand experience of Polynesian societies. William Ellis, a missionary who had worked in the Society Islands for several years seems to have had an unusually enquiring attitude towards the customs of the Polynesians, even if his views of their religion was more

typical of other missionaries (e.g. his repeated references to 'deceived and deceiving priests'). Ellis's volumes about Tahiti (Ellis, 1829) include much about the social life there, and his book about his tour of Hawai'i and Maui implies a much more sympathetic view of the Hawai'ians than that of his co-workers Tyerman & Bennet (Montgomery, 1831). Ellis was also notable in that he already knew the Polynesian language from his time in Tahiti, so could communicate with the islanders.

Ellis provides two references to wicker heads, apparently based on discussions with islanders rather than first-hand experience.

The first (Ellis, 1826: 58) was of Kukeolo'ewa:

> One of the ancient gods of Maui, prior to its subjugation by Tamehameha, they [Keopuolani, Hoapili and several other chiefs of Maui] said, was *Keoroeva* The body of the image was of wood, and was arrayed in garments of native tapa. The head and neck were formed of a kind of fine basket or wicker-work, covered over with red feathers, so curiously wrought in as to resemble the skin of a beautiful bird. A native helmet was placed on the idol's head, from the crown of which long tresses of human hair hung down over its shoulders. Its mouth, like the greater number of the Hawaiian idols, was large and distended.
>
> In all the temples dedicated to its worship, the image was placed within the inner apartment, on the left hand side of the door, and immediately before it, stood the altar, on which the offerings of every kind were usually placed.

(There is a suggestion elsewhere that the wicker head that formed part of Kukeolo'ewa was brought to England by Byron and survives in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. This is discussed in the next chapter).

The second passage (*ibid*: 67) reported seeing holes in the ground where wooden statues had formerly stood at the great temple built by Kamehameha at Pu'ukohola. Ellis noted that '*Tairi*, or *Kukairimoku*, a large wooden idol, crowned with a helmet, and covered with red feathers, the favourite war god of Tamehameha, was the principal idol.'

The reference to Kuka'ilimoku is important, given the later attachment, by Brigham, of that name to the whole genus of wicker heads. Another reference to 'Tairi' (*ibid*: 88) was when Ellis visited a *heiau* called *Hale o Tairi* (=House of *Kaili*) built by Kamehameha I. This has been identified (Stokes, 1991: 60) as possibly being the Hale'a'ama *heiau*. Ellis said:

> The natives were very desirous to show us the place where the image of Tairi the war-god stood, and told us, that frequently in the evening, he used to be seen flying about the neighbourhood, in the form of a luminous substance like a flame, or like the tail of a comet.

The third reference to 'Tairi' (*ibid*: 126-127) is part of a description of the Hawaiian method of organised armed strife. If the augury was good

> 'the principal war-god was brought out in the front of the whole army, and placed near the king ... [Tairi] may be taken as a sample; the image was four or five feet high, the upper part wicker-work, covered with red feathers, the face a hideous form, the mouth armed with triple rows of dog's or shark's teeth, the eyes of mother of pearl, the head crowned with a helmet, the crest sometimes formed in long tresses of human hair. They were fixed on a small pillar or pedestal; were sometimes carried by the priests, or placed on the ground, upheld and defended by them'.

Ellis's evidence is patchy. This might be expected, since his visit to Hawaii was brief, his experience of the big island of Hawai'i comprising little more than a tour of its circumference. However, taken together with evidence presented in the previous and succeeding chapters, the information he provided is of interest. The next, and last, account of wicker heads takes us from explorers (Cook) and missionaries (Ellis) to

players in an imperial strategy. This is the visit of Lord Byron and his crew, discussed in the following section.

12.6 THIRD, AND LAST, ENCOUNTER, 1825
THE VOYAGE OF THE *BLONDE*

INTRODUCTION[1]

King Kamehameha II, who had been instrumental in abolishing the system of *kapu* and with it the old religion, visited England with Queen Kamamalu and several retainers in 1823. Unfortunately, the royal couple both died of measles shortly after their arrival and the British government decided to repatriate their embalmed bodies on board *H.M.S. Blonde*, a 46-gun frigate. The vessel was commanded by George Anson, who had recently inherited the title of seventh Lord Byron; also on board were the promising young naturalist Andrew Bloxam and his older brother Richard Rowland Bloxam (as ship's chaplain); the artist Robert Dampier joined the vessel in Rio de Janeiro on the outward journey. The *Blonde* was in the Hawaiian group between May and July 1825, and visited the islands of Hawai'i, Maui and Oahu.

The *Blonde* sailed to a nation in a state of uncertain leadership. Kamehameha II had

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1 Sources of information regarding the *Blonde*

The official account of the *Blonde* voyage was published anonymously, the preface making it clear that it was compiled from the journals of the officers and gentlemen on board. Although the title page was dated 1826, publication is known to have been delayed to early 1827, so the citation usually given, 'Byron, 1826', is wrong in both author and date. Being sanctioned by tradition, it is followed here. The work is known to have been compiled by Maria Graham from the diary of R.R. Bloxam, but included notes taken from the journals of A. Bloxam and from Dampier (*vide* references in Olson, 1996). The journals of both A. Bloxam and Dampier have been published (Bloxam, 1925; Dampier, 1971), as have extracts from the journal of the ship's naturalist James Macrae (Macrae, 1922) and of an account written by R.R. Bloxam in a letter to an uncle (Jaggar, 1924). R.R. Bloxam's journal has not been published, but survives in the National Library of Australia and has been examined in microfilm at the Bishop Museum (Honolulu). A contribution, contemporary with the voyage but not by a participant was published in the *Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* (M.H. Bloxam, 1826) following the return of the *Blonde* to England, and contains material relevant to the present study. A further historical account was written by an agent in the major political-religious events surrounding the *Blonde* visit (Bingham, 1847: 261-273) but unfortunately adds nothing of interest for the ethnographer. Also unfortunate is the lack of comment by Kamakau (1992), who elsewhere provided an invaluable Hawaiian perspective on historical events.

instigated religious reforms only six years previously and one would expect continuing resentment by, at least, the large number of religious specialists (*kahuna*) whose way of life had been bound up in the old religion. The *maka'ainana*, or 'common people' were being required to work in cutting sandalwood in order to finance the materialist aspirations of their chiefs, to the extent that agriculture was neglected and food shortages resulted. As an added complication the heir to the throne, Kauikeaouli (soon to become Kamehameha III), was only about nine years of age and government was effectively devolving to a small number of high-ranking chiefs. Byron seems to have seen his visit as a stabilising influence and a decisive factor in persuading the Hawaiians to accept the legitimacy of their new king (for a general account of this, see Kuykendall, 1938). His book (Byron, 1826) has a strong pro-British bias (to the exclusion of American and Russian interests) and a clear pro-Christian stance.

The *Blonde* expedition is of interest for reasons other than its political implications. The naturalist Andrew Bloxam made an important early contribution to the study of the Hawaiian avifauna (Olson, 1996), and the officers and gentlemen on board also inadvertently made a step in the long-term preservation of some items of Hawaiian material culture. The collection of 'artificial curiosities' brought to England on the *Blonde* was second in importance only to those brought on the *Discovery* and *Resolution* (Kaeppler 1978: 34), and includes the only surviving reference to the acquisition of wicker heads other than by Cook's crew.

The fate of several '*Blonde*' ethnographic items was discussed by Kaeppler (1978), and Rose (1992) analysed a central element in this story, the visit to the Hale o Keawe by officers and gentlemen of the *Blonde* in relation to the survival of human remains.

HOW WICKER HEADS CAME ON BOARD THE *BLONDE*

The published accounts and journals indicate three ways in which wicker Byron and his officers could have acquired heads.

1. Exchange

Officers of the *Blonde* bartered for objects with Hawaiians on several occasions. Apparently, as the availability of older artefacts was diminishing because of trade, newly made items were being offered. For example, when Byron was living in Honolulu on the island of Oahu, there was an exchange with the islanders:

> 'Our coming to reside on shore has been the signal for all the petty traffickers in curiosities to gather round us. Feather tippets and cloaks, war-helmets, weapons, mother-of-pearl fish hooks, and even gods are brought to market; and as the latter article has been in much demand, the handicraftsmen have set to work and manufactured a few new ones, just as good as the old, but that they have never been worshipped' (Byron, 1826: 137).

R.R. Bloxam also noted obtaining 'several war clubs, daggers, spears ... two large feathered deities' when on Oahu (Jaggar, 1924). It is not known whether these were obtained by exchange or gift: as there is no evidence that any have survived the question of them being made for the tourist trade does not arise.

2. Gift

Byron (1826: 48) mentioned the battle in which Kekuaokalani was killed. He stated that the war-god 'Karai' was taken prisoner, and a footnote on the same page asserts that Lord Byron brought this object to England. This example survives, and is discussed in some detail later in this chapter.

3. Plunder of the Hale o Keawe

Following the abolition of the *kapu*, there seems to have been an extremely rapid destruction of the outward manifestations of the old Hawaiian religion. Byron described (1826: 145) not only the loss of practices ('abolition of human and sanguinary sacrifices') but also damage to sites (desecration of the *heiau*). By 1825, the Hale o Keawe appears to have been the only significant sacred site on Hawai'i that was still

relatively intact.

The Hale o Keawe[1] at Honaunau was an ossiary for Hawai'ian chiefs. Evidence from a Hawaiian eyewitness of the house before its destruction (Ii, 1959) indicates that human remains were being deposited in the Hale o Keawe until at least the first decade of the 19th century, and that people visited the bones of the ancestors respectfully. Two sketches made independently in the 1820s (Figures 26, 27) show it to have been a house-like structure surrounded by a palisade and a number of carved wooden post-statues. When the structure was destroyed in 1829 the bones of twenty-three known chiefs were removed (Barrère, 1986; Rose, 1992), most of whom were the direct descendants - or, as the Hawaiians would have viewed it, ascendants - of one chiefly mating.

The Hale o Keawe was part of a complex of structures of great socio-religious importance. On a larger scale, these were part of a religious landscape[2] that embraced the whole of Kealakekua Bay[3]. The Hale o Keawe stood on a small promontory on the southern shore of the bay. Its immediate surroundings were a *pu'uhonua*, or place of refuge, which offered sanctuary to those who had broken laws of *kapu* or who otherwise needed protection against authority. Across the curve of the bay and facing the *pu'uhonua*-Hale o Keawe complex is a high and steep bank that is riddled with lava tubes which were used for burials. In the centre of the curve of the bay, between lava tubes and place of refuge was the Hikiau *heiau* complex, which was a major temple used during important Makahiki rites. In addition to the Hikiau platform at this site, there was a walled enclosure, sacred pool and priests' houses (Stokes, 1991: 98-102).

Thus, the Hale o Keawe was not just *any* repository for bones: it contained the remains of deified ancestors that (I assume) both legitimatised, and were legitimatised by, the sacred landscape in which they were placed. The bones were placed in a sanctuary, and

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1 Hale o Keawe translates as House of Keawe. Keawe is a shortened form of the name Keawe'ikekahiali'iokamoku.

2 The more commonly encountered term 'ritual landscape' is avoided, because there is no evidence of large-scale rituals that ranged over the Kealakekua Bay area.

3 The religious significance of the bay is reflected in the name Kealakekua, or 'pathway to the gods'.

they themselves possibly contributed to the sanctity of the *pu'uhonua.*

Rev. William Ellis (1826: 136) was the first Englishman to record the presence of wicker heads in the Hale o Keawe, when he visited Hawai'i in 1823. He was forbidden entry to the building, but by pushing a board to one side peeped in and saw 'images ... of red feathers, with wide distended mouths, large rows of shark's teeth, and glaring pearl-shell eyes'.

John Papa Ii (1959:139) gave an independent description of the Hale o Keawe before its plunder. He saw compact bundles of deified bones in a row inside the house, beginning with Keawe's bones, near the right[1] side of the door. At the right front corner of the house, 'heaped up like firewood', were unwrapped bones said to be of those who had died in battle. Ii saw his father remove his *kapa* shoulder covering and place it on a bundle among other bundles of bones.

Byron (1826: 199) described the scene presented to the gentlemen of the *Blonde* when they visited on 15 July 1825:

1 There is a discrepancy between Ii and others in noting the position of these rows, because Ii's orientation was based on standing inside the building facing the door, the Europeans on standing with their backs to the entrance.

Kuakini[1] and Nahi [Naihe[2]] accompanied us to the royal morai in the neighbourhood, which had, till now, been considered sacred ... The exterior appearance of the building itself does not differ from that of the grass houses of the native chiefs. It is surrounded by a palisade formed of the trunks of palm-trees, and the court within the palisade is filled with rude wooden images of all shapes and dimensions, whose grotesque forms and horrible countenances present a most extraordinary spectacle. Most of these idols are placed in the same attitude; one, however, was distinguished by a greater degree of skill in the carving; it had a child in its arms. There were also a number of poles with carved heads in various parts of the court, and immediately in front of the morai, and outside of the palisades there was a kind of sentinel deity of a very grotesque shape. On entering the morai we saw on one hand a line of deities made of wickerwork, clothed in fine tapa, now nearly destroyed by time, and adorned with feather helmets and masks, made more hideous by rows of sharks' teeth, and tufts of human hair; each differing a little from the other, but all preserving a strong family likeness. Under these the bones of the ancient kings of the Island are said to be deposited; and near them the favourite weapons of deceased chiefs and heroes, their ornaments, and whatever else might have been pleasing to them while alive.

As the idolatrous worship of these things is now at an end, Karaimoku[3] takes every occasion to do away the remembrance of it, taking care not to shock the feelings of the people too violently. He had given directions, that as the English officers were desirous of taking some of the ancient

1 Kuakini (1791-1844). District ruler of Hawai'i remembered as a liquor drinking, pleasure loving chief who later converted to Christianity and oversaw a puritanical Christian regime; known to visiting crews as 'Governor John Adams'.

2 Naihe was one of the two principal chiefs of Hawai'i in 1824, according to Byron. He was married to the chiefess Kapi'olani.

3 Kalanimoku (1768?-1827), was 'Chief Councellor' (*kahina nui*), treasurer and war leader under Kamehameha I; mentioned in most early travel accounts, where he is known as 'Billy Pitt'. The name may be derived from his status, i.e. he was 'the *kalaimoku*', the chief administrative officer to the king.

> gods, and other articles deposited in the morai, to show in Britain what had been the worship and the customs of their Hawaiian brethren, the guardians of the place should permit them to remove whatever they pleased. We could not wonder that the old man, who had long been the priest of the temple, and was now the guardian of its relics, showed some signs of regret at this final destruction of the gods of his youth.

We can see, by reviewing the original accounts, the extent to which the unofficial journals of the officers in the party were recast in neutral terms in the official publication. Dampier noted that on entering the *Hale o Keawe*:

> On one side were arranged a great number of feathered Idols, protruding their misshapen heads thro' numberless folds of decayed Tapa. Under these were deposited the bones of mighty kings and potent warriors, Sandwich heroes of other days, who once revered and worshipped these grim looking Idols as their Penates. Here were also carefully preserved the different weapons, used in warfare by these mighty chieftains, as also various articles of their dress, together with an infinite collection of antiquated rubbish, the superstitious offerings of these infatuated islanders.
>
> An old priest, the Guardian of these relics, still looked upon each of these grim looking Deities with the utmost veneration; when therefore it was made known to him that Lord Byron had procured Pitts consent to possess himself with the persons of as many Gods as he desired, the old mans indignation at this sacriligious rape became very apparent. He was obliged, however to submit. I had begun to sketch the interior of the Morai ... when the rapacious inclinations of our party, suddenly began to manifest themselves. I threw aside my pencil, & regardless of the divine punishment attending such shameless sacrilege, took ample share in the depopulation of this ancient sanctuary.

> I succeeded in appropriating to myself a beautiful spear, a couple of Gods, & a few other curious articles within my reach, & as all the other visitants were equally piously inclined, nothing worth having remained, with the exception of the range of feathered Idols, to which were attached the royal bones. These, the old priest determined to rescue from the general devastation, & resolutely refused to allow such sacred relics, to pass his threshold.

It is noteworthy that Dampier stated that wicker heads were the only objects spared during the general rape of the ossiary.

The third account, by A. Bloxam, includes a sketch (Figure 28) of the plan of the interior of the Hale o Keawe as well as a description. His entry for the day includes:

> ... We entered the building itself by a small wooden door about two feet high arched over at the top, the only light the interior received was from this, and a few holes in the delapidated [*sic*] roof. Before us were placed two large and curious carved wooden idols, four or five feet high, between which was the altar where the fires were made for consuming the flesh of the victims. On our left were ranged ten or twelve large bundles of tapa each surmounted by a feather or wooden idol, and one with a Chinese mask, these contained the bones of a long succession of kings and chiefs whose names were mentioned there. The floor was strewn with litter, dirt, pieces of tapa, and offerings of every description. In one corner were placed a quantity of human leg and arm bones covered over with tapa. In two other corners were wooden stages, on which were placed quantities of bowls, calabashes, etc., containing shells, fishhooks, and a variety of other articles; leaning against the wall were several spears, fifteen or sixteen feet in length, a small model of a canoe, two native drums and an English drum in good preservation. This, one of the chiefs took with him. In the sides of the building were stuck several small idols with a calabash generally attached to them, one of

these we opened and found the skeleton of a small fish, it was therefore probably the offering of a fisherman.

The natives and chiefs who were with us seemed to have but little regard for anything there, and willingly granted whatever we were desirous of taking. The only one who seemed to grieve at the loss of so many apparent treasures was the old man who had charge of them. He was, however, soon consoled by presents of knives, scissors and [an] old suit of clothes, etc., given by several of us.

R.R. Bloxam wrote in his journal:

This morning a large party of officers accompanied his Lordship to view the interior of the most celebrated Heiau in the islands. Indeed the only one now remaining. Not feeling myself well enough, I refused to go. On their return however they were so well satisfied with what they had seen that I was very sorry I did not accompany them. However I procured a Canoe, and the man who has the care of the heiau went with me ...

On entering the interior of the building opposite the door was a sacrificial stone or altar on each side of which were two hideous carved images about 5 feet in height - several smaller idols were about the morai - upon the left were placed a row of large bundles of tapa enclosing the Bones of the deceased Kings and principal Chiefs - upon each chief was placed the head of an idol some feathered others plain. One in particular which enclosed the bones of the first king was decorated with a hideous chinese mask - the building in the inside was extremely dirty and very ruinous - in one corner were a quantity of human bones mixed with offerings of fish hooks calebashes [*sic*]native drums - close to these was wrapped up very carefully an English drum; As we had liberty to take out what we chose - His Lordship fixed his choice on a beautifully carved

> image of a woman on her hands and knees - this our guide told us was the idol upon which all the Kings when they entered the Temple used to rest themselves before sacrifice - the rest of the party took away some little idols fish hooks &c as a memorial of their visit.

R.R. Bloxam wrote separately of this event in a letter to an uncle (Jaggar, 1924). The story of the visit to the Hale o Keawe given in the letter is a direct copy, with some slight paraphrasing, of the journal of Dampier. (The possibility that the letter was written by Dampier and not Bloxam can be ruled out because of references elsewhere in the letter to Bloxam family members: it is probable its contents are a conflation of R.R. Bloxam's memory and Dampier's notes. The opposite hypothesis - that Dampier copied from R.R. Bloxam's journal - can be ruled out because Bloxam's journal survives and differs significantly to that of Dampier). However, where Dampier says:

> I succeeded in appropriating to myself a beautiful spear, a couple of Gods, & a few other curious articles within my reach

Bloxam stated:

> I succeeded in appropriating to myself two wooden gods, a feathered deity that covered the bones of Keawe, grandfather of Terreabooa (Kalani'opu'u), a beautiful spear and a few other articles within my reach.

It is surely unlikely that both writers would independently highlight obtaining a 'beautiful spear' and two wooden statues, and Dampier expressly stated in his diary that the *kahu* in charge of the Hale o Keawe would not allow the feathered heads to be removed from the building.

James Macrae visited the Hale o Keawe on the day following the general plunder. His account makes no mention of wicker heads, but he found:

> an empty, filthy hut with quantities of human bones in heaps under mat ... In the middle were several effigies of the deceased chiefs, tied to a bundle of tapa cloth containing the bones of each person whom the effigies represented. Most of the effigies were made of wood, but the one representing the late Tamehamaah was substituted by a mask of European manufacture ... The party with Lord Byron that had visited the day before, had taken away any memorials of the morai that could be taken, so we asked the old priest to be allowed to take some of the ancient weather beaten carved figures outside.

Review of the events in Hale o Keawe

The several accounts all agree broadly, but there are differences in detail. In A. Bloxam's view the Hawaiians Kuakini and Naihe did not object to the officers of the *Blonde* removing items from the Hale o Keawe. Only the old *kahu* at first refused, and he was said to have been bribed with knives, scissors and an old suit of clothes. There is no mention of wicker heads being given, or refused.

Dampier's journal has an unsavoury tone, sneering at the Hawaiians and their material culture. To him, the Hale o Keawe contained 'an infinite collection of antiquated rubbish, the superstitious offerings of these infatuated islanders'. The official account muted the reaction of the *kahu* from 'indignation' *teste* Dampier to 'signs of regret'. When the looting of the building began, Dampier shamelessly acknowledged that 'regardless of the divine punishment attending such shameless sacrilege'; he 'took ample share in the depopulation of this ancient sanctuary'. However, he expressly ruled out the wicker heads from the material being taken, the *kahu* resolutely refusing to allow them to be taken.

Rev. R.R. Bloxam did not go with the main party, but hearing of the curiosities then freely available, made a special visit later the same day together with the old *kahu*. Even after the general earlier plunder, the bundles of bones wrapped in tapa remained and the

wicker heads still stood upon them. He claimed that he stole (or at least 'sacrilegiously removed', since an Anglican clergyman knows that it is wrong to steal) the wicker head that stood over the bones of Kalani'opu'u.

By the time of James Macrae's visit the following day there seems to have been little left to plunder. Although he did not describe wicker heads, some may have remained, hidden within their *kapa* wrappings.

Descriptions of the interior of the Hale o Keawe

Taken together, the various descriptions provide a fair summary of the interior of the Hale o Keawe[1]. The main elements were:

1. Opposite the door was a stone altar[2] flanked on each side by a carved wooden figure about five feet high.

2. On the left were 10-12 bundles, each containing the bones of an individual surmounted by a wicker head or wooden figure. The wicker heads, as well as the bone-bundles, seem to have been wrapped with *kapa*: some of the cloth seems to have been new and other decaying. The feathers had decayed from some of the heads. The head surmounting the bundle nearest the door was, apparently, wearing a mask that was of Chinese or European manufacture. This bone bundle included the remains of Keawe according to Ii.

1 The fence and statues outside of the house were of high religious significance, but are not directly relevant to the present study.

2 Christian and Polynesian altars were similar in appearance and situation, but not in function. The importance of a stone altar to a Polynesian was the substance of which it was made, because stone is able to absorb and hold *mana*. The *mana* of offerings placed on the altar would be absorbed by the stone, which would gain in status because of the act (*vide* Handy, 1927). Strong beliefs still exist among Hawaiian people that it is unlucky to remove stones or to use them inappropriately.

3. A quantity of human leg and arm bones covered with *kapa* lay in one corner. Ii suggested that these were remains of people who had been killed in battle (perhaps recovered from a battlefield, and therefore individually unidentifiable?).

4. Around the building were weapons and other objects including a small model of a canoe, two Hawaiian drums and an English drum. These may have been personalia, offerings to the deified ancestors, or placed there because of the *aloha* that friends and relatives had for the deceased.

5. There was 'litter', pieces of bark cloth, and various minor offerings lying on the floor. The apparently untidy state of the building obviously made an impression on the English visitors, inculcated as they were with the tradition that 'cleanliness next to godliness'. The Hawaiians, however, may have been equally shocked if an item deposited in such a place was moved or removed for any reason - especially, just for tidiness.

6. In two corners were wooden stages on which were placed quantities of bowls, calabashes, etc., containing shells, fishhooks, and a variety of other articles. Possibly these were also offerings.

7. Small 'stick gods' - *akua ka 'ai* in the sense of Cox & Davenport (1988) - were inserted in the walls of the building, generally with a calabash attached. One of the calabashes contained the skeleton of a small fish.

THE WICKER HEADS BROUGHT TO ENGLAND ON THE *BLONDE*

1. Lord Byron's example

This head was mentioned briefly in the official published account of the voyage of the *Blonde* (Byron, 1826: 48), as part of a discussion of the decisive battle in which Kekuaokalani[1] was killed and his 'war god' taken prisoner, a footnote adding that the

1 Kekuaokalani was first cousin to Kamehameha II. On the death of Kamehameha I secular power was

'god' was brought to England by Lord Byron. The figure was referred to by the name 'Karai', which probably equates to *ka'ai* [=wrapped], an adjective not uncommonly applied to Polynesian sacralised objects, rather than to the 'kairi' [=*ka'ili*, a god that takes by force] mentioned by Ellis (1826: 88).

Further information on the head acquired by Byron in Hawaii is contained among a series of disjointed terminal notes to the journal of R.R. Bloxam. On p. 141, Bloxam noted:

> His Lordship received this idol standard as a present from one of the missionaries with the accompanying letter - "My Lord. I have the honour to send for your acceptance a feather god once belonging to Kekuaokalani - it is called the Akuapio or Captive God as it was taken on the field of battle - it used to be carried by its possessor in procession when he went to the morai, or on any public occasion when a crier preceding it called on all the standers by to prostrate themselves on pain of death - this was the standard around which [Kekuaokalani's] followers rallied".

On p. 143 he added:

> The feathered idol presented by Naihe to Lord Byron was called Keoloeva. It was made more than 150 years [... ago ...] and worshipped by the fathers of Naihe and lastly by him.

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assigned to Kamehameha II and religious power to Kekuaokalani. Following political manoeuvring Kekuaokalani's forces were defeated in a decisive battle in 1819, and this sealed the fate of the old religion in Hawaii.

The two separate entries in Bloxam's manuscript raise the possibility that Byron acquired two wicker heads, one presented by a missionary and the other by Naihe. Because one was said to be an *akua pio* and the other worshipped 'lastly' by Naihe, it might be concluded that there were two distinct heads. It is more parsimonious to suppose that Naihe sent one head only, as a present to Byron *via* the missionaries[1] but it then becomes necessary to interpret the phrase 'worshipped by the fathers of Naihe and lastly by him' more broadly, as indicating that it was one of the many gods worshipped in the past by Hawaiians and more recently by Naihe and his fellow countrymen. It is not necessary to reconcile the two names given, as the terms Keolo'ewa and *akua pio* could refer to the same object (this is further discussed below).

Byron donated a wicker head to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford in 1827, shortly after returning from the Pacific. Less than ten years later it was listed in a catalogue (Duncan, 1836: number 504 , p. 147) as 'An idol from Otaheite formed of wicker work, covered with parrots' feathers. [Donor] Lord Byron, R.N.'. It was transferred from the Ashmolean Museum to the Pitt Rivers Museum on 28 November 1885, and was listed on pp 273-274 of volume 2 of the *List of Anthropological Objects transferred from the Ashmolean to the Pitt Rivers Museum 1886*, where it was described as: '1448 An Idol, or war god from the Sandwich Islands ... Given by Lord Byron ['R.N.' inserted] 1827' (Jeremy Coote, *in litt.*, 1999). Inadvertently omitted from Brigham's initial *opus* on Hawaiian feather work (Brigham, 1899), it was figured in the first supplement (Brigham, 1903) (Figure 21).

Kaeppler has suggested (Kaeppler 1982: 106) that the wicker head in the Pitt Rivers Museum was probably taken by R.R. Bloxam from the Hale o Keawe, but that assumption can be shown to be incorrect. Bloxam's example was figured in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* (Bloxam, 1826: 88) (see Figure 29) and the Pitt Rivers example differs from the drawing, especially in the oblique angle of the eyes and the shape of the attached hair. Also, an attached description gave the height as nearly three feet (*circa* 90-100 cm): the Pitt Rivers head is considerably shorter (at 52 cm) than

1 Naihe occupied a prominent position in the chiefly christianised faction at the time, and would have had close contact with the American missionaries.

this.

Having associated R.R. Bloxam's wicker head with Oxford, it then became necessary for Kaeppler to account for Byron's example, and she stated: 'the present location of this image is unknown, so its style cannot be ascertained. It probably does not have human hair however, because the histories of the extant feathered images with hair are relatively straightforward'.

Is Byron's example a representative of Kukeolo'ewa?

If the head in the Pitt Rivers Museum indeed represents Keoloeva - i.e. Kukeolo'ewa - then it is highly significant. Kukeolo'ewa, which translates as 'Ku the supporter' according to Malo (1951), was once one of the principal war gods[1] of the chiefs of the island of Maui. A figure called Kukeolo'ewa belonged to the last independent chief of Maui, Kahekili, who was a strong military leader. Kahekili died in 1793 and two years later the whole of Maui was conquered by Hawai'ian forces under Kamehameha I: Kukeolo'ewa was adopted and worshipped by him.

It is certainly likely that Kekuaokalani would have taken the wicker head portion of the Kukeolo'ewa figure into battle, along with other 'war gods' such as Kuka'ilimoku. On acquisition by the victorious Kamehameha II, it could then have been described as an *akua pio*, or captive god, even if it was not already so-called because of the way it was being taken by the chiefs of Hawai'i from the chiefs of Maui. Thus, there is no essential contradiction in the R.R. Bloxam's two passages referring to heads given to Byron.

1 The phrase 'war god' is here used loosely, and in what is hoped is a generally understood sense. It is, however, important to distinguish between the deity Kukeolo'ewa and the object to which the name Kukeolo'ewa has been applied. Although Hawaiians believed that the spirit of the deity inhabited the object at times, only the *object* and not the *god* could be in the Pitt Rivers Museum. It is open to debate as to how many objects called Kukeolo'ewa there would have been - either one, or many.

There is some uncertainty as to the appearance of the Kukeolo'ewa figure. It was described by William Ellis (1826: 58, possibly on hearsay because there is no evidence that he saw it) as having a body of wood wrapped in *kapa*, the head and neck formed of wicker-work, covered with red feathers, and a helmet placed on its head, from the crown of which long tresses of human hair hung down over its shoulders. Its mouth was described as being 'large and distended'. The description of the wicker portion of Kukeolo'ewa certainly agrees with the appearance of the wicker head now in Oxford.

However, Kamakau (1991: 12) linked Kukeolo'ewa with Kuho'one'enu'u and Kuka'ilimoku, as being 'feather gods' in that they were said to be wooden figures that had a long, fine feather on the head. Could these figures have possessed both long dangling feathers *and* wicker heads?

The wooden element of Kukeolo'ewa was, seemingly, an important part of the whole. Kamakau (1991a: 6-8) wrote of a tree brought to Hawaii by the goddess Haumea. Several branches of this tree eventually became parts of religious figures: (1) a branch came into possession of the chiefs of Maui and was used as a stick for hanging bundles upon, it became Kukeolo'ewa; (2) a branch washed up on the reef near Kailua became Makalei 'which was a god of Hawaii for generations', and (3) a piece cut from a branch found on a beach in Maui became Kuho'one'enu'u. The link between these three figures, rationalised into the story of the tree brought across the seas by Haumea, is that all three were comprised of driftwood. The *kapa* wrapping and feathers could all have been part of a sacralisation process.

2 Bloxam's example

The journal of R.R. Bloxam includes a reference, among a series of disjointed terminal notes, to the acquisition of wicker heads. He discusses (p. 143) the example presented to Byron, then adds:

> The feathered idol in my possession was the God of Taraiopoo

> [=Kalani'opu'u] king of Owyhee when Capt. Cook visited it - it was placed in the temple where prayers were made and offerings presented to it. Not unfrequently the blood of human victims stained its altar. At the death of Taraiopu it was placed over the tappa underneath which his bones were deposited. From this sanctuary I sacrelegiously [*sic*] removed it.
>
> The other feather idol which I have is adorned with a helmet and was their God of war and of cursing Akua Anana (evil god) - it was to this image they offered up their prayers which were twofold - the one was called Pule Hula Hula prayer of Salvation and Victory [... the other...] Pule Oenemo curse upon all their enemies".

R.R. Bloxam's wicker heads were also discussed in a letter to an uncle (Jaggar, 1924). He first mentioned receiving at Oahu 'several war clubs, daggers, spears, ... two large feathered deities, ...' etc. Later, describing the rape of the Hale o Keawe, he stated that he 'succeeded in appropriating to myself two wooden gods, a feathered deity that covered the bones of Keawe, grandfather of Terreaboo [Kalani'opu'u]...' etc.

Thus, according to his letter, Bloxam acquired not two, but three heads: two on Oahu and one on Hawai'i, but his journal suggests that only two were in his possession. Presumably, one of the heads acquired on Oahu was the 'god of war and of cursing Akua Anana' mentioned in his journal: unfortunately, there is no evidence at present that either of these has survived.

A question of identity

R.R. Bloxam's evidence is confused as to which remains the head in the Hale o Keawe stood over, the notes in his journal clearly stating that it was over 'Taraiopu' and the letter to the uncle using the phrase 'Keawe, grandfather of Terreaboo'. These two statements cannot be reconciled.

'Taraiopu' or 'Terreaboo' must refer to Kalani'opu'u, who was high chief of Hawai'i during the visit of Captain Cook; his grandfather was indeed Keawe, whose reign is remembered in tradition as one of peace and prosperity. The Hale o Keawe was named after this latter chief.

John Papa Ii named the bone bundle nearest the door of the building as being Keawe (Ii, 1959: 139). If so, it follows that the wicker head standing over Keawe's bone bundle was the one said by the Blonde's diarists to bear a distinctive mask.

Macrae, who visited the Hale o Keawe the day after the general looting, alluded to wooden 'effigies' tied to bone bundles, but the 'effigy' representing the late Tamehamaah was substituted by a mask of European manufacture. If this mask is the same as the 'chinese mask'[1] described by others, then Macrae's use of the word 'substituted' would imply that he thought an 'effigy' had been taken away and a mask put in its place. Did R.R. Bloxam remove the mask as being of no interest, and place it on the bone bundle before taking the wicker head from the house?

The evidence, therefore, points to the identity of the bone bundle as being Keawe. The other alternative, that the head stood over the bone bundle of Kalani'opu'u, is open to doubt as there is a tradition that, although initially emplaced in the Hale o Keawe his bones were later removed and taken to a burial cave in Pohina Pali (Barrère, 1994: 22).[2]

Bloxam's example survives?

Fortunately, R.R. Bloxam's younger brother M.H. Bloxam published an illustration (Figure 29) and description of the example removed from the Hale o Keawe (Bloxam, 1826). M.H. Bloxam's text clearly states where the head was taken, and it was said to be nearly three feet in height, to retain its covering of feathers, and have a string of beads of western manufacture around the neck.

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1 Macrae's reference to Kamehameha I was incorrect: his remains were not emplaced in the Hale o Keawe, and their location has never subsequently been revealed.

2 This statement has not been verified: a search of traditionary literature has so far failed to unearth an original reference to this event.

Some of the *Blonde* ethnographic items passed to M.H. Bloxam (Kaeppler, 1978) who exhibited them at Rugby School in 1885 (*The Meteor* **216**: 67). A copy of the relevant *Meteor* article in the Bishop Museum library is annotated to indicate that three artefacts passed into the possession of Andrew Bloxam's son A. Roby Bloxam: these three are now in the Bishop Museum's collections. Other of M.H. Bloxam's collection of artefacts went to Rugby School along with a large collection of books and antiquities (Kaeppler, 1978) but these did not, apparently, include a wicker head (Rusty McLean, *pers. comm.*, 1999).

Barrère (1994) published a photograph of the wicker head in the American Museum of Natural History in New York (Figure 22) with a caption claiming that it 'had stood on the casket of the god-chief Keawe'. This implies that Barrère believes that the A.M.N.H. head was the one removed by R.R. Bloxam. This head certainly agrees with M.H. Bloxam's figure (Figure 29) in the line of the hair, the shape of the nose and the oblique angle of the eyes. The expression of the mouth is more extreme than Bloxam indicated and the feathers and beads are now absent; at 62 cm (2ft) high, it is also smaller (two-thirds the size) quoted by Bloxam. Unfortunately, A.M.N.H. staff know of no evidence as to the origin of this head, and it is catalogued as being found in store without provenance in 1907 (Paul Beelitz, *in litt.*, 1999).[1]

Without more concrete evidence, I hesitate to accept the claim that the head removed by R.R. Bloxam's from the Hale o Keawe is the one in the A.M.N.H.

Fate of the Hale o Keawe

The question then remains as to what would have happened to the wicker head taken by R.R. Bloxam if it had remained in the Hale o Keawe. The outward material signs of the old Hawaiian religion were already being rapidly destroyed at the time of the visit of the

1 Search of the Annual Reports of the A.M.N.H. has failed to find a reference to a wicker head in the lists of acquisitions. This head may possibly have been acquired with a major collection such as the Appleton Sturgis collection (1891 & 1896), and therefore not immediately accessioned individually.

Blonde, indeed part of the attraction of the site to the officers and gentlemen on board was that it seemed to be the last intact religious structure on Hawai'i. Even if it had been left untouched by them, the situation would not have continued for long: the *pu'uhonua* was losing its power to protect.

In 1828, the queen-regent Kaahumanu decided to clear the bones out of the Hale o Keawe to another repository. Although some of the human remains were preserved the associated materials were not: none of the calabashes, drums, wooden or wicker figures associated with any of the bone-bundles has survived (Rose, 1992).

CONCLUSIONS TO THE *BLONDE* EPISODE

The wicker heads brought to England on the *Blonde* have been discussed at some length. The importance of establishing the origins and destinations of the relevant examples is in gathering evidence as to how wicker heads (individually and as a genus) can be placed within the context of Hawaiian religion and society.

For the last century, wicker heads have commonly been treated as all representing the god Kuka'ilimoku. This situation arose because a curator at the Bishop Museum decided - without any supporting evidence - that this was so (Brigham, 1899); central to his *credo* was that the example in his own institution was *the* Kuka'ilimoku of Kamehameha I. In recent years, this tenet has been challenged. Kaeppler (1982: 106) has suggested that helmeted heads[1] may have represented war gods and that those with hair functioned as genealogical *'aumakua* relating to Lono, being kept with the chief's bones after death. The evidence discussed above tends to indicate that this may not be always correct: the example in the Pitt Rivers Museum that is said to represent Kukeolo'ewa (a 'war god' of high standing) is not helmetted and does bear a lot of hair. On the other hand, on the evidence of the figure in the *Mirror of Literature Amusement and Instruction* (Figure 29) the example said to have stood over Keawe is helmetted and also

1 Several early western observers mentioned helmetted wicker heads. It is to be doubted that they ever actually had a helmet placed over them rather than being woven in the shape of a head wearing a *mahiole*.

has hair attached.

We need to challenge the idea that wicker heads exclusively represented forms of the 'major' gods - Ku, Lono, Kane, etc. My own suspicion, which will be discussed further below, is that wicker heads were originally all made to embody, in some way, deceased and deified chiefs, and that they represented or presentified *'aumakua* individuals during socio-religious contexts such as parades in *luakini heiau* ceremonies and during Makahiki ceremonies. Wicker heads may have evolved from the sennit-wrapped anthropomorphic bone-bundles, but there is no evidence that any of them ever contained bones. However, it could be argued that there were advantages in the use of wicker heads in ceremonies rather than the bones of *ali'i*: once removed from the sanctuary of the *pu'uhonua*, human remains would have been dangerously exposed to sortilegious abuse.

This representational concept may have become extended so that wicker heads were manufactured to comprise a mobile component of multi-media figures of 'war gods' and other deities. Alternatively the wicker heads that were eventually associated with Kuka'ilimoku, Kukeolo'ewa and Kuho'one'enu'u may have been derived from heads that originally represented deified chiefs that had a close affiliation with these gods, and hence became part of the complex figures. Whatever the case, it is remarkable to note that, more than two centuries since they were first encountered by Europeans, our knowledge of them remains nebulous.

In the case of the *Blonde* heads we are fortunate in having two examples in which there are suggested provenances and uses: no other known head has - at present - either a reliable associated name or a place of origin.

We have seen evidence as to the appearance of wicker heads, and descriptions of where they were found. Some of the accounts examined so far have suggested ways in which wicker heads were used: these uses are discussed in the following chapter.

THIRTEEN : WICKER HEADS IN USE

13.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter progresses from the previous discussion of the nature of wicker heads - their variation, where they were found and what they were called - towards an examination of evidence of their use. Information will be drawn yet again from the accounts of early western travellers and from the works of Hawaiians such as Malo and Ii.

Europeans saw heads being carried in canoes and stored over bone bundles in an ossiary. They recorded tales of heads being carried into battle as 'war gods', but there are no eyewitness accounts of this in the literature. The Hawaiian chroniclers mention 'feather gods' (probably equating to wicker heads) being prominent participants in some important temple ceremonies.

13.2 HEADS IN CANOES

On Hawai'i

Two sketches made during Cook's visit to Hawai'i in 1779 show wicker heads being carried in canoes.

The visit of Kalani'opu'u

This incident of the visit of Kalani'opu'u to Cook's vessels has been discussed in detail in a previous chapter, and will be further analysed later. In the context of head usage, the important factor is the presence of several wicker heads in one of the canoes. In his sketch of this event (Figure 30), Webber showed at least three wicker heads - written accounts mention four - apparently wrapped in white *kapa* and placed side by side, horizontally and face-upward, in a canoe stern. One of the examples is distinctly shown as having a crest and round, staring eyes; the other two are less distinctly figured.

The masked men

On at least two occasions, Cook's ships were visited by canoes containing men wearing helmets, comprising gourds that were cut open to reveal the men's faces but with strips or tassels hanging down over this opening. Large bunches of greenery project backward from the gourd. The rowers were described as being 'masked' in the contemporary literature, the adjective implying in the usage of the time that their identities were concealed. 'Mask' is a poor word for these head garments, since the usual current use of the word - an article of dress that covers the face and bears an anthropomorphic motif - does not apply to them. In a wider context, anthropomorphic masks seem to have been extremely rare in Polynesian cultures, and I know of no example in the whole of Eastern Polynesia.

A sketch by Webber of one visit of the 'masked' men showed two of them carrying wicker heads, although these are not described in written accounts. Webber's original sketch and engravings were reproduced by Joppien & Smith (1988), in colour (plate 149 on p. 123) and monochrome (as figs. 3.308, 3.309 and 3.309A). Webber also sketched a portrait of one of the men wearing a mask (Joppien & Smith, 1988; figs 3.310-3.312). (Figures 32 and 38). One of the *kahu* (guardians) of the heads is seated in an elevated position on a platform between the two hulls of the canoe with the wicker head cradled in his arms diagonally across his chest and resting on his left arm [A later version of the figure, reproduced by Plischke (1929, pl. 7) shows the man holding the head aloft atop a stick]. He appears to be holding a cord in his right hand, which may be wrapped around the neck of the wicker head. The head has a very long neck, a crest, round eyes and an upturned mouth. A second *kahu* is sitting in the body of the canoe, also with a wicker head (crested, long-necked) cradled in his arms. This head rests on the right arm of the sitter, with the face turned towards the man's chest and away from the artist.

Of the other men in the canoe, ten are rowing (only eight are shown in later, developed versions of the sketch) and an eleventh appears to be blowing into a shell trumpet. All of the men wear pieces of *kapa*, either tied around their neck and hanging as capes or

bibs, or worn as a sash.

The published account of the voyage (Cook & King, 1784, pp 139-140) gives the following:

> We never saw these masks worn but twice, and both times by a number of people together in a canoe, who came to the side of the ships laughing and drolling with an air of masquerading. Whether they may not likewise be used as a defence for the head against stones, for which they seem best designed, or in some of their public games, or be merely intended for the purpose of mummery, we could never inform ourselves.

Gourd-helmets were not invariably worn by men when in the presence of wicker heads, because those in the canoe during the visit of Kalani'opu'u were not wearing them.

No westerner ever again recorded witnessing these helmet-gourds; no original example has survived, although modern copies are commonly on sale in tourist shops in Hawaii and the Bishop Museum has a replica prominently displayed.

Interpretation of the visit of the masked men

The meaning of the masks seems to have eluded the Europeans at the time, and it is only in recent years that the symbolism has been analysed (Kaeppler, 1982). Kaeppler pointed out that the gourd helmets were not for physical defence as they would be too flimsy to offer protection and that there was probably some religious significance, her suggestion being that they were being worn by priests of the god Lono. The link between Lono and gourds is because of that god's significance in agriculture.

It is certainly possible to accept that scenario. The gourds, being agricultural produce of some religious significance were worn on the head, the most *kapu* part of the body. Furthermore, the bunches of vegetation attached to the backs of the helmets could also be seen as signals of Lono.

There is an anomaly in the Lono-solution to this situation in that both of the heads being carried in the canoe are of the crested type: a form associated by Kaeppler [but not by me] with Ku rather than Lono. There are other possible interpretations. Assume, for instance that the wicker heads in the canoe represented some particular person or *'aumakua* offering defiance to the British vessels. Hawaiian combat is highly personalised: each warrior knows who he is fighting, and knows that his opponent is aware of who *he* is. It was therefore necessary for the men in the canoe to deny that they were offering defiance on their own behalf, and to show this their individuality was concealed by a gourd-helmet. In this scenario, the rowers were 'masked' in the sense used by Webber.

Crucially missing from the evidence is a detailed description of the actions of the men. All but two are rowing in Webber's drawing, but the written account only says that they were 'laughing and drolling with an air of masquerading'. Whether this 'drolling' and 'masquerading' comprised a hula of gentle undulating arm movements intended to honour the ship, or a series of mocking, insulting gestures was not recorded. If only we had a drawing as expressive as that of Sydney Parkinson's *New Zealand War Canoe bidding defiance to the Ship* (Figure 33)!

It is tempting to equate the event depicted by Webber with Samwell's mention of the occasion when Koa'a brought two wicker heads as a 'present' to Captain Clerke three days after the death of Cook. However, if that had been the case, it would: a) probably have been mentioned as such in the official account, and b) have happened only once rather than twice.

The other clothing of the people in the canoe does not help in interpreting the scene. If it had been Tahiti, the pieces of *kapa* draped across the body of the rowers might be taken to indicate that they were priests (Ellis 1829: **1**, 236). However, in Hawaii, such a piece of *kapa* was commonly worn by men and women. Called a *kihei*, it was used for ceremonial decoration but also simply for warmth (Neich & Prendergrast, 1997: 91).

On Kauai

After leaving Hawai'i the *Resolution* and *Discovery* proceeded to Kaua'i, where they were visited by the highest ranking chief of the island. According to Samwell's journal (Beaglehole, 1967, pp 1227-1228) Teeave [=Keawe] came out with several chiefs and went on board both the ships. Two feathered heads were in the stern of his canoe.

Transporting a god over the water

Ii (1959: 103) gave a first-hand account of such a move, when *circa* 1812, Kamehameha decided to journey to Hawaii. The king permitted Liholiho to go on the canoe of the god Kuka'ilimoku, at the head of the canoe fleet. Ii and his friend Manuia went with him - the three of them on the platform of the canoe, and a man proclaiming a *kapu*.

13.3 HEADS CARRIED IN BATTLES

Ellis (1826: 67) noted that Kamehameha's *heiau* at Puukohola contained '*Tairi*, or *Kukairimoku*, a large wooden idol, crowned with a helmet, and covered with red feathers, the favourite war god of Tamehameha, was the principal idol.' This may have been a wooden statue topped with a wickerwork head, as Ellis (1826: 126-127), in describing the process of battle, included the following: 'the principal war-god was brought out in the front of the whole army, and placed near the king ... [Tairi] may be taken as a sample; the image was four or five feet high, the upper part wicker-work, covered with red feathers, the face a hideous form, the mouth armed with triple rows of dog's or shark's teeth, the eyes of mother of pearl, the head crowned with a helmet, the crest sometimes formed in long tresses of human hair. They were fixed on a small pillar or pedestal; were sometimes carried by the priests, or placed on the ground, upheld and defended by them.'

Although it is likely that some of the early western residents of Hawaii (e.g. Marin or Young) witnessed such a scene in the late 18th or early 19th centuries, there is no eyewitness evidence surviving.

13.4 HEADS IN THE HALE O KEAWE

Other than the times when wicker heads were seen by members of Cook's crew being carried in boats and in procession in 1779, the only other records of Europeans seeing them *in situ* was in the Hale o Keawe, where both the missionary Ellis and the crew of the Blonde encountered them in the mid-1820s. The story of the Hale o Keawe has already been detailed above, and only material relevant to its function is included here.

The Hale o Keawe was a depository for the bones of high-ranking individuals. No doubt there were several other chiefly mausolea formerly existing in the Hawaiian group, but only one other has been recorded, the Hale-o-Liloa in Waipio Valley, which is also on the island of Hawai'i.

The Hale o Keawe was just one part of a complex of structures that can be read as comprising a 'religious landscape' along the curve of Kealakekua Bay. Its immediate surroundings were a *pu'uhonua*, or place of refuge, which offered sanctuary to those who had broken laws of *kapu* or who otherwise needed protection against higher civil authority. Across the bay and facing the *pu'uhonua*-Hale o Keawe complex is a high and steep bank that is riddled with lava tubes. These tubes, which were used for burials, thus 'looked down upon' the buildings. Lying in the centre of the bay was the Hikiau *heiau*, which was a major temple used during the major Makahiki rites. A number of other *heiau* were in the vicinity of Hikiau, as were what one of Cook's crew interpreted as houses for trainee priests.

Several accounts agree that the Hale o Keawe held a row of about a dozen bundles of human remains, over which wicker heads were standing. The heads themselves, as well as the bundles of bones, seem to have been wrapped with *kapa*: some of the cloth seems to have been new and other decaying. The feathers had also decayed from some of the heads. The wicker head surmounting the bundle nearest the door was, apparently, wearing a mask. It is likely that the remains of these deified ancestors of high chiefly rank both legitimatised, and were legitimatised by, the surroundings in which they were placed. As such, the wicker heads associated with these bones had not been simply laid

up like furniture in Harrod's Depository, but had an active function in the *mana* and *kapu* relationships of the dead chiefs and their living descendants.

The fact that bones of *ali'i* were stored discretely and separately from remains of *maka'ainana* is not surprising, given the context of the Polynesian attitudes towards individuality. What is a little surprising is that they were stored openly (albeit inside a building) rather than being secreted, as was the general custom: bones of people with such powerful *mana* would be at risk from malefactors wishing to use them sortilegiously. However, the protective powers of the *pu'uhonua* may have provided such a strong *kapu* protection that it would have been unthinkable to remove them.

Hawaiian Mortuary practices in context

To help explain the presence of the wicker heads in the Hale o Keawe, it is necessary to look briefly at Hawaiian mortuary practices. There is much evidence from the field of archaeology to show how Hawaiians disposed of their dead over the last two millennia, and this can be interpreted in the context of the known social systems of the people (*vide* e.g. Buck, 1957a; Han *et al.*, 1986; Kirch, 1985; Malo, 1951). It is also instructive to look at information from elsewhere in Polynesia.

Hawaiian Islands

People of low social status seem to have been buried in lava tubes, where these were available. An early investigation was by C.B. Rooke, who visited several tubes on different islands (Bennett 1840). The bodies they contained were numerous, mostly mummified and placed in a sitting posture with their limbs flexed. They were enveloped in *kapa*, some had sugar cane in their hands and calabashes, which had contained *poi*, by their sides.

As Buck (1957a) noted, the lava tubes have been found to contain bodies both in flexed and extended positions, as well as bundles of bones that often had the skull wrapped separately. Malo (1951: 98-99) claimed that the body was sometimes buried and then exhumed, the skull and leg bones being removed to be wrapped as a pillow upon which the bereaved would sleep.

Bodies were also consigned to sand dunes (including those of people wearing *lei niho palaoa*, therefore of chiefly rank), in the earth, in stone cists, within raised platforms or in mausolea. Cremation and burial at sea were uncommon, apparently being used as a method of punishment. Sometimes, bone bundles were cast into volcanoes.

In the case of *ali'i*, the flesh and inner organs were often stripped from the bones, sometimes with the aid of heating. Some of the cleaned bones were distributed among friends and relatives before being finally consigned to permanent locations. Bones of chiefs were often secreted at night, in a spot known only to few.

> As soon as [Kamehameha's] death was ascertained, he was placed in a canoe on a thick bed of leaves, that the flesh, by being heated, might become sufficiently soft to separate easily from the bones; as soon as that had taken place, it was removed with wooden saws and carefully burnt; the bones being cleaned were then wrapped in a war-cloak and placed in the tomb-house, where they were venerated by the people, and especially by his family. Since the arrival of the missionaries this dismembering of the dead has not been practised, but the simple burial has been substituted for it (Byron, 1826: 162).

Malo (1951: 104-106) described the preparation of bones of a king into a bundle wrapped in *kapa* to represent a human figure. Only two of these anthropomorphic caskets have survived, but they are wrapped in sennit, not *kapa* (Rose, 1992 discussed these two in detail). There is no evidence that the bone-bundles in the Hale o Keawe were wrapped in sennit: Ellis noted bundles in Hale o Keawe that were tied up with sennit, but either he or the crew of the *Blonde* would surely have mentioned humanoid shapes had they seen them.

Society Islands

The missionary William Ellis wrote an extensive account of the ethnography of Tahiti in the 1820s. The Tahitians apparently believed (Ellis, 1829: **1**, 516-525) that after death

the spirit was sent for by the gods, and drawn out of the head. There were different burial practices for chiefs and commoners. People of low status were buried, in a sitting posture. The bodies of chiefs were kept above ground and a temporary embalming process carried out. When the 'mummy' eventually decayed, the family kept the skull while the other bones were buried in the precincts of the family temple. The skull was wrapped in *tapa* and suspended from the roof of the house. The skulls of deceased rulers were honoured. They were wrapped with cloth and taken out on religious occasions, at which time they were anointed with oils.

An independent account of Tahitian mortuary practices, by Johann Reinhold Forster, supports Ellis. Forster (1778: 334) commented that the skull of chiefs were not buried with the bones, but wrapped in cloth and put in a long box which the natives call *te-whàrre-no-te-orometùa* [= the house of spirits].

Marquesas Islands

In the Marquesas, bodies were also exposed and were rubbed with oils to provide limited preservation (Ferdon, 1993). Historical accounts vary as to the final procedure, which no doubt varied with rank: some bones at least seem to have been preserved in *morai*.

New Zealand

Elsdon Best's comprehensive account of Maori life and customs (Best, 1924: **2**, 28-76) provided details of burial practices in New Zealand, which parallel those of Tahiti. The body was trussed in position for burial, wrapped in a cloak and the face painted with red ochre and oil. After a period of exposure on a platform in the village, the body was removed to a secret spot for burial. In some instances the body was dried and oiled to delay putrefaction, and separate treatment of the head was widespread (Robley, 1896 described this latter practice in detail).

If there was to be an exhumation, which took place several years after burial, the bones were removed from the grave for permanent disposal, sometimes in a hollow tree, in a cave, or in a box-like hut on top of a tall post in the village. Prized artefacts were placed with the bones. Best (1924: **2**, 66) alluded to red marks being painted on skulls in cave

burials: this must refer to corpses in which the head was not removed for separate preservation. Bodies of people of low rank were simply buried, for instance in sand dunes: their bones were not ritually exhumed.

In a remarkable parallel with the sennit caskets found in the Hale o Keawe, a few examples of wooden 'bone chests' have been found in caves north of Auckland. These wooden chests not only resemble the sennit caskets in shape, but one of those figured by Best (1924: **2**, 36) has an incised motif on the surface that resembles sennit binding.

Rapa Iti (one of the southern Austral Islands)

Commoners were buried at sea, men of higher status buried in shallow graves. The skull was later retrieved and deposited in crevices on a mountain. Apparently, bodies of very high-ranking individuals were oiled and dried to delay putrefaction. (Smith in Heyerdahl *et al.*, 1961-1965).

Rapa Nui (Easter Island)

Historical evidence was summarised by Heyerdahl *et al.* (1961-1965). There are no data available regarding social differentiation or partial preservation, but it appears that some corpses were exposed to rot on platforms for 2-3 years before the bones were removed to be placed in a vault constructed within the great *ahu* (platforms, often surmounted by the giant statues). There is an obvious parallel between the Hawaiian wicker heads standing over the bones of the chiefs, and the Rapa Nui statues standing over vaults containing bones. The vaults in the *ahu* were said to contain large numbers of bones, implying that they were communal mausolea: it is possible, however, those later interments may obscure an earlier system of chiefly burials.

Summary of above

In general, eastern Polynesian mortuary practices were as follows. The bodies of people of low social status were simply buried or cast out to sea. Bodies of people of high social standing were either buried in shallow graves or exposed until the flesh decayed and the bones then moved to a permanent location. In some cases - and this may have been restricted to chiefs of very high status - decay of the flesh was delayed by drying and/or

the application of oils. Cremation was widely, but rarely practised.

The head was often treated differently to the rest of the body, again depending on status. Either the flesh was preserved on the skull, or following excarnation the skull was removed from the rest of the skeleton and placed into a special position.

Bones, and especially the skull, were treated as objects of great importance. They seem to have retained, in a large degree, the *mana* of the departed, and were accorded the same position in the system of *kapu*. Thus, the bones of chiefs were often revered, or secreted away from their possible possession by enemies. A widespread practice involved wrapping the bones, either with sennit or *tapa*.

The situation in the Hawaiian Islands broadly follows the above pattern, in terms of the different treatment accorded to chiefs and commoners. There is no record of deliberate drying or application of oils (which is, of course, not to say that it did not happen), and the soft tissues of chiefs were removed quickly by heat treatment. The skull was often retained with the other bones, and formed into a humanoid shape: two such bone bundles survive.

13.5 SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

Because in Hawaii the skulls of revered friends, relatives and ancestors were wrapped with the other bones, it is possible that it became necessary to devise a substitute for the head, when used as the focus of religious ceremonies and as the physical home of the deified ancestor (*'aumakua*). The form and nature (woven material and feathers) of wicker heads and their known association with bone bundles in the Hale o Keawe, suggests that they performed a function paralleling that of skulls or preserved heads elsewhere in Polynesia.

This is important, because all theories regarding the role of wicker heads in ceremonies flow from the idea of what the heads are said to represent. Previously, they have been

said to embody a form of *Ku*, or more specifically *Kuka'ilimoku*: in recent years, Kaeppler has suggested the possibility that some heads represented *Lono*. What has been said, for instance by Valeri, about the 'meaning' of the heads in ceremonies associated with the *Makahiki* and *Luakini* temple rituals also flows from these premises. If the heads represented revered ancestors, not gods, then new possibilities may be suggested.

It is possible, but unlikely, that wicker heads are an evolutionary development from sennit-wrapped bone bundles. Wicker heads are large enough to contain a skull and the long bones could be inserted into the neck, but once the structure had been woven the skull could not be removed: not one of the surviving examples contains a skull. In addition, the long bones would protrude from the base of short-necked examples. Finally, when seen in the 1820s, the wicker heads were seen to be standing on top of wrapped bone bundles: linked in space, but separate.

In order to reject the concept of wicker heads being used as ossiaries, it is necessary also to reject a statement made by the missionary William Ellis (1826: 104), who noted that Captain Cook's bones were preserved 'in a small basket of wicker-work, completely covered with red feathers'. Ellis never claimed to have seen this structure and as the death of Cook had occurred almost fifty years previously he was probably relying on information that was at best second hand.

13.6 WICKER HEADS IN RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

Wicker heads are known to have played a part in religious ceremonies. Evidence from extrinsic sources is slight: only one of Cook's crew, Rickman (1781: 303) described them, in the context of the visit of Kalani'opu'u. When the King went on to the beach, 'they all made a circle round with their images [the context suggests these were the wicker heads from the stern of the second canoe] in a procession, till they arrived at their Morai, where they placed their deities and deposited their arms'.

However, there is detailed evidence of a major cycle of rites that seems to have involved wicker heads: acceptance of this evidence depends on making a leap of faith by

interpreting references to feather gods (*akua hulu manu* in the original sources) as referring to wicker heads.

Feather gods and the *Luakini heiau* ceremonies

Descriptions of a cycle of ceremonies at *Luakini* temples were provided independently by the Hawaiian chroniclers Malo, Ii and Kamakau. Valeri (1985) has discussed these at great length, and it would be pointless to repeat his canonical analysis *in extenso*. The following discussion is, therefore, centred on the role played by wicker heads in these ceremonies.

The sequence of rites known as the *kapu luakini*, *kapu heiau* or *kapu loulou* were associated with the building, or re-building or renovation of a *luakini* temple. *Luakini* were royal *heiau* where human sacrifices were offered (1951: 159), and were associated in particular with rites of the god Ku. The programme of work in the *kapu luakini* cycle could involve thousands of people in carrying stones, building platforms and erecting wooden houses and towers: this work, apparently, did not involve elaborate rituals. Once the temple was ready to receive it, the main wooden figure was installed and the sacred houses constructed - these were the focus of the *kapu luakini*.

As with major rites elsewhere, there are elements of community action, regulated by rules of the 'right' and 'wrong' ways of proceeding. There is a process of transforming all players in the rite, and this includes the land itself, from states of *kapu* to *noa* as is needed. As Valeri (1985: 315) declared in typically opaque style: 'diachronic action, by activating the synchronic schema, makes it "true" by realising it in the social and intellectual relations "woven" by the rite'.

The main sequence of the cycle was:

1. Booths are erected for *ali'i* and *kahuna*: they are consecrated then made *noa*.

2. The entire land is made *noa*, by a priest accompanying someone -or something - called 'the god who is truly a man' who proceed along a road around the island,

performing rituals at the boundaries of political units.

3. On the last day of the old month, all that will take part in the ritual assemble to be purified. Priests and *ali'i* pray and chant the names of the wooden gods and the feather gods. The king offers a pig in sacrifice, then at nightfall the *ali'i* and *kahuna* with their feather gods congregate and lay down to sleep.

4. In the morning of the 1st day of the month called Hilo, the king, *ali'i* and their followers enter the temple and sit in eight rows. The feather gods, which are 'forty' or 'twice forty' in number are lined up. One god is impersonated by a man (Kahoali'i), who stands in front of the other gods and is completely naked.

   A priest, holding a white loincloth and a branch of *'ie'ie* says some words. The feather gods are then carried in procession by their *kahu*, who turn in a circle before the audience.

5. The next day there is another assemblage of the king, *ali'i* and people, who gather before the feather gods to pray, then they take the gods to the mountains, to the tree selected to be carved into the statue. Sacrifices are made and the tree is cut down and carved into a figure known as the *akua 'ohi'a*.

   The downward procession is led by the *akua 'ohi'a* (completely wrapped in 'weeds'), followed by the feather gods, then the people (who praise the god in a loud voice).

   On reaching the temple, the people pray to the *akua 'ohi'a*, then the feather gods and the people go back to their places: the *kahu* of the feather gods sing their praises and beat drums loudly.

6. On the 4th day of Hilo, people bring materials for building sacred houses at the *heiau*. Then follows the *Kauila nui* rite. During this rite the king and his entourage stay separated from the people, who are possibly not even in the

temple: however, feather gods of the king and *ali'i*, and their *kahu* are present.

The people sit in rows, between which are placed *lama* trees so it looked as though they were standing in a forest. Then the feather gods are carried in by their *kahu*, and with them was Kahoalii and the person who carried the *kapuo* stick, to whom questions of all kinds are addressed by the kahunas. The bearer of the *kapuo* stick is the first in line. Then came Kahoalii; then, the feather gods. The last god in line was called the *akua panauea* (slow god) because he moved so slowly.

Before the gods begin their procession, the *kahuna* of the *lama* trees smites some *hala* clusters. The pieces fly among the men, who duck to dodge them. Onlookers are allowed to laugh at this.

There is marching and counter-marching until the *kapuo* stick bearer and Kahoalii catch up with the *akua panauea*. The procession then draws up in line and the *akua panauea* moves slowly in front of them all and returns to his place at the end of the line.

When the ceremony is finished, a *kahuna* stands up and says 'stand ready, younger brothers, to receive life'. Then, all stand up together. The people sitting under the *lama* trees shout in unison, then are dismissed to their homes.

7. After the *kauila nui* rite, the new figure is taken into the temple and erected in its proper place, with accompanying sacrifices. The king and high priest, with the feather gods, pray before the temple, then the king gives chickens to the feather gods and the priests. During the night, no sound is allowed.

8. At dawn of the 5th day of Hilo, the king and a priest go to the temple for a ceremony involving binding with a cord. Further sacrifices of pigs are offered, including some that are cooked and given to the feather gods.

Further rites follow over the next few days to complete the cycle, but it appears that the feather gods took no part in these.

Discussion

The feather gods seem to have played an important part in this cycle of ceremonies. Near the beginning, they were called to mind and praised, and physically assembled together with their guardians.

When the people gathered for the first major public show of the rite, the feather gods were lined up and carried in processions. The next day, the feather gods witnessed the expedition that went to the mountain to cut down the tree for the new temple figure, and all of the events that take part there. It seems to me that the feather gods were not merely passive props in these ceremonies. It is more likely that the ceremonies required the deities to observe that the operations were being carried out in proper traditional fashion, observing the precise forms in order to be truly efficacious. Even the movements of the feather gods, choreographed in parade, needed to be correct, all of them including the 'slow god' moving in a specified manner.

If the 'feather gods' were indeed wicker heads then this is support for the argument that they represent gods of the Ku-group, as *luakini heiau* were associated with Ku rites. The broad interpretation of them [or some of them, at least] as 'war gods' by early western observers would appear to be vindicated.

Alternatively, if we predicate their representation of *'aumakua*, then it could be argued that the rites are being witnessed by the departed spirits of the important chiefs of the lineage who, like the living, need to see and approve the rightful process of the rite.

Feather gods and the Makahiki

Malo (1951, p. 143) described the participation of feather gods in the Makahiki festival. On the day called Olekukahi (the 21st day of Ikuwa - corresponding to October), the feather gods were carried in procession, and the following evening the wooden gods

were carried in procession.

The feather gods seem to need to witness in some way the making of the Lono-makua, the Makahiki god. Malo stated that 'they went to the making' of the Lono-makua on the 23rd day of Ikuwa. The Lono-makua processed around the island of Hawai'i, while its attendants collected taxes. On the return of the Makahiki god, the king sailed forth in a canoe, accompanied by his retinue and soldiery, to meet it. On landing, the king warded off spears hurled by the 'company' of the god (an event not witnessed by Cook's crew). Malo did not make mention of the feather gods being required to witness the subsequent dismantling of the Lono-makua - but then nor did he say that they weren't!

The Lono-makua was assembled each year for the Makahiki. Were the feathered wicker heads also made annually, and destroyed (either broken up, or set afloat to return to Kahiki) at the end of the festival? This suggestion is supported by the heads being placed aboard Cook's vessels, which arrived near the end of the Makahiki period. However, following the death of Cook, one of the chiefs sent out two heads, in a gesture interpreted by King as comprising a gift. If the suggestion is true that Cook had returned to Hawai'i after the end of the Makahiki, then these two heads were existing out of their 'proper time': they should have been destroyed before then.

Similarly, the survival of heads, both the one discovered in a lava tube and the ones in the Hale o Keawe suggests that they were constructed with a long-term purpose in view.

Were the feather gods involved in the Makahiki the same ones as those involved in the *kapu luakini* rites? If, as Kaeppler (1982) has argued, some wicker heads presentified Ku deities and others Lono deities then it is quite probable that any individual wicker head did not take part in both ceremonies. If, on the other hand, they were associated with ancestral *'aumakua*, then they were probably taken by their *kahu* to witness all major events.

The descriptions of wicker heads in use, clearly suggests that they played an important role in Hawaiian socio-religious practice. They were called to witness important events

and placed in association with the bones of important ancestors. So far, stress has been placed on primary sources, either eyewitnesses to events or recorders of traditions, with an attempt to disassociate the evidence from later interpretation. The focus shifts in the following chapter towards the secondary literature, which discusses the way in which wicker heads have been interpreted by Western academics.

FOURTEEN : WESTERN INTERPRETATION OF WICKER HEADS

INTRODUCTION

The interpretation of wicker heads was brought into focus by Brigham, who published a three-part monograph on the examples surviving in museums at the turn of the 20th century. Prior to Brigham's monograph, there was no consensus as to what wicker heads represented, or even as to what they were called. They were described and figured very infrequently, and for most of the 19th century were neglected.

1779-1899

From the first contact in the late 18th century, wicker heads were interpreted as being religious objects. In 1779, King noted that he saw 'busts of what were supposd their Gods made of basket work' being carried in a canoe. Samwell claimed that the wicker heads were 'Etua' [= *akua*, gods]; to Zimmerman they were Gotzenbilder [=God images]; to Rickman 'idols' called 'E-ah-tu-a', and to Ledyard 'images'.

These names, *akua*, gods and god-images, amount to the same thing. Members of Cook's crew had been told, or they supposed, that the heads were of religious significance. Whether the crew had mis-heard the word *akua* for *'aumakua* (which has a quite distinct meaning) is open to question. Nor do we know if Cook's crew believed that the Hawaiians worshipped the heads (i.e. they were 'idolaters') rather than the deities they presentified.

When wicker heads came to be traded in the London auction houses (Anon., 1781; Anon., 1806) they were named as 'idols'. Four in the Lever sale were 'curious' or 'very curious' and the large size of another three was stressed by the cataloguer. Again, the use of the word 'idol' should perhaps not be taken too seriously, as the London auctioneers were probably not philosophers attuned to the niceties of the word.

The heads also at that time acquired 'meaning' in terms of financial value. This 'meaning' has been lost in recent centuries by the rarity of their sale: there is no record of any being sold at auction since 1806, all subsequent known transfers having been by gift. The seven known auction prices range between 7/6 and £1.6.0 (the equivalent purchasing power of these sums in 2002 is £15.98 and £55.39: McCusker, 2003). These prices were high for Artificial Curiosities of the time (but low in comparison with many Natural Curiosities: Lever's Great Auk sold for £7.7.0, equivalent to£313.05 in 2002[1]). The high price no doubt reflected the rarity of wicker heads as well as their unusual nature. Half a century later, in 1857, Sir Anthony Panizzi the head of the British Museum expressed the opposite view when he singled them out 'hideous feather idols' as being the sort of material unrightfully taking up valuable space in the galleries (*vide* Caygill & Cherry, 1997: 65).

Two episodes in the mid-1820s provided information that helped to place wicker heads in context. The first was the visit of the missionary William Ellis. As we have seen, Ellis named two religious figures that incorporated wicker heads. The first (1826: 58) was Keolo'ewa on Maui and the second example (1826: 126-127) was of what he called Tairi or Kuka'ilimoku (p. 67). Ellis's descriptions of Keolo'ewa and Kuka'ilimoku are both of compound objects that incorporated wicker heads. The second episode involved the crew of H.M.S. *Blonde* who, in 1825 were apparently the last Europeans to encounter wicker heads stored *in situ*. This episode has been discussed in detail above. The two publications of the 1820s (Ellis, 1826; Byron, 1826) were by no means obscure, and one would expect any 19th century researcher seriously interested in Hawaii to be familiar with both books.

Following the visit of the *Blonde* there was a long period during which wicker heads disappeared from the literature, until Edge Partington in 1890 figured three examples.

1 An interesting indicator of changing values over time is the sale in the mid-1990s of a Great Auk for £15,000. No wicker heads have been sold in recent decades, but the Hancock Museum's example is insurance-rated at a replacement value of £950,000.

Cautious in his interpretation, Edge Partington did not name the wicker heads as being 'gods' or 'idols': adopting a name derived from structure rather than implied function, he simply called them 'heads'. However, Edge Partington was aware of the earlier literature, and referred his readers back to published work arising from Cook's and Byron's voyages.

Brigham and Kuka'ilimoku

William T. Brigham was by profession a lawyer, by interest a naturalist and by personality had a tendency to be what is commonly called a Renaissance Man. In 1888 he was instrumental in persuading Charles Reed Bishop to found the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, of which Brigham was appointed the first director. In 1899 he published, as volume 1, part 1 of the Bishop Museum's *Memoirs* series, a major treatise on Hawaiian Featherwork.

While it would be easy to criticise Brigham's work as lacking in depth of knowledge and interpretation, we must recognise that he was starting from a low platform and to be fair his achievement should not be minimised. However, his treatment of wicker heads lacked academic rigour and cannot be accepted without question. Central to his discussion of wicker heads was the premise that every one of them represented the deity Kuka'ilimoku and that one of the two examples owned by the Bishop Museum was *the* Kuka'ilimoku of Kamehameha I. This hypothesis was founded on merely stating and repeating an assumption that was not supported by any evidence.

The reasons for Brigham's assertion may lie in the central role played by Kuka'ilimoku in Hawaiian history. Kamehameha I, the last truly independent Hawaiian statesman, is one of the greatest heroes of the Hawaiian people and still holds a major position in their national pride. The story of his rise to power is an epic tale. In 1782, following the death of Kalani'opu'u, the rule of the kingdom was divided between his son Kiwalao, to whom went the temporal power, and his nephew Kamehameha, who was given the care of the god Kuka'ilimoku and maintenance of the religion. This was a division that was sanctioned by historical precedent among the legendary kings of Hawai'i. As on

previous occasions there was a quarrel and war between the two chiefs, which in this instance resulted in the defeat and death of Kiwalao and the rise to power of Kamehameha.

A figure called Kuka'ilimoku was so important to Kamehameha that he built a *heiau* to house it, at Puukohola in the Kohala district of Hawai'i. What item could be more important in Brigham's Museum as a totem of the nation-state and of the institution of which he was Director and prime mover, than the most important god that Kamehameha had worshipped? There seems to have little doubt in Brigham's mind that the heads did not all and individually represent Kuka'ilimoku (which implies acceptance of the idea that there could be more than one figure called Kuka'ilimoku), and he placed first in his list 'the probable god of Kamehameha' in the Bishop Museum. The other wicker heads, also said by Brigham to represent Kuka'ilimoku, were listed in turn[1]

Kuka'ilimoku, and other Hawaiian religious figures

Is there any evidence to support Brigham's assertion that wicker heads represented Kuka'ilimoku? To test this hypothesis, it is necessary to scan the literature for descriptions of the appearance, and fates, of the objects to which the name Kuka'ilimoku was attached.

It must be borne in mind that Hawai'ian religious practices, as elsewhere in Polynesia, involved an esoteric priesthood. As Handy (1927: 9) has pointed out for New Zealand Maori even the existence of Io the Supreme Being was unknown except to initiates and

1 It might be noted incidentally that there is a large wooden figure in the British Museum (LMS223), of the sort that is usually called a Temple Image, labelled as Kuka'ilimoku. A photograph in Cox & Davenport (1988: 123) is captioned 'Collected by Tyerman and Bennett ... from a *heiau* at Kawaihae, Hawaii'. This provenance is not supported by reading the published account of their travels (Montgomery, 1831), where it is clear that the missionaries spent very little time at Kawaihae, and did not acquire a figure there. There is no contemporary link between this statue and Kuka'ilimoku.

the knowledge was concealed under very strict *tapu*. The king's *heiau* such as that at Puukohola were not, like Christian cathedrals, open to all: only the king and a few priests would be aware of the 'meaning' of the figures within. As a consequence, when Christianity suddenly engulfed the islands and the older religious order was supressed, a lot of knowledge relating to the use of religious artefacts was lost. Additionally, it might be noted that many Polynesian societies believe in the power of concealment, and it would be quite within the tradition for a *kahuna* simply to state falsehoods when asked about the inner secrets of his profession.

Accepting these provisos, the evidence for the appearance of Kuka'ilimoku figures is discussed below.

How many Kuka'ilimoku could there be?

There is no evidence that there was more than one ethereal entity known as Kuka'ilimoku. What is not certain is how many objects could exist, known as Kuka'ilimoku, that would presentify the deity. The question was first raised by Brigham, who, having decided that the head in the Bishop Museum was Kamehameha's Kuka'ilimoku and, having extended the name of the god to all wicker heads, appeared puzzled (1903: 8) at the 'considerable number of Kuka'ilimoku in existence'.

As far as I know nobody has posed the question as to how many images could exist of any particular Hawaiian god. The situation may not be wholly soluble by looking for parallels in other Polynesian societies, for the Hawaiians had (unusually for Polynesia) a large number of names for the major gods. Kamakau (1991, pp 57-59) gave a list of *'aumakua* deities, which, while not purporting to be complete, included 36 forms of Kane, 29 of Ku and 6 of Lono. If each of these names was applied to a number of images that each represented an earthly repository of the spirit of the *'aumakua*, the total number of figures could have been immense.

There is some evidence, presented in the journal of Auna, a Tahitian lay brother associated with Tyerman and Bennet (Montgomery, 1831, **1** p. 485). On June 4 he saw 'the idol of Tamehameha, namely *Teraipahoa* [=Kalaipahoa, a so-called poison god]'

and nine other idols being burnt, and on June 24 a 'messenger returned with *Teraipahoa*, *Tetonemotu*, *Paparahaamau*, *Hatuahai*, *Kaunaruura*, *Maiora*, and *Akuahanai*. These were all soon devoured by the fire, at which my heart rejoiced'. If there was only one *Teraipahoa* it could not be burnt on two separate occasions. However, it could be argued that Kalaipahoa images were so-called because they were made of a particular wood that was said to be very poisonous, and the name was used for a type of image made of that wood, not of the god inhabiting it.

Are there any other named figures of Hawaiian deities?

The suggestion that part of the figure known as Kukeolo'ewa survives in the Pitt Rivers museum is discussed above. The only other evidence of which I am aware of statuary with attributed names is contained in a set of drawing by Louis Choris, artist on the Kotzebue expedition in 1816 (published in Cox & Davenport, 1988: 70) (see Figure 31). The figures are labelled: Manaha; Tanataea; Kolea | oko; Awa | pilu; A | ra | mo | ku; Otowata; Otihu.otuaÿ; Kavakakaÿ; Tanarere; Otau-nutu, and Tanare-Papaw. The only readily recognisable name among these is the third, Koleamoku.

Early descriptions of Kuka'ilimoku

1. Ellis

As noted above, the missionary William Ellis (1826: 127) described 'Tairi', *alias* Kuka'ilimoku as being 4-5 feet high, with the upper parts composed of feather-covered wickerwork, the head crowned with a helmet or with long hair.

2. Tyerman / Bennet

Tyerman or Bennet, whose notes written in 1822 were compiled into a published account by Mongomery (1831), stated (1: 450):

> The principal god of the late Tamehameha was named *Turkudimaku*, a huge, unsightly block (for there were no "cunning workmen" here to make "graven images"); yet so soon as this scaramouch, fantastically dressed with flowers and feathers, was heaved on a man's shoulders to

be carried to or from any particular marae, all the people in the way were obliged to uncover their persons and prostrate themselves on the ground.

The 'huge unsightly block' could be the 4-5ft high element noted by Ellis. The 'fantastic dressing' of flowers and feathers could have been a permanent part of the object, or could have been a temporary addition during times of the indwelling of the god's spirit.

There is no evidence that any of Ellis, Tyerman or Bennet ever saw Kuka'ilimoku: they may have relied on hearsay for their descriptions.

3. Hawaiian accounts

3.1. John Papa Ii

John Papa Ii (1959) encountered Kuka'ilimoku at least twice. First, on Oahu (1959:95), he met the figure as it was being carried along the trail: when the *kapu moe* [prostrating *kapu*] was proclaimed, Ii and his companions prostrated themselves until the god and its attendants passed by. On the second occasion, about the year 1812 Ii travelled on the platform of a canoe carrying Kuka'ilimoku as it was being transported, at the head of a fleet of canoes, from Oahu to Hawai'i. Liholiho (later Kamehameha II), a companion and a man proclaiming the *kapu* were also on the platform. Unfortunately, Ii did not describe the appearance of the image, although he confirms that its presence demanded the *kapu moe*.

3.2. Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau

Kamakau was the most prolific of the Hawaiians recording their history and traditions in the 19th century, and much of his work has been translated into English. There are several references to Kuka'ilimoku among his books.

In *Ka Po'e Kahiko* (Kamakau, 1991: 12) he described several symbols of gods of the Ku 'group' - Kuka'ilimoku, Kukeolo'ewa, Kuho'one'enu'u, Kukalani and Kukalani'ehuiki - as being wooden images wrapped in *kapa*, with a very fine apical feather that drooped

and streamed down to cover the head. The spirit of the god communicated with people by causing the feather to stand up and twist about, or to fly from its original place and land on someone.

In *Na Mo'olelo a ka Po'e Kahiko* (Kamakau, 1991a: 3) he gave a reference to Kuka'ilimoku that raises more questions than it answers:

> Lonopele was the older brother of Pa'ao. He was a high priest. Pa'ao was the keeper of the god Kuka'ilimoku, a feather god. It was made of fine, soft feathers from the forehead of Kiwa'a. Kiwa'a was slain by Wai-kele-nui-a-iku after he had been carried away by the bird. These feathers from its forehead were sacred feathers called Hina-wai-koli'i. They flew to the lap of Na-maka-o-kaha'i. These feathers acquired *mana* and became Kuka'ilimoku. Let us leave this subject.

Pa'ao is a figure who features strongly in Hawaiian legend. Supposedly living in the 12th-13th centuries A.D., he is said to have been a priest who came from the Society Islands. Kamakau's first chapter tells the story of the quarrel between Pa'ao and his brother Lonopele, who remained in the Society Islands when Pa'ao sailed to Hawai'i.

Hina, who appears here in the form Hina-wai-koli'i, is a goddess often associated with natural phenomena, including water (*wai*); the word *hina* also means 'to tumble', or 'fall'. The last part of the name, *koli'i* could be translated as 'of' (*ko*) 'small' (*li'i*). The whole then becomes 'Hina of the small water', or 'small tumbling water', if the latter is a reference to a waterfall (which, it might be added, are very numerous on Hawai'i), then it could call to mind the wispy - feathery - appearance of water as it falls over a waterfall: a possible link between the word and a feather. Also, we again have reference to feathers flying through the air and landing on people.

There are several references to Kuka'ilimoku in *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Kamakau, 1992). On p. 148, Hina-wai-koli'i is said to be a sacred mythical bird that supplied the two feathers for the top of the head of Kuka'ilimoku. The feathers were said to bristle

and stand upright on an occasion when the god encouraged Kamehameha to fight. Later (p. 179), Kamakau noted a tradition that the feathers of Kuka'ilimoku had grown on the foreheads of the great birds Halulu and Kiwa'a.

Although Kamakau's descriptions are slightly confusing, especially in regard to the origin of the feathers, it is important to note that the crucial element according to him was the feathers. Kuka'ilimoku was not, to him, a large wooden object with associated feathers, it had been originally 'made of fine, soft feathers from the forehead of Kiwa'a'.

3.3. King David Kalakaua

A late description, albeit by Hawaiian royalty, is perhaps too derivative to be given too much weight. King David Kalakaua wrote (Kalakaua, 1888: 44) of Kuka'ilimoku being a small, roughly carved wooden image with a head-dress of yellow feathers.

4. Beckwith's synthesis

The account by Beckwith (1970: 28) was derived from the earlier traditions. Thus "Kalakaua describes the Kuka'ilimoku image of Kamehameha as 'a small wooden figure, roughly carved, with a head-dress of yellow feathers'. She added, without giving a reference, that the original Kaili god according to some was a stone (or gourd) about the size of two fists, bound about with sennit, and having at the top two feathers from the mythical bird called Hiva-oa [=Kamakau's Kiwa'a], which were secured by prayer. If this had been the case, then the 'original' Kuka'ilimoku must at one stage have been re-modelled, with the most important elements being incorporated into a new image, the one that was described by Ellis.

Thus, according to these different accounts, Kuka'ilimoku may have been either:

1) A large block of wood, perhaps 4-5 feet high, crowned with either a long apical feather or a wicker head (or possibly both, if we assume that the head was a removable part of the assemblage, possibly, like *kapa* wrapping being part of a sacralising process)

2) A small wooden figure, roughly carved, with a headdress of yellow feathers.

3) A stone (or gourd) about the size of two fists, bound about with sennit, and having at the top two feathers from the mythical bird called Kiwa'a and, possibly, Halulu, and/or Hina-wai-koli'i.

The figure was thus identified in some way as having associated feathers, but not always as having an associated feather-covered wicker head.

The fate of Kuka'ilimoku

Although Brigham had 'little doubt' that the head in the Bishop Museum was the one 'to which the dying king turned for unavailing help', tradition suggests otherwise. Kuykendall (1938) traced the later history of Kamehameha's Kuka'ilimoku. It was the king's wish that following his death the god be given to Kekuaokalani, and temporal power over the kingdom given to his own son Liholiho, thus re-creating a situation similar to the one in which he himself had been placed years earlier. Liholiho abolished the system of *kapu* in 1819, turned to Christianity and ordered the *materiel* of the religion to be destroyed. There followed a quarrel, then a war in which Kekuaokalani was killed. This sealed the fate of the old Hawaiian religion. According to Beckwith (1970: 29) based on an oral tradition collected in 1935, 116 years after the crucial events of 1819, the keeper of Kuka'ilimoku made a canoe and placed the god in it, together with food, *'awa* and *kapa*, and set it afloat to drift back to the mythical homeland of Kahiki.

If we refuse to accept Beckwith's scenario, and assume that Kamehameha's figure of Kuka'ilimoku remained in the islands after 1819, there are three claimed contenders to represent its survival, if indeed it survives at all:

1) Bishop Museum no. 7855 (which Brigham asserted to be Kamehameha's Kuka'ilimoku) which was retrieved from a cave in the Kona district of Hawai'i. It follows that it must have been hidden during the destruction of the idols following 1819.

2) Two heads in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge Massachusetts (37-4-70/530 and 37-4-70/531).

The two examples in the Peabody have an identical known history. They were in the possession of Rev. William Richards before 1833, and he gave them to the Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts, from whence they passed to the Peabody Museum in 1937.

The entry for 37-4-70/530 in the Peabody's Accession Book reads: "The favourite god of Kekuaokalani, who rebelled against Rihoriho in 1819. Human sacrifices were offered to this idol at the commencement of hostilities in 1819 ... Image of the war god Kukailimoku (god who devoured the islands)...". That for 37-4-70/531 reads: "The favorite war-god of Tamehameha, who was for many years king of Sandwich Isls and died in 1819..."

There is no clear solution to these alternatives. We must assume that the figure of Kuka'ilimoku (or at least a portion of it, such as feathers or a wicker head) was almost certainly taken into battle by Kekuaokalani, as its guardianship was a key part of the legitimacy of his claim to power. It must have been either captured or destroyed during the course of the battle. It may be that the newly Christianised chiefs were still reluctant to destroy such a potent icon and handed it over to Rev. Richards, or it may have been returned to the *heiau* at Puukohola, in which case it was either subsequently destroyed, cast out to sea or hidden in a cave.

Other feather gods - Kukeolo'ewa and Kuho'onenu'u

Valeri (1985: 247) claimed that 'three feather gods are well known', listing Kuka'ilimoku and Kukeolo'ewa and added Kuho'one'enu'u with a citation of Westervelt (1915, pp 23-27). This citation is in error, as Westerveldt made no association between Kuho'one'enu'u and feather gods, but there is evidence elsewhere

in the literature. Westerveldt's chapter cited by Valeri concerns the legend of a tree brought to Hawaii by the goddess Haumea, the tale being re-worked from an account by Samuel Kamakau (Kamakau, 1991: 6-8). Several branches of the tree eventually became parts of images: (1) a branch washed up on the reef near Kailua became Makalei 'which was a god of Hawaii for generations'; (2) a branch came into possession of the chiefs of Maui and was used as a stick for hanging bundles upon, it became Kukeolo'ewa, and (3) a piece cut from a branch found on a beach in Maui became Kuho'one'enu'u, which was initially kept in the *heiau* called Waihau. At the request of the king of Oahu, this image was sent to Oahu, where it was placed in a *heiau* at Kou.

The link between these three branches, rationalised into the story of the tree brought across the seas by Haumea, is that the three figures were all carved from driftwood.

Kamakau (1991: 12) linked Kuho'one'enu'u with Kuka'ilimoku, Kukeolo'ewa (and others) as being 'feather gods' in that they were said to be wooden images that featured a long, fine feather on the head. Elsewhere (Kamakau, 1992) the three were linked as being important war gods. According to this last account (p. 179) Kuho'one'enu'u bore the flowers Kanikawi' and Kanikawa', and wore a feather helmet on its head formed out of the feathers of Halulu, Kiwa'a and Hiapo: thus we have an independent indication of Tyerman/Bennet's mention of an image with associated flowers *and* feathers.

Hawaiian names for wicker heads

There is no firm evidence that there ever was a Hawaiian phrase that encompassed all-and-only wicker heads. However, there are several Hawaiian names in current use, some of recent application, and these are discussed below.

Akua

The earliest reference to wicker heads using a Hawaiian term was in Samwell's journal of 1779 (published in Beaglehole, 1967). His simple classification of religious statuary included the Etua [*akua*], a 'large Image of wicker work covered with red feathers with Mother of pearl for Eyes, human hair fastened to the head & Dog's teeth put into the

Mouth; they are made in Imitation of the human head but in general much larger than the Life'. Clearly, these were wicker heads.

'Aumakua hulu manu

Malo, in 1898 (p.80 of 1951 edition) stated that Kuka'ilimoku was a 'feather god, *akua-hulu-manu*'. The phrase translates as a god (*akua*) with feathers (*hulu*) of birds (*manu*), which could refer to wicker heads, but could equally refer to any image that was sacralised in some way with feathers. Ii (1959: 39) included a reference to 'feather gods' as *akua hulu.*

Elsewhere, the word *akua* is replaced by *'aumakua.* Buck (1957) used the term *'aumakua hulu manu* in the section of his *magnum opus* on Hawaiian material culture that dealt with religion. The meaning of the word *'aumakua* is discussed in the glossary (*infra*).

Ki'i hulu manu

Recently, Kaeppler (1998) has suggested using, as an alternative, *ki'i hulu manu.* The Hawaiian word *ki'i* is cognate with *tiki* or *ti'i* elsewhere in Polynesia. It is a traditional Hawaiian term: as early as 1779, Samwell had described as Ete [*e ki'i*], a 'small wooden Image which they form of various shapes and sizes & keep in their Houses & stick up in the Stern of their Canoes'. These would be wooden carvings of the type traditionally known as 'stick gods'

The word *Ki'i* has several meanings including the name of a god, the first man and a term for a type of deity, but is widely used to refer to a symbol, figure or design presentificatory of an *'aumakua.* The phrase is descriptive, but it is well to note that Samwell had expressly excluded wicker heads from the category of *ki'i* objects, calling them Etua.

Wilkes (1845) gave another use of the phrase *hulu manu* in Hawaiian society. He noted that several young men who were companions and bodyguards to the sovereign were called *hulu manu.* Presumably, the title, or adjective, was intended to equate the men's

perceived high value with that of the traditionally highly valued birds' feathers. On Easter Island and Mangareva, commoners were known by the cognate term *hurumanu*, which is less easy to explain.

Akua ka'ai

A recent alternative name arises from the study by Cox and Davenport (1988) on Hawaiian sculpture. They classified religious images into four types:

1) 'Temple images', mostly large statuary sited in *heiau*.
2) *Akua ka'ai* images, equating roughly to what were once known as stick gods, and which Buck (1957) termed images with pointed props.
3) '*Aumakua* images; Buck's 'images without props'.
4) Support figures, in which the human element forms part of (for instance) a bowl or drum, and 'supports' part or all of the object.

The importance of Cox & Davenport's classification is that they assign wicker heads to their category of *akua ka'ai*.

A major criticism that can be levelled against Cox and Davenport's system is that it is based on a mixture of structural and functional characters. Their fourth category is based purely on morphology, while some of the justification for other divisions is based on use: for example, *akua ka'ai* are personal and portable images '... associated with a collectivity and fixed in place as markers of the ritual space'.

The word *ka'ai* when as a noun means a sash or belt, and is used as adjectivally to indicate an image that has been wrapped with *kapa* as a mark of the indwelling of the god's spirit. However, to exclude the larger temple images from the category of *ka'ai* images ignores the clear indication in early accounts and illustrations that these were also at times wrapped with kapa. A Hawaiian could point to one of the objects that Cox and Davenport called 'temple images' at times and describe it as an *akua ka'ai*.

Ellis (1782) provided an example of use of the word *ka'ai* to refer to items that would

be excluded from this category by Cox & Davenport. Ellis described one *heiau* in detail (it appears to be the Hikiau *heiau*, as the description goes on to mention the houses of the associated priests). The description that accompanies his famous drawing notes 'Before the pile, were twelve of their inferior deities, which they call cawhì': i.e., *ka'ai*. The illustration clearly shows large temple images, most of which are shown to be draped in *kapa* and the remainder not drawn clearly enough to decide whether or not they are draped.

Ka'ai and ka'i

Malo (1951, pp 159-187) gave a long description of the construction and consecration of a Luakini temple. One ceremony involved the keepers of the *ka'ai* gods, each coming with the *ka'ai* god of his chief: the *ka'ai* god of the king was also there. As Malo noted, their number was very great. The *ka'ai* gods were held aloft 'each on his spear decorated with a banner', and the *kahu* ran in a circle around all the *ka'ai* gods. Later, the *kahu* stood in a line holding the *ka'ai* gods in front, before parading in a circle.

This phrase could easily be read as referring to wicker heads - *ka'ai* in the sense of Cox & Davenport as well as in the strict sense of being wrapped. Unfortunately, Malo did not describe the *ka'ai* gods, although because they were said to be numerous we might deduce that they could not all have been wicker heads - even though these objects are so made that they *could* have been placed on spears.

However, it could also equally be the result of a misheard or misunderstood word. The passage makes equal sense if the word *ka'ai* is replaced with the similar *ka'i*, which means to walk in a procession. The 'wrapped' images (*ka'ai*) may have actually been 'processional' images (*ka'i*).

Whatever, it is important not to confuse or conflate Malo's (apparently) precise but undefined use of the term *ka'ai* with the way it has been used in Cox & Davenport's recent classification.

Conclusions as to names

There is no convincing evidence associating any of the surviving wicker heads with the object known as Kuka'ilimoku in the *heiau* that Kamehameha I built at Puukohola. Nor can we assume that they were all called Kuka'ilimoku.

It is, in my opinion, poor practice in principle to invent a Hawaiian phrase where, perhaps, none existed. We must remember that the study of wicker heads as an isolated genus is part of a westerner's culture, not a Hawaiian's, and we should use a terminology that reflects that fact. There is a risk that future researchers could draw in all mentions of, for instance, *hulu manu* objects when discussing so-called *'Aumakua hulu manu*, or wicker heads. Also, the terms *akua* or *'aumakua* invite assumptions about the use and significance of the heads based on these names. Although there is evidence from Cook's crew that Hawai'ians thought of the heads as *akua* - gods - there is no direct evidence that they were seen as *'aumakua* - ancestral deities.

This chapter concludes the review and analysis of the historical material relating to wicker heads. The next chapter looks towards their possible future and the way in which legislation, already enacted in the United States of America, may affect their ownership.

FIFTEEN : THE FUTURE OF WICKER HEADS? NAGPRA AND THE ISSUE OF RESTITUTION

INTRODUCTION

Having described the history of wicker heads and documented the present survivors, it is necessary to speculate as to their future. This chapter looks at issues arising from a piece of government legislation that may affect future movement of heads, at least in the U.S.A.: the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.* As such, it applies the forensic method to questions that might be decided in courts. The evidence as to the origin of individual examples, and the significance of wicker heads as a whole, presented in previous chapters, will be applied to the issues raised by this legislation.

There has been surprisingly little movement of heads between owners in the last two centuries, and if curators were allowed total control of the fate of their collections there is no doubt in my mind that this situation would not change. However, in the 1990s 'restitution' has become an increasingly important issue (see, e.g. Greenfield, 1996) and the right to decide whether artefacts are transferred out of museum control may in future lie in political and grant-aiding bodies rather than with curators.

Restitution is an issue fraught with difficulties: strong emotions are generated and entrenched positions taken. Those cultural treasures that have so far been the subjects of ownership disputes are almost invariably works of international artistic importance seen by a group of people as exemplifying the greatness of their past in contrast to their impoverished present. The targets of their campaigns are usually museums rather than private collectors, and the museums involved are often the highest profile institutions in the wealthiest countries. High-profile restitution campaigns include politicians of northeast England demanding the Lindisfarne Gospels (a 7th century Anglian manuscript now housed in the British Library) to be returned to Northumberland; Nigerians demanding Benin bronzes returned to Africa; Greeks wanting the Elgin marbles to be returned to Greece and Maoris wanting *mokomokai* heads returned to New Zealand.

Claims for transfer of cultural treasures are seldom simple and clearcut, and it is usually necessary to judge each claim on its individual merits. Among a number of factors are questions of 'original' ownership: who owned the artefacts (an individual, state, faction or religious group); did they have a right of alienation; were the artefacts spoliated; what was the political and historical background of their previous transfer?

Then we need to consider where should the artefacts be returned; does the 'original' owning entity still exist or is there a successor who can receive the objects *de jure*; do they have the facilities to care for the objects (indeed, can a museum curator insist the items are cared for, rather than being allowed to rot)? How is the homeland of an object defined: the place it was made, or the place where it has remained for the longest period of time? This is prior to posing more fundamental questions about the nature of ownership, the nature of 'importance', or the privilege accorded to the views of dominant/recessive factions.

Faced with all of these issues, it is difficult for museum curators to formulate a policy on restitution that encompasses all items in their care. A positive stance, and one that has been adopted at the Hancock Museum, is to state that information as to the origin of all artefacts will be made freely available, even though there is no universal access to some items such as Arrente *churinga* (where an appropriate body will be consulted as to the suitability of providing access). Any claim for restitution will receive a response based on consideration of all relevant factors. To date, no claims have been made for objects in the Hancock Museum's collections so the policy remains to be tested.

NAGPRA

The philosophical merits and demerits of restitution of wicker heads may be over-ridden, in the U.S.A. at least, by a very important piece of legislation known as NAGPRA.

NAGPRA is a statute enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in November

1990 that has significant implications for the holding of objects of Native American and Hawaiian culture by museums and agencies of the Federal Government. Known fully as the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (Public Law 101-601, 101st Congress), it requires funerary objects, sacred objects and cultural patrimony to be returned on request to appropriate groups or cultures.

The Act concerns the following categories of material:

1) *Associated funerary objects*: objects associated with known individual human remains.

2) *Unassociated funerary objects*: defined in the Act as objects that, as part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later, where the ... objects can be identified ... by a preponderance of the evidence, as having been removed from a specific burial site of an individual culturally affiliated with a particular tribe.

3) *Sacred objects*: specific ceremonial objects needed by traditional religious leaders for the practice of traditional religions by their present-day adherents.

4) *Cultural patrimony*: objects having ongoing historical, traditional or cultural importance central to the Native American group or culture (excluding property belonging to an individual). Cultural patrimony is viewed as being inalienable and cannot be appropriated or conveyed by any individual. Such objects "shall have been considered inalienable by such Native American group at the time the object was separated from such group".

The peoples to whom the act applies are Native Americans (i.e. a tribune, people or culture indigenous to the United States) and Native Hawaiians ("any individual who is a descendant of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaii"). Since they are not

relevant to this study, further references to non-Hawaiian Native Americans are omitted below.

For the purposes of the Act, Native Hawaiians are seen to be represented by Native Hawaiian organisations. These include any body that

1) Serves and represents the interests of Native Hawaiians
2) Has as a primary and stated purpose the provision of service to Native Hawaiians, and
3) Has expertise in Native Hawaiian Affairs. This shall include the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and *Hui Malama i na Kupuna o Hawai'i Nei* [= Organisation for caring for the ancestors of Hawaii], which is a non-profit Native Hawaiian organisation providing guidance and expertise in decisions dealing with Native Hawaiian cultural issues, particularly relating to burials.

The institutions affected by NAGPRA are Federal agencies (the Smithsonian Institution is specifically excluded) and museums. The latter category includes only State or local government museums that are in receipt of Federal funds, and again the Smithsonian Institution is excepted.

What the act requires

1 For human remains or associated funerary objects

a) Federal Agencies and Museums holding such objects are required to compile inventories of the material specified in the Act. The inventories must be completed no later than five years after the date of enactment (i.e. by November 1995) and made available on request to Native Hawaiian organisations.
b) No later than six months after completion of the inventory, institutions must notify the affected peoples.
c) If cultural affiliation is shown with a particular Native Hawaiian organisation, then, on request the material must be returned expeditiously

2) For unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony

a) Federal Agencies and Museums holding these objects must provide a written summary (not an object-by-object list) of their holdings. The summary must be compiled in consultation with Native Hawaiian organisation officials, and be completed by 1993.

b) Native Hawaiian organisations must have access to records, catalogues, and all relevant information.

c) If cultural affiliation is shown with a particular Native Hawaiian organisation, then, on request the material must be returned expeditiously

3) Sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony shall be returned where:

a) The requesting party is the direct lineal descendant of an individual who owned the sacred object.

b) The organisation can show that the object was owned or controlled by itself.

Where cultural affiliation of any of the material has not been established, then human remains and funerary objects (associated *or* unassociated) shall be returned where the requesting Native Hawaiian organisation can show cultural affiliation by a preponderance of evidence based upon geographical, kinship, biological, anthropological, linguistic, folkloric, oral traditional, historical or other relevant information or expert opinion.

Federal Agencies and Museums can claim 'right of possession', which is possession obtained with the voluntary consent of an individual or group that had authority of alienation. The original acquisition of material excavated, exhumed or otherwise obtained with the full knowledge and consent of the next of kin or official governing body or appropriate Native Hawaiian organisation is deemed to give right of possession to that material.

NAGPRA is a huge positive step, in enabling Hawaiian people to claim, with powerful government backing, what they consider to be their most precious heritage. A major stumbling block, when applied to Hawaii, is the question of who could claim to be the rightful heir of material. Central to this problem is a situation that was summed up in a comment to me by Marshall Sahlins that he believed wicker heads 'belonged to the king'. Hawaiian society was not a democracy in 1778, there was no organisation like *Hui Malama i na Kupuna Hawai'i Nei* to represent the interests of the *maka'ainana* nor was there a general concept of property ownership that extended to *maka'ainana*. It is doubtful whether *maka'ainana* would ever have had access to the inner sancta of the religious complexes or to religious knowledge that was mostly controlled and passed down through an esoteric priesthood.

The native religion of the islands was abolished by royal decree in 1819, therefore no Native Hawaiian organisation should be able to claim ownership of sacred objects as defined by the Act - because they are no longer needed by traditional religious leaders for the practice of traditional (other than as recently revived) religious practices. The 1819 abolition was a totally indigenous event, not influenced by outside Missionary influences: when King Kamehameha II decided to abandon the old beliefs and practices, the old religious sites and practices quickly fell into disuse. Although there were large numbers of *kahuna* in the 18th century there is no evidence that they or their practices flourished in the period after 1819. Some of the older beliefs, for instance in the influence of *'aumakua* and in the proper and improper use of objects, seem to have survived, but as not much more than superstition.

For unassociated funerary objects, there is also no requirement under the Act to prove any continuity in religious practice. Thus, for instance, if any individual wicker head can be shown to have been taken from the Hale o Keawe where it was formerly associated with human remains, then the relevant Native Hawaiian organisation could require the return of the head. The question again arises as to what is the relevant Native Hawaiian organisation?. The Hale o Keawe was known to be the ossiary for the principal chiefs

of Hawai'i: in principle, the relevant Native Hawaiians to claim return of material from there should be the direct descendants of Kalani'opu'u and the other leading chiefs of his line.

It may be argued that wicker heads fall into the category of cultural patrimony, in that they have an ongoing historical, traditional or cultural importance. To claim this, it is not essential to prove continuity of religious practice, but it would be necessary to establish that the heads belonged, in some way, to the people at large and not to the king or to individual chiefs.

How NAGPRA relates to surviving wicker heads

No country other than the U.S.A. requires its museums to conform to this act, so only six of the surviving nineteen heads (in Bishop Museum (2), Peabody Museum (2), Field Museum and American Museum of Natural History) fall under the remit of the legislation. However, for the purposes of the discussion, I have made the hypothetical assumption that the Act does apply to the remaining thirteen, held in institutions world-wide.

1. A grey area: heads acquired on Cook's last voyage

Ten examples are known to have been in England in- or shortly after the 18th century, and it is reasonable to assume that most of these were brought to England on board the *Resolution* and *Discovery*. These are:

1) Vienna # 202
2) British Museum # VAN231
3) Hancock Museum # C584.
4) Berlin # VI253
5) Göttingen # Oz 254
6) Te Papa Tongarewa # FE000325 (which is probably 18th century)
7) British Museum # HAW 78 (which is probably 18th century)

8) British Museum # HAW 79 (which is probably 18th century)

9) British Museum # HAW 80 (which is probably 18th century)

10) Paris # 78 30 15

11) British Museum #LMS221, formerly in London Missionary Society's museum, probably acquired by them from the Leverian sale (1806)

It was shown in an earlier chapter that several independent sailors' accounts suggest that wicker heads were 'sold' to Cook's crew; but that the surviving evidence is all drawn from the recipients in the transaction and not from the 'sellers' of the heads. What the English interpreted as the purchase of wicker heads was possibly intended by the people of Hawai'i as being the temporary placement of heads on the British ships. If these heads were indeed sold, then their subsequent transfer between institutions is immaterial: under NAGPRA they had been conveyed by an individual or group that had authority of alienation. In this case, the institutions have right of possession under the Act and the heads fall outside of the concept of cultural patrimony.

If, as it has been argued, the heads were not sold, but intended to be placed on the ships as a temporary measure, then their subsequent transport away from the islands was the result of a misunderstanding. From the islanders' point of view they would then not have been alienated or conveyed, but misappropriated: it follows that no institution could then claim right of possession. To argue for retention, the institution would then need to establish that the heads were primarily sacred objects (and, no longer needed by traditional religious leaders for the practice of traditional religion) rather than unassociated funerary objects.

As we have seen, there is no conclusive evidence as to what was the true meaning and significance of wicker heads. Some in the Hale o Keawe stood over bone-bundles; others (or the same ones?) were paraded in religious ceremonies; others were stated to be the earthly receptacle of particular deities (Kuka'ilimoku and Kukeolo'ewa). With some justification, but no certainty it can be said that all were possibly either associated or unassociated funerary objects at least for some time in their existence.

2. Gifts with "right of possession"

Several heads were, apparently, given to Westerners following the conversion of the islanders to Christianity. These include the following:

1) Peabody Museum # 37-4-70/530 and # 37-4-70/531, both given to Rev. William Richards before 1833
2) Pitt Rivers Museum # 1886.1.1448, given to Lord Byron in 1825
3) Bishop Museum # 7855, given to a local missionary after being found concealed in a cave in the Kona district of Hawai'i.
4) Bishop Museum # 3900, presumably given to the American missionary Dr Chapin

These heads seem to have been transferred from an individual or organisation with rights of alienation, and the current owners can claim right of possession. It then remains for a Native Hawaiian organisation to try to establish a claim for return on the grounds that the heads had been misappropriated by the individuals that alienated the heads. The Act does not specify whether the burden of proof lies primarily upon the Federal Agency or Museum to prove right of possession, or upon the Native Hawaiian organisation requesting return to disprove this right. If, however, the over-riding principle of law is that a defendant is innocent until proved guilty, then in this instance the defendant (a Federal Agency or Museum) should be assumed innocent of illegally holding material covered by NAGPRA.

Bishop Museum # 7855, which Brigham supposed to be the Kuka'ilimoku of Kamehameha I, was found in a cave in Kona in Hawai'i. Although caves were widely used as burial sites, they were usually repositories only for people of low caste. Chiefs and kings - the castes associated with wicker heads - were usually accorded special treatment as discussed in an earlier chapter. It is doubtful, therefore, that this head was placed in the cave as a funerary object (either associated or unassociated in the terms of the Act). It is more likely that, following the abolition of the old religion the head was

removed from its primary site and transferred to the cave, in which case it falls under the category of sacred objects: however, the Bishop Museum can still claim right of possession because the head was given to a missionary.

3. A spoliated head

There is one clear case of spoliation: the plunder of a wicker head from the Hale o Keawe by the Rev. Bloxam of H.M.S. Blonde. This artefact was clearly an associated funerary object, it probably being associated with the bone bundle of the chief Keawe.

It has been claimed in print (Barrère, D.B., 1994) that the head taken by Bloxam is now in the American Museum of Natural History (# 80.0/672). However, no evidence has been seen in the course of preparing this thesis to support the assertion. The head is catalogued at the A.M.N.H. as being found in storage in 1907, the acquisition details unknown.

If the head in the A.M.N.H. is the one taken from the Hale o Keawe, then the museum should add it to its inventory already taken under the Act. The information must be made notified to Native Hawaiian organisations, and if cultural affiliation is shown with a particular Native Hawaiian organisation, then, on request the material must be returned expeditiously.

4. Indeterminate situations: heads with no history

There is no history of previous transfer of the following examples.

1) Field Museum, Chicago #272591; obtained by Fuller *circa* 1926
2) Marischal College #IV-43, probably acquired between 1800 and 1840

Applying the forensic method to a forensic question has highlighted the doubts expressed in the previous chapters about the histories of individual heads and their overall significance. Despite close analysis of all of the evidence amassed, in many cases

it is not clear how the majority of examples should be treated if the question of their ownership was to be decided in a court of law. This is not to question the efficacy of the method, which has proved an incisive tool for addressing the questions posed. The real weakness in this exercise has been the evidence, which has not led to clear-cut conclusions.

SIXTEEN : CONCLUSION

16.1 CONCLUSION TO PART TWO

This thesis has addressed a mass of material drawn from various sources, including historical, ethnographic, folkloric, artistic, and travel literature as well as the small relevant body of modern work on the anthropology of the Pacific. Much of the material has been inspected with close scrutiny in an attempt to determine the uses of wicker heads and their overall place within Hawaiian society prior to 1819. A number of small issues have been tackled, whereas the broader consensus of opinion on the nature of Polynesian religion and society has not been challenged nor any attempt made to redefine it.

The process of checking and cross-checking has been necessary to define a baseline of reliable data within a field in which so much 'fact' has been, in reality, supposition. The result has been a highly detailed, data-rich study in which analysis of the data has led to no obvious conclusions. Despite what has been written by Brigham and others, I am not convinced that wicker heads all presentified the same thing. I am also not convinced by Kaeppler's suggestion that the ones with crests were associated with Ku deities and the ones with hair with Lono deities. It may not be out of the question that some were associated with lineages rather than deities or with individuals rather than lineages, but this proposition is not wholly tenable either.

At the least, it can be said that wicker heads were important: they were paraded in various ceremonies, formed part of figures that were used in religious practice by high-ranking chiefs and were emplaced with the bones of chiefs. Their role during the period of the encounter with Captain Cook's crew is unclear and may be tied up in some way with the necessary annual process of the Makahiki rather than with the visit of the 'god' Cook.

The importance of wicker heads waned when Christianity was adopted in 1819 and they were no longer needed for the religious practices that, together with the concepts of *mana* and *kapu* had helped to bind society together. For almost two centuries since they were taken from their Hawaiian *kahu* ('guardians') they have been guarded and cared for by a small body of western curators (*'kahu'*). Within the past quarter century their existence has been much more widely publicised, and it is surely only a matter of time before Hawaiian neo-religionists make claims for their restitution. It will be interesting to see then what is rediscovered from traditionary chants and how museums around the world react to these claims.

The process of researching and writing the thesis has been a rewarding one rich in elements of personal development, and not only in the process of acquiring knowledge of Polynesia. It has brought me into contact with various curators, academic anthropologists, and art historians as well as with collectors of Tribal Art. As a biologist newly encountering a subject in the Humanities (anthopology), it has been interesting to encounter a culture that is in itself alien to a scientist: an academic discipline that is concerned with attitude and theory rather than practice and experiment and in which the investigator is often placed at the centre, and not the edge, of the subject.

It has been interesting to notice different ways of studying the anthropology of historical situations. My approach, of seeking evidence in the printed word, differs from the archaeological approach of Heyerdahl (1961-65) and from such as Marshall (1962), who carried out fieldwork in the 1950s trying to reconstruct life in pre-1820s Ra'ivavae from the memories of living people. It equally differs from Sahlins, Kirch and (in her more recent works) Kaeppler, who seek to interpret situations within conceptual frameworks such as power relations. I am not convinced that any of those other approaches has anything more to offer studies of wicker heads.

Overall, working on this thesis has brought a realisation that the earliest writers on Pacific people have been no less perceptive or biased than the latest anthropologists, each bringing their own strengths and weaknesses to their work and the real difference between them being the cultures in which they live and practice.

16.2 OVERALL CONCLUSION

Having proceeded in detail through the material relating to Marmaduke Tunstall, his life, correspondence, his collections and their fate, and having explored various aspects relating Hawaiian wicker heads it is now necessary to draw the findings together in relation to the aims and objectives outlined in the introduction.

REVIEWING THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim was to test the limits of the forensic approach to biographical and object-based research by pursuing the following objectives:

First, to test whether use of the forensic approach applied to biographical research can achieve an account of the life and achievements of Marmaduke Tunstall that illuminates further study of his collections.

Secondly, to test whether use of the forensic approach applied to archival and object-based research can lead to a comprehensive account of the fate of Marmaduke Tunstall's collections.

Thirdly, to test whether use of the forensic approach applied to archival, literature- and object-based research can yield information on wicker heads: especially on their function in Hawaiian Society, the circumstances of their transfer to Western museums and their current status.

These targets were addressed within a framework of three defined praxes, the third praxis being subdivided into nine smaller units to indicate a pathway through which it was to be achieved.

The success of each praxis, and therefore the success in attaining the objectives, was found to be bound together with the success of the forensic method in addressing its subject matter. This success is gauged in the following section:

SUCCESS OF OBJECTIVES

The first objective was: *To test whether use of the forensic approach applied to biographical research can achieve an account of the life and achievements of Marmaduke Tunstall that illuminates further study of his collections.* This was to be pursued by searching archival and literature sources for information relating to Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790) and assembling items of evidence in order to build an overall picture of the man and his achievements.

The forensic method was successful in achieving this objective. Evidence as to Tunstall's life and achievements was readily located in a small number of literature sources and among archival material in several depositories in northeast England. Data were assembled relating to his dates of birth and death, where he lived, his education, the social standing of Tunstall and his family, and the identities of some of his network of friends and correspondents. A picture of his character and home life was formed from the written comments of several independent witnesses. Through his correspondence, we know of some of his interests, political opinions and activities.

In all, an image has been assembled of a man who was sociable but not a socialite, intelligent and with an enquiring mind. He indulged his interest in natural history by building a collection of significant size and importance, but he appears to have made no in-depth studies based on this material. In early middle age he retired from the active society of London to the country, where he lived as a Country Gentleman, managing his estates and living a quiet family-centred existence.

In a large part, the success of this part of the programme was because the subject matter was familiar. Although Tunstall was a naturalist active two centuries ago (so, for instance, we would not expect him to be active in areas explored by 21st Century

naturalists, such as fieldwork, or in amassing species-distribution data) his activities and interests are still within our understanding. It was, therefore, not necessary to define the basic parameters of his *milieu* in order to interpret the material available.

The second objective was: *to test whether use of the forensic approach applied to archival and object-based research can lead to a comprehensive account of the fate of Marmaduke Tunstall's collections.* This was to be pursued by searching the stores and archives at the Hancock Museum to determine how much of Tunstall's collection survives.

The forensic method was successful in achieving this objective. It was necessary to search the stores as well as the material on public display, checking items against a number of lists produced by curators in previous decades. These lists had to be interpreted with care, with a need to challenge the opinions of previous curators as to which items could or could not be attributed to Tunstall's collection.

As the material attributable to the 18th Century began to accumulate, evidence became available in the form of labels (for instance, the distinctive oval-shaped labels added to artefacts by George Allan) as well as in the form of attributes of the objects themselves. The result of this process was a strong awareness of what had survived to date. Several artefacts, previously catalogued as being ex-Tunstall collection, could be ruled out as being more modern, while others were recognised, for the first time in decades, as having an 18th century origin.

The success of this part of the programme is, in part, due to my background in object-based research. As part of my professional development at the Natural History Museum in London, and later as an entomologist working on projects requiring identification of large numbers of beetle specimens, I acquired a *modus operandi* of proceeding through a project by asking questions about the status of each specimen. For instance, what is the significance of a morphological character of a specimen; what is the meaning of a label; what is the meaning of an entry on a list. The presence in the Hancock Museum, of an archive of labels and lists preserved in some cases for up to two centuries, helped greatly

in assessing individual specimens.

The third objective was: *To test whether use of the forensic approach applied to archival, literature- and object-based research can yield information on wicker heads: especially on their function in Hawaiian Society, the circumstances of their transfer to Western museums and their current status.* This was to be pursued by resolving nine distinct praxes, overall by using primary and secondary literature as well as archival sources to understand the nature of Hawaiian wicker heads. The success in achieving this objective is bound up in the success in addressing each of the nine praxes, and these are therefore discussed separately.

Praxis 3a): *To use primary and secondary literature sources to become familiar with the history and nature of Polynesian societies and how they have been studied over the past two centuries.*

The forensic method was successful in achieving this part of the objective. The programme of research was helped by the existence of a reasonably extensive body of historical literature, often in the form of relatively inexpensive modern reprints; although, it may be added that much of it was not available in local libraries and needed to be purchased from Hawaii. It was possible to outline the nature of Polynesian societies with the aid of several monographic studies. There was added interest because the earliest of these studies was published in the 18th century and the latest in the 21st century: it was, therefore, possible to compile an account that outlined the development of the subject.

A picture emerged of a type of society, which is called Polynesian, found on islands distributed over a large part of the Pacific, but whose inhabitants had little contact with one another. It is clear that these societies were stable for about two millennia, until contact with Western sailors in the late 18th century. Because of these broad similarities, what is known about one set of islanders can be used in interpreting a similar society on

other islands.

The success in comprehending Polynesian societies was partly due to their familiarity to someone living in a late-20th century Western European society. As in the case of Captain Cook and the King of Hawaii, whose societies were broadly mutually comprehensible, the Polynesian mindset is not so far removed from our own to render it unduly alien. The situation might have been different if, for instance we were looking at the diverse cultures of Melanesia or the unranked society of the Sudanese Nuer. Polynesians not only had ranked societies but their social and religious practices were expressed within phenomena known in Europe.

Praxis 3b) *To* carry *out a search of the literature relating to Hawaiian wicker heads.*

The forensic method was successful in achieving this part of the objective. In doing so, the existence of reprinted editions of historical literature was again fortunate. Although focussing more narrowly than the previous chapters on Polynesian society it was still not necessary to pursue further than the primary (or in some cases secondary) literature and delve into manuscript resources. It was necessary to outline the history of Hawaii in order to place wicker heads in context, and to present a literature review in order to prescribe the boundaries of our knowledge of Hawaiian people. Leading from there, it was possible to assemble a body of literature that could be used to present an account of the development of literature on wicker heads.

The literature on Hawaiian societies was pursued through several strands, both from the viewpoints of western commentators and the indigenous Hawaiian historians. After the initial descriptions of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, wicker heads disappeared from the literature until interest in them was stirred by William Brigham of the Bishop Museum (see references). Neither in his nor in the latest analysis by (for instance by Kaeppler: see references) has anyone pursued an in-depth analysis of wicker heads.

The shortcomings in these previous studies highlighted in the literature review justified progressing through to the following objectives.

Praxis 3c), *To use literature sources and to make contacts with museum curators in order to determine how many wicker heads survive and to investigate their individual histories.*

The forensic method was successful in achieving this part of the objective. Initially, progress was straightforward, in that several previously published studies of Hawaiian material culture contain part-catalogues of wicker heads. It was necessary to collate the information contained in these studies in order to compile an accurate inventory of surviving (and some lost) examples.

Unravelling their histories was less straightforward. For some examples, such as the British Museum's VAN231, previous curators have published studies detailing their individual histories. For the Hancock Museum's example, archival material was available to research its history. However, some examples in remote institutions such as New York and Chicago have no published histories and within the constraints of the project it was not possible to access files of unpublished information. It is, perhaps, unreasonable to expect other curators to carry out this research in addition to their usual duties. However, it was possible to unearth new information on some examples, such as the one in the Pitt Rivers Museum. In the context of the forensic method, it is a much more straightforward process to request curators at other institutions to extract facts or evidence about the histories of items in their care than it would be to convene a discussion group of the same curators to discuss the meaning of the same items in terms of, for instance, power relations or gender.

The forensic method enabled an overall picture to emerge of a body of artefacts that, although widely spaced geographically have a lot in common. Most of those for which a history is known can be traced to the late 18th or early 19th centuries. Most have been in museums since that time, and the very small number formerly in private hands are now in museums. Ownership has been relatively stable, with many staying in the same institution through the whole of their known history. Despite their fragile nature, only a very small number of known examples are now lost and thought to have been destroyed.

Published material relating to this project was widely scattered and it was necessary to consult a range of books and articles published between 1784 and 1998. However, enough data were available to complete the catalogue to a reasonable level of certainty. Curators freely made their catalogue data available and in no case did a curator refuse to answer enquiries relating to the objects in their care (although some, such as the British Museum, Marischal College and the Bishop Museum had no specialist curator in place at the time so were unable to answer enquiries). One curator with an active interest in Hawaiian material culture (Adrienne Kaeppler) gave help in tracing otherwise obscurely-placed examples.

Praxis 3d) *To* carry *out a literature search in order to be able to place wicker heads in the context of Polynesian figurative art.*

The forensic method was partly successful in achieving this part of the objective. Polynesian art was functional not only in a religious sense (i.e. it needed to be correctly produced and used in order to achieve the desired ends) but it also occupied a place in Society. To this analysis of function and social status, we might also need to add a historical dimension since, as elsewhere, Polynesian societies were dynamic. Given these parameters and the state of our knowledge, a factual approach can only provide answers at a broad level. In other words, given all that we know about Polynesian societies and figurative art, a forensic approach can tell us that wicker heads were somehow important in Hawaiian society, but we cannot really know what that

importance was. Very different results could have been obtained using alternative approaches such as art-history (the development of motifs in Polynesian figurative art), anthropology (for instance, the social relations of the people making, using and owning religious art) or psychology (for instance, how to read facial expression).

While the literature is relatively straightforward in its treatment of Polynesian art, the approach used by the various authors has often been that of a western art critic. Few authors (such as Layton and Thomas – see references) have taken a nuanced approach to non-Western Art and considered its production and use in the context of the societies that made and used it. To achieve a concise treatment within this thesis, the anthropological approach was noted but not explored deeply. Questions of art criticism such as What is Art?, and Do Polynesians appreciate Art in a similar way to a Westerner?, although highly interesting in themselves, were sidelined in order to maintain a focussed approach. The chapter that deals with this objective, as finally composed, concentrates on wicker figures, ignoring (for instance) woodcarving and stoneworking; it draws some broad conclusions based on anthropological narratives, but does not seek to answer questions about the anthropology of Polynesian art.

An alternative to the forensic approach would have been to combine the material assembled using this method concerning the history and known uses of wicker heads with an appreciation of the same artefacts from an artistic standpoint and an attempt at building an anthropology of Hawaiian religious artefacts.

Although the historical record is very incomplete, wicker religious figures were noted on islands over a large area. Wickerwork items with associated feathers have been noted in places other than Hawaii, and they have some religious significance. In no instance do we have a detailed account of the process of manufacture and the uses to which they were put. However, it was possible to suggest some reasons why wicker heads should be thought important. The parameters of wicker head (their woven nature, their size, their depiction of the head only, their association with feathers and the colour red) were noted in relation to what is known of their importance within historical Polynesian societies.

Praxis 3e): *To use the several published accounts of 18th century exploration in order to compile first-hand information on Hawaii, and on wicker heads in particular. To assess the reliability of these accounts.*

The forensic method was successful in achieving this part of the objective. The several narratives relating to Cook's visit to the Big Island (Hawai'i) span a short period of time and it was possible to correlate different, and differing, accounts of the same events. In the episode of the visit of Kalaniopu'u to Cook's ships, this included visual as well as written evidence. It was possible to show that the evidence relating to wicker heads contained in any individual narrative cannot be considered as being wholly reliable.

The satisfaction gained by successfully deconstructing the evidence can be balanced against a measure of disappointment in discovering how little these accounts truly tell us about wicker heads. The process was initiated in the hope that it would be possible to decipher, from first hand descriptions of wicker heads *in situ* and in use, what was the role of wicker heads in 18th century Hawaiian society. In the event, they proved either so vague or so mutually contradictory that little weight can be given to them if used on their own. However, if added to other evidence drawn from traditionary accounts and from religious practices elsewhere in Polynesia they are still of some use.

The ease in achieving this objective was partly due to fortuitous geographical and academic developments. The Literary & Philosophical Society of Newcastle was founded in 1793 and, in the early years of its existence, built up an impressive collection of travel literature. Thus, most of the 18th Century works of Pacific exploration were readily available. Some of the literature not accessible in original form has been republished in recent decades (which is largely due to the affluence of the area under study) and some early manuscripts, including Beaglehole's edited version of Cook-related manuscripts (see references), have been printed because there is a large number of academics interested in Captain Cook. It may also be noted that the literature is written in English, so linguistic skills were not needed in deciphering them. Thus, a wide

range of material was within easy reach and within easy comprehension: this may not have been the case if wicker heads were from, for instance, French Polynesia (e.g. Tahiti), Central Asia or the Aztec kingdom.

Praxis 3f): *To use the several published accounts of the voyage of the Blonde in order to compile* first-*hand information on the acquisition of the last wicker heads known to have left the islands.*

The forensic method was successful in achieving this part of the objective. The process of analysing the events of the visit of the *Blonde* to Hawaii was similar to that of the previous chapter, and the comments about the availability and accessibility of material equally apply; the early printed material being available in a local library and the contemporary manuscripts being reprinted. In this case, there was one major event under investigation, the visit of the crew of the *Blonde* to the *Hale o Keawe*. It was possible to follow the various actors as they progressed through this event, and to compare their descriptions of the *Hale* and what happened there. A central point to be established was what happened to the wicker heads formerly held there, but there was also some incidental evidence relating to the use of wicker heads.

It was necessary to place the visit of the *Blonde* within a historical context, because the Hawaii of the 1820s was very different to the Hawaii of the 1770s. When the *Blonde* arrived, Christianity was rapidly taking hold and the *Hale o Keawe* was said to be the only surviving physical evidence of the former religion. While this is interesting of itself, the description of the interior of the *Hale o Keawe* by the crew of the *Blonde* provides the only first-hand account of a Hawaiian mortuary house. Their mention of the close association of wicker heads with human remains provides an important clue as to a hitherto-overlooked possibility: that wicker heads presentified individual high-ranking individuals rather than major deities.

The close inspection of the journals arising from the *Blonde* also established the provenance of the wicker head now in the Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford) and cast doubt

on a published provenance of the wicker head in the American Museum of Natural History (New York).

Praxis 3g): *To* use *traditionary and western accounts in order to build up a picture of how wicker heads were used.*

The forensic method was partially successful in achieving this part of the objective. Whereas the chapters addressing the previous two objectives had addressed very definite questions, such as 'what can be deduced about the appearance of the interior of the *Hale o Keawe*', this objective looked for clues about socio-religious practices in a society that changed irrevocably two centuries ago. Because of the unfamiliarity of the material it became necessary to digress in order to situate it within a broader context (for instance to contextualise Hawaiian mortuary practices within Polynesia; to discuss the progression of the Makahiki).

Evidence was obtained that wicker heads were transported in canoes, carried in battles, laid up in ossiary house, paraded in religious ceremonies and were used (although we are not certain how) within the Makahiki festival. The ways in which they were used indicates that they were objects of long-lasting and important significance, but does not tell us precisely what that significance was. This, in turn, highlights a weakness of the method used: that it is very powerful in establishing fact or probability, but does not lend itself to speculative analysis. An approach more typical of contemporary practice within the Humanities, in which the actors within the scenarios described are analysed in terms of their positions within society, may perhaps have shed more light on the situations.

Whereas the immediately preceding chapters had been concerned with the experiences, and actions, of Western commentators, this chapter was attempting to understand the practices of a social system that was very different to that in which we live today. Although the broad parameters in which the Hawaiians operate can be defined (and were outlined in earlier chapters), we are dealing here with specific actions observed in a society that was alien to many of the observers and also to ourselves. The observations,

often narrowly defined in time, need to be understood within a wider context but in some processes (such as the Makahiki) these processes themselves are not thoroughly comprehended using the forensic method.

Praxis 3h): *To use primary literature in order to follow changes in the ways wicker heads have been interpreted by western observers.*

The forensic method was largely successful in achieving this part of the objective: however, progressing it was not simply a matter of carrying out a historical review of the literature. Each of the commentators was embedded in his/her own time and culture, and it was necessary to explore some of the material aspects of Hawaiian religious practice in order to challenge and expand upon some of the statements made specifically about wicker heads.

Initially regarded as curiosities, then neglected for much of the 19th century, wicker heads have been given sporadic attention by academic researchers in the 20th century. Much of the research has been from an ethnographic or historic perspective and in recent years some limited anthropological analysis has been presented by Kaeppler (see references). A pivotal actor was Brigham, who in the early 20th century identified wicker heads with the deity Kuka'ilimoku; although ultimately unsustainable, Brigham's assertion has been long-lasting. The questions surrounding the identification of wicker heads were explored, but to do so it was necessary to extend the area of enquiry to include some areas of Hawaiian religious practice that are essentially unknowable. An alternative approach, in which wicker heads are simply accepted as being important and which then went on to interpret their importance within a pattern of power relations may have reached other conclusions , but I feel that it was important to explore the previous literature in order to grasp how nebulous is our knowledge of their nature, their use, even what they were called.

Praxis 3i): *To use the information gained by the above process in order to assess how wicker heads are affected by United States legislation relating to Native American*

property rights.

The forensic method was successful in achieving this part of the objective. The method has, throughout, been termed 'forensic', paralleling the process undergone in a court of law in testing the acceptability of evidence. In this chapter, we are dealing with a body of legislation, so it is perhaps unsurprising that the method is suited to the material.

Despite the apparent 'certainty' of law, even if NAGPRA was applied to all specimens held globally the verdict on most of the examples would be indeterminate. Within the parameters of the law, the provenance of thirteen examples is so uncertain that they cannot be fitted into the requirements of the Act. A further four were 'gifts with rights of possession', which means that no Hawaiian organisation can make a claim for repatriation. Only in once case (the American Museum of Natural History, New York) have curators made a claim that an example in their care was spoliated, and there seems to be no evidence to support their claim.

If the future of wicker heads was simply to be determined by law, there should be no reason to repatriate a single example. However, as has been stressed earlier in the thesis when people contend for ownership of important cultural artefacts, law and the forensic method may play a minor role compared with politics, national identities and emotion. An alternative approach to considering the future of wicker heads would have been to confront these issues together with curators and Hawaiian people, as other researchers have done with (for instance) Ghost Dance shirts and Benin bronzes.

16.3 OVERALL CONCLUSION REGARDING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE FORENSIC METHOD

The overall aim of the thesis was to test the limits of the forensic approach to biographical and object-based research by pursuing three objectives. Achieving these objectives involved looking at the life and achievements of Marmaduke Tunstall and the fate of his collections before continuing to make an in-depth analysis of wicker heads.

It is clear from looking at each of the objectives that, on the whole, the method has been successful. However, taking an overarching view the degree of success has been mixed. Where the matter under investigation was closest to my own experience (for instance Marmaduke Tunstall, and his collections) it was a relatively straightforward process to apply a method that was similar to the one I had used in previous studies. It is, of course, possible that a different approach could have thrown different light on the subjects: the field of biography is vast and Tunstall could have been discussed from his position as a Catholic, as a member of his class, as a male, as a member of late 18th Century English society. Perhaps a psychological approach could have been taken to his collecting habit. The validity of these approaches is not challenged, but they are not my approaches. For the purpose of this thesis, little more was necessary than a broad-brush picture of what kind of person Tunstall was, and the method used was perfectly satisfactory in building this picture.

For the curatorial part of the project the method was really second nature to someone who has spent his life working among museum collections. I asked the question 'What happened to Tunstall's collections and what has survived?', and the question was answered. It would have been interesting to extend this field of enquiry outwards to look at the overall survival of 18th Century British collections, but time constraints meant that avenue was not followed.

The study of wicker heads was broken down into several distinct objectives. Some of them have been judged to be successfully achieved using the forensic method and others are more open to doubt. In general, the areas where the method was least successful were when it was being used to describe the nature of Hawaiian society or religion. This was undoubtedly because the material was unfamiliar, background information needed to be absorbed and the reliability of this, at times, needed to be accepted. With these nuances concerning the society and religion of Kalani'opu'u being filtered through several sources and at two centuries remove it is no surprise that I am doubtful about the reliability of assertions about wicker heads.

Notwithstanding these negative comments, I feel it was still a worthwhile effort to establish what is, and what is not, known about wicker heads. Alternative approaches to this material, some of which have been discussed above, might have involved looking at (say) wicker heads within a context of power relations. However, a thesis based on that approach would still need to establish a baseline of data on Hawaiian society, religion, and the history of literature on wicker heads.

Would this method work for everyone? I noted in the introductory chapter that the forensic method was used in my entomological work, for instance in the analysis of the genus *Eurysternus*. It is in fact the method used by most researchers into the systematics of natural history collections in museums. My experience of a decade working in the Natural History Museum is that, although many of my colleagues may not have been aware of the fact, this was their day-to-day working method. Where decisions need to be made about identification, the validity of species or genera, priority of publication or the systematic arrangement of taxa the procedure is to assemble evidence, to assess it and to draw conclusions based on that assessment. His/her colleagues may describe someone who is successful in this process as a 'careful worker' or a 'sound systematist', but I never encountered one who rationalised their method or contrasted it with that used by other academics. It may be worth stating that the same colleagues are very rarely called upon to make value judgements, moral assessments or to analyse material in complex social contexts.

It is these latter situations where the forensic method is likely to fail. For instance, it was noted in the introduction that Sieber, a connoisseur wrote (Pelrine, 1996) of discussing which were "aesthetically the weakest, which the strongest" in a collection, and which was the "finest example of a given type" of artefact. These value judgements would be made with a developed appreciation of (for instance) form, surface and colour, and would benefit little if at all from objective facts.

For moral judgements, the forensic method might inform a decision but the data accrued may possibly be overlooked in favour of other factors. For important artefacts of contested ownership, such as a Lindisfarne Gospels or the Elgin Marbles, the forensic

method can reveal the details of production, history and ownership but these factors are likely to be given less prominence than the need for ownership (or 'ownership' in a psychological sense) and a sense of being morally correct. In the instance of the Lindisfarne Gospels, a popular movement developed in the 1990s for them to be returned to their place of production, northeast England. A forensic assessment of their history might reveal that prior to King Henry VIII assumption of supremacy of the Church of England (1534) and the subsequent dissolution of the monasteries in the 1540s they were owned by the Catholic Church. Yet it is doubtful if anyone involved in the campaign to return the Gospels to what is claimed as their 'true home' would concede they had been spoliated and should be returned to the Vatican.

One theme that has been highlighted throughout the thesis is the contrast between the forensic method on the one hand and Social Sciences approaches (such as analysis in terms of power relations) on the other, and the weakness has been revealed in the use of the forensic method in assessing complex social or religious questions. Yet, museum curators are often called upon to present their collections within the context of the society that made or used them. Indeed, my own experience within Tyne and Wear Museums within the past 14 years is that increasingly this situation is often reversed: that a gallery is usually conceived as portraying a social situation and then objects are chosen to illustrate it. The choices of which social groups to portray, as well as the treatment given to them, depends on a variety of factors not only geographic, demographic and historical but also political. The agenda of museums of the early 21st century is strongly influenced by political and ideological factors, such perceived needs to address issues such as social inclusion, presentation of positive images of ethnic minorities and creation of a sense of identity and place. The forensic method is unlikely to offer a *modus operandi* to address such themes.

For similar reasons, the forensic method is unlikely to offer a successful working method for those Museologists who address and analyse these same political and sociological issues. Someone seeking to research the way a museum is managed, developed promoted and used is more likely to benefit from an approach that positions a situation within a social theory rather than one that seeks to state precisely what that situation is,

based upon assessing the truth or otherwise of items of information gathered during research.

On the other hand, the forensic method is likely to continue to be of use to practicing curators and to Museographers, whose concerns are often practical rather than theoretical. At a day-to-day level, there is a continued need for what my former colleagues at the Natural History Museum would call a 'careful worker': the major public controversy on opening the gallery at Sunderland on the 20th century from a woman's perspective was not concerned with ideology, but with the contents of a replica plate of the meal Pan Haggerty (which contains carrots: some women never put carrots in the meal). This question would be easily solved by calling in, and assessing, evidence.

It was noted in the introduction that during the 20th century there has been a general decrease among museum workers in an interest in artefacts. One hundred years ago, the forensic method may have been so generally in use by curators involved in research that many did not conceive of any other way of progressing. Today, outside of the National Museums such curators are rare. This way of progressing, which I have termed the forensic method, is in danger of becoming lost in time as the culture in which it operated changes. The use of this method in looking at Marmaduke Tunstall and his collections, and especially at Hawaiian wicker heads has been instructive in revealing its strengths and weaknesses. It has forced me to rationalise a *modus operandi* that I had taken for granted for many years. As a working method it may now be old-fashioned but it continues to be a valid way of looking at museum objects and their histories.

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Figure 1
Portrait of Marmaduke Tunstall. By Henry Walton
Leeds Museums and Galleries (Burton Constable)
Photograph: Courtauld Institute of Art

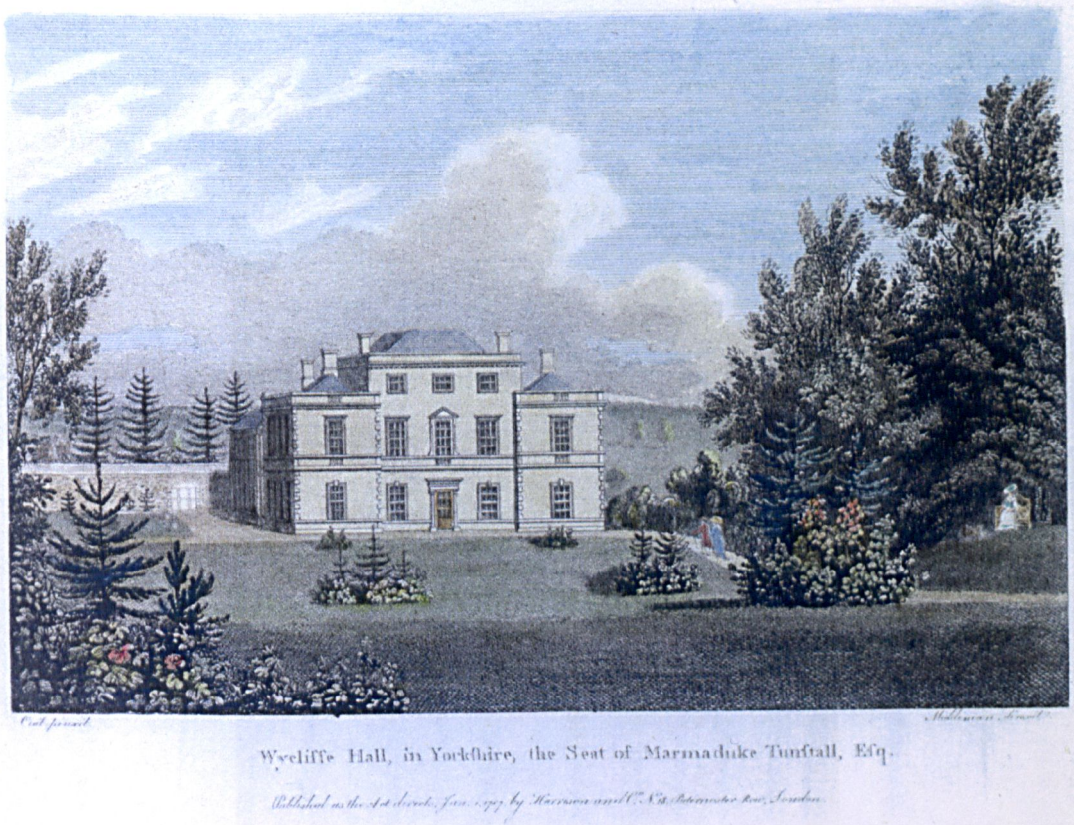

Figure 2
Wycliffe Hall, in Yorkshire, the Seat of Marmaduke Tunstall, Esq.
Engraved by Middiman from a painting by George Cuit
Private collection

Figure 3
Bernice P. Bishop Museum; no. 7855
Long believed to have been the Kuka'ilimoku of Kamehameha I
(from Barrow, 1972: 267)

Figure 4
Bernice P. Bishop Museum; no. 3900
(from Holt, 1985: 86 & 87).

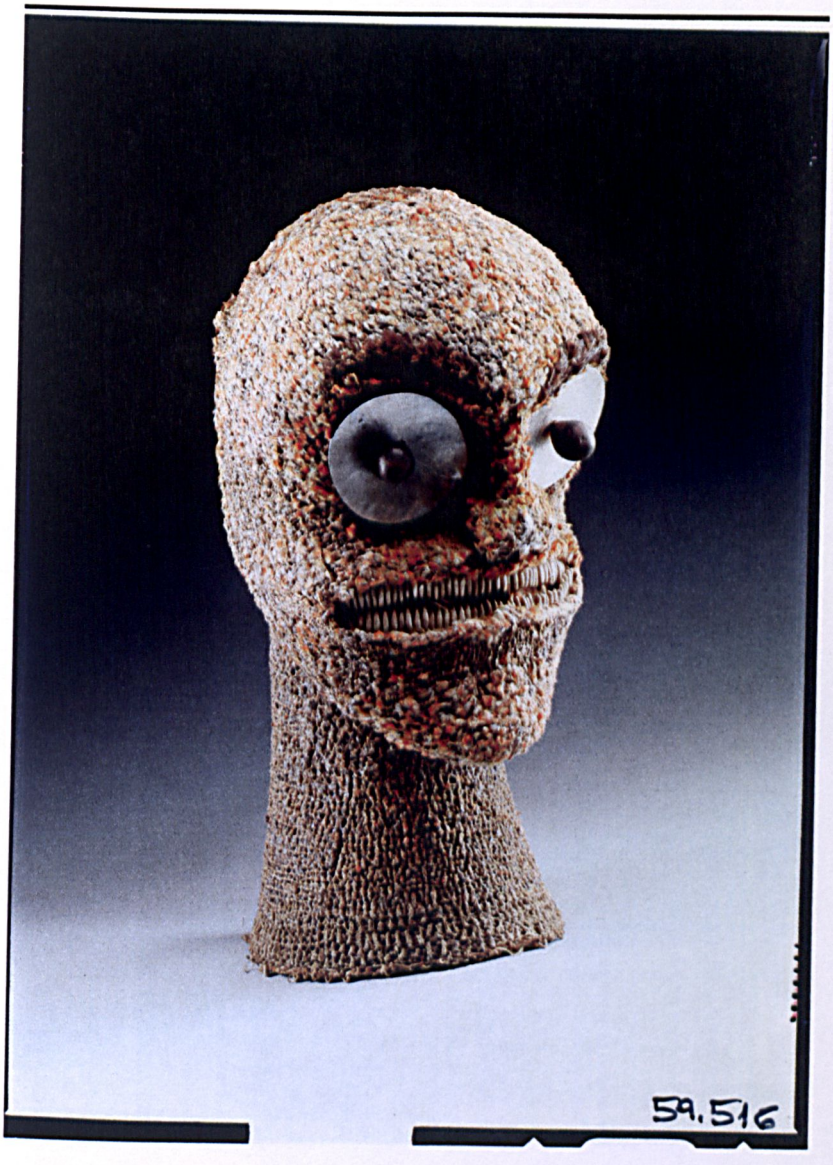

Figure 5
Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna; no. 202
(photograph courtesy of Vienna Ethnographic Museum, Foto Archiv, Foto-Nr. 59.516)

Figure 6
British Museum; no. VAN231
(photograph courtesy of British Museum)

Figure 7
British Museum; no. LMS221
(photograph courtesy of British Museum)

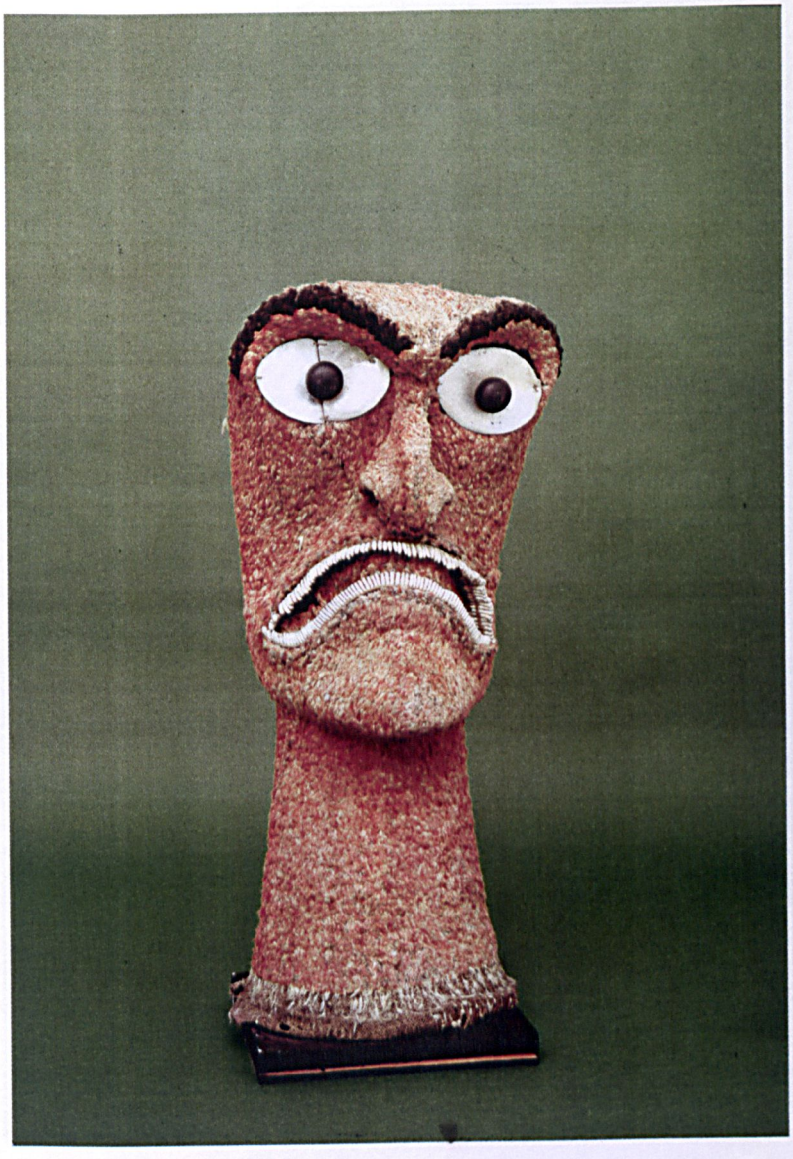

Figure 8
British Museum; no. HAW 80
(photograph courtesy of British Museum)

Figure 9
British Museum; no. HAW 78
(photograph courtesy of British Museum)

Figure 10
British Museum; no. HAW 79
(photograph courtesy of British Museum)

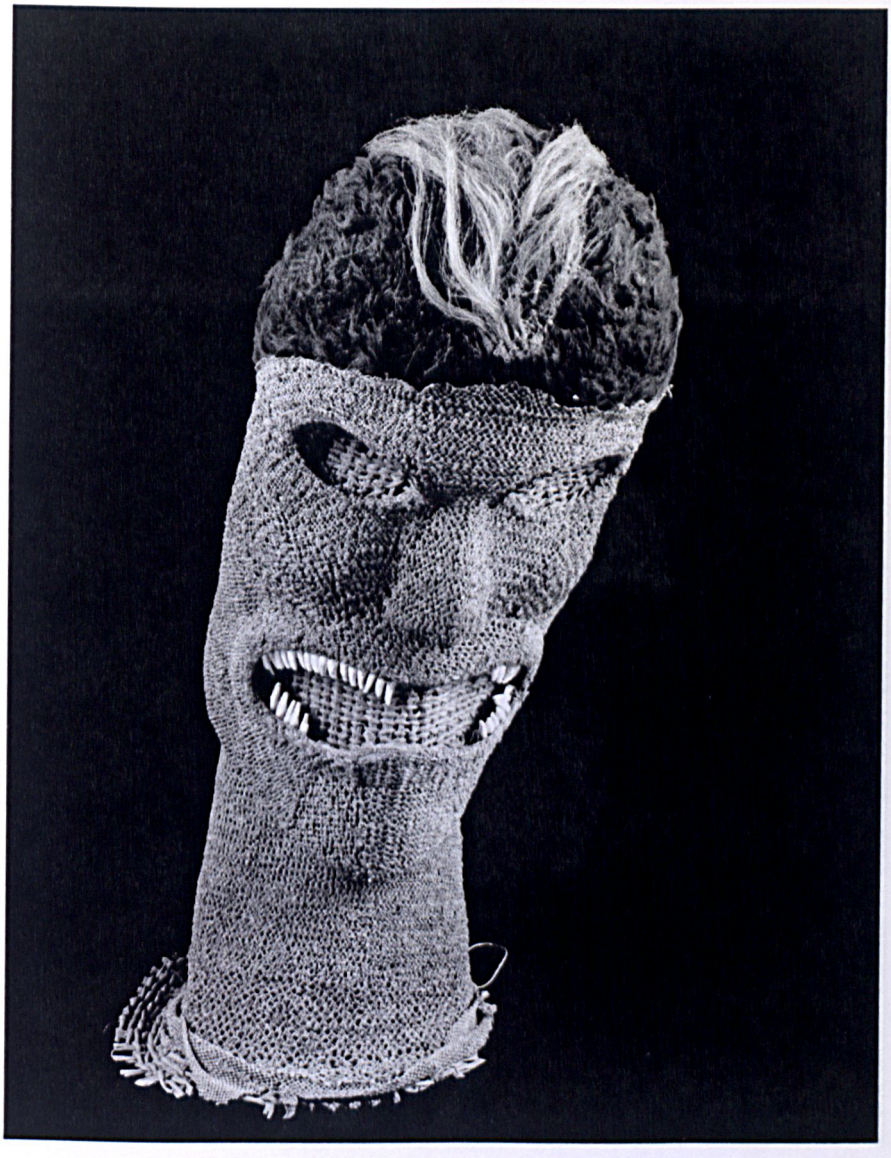

Figure 11
Peabody Museum, Cambridge Mass.; no. 37-4-70/530
(photograph courtesy of Peabody Museum, photo. no. N30366, photographer Hillel Burge)

Figure 12
Peabody Museum, Cambridge Mass.; no. 37-4-70/531
(photograph courtesy of Peabody Museum, photo. no. N30365, photographer Hillel Burger)

Figure 13
Field Museum, Chicago; no. 272591
(from Buck, 1957: 512)

Figure 14
Marischal College, Aberdeen; no. IV-43
(from Hunt, undated)

Figure 15
Hancock Museum, Newcastle; no. NEWHM: C584.
(photograph courtesy of Tyne & Wear Museums, photographer L. Goulding)

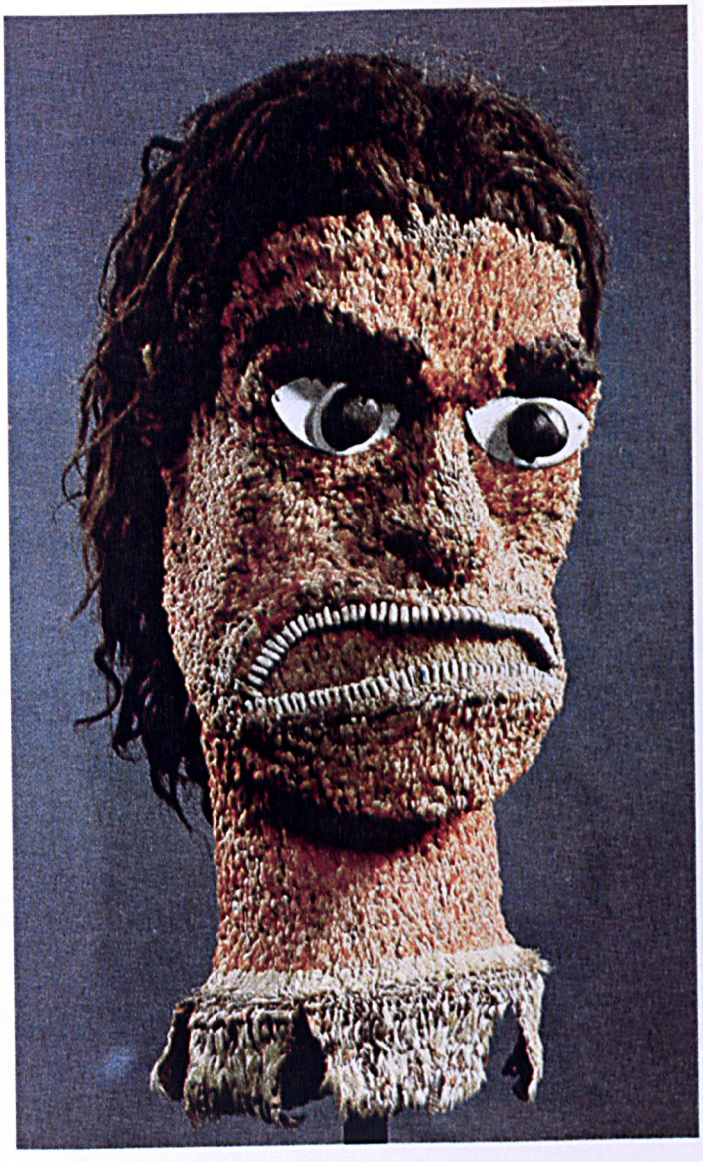

Figure 16
Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin; no. VI253
(from Kaeppler, 1978: fig. 58)

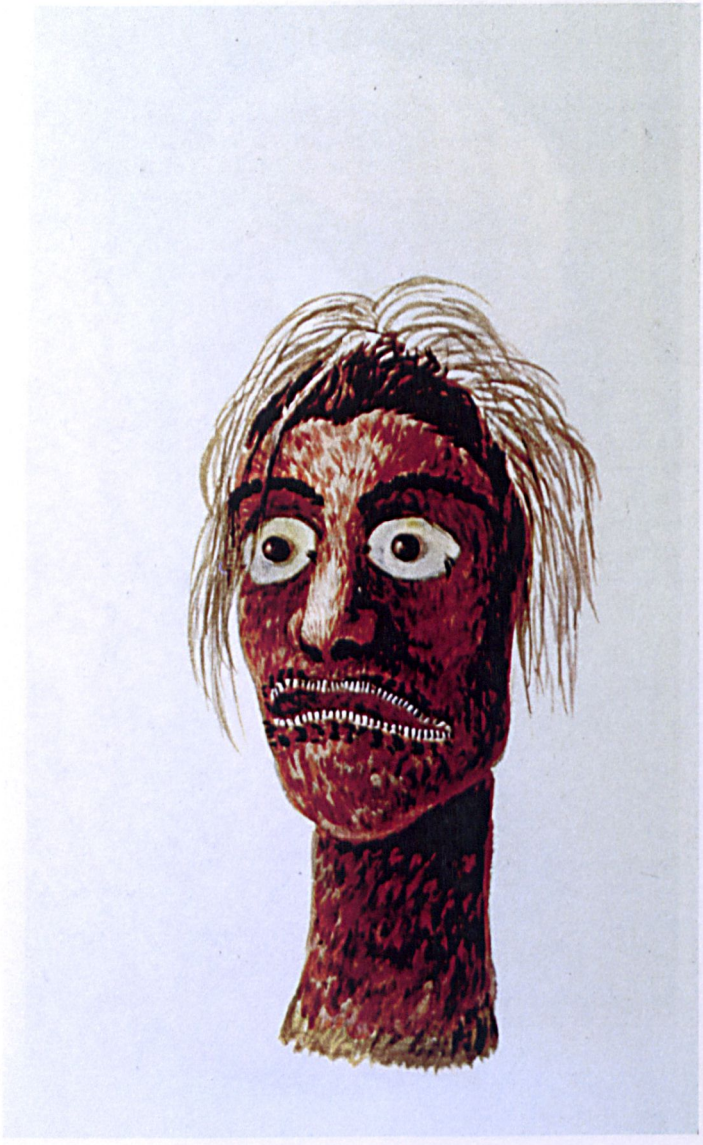

Figure 17
Berlin example VI253 figured by Sarah Stone circa 1783; original sketch now in the Bishop Museum
(from Force & Force, 1968: 27)

Figure 18
University of Göttingen; no. Oz 254
(from Hauser-Schäublin & Kruger, 1998, p. 127)

Figure 19
Musée de l'Homme; no. 78 30 15 (older number 10691)
(from Anon, 1965: 103)

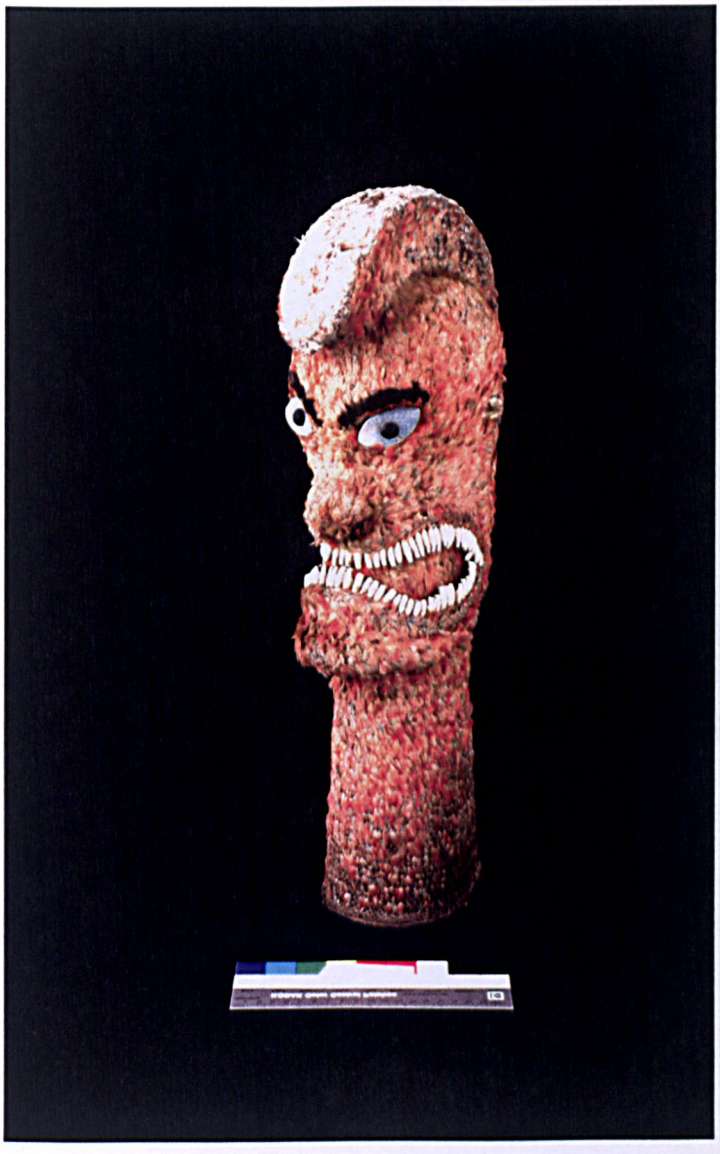

Figure 20
Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington; no. FE000325
(photograph courtesy of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand. Negative number F.3699/06. Photographer Michael Hall)

Figure 21
Pitt Rivers Museum; no. 1886.1.1448
(from Brigham, 1903: 440)

Figure 22
American Museum of Natural History; no. 80.0/672
(Neg. No. 320730 Photo. Rota Courtesy Dept. of Library Services American Museum of Natural History)

Figure 23
Missing example (right) and British Museum example VAN231 (left), figured by Sarah Stone circa 1783; original sketch now in the Bishop Museum
(from Force & Force, 1968: 23)

Figure 24
Missing example, figured by Sarah Stone circa 1783; original sketch now in the Bishop Museum
(from Force & Force, 1968: 25)

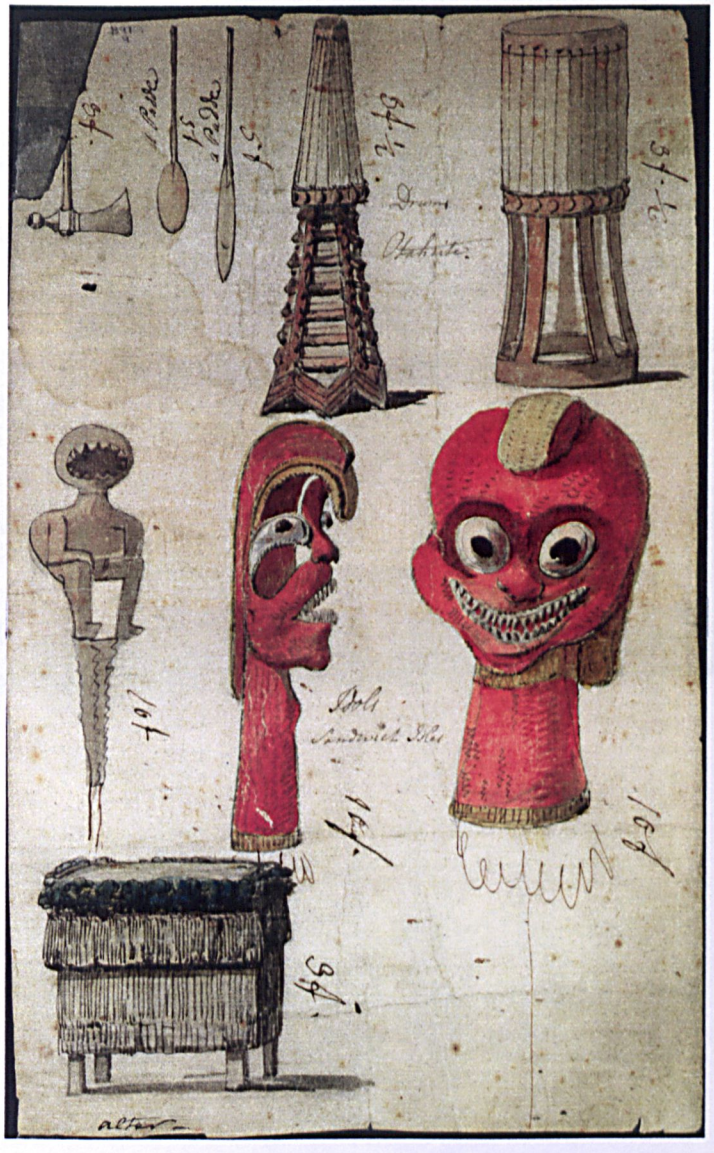

Figure 25
Missing example (right) and British Museum exampleVAN231. Part of a watercolour study of Pacific artefacts attributed to Loutherbourg [formerly to John Webber], circa 1785; original sketch now in Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington, New Zealand).

(courtesy Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z., Reference Number D-P091009-B-CT. Collection Reference No. B-091-009)

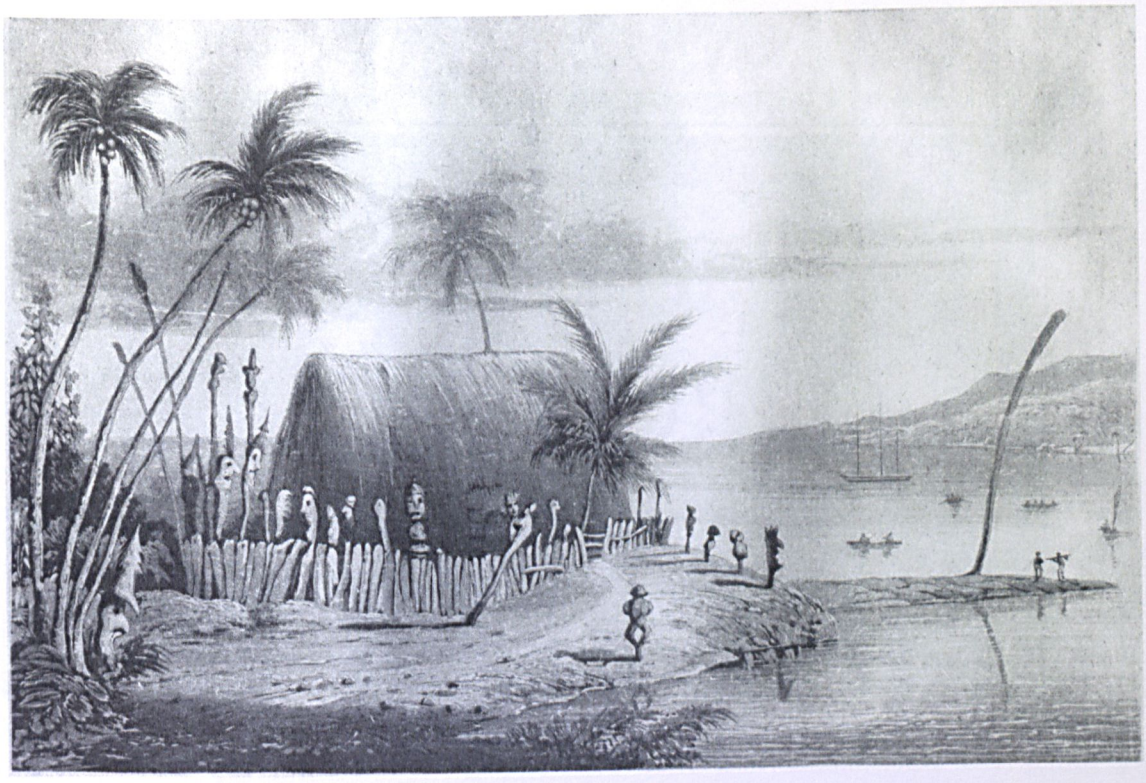

Figure 26
The Hale o Keawe, engraved after a drawing by Robert Dampier (*in* Byron, 1826).

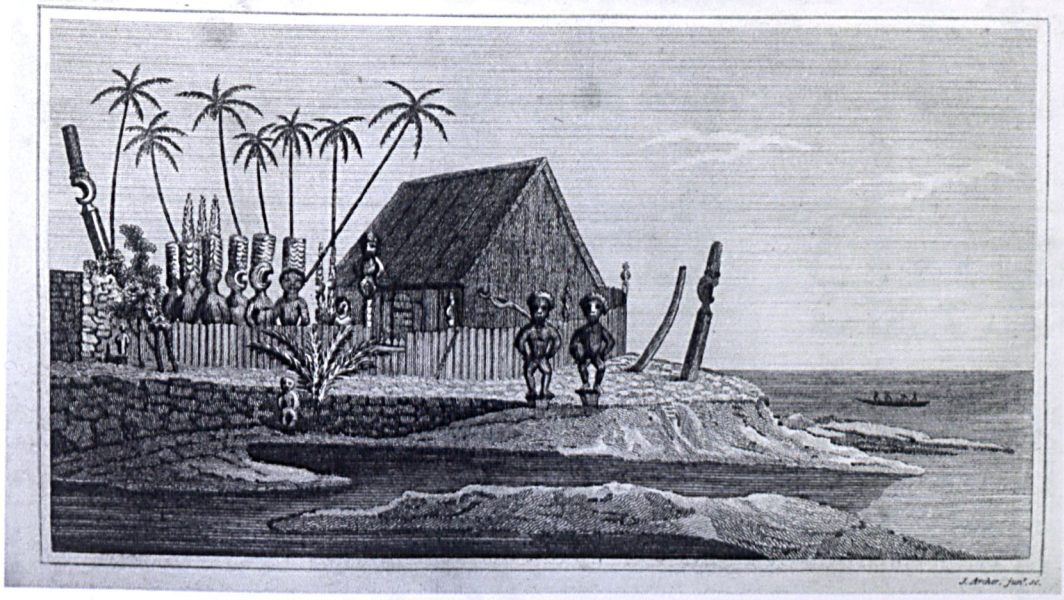

Figure 27
The Hale o Keawe, engraved by J. Archer after a drawing by William Ellis (Ellis, 1826).

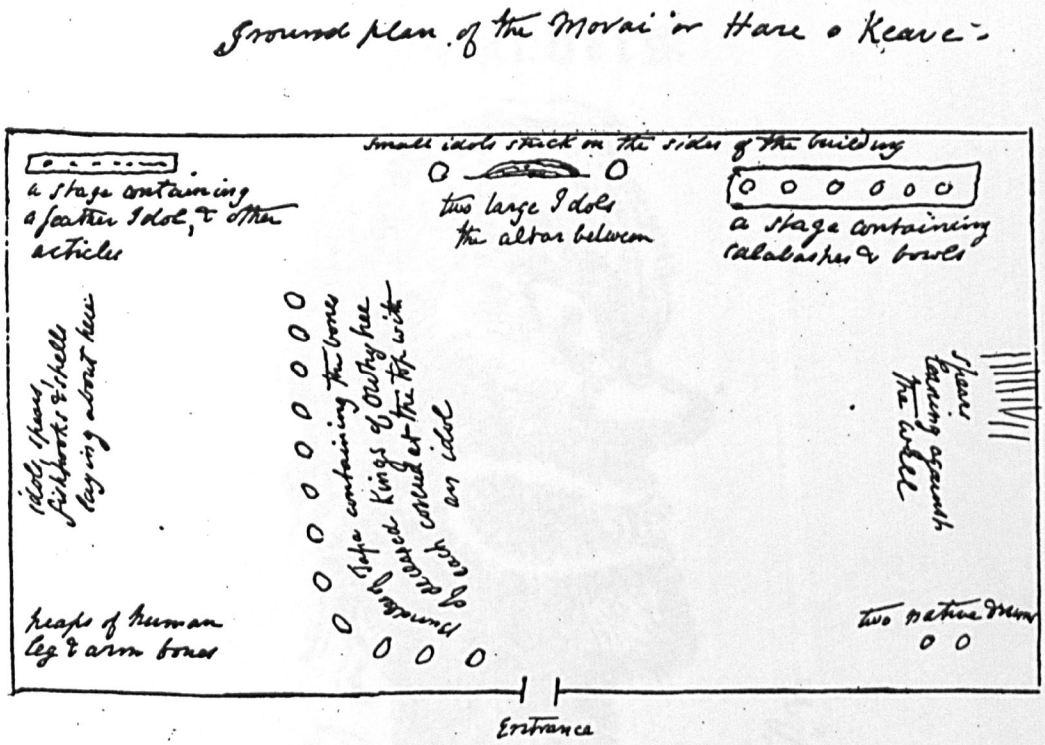

Figure 28
Ground Plan of the Hale o Keawe, sketch by Andrew Bloxam, published in Bloxam (1925).

Figure 29
Idol of the Sandwich Islands. (Bloxam, 1826: 89).

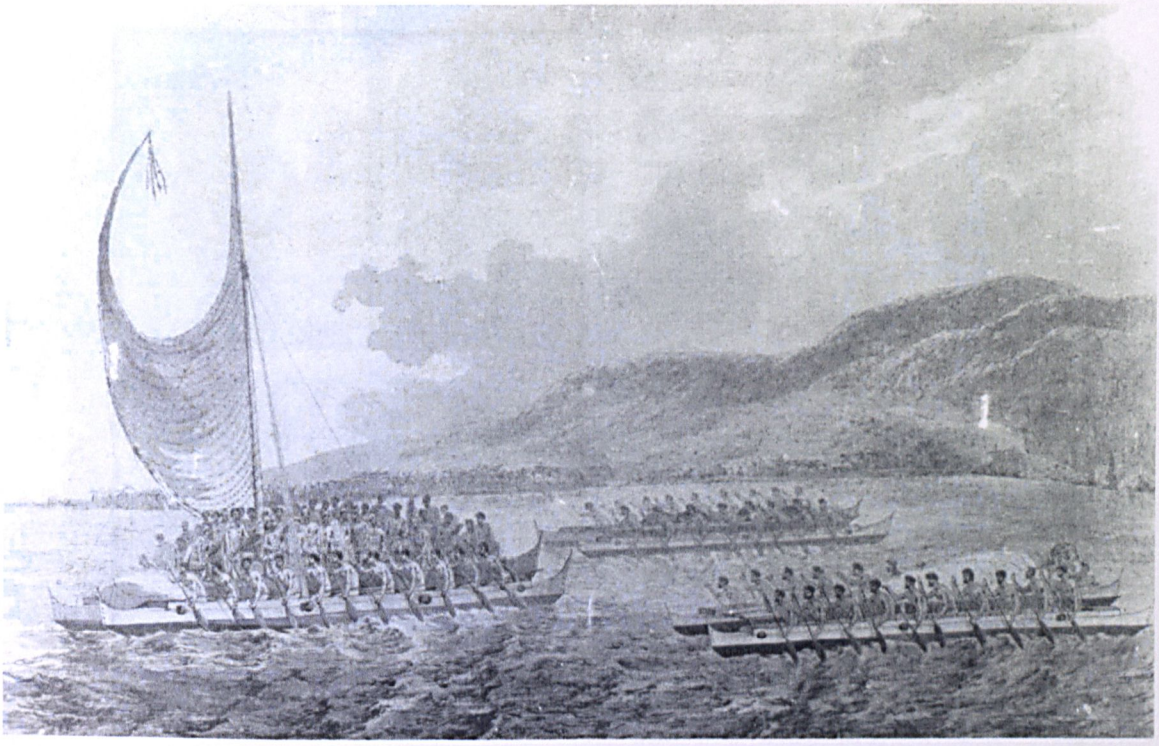

Figure 30
John Webber's drawing titled 'Tereoboo, King of Owyhee, bringing presents to Captain Cook' (from Joppien & Smith, 1988)

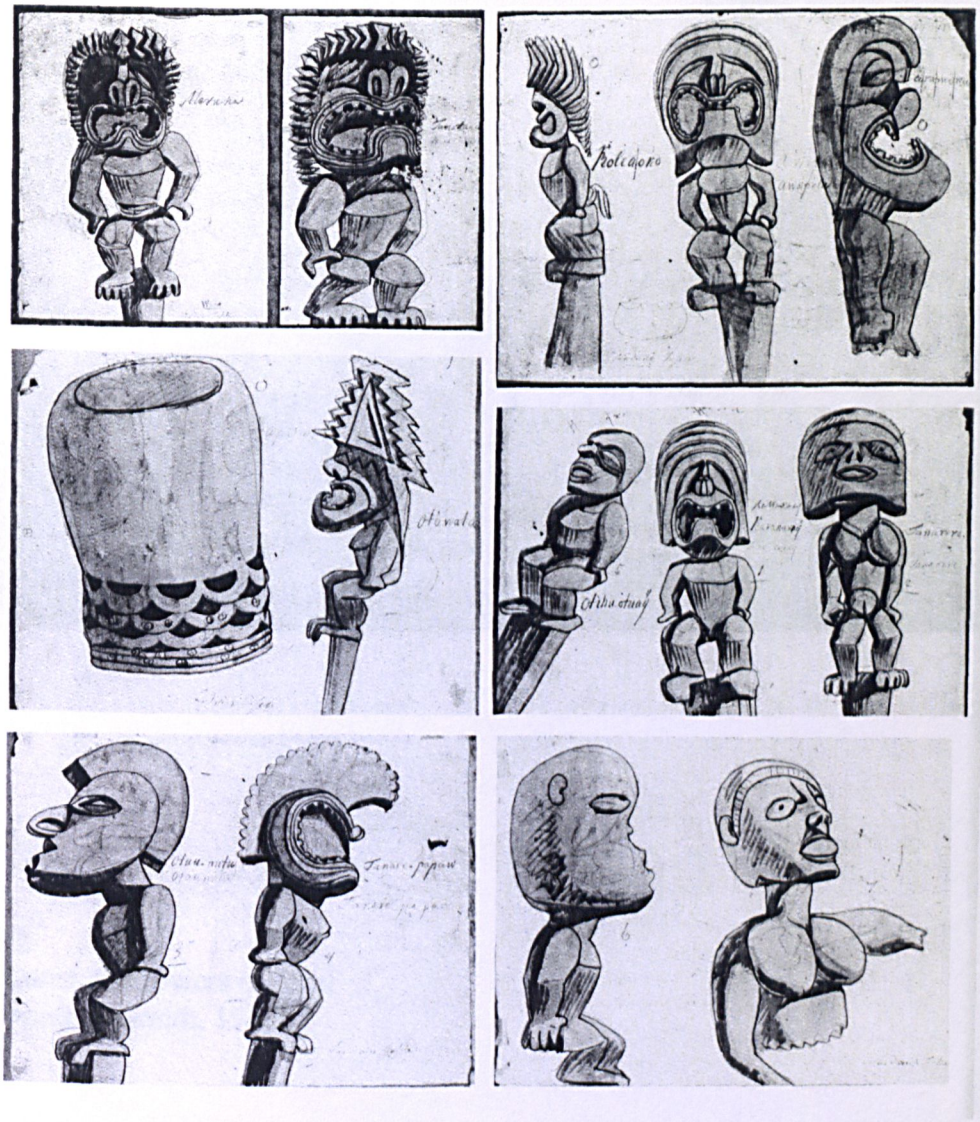

Figure 31
Drawings of named Hawaiian religious statuary by Louis Choris (1816).
(from Cox & Davenport, 1988: 70)

Figure 32
Visit of canoe, the rowers masked
(from Joppien & Smith, 1988)

Figure 33
Sydney Parkinson's *New Zealand War Canoe bidding defiance to the Ship.*
(from Joppien & Smith, 1985)

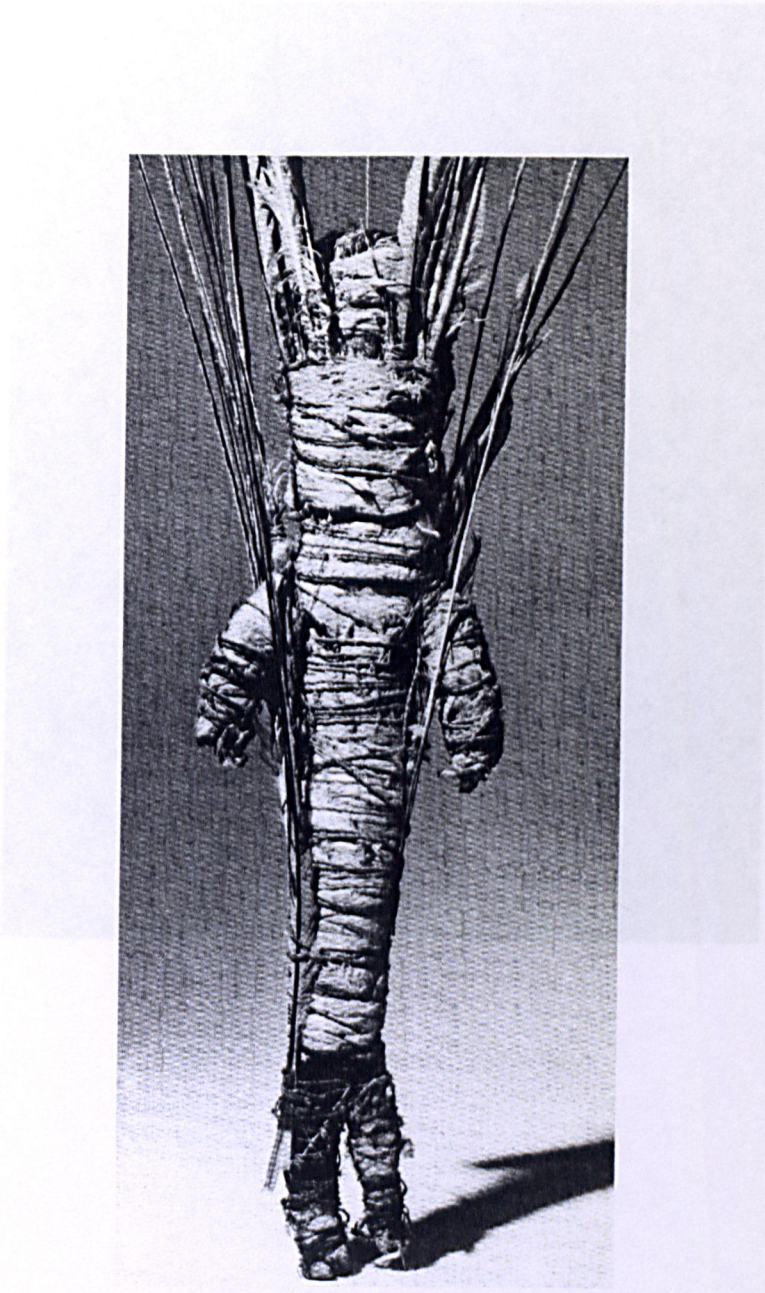

Figure 34
Wrapped religious figure named as Tangiia, from the island of Mangaia (Cook Islands) (from Barrow, 1979)

Figure 35
Wicker figure from Rapa Nui, made of reeds, wrapped with barkcloth and painted (from Barrow, 1979)

Figure 36
Wicker figure from Rapa Nui, made of reeds, wrapped with barkcloth and painted (from Barrow, 1979)

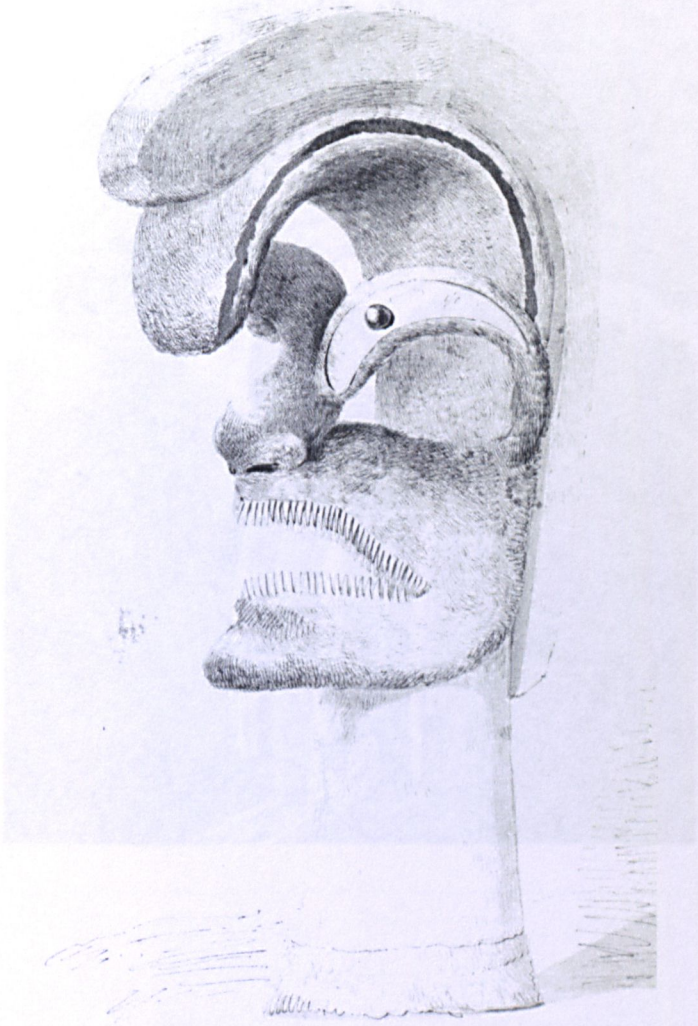

Figure 37
Figure of a Hawaiian wicker head; sketched by Webber in 1779
(from Joppien & Smith, 1988)

Figure 38
Masked rower, from a Hawaiian canoe; sketched by Webber in 1779
(from Joppien & Smith, 1988)

Figure 39
Typical 'Old Style' label from a Bewick-figured bird: upper case vernacular name and italicised latin name, and ruled top and bottom

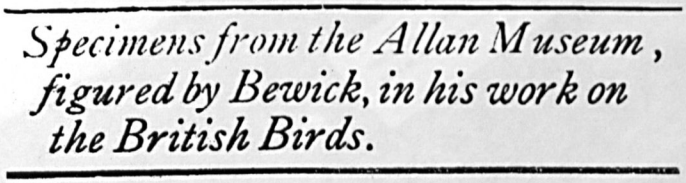

Figure 40
Case label from a Bewick-figured bird. All of the surviving glass-fronted wooden cases that contained Bewick-illustrated specimens bore one of these labels.

Figure 41 Sabot (E35) from the Allan Museum

Figure 42 Pair of ladies' shoes from Turkey (D340) from the Allan Museum

Figure 43 Pair of men's shoes from Turkey (D339) from the Allan Museum

Figure 44 Man's shoe from Turkey (D502) from the Allan Museum

Figure 45 Pair of men's shoes from Turkey (D341) from the Allan Museum

Figure 46 Pair of shoes from China (D342) from the Allan Museum

Figure 47 Pair of shoes from China (D231) from the Allan Museum

Figure 48 Pair of shoes from China (D227) from the Allan Museum

Figure 49 Shoe from China (D228) from the Allan Museum

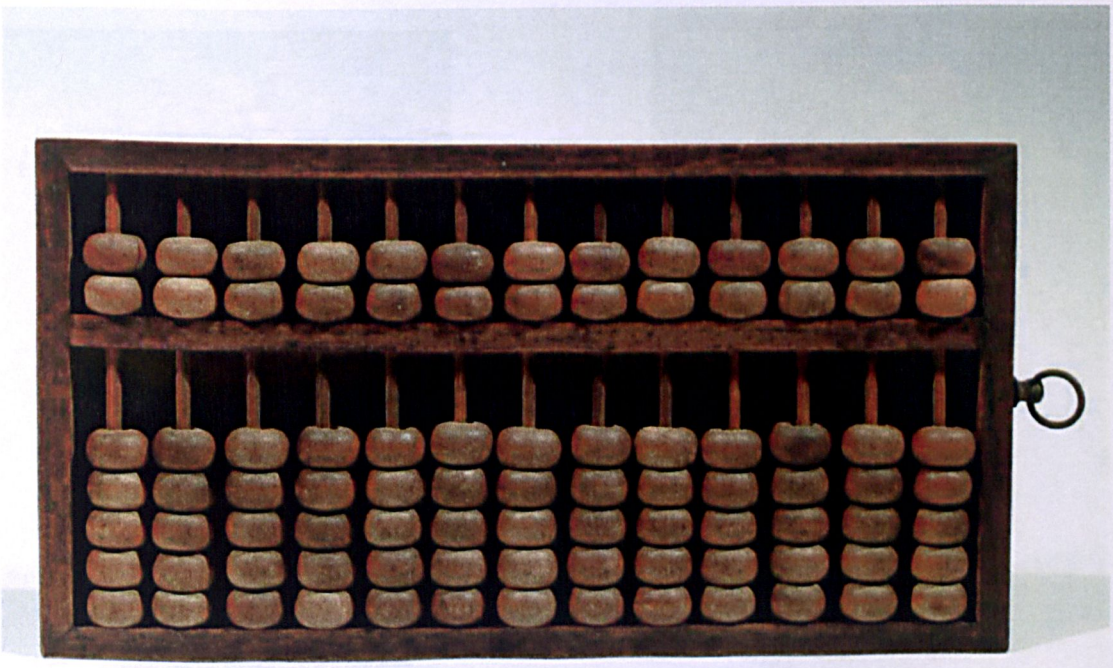

Figure 50 Chinese abacus (D124) from the Allan Museum

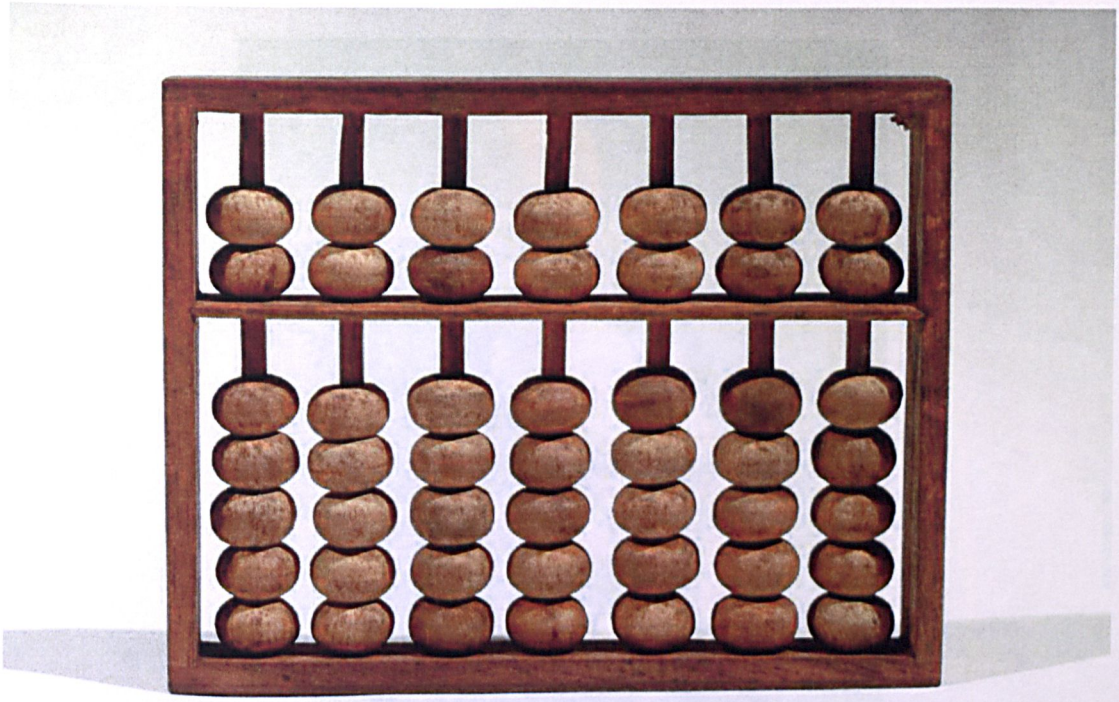

Figure 51 Chinese abacus (D126) from the Allan Museum

Figure 52 Chinese ivory figure of *Zhong Kui* (D117) from the Allan Museum

Figure 53 Chinese ivory figure of *Shou lao* (D118) from the Allan Museum

Figure 54 Chinese carved ivory ball (D119) from the Allan Museum

Figure 55 Chinese dotchin (balance) and case (D211) from the Allan Museum

Figure 56 Chinese dotchin (balance) in case (D120 & D212) from the Allan Museum

Figure 57 Chinese hat (D757), possibly from the Allan Museum

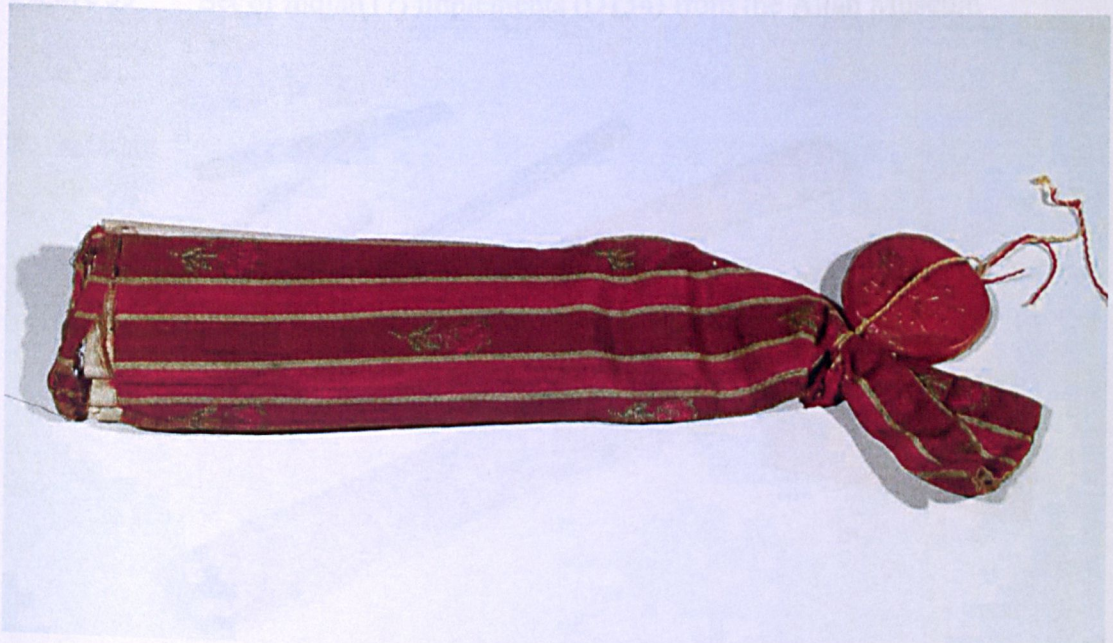

Figure 58 Bag containing Farsi manuscript (D275) from the Allan Museum

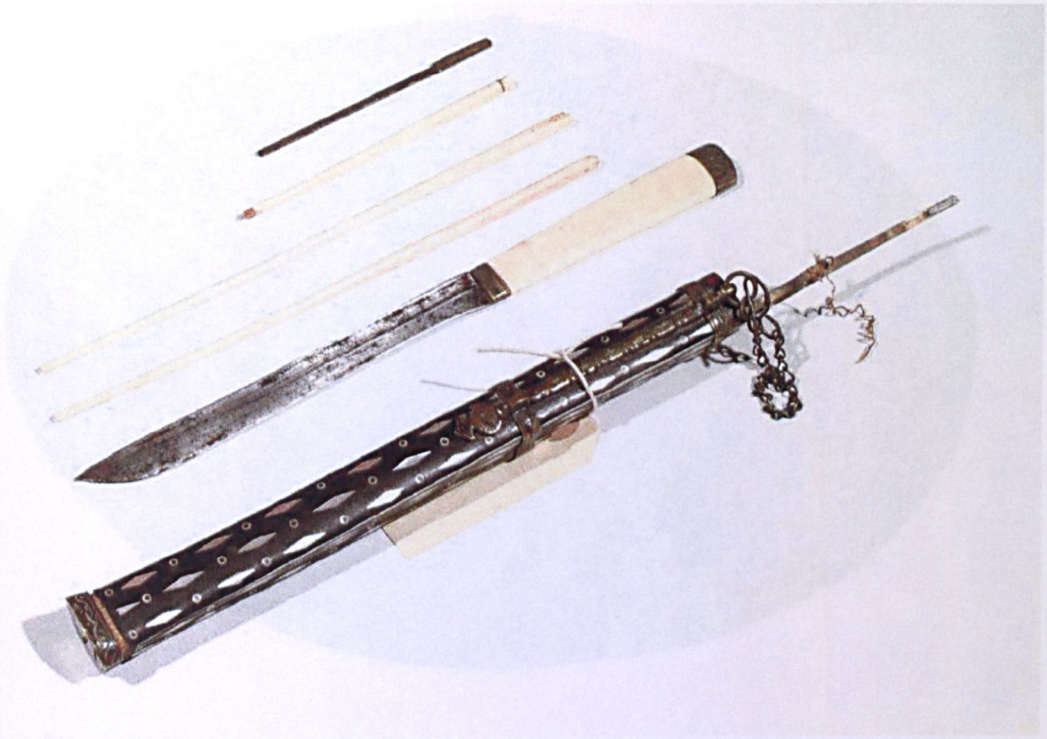

Figure 59 Set of Indian (?) implements (D134) from the Allan Museum

Figure 60 Set of Indian (?) implements (D135) from the Allan Museum

Figure 61 Philippine hat (G122) from the Allan Museum

Figure 62 Detail of Burmese manuscript (D711) from the Allan Museum

Figure 63 Polynesian barkcloth beater (C645) possibly from the Allan Museum

Figure 64 Tongan club (C697) from the Allan Museum

Figure 65 Tongan club (C698) from the Allan Museum

Figure 66 Tongan headrest (C674) from the Allan Museum

Figure 67 Tongan bag (C740) from the Allan Museum

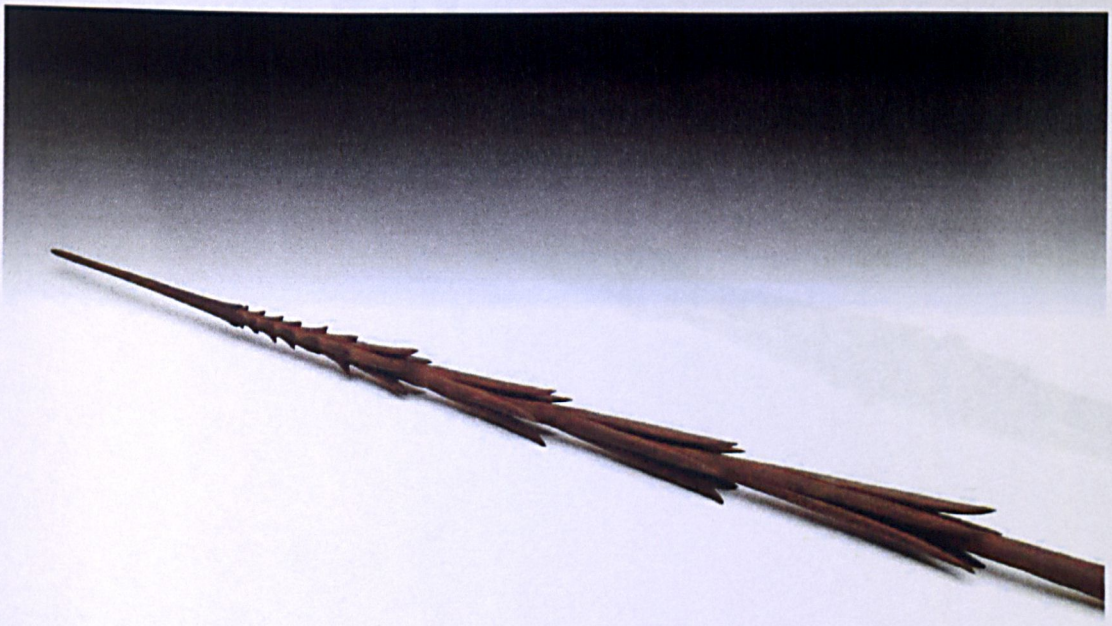

Figure 68 Tip of a Tongan spear (C465) possibly from the Allan Museum

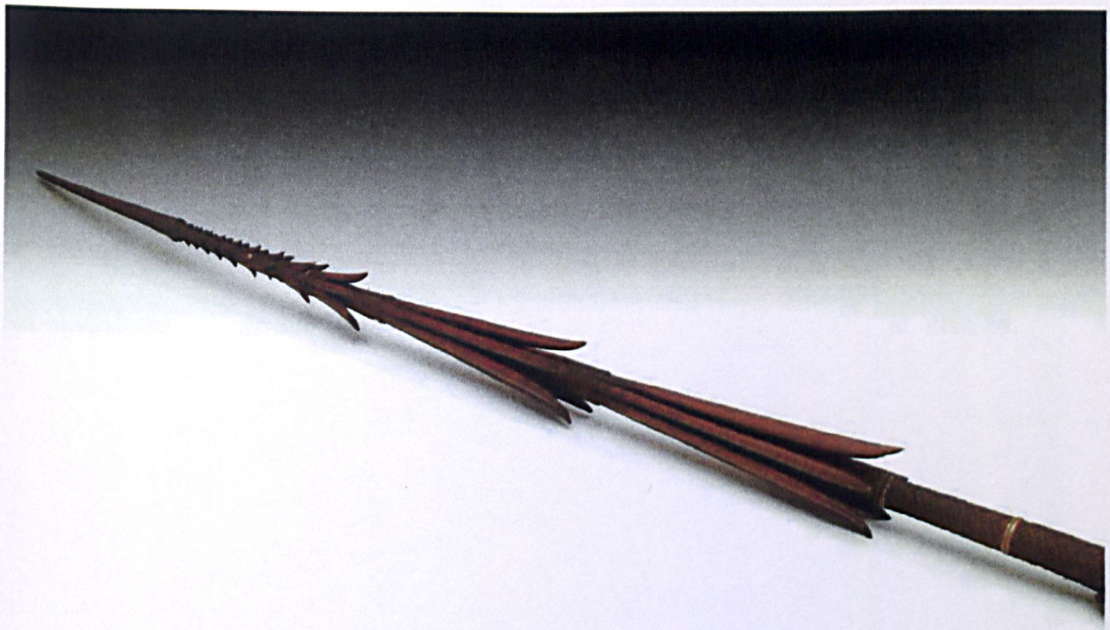

Figure 69 Tip of a Tongan spear (C466) possibly from the Allan Museum

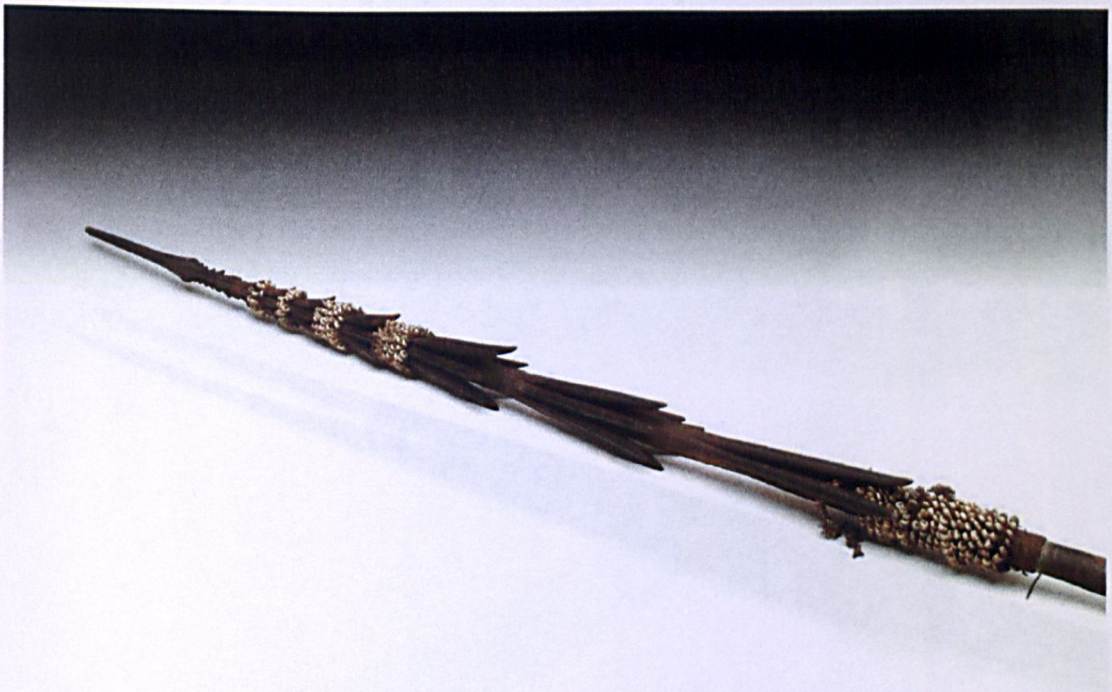

Figure 70 Tip of a Tongan spear (C467) possibly from the Allan Museum

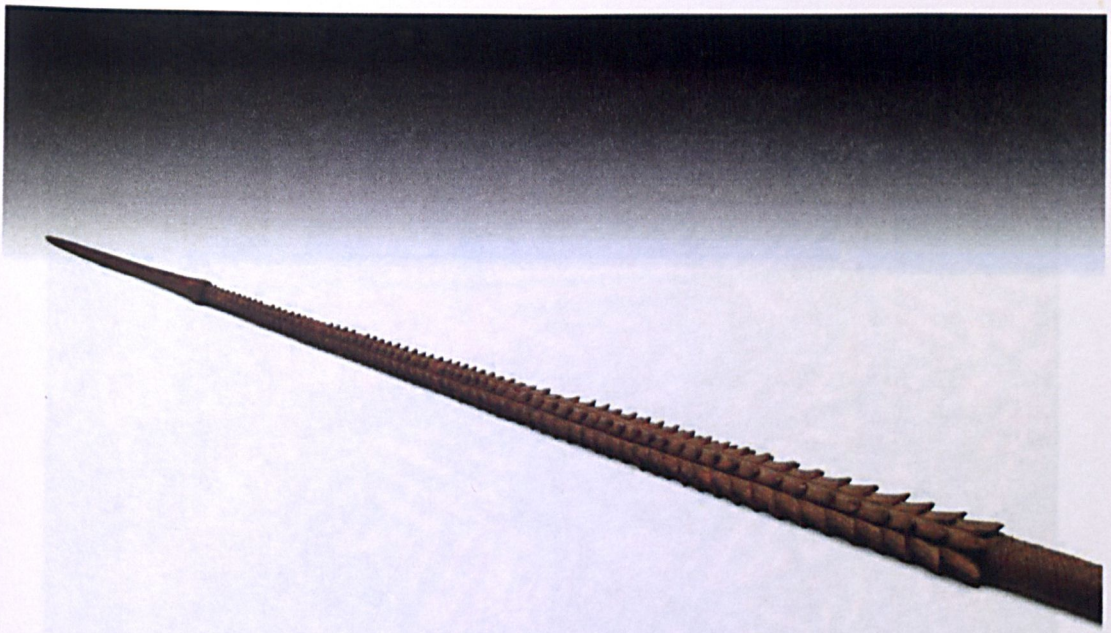

Figure 71 Tip of a Tongan spear (C569) possibly from the Allan Museum

Figure 72 Tongan spear (C570) possibly from the Allan Museum

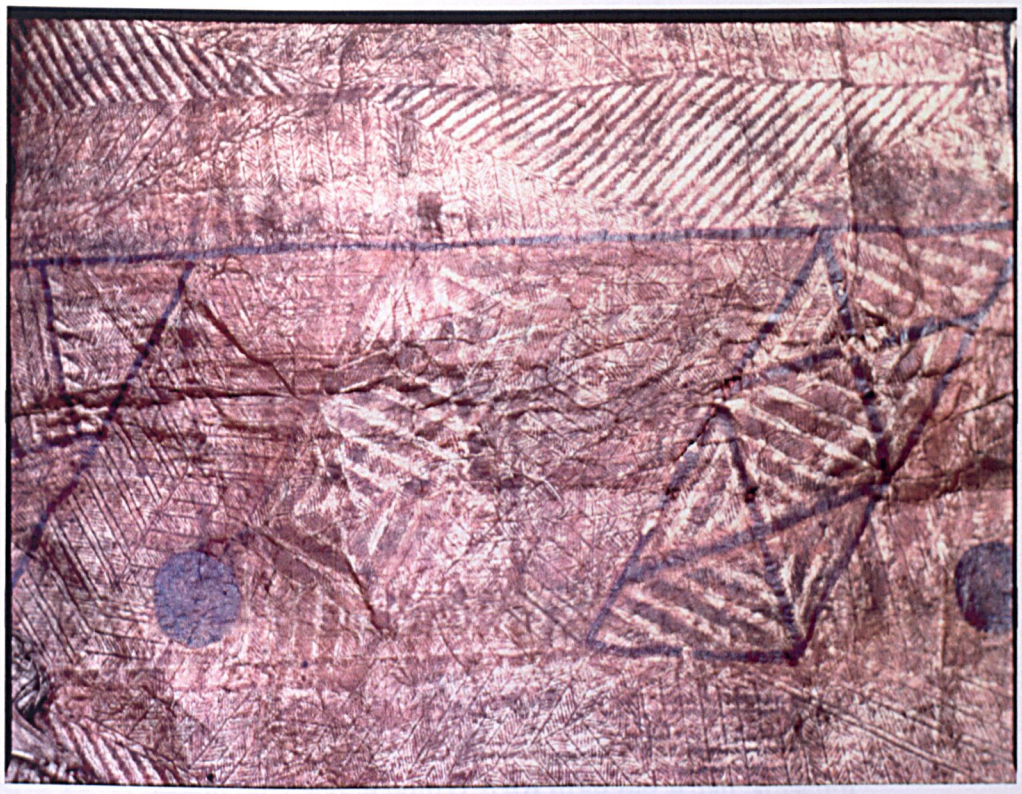

Figure 73 Part of a panel of *tapa* from Tonga (1998.H225) possibly from the Allan Museum (area of image 55 x 73 cm)

Figure 74 Fijian club (C537) from the Allan Museum

Figure 75 Maori whalebone *patu* (C630) from the Allan Museum

Figure 76 Maori wooden *kotiate* (C636) from the Allan Museum

Figure 77 Maori *rei puta* (C765) from the Allan Museum

a rear

b front

c left side

d right side

Figure 78 Maori feeding funnel, *korere* (C624) from the Allan Museum

Figure 79 Maori *nguru* (C621) from the Allan Museum

Figure 80 Maori *pu torino* (C623) from the Allan Museum

a. carving on shaft

b. *manaia* figure on tip

c. blade

d. blade

Figure 81 Maori paddle (C589) from the Allan Museum

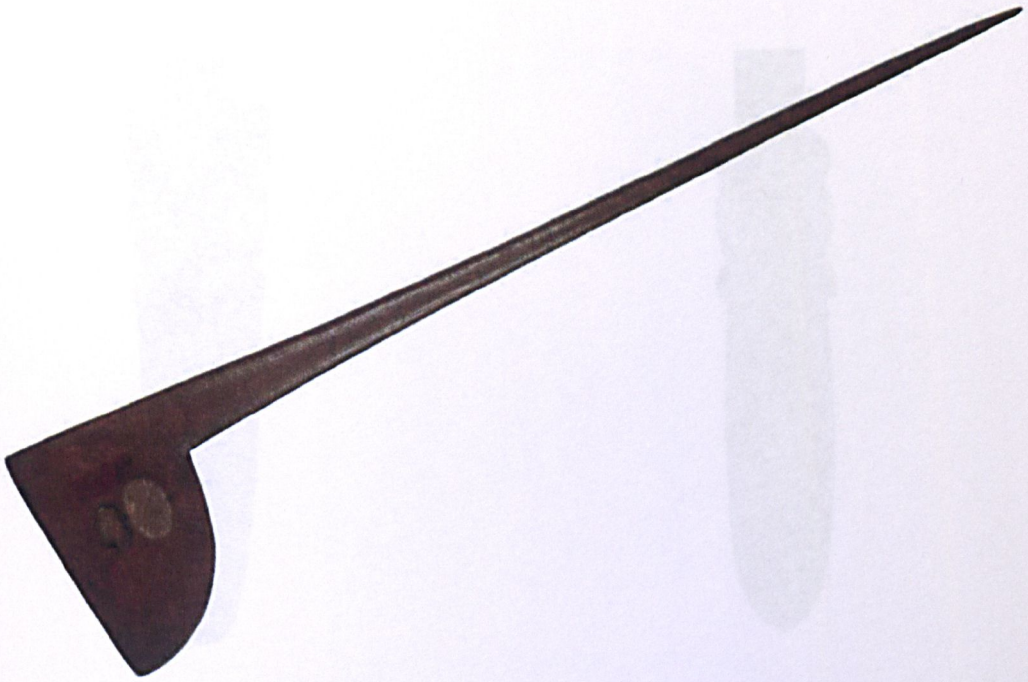

Figure 82 Maori *tewhatewha* (C588) from the Allan Museum

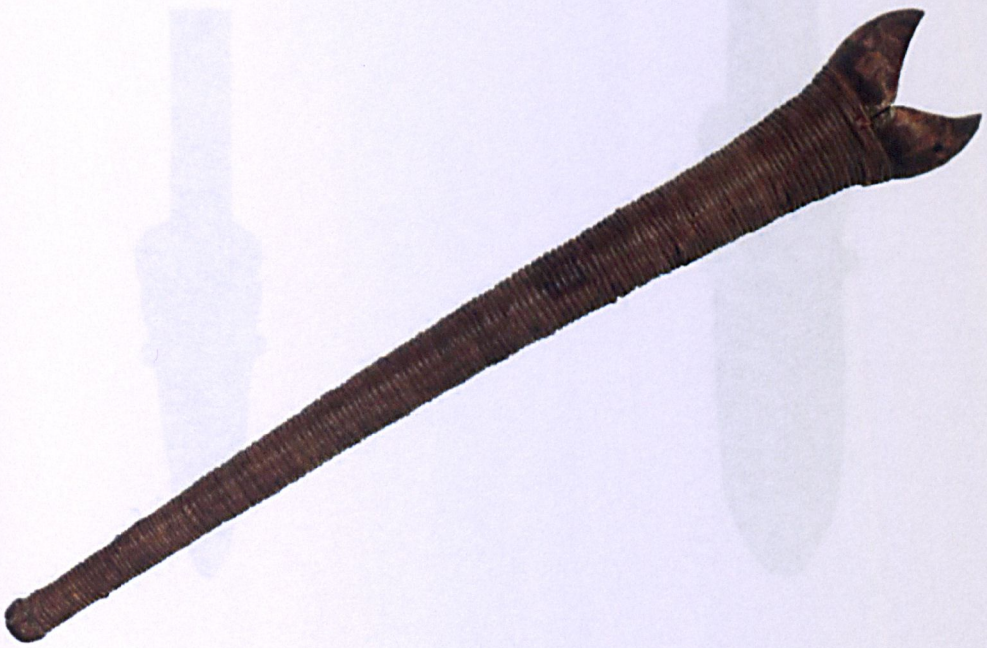

Figure 83 Maori *pu-kaea* (C622) from the Allan Museum

Figure 84 Maori *taiaha* (C422) from the Allan Museum

Figure 85 Maori *taiaha* (C423) from the Allan Museum

Figure 86 Maori *taiaha* (1998.H220) from the Allan Museum

Figure 87 Maori *taiaha* (C591) from Sir Joseph Banks's collection

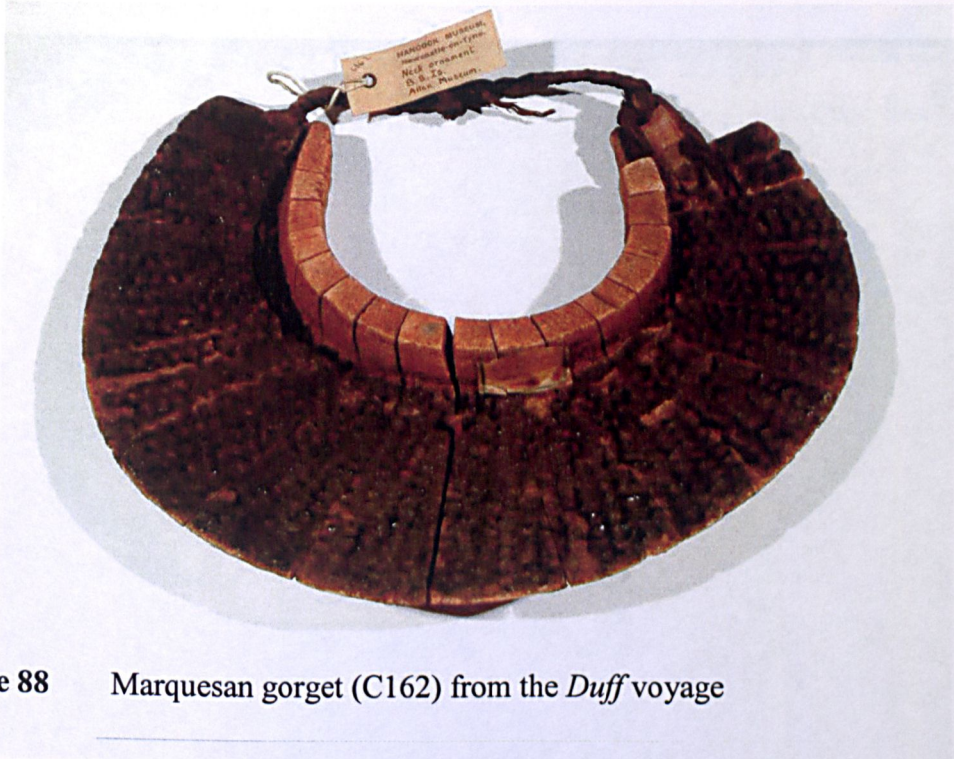

Figure 88 Marquesan gorget (C162) from the *Duff* voyage

Figure 89 Hawaiian wickerwork figure (C584) from the Allan Museum

Figure 90 Part of a panel of Hawaiian barkcloth (C702) possibly from the Allan Museum (area of image 60 x 45 cm)

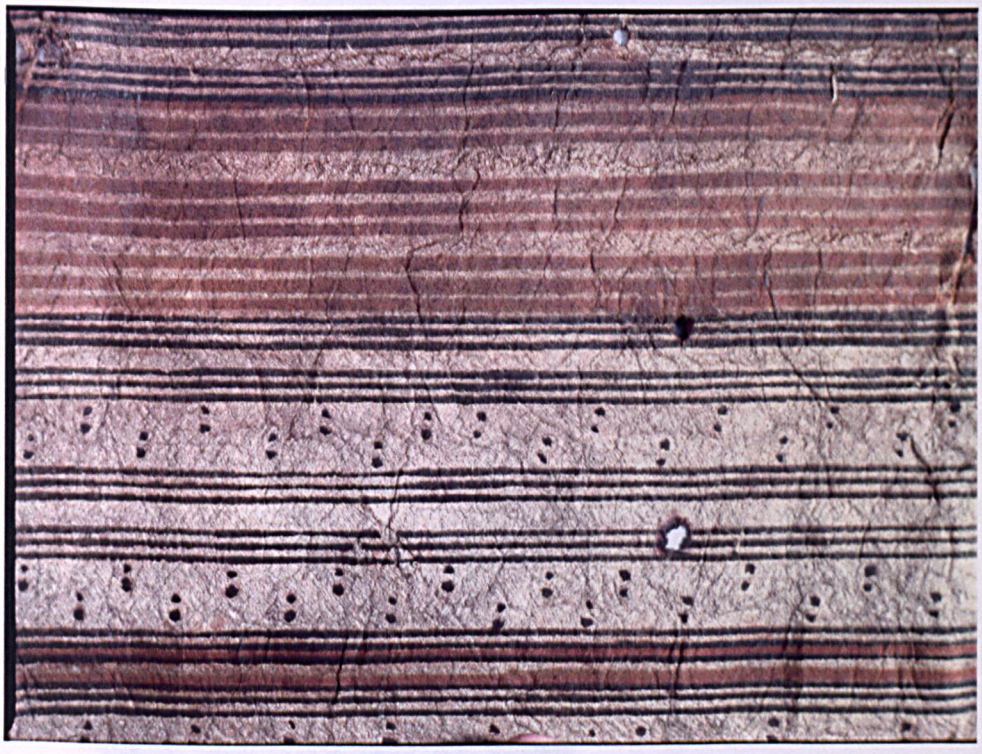

Figure 91 Part of a panel of Hawaiian barkcloth (C703) possibly from the Allan Museum (area of image 15 x 19 cm)

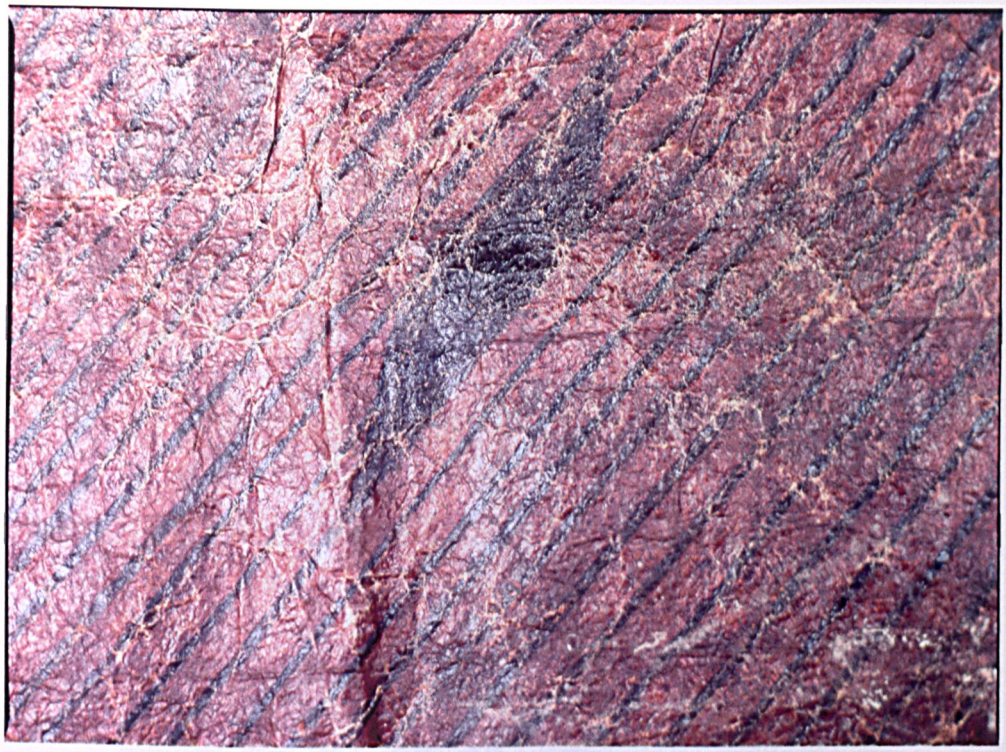

Figure 92 Part of a panel of Hawaiian barkcloth (C705) possibly from the Allan Museum (area of image 18 x 24 cm)

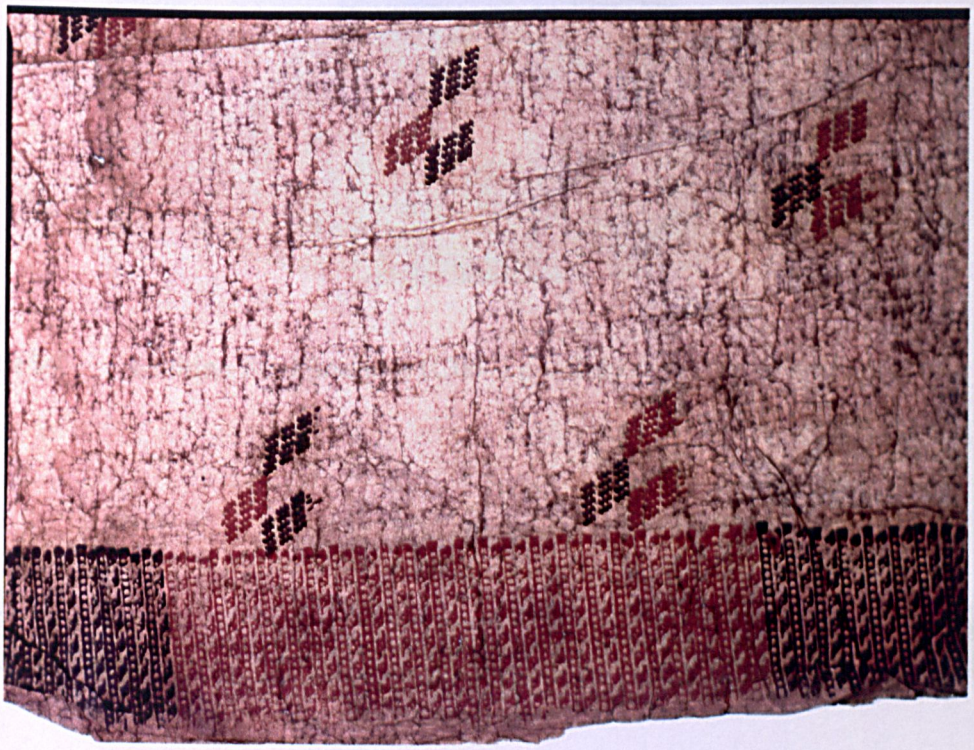

Figure 93 Part of a panel of Hawaiian barkcloth (1998.H239) possibly from the Allan Museum (area of image 30 x 23 cm)

Figure 94 Tahitian food pounder (C067) possibly from the Allan Museum

Figure 95 Tahitian nose flute (C686) from the Allan Museum

Figure 96 Tahitian adze (C518) possibly from the Allan Museum

Figure 97 Tahitian bow-stave (C444) possibly from the Allan Museum

Figure 98 Club from New Caledonia (C528) from the Allan Museum

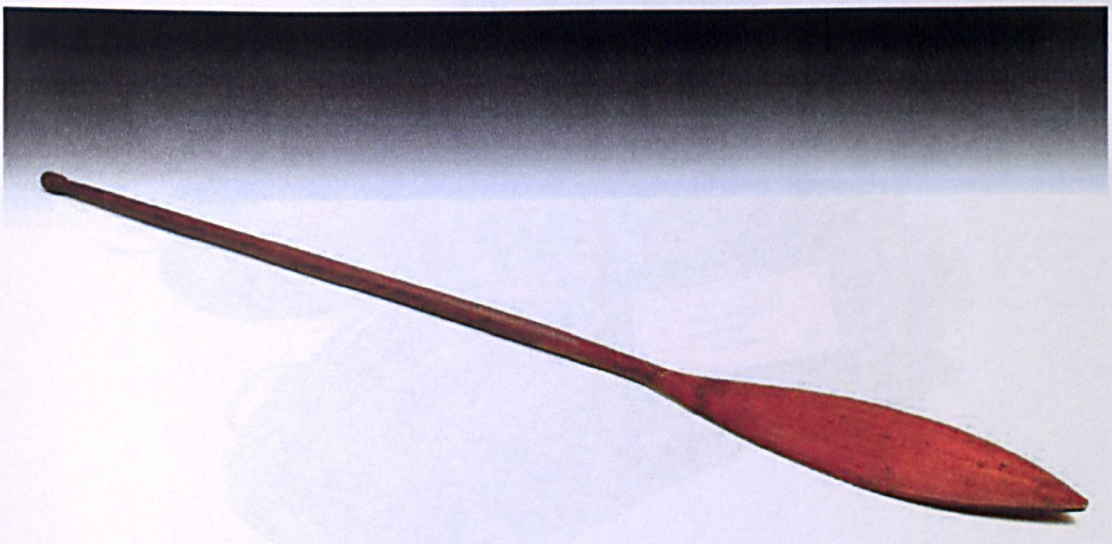

Figure 99 North American woodlands paddle (G105) from the Allan Museum

Figure 100 Aleut cap (G113) possibly from the Allan Museum

Figure 101 Pair of moccasins (G003) possibly from the Allan Museum

Figure 102 North American Pouch and strap (G126) from the Allan Museum

APPENDIX ONE

AN "UNINTERESTING SCRAWL" ... SOME CORRESPONDENCE OF MARMADUKE TUNSTALL (1743-1790)

(This appendix was published as Jessop, L. & Boyd, M.J., 1999. An "uninteresting scrawl" ... some Correspondence of Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790). *Archives of Natural History* **26**: 121-142.)

Selected extracts from hitherto unpublished letters held by the Bodleian Library (Oxford) are presented in order to illustrate Marmaduke Tunstall's character, interests and concern with contemporary issues. Correspondents include Tunstall's half-brother William Constable, Thomas Pennant and Sir Joseph Banks.

INTRODUCTION

During the preparation of a paper on the life of the eighteenth-century naturalist Marmaduke Tunstall (Boyd & Jessop, *in press*), a collection of thirty seven letters was noticed in the Bodleian Library (Oxford)[1], half of which are from Marmaduke Tunstall to his half-brother William Constable and the remainder to various correspondents including Sir Joseph Banks and Thomas Pennant. One letter is fromWilliam Constable to Marmaduke Tunstall.

Although saying little about Marmaduke Tunstall's scientific achievements and collecting activities, the letters give many clues as to Tunstall's character and way of life. His politics were liberal: he was in favour of 'Liberty' but horrified by the excesses of the French revolution. In religion, he was a Roman Catholic, himself tolerant of the religion of others and wanting toleration for his own beliefs. He was against slavery, and

1 Bodleian Library, MS English Letters C229. Foliation in the present paper follows that marked on the originals.

found slave-owners repugnant. He wrote of the well-being of his estate and garden, of his family, of various naturalists and their books, of natural history and of local gossip. Although frequently apologising - in jest? - for his 'uninteresting scrawl', and once for 'this farrago of nonsense', the letters are full of character, often interesting and sometimes amusing.

Editorially, we have selected what we believe to be the most interesting passages, and have arranged them under several broad themes rather than preserve the integrity of individual letters. The letters are numbered, following their order within the collection.

LIST OF LETTERS

Letters 1, 3-17 and 36 are addressed to Marmaduke Tunstall's half-brother William Constable (1721-1791) of Burton Constable Hall in East Yorkshire. Letter 23 is not addressed, but from the phrase "am truly concerned to hear of the death of my worthy friend your fellow circumnavigator Dr Solander", we assume it is to Sir Joseph Banks. Letter 2 is the only manuscript not in Marmaduke Tunstall's hand.

1	ff 5-6	28 December 1781
2	ff 7-10	a letter from William Constable to Marmaduke Tunstall
3	ff 11-14	18 August 1787
4	ff 15-16	27 August 1787
5	ff 24-25	13 January 1788
6	ff 26-28	20 January 1788
7	ff 29-31	12 February 1788
8	ff 32-34	10 December 1788
9	ff 35-36	7 January 1789
10	ff 37-39	10 June 1789
11	ff40-43	20 June 1789
12	ff44-45	1 August 1789
13	ff46-47	17 August 1789
14	ff48-49	18 February 1790

15	ff 50-51	25 March, 1790	
16	ff52-53	29 May 1790	
17	ff54-57	8 June 1790	
18	ff58-61	17 July 1790	
19	ff62-63	21 September 1790	Nothing extracted
20	ff64-65	undated	nothing extracted
21	ff66-67	4 May 1774	To a lady
22	ff68-71	21 April 1778	To a member of a Committee of Roman Catholics - nothing extracted
23	ff74-75	October 1782	[To Sir Joseph Banks. Most of the letter is taken up by an account of a lunar rainbow, and forms the basis of Tunstall's paper on the subject (Tunstall, 1783)]
24	ff76-77	October 1782	To Mr Saint, editor of a Newcastle newspaper. (about lunar rainbows - nothing extracted)
25	ff78-79	19 January 1783	To Edward or Frank Sheldon
26	ff80-81	January 1783	To a gentleman, name unknown
27	ff82-83	January 1783	To a gentleman - nothing extracted
28	f84	1786	To a gentleman, regarding the committee of Roman Catholics - nothing extracted
29	ff86-89	[?1776]	[To William Hutchinson] - nothing extracted
30	ff90-95	[1781]	[To Thomas Pennant]
31	ff96-97		nothing extracted
32	ff98-99		nothing extracted
33	ff100-101		nothing extracted
34	ff102-103		
35	ff104-106		To Mr Zouch - nothing extracted
36	f107	21 September 1790	
37	ff108-109		Advice about an electrical conductor - nothing extracted

EXTRACTS

Politics[1]

Letter 4 [27 August 1787]

"Am willing to hope the lowering clouds of war in our political hemisphere are about to disperse without a storm; the stags of these days stand at gaze sometime before they come to action & frequently sheer of without engaging; may this practice long continue".

Letter 5 [13 January 1788]

"Affairs in France seem not settled yet, however high the Parliaments talk & remonstrate, A *De par le Roi* of the grand Monarch backed by 250,000 men will I think make them eat their words, I know well how much a few have done in the cause of liberty against a numerous host, but think France not ripe for any such manoevres as yet".

Letter 10 [10 June 1789]:

"The French seem not as yet qualified to enjoy perfect liberty, which in their eyes is the power of doing every thing they please, good, bad & indifferent, but are no more capable of conducting themselves, than children would in the management of pistols & hatchets, by which they might cut & mangle themselves & all who came nigh them; Liberty is a great blessing, but I think that volatile nation must be let into the enjoyment of it by degrees only".

Letter 12 [1 August 1789]"The distresses in a neighbouring kingdom for flour, whether artificial or not, have been shocking, as well as the commotions there; however I like liberty, would not wish it procured so dearly, the sudden executions or rather murders by the populace, whom the states either cannot or will not restrain, seem to present to

1 All the selected quotations in this section refer to the social and political upheavals that were to culminate in the French revolution (1789-93), and - contrary to Marmaduke Tunstall's predictions - the eventual execution of Louis XVI in1793.

me more an appearance of Anarchy, than any attempt to form an established free constitution & exhibit a specimen of savageness & ferocity I did not expect in these days, to have seen, in what was deemed the center of Politeness & humanity; think after this ferment has subsided, things will nearly return to the old form & the military no longer be duped by an insolent populace; a revolution founded in anarchy, however favourably represented, seldom lasts & perhaps *should not*; however I may hate despotism, would almost sooner live under the Tyranny of *one* as bloody as a Phalaris[1] a Caligula[2] or a Henry 8,[3] than under the Tyranny of a mad populace".

Letter 13 [17 August 1789]

"Am really shocked at the horrible accounts from France, tho' I think & hope they are much magnified in our papers, the national assembly seems a confused junta neither able or willing to do any essential good & the rabble quite run mad, still think the King & royal party will be at last called back to resumè their usual power & the national assembly fall to pieces by internal dissensions".

Letter 17 [8 June 1790]

[about France] "... for the very name of *Aristocrate* is much more odious there, than that of the devil, nay the apellation of Vile Aristocrate is now used as a more powerful excitement by the postillions to force forward their miserable post Jades, than all the B___s & F___s they used to bestow so copiously on them".

Religion[4]

Letter 10 [20 June 1789]

"The liberty, *nobly extensive* in religious matters in the United States, Virginia

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1 Phalaris (fl. sixth century B.C.) was a Greek tyrant of Acragas in Sicily.

2 Gaius Caesar Caligula (12-41), Roman emperor (37-41) and tyrant.

3 Henry Tudor (1491-1547), King Henry VIII of England (1509-1547).

4 Marmaduke Tunstall was a Roman Catholic. His religious convictions were well outlined by Pegge (*in* Nichol, 1814) "He was a friend to Establishments in Religion, but a warm advocate for a general toleration: he spoke with abhorrence of Religion being taken up as the livery of a Party. He lamented the progress of Infidelity both among Protestants and Catholicks, and especially among the latter, of the higher orders, in France and Italy ".

particularly, should prove a model to the Mother Country".

Letter 15 [25 March 1790]

"The dissenters seem to have received a pretty smart rebuff, owing to their own fault & remarkable insolence, which has at last roused the lethargic dignitaries of the established church & began to make them to be in real apprehensions of losing the *Coenae pontificum*, indeed they seemed to strike home & power not toleration was what many did not blush to avow was their aim, but Jack was always a saucy fellow & is not easily daunted, will return to the charge over & over & not improbably will carry his point at last, but he never knew how to behave like a gentleman, nor ever will".

Letter 16 [29 May 1790]

[Pennant] "apologises to me for a strong expression he makes use of in the reign of Mary[1], of *bloody religion*, for which I imagine he has had a rap on the knuckles from some quarters, he declares it was a slip of the pen or misprint, I don't know which, for *bloody period*, but by the foregoing & following words, can't give him full credit for his assertion".

Village life[2]

Letter 1 [28 December 1781]

"The small pox rages very much in the villages about & many are carried of, the poor people are many of them foolishly averse to inoculation, which one would imagine they would be obliged to comply with now for self-defence".

Letter 10 [10 June 1789]

[about his pheasant woods] "the most danger is to be apprehended from the disturbance they may meet with from the intolerable number of yelping curs, tarriers, sheep-dogs &c &c with which the little villages about, particularly Ovington & Hutton perpetually

1 Mary Tudor (1516-1558), queen of England 1553-1558. Remembered as a Roman Catholic and for her persecution of Protestants; Marmaduke Tunstall's sensitivity was because he too was a Roman Catholic.

2 From 1776 onwards, Marmaduke Tunstall lived in the small village of Wycliffe in North Yorkshire, on the South Bank of the Tees near Barnard Castle.

swarm".

On women, coxcombs ... and Deism[1]

Letter 21 [4 May 1774]

"Mr Pope[2] says the *study of mankind is Man*, surely he does not mean to exclude women from this study, who as Lord Chesterfield[3] I think somewhere justly observes, have it in their power to model the manners & taste of mankind & if ever this frivolous age of Coxcombs is to be reformed it must be by the Ladies & by being convinced, they are thoroughly despised by them - many of these trifling beings, whom every woman must contemn, yet still permit to flutter about them; from the countenance their vanity shows them, glory in their folly & are a means to bring over many of the same shallow dispositions to copy their example...

... The author [unnamed], like too many of our modern Literati, is rather inclined to Deism, men of superior genius, soaring far above the ordinary capacities of mankind, think the powers of their understanding have no bounds, & what they can't comprehend, they are apt to reject as impossible & absurd ... Deism is merely a negative religion, the Deist disbelieves one thing, doubts of another, thinks a third a palpable forgery; ask him what he believes, you can't clearly make him confess the belief of any one tenet, but the existence of a God, & of a God divested of almost every attribute & almost totally unconcerned with the actions of mankind...

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1 A line of rationalistic religious thought which accepts the existence of God as Creator, but denies that He has any special interest in humankind or that He can be understood in any mystical way.

2 The English poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744).

3 Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773).

... your observation, that in his letters morality & vertue are more recommended as an object of Theory than practice, at least in the great world, is certainly very just, & I fear much if the private instructions of most statesmen to their sons were published, they would all breath the same doctrine & too often from their own practice; I have a very bad opinion of Statesmen & Politicians in general & could almost venture to say, there never existed one truly honest, several I believe, who in private affairs are strict observers of probity & integrity, look not on a fraud in publick transactions as any impeadment of it & think what is called a trick of state a very innocent manoevre; a truly honest statesman would be almost a phoenomenon in nature".

On slavery

Letter 7 [12 February 1788]

"The popular cry for the abolition of slavery does honour to the age & I sincerely hope if the full scheme is not practicable at present, some relief may be afforded those poor wretches from their most inhuman masters, have known several of these Sugar Islanders,[1] some not unpleasing men at first, but on farther acquaintance never knew one that was not the most egregious tyrant to both Man or beast or any thing they could vent their passion on with impunity, tho' dastardly & timid to a degree".

Letter 14 [18 February 1790]

"Fear the Gentlemen you mention were too favourable to the proprietors of slaves in the West India Islands, tho' am far from thinking there are not many humane people among them & it is in some measure their interest to be so; have known several West Indians, many of them plausible, civil, condescending men on first appearance, but on further acquaintance, never found one however cringing in company of his equals or superiors, not to be an execrable tyrant in regard to any he durst domineer over & if he had not one of his species he durst tyrannise, have seen him abuse most cruelly horses & dogs & other animals: the shocking barbarities on ship-board exceeds every thing of the kind that can be conceived, have heard it from the mouth of several eye-witnesses, shall trouble you with a description & section of a slave ship sent me, which is truly horrible".

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1 i.e. slave-owning operators of sugar cane plantations in the West Indies.

Gardening and Mangel-Wurzels

Letter 3 [18 August 1787]

"Some of our melons have ripened tolerably, very few wall-fruit of any kind, nor indeed can we expect them in this country to use an old phrase *communibus annis*, without fire & glasses, the former of which is cheap enough here[1] & indeed every bit of an Attorney or Apothecary has his bit of stove ... something for grapes have often thought of, as being the most *docile* of all fruit trees, come to the greatest perfection with least trouble & in my sentiments excell most fruit...

... A curious plant has been lately introduced into England by Dr C. Lettsom[2] a favourite pupil of poor Fothergill's[3], I knew him well in London & was *godfather*[4] to him, tho' a Quaker, at the Antiquary society, it is from Germany, something of the Beet kind, called *Mangel-Wurzel* or root of scarcity, said in a scarce season to afford wholesome nourishment to Man & beast, I think he may be credited, has all the humanity and benevolence of old Fothergill, gives his plants away, gratis".

Letter 11 [20 Jume 1789]

"We have had disagreeable easterly winds for some days, accompanied with a hazy atmosphere, very unpleasant & has brought on some blights, yet think there is every appearance of plenty, a greater quantity of wall-fruit, at least on my insignificant trees, I never beheld; figs will not do here in the open air, more than with you, yet I think they sometimes have ripened at Croxdale[5] without art; I take one great reason, why fruit don't ripen, as they used to do, besides our frequent cold seasons, is, that places are now laid

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1 Coal for fires would be cheap because of the proximity of the coal mines of County Durham.

2 John Coackley Lettsom (1744-1815), Quaker physician, who promoted the introduction of mangel wurzels into Britain.

3 John Fothergill (1712-1780), Quaker physician and philanthropist. The work of Fothergill and his circle was discussed by Fox (1919).

4 The phrase is, of course ironic, as Quakers reject the concept of baptism.

5 Croxdale, County Durham was the home of Marmaduke Tunstall's father- and mother-in-law.

so open, five or 6 different little gardens with high walls used to be about almost every gentleman's house... another apparent cause is the manner of raising fruit trees, which as wanted to produce fruit soon, are stunted and thwarted in their growth, to produce fruit unnaturally, when they should be making wood and forming vigorous shoots & if they bear for seven & eight years, they are sure to go of & probably where are no glasses, are killed long before by a severe winter, whereas a tree suffered by nature to attain to vigour & age & to produce at the natural time, will then afford fine & lasting fruit; we frequently observe on little stunted oaks, a profusion of acorns, but scarce ever on a young thriving tree; till he has nearly attained his full growth, should I imagine the same in fruit trees, at least in some degree, altho' we must remmember, that all fruit trees at best, as *in our gardens*, are children of art, as I imagine we should scarce recognise the fruit of the natural peach or Apricot even in its native climate & the nectarine I believe was undoubtedly propogated by art from an accidental variety of the peach, excuse this stupid dissertation".

Gossip

Letter 3 [18 August 1787]

"... believe I knew in London a little the Mr Grimston[1] you mention, who has lately built in Holderness, he seemed rather to affect an appearance of knowledge in natural history &c but seemed not very deep in it ...

... Have just heard our great reforming clergyman Mr Wyville, having been refused by a lady he paid his addresses to, married his housekeeper; something similar circulates in regard to young Tempest of the Bishoprick with a dairy maid ...

... [As a postscript] Wyville marriage a fact, she had been his menial servant 8 or 9 years, her name *Sally Codling*, the wags are merry at the expence of the *old Parrot*".

Letter 4 [27 August 1787]

[The Duke of Norfolk] "has much left of hard-drinking but not so *eating*, has *daily* a

1 Presumably the Thomas Grimston for whom Grimston Garth, a Georgian Gothic house which still stands in Holderness, was built between 1781 and 1786.

haunch of Venison & sometimes 3 or 4 on table at once, of which himself makes no small ravages".

Letter 5 [13 January 1788]

"A report prevails, that Mr Crathorne is to be married to Lady Augusta Campbell, the Duke of Argyle's daughter, a singular alliance, if true, our people I think aspire high, it is not the weight of their brains that will prevent their ascension".

Letter 6 [20 January 1788]

[About an artist who cut a seal on steel for him]. "was eminent in his profession & made all his own tools, but like most geniusses was an idle drunken profligate fellow, when he got a little money, would not work a stroke till he had drank it all out & then sold his tools, when near starving he began to make new ones & set to work & so on in a circle".

Letter 7 [12 February 1788]

"The Duke of Norfolk keep[s at Gre]ystock, attending on his wife, who has been indis[posed for so]me time, they sleep constantly together & there are not wanting reports of her being in a breeding stay, some of the women will have it, they never cohabited together till now, but which I by no means can credit, I hear he is very low spirited an unusual state with him ...

... A curious work on the antient worship of Priapus is talked of to come out soon, tho' not quite *publickly* with many plates &c, Sr W. Hamilton & others have made collections for it in Italy, Sicily &c where are said to be some ruins of the old temples; a Mr Raine [*sic*] Knight[1], a member of Parlt is the principal manager...

... Poor Sr Ashton Lever[2] is no more, as is also a very scientific worthy friend of mine,

1 The collaboration between Hamilton and Knight was published in 1786 (Knight, 1786).

2 Sir Ashton Lever (1729-1788).

the author of the *Antiquities of Athens*, poor Stewart".[1]

Letter 8 [10 December 1788]

"His Majesty's[2] state of health is very deplorable & at this time I think an event likely to be productive of mischief, he is certainly as you say, yet the doctors give sanguine hopes of his recovery, the family complaint seems to have been injudiciously repelled to the head by low living, waters &c think if any latent seeds of real insanity had been in the family, they would have been brought forth by the high living of the heir apparent...

... [About the Duke of Norfolk] think however he is likely to fall a victim at last to the rosy god & I believe frequent sacrifices to the Paphian Goddess[3] are not wanting as auxiliaries, the poor Dutchess I am told grows fat, seems in health, but no prospect of improvement in her intellects".

Letter 11 [20 June 1789]

"Stapleton, I believe still in town, spending the little fortune he has left, in grasping at a coronet, which if he could obtain, *which I hear there is little probability of*, would only help to bear him down more; the only possible benefit, besides gratifying his vanity, would be perhaps in procuring a more lucrative alliance for his son ... The *Lucky* Sheldon was in the Austrian service. James, who was in the English, was obliged to sell out to pay his gambling debts & is now a miserable poor Devil, without a sixpence, except what he can borrow, which he immediately lavishes in every extravagance, lives or did lately at Holliwel in Wales, but was expected every day to take up his residence in Flint-Castle in durance vile, except his princely brother relieves him".

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1 Volume One of James Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens* was published in 1762 (Stuart and Revett, 1762). The second volume is dated 1787, but appeared only after Stuart's death. Two further volumes were also published posthumously.

2 King George III, king of Great Britain and Ireland 1760-1820. He suffered, apparently, from the disease porphyria and was commonly believed to have intermittent fits of 'madness'.

3 i.e. Aphrodite, greek goddess of love and beauty.

Letter 18 [17 July 1790]

"The Durham Contest over, but not I fear its consequences, many heart-burnings among the parties I fear will long prevail, however ill the Aristocrats may fare in France, they triumphed here, poor Lord Barnard[1], a silly boy, was near demolished in the cause, by dint of bustle & liquor &c he fell into a fit & was totally senseless, as I hear, for some time, is however pretty well recovered".

Letter 23 (to Sir Joseph Banks) [October 1782]

"Was truly concerned to hear of the death of my worthy friend your fellow circumnavigator Dr Solander[2], his loss was indeed a universal one, tho' so long absent from the capital".

A new coach

Letter 10 [10 June 1789]

"... expect down also a new coach from London in a few days, absolutely necessary, as the old one had quite done its duty, so you see my *living* money is not likely to stick a hand long".

Letter 12 [1 August 1789]

"My new coach is come down, seems to answer well, is neat & plain".

On the hibernation of swallows

Letter 7 [12 February 1788]

"Heard lately from poor Hudson author of the Flora Britannica[3] a very modest, backward, tho' very scientific Man... is now in Devonshire, where he saw swallows last autumn as late as the 16th of Novr, some were mentioned in the papers to have been

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1 In 1790, an election of parliamentary representatives for Durham City returned John Tempest (Tory) and William Henry Lambton (Whig) (Bean, 1890). The 'poor Lord Barnard' was probably William Henry Vane (1766-1842), who inherted the title of 5th Baron Barnard in 1792.

2 Daniel Carl Solander (1733-1782), naturalist who sailed with Sir Joseph Banks on the *Endeavour* circumnavigation of 1768-1771 (*vide Archives of Natural History* **11(3)**, which contains several papers on the life and work of Solander).

3 Presumably, William Hudson, author of *Flora Anglica* (Hudson, 1762).

seen as late as Decr 3 near Lewes in Sussex; Mr H. says there was hard frost before they disappeared in Devonshire & the Thermometer in the open air was as low as 25, the wind high & very cold, yet they flew about in the sun as brisk as in Summer, he argues strongly from this against their supposed torpidity in winter; as had they been subject to it, that degree of cold was sufficient to cause it; with all due deference to his very superior judgement, his arguments seem not to me entirely conclusive; in the first place, as they are seldom seen in winter, they must either migrate in Autumn or remain here in a torpid state, it is certain *all* do not *always* migrate in Autumn, or else how could these have been seen in Novr & Decr & others occasionally in other winters, as some mentioned by Pennant[1] seen at Merton College in Oxford near Christmas in a remarkale warm nook on a fine day, again, it is beyond doubt, that many have been seen in old ruins &c apparently dead, which being exposed to the fire, reveived & flew about, had an instance of this related to me by an eye-witness in this country:- my ingenious friend Mr Justice Barrington,[2] a few years since being in Cornwall, the first day swallows were seen there, shot several, all of which on dissection were found without any faeces in the entrails, which appeared to him an undoubted proof that they had passed the winter in a torpid state at home & not just arrived from a distant country, however *ad hunc sub judice lis est*, perhaps it is most probable, as Pennant thinks, the difference may be split, that the major part may migrate & some of later broods &c may remain torpid at home. I have heard of an ingenious device to ascertain the fact by tying a scarlet silk string to the legs of several which was found the next year on them *undiscoloured*, which would have happened had they been immersed under water, as some have asserted, but might not they have been torpid in old ruins, outbuildings &c as I mentioned before:- this long contested point seems not of the highest moment, but as every animal forms some link in the great chain of nature, every the most minute discovery in their oeconomy &c is somewhat interesting & may lead to more important ones".

On Fuseli

1 Thomas Pennant (1726-1798) was a friend of Marmaduke Tunstall and corresponded with George Allan, the man who bought Tunstall's bird collection (*vide* Fox, 1827, who printed some letters from Pennant to Allan).

2 Daines Barrington (1727-1800), lawyer, antiquary and naturalist.

Letter 17 [8 June 1790]

"Altho' I have already trespassed so egregiously on your patience by my very insipid stupidity, can't close this without relating an anecdote I heard as serious, of one Fuseli[1] a painter in London of some eminence, particularly in exhibiting aerial & fantastic figures of fairies, demons, Dryads &c, this eminence he has required not by study or imitation, but in a very singular manner; when about to commence such a performance he makes an enormous repast on *raw* pork & immediately after resigns himself quietly into the arms of Morpheus, the fumes of these viands soon by indigestion create in his brain, like the *ogri somnia*, the most extravagant representations, which he carefully on his first awaking notes down in his tablets".

On Benjamin Franklin

Letter 17 [8 June 1790]

"Old Franklin[2] gone at last, a head moulded in a capital form & such as appear only at distant intervals, he died among the people he himself had in a great measure made independant & received every honour so justly due to his supereminent talents, have had the pleasure more than once of having had conversation with him in coffee-houses & tho' extremely simple in attire, even struck my stupid head with astonishment at his clearness of delivery & his very superior talents the first time I saw him, so as to enquire with much eagerness who that person was & was answered with some surprise at my not knowing him".

On Bolton's *Fungi*

Letter 2 (from William Constable to Marmaduke Tunstall) [undated]

"Bolton's *fungi*[3] I have books of Natural History ought to give more of life & manners of all things if they could; But it is easier to draw pictures and give names, than to penetrate into their domestic oeconomy".

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1 Henry Fuseli R.A. (1741-1825) (also known as Füssli or Fuessli).

2 Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), American statesman and scientist. Franklin shared, with Marmaduke Tunstall's half-brother William Constable, an interest in electricity.

3 James Bolton (fl. 1750-1799), mycologist and author of a fungus Flora of the Halifax area (Bolton, 1788-1791). For a more positive view of the merits of Bolton's work, *vide*Watling and Seaward (1981).

On Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology*

Letter 30 (To Thomas Pennant) [1781]

"Was almost afraid you had forgot your *old friend* in giving in the Preface to *your history of Quadrupeds* the whole honour of *Brown's Zoology*[1] *to Gov. Loten*, whereas you supplied several specimens & *myself* several more than the Governor, *together with money, without which the work would never have come out & which will never be repaid, tho' perhaps rather* hurt don't think I could be displeased with my worthy friend".

On John Bailey[2]

Letter 10 [10 June 1789]

"... is a remarkable clever fellow, very active, alert & industrious, draws & maps with great accuracy & neatness, nor do I think his terms at all unreasonable, he surveys & maps twice over on parchment or vellum, once on a large scale & again more neatly on a reduced one to be in a book, all at 4½d pr acre".

On Hutchinson's *History of Durham*[3]

Letter 7 [12 February, 1788]

"the plates in it are numerous & prettily done, think he can get very little by it, especially as he gives his 3[d] vol. gratis, think it would have been better if contracted into less room & not so much of the monkish legends &c, but every work of Topography in my opinion should be encouraged, affording always some store-matter for better authors to work

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1 Peter Brown's *New Illustrations of Zoology* (Brown, 1776) included figures of several specimens in Tunstall's collection (they were listed by Fox in his *Synopsis of the Newcastle Museum* (Fox, 1827)). Brown supplied the illustrations for this work, but Pennant (1793) took credit for writing the text.

2 John Bailey (1750-1819) was land agent to Lord Tankerville at Chillingham in Northumberland. He was a trained artist, and supplied Tunstall with drawings of the Chillingham 'wild' white cattle that may have served as models for Thomas Bewick's woodcuts (*vide* Jessop and Boyd, 1996). Bailey also wrote an important works on the agriculture of Northumberland (Bailey and Culley, 1797) and Durham (Bailey, 1810). A plan of the Wycliffe estate drawn by Bailey survives in the Burton Constable Archive (Boyd and Jessop, *in press*).

3 William Hutchinson's three-volume work on the history of County Durham (Hutchinson, 1785-1794) quoted extensively from old ecclesiastical documents. As a summary of the history of the County, it has never been superseded.

upon".

On Vaillant's *Travels*

Letter 16 [29 May 1790]

"Have had some pleasure in reading Vaillant's[1] travels in Africa from the cape among the Hottentots, Caffres &c, the narration is simple & without fanfaronade, tho' originally by a native of France, the primitive & benevolent manners of these despised people put nearly upon the level of brutes by the cruel European intruders are prettily told & the friendly manner he was treated by them tells much in their favour; tho' one of his principal objects was to collect subjects of natural history, he seems not well versed in the theory of it; nor indeed does the great Bruce, tho' seemingly under the tutelage of our *Wise* President".[2]

On Bruce's *Travels*

Letter 16 [29 May 1790]

"Have you as yet received Bruce's Abyssinian travels?[3] I have not dipped much into them, there seems to me some curious matter; but was rather disappointed not to find in so expensive a work, more plates of natural history or views of magnificent ruins, many of which he frequently mentions having drawn & says they are in the King's cabinet, where they are likely to remain; his plates of natural history, especially the Zoological part are not of very new birds & animals, nor contain any thing very interesting in my opinion; his description of their banquets on living flesh, is truly horrid, am told, many still think, he makes use very often of the *privilege* of travellers".

On White's *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*, swallows and cuckoos

Letter 8 [10 December 1788]

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1 Francois Levaillant (1753-1824) explored South Africa between 1781 and 1784 (Levaillant, 1790).

2 i.e. Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), then president of the Royal Society.

3 Bruce's account of his voyage to discover the source of the Blue Nile (Bruce, 1790) included much material that was derided by his contemporaries. His account of ethiopians cutting meat from living cattle was disbelieved at the time (*vide* Moorhead, 1962).

"Have you seen a work lately published by the brother of White[1] your bookseller? I have seen him in London rather a curious but pedantic little parson of Hampshire, it is an account of the natural history & antiquities of his native place, Selborne, where among many insignificant minutiae are some rather curious observations about the migration of birds, particularly the swallow tribe, think it appears pretty plain, that some at least pass the winter here in some state, probably torpid & roused into life at times by occasional hot weather & then again fall back into the same state - if an account of a Cuckoo being heard the 29th of Novr in the Newcastle paper can be depended on, the same most probably may be said of them".

On 'wild' white cattle

Letter 7 [12 February 1788]

"Am informed the wild cattle some years since at Dunkenhalgh by tradition were said to have been supplied from Burton,[2] yet was told, were low of stature & mostly without horns, so much did they degenerate on quitting their rich pastures in Holderness, probably their being confined in Parks & restrained from their unlimited range in the vast Caledonian forests occasioned them to drop their shaggy manes, which according to Hector Boethius were like those of Lions, some now or lately in Lithuania & still more in Moldavia are furnished with them, their colour I cannot clearly make out from authors, a breed like yours perfectly white with black ears are said to have been seen on the beautiful Island of Tinian[3] in the Pacific Ocean; a breed is or was lately I am told at Mr Lister's of Gisburn in Craven, which came from Dunkelhagh, & some wild Cattle of some species are or lately were in the Park of Mr Legh of High-Legh in Cheshire, shall make farther enquiries about them, have not yet heard any thing from my Friend

1 Gilbert White (1720-1793), brother of the bookseller Benjamin White. The letter is dated 10 December 1788, and bibliographies usually cite the first edition of White's *Natural history and antiquities of Selborne* as being published in 1789. Advance copies of the work were available in the late autumn of 1788 (*vide* Foster, 1993). The contribution of Gilbert White to the debate on swallow hibernation was recently discussed by Cornelius (1994).

2 Dunkenhalgh/Dunkelhagh has not been traced in gazeteers. Boyd (1996) discussed the herd of 'wild' cattle at Burton Constable. By tradition, the cattle at Gisburn are generally supposed to have been taken there from Whalley Abbey (*vide*, e.g. Harting, 1880).

3 George Anson saw thousands of feral cattle on Tinian (Marianas Islands) in 1742. He commented "they are all of them milk white, except their ears, which are generally black" (Walter, 1748). Marmaduke Tunstall's uncle (also called Marmaduke Tunstall) subscribed to Walter's book.

French about those at Houghton, scarce think any subsist at present, at least in S. Britain, but at Chillingham.

On various topics of Natural History

Letter 6 [20 January 1788]

"Your insect must have been a curious one, had the fan been at the mouth instead of the tail, should have imagined it to be a species of polype, they are a most wonderful class of beings, many curious ones coloured are in Roesel[1], but the reading is locked up for me, think it absurd in the Germans not to put some translation into latin, French or some extensive language. German I believe is a fine expressive language, extensive in its branches, but is itself scarce spoke or understood out of Germany".

Letter 7 [12 February 1788]

"Have you ever perused a treatise on the formation of the Earth by an ingenious native of Derbyshire I believe, a miner, one Whitehurst,[2] his account of the different strata & his theory founded thereupon, corroborated by proofs & experiments, seems curious, ingenious & probable; Derbyshire seemingly containing so many of the debris of old Volcanic eruptions, is a most happy soil for investigations of this nature".

Letter 9 [7 January 1789]

[After noting a period of severe weather] "Several rather singular birds have been drove from their haunts by stress of weather & many sent to me; as Bohemian Chatterers,[3] Dundivers[4] &c, particularly from different quarters, some pairs of what by description, must be the *Scaup Ducks*[5] a rather scarce species, never seen by Pennant, as he says in

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1 Rösel von Rosenhof's *Monatlich-herausgegebenen Insecten-Belustigung* (1746-1761).

2 Refers to Whitehurst, 1778.

3 i.e. Waxwings *Bombycilla garrulus* (L.).

4 i.e. Goosanders *Mergus merganser* L. A male Goosander, shot near Wycliffe in January 1789 was among Tunstall's bird collection when catalogued on its arrival in Newcastle (Fox, 1827), but no longer survives.

5 Scaup *Aythya marila* (L.) were very numerous in southern County Durham in the winter of 1788-89, more than 1,000 were caught in one week and were sold for one shilling per dozen (Sharp, 1816).

his zoology; what is more singular, the supposed females & such as proved so on dissection, have pure white at the base of their bills, like the *White-fronted Goose*,[1] possibly they may be a distinct species, but rather think not, as Willoughby says, they are apt to vary & particularly about the *head & neck*, Latham says the females are generally larger & 2 or 3 ounces heavier than the drakes, contrary to most of the Duck Genus, but this I did not find to hold good, but in one pair, where the supposed female exceeded the Drake in weight near 3 ounces, but was fatter & in much better condition ...

... Have you seen yet the 2^{d} part of Phil. transact^{s} for last year? there is I think a very curious paper in it, by one Jenner[2] on the natural history of the Cuckoo; in which many of the arcana in the singular oeconomy of that extraordinary bird, seem to be elucidated & many difficulties cleared up & this by unwearied attention to the subject & founded on ocular demonstration".

Letter 13 [17 August 1789]

"Our papers talk of a rapid variation of the compass lately I think towards the West. What can this be attributed to? May not this have some connection with the singular weather we have had, or may not both be probably attributed to the Comet so generally expected & which may have entered our System without having been as yet perceived?

Have just been reading an account of four journies from the Cape into the interior parts of Africk by one Patterson[3] all in a thin quarto, they seem not on the whole superior to Sparrman's,[4] contain however some col^{d} plates of some curious non-descript plants & a good figure of that curious animal the Giraffa or Camelopardalis from one shot by his fellow-traveller & said now to be in the museum of John Hunter in London, it measured

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1 *Anser albifrons* (Scopoli).

2 Refers to Jenner, 1788.

3 Patterson, 1789.

4 Tunstall most probably read Sparrman's work in English translation (Sparrman, 1786), rather than the Swedish original.

from the top of the horns, which are very short, to the ground fourteen feet, nine inches, Elephants, Lions, Rhinocerosses &c &c were found in great plenty - have lately had a few impressions taken of on vellum of a copper-plate, I had done at Newcastle of the Wild Chillingham Bull, will send you a copy the first opportunity".[1]

Letter 14 [18 February 1790]

"Have just received the second vol. of the natural history of reptiles by Comte de la Cepede[2] a continuator of Buffon, to whom he left all his Mss &c this vol. is on Serpents & contains much curious matter with many good plates, find in it our blind or slow worm is viviparous as well as the viper, which I believe was hitherto unknown to our British Zoologists, altho' so common a species throughout the Nation, indeed this branch of natural history, of reptiles in general, is very imperfectly known in this kingdom, am confident many species both of Frogs, Lizards & Serpents are totally unknown, a slow-worm with a pointed tail mentioned by Berlase & said to be poisonous, imagined by Pennant a variety only, I hear has lately been discovered in Gloucestershire & found distinct, have not heard a confirmation of its being venomous, but have great reason to think it as I have heard of several animals &c being bit by a species of blindworm, which tho' not often mortal, has occasioned great swellings &c. Cepede also looks on the *black viper* as a distinct & more venomous species, a thorough knowledge of these deleterious reptiles is surely to be wished".

Letter 18 [17 July 1790]

"Some very elegant but very costly works of natural history, particularly Entomology, have lately been published & continue publishing on the continent, as Kramers papilions exotici[3], now I believe compleat about twenty five pounds. Ernst's papilions d'Europe[4] already six vols with 242 plates each from 6 to 10 figures with larvae & pupae &c about

1 The print was a woodcut, by Thomas Bewick (1753-1828). Jessop and Boyd (1996) discussed Marmaduke Tunstall's influence on Bewick's work on the Chillingham 'wild' white cattle.

2 Lacépède (1789).

3 Cramer (1779-1782). A supplement was added by Caspar Stoll in 1792.

4 Ernst's work went to to eight volumes (Ernst, 1779-1792).

fifteen guineas, not above half compleat & a very capital work in France by a Mons[r] Olivier[1], of which 9 livraisons have been published each 24 livres & containing 12 plates with many figures, entirely Coleopterous insects as yet".

Letter 25 (to Edward or Frank Sheldon) [19 January 1783]

"Sincerely wish it lay in my power to be any way useful to you in the science of Botany, in which indeed I am but a small proficient, but it has frequently in the country been to me the source of much pleasing amusement, tho' may appear dry at first, should recommend as a preliminary, to be well acquainted with the *seven parts of fructification*, the very essence of the sexual or Linnean system, much preferable in my opinion to any other, both for its intrinsic merit as also as being now almost universally adopted: the surprising affinity between the generation of animals and vegetables, now I think thoroughly ascertained, is truly wonderful & shows nature always proceeds by gentle gradations, some seeming intermediate species, as Zoophytes, Coralloids &c are hardly to be known whether to be classed with the animal or vegetable kingdom, it is astonishing the antients, who were convinced of the difference of sexes in the Palm & Fig, could make no further inferences, yet when we are assured the Chinese knew the art of printing in gross some ages & yet could never hit on moveable types our wonder must cease; the study of botany is not on the whole difficult, indeed as to the *last* or Cryptogamous class of Linneus containing Fungusses, Ferns, Mosses &c I never yet ventured to undertake, tho' am told they are extremely curious particularly the Mosses, nor have I yet applied to the grasses a very curious order, but intend it, believe it is not so difficult with the help of glasses... The works I would recommend to you to begin with are *Lee's introduction to Botany, London 1776,*[2] *Withering's British vegetables London 1776*[3] *& Miller's small illustration of Linneus' system with coloured plates 1779*[4] ... from Lee I learnt the first elements of Botany. *Linneus's Genera in 1 vol. &*

1 Olivier's work was not completed until 1808 (Olivier, 1789-1808).

2 James Lee's *An introduction to botany* was first published in 1760 (Lee, 1760) and went through several editions during the next half-century.

3 This was the first edition (Withering, 1776) of a work that appeared in a number of editions under various titles over the succeeding century.

4 Presumably, Marmaduke Tunstall's use of the word 'small' was meant ironically. Müller's work (Müller, 1777) was printed in folio, with 216 plates.

species plantarum in 2[1] both to be had I dare say at Paris, you would find necessary when further advanced ...There is a very curious capital work now coming out in Numbers called *Flora Londinensis* by one Curtis[2], but which will not be completed many years, it will be a very expensive work, it contains beautiful figures of almost every British plant nearly of natural size".

Letter 26 (to an unknown correpondent) [January 1783]

"Your very entertaining & judicious works afforded me much pleasure & at least in regard to swallows have made me almost a thorough convert to your opinion ... Have I think discovered a new species of fresh-water *Astacus*, or crayfish in a small brook of my neighbourhood, much resembling the *strigosus* of Linneus[3], tho' smaller & about the size of a prawn. Have informed our friend Pennant about it & intend sending him it, my specimen was accidentally brought in some water cresses & I have not yet been able to find another".

Letter 30 (to Thomas Pennant) [1781]

"Few good naturalists are in these parts, indeed the parson of my parish Dr Zouch[4] is a very able Botanist, have profited by his knowledge & begin to acquire some little insight into that branch, which in fine weather amuses me much in my perambulations, there are some few curious plants in this neighbourhood as the *Ornithogalum luteum, Yellow Stars of Bethlem, shrub cinquefoil*[5] & Phallus impudicus [illegible] I have seen & the little scarlet fungus mentioned in your first volume of Welsh travels ...

... Must now inform you of the very few curiosities in natural history that have occurred

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1 Perhaps, no particular editions of Linnaeus's *Genera plantarum* and *Species plantarum* were intended.

2 The work (Curtis, 1777-98) took over twenty years to complete.

3 i.e. *Austropotamobius pallipes* (Lereboullet).

4 Thomas Zouch, vicar of Wycliffe. An obituary of Marmaduke Tunstall, apparently written by Zouch, was reprinted by Fox (1827).

5 Yellow Star of Bethlehem *Gagea lutea* (L.) Ker-Gawler and Shrubby Cinquefoil *Potentilla fruticosa* L. were first recorded in Teesdale by Rev. Ralph Johnson (1629-1695) (Ray, 1677; Horsman, 1995).

to my observation here, the principal of which seems to be a new species of *Astacus or of Crawfish*, found in a very small runner or brook that falls into the Tees little more than a mile from hence & was brought to me among *some water-cresses*, it bears a strong resemblance to the *strigosus* but is much smaller, being scarce two inches long, tho' I have ordered search to be made, could never find another, it seems to have had only 6 legs besides claws like the *strigosus*, tho' as most are broke off can't well say, I have it preserved & if you think it worth your attention will send it you; by your account the *strigosus* is found in salt water only & Lobsters &c; *Lambs teeth strongly incrusted with Pyritical matter* are not unfrequent here, sent some up to Mr White in a little box for you as you mention not to have observed them, some time agoe, but fear they were lost on the road, it seems very singular in lambs who *have lived mostly on milk, & rather confutes the opinion of those who ascribed it to the soil on which they feed.* our breed of sheep in this country are remarkably fruitful, a farmer of mine had 10 out of 3 ewes & it was not reckoned very uncommon, they sometimes arrive to *immense sizes* on the Tees banks, have heard from good authority of some having been of the enormous weight of *60L & upwards a quarter*: about a year since I caught a small serpent, which seemed very much to answer the description of the *Anguis Eryx*[1] your *Aberdeen snake*, two eggs seen here must exhaust my trifling budget[?] of natural history, one with two compleat shells within each other, which I believe is a very rare circumstance tho' such have been mentioned by *Morton & some others* the other I never heard an instance of before viz one *of full size containing a perfect well-formed white which boiled hard, without the least appearance of any yolk.* ...

... What is your opinion of the very singular being or rather monster called a free-martin[2] as described by J. Hunter?[3] had it not been by a man so eminent for anatomical knowledge, should have esteemed it not worth notice, nature often sports very extraordinarily, but that *an apparent cow calf, twin with a bull do should invariably &*

1 *Anguis fragilis* L., the Slow Worm.

2 A free martin is a female of mixed-sex twin calves. Free martins are sterile, possibly because of the influence of the male hormones of the bull twin during development.

3 John Hunter (1728-1793).

constantly prove the odd being called a free-martin if a fact, must puzzle all human conjectures, luckily have an opportunity of trying, for some days since one of my cows brought forth 2 *twin calves of different sexes*, tho' I had never heard of such a being before Mr Hunter's account, have since seen it mentioned in Morton's Norhmshire[1] & find it commonly known among the country people & even my *dairy maid* was acquainted with it ...

... specimen of your thick needed Bustard[2] was killed here Aug 18 last, an unusual bird in these parts, your Spotted Gallinule[3] & Crake[4] d[itt]o have never been shot here as late as October...

... What is your opinion of the *Black* Lobster? *very frequent in these parts*, you mention it not among your crustaceous, is it a variation of species, occasioned by season age or disease? think it can't be caused only as some imagine by *under boiling*? - pray when the eggs or berries of Lobster & the cogeneral species first come into life, are they perfectly formed or do they like insects, among which Linneus ranges them, *pass thro' any worm or Larva state*? Excuse my troubling you with this, know no one able to resolve my doubts.

Letter 34 [undated]

One of the species requested from this correspondent is the Black Woodpecker *Dryocopus martius* (L.). We know there was a pair in Tunstall's museum, which he got from "Hamborough" (Fox, 1827: 60); the male bird was figured by Bewick, but neither bird survives.

Marmaduke Tunstall's correspondent in Hamburg was probably Dr J.F. Bolten.

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1 i.e. Morton (1712).

2 The Thick-knee'd Bustard is an old name for the Stone Curlew, *Burhinus oedicnemus* (L.) A specimen of this species from Tunstall's collection, figured by Thomas Bewick, survives in the Hancock Museum.

3 Spotted Crake *Porzana porzana* (L.).

4 Corn-crake *Crex crex* (L.).

Tunstall's ornithological manuscript (in McGill University) notes that he had received a pair of Rollers and a pair of Nutcrackers from Dr Bolten of Hamburg, he thought in 1775.

"Aiant par le Conte de Messiers Banks & Solander recu quelques oiseaux tres curieux & extremement bien embaumes & empailles qui sont arriver nouvellement de vous & scachant par eaux que voux avier envier d'avoir quelques choses des arrives terres nouvellement decouvertes en la Mer Sud, J'ai pris la liberte de vous envoyer un petit paquet des vetements des inhabitants, quelques coquilles, & quelques petites instruments ou de guerre ou de menage, j'en souhaite beaucoup que j'en pourrai en avoir vous envoie un plus grand quantite des curiosites & mieux choisies, j'espere de recevoir dans un peu de temps quelques choses bien curieuses aux retour d'un de mes amis qui voyage a present dans les mers & lequel j'attends de revoir au printemps prochain, j'ai ajouta quelques fossiles Anglais ou Ecosses & j'aurai envoie d'avantage si j'ai n'avois connu que vous eties beaucoup riches que nous en fossiles de toute espece en Allemagne - il y en a aussi quelques bagatelles de grands Indes. J'en suis bien sensible que le paquet que je vous envie est bien inegal au beau present que vous avez envoier moi, j'espere de etre en etat de reparer en peu de temps, il y en a quelques autres oiseaux en Allemagne que j'en serai bien heureux de recevoir empailles par votre main ingenuite telles sont le grand Pic noire, Picus martius Linn:, le Galinote, Tetrao Bonasia Linn:, un oiseau d'espece de Grimpereau decrit par Albin & nommee *the Hamborough creeper*, quelques especes des Aigles &c & j'en tacherai donc de fair un echange, meilleur. J'ai ecrit sur des petites billets ou latin ou francois attachez au pieces, le noms des endroits d'ou ils viennent, vous voyer Monsr comme je suis mal accoutoumes d'ecrire en la langue Francaise mais esperant que vous m'en excuserai tpous mes solacismes je reste avec respect".

Magical Tables

Letter 14 [18 February 1790]

"Will in a very few days send, viâ Todd[1], the magical tables I mentioned, lately found

1 Presumably, the name of a carrier rather than Todd the bookseller of York. In letter 3, Marmaduke Tunstall wrote of sending game birds "by the way of Todd, a careful man".

by young Hawkesworth[1] on Gaterley Moor, Brooke[2] sent me a pedigree of the Philips family & some explanations & conjectures about them, which I have had transcribed & shall send with them; young Hawkesworth seems a clever curious boy ...".

Letter 15 [25 March 1790]

"Hope you received print of the magical tables; Mr Hawkesworth has sent me a very apposite quotation from Tacitus's annals B:2 C:29 on this matter, speaking of the death of Germanicus among other incantations, he mentions *nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis inscriptum*".[3]

A new planet[4]

Letter 26 [January 1783]

"Have you observed as yet the new *Georgian* planet? an inhabitant of it 80 years of age must be nearly coeval to the, at least, supposed creation of this globe".

Letter 30 (to Thomas Pennant) [1781]

"Have you heard of the new planet beyond Saturn said to have been discovered by Mr Herschel, whose orbit or year is aperted to be equal to 80 of ours - this seems to be the year of wonders, never remmember so bad a season, God send us better times in every respect & a good peace, once more to make old England flourish".

Sir Ashton Lever's Museum

Letter 30 (to Thomas Pennant) [1781]

"Had one of Sr A. Lever's men to repair damages &c in museum, find he is very desirous to part with it, from necessity I fear, shall be very sorry if so noble a collection

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1 The identity of 'young' Hawkesworth is unknown.

2 John Charles Brooke (1748-1794), Somerset Herald.

3 For a recent discussion of Roman curses inscribed on lead tablets, *vide* Merrifield, 1987.

4 Coincidentally, the newly discovered planet, Uranus, was given the name *Georgium Sidus* in the volume of *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* that contained Marmaduke Tunstall's paper on lunar rainbows (Tunstall, 1783).

of nat. history should be dispersed[1] or sent out of the kingdom, it is truly a national concern & should be considered as such".

Apologies

Several of the letters end by apologising for taking up the reader's time. Almost certainly intended to be taken in jest, these apologies are amusing in their inventiveness.

Letter 4 [27 August 1787]

"excuse this farrago of nonsense".

Letter 5 [13 January 1788]

[I]"cannot refrain from once again intruding on you my very uninteresting scrawl".

Letter 11 [20 June 1789]

"I can make no excuse for trespassing so shamefully on you by my most uninteresting scrawl".

Letter 14 [18 February 1790]

"Your kind partiality to me in saying my very uninteresting scrawl can at any time afford the least amusement must ever flatter me much & most ardently wish I could ever collect any matter in any respect agreeable or entertaining, but am very confident this is very rarely the case".

REFERENCES

All published material cited in the appendix is listed in the main body of references

1 By 1781, Lever faced financial ruin and was trying to sell his collection. The story of Lever's museum and its dispersal has been recently described by Largen (1987).

APPENDIX TWO

PART ONE

LIST OF MARMADUKE TUNSTALL'S ZOOLOGICAL SPECIMENS SURVIVING IN THE HANCOCK MUSEUM

[In researching the fate of specimens and their movement within the Hancock Museum during the 20th century, much use has been made of the Staff Lists, housed in the Archive Store at the Hancock Museum. These are catalogues of parts of the collection, compiled by Stephen Cook, a taxidermist and Deputy Curator at the Hancock Museum. The lists are undated but are known to have been prepared during the 1940s and 1950s.]

1 Head of a Hornbill

The head of a Hornbill *Aceros cassidix* (Temminck) is in the osteology collections, catalogued as NEWHM: S0203. The specimen was listed as number 286 of the Foreign Birds by Fox (1827).

2 Head of a Jabiru

The head of a Jabiru *Jabiru mycteria* (Lichtenstein) is in the osteology collections, catalogued as NEWHM: S0061. The specimen was listed as number 333 of the Foreign Birds by Fox (1827).

3 Virginian Opossum

According to Staff Lists nos 4 and 10 a Virginian Opossum *Didelphis virginiana* Kerr, from the Allan Museum was represented in the 1940s by the skull only, which was on display (part of the 'exhibited series' according to Cook). There is a label for the specimen among the osteology collections at the Hancock Museum and another in the Archive Store, but the specimen cannot be located. Newcastle University zoology students may have used it as reference material: the osteology collections contain a box of Opossum skulls originating from the Zoology Department of Newcastle University.

4 'Chestnut Jacana'

A 'Chestnut Jacana' (probably a Wattled Jacana, *Jacana spinosa jacana* (Linnaeus)) from the Allan Museum was listed as a display specimen in *Staff List* no. 7, and there is a printed label for it in the archive store. No such specimen was listed by Howse (1899) as being on display in the Bird Gallery, and it may have been held in store at that time. It was probably taken off display when the Bird Gallery was redeveloped in 1979, but the specimen has not been located and must be presumed lost.

5 Turtle carapace

A turtle carapace is in the osteology collections, catalogued as NEWHM: S0522. It is labelled "A new species of Tortois found in the river Ohio anno 1763 p. Jo. Bartram" [John Bartram explored the Ohio river in 1761 (Berkeley & Berkeley, 1982)], and possibly represents the unnamed tortoise listed as number 5 by Fox (1827). The specimen was identified as *Trionyx spinifer* LeSueur by Dr E.N. Arnold in February 1982.

6 Wattled Curassow

Two Staff Lists (5 and 6) refer to a Wattled Curassow *Crax globulosa* Linnaeus from the Allan Museum being in the collection. Although there is a Wattled Curassow currently on display in the bird gallery, this does not fit the description given by Fox of the specimen from the Allan Museum (which lacked a tail). The cataloguer may have confused a label 'Old Museum' with 'Allan Museum': there is a label for a Wattled Curassow from the Old Museum in the Archive Store.

7 Green-headed Bunting

This specimen, the holotype of *Emberiza chlorocephala* Gmelin, 1789 and of *Emberiza tunstalli* Latham, 1790 was preserved among a display of birds figured by Thomas Bewick, although Bewick did not figure this specimen. More details on this specimen are given by Jessop and Prŷs-Jones (*in prep*).

8 Twenty Five birds figured by Thomas Bewick

Twenty-four specimens from Marmaduke Tunstall's collection figured by Thomas

Bewick are discussed in detail elsewhere (appendix two). There are single specimens of the following species: Great Crested Grebe; Manx Shearwater; Night Heron; Red-Breasted Goose; Gadwall; African Ruddy Shelduck (*Tadorna cana* Gmelin); Scoter; Smew; Osprey; Red Kite; White-tailed Eagle; Gyr Falcon; Ptarmigan; Capercaillie; Great Bustard; Stone Curlew; Great Auk; Turtle Dove; Roller; Lesser Spotted Woodpecker; Dartford Warbler; Long-tailed Tit; Nutcracker, and Chough.

The history of these birds in detailed in the following section of this appendix

PART TWO

BIRD SPECIMENS FIGURED BY THOMAS BEWICK SURVIVING IN THE HANCOCK MUSEUM

(This section was published as Jessop, L., 1999a. Bird Specimens figured by Thomas Bewick surviving in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. *Transactions of the Natural History Society of Northumbria* **59(3)**: 65-82.)

SUMMARY

A survey of the mounted bird collections at the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne, has revealed the survival of 35 specimens that were figured by Thomas Bewick for use in his *History of British Birds*. The curatorial history of these specimens is discussed.

INTRODUCTION

During recent decades, staff at the Hancock Museum have retrieved from the museum's attic four specimens of birds that were figured by Thomas Bewick. Early in 1995 a specimen of a Knot was found in the attic which was labelled as a Bewick-figured specimen, and this fed suspicions that there might be further, hitherto-unrecognised, material stored there. Through the summer of 1995 a very thorough search of the attic and other storage areas in the museum was carried out, and a detailed scrutiny was made of archival material. The search revealed the presence of dozens of late 18th- and early 19th century mounted birds.

When the rediscovered Bewick-figured material is added to the specimens that were previously recognised, there are 35 birds figured by Bewick and one cited by him surviving in the Hancock Museum. Twenty five of the birds are 18th century mounts from the collection of Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790) of Wycliffe in Yorkshire, and

together these comprise a highly important sample of 18th century taxidermy. One bird from Tunstall's collection not figured by Bewick (the Green-headed Bunting, the holotype of *Emberiza chlorocephala* Gmelin, 1788 and of *Emberiza tunstalli* Latham, 1790) was found associated with Bewick-figured specimens: it is discussed below because of that previous association.

The birds are of undoubted interest, both in the history of natural history and for comparative study of Bewick's work and its sources. The present paper provides documentation of the specimens at a basic level, generally leaving detailed investigation to other workers: some specimens, however, have already been discussed in greater detail elsewhere (Jessop & Prŷs-Jones, *in press*, Jessop, 1999b). As the project progressed, new information on the life of Marmaduke Tunstall was amassed, and this has also been presented in a separate paper (Boyd & Jessop, 1998). The fate of Tunstall's collections, within the context of the history of the Hancock Museum, is discussed by Jessop (1999).

In addition to the rediscovery of this important material, the study is of interest because it demonstrates how rapidly - in terms of the life of a museum - a collection can degrade once it loses its integrity.

HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

Marmaduke Tunstall amassed one of the most important systematic bird collections in 18th century Europe. After his death in 1790 the collection remained at his house at Wycliffe for a short while, where some of the birds were figured by Thomas Bewick, who made a two-month visit to Wycliffe in 1791 (Bain, 1981). Later in the same year, the birds from Tunstall's Museum were acquired by George Allan the antiquary of Darlington, and remained in his possession until his death in 1800. Allan's collection was bought by the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society in 1822 and was thoroughly catalogued by George Townshend Fox in 1827. Although originating with Tunstall, the specimens have long been referred to as being from the 'Allan Museum', and that convention is followed here.

Thomas Bewick commented on the poor preservation of the birds in his *Memoir* (Bewick, 1975), "I found the very great difference between preserved Specimens & those from nature, no regard having been paid at that time to place the former in their proper attitudes, nor to place the different series of the feathers, so as to fall properly upon each other." Scrutiny of a list of the species for which Bewick relied on Tunstall's specimens shows that he used the collection at Wycliffe only for the rarer birds, i.e. those species for which he could not obtain locally-shot specimens or could draw from life. It is possible that Bewick sketched a wider range of species in Tunstall's collection but superseded these figures when 'better' reference material was located: in two instances (the capercaillie and great auk) there are surviving drawings based on Tunstall specimens that were not worked up for publication.

Bewick continued to add new figures as his *History of British Birds* proceeded through various editions, but he did not call upon the Allan Museum specimens again until the edition of 1826, published after the collection had arrived in Newcastle. The birds illustrated in this later period included some species, like the bluethroat, that had been added to the British List since 1791 as well as other species for which he had earlier been unable to find illustrative material. Fox (1827) listed all of the specimens in the Newcastle Museum that he knew, or suspected, to have been drawn by Bewick. Twenty five of those birds listed by Fox have been lost over the last 170 years, a survival rate of about 50%. This rate is indeed impressive when contrasted with the birds in Tunstall's collection *not* figured by Bewick, of which only two - a long-tailed tit and the green-headed bunting - out of some 600 specimens (0.3%) have survived.

The birds of the Allan Museum initially formed the greatest part of what was to be known as the Newcastle Museum, but as material was added to the collections during the 19th century many of the earlier specimens were discarded (*vide* Jessop, 1999). Effectively under the care of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne (renamed the Natural History Society of Northumbria in 1974) from 1829 until the present, the Newcastle Museum was removed in 1884 to a purpose-built new home, which has been called the Hancock Museum since 1891.

A number of Bewick's original drawings and watercolours have survived, and Bain (1981) reproduced a large selection of them alongside copies of the finished woodcuts. Fifteen of the watercolours in Bain (1981) relate to the surviving birds, and these are cross-referenced in Appendix Two.

A DISPLAY OF BIRDS FIGURED BY BEWICK.

A special display of the birds figured by Bewick once existed in the Hancock Museum, and its predecessor the Newcastle Museum.

Two of the Hancock Museum's long-serving curatorial staff, E. Morton[1] and A.M. Tynan[2], remember (*pers. comm*) being told by the late Grace Hickling[3] that when she was young there was a large case on display in the museum "full of birds figured by Bewick". Mrs Hickling was born in 1908, which places her memory of the case as possibly being in the 1920s or 1930s. The display she remembered was probably that mentioned in the Council minutes of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne on 23 March 1867: "Messrs J. Hancock ... to direct the erection of suitable cases for the birds figured by Bewick separate from the general collection". The display that John Hancock erected in the Newcastle Museum was transferred to the new building in 1884: Bewick-figured birds were certainly on display in the Hancock Museum in 1897, as Watson (1897) reported that, "there is a case of the birds above mentioned as they were when Bewick's pencil made them live."

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1 Worked at the Hancock Museum from 1970 to the present. Initially employed as a taxidermist and, from 1992, as Assistant Keeper of Biology.

2 Curator of the Hancock Museum, 1958-1992.

3 Grace Hickling (1908-1986) worked as an unpaid honorary secretary at the Hancock Museum from the late 1940s until her death (Shannon, 1988).

Gill (1908) wrote an article about the history of the Hancock Museum, in which he said of the Allan Museum, "practically all that survive in the museum of to-day are a few stuffed birds which served Bewick as models for his woodcuts, and some extremely valuable native implements ... A group of the old 'Allan Museum' birds, together with Bewick's figures of them, are now on show on the 'Bewick Gallery' in the museum; they were probably thought satisfactory when they were stuffed, more than a hundred years ago, but to us now they look very distorted, and even in Bewick's woodcuts they have undergone much 'editing'. "

The Bewick-figured specimens were not listed by Howse (1899) in his catalogue of the birds displayed at the Hancock Museum. Howse, however, included only those specimens on display in the Bird Gallery and not elsewhere in the museum, and Gill's mention of a 'Bewick Gallery' suggests that they were displayed in a separate room. The display may have been on the balcony of the southern large gallery (known as the Zoology Room), where for many years there was an exhibition of Bewick's work[1].

The most valuable specimens of the Hancock Museum were removed from display in 1939 and sent to country houses in Northumberland for the duration of World War II. The Bewick-figured birds were probably evacuated at that time, the capercaillie (at least) was seen by the museum's taxidermist S.E. Cook at Wallington Hall during the war years[2]. It is not known whether the display was re-assembled after 1945, and there is no mention of it in the curators' reports covering the period 1932-1970[3]. The birds were not entered in the lists of specimens in the stores or on display made by Cook in the 1940s/50s[4], and the display had certainly been dismantled before A.M.Tynan joined the staff of the Hancock Museum in 1958 (AMT *pers. comm.*).

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1 James Alder, ornithologist, artist and long-standing supporter of the Hancock Museum has confirmed (*pers. comm.*) that he remembers the display of Bewick-figured birds being on the balcony of the Zoology Room in the 1930s.

2 Manuscript book SL10 in the archives of the Hancock Museum.

3 In the council minute books of the Natural History Society of Northumbria.

4 Manuscript books SL5 & SL6 in the archives of the Hancock Museum.

Whether or not the display was reassembled after 1945, or if it was reassembled and subsequently removed during the 1940s or 1950s is perhaps immaterial. The specimens were ultimately consigned by an unknown person to the museum's attic: the start of a process that led to the break up of the collection.

'A' STANDS FOR ATTIC

The attic of the Hancock Museum is a dusty, dimly-lit, maze of roof posts, with a mostly lath-and-plaster floor. It may be thought to be an astonishingly bad storage location for material that ranks among the museum's greatest treasures, but for much of the 20th century it was the major store of the museum's collection of non-display large items (bird mounts, fish, and mammal trophy heads)[1]. In this respect, it was probably the most obvious place to relocate the boxes of Bewick-figured birds when they were removed from display.

At some time, probably during the 1960s, a list (which survives in the archives of the Hancock Museum) was prepared of all of the 600 or so specimens stored in the attic[2]. All of the specimens were characteristically numbered with the prefix 'A', so the list is here referred to as the 'A-list'. Against several of the entries in the A-list is the word 'Bewick', indicating that the person who compiled the list was aware of their significance - it is puzzling that he or she took no action to retrieve the birds from the attic at that time. Because the 'A'-list provides storage localities within the attic, we know that most of the Bewick-figured specimens were housed together at the time the list was made.

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1 Since 1992 the attic has been progressively cleared, the material being moved to better stores.

2 The list certainly pre-dates 1979: the bird gallery was thoroughly redeveloped in that year (Tynan, 1979), and those specimens not needed for the new display were removed to the attic. Because none of these ex-display specimens was given an 'A' number, it suggests they were not there when the list was made. A pre-1970 date is suggested, because there is photographic evidence that some birds numbered in the A-list were exhibited in a temporary display in that year: they were found, in 1995, in the (unnumbered) boxes in which they had been displayed in 1970.

The word 'Bewick' appears against two unnamed birds (A520 and A521) in the A-list. No birds with those numbers have been found in the attic, however two birds that once were housed in the attic (spoonbill and merlin) have not been matched to A-numbers. It may be presumed that these two birds equate to specimens number A520 and A521.

Case A508, according to the 'A-list', contained "Night Heron. Curlew. Bustard. LTLE." The word 'Bewick' does not appear alongside, but there is only one night heron on the list, and this is known to be a Bewick-figured specimen. The other three species in the box were not figured by Bewick[1].

The 'A-list' has proved useful in assessing one important specimen. When the south african shelduck was found it had no indication, by way of old labels, that it was a figured by Bewick, although it is on a similar-styled wooden base to other such birds. Listed as 'A525 ruddy shelduck Bewick?', it agrees with Bewick's figure and is the only specimen of that species in the Hancock Museum's collections.

AFTER THE A-LIST

There has been considerable disturbance and dispersal of the attic-stored birds in the decades since the A-list was produced. Many of the Bewick-figured birds were taken out of their wooden cases, and when found in 1995 were housed in polythene bags (a recent innovation, not available in the immediate post-war years).

In 1970, five birds were removed from store and used in an exhibition about Thomas Bewick[2]. In preparing the exhibition, the birds were taken out of their original cases and put into glass-fronted boxes with distinctive black-painted interiors. Four of them were still in these cases in 1995: the bee-eater (removed from case A473) was found in the

1 The curlew *should* not be a Bewick-figured specimen, as the species does not appear on Fox's list (Fox, 1827): the one curlew found in the attic does not agree with Bewick's figure. A little bustard figured by Bewick was once on display in the bird room but was probably removed prior to the 1940s (no little bustard has been found in the attic).

2 Photographs of the exhibition, dated October 1970, are in the archive of the Natural History Society of Northumbria.

attic together with the nutcracker (A518) and the great-crested grebe (A510); the glass front of the case containing the great-crested grebe was missing, and the bird was very dirty.. The chough (A516), was found in another store: when found it was unlabelled, and but for its distinctive stance and for the association of black-painted boxes it would have been overlooked as a Bewick-figured bird. The merlin (?A520, or A521) was utilised as part of the synoptic series of British birds when the Bird Gallery was redeveloped in 1979 and is still on display.

Further confusion was created when the birds that were stored loosely in polythene bags were moved about within the attic by workmen during electrical re-wiring during the 1980s, and heaped into several separate piles. The great bustard, kite, king eider, sea eagle, roller and gyr falcon (all in polythene bags when found) lay together in a distinct heap at the eastern end of the attic, so heavily covered with dust that they were barely recognisable as bags of birds. Three wooden boxes were stored together at the western end of the attic. Box A548,which once housed the ptarmigan and turtle dove, as can be seen from a label on its side, was still in the attic but now empty[1]: the box was found in one of the central bays. The other wooden boxes that once housed the polythene-bagged birds have not been traced: perhaps they were emptied of their specimens because the boxes were needed elsewhere.

Some of the birds in polythene bags bore manuscript labels stating that they were drawn by Bewick and were from the Allen [*sic*] Museum: presumably these labels were added when the birds were taken out of their wooden cases in order to be bagged. To make a slightly pedantic point, the knot and king eider, which were labelled as being 'ex Allen Museum', were not actually Allan Museum specimens.

Most of the specimens are in fair condition considering their age, and some (the red kite in particular) are in good condition. A few have faded badly, and have loose feathers, and the osprey has deteriorated very seriously.

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1 Since 1984 these birds have been on display in the Hancock Museum in a small gallery devoted to the work of Bewick.

SPECIMENS ON DISPLAY IN THE BIRD GALLERY

Some of the birds figured by Bewick have a slightly different history to that detailed above. They were not used in the special display of Bewick-figued birds, instead forming part of the general synoptic series in the Bird Gallery of the Hancock Museum. Howse's catalogue of 1899 lists six: ortolan bunting, bluethroat, little bustard, little bittern, red-breasted goose and juvenile great auk (which was sketched by Bewick, but not the subject of a woodcut).

The ortolan bunting, bluethroat, red-breasted goose and juvenile great auk are still on display, being retained when the gallery was re-developed in 1979. The male bluethroat is mis-labelled as a female and will shortly be removed from display. The little bittern was removed from display in 1979, and was found in 1995 in store together with other ex-display little bitterns. The little bustard appears to have been discarded several decades ago (*vide infra*).

A long-tailed tit from the Allan Museum mentioned (but not figured) by Bewick was on display in the Bird Gallery until 1979, when it was removed to the attic. It was found, in its ex-display case together with other long-tailed tits in 1995.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A display of birds figured by Thomas Bewick was assembled by John Hancock in 1867, and following the move to the new museum in 1884 was placed on display together with illustrations by Bewick. Although the late Grace Hickling recalled this display as comprising a large case, the evidence from surviving birds is that they were probably housed in a number of glazed wooden boxes[1]. At some time in the mid-20th century, the

1 These cases agree in design with those shown in photographs of the old Newcastle Museum (in the archive of the Natural History Society of Northumbria), suggesting that the display was transferred intact to the new museum in 1884.

boxes were removed to the Museum's attic, where they were initially housed together. They were listed at some time, probably in the 1960s, but subsequently most of the birds were removed from their boxes; five were used as part of a temporary display and the others were moved about in the attic by workmen. Following a prolonged search most of the birds have been found, only a spoonbill is definitely known to be missing.

Other birds, that formed part of the permanent display of British birds have enjoyed a greater degree of stability. The museum's Bird Gallery remained virually unchanged from 1884 to 1979, and most of the birds were re-used following a major gallery development. Those that were removed from display in 1979 were left in their ex-display cases and were readily recognisable.

The specimens and their associated labels survived intact over a long period, during which the museum's displays changed little. It was only during a period of development that the threats arose. Following their transfer to an attic store the integrity of the collection was lost: birds were removed from their cases, separated from their labels and mixed with specimens of various origins. It would have been a very small matter in the years between 1945 and 1970 (when the collection was last known to be intact) to have maintained the integrity of the collection: re-assembling it in 1995 involved many hours spent looking at hundreds of birds, poring over old photographs, checking and re-checking catalogues and checklists. The lessons to present, and future, curators should be clear.

LIST OF SPECIMENS

Conventions:

The bird species are listed below in a systematic order, following Cramp *et al.* (1977-1994). Both the Latin binomina and the English vernacular names are those used in that work. English names used by Bewick are added in parenthesis.

The pagination in the '*Bewick*' column mostly follows the 1826 edition of *British Birds*, being the last published during Thomas Bewick's lifetime. There are two exceptions, the

harlequin and bluethroat, which were first illustrated in the posthumous (1847) edition of Bewick's *British Birds* compiled by John Hancock.

Because of the importance of Fox's (1827) *Synopsis of the Newcastle Museum* in documenting the history of these specimens, his catalogue numbers and pagination are also given. The 'A-list' was also crucial in the recognition of some specimens as being Bewick-figured, and numbers assigned to specimens in that list are therefore cited. The specimens were entered into the museum's computerised cataloguing system in 1995, and their modern catalogue numbers are given.

Many of the birds have a distinctive label, here referred to as 'old style label' (see Figure 39). These apparently date from the early to mid 19th century: the earliest acquisitions bearing 'old-style' labels were acquired with the Allan Museum in 1827, the latest so far seen are affixed to ethnographic items acquired in 1855. The surviving cases from the old display of Bewick-figured specimens also bear distinctive labels (Figure 40).

Glossary of terms

Tunst. ms. A manuscript compiled by Marmaduke Tunstall and relating to his bird collection was quoted extensively by Fox, who called it 'the *Tunst. ms*'. It dates from 1783-84, was addressed to Dr Latham and gave notes on the natural history of various bird species. This catalogue has apparently not been seen since 1827 and is preseumed to be no longer extant.

Allan Museum. (Sometimes mis-spelled as *Allen Museum*). The part of Marmaduke Tunstall's collection that was bought by George Allan, together with objects Allan acquired from other sources. Acquired by the Newcastle Literary & Philosophical Society in 1822.

Newcastle Museum. The collections of the Newcastle Literary & Philosophical Society, comprising the *Allan Museum* plus objects acquired from other sources. The bluethroat, for instance was a *Newcastle Museum*, not an *Allan Museum* specimen.

Hancock Museum. A building rather than a collection. Opened in 1884, and called The Hancock Museum since 1891, it houses the collections of the Natural History Society of Northumbria. The collections comprise the *Newcastle Museum* plus material acquired from other sources.

Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne. The society was founded in 1829 and assumed responsibility for the Natural Curiosities of the *Newcastle Museum* almost from its foundation. It was renamed the *Natural History Society of Northumbria* in 1974

1. **Great crested grebe, *Podiceps cristatus* (Great-Crested Grebe)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2075

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 206. A male and female were present in the collections in 1827. Fox did not list this species as being one figured by Bewick from specimens in the Allan Museum.

Bewick Volume 2, p.153. No data cited.

A-number A510

Notes Found in a black-painted box with no labels, but in association with other boxes containing Bewick-figured specimens. The specimen was displayed, in this box, in a temporary exhibition about the work of Thomas Bewick, in October 1970 (*vide supra*).

2. **Manx shearwater, *Puffinus puffinus* (Shearwater)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2076

Location On display in Thomas Bewick display

Fox Number 230. "Mr. Bewick's figure was made from our specimen."

Bewick Volume 2, p. 241. "The above figure was taken from a stuffed specimen in the Wycliffe Museum."

A-number A515

Notes Old-style label present.

3. **Little bittern, *Ixobrychus minutus*** **(Male Little Bittern)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2077

Location Removed from a store behind Abel's Ark display to secure storage, October 1995.

Bewick Volume 2, p. 25. "The above figure was taken from a stuffed specimen, obligingly lent to this work by Sir M.W. Ridley, Bart. of Blagdon, Northumberland : the bird was shot there on the 10th of May, 1810."

A-number Not applicable: this bird has not been stored in the attic

Notes The bird was on display in the Bird Gallery in 1899 (Howse, 1899). It was found, together with the other ex-display Little Bitterns. On a decorative wooden base. Labelled: 1.

The female little bittern from the Wycliffe Museum, figured by Bewick, has not been found.

4. **Night heron, *Nycticorax nycticorax*** **(Night Heron)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2078

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 178. "Mr Bewick's figure was taken from this specimen, which should have three white feathers in the crest, of which one is wanting."

Bewick Volume 2, p. 14. "The above figure was taken from a stuffed specimen now in the Newcastle Museum, and is the only one we have seen."

A-number A508

Notes On a square base. Old-style label present.

5. **Spoonbill, *Platalea leucorodia*** **(Spoonbill)**

An old-style label for a spoonbill was found in association with a shoveler duck removed from the attic during 1995. The latin name on the label, *Platalea leucorodia*, leaves no doubt that it was originally associated with a spoonbill, not a shoveler duck. No specimen of a spoonbill has been found.

6.	**Red-breasted goose, *Branta ruficollis* (Red-Breasted Goose)**
Catalogue no.	NEWHM 1995.H2079
Location	On display in the Bird Gallery.
Fox	Number 240. " 'It was shot in the severe frost in the beginning of the year 1776, near London. Never heard, I think, but of two more seen in England' *Tunst. ms.*"
Bewick	Volume 2, p. 280. "They are very rare in this country, only three of them (so far as our knowledge extends) having ever been met with in it, and those all by the late M. Tunstall, Esq. of Wycliffe, in Yorkshire, in whose valuable museum the first of these birds, in high preservation, was placed. (footnote: the foregoing figure was taken from this specimen, now in the Newcastle Museum). It was shot near London in the beginning of the hard frost in the year 1766 [*err. pro* 1776, copied from Latham: see Fox]."
A-number	Not applicable: this bird has not been stored in the attic.
Notes	A label associated with the bird on display in the Bird Gallery clearly indicates its source. An old-style label is present in the Hancock Museum's Archive Store. This specimen represents the first British record of the species (*vide* Yarrell, 1882-84).

7	**South african shelduck, *Tadorna cana* (Ferruginous Duck)**
Catalogue no.	NEWHM 1995.H2081
Location	Removed from the attic to secure storage, 1995
Fox	Number 328
Bewick	Volume 2, p.313. figure "taken from a stuffed specimen once in the extensive museum of Wycliffe ... It is now in the Newcastle Museum."
A-number	A525
Notes	This specimen was removed from the attic together with sundry other birds not figured by Bewick, and its importance was not immediately recognised. There was no old-style label or other indication that it was a Bewick-figured specimen. However, A525 was a "Ruddy Shelduck

possibly figured by Bewick" according to the list of 'A' numbers.

The wooden base agrees with other Bewick-figured specimens in its style, and there is a cut-off corner that probably bore a label at one time.

The specimen is of interest in that it represents a long-standing misidentification. It has long been accepted as the earliest British record of the Ruddy Shelduck *Tadorna ferruginea* (Jessop, 1999b) and is a possible syntype of *Tadorna cana*.

8. **Gadwall, *Anas strepera*** **(Gadwall)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2080

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 250. A male and female were present in the Newcastle Museum.

Bewick Volume 2, p. 348. "The foregoing figure was made from a Wycliffe specimen now in the Newcastle Museum."

A-number A474 (part)

Notes On a square wooden base. Old-style label present. Specimen is in a glass-fronted wooden box, labelled "specimens from the Allan Museum, figured by Bewick, in his work on British Birds."

9. **King eider, *Somateria spectabilis*** **(King Duck)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2082

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Bewick Volume 2, p. 310. "The stuffed specimen from which our figure was made, was obligingly lent to this work by Matthew Bell, Esq. of Woolsington, to whom it was presented by William Nelson Griffiths, Esq. of his Majesty's ship Griper. It was shot at Melville Island, during Captain Parry's first expedition for the discovery of a North West passage to the Pacific Ocean."

A-number A509

Notes The specimen has a manuscript label "figured by Bewick Allen [sic] Mus." Old-style label present. Square base with label: "2. male, specimen figured in Bewick's Br Birds."

10. **Harlequin, *Histrionicus histrionicus*** **(Harlequin Duck)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2084

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage during the 1980s (E. Morton, *pers. comm.*)

Fox Number 148 of the Recent Aquisitions. The bird was shot by a member of the crew of the whaling ship *The Cove* on Disko Island, Baffin Bay and presented to the Newcastle Museum by Mr G. Palmer.

Bewick Volume 2, p. 341 (1847 edition)

A-number A475 (part)

Notes An old-style label present, plus a label: "specimens from the Allan Museum, figured by Bewick, in his work on British Birds." It was not figured in any edition during Thomas Bewick's lifetime, but a woodcut of it (by an unknown artist) was included in the posthumous edition of 1847.

11. **Common scoter, *Melanitta nigra*** **(Scoter)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2083

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage during the 1980s (E. Morton, *pers. comm.*).

Fox Number 244. Listed among specimens from the Wycliffe Museum figured by Bewick.

Bewick Volume 2, p. 322. No data.

A-number A475 (part)

Notes Has an old-style label. This is probably the '& other duck' entered in the 'A-list' as being in a case with the Harlequin.

12. **Smew, *Mergus albellus*** **(Smew)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2085

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 236.

Bewick Volume 2, p. 260. No data

A-number A474 (part)

Notes Specimen is in a glass-fronted wooden box, labelled "specimens from the Allan Museum, figured by Bewick, in his work on British Birds." On a square wooden base. Label on base: "male. Summer plumage. Allan Mus. Specimen figured in Bewick's Br. Birds." Old-style label present.

13. **Red kite, *Milvus milvus*** **(Kite)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2087

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 45.

Bewick Volume 1, p. 32. No data.

A-number A511

Notes On a piece of half-round dowelling. Old-style label present.

14. **White-tailed eagle, *Haliaeetus albicilla*** **(White-tailed Eagle)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2088

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 43.

Bewick Volume 1, p. 9. No data.

A-number A543

Notes On a wooden perch, which has the word 'Bewick' written on the side. Old-style label present. Bewick figured the white-tailed eagle twice under different names, both figures being taken from specimens in Tunstall's Museum. The specimen figured on p. 11 of Volume 1 of *British Birds* had deteriorated badly by 1822, and was left behind when the Allan Museum was brought to Newcastle (Fox, 1827).

15. **Gyrfalcon, *Falco rusticolus*** **(Jer falcon)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2099

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 54. "This bird was presented to Mr Tunstall by the late Earl of Orford, in 1775 ... Mr Bewick has engraven this bird, after it has been well repaired by Mr R. Wingate. The excellent condition of this valuable specimen, considering its age, is indeed a curiosity."

Bewick Volume 1, p. 15. No data.

A-number A514

Notes Style of label agrees with other Bewick-figured specimens. On a dowelling base. Old-style label present.

16. **Osprey, *Pandion haliaetus*** **(Osprey)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2086

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage during the 1980s (E. Morton, *pers. comm.*)

Fox Number 44. A fine specimen of this species.

Bewick Volume 1, p. 13. No data.

A-number A512

Notes On a piece of twig. The specimen has been very badly damaged by insect attack, and the barbs of most of the feathers have been eaten away. It was found in the attic several years ago in this condition, labelled as being from the Allan Museum and figured by Bewick (E. Morton, *pers. comm*), but no labels have been preserved.

17. **Merlin, *Falco columbarius*** **(Stone falcon)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1997.H152

Location On display, in the Bird Gallery

Fox Not listed. Presumably, the bird was later donated by John Hancock to the Newcastle Museum.

Bewick Volume 1, p. 46. The specimen, which was lent to this work by a young friend and rising naturalist, Mr. John Hancock, of Newcastle, is the fourth of the kind which we have ever heard of in the North of England.

A-number Not mentioned by name in the A-list.

Notes Not mentioned in any published work, other than Bewick's *History of British Birds*, and not referred to in any of the manuscripts consulted, the specimen was used (and photographed) as part of a display of Thomas Bewick's work in 1970. Through the photograph, housed in the archive of the Natural History Society of Northumbria, the surviving specimen - now on display among the synoptic series of British birds - and Bewick's figure have been matched.

18. **Ptarmigan, *Lagopus mutus*** **(White Grouse)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2089

Location On display, in the Thomas Bewick display.

Fox Number 167 (four specimens)

Bewick Volume 1, p. 343. No data.

A-number A548 (part)

Notes Old-style label present. This species was not listed by Fox as being one of those in the collection of the Newcastle Museum figured by Bewick.

19. **Capercaillie, *Tetrao urogallus*** **(Capercaillie)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2090

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage in the 1980s (E. Morton, *pers. comm.*)

Fox Number 164.

A-number A476

Notes No labels present. The specimen was placed on a modern base in the 1980s. The watercolour by Bewick reproduced by Bain (1981) matches this bird, especially regarding the tail, which is erect and tilted to one side. However, Bewick's published woodcut (Volume 1, p. 325) was not taken from this watercolour. Our bird has been claimed (*teste* Fox) to represent the last surviving male specimen of the original British race of the Capercaillie.

20. **Little bustard, *Otis tetrax*** **(Little Bustard)**

A female was shot on Newmarket Heath and presented to the Newcastle Museum by Sir Walter C. Trevelyan in July 1874. The bird was on display in 1899, in case GRALLAE 3, no. 1 (Howse, 1899), but seems to have been discarded some decades ago. There are two labels in the archive store originally from the case of Little Bustards, each listing four birds (of which the most recent was presented in 1935). One label lists this bird as 'number 3', the other label does not include the specimen. Cook's manuscript list[1] of birds on display in the Bird Gallery (undated: ca.1960) agrees with the second label.

21. **Great bustard, *Otis tarda*** **(Great Bustard)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2091

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 171. Male and female. "Our male specimen furnished the figure

for Mr Bewick's work."

Bewick Volume 1, p. 355. "Drawn from a preserved specimen at Wycliffe."

A-number A544

Notes On a square base. Old-style label present. This specimen has deteriorated slightly, and some of the feathers are very loose.

22. **Stone curlew, *Burhinus oedicnemus*** **(Great Plover)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2094

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, September 1995.

Fox Number 173 (as the Thick-kneed Bustard or Stone Curlew).

Bewick Volume 1, p. 362. No data

A-number A513

Notes According to the *Tunst. ms,* as cited by Fox "one was taken in this neighbourhood in August 1782, probably blown out of its customary haunts by storms, many of which were felt about that time. It was

1 Manuscript book SL7 in the archives of the Hancock Museum.

extremely lean and pined": this may, or may not, be the surviving specimen. On a square wooden base. Old-style label "Great Plover." MS label "From Allen [*sic*] Mus Fig by Bewick."

23. **Knot, *Calidris canutus*** **(Red Sandpiper)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2093

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, Summer 1995.

Bewick Volume 2, p. 90. "The above figure and description are taken from the stuffed specimen of a bird shot at Sunderland, in January of the severe winter of 1814, and presented to this work by Mr Bullock, of the London Museum"

A-number A514

Notes Specimen is labelled: "Calidris canutus Briss & Cuo. The specimen which Bewick engraved from. Presented by Mr R.R. Wingate 1843 to J. Hancock. from JHs collection of skins April 1888." The provenance data are the same as for the Pigmy Curlew (*vide* no. 21, above).

24. **Curlew sandpiper, *Calidris ferruginea*** **(Pigmy Curlew)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2092

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Bewick Volume 2, p. 40. "The stuffed specimen from which the foregoing figure and description were taken, was presented to the author by Mr Bullock, in the latter end of January, 1814; it was shot near Sunderland, among many other birds, which had been driven from their northern haunts by the extremity of the weather, during the very stormy winter of that year."

A-number A517

Notes On a square base with rounded edges. Old-style label present, with added in ms "specimen from which Bewick made his figure": the printing on this label differs slightly from that of the other old-style labels.

Specimen is labelled: "this specimen is from J Hancock's collection of skins. April 1888 / Tringa subarquata (young) This being the specimen

from which Bewick made his drawing lent for his book on British Birds was presented by R.R. Wingate to John Hancock in August 1843 (this sp was shot near Sunderland)." The provenance data are the same as for the Red Sandpiper (no. 22, below): either a *lapsus* or both birds have the same provenance.

25. **Great auk, *Pinguinus impennis*** **(Great Auk)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2095

Location On display in the Bird Gallery.

Fox Number 211.

A-number Not applicable: this bird has never been stored in the attic.

Notes With the exception of a bird with disputed juvenile status in the National Museum of Prague, this is the only surviving specimen of a juvenile great auk (Grieve, 1885; Grieve, 1897; Hanzák, 1980). Bewick's drawing of this specimen was reproduced by Bain (1981). Bewick's published engraving was not taken from a figure of this bird, but represented an adult specimen: the latter could not have been the adult Great Auk now in the Hancock Museum (as suggested by Bain, 1981), as this was not acquired until 1844 (*vide* Howse, 1899). Grieve (1897) published photographs of both of the great auks in the Hancock Museum.

26. **Turtle dove, *Streptopelia turtur*** **(Turtle Dove)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2096

Location On display in the Thomas Bewick display.

Fox Number 161. No data

Bewick Volume 1, p. 312. No data.

A-number A548 (part)

Notes Old-style label present. This species was omitted, in error, from Fox's list of birds in the Museum that had been figured by Bewick.

27. **Bee-eater, *Merops apiaster*** **(Bee-eater)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2097

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Recent acquisitions no 212. Purchased from Mr B. Leadbeater, Brewer Street, London.

Bewick Volume 1, p. 146. "Through the medium of the late Lieut. J.A. Howard, of the seventy-third regiment, we have obtained from Mr Leadbeater, Bird and Animal Preserver to the British Museum, the specimen (footnote: now in the Newcastle Museum) from which our figure was taken."

A-number A473 (part)

Notes On a dowelling perch. Old-style label present. In a glass-fronted wooden box, labelled "specimens from the Allan Museum, figured by Bewick, in his work on British Birds."

28. **Roller, *Coracias garrulus*** **(Roller)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2098

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 77. "I have a beautiful pair of the *Coracias Garrula*, the Roller,

sent me from Hamborough [=Hamburg]." *Tunst. ms.*

Bewick Volume 1, p. 100. "The above drawing was from a stuffed specimen in the Wycliffe Museum."

A-number A519

Notes On a dowelling base. Manuscript label "From Allan Mus Fig by Bewick."

29. **Lesser spotted woodpecker, *Dendrocopos minor*** **(Barred Woodpecker)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2100

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 86. "Mr Bewick has lately figured this specimen."

Bewick Volume 1, p. 140. No data.

A-number A473 (part)

Notes On a doweling perch. Old-style label present. Specimen is in a glass-fronted wooden box, labelled "specimens from the Allan Museum, figured by Bewick, in his work on British Birds."

30. Dartford warbler, *Sylvia undata* (Dartford Warbler)

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2101

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 135. "It was first noticed in England in 1773, by Dr Latham."

Bewick Volume 1, p. 234. "Our figure was from a specimen now in the Newcastle Museum."

A-number A473 (part)

Notes Old-style label present. On a dowelling perch. Specimen is in a glass-fronted wooden box, labelled "specimens from the Allan Museum, figured by Bewick, in his work on British Birds." Although Tunstall and Latham corresponded, there is no evidence to suggest that this specimen was ever in Latham's possession.

31. Bluethroat, *Luscinia svecica* (Bluethroat)

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2102

Location On display In the Bird Gallery

Fox Additional recent aquisitions Number 292, and note 3 on p. 298.

Bewick Volume 1, p.159 (1847 edition)

A-number Not applicable: this bird has never been stored in the attic

Notes Listed by Howse (1899) as: "male with red spot. Shot on Newcastle Moor, 28 May, 1826. Shot and presented by Thos. W. Embleton. Specimen from which Bewick made his figure." This bird is the first recorded British specimen of a Bluethroat (*vide* Yarrell, 1882-84).

32. Long-tailed tit, *Aegithalos caudatus* (Long-tailed tit)

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2103

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, November 1995.

Fox Number 151. No data.

A-number Not applicable: this bird was on display at the time that the A-list was compiled. It was moved to the attic in 1979.

Bewick Volume 1, p. 280. Not figured by Bewick, but cited by him: "There was a preserved specimen in the Museum of the late Mr Tunstall, at Wycliffe, in which the black band through the eyes was totally wanting; the back of the neck was black; the back, sides, and thighs, were reddish-brown, mixed with white: it was probably a female."

Notes Howse (1899) listed this specimen as being on display in the bird gallery, in case PASSERES No. 154, where it was on the lower right of the case. The case was photographed before the gallery was remodelled in 1979, and from this photograph it has been possible to assign provenance to the several specimens in case 154.

33. **Nutcracker, *Nucifraga caryocatactes*** **(Nutcracker)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2108

Location Found in an unlabelled case in the attic and removed to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Number 76. " 'I have ... sent me from Hamborough [Hamburg], together with a fine pair of the *Corvus caryocatactes* ...The specimens are labelled inside "Tannen Heher Sie"*Tunst. MS.* From one of them Mr Bewick made his figure'."

Bewick Volume 1, p. 97. "Our drawing was from a stuffed specimen in the Wycliffe Museum."

A-number A518

Notes On a perch made out of oval-section dowelling, and on a square base. Old-style label present.

34. **Chough, *Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax*** **(Chough)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2109

Location Removed from a store behind the Abel's Ark display to secure storage,

November 1995.

Fox Number 75

Bewick Volume 1, p. 90

A-number A516

Notes Misidentified in the list of 'A' numbers as an alpine chough. This specimen was found in November 1995 in a black-painted box, housed in the store behind the *Abel's Ark* display. There was no label with the specimen, but it agrees so closely with Bewick's figure as to leave no doubt as to its attribution as a Bewick-figured specimen.

35. Snow bunting, *Plectrophenax nivalis* (Snow Bunting)

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2107

Location Removed from the attic to secure storage, October 1995.

Fox Recent Acquisitions number 161, presented by Mr William Robertson of Newcastle. "It alighted in an exhausted state on the rigging of a Greenland Whaler in Baffin's Bay, and was caught and brought to England by Mr. Geo. Haswell, late of Newcastle, now of Halifax, Nova Scotia. Mr Bewick has made his figure from this specimen, for his new edition."

Bewick Volume 1, p. 178. No data.

A-number A473 (part)

Notes On a square wooden base. Old-style label present. Specimen is in a glass-fronted wooden box, labelled "specimens from the Allan Museum, figured by Bewick, in his work on British Birds."

36. Ortolan bunting, *Emberiza hortulana* (Green-headed Bunting)

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2104

Location On display in the case of ortolan buntings in the Bird Gallery.

Fox Number 121. Fox gave full details of the capture of his specimen, which was taken at sea by a coasting vessel. He acquired it in 1822.

Bewick Volume 1, p. 170. "The crew of a collier vessel caught this rare visitant at sea, as it was making its way to the shore, on the Yorkshire coast, after

a severe storm of wind in the month of May, 1822. It lived a short time after it was brought to land, and was lent to this work by G.T. Fox, Esq. of Westoe, and is now in the Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle."

A-number Not applicable: this bird has never been stored in the attic

Notes This bird should not be confused with Tunstall's specimen of the green-headed bunting (*vide infra*). If Tunstall's bird is set aside as the first British record of an ortolan bunting, then this specimen takes its place as the first recorded British specimen of that species (*vide* Yarrell, 1882-84).

37. **Ortolan bunting, *Emberiza hortulana*** **(Green-headed Bunting)**

Catalogue no. NEWHM 1995.H2105

A-number A473 (part)

Notes Not figured by Bewick, the specimen is included here because it is housed in a glass-fronted wooden box together with four Bewick-figured birds. This specimen is important systematically, being the holotype of two nominal taxa *Emberiza chlorocephala* Gmelin, 1788 and *Emberiza tunstalli* Latham, 1790 (Jessop & Prŷs-Jones, *in press*). The bird has long been accepted as the first British record of an ortolan bunting, but may be an escaped cage-bird.

FOX'S LIST OF BIRDS IN THE NEWCASTLE MUSEUM FIGURED BY BEWICK

bird	whereabouts
Cinereous eagle	present
Osprey	present
Hobby	missing
Kite	present
Red-backed shrike	missing
Red-legged crow	present
Roller	present
Hawfinch	missing
Nightingale	missing
Dartford warbler	present
Wren	missing
Bustard	present
Thick-kneed bustard	present
Spoonbill	missing (label present)
Stork	missing
Night heron	present
Little bittern	missing
Ruff	missing
Avocet	missing
Lesser-spotted diver	missing
La petite mouette grise	missing
Smew	present
Siberian goose (= Red-breasted goose)	present
Shieldrake	missing
Garganey	missing
Scoter	present
Manks puffin	present

Stormy petrel	missing
Crested cormorant	missing
Jerfalcon	present
Pine grosbeak	missing
Black woodpecker	missing
Lesser spotted woodpecker	present
Carrion crow	missing
Little white heron	missing
Gadwall	present
Casarka duck [= South african shelduck]	present
Cirl bunting	missing
Secretary vulture	missing
Crested grackle	missing
Minor grackle	missing
Silky starling	missing

Fox also mentioned among the most recent acquisitions, on p. 306, that Mrs Beilby had presented a Bewick-figured siskin. Presumably, this specimen arrived after Fox's main list had been compiled. The specimen has not survived.

SUMMARY OF SURVIVING SPECIMENS

No.	Bewick's name	Modern name	A#	In Bain (1981)	Notes
1	Great Crested Grebe	Great crested Grebe	A510	**2**, p. 88	No provenance data.
2	Shearwater	Manx shearwater	A515	no	No provenance data.
3	Male Little Bittern	Little bittern	-----	no	Shot at Blagdon, 1810.
4	Night Heron	Night Heron	?A508	**2**, p. 70	No provenance data.
5	Spoonbill	Spoonbill	?A520/521	no	[Specimen missing, label present]
6	Red-Breasted Goose	Red-breasted Goose	-----	**2**, p. 103	Shot near London in 1776. First British Record.
7	Ferruginous Duck	South african shelduck	A525	no	Possibly a type specimen.
8	Gadwall	Gadwall	A474	no	No provenance data.
9	King Duck	King eider	A509	no	Shot Melville Island during Parry's first voyage.
10	Harlequin Duck	Harlequin	A475	no	Shot Baffin Bay by one of Capt. Palmer's crew.
11	Scoter	Scoter	A475	**2**, p. 108	No provenance data.
12	Smew	Smew	A474	**2**, p. 100	No provenance data.
13	Kite	Red kite	A511	**2**, p. 10	No provenance data.
14	White-tailed Eagle	White-tailed eagle	A543	no	No provenance data.
15	Jer falcon	Gyrfalcon	A524	no	Given to Tunstall in 1775 by the Earl of Orford.
16	Osprey	Osprey	A512	**2**, p. 9	No provenance data.
17	Merlin	Merlin	?A520/521	no	No provenance data

18	White Grouse	Ptarmigan	A548	no	No provenance data.
19	Capercaillie	Capercaillie	A476	**2**, p. 65	Last surviving male of British race.
20	Little Bustard	Little bustard	-----		[Specimen missing]
21	Great Bustard	Great bustard	A544	**2**, p. 66-67	No provenance data.
22	Great Plover	Stone curlew	A513	**2**, p. 68	No provenance data.
23	Red Sandpiper	Knot	A514	no	Shot at Sunderland, January 1814.
24	Pigmy Curlew	Curlew sandpiper	A517	no	Shot at Sunderland, January 1814.
25	Great Auk	Great Auk	-----	**2**, p. 90	No provenance data.
26	Turtle Dove	Turtle Dove	A548	**2**, p. 59	No provenance data.
27	Bee Eater	Bee-eater	A473	no	Sent to Newcastle from Leadbeater of London.
28	Roller	Roller	A519	no	Sent to Tunstall from Hamburg.
29	Barred Woodpecker	Lesser spotted woodpecker	A473	no	No provenance data.
30	Dartford Warbler	Dartford warbler	A473	**2**, p. 46	No provenance data.
31	Bluethroat	Bluethroat	-----	no	Shot Newcastle May 1826. First British record.
32	Long-tailed Tit	Long-tailed tit	-----	no	Cited, but not figured by Bewick.
33	Nutcracker	Nutcracker	A518	**2**, p. 17	Sent to Tunstall from Hamburg.
34	Red-legged Crow	Chough	A516	**2**, p. 16	No provenance data.
35	Snow Bunting	Snow bunting	A473	no	Alighted on a whaling vessel in Baffin Bay.
36	Green headed Bunting	Ortolan bunting	-----	no	Caught at sea, May 1822. First British record.
37	Green-headed Bunting	Ortolan bunting	A473	no	A type specimen. Not figured by Bewick.

REFERENCES

All published material cited in the appendix is listed in the main body of references

APPENDIX THREE

THE 'CURIOSITIES' FROM GEORGE ALLAN'S MUSEUM, AND OTHER 18TH CENTURY ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS SURVIVING IN THE HANCOCK MUSEUM

(This appendix was published as Jessop, L., 2003. The Exotic Artefacts from George Allan's Museum, and other 18th Century Ethnographic Collections surviving in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. *Transactions of the Natural History Society of Northumbria* **63(3)**: 89-166.)

INTRODUCTION

This appendix documents the 18th century ethnographic collection that has survived in the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne. Taking as a basis Fox's catalogue published in 1827, it discusses the 'curiosities', i.e. the artefacts excluding the European antiquities and British-made items, in the early Newcastle Museum.

The collection is central to the overall thesis, and its investigation is a continuation of the use of the forensic method: as such it forms an important part of the overall project. However, since the very extensive detailing and description of individual items comprises matter that is not appropriate to the body of a doctoral thesis this section is provided as an appendix.

In continuing the development of the story, we advance a step beyond the death of Marmaduke Tunstall and the dispersal of his collections. Having passed onwards to George Allan, they were augmented during the period 1790 and 1800, the year of Allan's death. At this stage, therefore, the ethnographic collection (which seems to have

remained intact until arriving in Newcastle) is George Allan's rather than Marmaduke Tunstall's.

The principal part of the collection, acquired by the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society in 1822, was that of George Allan. However, there were other, smaller collections of ethnographic items in Newcastle at that date and these are incorporated in the discussion. For completeness, the small number of Oceanic artefacts of 18th century origin, but presented during the 20th or later 19th centuries have also been included. The large amount of surviving 18th century material plus the individual rarity of several items places the collection as being a resource of international importance.

The present project is part of a wider recent trend of document similar surviving early collections in detail. Other published catalogues of 18th century ethnographic collections in recent years include (Kaeppler, 1978a; King, 1971; Hauser-Schäublin & Krüger 1998; Tanner, 1999). Kaeppler (1978) has also presented a synoptic catalogue of artefacts with recorded 'Cook Voyage' associations.

HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The ancestry of the collections at the Hancock Museum can be traced directly back to 1793, with the foundation of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society (after referred to as the 'Lit. & Phil.'). The Lit. & Phil. soon became the most prestigious academic institution in a city that was the financial and administrative hub of the Northumberland and Durham coal field, and it quickly built collections of books, scientific instruments and artefacts. Even in its first year of existence, among the several donations to the society was an ethnographic one (Anon, 1794). This was 'various curiosities of Nature and Art from the Islands in the South Sea, and from China' given by Mr Flower Humble. Other donations continued to accrue throughout the first twenty years of the Lit. & Phil's existence, including Polynesian artefacts given in 1799 by Captain Wilson of the missionary vessel *Duff*, some of which still survive today.

The year 1822 saw a crucial event in the development of museum provision in Newcastle, when the Lit. & Phil acquired the collection of the late George Allan of Darlington. Including over 600 specimens of birds as well as dried plants, mollusc shells, minerals, insects and other animals, the collection set the tone for the future Newcastle Museum. Allan's collection also included a number of antiquities and ethnographic items. An itemised catalogue was soon compiled by George Townshend Fox (Fox, 1827), the man mainly responsible for bringing Allan's collection to Newcastle.

The year 1822 was momentous for another reason. Until then, the Lit. & Phil. had rented rooms in a succession of buildings (Watson, 1897), but in 1822 the foundation stone of the Lit. & Phil.'s own headquarters was laid. The new building was finished in July 1825, and in the intervening period George Allan's collections were put into storage. The museum was opened in December 1825 in what is now the Committee Room of the Lit. & Phil. This room, only 40 feet by 20 feet must have already been too small to hold the collection displayed in it. Pressure on space was relieved in 1834 when a new, purpose-built museum, was erected behind the Lit & Phil's library, and the Newcastle Museum remained in this building until 1884.

The late 1820s and early 1830s saw a period of division. The Lit. & Phil members seem to have felt unable to manage the museum themselves, and the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne (after referred to as the 'N.H.S.') was founded in 1829, its major function at that time being the care of the collections. A pre-existing society, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne (the 'S.A.N.T.', founded in 1813) took an interest in the antiquities and some of the modern artefacts, and part of the collection was passed to their care in 1834 on the opening of the new building. A catalogue of items in the care of the S.A.N.T. was published in 1839 (Anon, 1839). Subsequently, the S.A.N.T. not only moved out of the building and along the street (to the Castle) but they also decided to concentrate on antiquities in a stricter sense, and some objects were transferred back to the Newcastle Museum.

The natural history collections of the Newcastle Museum were vastly improved and extended throughout the 19th Century, and most of the natural history specimens from Allan's Museum had been discarded and replaced by 'better' material by the time of the move to a new building in 1884 (called the Hancock Museum since 1891). Fortunately, the same fate did not befall the ethnographic collections. Although artefacts were presented throughout the 19th and 20th Centuries, most notably the Julia Boyd bequest of Polynesian material in 1892 and a collection of African material presented by a second George Allan in 1892 (there was no connection between the two George Allans), there has been no wide-scale replacement of items. It is sobering to realise that not a single ethnographic item has been purchased for the collections since 1822.

There has never been a full-time ethnographer employed either at the Newcastle Museum or in its successor, the Hancock Museum. As a result, the displays have possessed a stability that other parts of the collection lacked. Until the Ethnography Gallery was taken down in 1992 to make way for a new display on ancient Egypt it essentially retained the same appearance as when erected in 1884, with larger items held in a long wall-case running the length of the gallery and smaller ones in mahogany-framed sloping desk cases. Items were added to, or removed from, the displays from time to time, but change was slow. It is probably reasonable to assume that a similar stasis had occurred in the Newcastle Museum between 1834 and the removal to a new site in 1884.

Because most of the ethnographic items were on display for most of the period between 1822 and 1922, they have not been subject to the attrition through damage, disposal, exchange and theft that occurs in collections that are frequently 'used' by students, researchers and curators. About 60% of the ethnographic items from George Allan's Museum survive: an impressive figure, compared with the 5% survival rate of his birds.

It is perhaps worth noting that when the collection was assembled in the late 18th century most of the ethnographic items were either newly made or had recently passed into British hands. The Chinese ivories and Burmese manuscript, for instance, appear to be 18th century in date; the Pacific items may have been curated within the island

cultures for centuries, but had been recently brought to Britain by Cook and others. Their interest at that time lay not only in their attractiveness as curiosities, but also their contemporary interest ('novelty') and artistic merit. Conversely, their interest now mainly lies in their historical status and the way they represent changed cultures. In several instances, their artistry still has power to inspire.

It is also interesting to realise that there is an almost total lack of African artefacts in the early collections. Allan's collection included only an item of currency - a 'Manillo, worn on the wrists by Africans'. This is a little puzzling, given the large volume of trade with West Africa in the 18th century and the position of the Cape of Good Hope on the sea route to India. The situation might reflect the general lack of African objects in the 'curiosity' market of the time (a similar lack is observable in the contemporary auction catalogues) rather than the individual taste of George Allan and Marmaduke Tunstall.

George Allan

George Allan (1736-1800) the antiquary of Blackwell, near Darlington in County Durham, was in his day a well known figure locally, and later also nationally through his contributions to Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes* (Nichols, 1812-1815). George Allan was born on 7 June 1736, the son of James Allan, a lawyer and antiquary. James Allan inherited the estates at Blackwell, including the house known as Blackwell Grange (sometimes known simply as 'Grange'), following the death of a cousin. George Allan followed his father both in profession and interests. In 1766 he 'added considerably to his comforts, and to his property' (*teste* Fox, 1827) by marrying Anne Nicholson of Scruton in Yorkshire. They had six children, and Anne Allan died in 1787.

On the death of his father in 1790, George Allan inherited his estates and, presumably, seeing no further need to work he gave up the legal profession. The inheritance gave him the wealth to indulge his interests: for instance, he spent £700 on acquiring part of Marmaduke Tunstall's collection in 1791 and he also built up a Library and collection of paintings (listed in Anon, 1822). He died on 18 May 1800.

Although Allan published numerous tracts on local history and local antiquities,

unfortunately he never published an account of the objects in his Museum. There is no evidence that he was seriously interested academically either in natural history or ethnography, and his collection of artefacts generally followed the trend of what was being collected by other gentlemen-antiquaries of the time.

George Allan's Museum was exhibited to the general public in Darlington from 1792 to 1794, before being moved to his home at Blackwell Grange (Philipson, 1981) where it was on show until his death. Following George Allan's demise in 1800, his son bought the Museum from the estate's executors, and it remained at Blackwell Grange for a further 22 years. The house contents were scheduled to be sold by auction in July 1822 and a catalogue was prepared (Anon, 1822). The auction catalogue, arranged by room, places most of the natural history items in the 'Museum' and most of the ethnography items in the 'Indian Room'.

Through the efforts of George Townshend Fox and others, the collection was bought by private treaty before the auction on behalf of the Lit. & Phil., for £400. It was then moved to Newcastle. Fox's catalogue of 1827 described the history of the collection to date and provided a complete list of the specimens. Fox's list of the artefacts in the Allan Museum comprised 265 catalogue entries, some covering multiple objects. There were 84 antiquities, 65 'Curiosities' (Asiatic artefacts, modern curiosities and dresses, shoes etc.), 50 seals and 66 'Utensils of Savage Nations'.

Fox's *Synopsis of the Newcastle Museum*

On reading Fox's *Synopsis* (Fox, 1827) one gets the impression that he could not quite cope with the task of cataloguing the collection. However, due allowance must be made for the shortcomings of this book, given the scale and complexity of the undertaking - there were 600 birds alone - and the fact that Fox had few prior models on which to base his catalogue.

When describing the artefacts, Fox appears to be on very shaky ground indeed. He was certainly hampered by lack of information. George Allan had prepared a three-volume manuscript catalogue of his entire collection, apparently for publication, but it was never

printed. Fox had access to two volumes of Allan's manuscript, but not the one describing the ethnographic items. The volume, which has never subsequently surfaced, was titled 'A large collection of curiosities, brought by Captain Cook from Otaheite, &c...'. So, although Fox could call on Allan's notes for the descriptions and identification of the birds, for the artefacts he had to rely solely on Allan's labels glued on the specimens and on the brief descriptions in the sale catalogue of 1822 (Anon, 1822). Indeed, in many instances he simply repeated the entries in the sale catalogue word for word.

There are several instances of items being given an incorrect provenance in Fox's *Synopsis*. For example, three clubs said to be from New Zealand, Otaheite and Owhyhee are all typologically West Polynesian, as is a sleeping stool 'from Otaheite'. These mistakes are excusable given the constraints under which Fox worked - and who is to say that the objects had not already been traded in the 18th Century with a false provenance? Some of the catalogue entries are simply wrong: there is for instance 'the Lord's Prayer in Hindoo characters' (actually a Farsi manuscript), 'Chinese writing, enamelled on Papyrus' (a Burmese palm-leaf manuscript) and a 'Wooden whistle ... that yields a shrill sound' (a Maori feeding funnel). Because of this confusion, and because some items have not survived, two lists are presented in the present paper. First, there is a catalogue of the surviving objects arranged geographically by source (including the few 18th century items received from sources other than the Allan Museum), and secondly items are listed as they appeared in Fox's *Synopsis*. This second list contains information gained through curatorial research - the history of the item, the presence of labels, etc. - which is not presented in the descriptive section. Items now missing are also listed there.

Sources of artefacts in George Allan's collection

George Allan is known to have acquired objects from several sources. The major part of his natural history specimens were purchased from the estate of Marmaduke Tunstall, and Fox (1827) mentioned three other private collectors from whom Allan had bought antiquities and ethnographic items: George Humphrey, Daniel Boulter and Sir Ashton Lever.

Marmaduke Tunstall

In 1791, George Allan bought part of the extensive collection of Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790). In 1760, when he was 17 years old, Tunstall came into a substantial inheritance, which included the Wycliffe estates in North Yorkshire. During the 1760s and 1770s he occupied a house in London's Welbeck Street and moved north to Wycliffe in 1776. His Museum remained in London until 1783, when he transported it to Wycliffe. It is likely, therefore, that Tunstall was more actively acquiring material prior to 1776 than afterwards, when he appears to have lived a somewhat secluded existence at Wycliffe. However, Hawaiian material known to have been in his collection must have been acquired after his move north.

A suggestion by Russell Goddard (1929) that Tunstall acquired specimens directly from Captain Cook, because Cook was a native of Whitby, 'only a few miles' [actually, about 50] from Wycliffe, has no supporting evidence and should be discounted. However, Tunstall is known to have acquired at least some natural history items from Cook's voyages: he sent some first-voyage shells to Linnaeus in 1772, and received second-voyage insects in 1775 (Whitehead, 1969). An undated letter from Tunstall to Dr Bolten in Hamburg shows that he received a range of South Seas material from Banks & Solander, enough to send duplicates to his friend ('J'ai pris la liberte de vous envoyer un petit paquet des vetements des inhabitants, quelques coquilles, & quelques petites instruments ou de guerre ou de menage' Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS English Letters C229).

The auction of Tunstall's collection in 1792 contained a small number of ethnographic artefacts, including items from Tierra del Fuego, New Zealand, Tahiti and Hawaii. Lot 122 was 'a feather cloak, uncommonly large, such as is worn by the chiefs in the Sandwich Islands'.

It is highly likely George Allan acquired the bulk of Marmaduke Tunstall's collection of ethnographic collection (i.e. the items not sold at auction), but the only item that can, at present, be definitely traced back to Tunstall is a large shoe that once belonged to his

father-in-law's cook-maid. Unless further evidence is forthcoming, it is safer to assume that material did not pass through Tunstall's hands.

Daniel Boulter and the Museum Boulterianum

Allan is known to have acquired objects from Daniel Boulter (1740-1802) of Great Yarmouth. Boulter opened a museum in the market place of his home town in 1778 (Southwell, 1909). His book-plate, reprinted by Southwell , styled him as a 'dealer in curious books antiquities and natural productions', which indicates that the museum was placed on a semi-commercial footing. Boulter produced a catalogue of items for sale, the *Museum Boulterianum*, which is undated. Southwell saw a copy with the year 1793 on the title page, although the British Library's *Union Catalogue* gives the date of publication as 1810: the death of George Allan in 1800 can rule 1810 out as a date for this publication. Unless the *Museum Boulterianum* can be shown to predate 1790, Marmaduke Tunstall could not have acquired items from this catalogue.

Fox saw Allan's own marked copy of the Museum Boulterianum in 1827 and he cross-referred several items in Allan's collection to the catalogue. The copy has survived to date in the library of the N.H.S. There are crosses in ink against a number of items, but not all of these items were apparently present even in 1827. However, it has been possible to match some specimens listed by Fox against entries in the *Museum Boulterianum*, and in some cases additional information has been obtained about the provenance of these items.

George Humphrey and the Museum Humfredianum

The London collector George Humphrey (?1745-1825) sold his collection by auction in 1779. The auction catalogue, the *Museum Humfredianum* (Humphrey, 1779) is a very scarce piece of ephemera, only three surviving copies being known (Whitehead, 1977). One of the copies was once in George Allan's possession, and Fox (1827) noted that it was annotated to show apparent purchases. This copy was housed in the library of the N.H.S. until 1905, when it was sent to the Natural History Museum in London as part of an exchange (Sherborn, 1905), and is now in the General Library there.

A second copy of the *Museum Humfredianum*, the 'Oslo' copy, is annotated to show names of buyers and prices. Access to a photocopy of the 'Oslo' copy has been obtained through the librarians of the Natural History Museum, and it has been possible to cross-check the names of buyers against the marked items in Allan's copy. Neither George Allan nor Marmaduke Tunstall's names are entered as buyers in it.

Some items are marked with ink crosses in Allan's copy of the *Museum Humfredianum*, but the number of cross-marked lots is very few: items 81, 85, 87, 91, 95, 97, 99 and 100 on page 53, and item 73 on page 67. Additionally, three lots are marked with pencil crosses: items 41, 43 and 45 on page 156 (these three are shells, not artefacts).

These lots, with prices and names of buyers are:

p. 53

81 A piece of fine white cloth made of the inner bark of a tree, from *Otaheite* [Herman, 3s.].

85 A piece of a similar kind of cloth, glazed, from *New Amst.* [Yates, 3s.6d.].

87 A cloak wove by hand, made of fine silky flax, *N. Zealand* [Herman, 5s.].

91 A grass apron, worn by the dancing girls of Otaheite, and a matted belt; *New Zealand* [Herman, 5s.].

95 A club, from *New Amsterdam* [Herman, 2s.].

97 A stone mallet, *Otaheite*; and a wooden ditto, *New Amst.* [Clark, 2s. 6d.].

99 A hatchet or adze, headed with stone, *Otaheite* [Roper, 4s.].

100 Two stools used as pillows, from *ditto*, and *New Amst.* [Gaml(?), 1s.6d.].

p 67

73 A piece of Otaeite cloth, made of the inner bark of a tree, from its use called the cloth tree [Hurlock, 2s.].

Several of the cross-marked lots may have been later acquired by George Allan. However most of the specimens were of a type that circulated widely in the late 18th Century (bark cloth, sleeping stool, club, adze), and it is not possible to equate them with

certainty as being the objects in Allan's collection. It is quite possible that these lots were marked because Allan had similar items - not these actual items - in his collection.

It has been possible to assign somewhat tentative links between several of Humphrey's items and ones catalogued by Fox, and these are discussed elsewhere in this paper. The 'cloak wove by hand, made of fine silky flax, *N. Zealand*', and the 'matted belt' are not identifiable in Fox's catalogue, and if they were once acquired by Allan then they must not have survived up to 1827.

The existence of a copy of the *Museum Humfredianum* in Allan's library should, of course, not blind us to the possibility that either Allan or Tunstall bought items from Humphrey at times other than that auction. Humphrey was a leading dealer in curiosities in London during the second half of the 18th century. It was through Humphrey, for instance, that a collection of items was organised to be sent to Göttingen in 1782 (Hauser-Schäublin, B. & Krüger, G., (*eds*) 1998) and it is quite possible that a ready-built collection was ordered from him to be sent North.

Sir Ashton Lever

The third catalogue of an 18th Century collection used by Fox was a marked copy of the *Companion* to Sir Ashton Lever's Museum (Anon, 1790). Allan had, apparently, used this in preparing his own manuscript catalogue, but it is unlikely that he actually acquired items from Lever's Museum. Allan died before the auction sale of the Leverian Museum in 1806, so we can rule out any items appearing in the auction catalogue (Anon, 1806) as being in Allan's Museum. If he acquired any items listed in the *Companion*, then the purchase must have been by private treaty between Allan and Parkinson, who owned the collection between 1790 and 1800. It is more likely that Allan took information about similar items in his own collection from the *Companion* than that he acquired the actual objects listed in it.

Allan's annotated copy of the *Companion* to the Leverian Museum has apparently not survived. The one copy of this work found locally, in the library of the Lit. & Phil., has no annotations.

Some of the artefacts in Lever's Museum were figured by Sarah Stone in the 18th Century (facsimiles were published in Force & Force, 1968). None of the surviving items in the Hancock Museum agrees with any of these figures.

Jane Gomeldon connections?

Jane Gomeldon (*née* Middleton) was a member of the Newcastle sector of the network of Quaker families that included the Frys, Hoares, Gurneys and Backhouses. Lysaght (1979) has summarised all that is known so far about her. When young, Jane Middleton married Captain Gomeldon but then absconded to France dressed in men's clothing. When her husband died in 1751 Jane returned to Newcastle, where she died in 1780. Living in one of the towers in Newcastle's mediaeval city wall, she exhibited her collection of birds and shells as well as some religious relics taken from a French nunnery.

Jane Gomeldon was a cousin (*sens. lat.*) of Sydney Parkinson, and Lysaght (1979) cited a letter written from Batavia in which Parkinson noted 'I have spared no pains during the voyage, to pick up every thing that is curious for thee; and I flatter myself that I shall make a considerable addition to thy museum.' The fate of Parkinson's collection subsequent to the return to England of the *Endeavour* was documented in the introduction to the published version of his journal (Parkinson, 1784). Sir Joseph Banks kept the collection, for which he paid a large sum to Sydney Parkinson's brother Stanfield, but not satisfied with this Stanfield Parkinson engaged in a bitter feud with Banks. Dr John Fothergill acted as an intermediary, and at one stage, Fothergill looked over the shell collection, as Stanfield Parkinson had requested him 'to lay aside a few of such as I thought rare for his cousin at Newcastle' (Parkinson, 1784 p. 7). Sydney Parkinson's ethnographic collection remained in Banks's hands.

If there was any evidence that some artefacts had passed to Newcastle, it would be easy to postulate a path from Gomeldon to her Quaker cousins the Backhouses of Darlington, thence to Marmaduke Tunstall or George Allan. However, there is no evidence, and we are left with one tantalising mention of shells and the fact that the only item in Allan's

collection definitely attributable to the *Endeavour* voyage is a Maori paddle that was sketched by Sydney Parkinson.

Captain Cook connections

George Allan mentioned 'curiosities, brought by Captain Cook' in the title of one volume of his manuscript catalogue, but there are very few items in his collection that have a certain association with Cook's voyages. There is evidence to believe that two artefacts were brought to England in the *Endeavour*: a painted paddle from New Zealand that was figured by Sydney Parkinson during the voyage, and (with less certainty) a Tahitian nose flute possibly being that figured by J.F. Miller in 1771. For other items, such as the material from Tonga, Hawaii and New Caledonia, a 'Cook' provenance is likely because of the small number of people that visited the islands before 1800, but it is important to draw a distinction between likelihood and certainty.

The absence of evidence has not stopped supposition in the past. It has been widely believed by staff at the Hancock Museum, and passed as a legend from one curator to the next that the *rei puta* in Allan's Museum was brought back to England on the *Endeavour* and was the actual object figured by Parkinson (*in* Hawkesworth, 1773). This was despite the clear differences between the appearance of the item drawn by Parkinson and the specimen in the museum.

No Keate connections

Fox referred several times to a book he cited as Keate's 'Pelew Islands', an account of the shipwreck of the *Antelope* on the Pelew Islands (now, Palau) in 1783 by George Keate. The book was first published in 1789 and went through several editions, of which I have seen a quarto of 1803 (Keate, 1803).

Fox noted the similarity of several items to those figured in Keate's book, but did not suggest that they are the actual items figured. There is no evidence that any of the items in Allan's Museum originated in Palau.

Curatorial history of specimens from Allan's Museum

While the artefacts were in George Allan's collection, he glued oval-shaped labels onto them. The labels either bear basic information on the type of object or its [supposed] place of origin, or they are more descriptive. The descriptive labels were sometimes cited by Fox as *'Allan MS'*, which must not be confused with Allan's manuscript catalogue of his collection of artefacts (which Fox had not seen).

Some of Allan's labels survive and some are perfectly legible. Unfortunately, many have become detached: indeed, Fox commented in 1827 that some labels on the natural history specimens had already suffered and become illegible. The former presence of these labels can often be detected because of a dark, oval-shaped patch, or occasionally an oval patch with traces of ink where the lettering soaked through onto the item. The presence of Allan's distinctive oval labels or of these oval marks is the only certain indication that a specimen was once in Allan's Museum.

Most (but not all) of the objects surviving from the period of the Newcastle Museum have the letters N H S written on them in black ink. These items were probably so-labelled in the 1830s when the collections in the Newcastle Museum were being divided between the Natural History Society and the Society of Antiquities.

Oblong labels with a distinctive style of printed lettering were glued to objects in the Newcastle Museum. It is not known when these labels were first used or when they ceased being printed, but the earliest ones relate to Allan Museum specimens (i.e. post-dating 1827), and the latest seen are fixed to paddles presented by C.K. Brown in 1855. For the purposes of this paper, these are referred to as 'old-style' labels.

The old-style labels on Allan Museum objects usually give the appropriate catalogue number in Fox's *Synopsis* in addition to stating country of origin, source collection and type of object. Their presence is a reasonable indication that an item originated in Allan's Museum, but not a certain one, for instance an old-style 'Allan Museum' label on an Austral Islands paddle is wrong, as that object could not have been part of George

Allan's collection.

Later in the 19th Century, or perhaps early in the 20th one of the curators (possibly E.L. Gill) affixed tie-on labels to many specimens. Whoever did this did not cross-refer items to Fox's *Synopsis*, because there are several objects labelled as 'Allan Museum', or as '?Allan Museum' that could not have been part of Allan's collection. For instance, virtually all of the pieces of *tapa* in the museum that were of unknown provenance - many more than those actually owned by Allan - were so-labelled.

Printed display labels, possibly dating from the time of the move to the new building in 1884, give the provenance, donor and object type of each item. Most of these labels were preserved when the ethnographic display at the Hancock Museum was dismantled, and it is sometimes possible to check them against individual items. However, the information on these labels is not totally reliable.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a series of graduate trainees catalogued the ethnographic collections by compiling a system of loose-leaf folders of catalogue entries; the information being later computerised. The cataloguers categorised items by geographic region, and prefixed the catalogue number with a letter, as A (Africa); B (Australasia); C (Oceania); D (Asia); E (Europe); F (South and Central America); G (North America). Objects were numbered sequentially within each letter category. To place these catalogue numbers in the context of the many museums internationally, when citing these numbers fully the prefix NEWHM (for **NEW**castle **H**ancock **M**useum) is added. In recent years a different numbering system, of year followed by object number (e.g. 1997.H1001), has been introduced.

Some of the graduate trainees took the cataloguing process further and made a certain amount of progress with recognition of Allan Museum items. However, none took the research to the stage where all objects were thoroughly cross-checked with Fox's *Synopsis* and with the original 18th century literature, and there was no analysis of the actual items.

Some similar errors have persisted in documentation since the early days of the Newcastle Museum. The first is the failure to distinguish between items from Allan's collection and other early acquisitions, so that some specimens have been erroneously labelled and catalogued as being *ex* Allan Museum. There are old-style labels, tie-on labels, display labels and computerised catalogue entries all making this error. The second is the separation of items from their labels (or the removal of glued-on labels), and although some artefacts were almost certainly once part of the Allan Museum they are not now readily identifiable as such. Despite the current awareness of preserving old documentation, it was disheartening to see two photographs of the Maori *rei puta* taken in 1969, one showing Allan's label present and the second with just an brown oval stain where the label had been removed, and also to see old-style labels that were defaced or partly removed during the 1970s.

The Franks notebook

The Museum of Mankind holds a notebook by A.W. Franks (SS19), containing figures and descriptions of items in the Newcastle Museum, the Museum of Science and Art in Edinburgh, the S.A.N.T. and the private collection of Henry B. Brady. The notebook is undated, but a narrow range of dates can be estimated from internal evidence. The description of one item in Edinburgh mentions 'Paris Ex. 1867', giving an earliest date. At another place, Henry Brady is described as Secretary of the N.H.S., a post he did not hold after 1871. The date of the visit to Newcastle by Franks was, therefore, probably between 1867 and 1871. (For further information on Franks and his notebooks, see King, 1997).

The Franks notebook is important because the figures enable many of the individual items illustrated to be equated with surviving pieces in the collection. We can therefore say that these artefacts were present in the Newcastle Museum in the late 1860s or early 1870s. Unfortunately, the data provided are very patchy. In a few instances, the specimen label appears to have been transcribed, with information between quotation marks (thus: 'New Zealand'), but the origin of very few specimens is noted and there are no items cited as belonging to George Allan's Museum.

Edge-Partington's *Album*

In 1895, James Edge-Partington issued the second in his series of *Albums*, illustrating many artefacts from the Pacific region in museums, eight being in Newcastle. One of the items illustrated is the maori *pukaea* from George Allan's Museum.

Two further items, a lime box from the Solomon Islands and an engraved gourd from New Zealand, are said to be in the Museum of the 'Lit. Phil. Soc.' rather than the 'Nat. Hist. Soc.' This is the only evidence that some ethnographic material may have remained in the *Newcastle Museum* building when the rest of the collection was moved in 1884. If these artefacts were still in the Lit. & Phil. building in 1893, they almost certainly perished in the serious fire of that year (Watson, 1897).

OTHER EARLY ETHNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL

In addition to the material from George Allan's Museum, several other 18th century artefacts survive in the Hancock Museum. Some were donated before 1800, others, like Shaw's book of *tapa* were given during the 19th century.

'Humble' beginnings of the Newcastle Museum

The Newcastle Museum received South Seas material early in its existence. Two separate donations of ethnographic items are mentioned in the early annual reports of the Lit. & Phil.

Mr Flower Humble

In 1793 Mr Flower Humble presented 'various curiosities of Nature and Art from the Islands in the South Sea, and from China' (Anon, 1794). No pieces from Flower Humble's donation have so far been traced.

Flower Humble was an honorary member of the Lit. & Phil from its foundation in 1793.

The annual reports of the society give his address first as Liverpool, and later Bradford (1796), Walker near Newcastle (1815) and Durham (1821). No further evidence has been traced of his local influence in furthering the collections of the Lit. & Phil.

Captain Wilson of the Duff

James Wilson was Captain of the *Duff*, the vessel that took the first batch of missionaries sent by the London Missionary Society to Tahiti and other Pacific Islands: a voyage that formed an important development in European relations with the Pacific (Wilson, 1799; Lovett, 1899). An annual report of the Lit. & Phil. (Anon, 1800) mentions, in May 1799, 'a very valuable present of various articles from the South Seas was delivered by Mr John Langlands, from Captain Wilson, of London, late of the Duff', but unfortunately did not list the items individually.

Among Fox's (1827: 251) list of material passed from the Lit. & Phil. to the Newcastle Museum in the 1820s were 'Certain Savage Weapons and Implements from the South Sea Islands', which were brought back to Britain by Captain Wilson of *The Duff* (called by Fox *The Dove*). Fox described only two of Wilson's items: first, a barbed spear, 'like that in Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. t. no 21, p. 220', and secondly a gorget made of light wood, the outer and upper side of which has been studded with scarlet peas, fixed with gum. There is a possibility that some Wilson specimens may have been mislabelled as being *ex* Allan Museum at an early date. Certainly, both Tongan barbed spears and a Marquesan wooden gorget survive in the collections today.

Two pieces of white Tapa have a certain connection with Wilson. Written on them in ink is 'Literary Society, Newcastle, care of Mr John Langland' - the intermediary mentioned in the Lit. & Phil's annual report.

THE BARK CLOTH PROBLEM

At some time, probably early in the 20th century, a label was tied to all of the older pieces of bark cloth in the collection, claiming that they were *ex* Allan Museum. All of these are listed below, although there is no certainty that any individual piece came with

Allan's collection. Three pieces are clearly part of Captain Wilson's donation and others may have come with material donated in 1834-35 by William Row.

According to Fox, there were eight pieces of Tapa in the Allan collection:

27 Two yards of white cloth from Tahiti; apparently acquired from Daniel Boulter.

28 Two yards of buff cloth from Tahiti.

29 Piece of thick buff cloth, like fleecy hosiery, from Tahiti; one of 28 or 29 was apparently acquired from Daniel Boulter.

30 Two yards of white do.

36 Piece of cloth from 'George's Island

39 Piece of stained cloth, like floor cloth, from Tonga; apparently acquired from Daniel Boulter, said to be 8ft x 6ft.

40 Piece of thin, reddish cloth from Tonga; apparently acquired from Daniel Boulter.

41 Piece of thick, stained red and ribbed, from Tonga; apparently acquired from Daniel Boulter.

The auction catalogue of Allan's collection calls for:

p.61

lot 48 Two yards of white cloth, Tahiti [=Fox 27 or 30]

& Buff coloured cloth, 2 yards by 1¼, Tahiti [= Fox 28]

p.62

lot 49 Piece of stained cloth, resembling floor-cloth, Tonga[= Fox 39]

& Piece of thin, reddish cloth, Tonga [= Fox 40]

& Piece of thick cloth, stained red on one side and ribbed, Tonga [= Fox 41]

lot 50 Two yards of white cloth, Tahiti [= Fox 27 or 30]

lot 51 Piece of thick buff cloth, resembling fleecy hosiery, Tahiti [= Fox 29].

& Another piece, ditto (missing from Fox's list).

There was also, among lot 90, p. 65, a table with a beautiful Otahetian cover, which was not listed by Fox.

The three pieces that were supposedly from Tonga probably equate to three of the surviving Hawaiian *kapa* panels. There is, however, no piece as large as the one 6ft by 8ft listed in Boulter's catalogue. The only exceptionally large early piece in the collections is 1998.H225, which has a Tongan design and is ca. 16 ft by 7 ft. (and could be about 6ft x 8ft if folded once).

Of the surviving early pieces, three have 'old-style' labels equating them individually with items listed by Fox. These are: 1998.H236 (supposedly = Fox's 29); 1998.H227 (supposedly = Fox's 39), and C703 (supposedly = Fox's 41).

The pieces are listed below under the relevant country: Polynesia (1 piece), Tonga (1), Tahiti (17) and Hawaii (5). Some of the Tahitian pieces should more correctly be listed as originating in the Society Islands (in the broad, 18th century sense), as they may have been collected on the Cook Islands.

LIST OF SURVIVING ITEMS

This list, arranged geographically, includes only those items known to survive to the present. The analytical and descriptive entries on this list are distinct from the curatorial descriptions in the annotated copy of Fox's list presented below.

Several artefacts have by tradition (either ancient, or quite recent) been attributed to Allan's collection with little or no convincing evidence of any real association. These are mentioned in the annotated copy of Fox's list, but are not described in detail.

EUROPE

E35 Sabot Fox, p. 192 no. 53

(See figure 41)

Blue-painted wooden sabot with upturned toe and slight heel. A crack in the upper part has been repaired by boring two holes on each side and tying two lengths of string across: this string is also painted blue. A hole of 8mm. diameter has been bored through one side. Length 280mm, maximum width 110mm.

ASIAN

FROM TURKEY

D340 Pair of ladies' shoes Fox, p. 192 no. 49

(See figure 42)

Pair of Turkish ladies' shoes with pointed toes and high (50mm) heel. Leather sole; heavily-embroidered blue silk upper; blue silk inner; red leather insole. Length 215, maximum width 70mm.

D339 Pair of men's shoes Fox, p. 192 no. 48 (part)

(See figure 43)

Pair of Turkish men's shoes with upturned pointed toes and high (10mm) heel. Leather sole and uppers. Decorated with red cloth, sequins, and yellow, white and blue embroidery. Length 265mm, maximum width 90mm. The number 351 is written on the sole. An old-style label is fixed to the outside of the heel of one shoe.

D502 Men's shoe Fox, p. 192 no. 48 (part)

(See figure 44)

Turkish men's shoe with upturned pointed toe and flat heel. Leather sole; inners lined with cotton; uppers heavily embroidered with sequins and yellow thread. Length 270, maximum width 110mm. The number 352 is written on the sole.

D341 Pair of men's shoes Fox, p. 192 no. 48 (part)

(See figure 45)

Pair of Turkish men's shoes, with upturned pointed toes and high (25mm) heel. Leather sole and inners; uppers of red cloth, decorated with sequins and yellow and white embroidery. Sole of heel strengthened by an iron strip fixed to the shoe by three studs. A flap of the leather upper folds down to pad the heel: this flap is painted to echo the style of the embroidery. Length 270mm, maximum width 100mm.

FROM CHINA

D342 Pair of shoes Fox, p. 192 no. 45 (part)

(See figure 46)

Pair of Chinese shoes, the toe broadly rounded and upturned. Leather sole; woven brown cane uppers and cotton inner. String fixing the sole is bound around the circumference of the leather, and medially. Length 270mm, maximum width 95mm. The number 355 is written on each insole and on one sole.

D231 Pair of shoes Fox, p. 192 no. 45 (part)

(See figure 47)

Pair of Chinese shoes with upturned, chisel toes. Leather sole; woven brown cane uppers and cotton inner. Length 255mm, maximum width 80mm. The number 356 is written on the sole of each shoe.

D227 Pair of shoes Fox, p. 192 no. 45 (part)

(See figure 48)

Pair of Chinese shoes, the toe broadly rounded and upturned. Leather sole; woven brown cane uppers and cotton inner. String fixing the sole is bound around the circumference of the leather, and medially. Length 278mm, maximum width 85mm. Written on the sole is: Chinese shoe's [*sic*], 112 and 1/2. The number 112 probably refers to the lot number of

the auction catalogue of Allan's collection.

D228 Shoe Fox, p. 192 no. 46

(See figure 49)

Chinese shoe, the toe broadly rounded and upturned. Athick layer of felt above the leather sole; uppers of two varieties of blue silk, and lined internally with cotton. Leather sole fixed to the adjoining felt by means of string, which is fastened in a regular, decorative pattern. The panels of blue silk are edged with a double line of embroidery. Length 284mm, maximum width 95mm.

D124 Abacus Fox, p. 191 no. 1 or 10

(See figure 50)

Chinese wooden abacus with thirteen spokes. Each spoke bears seven obovoid beads, divided into five and two between the two portions of the frame. Frame bears a metal ring for suspension. The whole is backed by a sheet of wood, on which George Allan has written a legend. Frame 225mm long, 120mm wide, 22 mm deep. Beads 13mm diameter, 9mm high.

D126 Abacus Fox, p. 191 no. 1 or 10

(See figure 51)

Chinese wooden abacus with seven spokes. Each spoke bears seven obovate beads, divided into five and two between the two portions of the frame. Frame 140mm long, 110mm wide, 18 mm deep. Beads 15mm diameter, 10mm high. A paper label bears the number 121 in manuscript, which equates to the lot number of an abacus in the catalogue for the auction of Allan's collection

D117 Carved ivory figure of Zhong Kui Fox, p. 191 no. 3 or 4

(See figure 52)

A Chinese ivory figurine of Zhong Kui in his drunken form. Carved from

a halved section of elephant tusk. Height of carving 147mm. Two holes of 4mm diameter, 13mm between centres, have been bored into the base, probably for fixing onto a stand.

Carved in a lively fashion, Zhong Kui is being helped (or led on) by a demon. Remains of green staining around the hat of Zhong Kui and the coat of the demon indicate a late date (probably 18th century) for the carving. There is no maker's mark.

D118 Carved ivory figure of Shoulao Fox, p. 191 no. 3 or 4

(See figure 53)

A Chinese ivory figurine of Shoulao, carved from a section of elephant tusk. Shoulao is seated and accompanied by a deer, crane, frog and tortoise. Height of carving 136mm. Some of the finer carved elements are broken: one leg of the deer, one leg of the crane and the neck of the crane. A paper label bears the inscription 'L.S.' [i.e. 'Literary Society'].

Traces of green stain on the *queue* indicate a late date (probably 18th century) for this carving; there is no maker's mark.

Shoulao was a Daoist god of longevity and one of the triad Fu, Lu and Shou, who are collectively known as 'the three stars'. An early epithet is *Nanji laoren*, meaning the 'Old Man of the South Pole', referring to his stellar position in the sky. Conventionally, Shoulao is portrayed as a corpulent man having a large, domed cranium, a fine beard and three long wrinkles over his eyebrows. His accompanying animals, a crane, frog, tortoise and deer all symbolise longevity in Daoist iconology. He often carries a scroll representing the Book of Life.

Depictions of Daoist deities in ivory became increasingly popular during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Most of the figures exported to Europe, in a trade that increased greatly in the 18th century were made in Canton. (see Bushell, 1924; Fong, 1983; Little, 1988).

D119 Carved ivory ball, with concentric carved layers Fox, p. 191 no. 17

(See figure 54)

Chinese carved ivory ball with separate ivory chain. The ball is divided into at least twelve concentric spheres, all carved in different patterns of filigree open-work decoration; the outer being of stylised foliage, the remainder in geometric patterns. Chain is of twenty links carved from a single piece of ivory; the last link having a hook for suspension of the whole. The chain fits into a 4mm diameter hole in the ball. Sphere 85mm diameter. Links of chain 12mm long.

There is a discrepancy between the number of layers listed in two early catalogues (seven *teste* Boulter, 1793; sixteen *teste* Fox, 1827). It is not easy to count the number of layers within the object, especially towards the centre of the ball, but there are definitely more than seven and at least twelve. None of the early catalogues mentioned the chain.

Concentrically carved balls of ivory were manufactured in China as early as the 14th century and as late as the 20th (Laufer, 1925), and most British museums own at least one example. Bushell (1924) perceptively described such spheres as being more 'distinguished for bizarre complexity of pattern than artistic feeling'.

D211 Dotchin and case Fox, p. 191 no. 5 (part)

(See figure 55)

Wooden case of two halves, joined by a metal rivet. Fitting into cavities in one half of the case are: a bone measuring yard with graduations marked in blackened dots; a brass pan with strings attached for suspension, and a brass weight. Case 315mm long, maximum of 80mm wide and 21mm deep, pivoted 70mm from one end. Yard 274mm long. Pan 65mm diameter. Weight 38mm diameter and 6mm deep. George Allan's oval label is attached to case: it reads 'Chinese dotchins or steelyards for weighing money'.

D120 and D212 Dotchin and case Fox, p. 191 no. 5 (part)

(See figure 56)

Guitar-shaped wooden case of two halves joined by a metal rivet at the tip. On the 'guitar body' of one half is a miniature abacus of five metal spokes, each with six metal beads divided into five and one between the two halves of the frame. Two ideograms are marked by dots, near the abacus. A plaited cane ring on the 'guitar neck' serves to hold the case closed. Fitting into cavities in one half of the case are a bone measuring yard (which is broken) with graduations marked in blackened dots, and a brass pan with strings attached for suspension. The weight is missing. Case 279mm long, 59mm wide. Cane ring 17mm diameter, 4mm deep. Yard now 80mm long, formerly about 10mm longer. Pan 50mm diameter. A label on the case bears the inscription 'Antiquarian Society'.

There has been previous confusion in cataloguing this item, because the steelyard (D120) was catalogued independently of its case (D212). Apparently, the items were separated whilst in the possession of the S.A.N.T. and were transferred from them to the Hancock Museum at different times. The two portions were re-assembled in the course of the present project.

D757 Chinese hat Fox, p. 191 no. 7

(See figure 57)

Conical cane hat with reinforced crown and circular cane rim. Inner of cane strips woven into a zigzag pattern; outer of radiating strips of cane; crown reinforced with a cap of parallel strips of light-coloured cane arranged into a pentaradial design. String chin strap present. Diameter 28.5cm. Old-style label reading CHINESE HAT.

This may be the Chinese hat from Allan's collection, or it could have been one of the Chinese items donated in the 1850s by Captain Richard Collinson: both donations are early enough to bear the 'old-style' labels.

FROM IRAN

D275 Farsi manuscript Fox, p. 191 no. 16

(See figure 58)

An elongate bag of red and white striped cloth, tied at one end and fastened with a wax seal bearing an impression in Farsi. Bag contains four pieces of folded paper which have on one side brown flecks and pieces of gold leaf. Two pieces of paper are blank, the other two bear Farsi inscriptions. Seam of bag split. Length of bag 30cm, width 6.5cm; seal 4.7 cm diameter.

FROM IRAN OR INDIA

D134 & D135 Two sets of implements Fox, p. 191 no. 11

(See figures 59 and 60)

D134. A long wooden case of square cross-section, covered with a blackwood veneer and with bone and mother-of pearl inlay in elongate lozenges, rings and a floral motif; case edged with strips of bone; brass furniture, including a suspension chain. Length 20.2 cm, section 1.8 cm square. Several long holes are bored into the case, which now holds:

a) a bone-handled steel knife, the handle with brass furniture. Length 22 cm.

b) a pair of bone chopsticks, each 18.6 cm long.

c) a brush with long bone handle, most of the bristles now worn away. Handle 1.8 cm long.

d) two copper strips, each with a length of solder at one end. These pieces probably formerly joined to make a pair of tweezers. One piece 13 cm long, 0.3 cm wide, the other broken (now 3.7 cm long).

e) an iron file (?nail file) with brass handle. Overall length 8.9 cm, length of handle 2.2 cm.

There are cavities for three more implements.

D135. A wooden case similar to D134, but now in poor condition. Most of the blackwood veneer is now missing, as is the brass chain. Length 19 cm. The case now holds:

a) a knife with bone handle, the brass cap to the handle now missing. Length 20 cm.
b) a brass fork with bone handle, the handle stained green. Length 12.6 cm.
c) a small steel knife with a bone handle, the handle stained green. Length 12.4 cm.
d) a brass fork with no handle. One tine broken. Length 5 cm.

FROM THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

G122 Hat Fox, p. 200 no. 49

(See figure 61)

Conical twined hat with slightly concave profile and an apical aperture. Bicolored dark brown and light brown in a pattern of concentric rings and chequerwork. Diameter 330mm, height 110mm, hole in centre 15mm diameter.

This hat has long been catalogued as being from North America, and it does bear a general similarity to conical Nootka hats that have an apical aperture. However, it differs from typical northwest coast work in the material used and in the overall design. An alternative origin of the Philippine Islands has been suggested, and if this is correct, a silver finial should at one time have projected through the apical hole.

FROM MYANMAR

D711 Manuscript on bamboo strips Fox, p. 191 no. 6

(See figure 62)

Burmese manuscript written on approximately 300 strips of bamboo, joined together between two red-stained wooden end-boards. The manuscript was identified by Sir Richard K. Douglas in 1907 as 'the Nyāsa, a super commentary upon the grammar of Pali composed by Kachchāyana. By Vinala-buddhi'. Douglas dated the manuscript at about 1800 AD. Boards 530mm long, 65mm wide and 14mm thick. An old label bears the inscription 'L.S.' [i.e. 'Literary Society'].

POLYNESIAN

C645 Cloth beater Fox, p. 199 no. 34

(See figure 63)

Wooden barkcloth beater with conical knob and pointed end. Two faces coarsely ribbed and two finely ribbed. Length 32cm, maximum width 4cm. Place of origin uncertain: the pointed end might indicate Hawaii or Samoa. Labels give Tonga and alternatively Fiji as provenance. Possibly, although doubtfully Allan Museum; is labelled as 'NHS' written in a mid-19th century hand.

If from Samoa or Fiji, then this should be an 18th century piece (but see club C537 *infra*!) and can be excluded from the Allan Museum. Even if from Hawaii, then it could have been donated in 1834 with other items from the island group by William Row.

1998.H243 Tapa

Panel of thin, pinkish-white barkcloth. An old label tied to the cloth with, in manuscript '2ft 7 by 2ft': which is the size of the piece. Length 75cm, width 59cm. Labelled at the turn of the 20th century as being *ex* Allan Museum.

C181 Shaw's book of *tapa*

A copy of Shaw, 1787. *A Catalogue of the different specimens of cloth collected in the three voyages of Captain Cook, to the Southern Hemisphere, with a particular account of the Manner of manufacturing the same in the various islands of the south seas, partly extracted from Mr. Anderson, and Reinhold Forster's observation and the verbal account of some of the most knowing of the navigators with some anecdotes that happened to them among the natives.* Bound, with original marbled paper over boards, and calf spine. Title page, dedication. pp [3]-6 + 38 barkcloth samples. Dedication on verso.

Included in the catalogue because of its 18th century origin, the book was donated by Miss Mary Jane Hancock in 1885. The copy is a cut-down re-issue of the first edition (which had 56 specimens) and lacks the catalogue. The leather spine is badly worn but despite the dilapidated state of the cover, the samples are in a good state of preservation. The book contains samples 1-38 of barkcloth, which are bound generally in reverse order, i.e. number 1 is the last sample in the book (but some of the pieces are out of sequence). A supernumerary piece has been bound before the title page; samples 8 and 36 are missing. Samples vary from full-page size to only a few centimetres in width. Numbers are hand-written on the interleaved pages, and most samples bear numbered paper labels

There are about thirty surviving copies of the book known, with varying numbers of samples (Kaeppler, 1975; Kaeppler, 1978). Hall (1921) gave a detailed description of a copy in the Peabody Museum, comparing the samples with original catalogue of 1787. Comparison of the samples in the Hancock Museum copy with this catalogue shows that most agree with those described. The majority of samples are from Hawaii or Tahiti, a few being from Tonga.

C697, C698 Clubs

All of the Polynesian clubs listed by Fox were assigned a wrong provenance. Fox described three, as being from New Zealand, Hawaii and Tahiti. Two of the surviving clubs are typically Tongan; a third is Fijian.

C697 (listed by Fox as being from Tahiti) Fox, p. 199 no. 31

(See figure 64)

Large wooden club with flared head of diamond cross-section, carved with projecting plain bands alternating with chevron and cross-hatched panels in incised geometric patterns. Long shaft with roughly scratched lines. An iron nail is driven into the butt, with traces of coir cord attached. Overall length 132cm, length of shaft 87cm, length of head 45cm, maximum width of head 15cm. C697 bears one of Allan's handwritten labels; barely legible, but appears to read 'War Club, from one of the Sou...', or perhaps from one of the 'Soci[iety Islands]'. A patch of glue indicates the former presence of another label.

Kaeppler (*pers. comm.*, 1998) has suggested that, judging from the style of carving on the head this club was made prior to the first European contact with Tonga, i.e. before Cook's second voyage.

C698 (listed by Fox as being from Hawaii) Fox, p. 198 no. 13

(see figure 65)

Small wooden club with flared head of diamond cross-section, short shaft and pierced butt lug. Head with incised geometric patterns. Corner of head chipped. Overall length 83cm, length of shaft 57cm, length of head 25cm, maximum width of head 13cm. An oval patch indicates the former presence of one of Allan's labels. Written on the club in ink is 'NHS', and in pencil 'Navigator's Island' [=Samoa] and 'Tonga'.

The carving, which has been executed with iron tools, rules out a 'Cook second voyage' provenance (Kaeppler, *pers. comm.*, 1998), but not his third voyage.

C674 Headrest (listed by Fox as being from Tahiti) Fox, p. 199 no. 23

(see figure 66)

Headrest of long sender form, carved from a single piece of wood. Cross bar with a medial carina ventrally; two pairs of bifurcated legs with four pad feet. Three legs have been broken at some time, and repaired with bone glue: enough remains to see that the legs were never joined together at their bases by a wooden tie. Lightly chipped at edges. Length 66cm, maximum width 8cm, height 16cm. Old labels give provenance variously as Tonga, Tahiti and Fiji.

Labels:

1. A dark oval patch indicates the former presence of one of George Allan's labels. Glued over the patch is a square label with in manuscript [? of Joseph Wright] 'Stool from Otaheite / used by the natives / No 20 of Cat.'.
2. Old-style label glued on. 'SLEEPING STOOL. / So[ciety Islan]ds / Allan Museum. Cat, No.'. Where the words 'Society Islands' have been scratched away, 'Fiji' has been written on the label in pencil.

The headrest is similar in overall shape to one figured by John Cleveley in 1774 (British Library Add. MS 23920, f. 109), but differs in that the feet are not joined at the base.

C740 Bag Fox, p. 199 no. 37

(see figure 67)

Rectangular coir bag with two loop handles; edges overbound. Shell disc beads sewn on to bag in zigzag patterns. Length 38cm, width 24cm. Recorded as being *ex* Allan Museum by tradition.

Although Fox identified this as being an item figured in plate XXI of Cook's account of the second voyage (Cook, 1777), there is only a general agreement between the

artefact and the figure. The item in the Allan Museum is certainly not any of those illustrated by 18th century artists (see figures in Joppien & Smith, 1985a).

C465, C466, C467, C569, C570 Five Spears Fox, p. 200 no. 57

Fox listed five barbed spears from St Vincent's (West Indies) in the Allan Museum, but also noted a barbed spear 'like that in Capt. Cook's Voyage, vol. i. t. no. 21, p. 220' among the material donated by Captain Wilson of the *Duff* (who had visited Tonga) to the Lit. & Phil. in 1799, and the surviving items may have been part of this latter gift.

Three of the spears bear old-style labels wrongly giving the provenance as St Vincent (since all are from Tonga). None bears the marks of Allan's oval labels.

NEWHM: C465 (see figure 68)

Long wooden spear with intricately carved head, having a plain point, then a section of multiple small barbs, then three sets of long, radiating, curved barbs. All barbs carved in one piece with head. Length 375cm, length of head 104cm, length of shaft binding 76cm. Old label stuck to spear, gives St Vincent as the provenance, and a more recent label gives Fiji.

NEWHM: C466 (See figure 69)

Long wooden spear with intricately carved head, having a plain point, then a section of multiple small barbs, then two sets of long, radiating, curved barbs. Sets of barbs have intricately woven vegetable fibre binding between them, and a long section at top of shaft is also bound with vegetable fibre. All barbs carved in one piece with head. Length 375cm, length of head 104cm, length of shaft binding 76cm. Old label stuck to spear, gives St Vincent as provenance, and more recent label gives Fiji.

NEWHM: C467 (See figure 70)

Long wooden spear with intricately carved head, having a plain point,

then a section of multiple small barbs, then three sets of long, radiating, curved barbs. Sets of long barbs have shell (possibly *Tridacna* clam) beads on vegetable fibre cord bound between them. All barbs carved in one piece with head. Some shell beads detaching. Length 409cm, length of head 113cm.

NEWHM: C569 (See figure 71)

Long wooden spear with intricately carved head, having a plain point, then a section of multiple small barbs, then three sets of long, radiating, curved barbs. All barbs carved in one piece with head. Length 366cm, length of head 98cm. Old label stuck to spear gives St Vincent as provenance, and more recent label gives Fiji.

NEWHM: C570 (see figure 72)

Fishing spear with a four-pronged head, attached to shaft with elaborate binding of plaited vegetable fibre cord. Binding damaged and one prong of head loose. Length of head 108cm, length bound to shaft 60cm, overall length 372cm. The multiple head suggests that this may be a fishing spear.

1998.H225 Bark cloth

(See figure 73)

Large panel (*ngatu*) of bark cloth, covered with a feather motif using sepia-coloured dye, and with discs of a darker colour. Size 460 cm x 210 cm. Possibly Allan Museum, but like all early bark cloth in the Hancock Museum the provenance is uncertain.

FROM FIJI

C537 **Club** (listed by **Fox** as being from New Zealand) Fox, p. 198 no. 10

(See figure 74)

Fijian wooden spurred club (*vivia qata*) with 20 transverse ridges; 4th

and 11th ridges from base have deeply incised zigzag motif; shaft lacking terminal flange, and pierced transversely subapically. Head with carina (*tebetebe*); crotch of spur and head with rounded ridge (*teretere*). A length of plaited flat coir is wrapped four times around the shaft in each of the three basal grooves. Length 64cm, maximum width 15cm. Broad crack near middle. An old-style label present: 'WAR CLUB/ New Zealand [crossed through, and with 'Fiji' added in ms]/ Allan Museum/ Cat. No.'. Written on the object in ink is 'NHS' and '16'; faint but definite indication of former presence of one of Allan's oval labels.

The transverse hole was probably bored with a European drill: it is uniform in width; where the drill has pushed through one face the wood has been pushed outwards as a circular lip, and the other face has slightly splintered when the drill bit was withdrawn. It is also ¼ inch in diameter, a common British drill size.

This club is of interest in being a very rare example of an 18th century Fijian artefact. No western explorers are known to have visited Fiji in the 18th century, but there were a small number of Fijian clubs in Britain at that time: at least two were in Sir Ashton Lever's Museum, where they were sketched by Sarah Stone (Force & Force, 1968).

These Fijian artefacts were probably collected during the visit of Cook's ships to Tonga during his last voyage. There was regular contact between people of the two island groups, and Cook's crew encountered a few Fijians in 1777, the ships' diarists commenting on their distinctive appearance. William Anderson, who learned some words of Fijian (Beaglehole, 1967), noticed their superior workmanship including their 'clubs and spears which are carv'd in a very masterly manner'.

None of the consulted catalogues of collections of 18th century Pacific artefacts include any Fijian artefacts, but since curators would tend to dismiss them on grounds of improbability some may lie unrecognised in museums. Indeed, this club would be dismissed but for Allan's label.

C630 Bone cleaver (Patu *paraoa*) Fox, p. 198 no. 1

(See figure 75)

Well-balanced *patu* made of whalebone, with pierced rounded butt lug threaded with substantial plaited flax suspension cord. Length 43.5cm, maximum width 9.5cm, length of cord 32cm. An oval dark patch indicates the former presence of one of George Allan's labels.

The term *patu paraoa* refers to implements of the *patu onewa* type made of whalebone. Several *patu* of similar shape were illustrated by Cook's contemporaries (*vide* figures in Joppien & Smith, 1985), all apparently made of stone rather than bone.

A passage in Hawkesworth (1773) confirms that *patu paraoa* were seen on Cook's first visit to New Zealand: 'there are whales also upon this coast, and though the people did not appear to have any art or instrument by which such an animal could be taken and killed, we saw pattoo-pattoos in the possession of some of them, which were made of the bone of a whale, or of some other animal whose bone had exactly the same appearance'

C636 Wooden cleaver (*Kotiate*) Fox, p. 198 no. 2

(See figure 76)

Wooden 'fiddle-shaped' cleaver; butt with carved *tiki* head, the tongue slightly skewed, and cheeks puffy. Rectangular hole for suspension loop. A wooden peg has been inserted to strengthen a knot in the wood and stop the wood splitting, but the wood is cracked in several places. The letter 'F' is engraved in an old, possibly 18th century hand. Length 36.5cm, maximum width 15.5cm. An oval dark patch indicates the former presence of one of George Allan's labels.

Several *kotiate* were figured in the 18th century, none of the drawings seen matches C636 precisely: usually the sinuation divides the body of the weapon into two roughly

equal halves, in C636 the sinuation is not central (see figures in Joppien & Smith, 1985).

C765 Neck ornament (*Rei puta*) Fox, p. 198 no. 3

(See figure 77)

Neck ornament, the pendant made from the tooth of a sperm whale (*Physter catodon*) with two engraved blackened 'eyes' dorsally. A finely plaited flax cord and bird bone toggle attachment serve for hanging around the wearer's neck. Length 17cm, width 4.5cm, length of cord 45cm, length of toggle 7.5cm. An oval dark patch indicates the former presence of one of George Allan's labels.

Rei puta were seen at least during Cook's first visit to New Zealand: 'The men had sometimes hanging to a string, which went round the neck, a piece of green talc, or whalebone, somewhat in the shape of a tongue, with the rude figure of a man carved upon it; and upon this ornament they set a high value' (Hawkesworth, 1773).

It has been long believed by staff at the Hancock Museum that the *rei puta* in Allan's Museum was brought back to England on the *Endeavour*-voyage, and was the actual object figured by Parkinson (Plate 13 *in* Hawkesworth, 1773). This suggestion has appeared in print (Duff, 1969), but doubts have been expressed elsewhere (Kaeppler, 1978) and close examination of the *rei puta* reveals that there are indeed significant differences between the actual object and Parkinson's figure. C765 differs from the *rei puta* drawn by Parkinson in the shape of the 'eyes', in the lack of decoration on the toggle, in the attachment of the neck-cord to the tooth, and the presence of some natural marks on the tooth.

That the cord attachment varied from specimen to specimen is shown in the few examples sketched in the 18th century. Parkinson's *rei puta* had three evenly spaced holes pierced through it, and simple ties through the holes attaching the tooth to the neck cord (*vide* Joppien & Smith, 1985, pl. 1.126 - 1.127). A *rei puta* drawn by John Frederick Miller in 1771 has four unevenly spaced holes and a doubled attachment cord passing through the holes and apparently threaded through the neck-cord (*vide* Joppien

& Smith, 1985, pl. 1.162). The *rei puta* figured by Herman Diedrich Spöring *c.*1769-1770 has five evenly spaced holes, with the attachment cord neatly fanning out between the holes and the neck-cord. (vide Joppien & Smith, 1985, pl. 1.161).

A photograph of the specimen taken at Newcastle in 1969, shows that a substantial portion of Allan's oval label was still glued to the tooth. A second photograph, taken in the same year and published in Duff (1969) shows a dark patch where the label had been removed. Presumably, the item was cleaned in order to be displayed as part of the *No Sort of Iron* exhibition at Christchurch, New Zealand.

A letter in the Hancock Museum files, from a former conservator at Christchurch Museum, states that the 'eyes' on the pendant were tinted with acrylic paint following damage at Christchurch that occurred during preparation of a facsimile.

C624 Feeding funnel (*Korere*) Fox, p. 198 no. 4

(See figure 78)

> Wooden feeding funnel, elaborately carved with cursive figures in relief on each side, and at rear. The carving is almost in the style of a Taranaki figure. Slightly cracked with a small amount of insect damage. Length 21.5cm, maximum width 10cm, height 13cm. Allan's label, very dirty and partly defaced, still survives. The first line reads 'New Zealand Whistle' the rest is illegible, although the whole label was quoted by Fox as reading 'A New Zealand Whistle, that yields a shrill sound, and is worn by the men about their necks'.

Fox listed the *korere* as being a whistle. It is understandable how someone in 18th century England unfamiliar with the practice of *moko* (tattooing) could misidentify a *korere*, although it might be asked whether George Allan had actually succeeded in getting a musical tone out of it! There is an intriguing possibility of a link with the *Endeavour* voyage, since Banks noted in his diary (*vide* Hooker, 1896: 247) that the Maori have 'a kind of small pipe of wood, crooked and shaped almost like a large tobacco pipe, but it has hardly more music in it than a whistle with a pea'. This

description could be of a *korere*, but does not fit Maori musical instruments such as *putorino*, *pukaea* or *nguru*.

Korere are highly *tapu* to Maori, the human head being the most *tapu* part of the body, and no food was allowed to touch the person undergoing *ta moko* as this would transgress the *tapu*. On a more prosaic level, the face would be very tender and open to infection, and the use of a *korere* combined practical considerations with the reduction of hygiene risks. Highly nutritious food was ground down to form a broth, and poured down the *korere* by a helper. Water was also poured down the funnel.

Korere were usually finely carved, with both the figures on the outside of the funnel and the groundwork in-between elaborately decorated. On this example the figures have been carved in outline, but there is very little surface decoration and the adze marks of 'roughing out' still remain visible, strongly suggesting that this *korere* is unfinished. This could be because no artist was willing to complete a piece that had been started by - and thus imbued with the *mana* of - a previous artist (who, perhaps, died before he could finish it). Alternatively, it may simply not have been finished and had never been used for its sacred function: this could explain why a Maori would be prepared to part with what is normally a very sacred object.

This *korere* appears to be the earliest surviving example to have been brought out of New Zealand.

C620 and 621 Two whistle-flutes (*Nguru*); C623 bugle-flute (Putorino)

Fox, p. 198 no. 18

Only one of C620-621 and C623 may be an Allan Museum item. It must equate to an artefact catalogued by Fox as originating in Hawaii, as the only other musical instrument catalogued, Fox's 'Wooden Whistle' from New Zealand, is actually a *korere*.

C620 Wooden whistle, or nose flute, carved with deeply incised elaborate decoration in sharp relief, probably with metal tools. A carrying thong of dog's hide with hair is still present, but detached from flute. Length

13cm, diameter 4cm, length of carrying thong 64cm. Probably mid-19th century or earlier. Stylistically northern North Island. Labelled 'N.H.S.' in ink.

C621 (See figure 79) Wooden whistle, or nose flute, with carved incised decoration of spiral motifs showing a complete *tiki*, a bird with eye, beak and wing, with its face about the suspension lug, amid scrolls. Carrying strap of plaited flax, now broken. Very shallow decoration. Length 9.5cm, diameter 3cm, length of carrying strap 100cm. Possibly late 18th century. Stylistically northern point of North Island. Labelled 'N.H.S.' in ink.

Neither of the *nguru* appears to have been figured by 18th century artists. The surface decoration is markedly different to the one drawn by J.F. Miller (British Library Add. MS 23920, f. 73), and C. Praval's sketch (British Library Add. MS 7085, f. 33) is too imprecise to equate the figure with the artefacts.

C623 (See figure 80) Simple, flat wooden pipe or bugle-flute (*putorino*) with heart-shaped aperture. Made in two lateral sections, bound together with plaited flax cord binding. Length 36cm, maximum width 4cm. Bears a label with a legend in an unknown hand: '590 A musical pipe from the ... [illegible - Society or Sandwich?] Islands 61'

The artefact lacks the surface decoration often found in these flutes, and the binding is more extensive than usual. The style of handwriting on the label indicates an early (late 18th-early 19th century) provenance. Plaited flax binding rather than rattan found in later examples also indicates that it is an early piece.

C589 Paddle (Hoe) Fox, p. 198 no. 5

(See figure 81)

Wooden canoe paddle, with traces of negative-resist painted scroll pattern (*kowhaiwhai*) on the blade. There is openwork carving of a bird's

head (*manaia*) at the handle-end of the shaft, and relief carving at the head-end. Length 178cm, maximum width of blade 13cm. Acquired in Poverty Bay, North Island, New Zealand, October 1769. An oval patch indicates the former presence of one of Allan's labels: the ink from this has partly soaked through on to the wood, although the words are barely legible, the last line reading 'New Zealand'.

There has long been a suspicion that Pacific artefacts in Allan's Museum have an association with the voyages of Captain Cook, even if only because very few other ships brought such items to England in the 18th Century. However, there is only one artefact that can be definitely linked with a Cook voyage and it is this painted *hoe*. Sydney Parkinson figured it during the voyage of the *Endeavour*. Parkinson died on 26 January 1771, when the vessel was returning to England, and the paddle was subsequently brought back to England by one of the crew. Parkinson's original sketch survives in the British Library (Add. MS 23920, f.71a), and was reproduced in colour by Joppien & Smith (1985).

C588 Club / quarterstaff (Tewhatewha) Fox, p. 198 no. 6

(See figure 82)

Wooden Maori *tewhatewha*, a club or quarter staff, with plain, uncarved tongue. Lacks feather tassel. Length 139cm, maximum width of head 32cm. Probably made about the same time as it was collected, late in the 18th century. Two of George Allan's labels are still present, although barely legible.

The blade-like end of a *tewhatewha* is reminiscent of a European hatchet, as Fox's catalogue entry suggests, but the weapon was not used as a 'hatchet' and the similarity in form is merely coincidental. Best (1924) described how the weapon was used. The pointed end of the *tewhatewha* was used in attack, but the blow was usually struck with the back of the bladed end. Bunches of feathers were usually suspended through a small hole usually pierced in the lower part of the blade, to distract the attention of the

opponent.

The bunch of feathers is missing in C588, and in fact there is no hole through the lower part of the blade through which they could be fixed. There is, however, a hole through the upper part of the blade.

Several *tewhatewha* were figured in the 18th century. Those engraved by Chambers (Plates 15 and 26 *in* Parkinson, 1784) have an ornamented shaft. Praval's sketch (British Library Add. MS 7085, f.33 - reproduced in Joppien & Smith, 1985, pl. 1.153) is plain, like our specimen, but the figure is not detailed. Neither of these has a bunch of feathers. John Frederick Miller drew a *tewhatewha* with a single bunch of feathers and a decorated shaft (British Library Add. MS 23920, f.70 - reproduced in Joppien & Smith, 1985, pl. 1.157), and this is definitely not our specimen.

C622 Trumpet (Pu-*kaea*) Fox, p. 198 no. 7

(See figure 83)

> Wooden trumpet, with forked bell mouth; made in two lateral sections, bound together with *kiekie* (*Freycinetia baueriana*) root. Length 67cm, diameter of mouthpiece 2.5cm, diameter of bell 10cm. Figured in Edge-Partington's *Album* (1895, p.232); cited by Best (1924). Part of Allan's label is present, although the writing is now barely legible.

Praval's sketch (British Library Add. MS 7085, f.33 - reproduced in Joppien & Smith, 1985, pl. 1.153) of a *pu-kaea* brought back on the *Endeavour* is very similar to the item in the Hancock Museum, but the shape of these artefacts may not be sufficiently individually distinctive to equate the surviving object with the one figured.

The following is based on Best (1924):

> The *pu-kaea*, a bell-mouthed trumpet used for signalling, ranged from about three to six feet in length. A piece of wood was rough hewn, then

split down the middle. Each half was fashioned and hollowed out and the two halves lashed together. Sometimes the bell-shaped mouth, termed the *whara* was cut out of the solid, in others it was made of several pieces, lashed together.

The *tohe* or *putohe* was a wooden contrivance fixed in the tube and which had some effect on the sound. 'A specimen in the Natural History Museum at New-Castle-on-Tyne, is said to have five projections in its interior, three on one side and two on the other'.

C422, C423, C591, 1998.H220 *Taiaha* (four) Fox, p. 198 nos 8, 9, 11

Three *taiahas* came to Newcastle with the Allan Museum in 1822, and a further one, allegedly from the collection of Sir Joseph Banks (hence included here among the 18th century material), was acquired from Wilfred Hall with the Bompas collection in 1936.

C422 (Allan Museum) (See figure 84)

Wooden *taiaha*, lacking vegetable fibre or feather tassels. The letters 'N.H.S.' are written along the blade; near the base is a very faint oval patch and indicating George Allan's label, with lines of ink where the writing has soaked through. The carving on the tongue is coarse, compared to later examples; and the tip of the tongue is smoothed through wear. All four mother-of-pearl 'eyes' are present. Length of shaft 165cm, length of head 23cm, total length 187cm. Probably Rotarua school, North Island, New Zealand. Has a dark oval mark surviving from Allan's label.

C423 (Allan Museum) (See figure 85)

Wooden *taiaha*, lacking vegetable fibre or feather tassels. Old label 'spontoon or spear carried by the chiefs of New Zealand curiously carved and ornamented with eyes formed of the beautiful pearl of the iris shell.'. An unfinished artefact, there is no surface carving on the tongue, the head has 'eyes' on one side only and the tip of the blade is unfinished.

Shaft slightly cracked and pitted. Length of shaft 145cm, length of head 21cm, total length 166cm. Probably Rotarua school, North Island, New Zealand. Has a dark oval mark surviving from Allan's label.

1998.H220 (Allan Museum) (See figure 86)

Wooden *taiaha* with plain head with short tongue, and lacking vegetable fibre or feather tassels. Length 183.5cm, maximum width of head 5cm, maximum width of butt 7cm. Probably Rotarua school, North Island. Has a dark oval mark surviving from Allan's label.

C591 (*ex* Sir Joseph Banks's collection; acquired with Bompas collection, donated by Wilfred Hall in 1936) (See figure 87)

Wooden *taiaha*, with finely carved head with shell eyes, but lacking typical vegetable fibre or feather tassels. Length 147.5cm. A donation from Dr Wilfred Hall (56/1937), *ex* Bompas collection. Old label: '...from Sir Joseph Banks collection. Given to Dean Buckland by the late Robert Brown of British Museum, New Zealand /T...i ...[illegible].'

The history of this *taiaha*, as given on the label, is quite plausible. Robert Brown (1773-1858) was librarian to Sir Joseph Banks, later moving to the British Museum where he was Keeper of the botanical department between 1827 and 1857. William Buckland (1784-1856) could only be styled 'Dean' after 1845, when he was appointed Dean of Westminster, thus giving an earliest possible date for the label.

Even though from Banks's collection, the *taiaha* could not be an *Endeavour* voyage, as the carving has executed with metal tools - therefore it was not collected personally by Banks in New Zealand. Probably Rotorua school, North Island, New Zealand.

FROM THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS

C162 Wooden gorget Fox, p. 252, no. 122

(See figure 88)

> Gorget in the form of a crescent, formed of seventeen carved soft wooden panels covered in black gum to hold *Abrus* seeds. the panels held together by thick twist of coir, caught in two places in slots. Coir fastening present. Diameter 24cm, width of gap at top 10.5cm. Franks noted, *circa* 1870 that the item was 'broken and wanting the seeds. Probably donated to the Lit. & Phil. by Captain Wilson of the *Duff* in 1799.

The *Duff* arrived at the Marquesas on 2 June 1797 and departed on 26 June, leaving William Crook on Tahuata [= Santa Christina] as a Christian missionary. On 6 June 1797, while at Tahuata, a man called Tenae presented Captain Wilson with a staff and a few head and breast ornaments. This gorget may have been among those presents. A figure of a man of Tahuata wearing a similar gorget was published on plate XXXVI in Cook's (1777) account of his second voyage.

The wooden gorget (NEWHM : C162) has a paper label glued on, with the legend 'Allan Mus.', and also a tie-on label stating it is an Allan Museum item. However, there is no evidence from the presence of Allan's oval labels that this was ever part of the Allan Museum, and indeed the only item with which it could be equated in Fox's list is the 'Neck Ornament from Hawaii'. The gorget was illustrated by A.W. Franks in his notebook.

C162 agrees with Fox's description of the artefact presented by Wilson, in that it is a gorget made of light wood covered with gum on the upper and outer surface, but it does not have the 'red peas'. The gum has many dimples, where the 'peas' have fallen off - Franks noted 'broken and wanting the seeds', so this must have happened early in its history. It seems reasonable to accept this item as being part of the Wilson donation.

The significance of gorgets of this type is uncertain, but early accounts refer to them being worn by men of importance. Krusenstern (1813), whose informant had lived among the Marquesans for five years, noted that 'this ornament is the particular mark of a priest'. Crescentic feather gorgets were worn by *ari'i* in pre-contact Tahiti, and were

figured by several 18th century artists; they also find an echo in the crescentic feather capes worn by high-ranking Hawaiians.

FROM THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

C584 Wickerwork religious figure Fox, p. 198 no. 16

(See figure 89)

A stylised human head, the mouth defined by rows of the canine teeth of dogs. Made of a wickerwork *'ie'ie* (*Freycinetia arborea*) frame covered with vegetable fibre netting (*nae*); once covered with feathers, these have almost all been lost. The bases of some feather shafts remain, but not enough to discern their colour. There is no shell inlay in the oval eye sockets, and both the framework and netting are damaged in places. Height 80cm, maximum width 18cm, depth 37cm.

Fox's comment 'has been covered with the red feathers of the Hook-billed Red Creeper' indicates perhaps that the feathers were already missing by 1827. They certainly were lacking when seen by Franks in the late 1860s/early 1870s.

This item represents perhaps the rarest category of any artefact from Allan's collection. There are 19 such images surviving, of which the Bishop Museum holds two and the British Museum five (Buck, 1957). All but three were adorned with either a crest (as is C584), or human hair. One in the British Museum has a double crest. The eyes, made of pearl-shell, are usually elliptical, although a few were round or crescentic.

There is no clue as to the movements of this image prior to its presence in the Allan Museum. Whereas Marmaduke Tunstall generally retired from 'Society' on moving north to Wycliffe in 1776, before Hawaiian items could be available to collectors, he did not move his Museum from London until 1783 (Boyd & Jessop, 1998), by which time it could have included Hawaiian artefacts. It is perhaps worth noting that the 1792 sale of Tunstall's collection included several items from Hawaii, one of which was a 'feather cloak, uncommonly large, such as is worn by the chiefs in the Sandwich Islands'. It is

possible that George Allan bought C584 along with the other part of Tunstall's collection he purchased in 1791. Unfortunately, a label with information in manuscript, visible in a photograph published in Brigham (1903), is now missing.

If not from Tunstall, then it is not known how Allan acquired the image. His main source of ethnographic items, Daniel Boulter, did not include such an item (Boulter, 1793) and no other advertisement for the sale of such an image has been traced.

Hawaiian bark cloth (*kapa*)

The following five specimens have all been formerly labelled in some way as originating in the Allan Museum. None is certainly traceable to Allan's collection, and given that further Hawaiian material was donated in 1834-35 it is unwise to assign an 18th century origin to any piece. Fox's catalogue does not call for any Hawaiian *kapa*, but given the general confusion then prevailing about provenances it is also perhaps unwise also to rule out an Allan Museum origin for any individual following piece:

C702 *Kapa* (See figure 90)

Fine panel of barkcloth made from the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree (*Brousenettia papyrifera*). Formed of two pieces of cloth neatly sewn together. Painted with red and white strips. Probably no later than early 19th century. (*teste* Hermione Waterfield, *pers. comm.*).

C703 *Kapa* (see figure 91)

Fine, large panel of barkcloth, decorated with black and red lines and bands, with paired black dots. Length 430cm, width 75 cm. Bears an old-style label glued on the cloth, 'Native Cloth, Friendly Islands, Allan Museum, Cat. no. 41'

C705 *Kapa* (see figure 92)

Large panel of glossy dark brown barkcloth with three panels of motifs, with black lines. Length 220cm, width 109cm.

1998.H239 *Kapa* (see figure 93)

Large panel of barkcloth. Decorated with scattered diagonal clusters, with a broad border Length 260cm, width 98cm.

1998.H241 *Kapa*

Panel of thin, gauze-like brown barkcloth. Length 92cm, width 50cm. Previously labelled (in error) as being from Tonga.

FROM THE SOCIETY ISLANDS

C067 Food pounder (*Penu*) Fox, p. 200, no. 43

(See figure 94)

Shiny dense basalt *poi* pounder with convex, circular base and concave sides, narrowing to handle. Top of handle has a crosspiece, triangular in section, with a flat upright ear at each end. One ear broken. Maximum height 19.5cm, diameter of base 12.5cm, length of crosspiece 8.3cm.

The provenance of this artefact is uncertain. It was definitely figured by A.W. Franks in Newcastle between 1867 and 1871: one of the ears is distinctively broken, as shown in Franks's sketch.

If C067 is to be equated with any entry in Fox's list, then it must be the 'stone hammer for pounding Cassada', which Fox said was from [Central] America. Unfortunately, there are no indications from old labels that this item once belonged to George Allan.

Several Tahitian pounders were figured in the 18th century. John Frederick Miller drew one in 1771 (British Library Add. MS 23921, f.54 (a)). An engraving by Record, after Miller's drawing was reproduced *in* Hawkesworth (1773; plate 9). A second pounder figured by Miller (British Library Add. MS 15508, f.31) is subtly, but definitely different in shape. A stone pounder surviving in the British Museum has been equated with this latter artefact (Kaeppler, 1978). Other Tahitian pounders were drawn by Charles Praval in 1771 (British Library Add. MS 7085, F.9) and by S.H. Grimm (engraving by W.

Darling after Grimm in Parkinson, 1784).

There are slight but definite variations in the shape of the early-illustrated *penu*. It is difficult to state categorically that the one surviving in the Hancock Museum was one of those figured: it is very similar to the one drawn by John Frederick Miller, but in the Hancock specimen the groove down each side of the ears extends the full length of each ear, whereas Miller's figure shows these grooves stopping short at top and bottom of the ear.

A monographic study of Society Islands pounders by Silverthorne (1936) provided a useful typology of *penu*. Out of 221 pounders examined by Silverthorne, 62 were of the same form as C067.

C686 Nose *flute* Fox, p. 198, no. 20

(See figure 95)

Bamboo transverse nose flute bound with plaited sennit. Sennit is arranged in coloured bands in similar style to the binding on the bow C444. Binding loose in part, bamboo cracked, and coloured bands faded. Length 44cm, diameter 3.5cm. Oval patch indicates the former presence of Allan's label.

With the exception of a piece of plaited binding at the base that is now missing, this flute agrees exactly with the one figured on plate 9 of Hawkesworth (1773). The engraving, by Record was based on a drawing made by John Frederick Miller (British Library, Add. MS 23921, f.54(a)) in 1771, after the return of the *Endeavour*. Another Tahitian nose flute figured by Miller, also in 1771 (British Library, Add. MS 15508, f.31), is significantly different in the arrangement of the cord binding and can not be the same specimen. Joppien & Smith (1985) reproduced both drawings, and the engraved plate.

An engraving of another Tahitian nose flute, by W. Darling after S.H. Grimm, was published on plate 13 of Parkinson (1784).

'Their only musical instruments are flutes and drums; the flutes are made of a hollow bamboo about a foot long, and, as has been observed before, have only two stops, and consequently but four notes, out of which they seem hitherto to have formed but one tune; to these stops they apply the fore finger of the left hand and the middle finger of the right' (Hawkesworth, 1773).

C518 ***Adze*** Fox, p. 199, no. 22

(See figure 96)

Large, functional adze with black basalt blade affixed to angled wooden haft with plaited coir cordage (sennit). Elbow of haft chipped. Overall length 65cm, length of blade 29cm, width of blade 7cm, length of shaft 58cm.

C518 is typologically right for an 18th century Tahitian adze, but there is no firm evidence that it formed part of the Allan Museum, i.e. there is no indication of an oval label. However, it does bear a square label with manuscript writing in a typical 18th century hand 'stone adze fixed to a handle of wood with plaited cordage from Otaheite' The last two letters on the label, possibly somebody's initials, are unclear: they are RH, or KH, or WW, or KW. There is a striking similarity between this legend and the description in Boulter's catalogue, suggesting a possibility that Allan did not feel the need to add a further label.

Tapa (see also comments in the introduction, above)

C701 Tapa bed sheet

Large panel of plain, white barkcloth, about eight metres long. Labelled in manuscript 'Literary Society Newcastle care of Mr John Langland Esq'. Presented by Captain James Wilson of *The Duff* in 1799. Probably from Tahiti.

C704 Tapa

Panel of white soft barkcloth. Dirty and damaged by rusty nails. Length 121cm, width 71cm. Probably from Tahiti.

1998.H226 Tapa

Panel of thick russet brown barkcloth with central white band. Length 570cm, width 100cm. An 'old-style' label equates this with Fox's number 41(a piece of thick cloth, stained and ribbed said to be from Tonga).

1998.H227 Tapa tiputa

Fine quality barkcloth *tiputa* (poncho), with gussets either side of the head opening. Decorated with red bands and with patterns made by pressing a fern into red dye, which is a typical Tahitian motif. Length 104cm, width 89cm. An 'old-style' label equates this with Fox's number 39 (a piece of stained cloth, like floor cloth).

1998.H228 Tapa

Panel of thick white soft barkcloth. Dirty and damaged by rusty nails. Length 166cm, width 139cm. Probably a part of a larger piece, with 1998.H229. Probably from Tahiti.

1998.H229 Tapa

Panel of thick white soft barkcloth. Old (?18th century) label in manuscript 'cloth from Friendly Islands. Length 5ft x 3ft'. Dirty and damaged by rusty nails. Length 150cm, width 80cm. Possibly part of a larger piece, with 1998.H228. Probably from Tahiti.

1998.H231 Tapa tiputa

Very wide, but short, *tiputa* (poncho) made of soft, white, plain barkcloth. Dirty and damaged by rusty nails. Length 88 cm, width 120

cm. Bears a printed label resembling an auction house's lot number, reading 75: this does not equate with numbers in any of the relevant lists consulted. From Tahiti.

1998.H232 Tapa

Large, but dirty, panel of white coarse barkcloth. Length 244cm, width 188cm. Probably from Tahiti or the Cook Islands.

1998.H233 Tapa bedsheet

Large bed sheet of a panel of thin white barkcloth. Very soft and supple, of good quality, but dirty. Length 332cm, width 114cm. Probably from Tahiti. Labelled in manuscript 'Literary Society Newcastle care of Mr John Langland Esq'. Presented by Captain James Wilson of the *Duff* in 1799.

1998.H234 Tapa

Large, but dirty, panel of thick plain white coarse barkcloth. Length 132cm, width 130cm. Probably from Tahiti. Labelled in manuscript 'Literary Society Newcastle care of Mr John Langland Esq'. Presented by Captain James Wilson of the *Duff* in 1799. Probably from Tahiti.

1998.H235 Tapa

Panel of yellow barkcloth. Very dirty, thin and brittle. Similar to 1998.H236. Length 270cm, width 160cm. From Tahiti.

1998.H236 Tapa

Panel of thin yellow barkcloth. Very dirty. Length 240cm, width 72cm. From Tahiti. An 'old-style' label equates this with Fox's number 29 (piece of thick buff cloth, like fleecy hosiery).

1998.H237 Tapa

Small panel of dark russet-brown barkcloth with central white stripe.

Length 200cm, width 85cm. Possibly from Tahiti or the Cook Islands.

1998.H238 Tapa

Panel of plain white barkcloth. Length 31cm, width 30cm. Probably from Tahiti or the Cook Islands.

1998.H240 Tapa

Panel of thin, stained, white barkcloth. Dirty. Length 195cm, width 140cm. Possibly from Tahiti or the Cook Islands.

1998.H242 Tapa

Panel of thin, stiff, yellow barkcloth. Very dirty. Length 48cm, width 31cm. Probably from Tahiti.

1998.H244 Tapa

Panel of plain white barkcloth. Dirty and damaged by rusty nails. Length 87cm, width 65cm. Labelled Friendly Islands (i.e. Tonga), but probably fromTahiti.

C444 Bow-*stave* Fox, p. 198, no. 19

(See figure 97)

A slightly curved bow-stave of lightweight wood (*Hibiscus* sp.?), of circular section; wrapped at both ends and at centre with bands of flat sennit. A rectangular light patch 2.4 x 4.5 cm indicates the position where a label has been glued. Length 169 cm, diameter at centre 4cm, length of sennit bands at ends, 12.5 and 13cm; at centre 8cm.

Fox (1827) listed this 'thick bow, wrapped with platted cordage' as originating in 'Owhyhee', but there are doubts about its provenance. Cook & King (1784) said of the Hawaiians that 'They have also bows and arrows; but, both from their apparent scarcity, and their slender make, it may almost be presumed that they never use them in battle'. Buck (1957) only mentions Hawaiian bows being used for killing rodents - not for war.

Similarly, Dixon (1789) remarked that Hawaiian bows are so slender that he couldn't think they are of any great use.

On the other hand, thick bows from Tahiti were figured by 18th Century artists: C. Praval's sketch (British Library Add. MS 7085, f. 9) showed a bow with no plaited binding; Miller (British Library Add. MS 23921. f. 57 (b)) drew one with binding at each end

Ellis (1829, vol. 1, pp. 299-302) gave an account of Tahitian archery:

"The *te-a* or archery, was also a sacred game, more so, perhaps, than any other. The bows, arrows, quiver, and cloth in which they were usually kept together, with the dresses worn by the archers, were all sacred, and under the special care of persons regularly appointed to keep them. It was usually practised as a most honourable recreation, between the residents of a place and their guests. The sport was generally followed either at the foot of a mountain, or on the sea-shore. My house, in the valley of Haamene at Huahine, stood very near an ancient *vahi te-a*, place of archery. Before commencing the game, the parties repaired to the marae, and performed several ceremonies; after which, they put on the archers' dress, and proceeded to the place appointed. They did not shoot at a mark; it was therefore only a trial of strength. In the place to which they shot the arrows, two small white flags were displayed, between which the arrows were directed."

"The bows were made of light, tough, wood of the *purau* [*Hibiscus tileaceus* according to Ellis] and were, when unstrung, perfectly straight, about five feet long; an inch, or an inch and a quarter, in diameter at the centre, but smaller at the ends. They were neatly polished, and sometimes ornamented with finely braided human hair, or cinet of the fibres of the coca-nut husk, wound round the ends of the bow in alternate rings. The string was of *romaha*, or native flax; the arrows were made of small bamboo reeds, exceedingly light and durable. They were pointed with a piece of *aito*, or iron-wood, but were not barbed. Their arrows were not feathered; but, in order to their being firmly held while the string was drawn, the lower end was covered with a resinous gum from the

breadfruit tree. The length of the arrows varied from two feet six inches, to three feet. The spot from which they were shot was considered sacred; there was one of these within my garden at Huahine. It was a stone pile, about three or four feet high, of a triangular form, one side of the angle being convex."

"When the preparations were completed, the archer ascended this platform, and kneeling on one knee, drew the string of the bow with the right hand, till the head of the arrow touched the centre of the bow, when it was discharged with great force. It was an effort of much strength in this position to draw the bowstring so far. The line often broke, and the bow fell from the archer's hand when the arrow was discharged. The distance to which it was shot, though various, was frequently three hundred yards. A number of men, from three to twelve, with small white flags in their hands, were stationed to watch the arrows in their fall. When those of one party went farther than those of the other, they waved the flags as a signal to those below. When they fell short, they held down their flags, but lifted up their foot, exclaiming, *ua pau*, beaten."

"This was a sport in the highest esteem, the king and chiefs usually attending to witness the exercise. As soon as the game was finished, the bow, with the quiver of arrows, was delivered to the charge of a proper person: the archers repaired to the marae, and were obliged to exchange their dress, and bathe their persons, before they could take any refreshment, or even enter their dwellings. It is astonishing to notice how intimately their system of religion was interwoven with every pursuit of their lives. Their wars, their labours, and their amusements, were all under the control of the gods."

"The bows were plain, but the quivers were often truly elegant in shape and appearance. They were usually made with the single joint of a bamboo cane, three feet six or nine inches long, and about two inches in diameter. The outside was sometimes handsomely stained, and finely polished at the top and the bottom; they were adorned with finely braided cinet, and plaited human hair. The cap or cover of the quiver was usually a small, handsome, well-formed cocoa-nut, of a dark brown chocolate colour, highly polished, and attached to the quiver by a braided cinet passing up the inner side of the quiver, and fastened near the bottom."

"The bow and arrow were never used by the Society Islanders, excepting in their amusements; hence, perhaps, their arrows, though pointed, were not barbed, and they did not shoot at a mark ... it is now altogether laid aside, in consequence of its connection with their former idolatry. I do not think the missionaries ever inculcated its discontinuance, but the adults do not appear to have thought of following this or any other game, since Christianity has been introduced among them."

A second bow from Tahiti (C443) differs from C444 in lacking the sennit bands, and therefore does not agree with Fox's (1827) description. It is 176 cm long, and 4cm diameter at centre, and made of the same lightweight wood. There is a transverse groove cut into one end for fitting a string. A patch indicates the former presence of an 'old-style' label. There is no record of a donation of a Polynesian bow among the accession files at the Hancock Museum, and while C443 cannot be from Allan's Museum, it is an artefact of a rare and early type: perhaps part of the Wilson donation of 1799?

MELANESIAN

FROM NEW CALEDONIA

C528 ***Club*** Fox, p. 199, no. 42

(See figure 98)

New Caledonian war club of yellow wood; head of six broad radiating spikes; expanded flange at butt. Head and top of shaft cracked and a fragment is broken from one spike. Length 70cm, diameter of head 21cm. Allan's oval label present, which reads 'A War Club from New Caledonia'; an 'old-style' label, 'WAR CLUB / New Caledonia / Allan Museum Cat. no. 42'; also a square label, with 'NHS' in manuscript.

Although Fox (1827) believed that this club was the one figured in plate XX of Cook (1777), this hypothesis is unsustainable unless the illustration is not particularly accurate. Both clubs have a stellate head, but there are five points visible on the one

figured and (when viewed from the same angle) only four visible on Allan's specimen. Another club, similar to the one in Allan's collection, was figured by Sarah Stone in Sir Ashton Lever's Museum (Force & Force, 1968), and it is likely there were several others circulating among British collectors in the late 18th century.

This club was almost certainly collected on Cook's second (*Resolution* and *Adventure*) voyage: no other British ships are known to have touched on the island prior to 1800. Cook's vessels were in the vicinity of New Caledonia 5-28 September 1774, and on 6 September he noted that some natives 'brought with them some arms such as Clubs, darts &ca which they exchanged away' (Beaglehole, 1961, p. 531). The next visitor after 1774 was d'Entrecasteux, who was on New Caledonia in 1792: his return to Europe is unlikely to pre-date the Boulter catalogue.

NORTH AMERICAN

There are several western Nearctic items in the ethnography collections at the Hancock Museum that are typologically 'right' for an 18th century origin. These include a 'Slave Killer', that could arguably have come to Newcastle with the Allan Museum - but only if it equates to a 'stone hammer for pounding Cassada' listed by Fox (but there is a stronger candidate for this item (see above). The source of these artefacts is unknown: they may for instance have been given in the mid 19th century by Captain Collinson.

G105 ***Paddle*** Fox, p. 199, no. 21

(See figure 99)

Woodlands paddle with elongate blade and short barrel knop. Marks indicate former presence of several labels, including an oval Allan label and 'old style' label. Length 158cm. Written on blade are 'NHS' and the number 19. Catalogued by Fox as being from Tahiti.

G099 **Model of a canoe** Fox, p. 200, no. 46

Model of an Algonquian-type 'fur trade' canoe. Constructed of wooden gunwales to which are attached flat strips of wood forming the ribs; flat

strips of wood are then laid longitudinally to form the shape of the hull, and this is covered externally with birch bark. Two thwarts present, one with a central hole. The gunwales are overbound with strips of cane. Outside of hull painted with lines and triangles in red and blue. Length 79 cm. No labels

G113 ***Aleut*** **cap** Fox, p. 198, no. 15

(See figure 100)

An Aleut circular seal-gut hat, the crown with a red embroidered disc and four radial red embroidered bands. Rim edged with red embroidered band. Some caribou hair decoration. Diameter 24 cm. Doubtfully Allan Museum, it could only be accepted as such if it equates to a 'curious bag from Owhyhee' listed by Fox. In favour of this is Franks's description of G113 as 'A flat skin bag ornamented with red and brown embroidery and fringes', which possibly copied the display label of the time.

G113 is very similar to a cap figured by John Webber *post* October 1778 and published in the account of Cook's last voyage (Cook & King, 1784, plate 56). There are, however, sufficient differences to rule out this cap as being the one figured: G113 lacks an embroidered band around the edge of the top of the cap, lacks a pattern of concentric rings on the top and the spokes of the radial pattern are broader. Langsdorff (1813) figured another cap of this sort, commenting that they were not worn in daily use, but were reserved use in their 'dancing festivals'.

G003 Pair *of* moccasins Fox, p. 192, no. 56

(See figure 101)

A pair of soft-sole moccasins, the vents and cuffs with panels of fine orange-and-white quillwork within thicker borders; tin cones with orange hair tassels, similar strips at back with some blue quillwork; black and white beads at the front of cuffs; skin ties. Probably Huron. Length 26cm, width 9cm.

G126 Pouch *and* strap Fox, p. 200, no. 48

(See figure 102)

A dark blue stroud and skin pouch with two applied bands of green, yellow and white beads; coloured bead tassels. Long green-and-red fibre strap with white pony beads. Pouch 15cm wide, 20cm deep. Strap 101cm long, 2.5cm wide.

CENTRAL AMERICAN

Fox listed all of these items as originating in St Vincent. If the provenance is correct, then it is possible that they were collected during the Carib wars of 1770-83 and 1795-1805 (which were described by Gullick, 1976).

The three separate listings of St Vincent weapons in Fox's catalogue (p. 200) make it impossible to tally surviving artefacts against individual entries. Several have square labels with information in manuscript, now barely legible.

F065 Arrow or spear Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Long cane arrow with heavy iron head; fletched with two black feathers bound on with string; nocked; tip blackened; band of string binding near tip of shaft; elongate iron head, fixed in place with pieces of string; cane strip loosely wound round shaft near tip. Length of shaft 132cm, length of head visible 16.5cm. Possibly originally made as an arrow, and converted for use as a spear.

F072 Arrow Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Arrow fletched in similar style to F065. Cane main shaft, which is nocked; wooden foreshaft; juncture of two pieces bound with string, which is blackened (with pitch?). Length of main shaft 105cm, length of foreshaft visible 37cm.

F071 Arrow Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Arrow, similar to F072 but the fore shaft with 16 biserial barbs; foreshaft

with sinuous lines of a black substance; fletching missing. Length of main shaft 127cm, length of foreshaft visible 49cm.

F068 **Arrow** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Arrow, similar to F072. Main shaft broken; foreshaft with one large barb. Length of main shaft remaining 80cm, length of foreshaft visible 24.5 cm.

F069 **Arrow** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Arrow, similar to F072. Fletching now missing; foreshaft with four series of barbs so carved as to be arranged spirally clockwise from tip (23 barbs in total). Length of main shaft 140cm, length of foreshaft visible 50cm.

F073 **Arrow** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Arrow with cane main shaft, wooden foreshaft, iron head and subapically-fixed iron barb. Nocked but unfletched; head and barb bound to foreshaft with string coated in pitch (?); band of string at juncture of main shaft and foreshaft. Length of main shaft 131cm, length of foreshaft visible 46cm, length of head visible 3cm.

F074 **Arrow** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Arrow, similar to F073. Length of main shaft 126cm, length of foreshaft visible 45cm, length of head visible 6cm.

F075 **Arrow** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Arrow, similar to F073.Length of main shaft 142cm, length of foreshaft visible 49cm, length of head visible 3.5cm.

F076 **Arrow** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Arrow, similar to F073. Length of main shaft 141cm, length of foreshaft visible 51cm, length of head visible 4cm.

F077 **Arrow** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-59 (part)

Arrow, probably originally similar to F073 but main shaft now broken and iron fixtures missing. Length of main shaft remaining 92cm, length of foreshaft visible 47 cm.

F066 **Bow** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-56 (part)

Bow, the stave of a heavy, dark brown wood ('Letta' wood according to early catalogues). In section with a concave face and convex belly. Both tips narrowed, to hold string. Thin string, tied into a loop to fit over tip of bow. Length 170cm.

F067 **Bow stave** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-56 (part)

Bow stave similar to F066; string missing. Length 160cm.

F070 **Bow** Fox, p. 200, no. 55-56 (part)

Bow, the stave similar to F066. Thick string attached to stave by being wound around in several turns about 30cm from each end. Length 178cm.

G.T.Fox's catalogue (1827)

The following list follows that published by Fox, with information interpolated from other sources that may help to identify individual surviving artefacts with those catalogued. The compilation of this evidence has been a crucial part of the re-cataloguing process. The 'marked items' in the *Museum Boulterianum* refer to George Allan's own copy of that book; the *Allan sale catalogue* is that of the auction of 1822; the *S.A.N.T.* catalogue is Anon (1839); the original of the Franks notebook is in the British Museum (and a photocopy in the Hancock Museum).

Status is listed as 'definitely Allan Museum' only if there are indications of Allan's labels. Other categories of status depend on probability weighed against available evidence.

CURIOSITIES

1. Asiatick

1. and 2. Chinese Swan Pans, or machines for keeping accounts.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 52 item 20, 'Swan Pan, or Chinese Counting Table' (7s. 6d.).

Allan sale catalogue: p. 68 lot 120, 'Chinese swan pan, for accounts'; also p. 68 lot 121 (part), 'Ditto [i.e. swan pan]'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: listed.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D124 and D126; two Chinese abacusses.

Status: D124 definitely Allan Museum; D126 almost certainly Allan Museum.

3. Chinese Pagod, curiously carved in Ivory.

4. Do. Ninesi or idol; priced 1 guin. in Mus Boult. Cat. p. 46.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 46 item 37, a 'Ninise', price 1l. 1s.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 67 lot 111 (part), 'Chinese Pagod, very curiously carved in ivory, 6 inches high'; and p. 67 lot 112, 'Chinese Ninisi or idol, in ivory, 6 inches high'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: Two chinese ivory figures were listed: one, 'a figure of a chinese, beautifully carved in ivory, with a deer, a toad, a tortoise and a bird attending him'. The second, 'a chinese embracing a demon, beautifully carved in ivory'.

Franks notebook: 'Two small ivory statuettes (Chinese) neatly sculptured'.

Current location: Both in the Hancock Museum, D118 and D117; ivory carvings of Shoulao and Zhong kui.

Status: Both almost certainly Allan Museum. The use of the word 'Pagod' could be misleading: it does not refer to a Pagoda (i.e. a temple), but equates to 'idol'. The word 'Ninisi' or 'Ninesi' has not been found in any dictionary, but one of the surviving figures is of Shoulao, sometimes called Nanji laoren: could Ninisi be a

corruption of Nanji?

5. Do. Steelyards.

There are two dotchins in Fox's catalogue, this and number 10 (*infra*).

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: two 'Chinese Dotchin or Steelyard' are marked - p. 52 item 21, price 2s. 6d., and p. 56 item 142 (which was given to Boulter by Richard Turner of Yarmouth; no price suggested).

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 6 (part), 'Chinese dotchins or steelyards for weighing money'; also p. 60 lot 24 (part), 'Chinese dotchins'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: both listed.

Franks notebook: 'Chinese steelyards, chopsticks & other odds and ends of no interest'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D120/D212 and D211; two Chinese dotchins.

Status: D211 is definitely Allan Museum, D120/212 almost certainly Allan Museum.

6. Do. Writing, enamelled on Papyrus.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 62 lot 53, 'Curious Chinese writing, enamelled on the papyrus with gold'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: listed as 'Large Hindoo manuscript on papyrus, divided into sections, with red enamel backs'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. NEWHM: D711; a Burmese manuscript.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

7. Do. Hat.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 61 lot 45 (part), 'Indian hat'.

Franks notebook: figured; 'Small conical hat of strips of bamboo worked across with finer D°'.

Labels: 'CHINESE HAT', cut from an old-style label, is glued on to the upper surface.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D757; a Chinese hat.

Status: questionably Allan Museum.

Comment: Although the hat was present in the collection as early as *circa* 1870 (*teste* Franks's notebook), this is no certain indication that it formed part of Allan's

Museum. It may, for instance have been donated along with other Chinese material by Captain Collinson in the 1850s.

8. Do. Compass.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 64 lot 76 (part), 'Chinese compass'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: present

Current location: In Hancock Museum, D138. This item is missing. It was listed *circa* 1980 and given a catalogue number, but has apparently not been seen since then.

9. Three Do. Bows and 3 sets of Arrows.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 32 (part), 'Chinese bow and arrows'; alternatively, p. 60 lot 33 (part), 'Chinese bow and arrows'. Another alternative could be the Tartar bow and arrows (*vide* no. 20, *infra*).

Current location: Not found. There are several Chinese bows and arrows in the Hancock Museum's collection, but none can be traced with certainty to the early collections.

10. Do. Dotchins or Scales.

[see notes to item 5, *supra*.]

11. Persian Knife and Fork, 2 sets, 'with 10 other instruments, in a black sheath inlaid with pearl, mounted in metal and gilt.' *Ex.* Mus. Boult. Cat. p. 55, no. 116.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 55 item 116. Boulter added, 'very curious'. Price 10s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 66 lot 106 (part), 'Persian knife and fork with 10 other instruments, tortoiseshell sheath, very curious'; also listed p. 67 lot 109 'Persian knife and fork, with 10 instruments, in a black sheath, inlaid with pearl, mounted in metal gilt, very curious'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: listed as 'A Chinese knife and chopsticks, and other instruments in a black case'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D134.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

12. Do. Knife and Fork, in a tortoise shell sheath.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: 'Chinese knife and chopsticks of ivory'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D135.

Comment: Confusion is possible because Fox listed two sets of implements under item 11, and a set under item 12, implying a total of three sets. There was only one set listed in the Museum Boulterianum, and Allan may have only ever had two sets in total.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

13. Three Do. Hooka, or smoaking machine.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 30 (part), 'Persian hooka'.

Current location: Missing.

14. Malay Creese, the dagger of the Malays or natives of Malacca, with which they sometimes *run a muck.*

Allan sale catalogue: p. 69 lot 139 (part), 'Curious Malay crease'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: listed.

Franks notebook: Mentions two ordinary Malay krisses with bird handles, one of which *may* have been the Allan Museum item.

Current location: Missing? Neither of the early krisses with bird handles in the Hancock Museum shows any indication of old labels.

15. Hindoo Idol, bronze.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 67 lot 115, 'A beautiful bronze hindoo idol'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: listed.

Current location: Missing. Three bronze figures of Krishna in the Hancock Museum were donated by the S.A.N.T., but they appear to form a set rather than being an individual 'idol'.

16. Papyrus M.S., 2 fasciculi, containing the Lord's Prayer in Hindoo characters.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 68 lot 135, 'The Lord's prayer, &c &c. written in Hindoo

characters on the papyrus'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: listed.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D275; a Farsi manuscript.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

17. Sixteen Ivory Balls, one within each other loose, most curiously cut out of one solid piece, beautifully perforated in the carving.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: page 46 item 55, 'curious fancy carving, in Ivory, containing seven loose balls, cut out of one piece', price 7s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 68 lot 131, 'Curious carving in ivory, containing sixteen loose balls, one within another, cut out of one solid piece, beautifully perforated in the carving'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: listed.

Franks notebook: 'Carved ivory balls, one within the other D. 3½ in'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D119; a Chinese carved ivory sphere with chain.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

18. Turkish Bow String, for strangling.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 30 (part), 'Turkish bow-string'.

Current location: Missing.

19. Do. Bashaw's Tail or Standard. This is a natural horse tail of fine white hair, with the bones included, which is attached to a silver handle, weighing about six ounces.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 33 (part), 'Turkish Bashaw's tail or standard'.

Current location: Missing.

20. Quiver and Bunch of Arrows (Tartar?).

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: possibly, p. 76 item 1, 'Ancient Indian Quiver, made of Leather, curiously ornamented, containing eight Arrows pointed and barbed with Iron', price 7s. 6d. and a 'Curious Pouch (to match)', price 2s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 32 (part), 'Chinese bow and arrows'; alternatively, p. 60 lot 33 (part). 'Chinese bow and arrows'. (*Vide* no. 9, *supra*).

Franks notebook: Two quivers are figured, neither is said to be Tartar.

Current location: Missing. There are several quivers of arrows in the Hancock Museum, including one Tartar item, but no indication that they came from the Allan Museum.

21. Spear, Bow and Arrows, from Sumatra.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 10, 'Spear, bow and arrows, richly ornamented, from Sumatra'.

Current location: Missing.

22. Indian Basket.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 76 item 14, 'Basket, curiously made of coloured Indian Grass', price 2s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: not listed.

Current location: Missing.

[2. MODERN CURIOSITIES]

[Of antiquarian interest: outside the scope of the present paper]

3. DRESSES, SHOES, &C.

45 Two and a half pairs of Chinese Slippers, made of Cane, with broad Toes, and lined with Linen.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 57, lot 106, 'a pair of ornamented Chinese slippers'; lot 111 'a pair of curious shoes of a chinese mandarin'; lot 112 'ditto';

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D342, D227, D231; three pairs of Chinese shoes (all three are pairs, there is no single cane slipper labelled as an Allan Museum specimen).

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

46. One Chinese Shoe, with very thick Sole.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 57 lot 113 (part), 'A Chinese shoe'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D228; a Chinese shoe.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

47. One Do. *very small*, female.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 52 item 4. price 5s. Two other items of Chinese footwear were also marked: 'Pair of richly ornamented Chinese Slippers' (7s. 6d.) and 'Pair of Mandarin's Stockings' (5s.).

Allan sale catalogue: p. 57 lot 114 (part), 'Shoe of a chinese lady'.

Current location: Missing.

48. Two and a half pairs of Turkish Men's Shoes, richly ornamented, with Toes turned up.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 57 lot 108 (part), 'Ornamented Turkish slipper'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D339, D341, D502; five Turkish mens' shoes.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

49. One Pair of Turkish Sultana's Shoes, blue velvet, embroidered with gold.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 57 lot 107, 'Slippers of a turkish sultana'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. D340; pair of Turkish ladies' shoes.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

[**50 - 52** outside of the scope of the present paper]

53. One French Wooden Shoe, painted blue.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 57 lot 113 (part), 'A wooden shoe'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. E35; a sabot.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

[**54 - 55** outside of the scope of the present paper]

56. One Pair of American Maucussons, or Leather Buskins, ornamented with beads and painted straw.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 57 lot 115, 'Two pair of American Maucassons or leather boots, beautifully ornamented with bead and stained straw'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. G003; pair of moccasins.

Status: Probably Allan Museum.

57. One Pair of Do. with red leather tops.

Allan sale catalogue: (see item 56, *supra*)

Current location: Missing.

[**58 - 59** outside of the scope of the present paper]

60. Leather Frock, ornamented with Tassels, from Cook's River, in North America. - *Ex. Lev. Mus.* - *See* Com. to L.M. p.8 no. 24.

The *Companion* to Lever's Museum (p. 8, no 24) reads: 'One of the common close Frocks or Dresses, made of leather, ornamented with tassels, or fringe, and narrow thongs, worn by the inhabitants of Cook's River'.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 61 lot 35 (part), 'Leather frock, painted and ornamented with tassels'.

Franks notebook: 'Gut skin dress or tunic, two'.

Current location: Missing: it is probable that one, or both, of the coats seen by Franks were those presented by Captain Collinson in the 1850s. Labels from former displays indicate that the one Aleut *Kamleika* extant in the Hancock Museum was given by Collinson.

61. Two aprons, worn by Otaheitan Dancing Girls.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 34 (part), also p. 61 lot 35 (part), 'Apron made of the fibres of plantain leaf, worn by the dancing girls of Otaheite'.

Current location: Missing.

[**62 - 65** outside of the scope of the present paper]

UTENSILS OF SAVAGE NATIONS

1. FROM NEW ZEALAND

1. Bone Patapatoo, or War Bludgeon.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 79 item 64, 'another [Patapatoo], made of the Bone of a Grampus from ditto [New Zealand]', price 5s.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 21 (part), 'Bone Patapatoo'.

Franks notebook: Figured. 'Bone meri about 16 in. long'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C630; a Maori *patu paraoa.*

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as an oval dark patch indicates the former presence of one of George Allan's labels.

2. Wooden Do.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 79 item 62, 'another [Patapatoo] (fiddle-shaped) New Zealand', price 7s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 21 (part), 'Wooden Patapatoo ... New Zealand'.

Franks notebook: Figured. 'Flat wood meri. L.c. 12 inches' Separately is written, 'Patoo Patoo New Zealand' - possibly a transcription of the display label.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C636; a Maori *kotiate.*

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as an oval dark patch indicates the former presence of one of George Allan's labels.

3. Bone Neck Ornament.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 21 (part), 'Bone ornament for the neck, New Zealand'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C765; a Maori *rei puta.*

Franks notebook: Figured, annotated as to material composing the toggle, cord and 'tongue'.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as an oval dark patch indicates the former presence of one of George Allan's labels, and a photograph of 1969 showed this label to be

present.

4. Wooden Whistle.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 22 (part), 'Wooden whistle from new Zealand, curiously carved'.

Franks notebook: Figured. Franks correctly identified the object, then added 'wooden whistle New Zealand' - presumably a transcription of the display label.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C624; a Maori *korere.*

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as Allan's label, very dirty and partly defaced, still survives. The first line reads 'New Zealand Whistle' the rest is illegible, although the whole label was quoted by Fox as reading 'A New Zealand Whistle, that yields a shrill sound, and is worn by the men about their necks'.

Comment: Fox listed two Polynesian 'whistles', this item and one from Hawaii (item 18, *infra*). C624 was misidentified by Allan and others: it is a food funnel, not a whistle. There is no doubt, from Allan's label, that the food funnel equates with Fox's number 4.

5. Oar, or Paddle.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 14, 'Oar or paddle from New Zealand'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C589; a Maori paddle.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as there is an oval patch indicating one of Allan's labels. The ink from this has partly soaked through on to the wood: the words are barely legible, the last line reading 'New Zealand'.

Comment: There are four paddles in the Hancock Museum that are all labelled in some way as being 'Allan Museum'. C589 can be equated with Fox's number 5 from the last line of the label: the others are discussed under 21 (*infra*).

6. War Hatchet.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 15 (part), 'War hatchet ... from New Zealand'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C588; a Maori *tewhatewha.*

Franks notebook: A *tewhatewha* that was presented to the Newcastle Museum by Wm Moreton is described and figured, then is added 'Another, similar, larger, no

feathers. old label on it'.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as two of George Allan's labels are still present.

7. Trumpet.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 19 (part), 'New Zealand trumpet'.

Franks notebook: Figured, 'Wooden trumpet bound with reed ? binding. L. 2 ft.'

Other citation: figured by Edge-Partington (1895), p. 232.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C622; a Maori *pukaea*.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as part of George Allan's label is present, although the writing is now barely legible.

8. Spontoon, or Spear, carried by the Chiefs of New Zealand, most curiously carved and ornamented, with eyes, formed of the beautiful pearl of the Iris-ear Shell.

Confusion is possible as to the number of 'spontoons' in the Allan Museum. Fox listed: '8. Spontoon; 9. 10. Spontoon and Club, and 11. Do.' This begs the question: are numbers 9, 10 and 11 composite spontoon-clubs, or is 9 a spontoon and 10 a club - if so, what is 11? The question can be resolved by reference to the list of Allan's house contents prepared for auction (Anon, 1822). This calls for three spontoons (p. 59, lots 15, 16, 17) and one club from New Zealand (p. 59, lot 16). It should therefore be assumed that Fox's number 11 is a spontoon.

Museum Boulterianum: One is probably the item marked, p. 78 item 35 'A very singular Carving in Wood, from New Zealand, having a Mask or Face (supposed to be an Idol) on each end of it, with Eyes formed of the Iris Ear-Shell, and are similar to the Masks on the New Zealand Trumpets', price 1l. 7s.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. Three Maori *taiaha*, C421, C422 and 1998.H220.

Status: All three are definitely Allan Museum, as they have dark oval marks surviving from former labels.

9. Spontoon (*vide* 8, *supra*)

10. Club

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 16 (part), 'New Zealand club'.

Franks notebook: Figured. L. c. 22 inches. The sennit bands are indicated.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C537; a Fijian *vivia qata.*

Status: definitely Allan Museum, as it has faint but definite marks (more strongly visible under ultraviolet light, but traceable with daylight) surviving from an oval label. An old-style label 'WAR CLUB/ New Zealand [crossed through, and with 'Fiji' added in ms]/ Allan Museum/ Cat. No.' is glued on, partly over the oval patch. Written on the object in ink is 'NHS' and '16'; the number 16 equating to the lot number of a 'New Zealand club' in the auction catalogue of Allan's collection.

11. Do. [i.e. a spontoon] (*vide 8, supra*)

12. Fish-hook of Pearl. - Qu? of New Zealand.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 80 item 91, 'another [Fish-Hook], of the Black Mother of Pearl, Otaheita', price 2s. 6d., and 'another, 2s.'

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 8 (part), 'Two fish hooks of pearl, pointed with tortoise shell, Another of pearl, New Zealand'.

Current location: Not found. There are two unprovenanced Pacific Islands fish hooks in the collection: one *could* be the Allan Museum example, but there is no firm evidence of it being so.

2. OWHYHEE, AND OTHER SANDWICH ISLANDS

13. War Club.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 18 (part), 'War-club ... from Owhyhee, curiously carved'.

Franks notebook: Figured. 'Red wood. L. 2-6. 'New Zealand' '.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C698; A Tongan club.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as there is an oval patch indicating the former

presence of one of Allan's labels. Written on the club in ink is 'NHS', and in pencil 'Navigator's Island' and 'Tonga'.

Comments: Three Polynesian clubs are called for in Fox: from New Zealand (no. 10 = C537), from Tahiti (no. 31 = C697) and from Hawaii (no. 13). By a process of elimination, C698 equates with Fox's number 13.

14. Wooden Dagger, called Pahooa.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 18 (part), 'wooden dagger, from Owhyhee, curiously carved'.

Current location: Missing.

15. Curious Bag.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 61 lot 41 (part), 'Curious bag from Owhyhee'.

Comment: An Aleut cap G113 was illustrated by Franks as 'A flat skin bag ornamented with red and brown embroidery and fringes. ? if engraved in Cook.' If the 'bag' illustrated by Franks originally formed part of the Allan Museum (and there is no proof that it ever did), then the only item listed by Fox with which it could equate is this 'Curious bag from Owhyhee'.

16. Indian God, or Idol. Has been covered with the red feathers of the Hook-billed Red Creeper (*Certhia vestiaria, Gm. & Lath.*) Similar, but better specimens of this Idol, are in the British Museum.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 3 (part), 'Indian god from Owhyhee, and mahogany bracket'.

Franks notebook: Figured. 'Wicker work head, the feathers are all perished. Sandwich Is. (B.M.)'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C584; Hawaiian wicker head.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum. There is no evidence from old labels that C584 formed part of Allan's collection, but it certainly fits the description. Feather-covered wickerwork figures from Hawaii are so exceedingly rare that there was never likely to be a second, unrecorded, donation of one to the Newcastle Museum.

17. Neck Ornament

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 32 (part), 'Curious neck ornament, Sandwich Islands'.

Current location: missing

Comment: Recent curators have identified C688, a *lei niho palaoa*, as this 'curious neck ornament'. However, a label surviving in the Hancock Museum indicates that C688 was donated with the Cresswell cabinets in 1924. The original necklace may have been a feather *lei* that disintegrated through time and was discarded.

18. Whistle.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 32 (part), 'Whistle or call ... Sandwich Islands'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. Probably either C620 or C621; two Maori *nguru*.

Status: One of the two is questionably Allan Museum, the other one therefore being of unknown provenance. Both C620 and C621 have 'N.H.S.' written on them, in ink, thus date at least to the 1830s.

Comment: It is very unlikely that a whistle from Hawaii was in Allan's collection. The only musical instruments noted by Cook (1784) were both percussion instruments: 'having neither flutes, nor reeds, nor instruments of any other sort, that we saw, except drums of various sizes'. The whistle listed by Fox had probably been given a wrong provenance. The two most likely candidates for Fox's no. 18 are two, similar, carved Maori *nguru*, differing in size and in carving. Franks illustrated one of these, and commented that there were 'two specimens, 3½ and 4½ inches long'.

An alternative candidate is a *putorino* (C623). This is a simple wooden whistle bound with plaited cordage: it is much more crudely made than other, figured, examples of the type. A paper label is glued on, with a legend in an unknown hand: '590 A musical pipe from the ..... [illegible - Society or Sandwich?] Islands 61'. Against an Allan Museum origin for the *putorino* is the printed label also glued on it: the first line of an old-style label reading 'MUSICAL PIPE'. As the old-style labels generally follow Fox's nomenclature, and it follows that this label should read 'WHISTLE'.

19. Thick Bow, wrapped with platted cordage.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C444; a Tahitian bow.

Status: Probably Allan Museum, although there is no sign that an oval label was ever present.

Comment: A second, similar bow, C443, has also by tradition been regarded as being an Allan Museum item. However, C443 has no cordage, nor any indication by means of old labels, that it was an Allan Museum specimen.

[19, bis] Piece of curious matting.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 80 item 85, 'Mat curiously wrought, made of the Leaves of the Pandanus, 5½ feet by 4½, Sandwich Islands', price 7s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 62 lot 52 (part), 'Piece of curious matting'.

Current location: Missing

Comment: A mat (NEWHM: C706) has a tie-on label giving the provenance as '?Allan Museum'. There is no indication by other old labels that this mat is an Allan Museum artefact. Assuming that Allan's mat was the one listed by Boulter, C706 can be ruled out, as at ca 10ft x 6 it is much larger than is called for.

3. OTAHEITE AND SOCIETY ISLANDS.

20. Nasal Flute. Made of a hollow bamboo, with 2 holes.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: Two Tahitian flutes were marked in Allan's copy of the *Museum Boulterianum*.

1) On p. 78, item 40, 'A Flute made of Bamboo, neatly banded with fine plaited Twine, which is performed on by the Natives of Otaheite blowing through one of the Nostrils, the other being stopped with the Thumb, 15 in'. long, price 4s. This is two inches shorter than C686.

2) On p. 77 item 4, the dress of a musical boy, 'with his Nose-flute of Bamboo, Otaheite. Park. Journ. Plate 9'. Price 1l. 1s. The sennit binding on the flute in plate 9 of Parkinson (1784) does not agree with that on C686.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 19 (part), 'Nasal flute ... from Otaheite'.

Franks notebook: Figured. 'Wooden flute. L. 16 inches, bound with cinet'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C686; a Tahitian nose flute.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as there is an oval patch indicating the former presence of one of Allan's labels.

21. Paddle, or Oar.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 19 (part). 'Paddle ... from Otaheite'.

Franks notebook: Figured. 'Label "Otaheite", red wood, L. 5 ft.'

Current location: In Hancock Museum. Probably G105; North American woodlands paddle.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as there are marks of his oval label.

Comment: There are four paddles in the Hancock Museum labelled in some way as being from Allan's Museum. However, Fox's list calls for only two. One can be equated with Fox's Number 5 (*vide supra*), and the other is G105, is from North America.

The other two paddles, labelled as being *ex* Allan Museum, are C691 and C693, both from the Austral Islands. It is highly unlikely that decorated Austral Islands paddles would be in English collections prior to 1800, but they can also be ruled out because the early documentation does not call for them to be present.

22. Stone Adze. This is correctly represented in a plate of a scene at the New Hebrides, in Cook's Voyages, vol. ii. pl. 46. Quere, if the stone be the same as the Punama Stone (so called after one of the New Zealand Islands, where the natives make hatchets, &c. of it) which is considered a variety of Jade. *See* Brit. Mus. Cat. p. 29. It seems basaltic. *See* also *Keate's* Pelew Islands, pl. 2. f. 1, 2.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 79 item 71, 'An Adze, affixed in an ingenious manner to a handle of Wood, with plaited Cordage, Otaheite', price 7s. 6d.

Museum Humfredianum, marked item: A 'stone mallet, *Otaheite*', page 53, item 97. This was sold, together with a 'wooden ditto' to Clark for 2s. 6d. Alternatively, 'a hatchet

or adze, headed with stone, *Otaheite*', item 99 on the same page. That lot was sold to Roper for 4s.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 20 (part), 'Adze fixed to a handle of wood with plated [*sic*] cordage, Otaheite'.

Franks notebook: Two Polynesian adzes were figured.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. Probably C518; a Tahitian adze.

Status: Questionably Allan Museum.

Comment: There are two items in the collections of the Hancock Museum that have been identified as Fox's no. 22. They are:

1) G098, a club from the American Northwest Coast. This bears an old-style label, which once read 'Stone Adze Otaheite Allan Museum'. However, the label has been defaced in recent decades, possibly when it was realised that it is North American in origin. The stone blade of G098 has a superficial resemblance to nephrite, which agrees with Fox's query as to whether it was the 'Punama Stone', but there are several reasons why G098 can not equate to Fox's number 22. The blade is fitted axe-fashion (not recognisably an adze); the artefact is not from Tahiti; in no way could it be said to be 'correctly represented in a plate of a scene at the New Hebrides, in Cook's Voyages, vol. ii. pl. 46' (Cook, 1777), as Fox claimed, and the stone is fixed to the handle with leather thongs, not plaited cordage, thus disagreeing with Boulter's description. It should be concluded that the label was affixed in error.

2) C518, typologically a Tahitian adze. It bears an old label with, in manuscript, 'stone adze fixed to a handle of wood with plaited cordage from Otaheite'. The last two letters on the label, possibly somebody's initials, are unclear: they are RH, or KH, or WW, or KW. There is a striking similarity between the wording on the label present and the description in Boulter's catalogue, suggesting that Allan perhaps did not feel the need to add his own, oval label.

23. Epupa, or sleeping Stool.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 79 item 47, 'Ebupa or Stool, used as a Pillow, Otaheite', price 5s.

Museum Humfredianum marked item: Lot 100 on page 53 was 'Two stools, used as pillows, from[*Otaheite*], and *New Amst.*' It was sold to Gaml[?] for 1s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 20 (part), 'Ebupa or stool used as a pillow'.

Franks notebook: Figured by Franks. 'Wood (c.c.) L 2ft 2 in'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C674; a Tongan headrest.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as there is an oval patch indicating the former presence of one of Allan's labels.

24. Bone Fishing Hook, pointed with Tortoise Shell.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 80 item 92, 'another [fish hook] Shank-made, of Grampus Bone, backed with Mother of Pearl and pointed with Tortoiseshell, Otaheite', price 7s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 7 (part), 'Another [fish hook], shank grampus bone, backed with mother of pearl, and pointed with tortoise shell, from Otaheite'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C115. A Tongan fish hook.

Status: Possibly Allan Museum. There are no labels, but the artefact agrees with descriptions in early catalogues. However, the type is quite common and many Tongan fish hooks are similar in appearance.

25. Two Aprons of Dancing Girls, made of the undressed fibres of Plantain Leaf.

Museum Boulterianum, marked items: 'An Apron, made of the Fibres of the Plantain Leaf, worn by the Girls of Otaheite in their Dances, 5s. Another, stained red and yellow, 7s. 6d. a pair'.

Museum Humfredianum, marked item: Page 53, lot 91, 'A grass apron, worn by the dancing girls of Otaheite', is marked. It was sold to Herman for 3s. 6d, together with 'a matted belt'.

Current location: Missing.

26. Ornaments for Legs of Dancing Girls.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 61 lot 41 (part), 'Ornaments for the legs, worn by the dancing girls at Otaheite'.

Current location: Missing

27. Two yards of white Cloth.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 81 item 114, 'another [piece] of thin white Cloth, Otaheite', price 5s.

Museum Humfredianum, marked items: Page 53, item 81, 'A piece of fine white cloth made of the inner bark of a tree, from Otaheite', sold to Herman for 3s. A second piece of Tahitian bark cloth marked in the Museum Humfredianum was lot 73 on page 67 ' a piece of Otaheite cloth, made of the inner bark of a tree, from its use called the cloth tree'. It was sold to Hurlock for 2s.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 61 lot 48, 'Two yards of white cloth, made of the inner bark of a tree, Otaheite'.

Current location: Possibly one of several *tapa* panels in the Hancock Museum.

28. Two do. buff. do.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 81 item 109, 'another [piece of Cloth], Buff-colour, Otaheite, 6 feet by 5', price 7s. 6d. (this could be Fox's no. 28 or no. 29)

Allan sale catalogue: p. 61 lot 48 (part), Another buff colour, 2 yards by 1¼'.

Current location: Possibly one of several *tapa* panels in the Hancock Museum.

29. Piece of thick buff Cloth, like fleecy hosiery.

Museum Boulterianum: [see 28, above, for reference]

Allan sale catalogue: p. 62 lot 51, 'Piece of thick buff cloth, resembling fleecy hosiery, from [the Friendly Islands]'; alternatively, p. 61 lot 52 (part), 'Another piece, ditto'.

Current location: Possibly one of several *tapa* panels in the Hancock Museum.

30. Two yards of white do.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 62 lot 50, 'Two yards of white cloth, from the Friendly Islands'.

Comment: Note the discrepancy between the provenance in the auction catalogue and that given by Fox.

Current location: Possibly one of several *tapa* panels in the Hancock Museum.

31. War Club.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 79 item 57, 'curious War-bludgeon, Otaheite', price 7s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 14 (part), 'War club from the Friendly islands, curiously carved'.

Franks notebook: Figured. 'Brown wood club (c.c) "Society Is." old oval label'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C697: a Tongan club.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum, as his oval label is still present. Allan's label is barely legible, but appears to read 'War Club, from one of the Sou...', or perhaps from one of the 'Soci[iety Islands]' as inferred from the entry in the Franks notebook. It is not unreasonable to associate C697 with Fox's number 31.

32. Calabash to carry water in.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 69 lot 144 (part), 'Large calabash shell cup, Ditto curiously carved and painted'; also lot 145, 'Ditto'; also lot 146, 'Calabash shell, 2 cups of ditto'.

Current location: missing

Comment: Fox listed six Calabash shells and also two carved specimens among the botanical collection. None has been found.

4. GEORGE'S ISLAND

Fox believed these items to have originated from an island called George's Island, which lies between the Marquesas and Tahiti. However, for a short period early in its post-contact history Tahiti was also known as King George's Island and there is a possibility the items were Tahitian in origin.

33. Three Combs. *See* Cook's Voy. i. tab. no. 21, p. 220.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 21 (part), 'Comb made of wood, another of bamboo reeds, another of fish bone, from George's land'.

Current location: Missing. There are three Polynesian combs without provenance (C094, C664 and C667), but no evidence linking any of them to the Allan Museum.

34. Instruments for dressing Cloth.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 21 (part), 'Instrument used in George's land to dress cloth'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C645; a Polynesian *tapa* beater.

Status: Questionably Allan Museum.

35. Piece of the Cloth.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 21 (part), 'Piece of the cloth'.

Current location: Possibly one of several *tapa* panels in the Hancock Museum.

36. 2 Household Gods, 3 inches long!

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 6 (part), 'Household god or idol of George's Island'; also p. 59 lot 9 (part) 'Household god or idol from George's Island'.

Current location: Missing.

5. NEW AMSTERDAM, or TONGATABOO, One of the FRIENDLY ISLANDS

37. Matted Bag. (Cook's voy. i. t. no. 21, p. 220) 'Basket made of the fibres of the Cocoa Nut, studded with beads made of Shells and Bones' - *Allan MS.*

Allan sale catalogue: 'Basket made of the fibres of the cocoa nut, studded with beads, New Amsterdam'.

Franks notebook: Figured, 'Satchel bag. 14 by 10 in, of netted brown cord ornamented with a few backs of small helix shells'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C740; a Tongan bag.

Status: Almost certainly Allan Museum.

38. Remarkably fine plaited thread of Hair. N.B. in Brit. Mus. the same is marked from Otaheite. *See* Comp. to L.M. p. 16.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 81 item 102, 'Fishing-lines made of Human Hair, Otaheite', price 2s. 6d.

Current location: Missing.

39. Piece of stained Cloth, like floor Cloth.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 81 item 110, 'another [piece of Cloth] of stained Cloth, resembling some of our Floor-Cloths, New Amsterdam, 8 feet by 6', price 10s. 6d.

Museum Humfredianum, marked item: Page 53, lot 85 'a piece of a similar kind of cloth [i.e. bark-cloth], glazed, from *New Amst.*' It was sold to Yates for 3s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 62 lot 49 (part), 'Piece of stained cloth, resembling floor-cloth, New Amsterdam'.

Current location: Possibly one of several *tapa* panels in the Hancock Museum.

40. --- of thin, reddish Cloth.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 81 item 112, 'another [piece of Cloth] of thin red Cloth, New Amsterdam', price 2s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 62 lot 49 (part), 'Piece of thin reddish cloth ... New Amsterdam'.

Current location: Possibly one of several *tapa* panels in the Hancock Museum.

41. --- of thick, stained red and ribbed.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 81 item 113, 'another [piece of Cloth] of thick stained black and red Cloth, New Amsterdam', price 3s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 62 lot 49 (part), '[Piece] of thick cloth, stained red on one side and ribbed, New Amsterdam'.

Current location: Possibly one of several *tapa* panels in the Hancock Museum.

6. FROM NEW CALEDONIA, a large Island adjoining the

42. War Club of yellow wood, with eight projecting knotty Processes. *See* Cook's Voy. v.ii. t. no 20, at p. 120, fig. 7, where it is exactly represented.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p.79 item 61 'Curious Patta-pattoo, or War-Bludgeon, New Caledonia', price 6s. 6d.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 17 (part), 'War-club from New Caledonia'.

Franks notebook: Figured. 'Buff Wood, 'New Caledonia' L 2-6. N.H.S.'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. C528; a star-headed club from New Caledonia.

Status: Definitely Allan Museum because of the presence of his oval label; there are, however, only six 'knotty processes', not eight.

7. AMERICA

43. Stone Hammer for pounding Cassada. [description of method of processing Bread Fruit given]. See comp. to L.M. p. 30.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p.79 item 50 'Pestle of Black Basaltes, used for pounding the Bread-Fruit into Paste, Otaheite', price 10s. 6d, and 'Another, different', price 8s.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 67 lot 117 (part), 'Stone instrument for pounding the casada bread'.

Current location: Possibly C067

Status: Questionably Allan Museum.

Comment: C067 is a black basalt Tahitian *poi* pounder, figured in the Franks notebook with the data 'Bread pounder, New Zealand' (perhaps a copy of the display label). The pounder is broken in such a distinctive way that there is no doubt that the surviving object is the one figured by Franks. However, there is no certain link backwards from there to the Allan Museum.

44. Scalping Knives.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 21 (part), 'Scalping knives and sheath from America'.

Current location: Missing.

45. Fish Spear from Oonalaska, one of the Fox Islands, near Behring's Straits, and Fishing line. It is darted by means of a very singular and ingenious instrument made for the purpose. See Comp. to L.M. p. 22 no. 20.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 24 (part), 'Fish spear pointed with bone, barbed, from Onalaska, and fishing line'.

Current location: Missing.

46. Model of a Canoe of Bark, used in the interior of America. Vide ante, no. 5. It is made of the bark of birch sewed together.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 76 item 20. 'Model of a Canoe, made of Beech-Bark, Hudson's Bay'. price 5s.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 29 (part), 'Model of a canoe of bark'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. G099; a birchbark canoe model.

Status: Possibly Allan Museum.

47. Leather Frock, from Cook's River, on the N.W. coast of America. *Vide supra,* curios. no. 60.

48. Pouch and necklace, from Hudson's Bay.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 61 lot 41 (part), 'Apron, pouch and necklace, curiously fringed and studded with beads, from Hudson's Bay'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. G126; a pouch and strap.

Labels: An old-style label housed inside the pouch reads 'Pouch & Necklace Hudson's Bay Allan Museum Cat. No. 48'. This is tied to a label with, in an unknown MS 'Pouch & Necklace Hudson's Bay'.

Status: Probably Allan Museum.

49. Conical Cap, from N.W. Coast of America.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. G122; a hat, probably from the Philippines.

Status: Probably Allan Museum.

50. Two matted Baskets.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 76 item 19. 'Dish made of Beech-Bark, Hudson's Bay', price 1s. and 'Another, larger', price 2s.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 62 lot 54 (part), 'Two curious matted baskets'.

Current location: Missing.

51. Indian wooden Spoon.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 58 lot 6 (part), 'Indian wooden spoon'.

Current location: Missing

52. — Tortoise Shell Do. An exactly similar spoon to no. 52, is represented in *Keate's* Account of the Pelew Islands, pl. 4, f.2; qu.? if from thence.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 9 (part), 'Indian tortoise shell spoon'.

Current location: Missing.

53. Collar of Shells (Bulla Ovum, *Lin.*) from Nootka Sound.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 61 lot 47 (part), 'Bracket .... with two figures and a collar of shells, from Nootka sound'.

Current location: Missing.

Comment: the two figures listed in the sale catalogue could have been the two 'Household god or idol of George's Island' listed as number 36 above. If so, it is likely the collar of shells was also from Tahiti.

54. Manillo, worn on the wrists by Africans.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 68 lot 134 (part), 'Manillo, worn by the Africans about their wrists'.

S.A.N.T. catalogue, 1839: listed.

Current location: Missing.

8. ST VINCENT'S, West Indies

A note by Fox bracketing items 55-59 states '*Ex dono* James Gordon, New Court, Temple, London, Dec. 8, 1810'. The question left unanswered was, to whom did James Gordon give the material? Some items at least were in the Allan collection, as they were catalogued as part of the auction of the contents of Blackwell Grange in 1822 (Anon, 1822). There is no record in the Lit. & Phil. annual reports of Gordon giving material to their collection at that time. Possibly, James Gordon gave the items to George Allan's son, who added them to his late father's collection.

Franks referred to this Caribbean material as 'a number of ordinary arrows, of British Guiana types'.

55. One Spear, 2 Bows of Letta Wood, and 2 Darts.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 11, 'Spear, bow of letta wood, and 2 darts, from St Vincent's'; also p. 59 lot 13 (part), 'Bow made of letta wood'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum (see below).

56. One Bow and 2 Darts.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 12, 'Bow and 2 darts, from St Vincent's'.

Current location: In Hancock Museum (see below).

57. Five barbed Spears.

Current location: All in Hancock Museum.

Franks notebook: A note 'Various Fiji or Friendly Is. spears n.p.' probably refers to these items.

Current location: In Hancock Museum. Some of C465, C466, C467, C569, C570 (some of these may have been donated by Captain Wilson in 1799); Tongan spears.

C570 is divided into four prongs at the tip, and is not barbed. It has an old-style label: Spear, Friendly Islands, Allan Museum'. There is no sign of an oval label.

The other four spears have backwardly pointing barbs:

C569 and C466 have oblong patches, the size of an old-style label.

C465 has no sign of old labels

C467 has a badly worn old-style label, 'St Vincent's Allan Museum. Cat No.'

58. Three Spears or Arrows.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 13 (part), 'Two spears pointed with iron, barbed, St. Vincent's'; alternatively, p. 60 lot 32 (part), 'Three spears from St Vincent's'; alternatively, p. 60 lot 33 (part), 'Three spears from St Vincent's'. [some may equate to Fox's no. 57].

Current location: In Hancock Museum (see below)

Note on St Vincent weapons:

Taking together items 55, 56 and 58 there should be three bows, one spear, four 'darts' (presumably, arrows) and three 'spears or arrows' - a total of eleven artefacts. The relevant surviving material catalogued as being *ex* Allan Museum includes three bows (F066, F067 and F070) and ten arrows (F065, F068, F069, and F071- F077) - a total of thirteen artefacts.

59. One Knife.

Current location: Missing

9. From LABRADORE, the Country of the Esquimaux.

60. 1 Pair of Snow Shoes, large.

61. 1 Pair of Do. small.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 76 item 22, 'Pair of Snow-Shoes, Lapland', price 2s. 6d. (Either this, or Fox's no. 61).

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 29 (part), 'Snow shoes'; alternatively, p. 60 lot 31 (part), 'Snow shoes'.

Current location: There are two pairs of snow shoes (G092 and G119) that possibly originated in Allan's Museum, but there is no evidence by way of old labels to link them to Allan. They possibly came to the Hancock Museum much later, as there have been several donations of Inuit material (including snowshoes) in the 19th and 20th centuries.

62. Two bows, represented in Parry's voyage.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 60 lot 31 (part), 'Two Esquimaux's bows'.

Current location: An Inuit bow (G124) is by tradition *ex* Allan Museum, but there is no evidence by way of old labels to link it to Allan. Like the snowshoes, it possibly came to the Hancock much later.

63. Model of a Canoe, Do.

Museum Boulterianum, marked item: p. 76 item 25, 'Small Model of a Canoe covered with Seal-Skin, and a Man in his Seal-Skin-Dress, with Implements for Fishing, from Eskimaux', price 5s.

Current location: There are two sealskin-covered model kayaks (G090 and G091) in the Hancock Museum. It is impossible to say which, if either, is an Allan Museum item.

64. Fish-hook of Wood, pointed with Bone.

Allan sale catalogue: p. 59 lot 7 (part), 'Fishhook of wood pointed with bone'.

Current location: Missing.

65. Cane Basket.

Current location: Missing.

69 [*sic*, should be 66]. A Stone Knife, precisely similar to the article we have before enumerated as a Flint Celt, is figured in *Keate's* Pelew Islands, at pl. 3, fig. 2.

Current location: Missing.

REFERENCES

All material cited in this appendix is listed in the main list of references.

APPENDIX FOUR

INVENTORY OF KNOWN EXAMPLES OF WICKER HEADS

INTRODUCTION

This inventory of known wicker heads provides, as far as is known, a history of each one. It continues a process of documentation begun by Brigham (1899, pp 31-39), who initially knew of eight examples (five in the British Museum, two in the Bishop Museum and one in Vienna). Brigham subsequently published two supplements to his study: in the first (Brigham, 1903) an additional two heads were described and figured, and an extra head was described and figured in the second (Brigham, 1918). The second supplement also listed the known eleven (his list numbered twelve, but two entries describe the same example).

Almost forty years later, the total of known heads had risen to nineteen (Buck, 1957). Later, it was realised that the example figured by Webber (*in* Cook & King, 1784) is the same example as one still surviving in the British Museum, so this number should be reduced to eighteen. The number rises to nineteen again, when the one in the American Museum of Natural History - unknown to Buck - is added to the total.

In addition to these nineteen survivors, there are three heads represented in 18th century drawings that have not been traced. Two of these were in Sir Ashton Lever's Museum and figured by Sarah Stone, and a third was figured in a drawing attributed to Loutherbourg, and was possibly also in Lever's collection. We have sufficiently good figures to know of their appearance, but no details of their size. Two heads from Cook's last voyage, in the museum of the Moravian Brothers in Herrnhut (Germany) have also not survived.

Descriptive terms

Hawaiian wicker heads can be readily defined as a genus. All originate in the Hawaiian group and comprise a framework of split aerial rootlets of the *'ie'ie* vine (*Freycinetia arborea*) arranged into warps and wefts. This wicker framework is covered with a netting made of *olona* fibre (*Olona* is the Hawaiian variant of a widespread Polynesian term for a plant that renders strong bast fibres used in making cords. Elsewhere in Polynesia the name refers to the plant *Pipterus argenteus*, in Hawaii to several species of *Touchardia* (Summers, 1990)); feathers are tied into this netting with thin sennit, and often when the feathers have deteriorated there still remains the secondary netting of knotted sennit used to tie in the feathers. The facial features are represented by the addition of pearl-shell eyes, usually with a wooden pupil, and a mouth indicated by rows of the canine teeth of dogs (in one instance, of sharks' teeth).

No examples are known from Hawaii of wicker figures representing other parts of the human body or of animals or plants, except for the few enigmatic 'idols eyes'. These are flat circular wicker discs, with a pearl-shell eye fixed in the centre; their use is unknown, but they are recorded from as early as 1779 (Kaeppler, 1978: 53). The miniature wicker 'oracle tower' (*anu'u* tower), of which there is only one known example (Kaeppler, 1978: 59) might also be mentioned in passing. Nor is there anything approaching the habitus of wicker heads in any other medium in the corpus of Hawaiian art, neither in overall form (isolated large heads) nor in type of expression.

The structure and construction of heads was described in detail by Buck (1957), who noted significant individual differences in manufacture. These include the way the nose is made (sometimes formed with the rest of the face, sometimes made separately then tied on), the way the eyes are fixed in place and the way the teeth are tied into the mouth.

The heads vary individually in several ways:
1) Size varies by a factor of three in surviving examples, from 27 - 82.5 cm high.

2) Overall form always represents a head and neck, never extending to include shoulders or torso. The proportions of the head are often distorted, often overstressing the eyes, mouth and neck; in several examples the temporal region is very much reduced. The top of the head has either a sagittal crest (one has a double crest), or attached hair, or is lacking both.

The example with a double crest includes two transverse fossae, one below and the other above the eyes.

3) The neck is often very long (= 'long' in the summary descriptions that follow). The term 'short' is comparative to other examples, not to natural proportion.

4) The nose is often short, transverse and upturned. Other examples have noses of relatively normal proportions, either 'long' or 'broad'.

5) The mouth is always defined by teeth, which in all but one example are the canine teeth of dogs, the other having shark's teeth. The total number of teeth may not be significant, as they seem to have been inserted at regular, close, intervals until the available space had been filled.

The wickerwork frame either continues behind and between the rows of teeth, or there is communication between the inside and outside of the structure *via* a buccal cavity. To avoid possible confusion caused by referring to 'closed' and 'open' mouths, these states are referred to respectively as 'through' and 'stopped'.

The two rows of teeth, are either:

i) parallel, either horizontal, laterally upturned or laterally downturned

ii) wider medially

iii) wider laterally. The degree of lateral widening varies tremendously between examples. In some the mouth resembles a figure of eight placed horizontally (previous authors have used the phrase 'figure-of-eight mouth' for this shape); in others the upper row of teeth is upturned while the lower row is horizontal.

In no surviving example is a tongue visible.

6) The eyes are always made of pearl shell 'whites' with a pupil of wood, except one example, which lacks pupils. The 'white' may be composed of two, or three, pieces of pearl shell. Eye shape is either round, oval, elongate-oval, crescentic or obovoid. The eyes are missing in several examples, in which case their original shape can still be judged by the wicker orbit.

7) Feathers are missing in several examples. Where they do survive they are predominantly red, with eyebrows, ears and nares often indicated in black, and the top of the sagittal crest yellow; there is usually a ring of yellow at the base of the neck. Green feathers, which were used in some Hawaiian featherwork, seem not to have been used for wicker heads.

Although Brigham consistently referred to the red feathers as being from the *i'iwi* bird (*Vestiaria coccinea*) and yellow and black from the *o'o* (*Moho nobilis*), there are other birds that could have provided feathers of those colours. It is possible in fresh specimens to distinguish between red feathers from the two red bird species *i'iwi* and *'apapane* (*Himatione sanguinea*), but I would hesitate to do so after they have aged at least two hundred years. Also, although the bright yellow feathers of the *o'o* are easily distinguishable from the saffron of the *mamo* (*Drepanis pacifica*) in fresh, unfaded specimens, it is probably unwise to try to identify feathers that have faded almost to

white. The *mamo* was also a source of black feathers.

Subgeneric resemblances

No two known wicker heads are exactly alike, but within the eighteen surviving examples it is possible to discern certain patterns of resemblance.

I: crested figures (excluding one that has a double crest)

These are distinguished by a prominent sagittal crest: the crest may have been intended to resemble either the hairstyle that was noted as common among male Hawaiians at the time of Cook's visit, or - and this may ultimately equate to the same thing - the crest of a *mahiole.*

Seven of the 22 heads are crested. All have oval or elongate-oval eyes, in all but one example the eyes are strongly angled downwards mesad. All have mouths in which the rows of teeth are parted laterad, including the most extreme examples of this type (although one shows this character only slightly); three have 'through' mouths and four 'stopped mouths'. One has a long nose, in six it is short and upturned. Neck length and width varies.

The head in the Field Museum, Chicago, which is unusual in having sharks' teeth rather than dog canines, is an otherwise typical member of this group.

II: double crested figure

Only one example of this type is known, and it exhibits several autapomorphies: the double crest; the gular and temporal transverse fossae; the movable chin (hence the mouth appears open in some photographs and closed in others), and the unusually prominent epiglottis. The eye is distinctively crescentic in shape; one other example, no. 20 (now missing) shared this feature.The nose is short but not upturned, and has very prominent nares.

III: heads with hair

Eight heads are crestless, but have hair attached to the crown of the head. A ninth has hair attached along the top of a saggital crest and is otherwise typical of *group I.*

In contrast to the crested group, the eyes are never very strongly elliptical; they are round, slightly oval (in which case they are not strongly angled downwards mesad), and in one example obovoid. One is 'blind', i.e. the eyes have no pupil. Six have long noses, in the other it is upturned. Four have 'figure-of-eight' mouths, and in one example this is quite strongly so, but not as strongly as in the extreme forms of *group I.* Of those examples with non 'figure-of-eight' mouths, one has the rows of teeth parallel and upturned laterally, in one they are parallel and downturned laterally and in two they are wider medially than laterally. Three have 'through mouths' and five 'stopped mouths'. Neck length and width varies.

The defining feature of this subgenus is the presence of hair, but the hair styling varies. Two have a long tail of hair attached to the top of the head (although hair may have formerly been present, and lost from the rest of the crown); others have hair thickly and evenly covering the top and sides of the head. In three examples some of the hair appears partly braided or plaited, in the others it hangs loosely. One has a bleached lock near the forehead.

IV: heads that are both crestless and hairless

These four examples are distinctive in overall form. Two have very large, round eyes, and the eyes of one of these are placed on short protruberances. A third has slightly elliptical eyes, overhung by very strong superorbital ridges; the fourth had crescentic eyes. None of the noses is upturned. The rows of teeth are usually parallel, in one upurned laterally and in another very strongly downturned laterally; the third has a horizontal mouth and the fourth the rows were slightly parted laterally. Two have very prominent chins. Two have long necks, in the other two it is quite short.

1. In the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, U.S.A. (Figure 3)

Catalogue number: 7855

Figured: Brigham (1899: fig. 22); Buck (1957: fig. 318a); Kaeppler (1982: fig. 42).

Previous descriptions: Brigham (1899); Buck (1957). Buck (1957: 504-505) described the construction of the head in detail.

Description: Height 68.5 cm. Crested; rows of teeth in the mouth sub-parallel; buccal cavity 'stopped'; nose long, not upturned; eyes oval, not set obliquely; neck short, epiglottis not indicated. Mostly covered with red feathers, with yellow ringing the base of the neck and on top of the crest. Eyebrows, nostrils and two spots (marking ears) of black feathers. There are 94 teeth, 49 in the upper jaw and 45 in the lower. In good condition, with most feathers still present; there is some fading of the yellow feathers on the ridge of the helmet and around the base of the neck.

This head avoided the fate of many congeners, in not being brought to Europe by Cook's crew, not being looted from the Hale o Keawe, and not being given to missionaries in the 1820s. It was eventually found concealed in a cave in the Kona district of Hawai'i. It is not known whether it had been in the cave for centuries or had been concealed for safety during the christianisation process.

There is no record of when it was removed from the cave and given to a local missionary. In 1850 it was transferred to the museum of the Amercian Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston, Massachusetts, and was bought by the Bishop Museum prior to 1899. It is currently (April 1999) on display to the general public, and occupies a prominent position in the galleries of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu.

The decision that this head was *the* Kuka'ilimoku of Kamehameha seems to have been

made by W.T. Brigham. As discussed elsewhere, there was no evidence to support this hypothesis, which was based on this example being in Hawaii at the time of the death of Kamehamea I - whereas some other examples could be ruled out because they were in Europe at the time when Kamehameha's Kuka'ilimoku was in active use.

This head has perhaps the most neutral expression of any of the surviving examples. Although most of the helmetted type possess mouths with an aggressive snarl, the parallel rows of teeth in this example seem to project no strong emotion. This impression is supported by the shape of the eyes, which are blandly oval - neither threateningly narrowed nor widely staring as in most other examples. The mild facial expression is at odds with the strong sagittal crest, which is typically found in the most strongly expressive heads.

2. In the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, U.S.A. (Figure 4)

Catalogue number: 3900

Figured: Brigham (1899: fig. 21); Buck (1957: fig. 318b); Holt (1985: 86 & 87).

Previous descriptions: Brigham (1899); Buck (1957). Buck described the construction of this head in detail.

Description: Height 56 cm. Crestless; with a shock of loose, reddish-black human hair (the eyebrows are also formed of human hair); neck short, with epiglottis indicated; nose long, not upturned; mouth with downcurved upper row of teeth and flat lower row, the buccal cavity 'open'; eyes circular, with very large pupils. There are 74 teeth, 40 in the upper row and 34 in the lower. In poor condition: most of the feathers are lost, although enough remain to show that there was a band of yellow around the base of the neck. Part of the *olona* netting on the left side of the face is peeled away from the wicker base and the left eye has a piece chipped out from the edge.

At one time in the collection of the American missionary Dr Chapin, this head was

returned to Hawaii in 1860 (Kaeppler, 1982: 106). In 1865, it was in a cabinet at Oahu college (later called Punahou school, an academy for the children of missionaries; Kamakau, 1992: 406) where it was seen, and photographed, by Brigham. Brigham (1899: 38) stated that it was in fair condition when he first saw it, but it deteriorated between then and 1899. It was donated to the Bishop Museum by the trustees of the college before 1892.

Outstanding features of the expression of this head include the round, 'staring' eyes, which have large pupils. The flat lower row of teeth and arched upper row convey the impression that the figure is 'speaking' - only VAN231 in the British Museum has a similarly shaped mouth, and the mouth shape in VAN231 can be altered by moving the jaw.

3. In the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria. (Figure 5)

Catalogue number: 202

Figured: Brigham (1899: fig. 23); Moschner (1955: pl. 2, fig.3); Kaeppler, 1978: fig. 57); Kaeppler (1982: fig. 1); Kirch (1985: cover illustration)

Cited: Moschner (1955: 230)

Description: Height 56cm. Both crestless and hairless; neck short, epiglottis not indicated; mouth with upper and lower rows of teeth parallel, the buccal cavity 'closed'; eyes circular. Covered with red feathers, with thick eyebrows indicated by black feathers; a ring of yellow feathers around the base of the neck. Judging by photographs, there are approximately 80 teeth, 40 in each jaw. Around the base of the neck is a band of yellow feathers. In fair condition, most of the feathers surviving.

This head can be traced with certainty as far as 1806, when it was sold at the auction of the Leverian Museum: it was purchased by Baron Leopold von Fichtel, who attended the sale on the personal initiative of Kaiser Franz I. Von Fichtel was recorded as buying two

'feathered idols' at the auction (annotated copies of Anon., 1806): Lot 407 (sold 8 May, 1806 for 8/-[1]) and Lot 494 (sold 9 May, 1806 for 7/6[2]), it is not known which of the two is now in Vienna, nor the whereabouts of the other.

It may be assumed, although without definite evidence, that this head was collected in 1779 by Cook's crew, and on the return of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* was transferred to Sir Ashton Lever's collection. Unlike some other Leverian ethnographica it was not sketched by Sarah Stone.

4. In the British Museum, London, England. (Figure 6)

Catalogue number: VAN231

Figured: Cook & King (1784, pl.67, based on a drawing by Webber (B.L. Add. MS 15514.27); Dalton (1897, pl. xvi); Brigham (1899: fig. 24); Joyce (1925: 168); Buck (1957: fig. 321b & 321c); Kaeppler (1979: fig. 100); Holt (1985: 88); Kaeppler, Kaufmann & Newton (1997: fig. 47). Sketched by Sarah Stone, 1783 (Force & Force, 1968: 23, original in Bishop Museum). Also sketched by P.J. de Loutherbourg circa 1785 (*vide* Kaeppler, 1979: 190).

Previous descriptions: Read (1891); Brigham (1899); Buck (1957); Kaeppler (1979)

Description: height 99 cm. Double-crested; rows of teeth in the mouth sub-parallel (the lower jaw articulates in a vertical plane, so the mouth shape is variable); buccal cavity 'open'; nose short, with large nares; eyes crescentic; neck long, with epiglottis indicated. Mostly covered with red feathers, with yellow ringing the base of the neck and on the upper crest. A line of black feathers along the lower crest; a yellow and black patch marks the place for the ears. Judging by photographs, the mouth contains approximately 150 teeth. In good condition, with most feathers remaining and holding their colour.

1 The equivalent purchasing power of this sum in 2002 is £17.04 (McCusker, 2003)
2 T he equivalent purchasing power of this sum in 2002 is £15.98 (McCusker, 2003)

This head was for a long time believed to have been collected during Vancouver's expedition in 1790-95 by Hewett the surgeon's mate. It was in the possession of the Hewett family for almost a century, until it was sold to A.W. Franks on 16 March 1891 and was presented by him to the British Museum. Soon after it had been acquired by A.W. Franks it was exhibited it to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain by Charles H. Read, and the first mention of the head in print is in a paper by him (Read, 1891). Even at this early date Read drew attention to the similarity between this head and the one figured by Webber during Cook's visit to Hawai'i in 1779. The head was also also documented, and figured in colour, as part of a paper on material collected during Vancouver's voyage (Dalton, 1897).

Brigham (1899) accepted the 'Vancouver' provenance, but like all authors up to and including Buck (1957) expressed concern about the similarity between the object and the sketch made by Webber - 'it is hard to believe that the two illustrations represent two different images' (Buck, 1957: 510).

The difficulty lay in reconciling the almost identical appearance of the artefact sketched by Webber and the evidence linking this example with Vancouver: a difficulty that would not have arisen had wicker heads not been so individually variable!. The head was apparently entered in Hewett's handwritten list of the material collected by himself in the Hawaiian group on Vancouver's voyage, although Kaeppler (1979) has shown this entry to be capable of misconstruction. Read went so far as to suggest that the head sketched by Webber was not brought to England by Cook's crew but remained on the islands to be collected later by Hewett.

The solution to the problem was first published by Force & Force in 1968 (see also Kaeppler, 1978). In fact, the head had been in Sir Ashton Lever's museum, where it was sketched by Sarah Stone in 1783 (see Figure 23) and by P.J. de Loutherbourg *circa* 1785 (see Figure 25). It was sold at the auction of the Leverian collection in 1806 as lot number 5662: annotated copies of the auction sale show the purchaser of this lot to have been Hewett, who paid 10s 6d for it. Thus, not only did Hewett visit Hawaii with

Vancouver, he bought artefacts that had been collected more than a decade earlier by Cook's crew.

The overall design of this head includes a strange mixture of abstract and representational features. The epiglottis, for instance is clearly indicated, the jaw articulates and the mouth is not portrayed in an exaggerated fashion. On the other hand, the face is pierced transversely by two fossae, one above and one below the eye, and the top of the head is represented as a narrow double crest. The disruption of the face by the two large holes is a feature unparalleled in any surviving Hawaiian plastic art: if it was a motif that was at all widespread it would be expected in wooden statues, as wood is a lot easier to shape than basketry. The appearance of the whole conveys (to me) the effect of the front of the face being thrown forward in arcs, like a spouting volcanic eruption: however, it is well to remember that the artistic conventions of Hawaiian artists are very poorly understood.

5. In the British Museum, London, England. (Figure 7)

Catalogue number:	LMS221
Figured:	Brigham (1899: fig. 27); Buck (1957: fig. 323a); Kaeppler (1979: fig. 99); Kaeppler (1982: fig. 41); Holt (1985: 88); Kaeppler, Kaufmann & Newton (1997: fig. 49).
Cited:	Kaeppler (1979)
Description:	Height 86cm. Crested; mouth with upper and lower rows of teeth more widely separated laterally, and upturned; buccal cavity 'stopped'; nose short, upturned; eyes elongate, set strongly obliquely, the 'white' of the right eye made of two pieces of shell; neck long, epiglottis not indicated. Mostly covered with red feathers, with yellow on top of the crest. Eyebrows and nostrils of black feathers. Judging by photographs, there are approximately 150 teeth.

Through most of the 19th century, this head was in the possession of the London

Missionary Society, and its earlier history can be traced through catalogues of the Society's Museum (Anon., 1826; Anon., undated). Manuscripts in the British Museum indicate that the head was part of the collection deposited on loan by the Missionary Society in 1890, and bought by the British Museum in 1911.

The head was listed in the first catalogue of the Missionary Museum (Anon., 1826: 14) as "an IDOL from the SANDWICH ISLANDS, formerly in Parkinson's Museum". Parkinson was the man who acquired the Leverian collection by lottery in 1790 and sold it in 1806, a mere 20 years before the catalogue of the Missionary's collection. The Leverian attribution was repeated in the later catalogue (Anon., undated) where the head was listed as "An idol representing a huge helmetted head, covered with red feathers, from the Sandwich Islands. Formerly in the Leverian Museum". There is, unfortunately, no independent supporting evidence for a Leverian connection (it was, for instance, not figured by Sarah Stone or de Loutherbourg), although Kaeppler (1979) saw no reason to doubt that the head was once in Lever's museum. If true, then the head may be one of the eight sold in the great Leverian auction of 1806.

Note on the three unprovenanced heads in the British Museum

After accounting for the two heads acquired by the British Museum in the late 19th-early 20th centuries, there are a further three that lack detailed provenance. The earliest published figures of these heads were the sketches in Edge-Partington's *Album* (1890: 50, nos 1-3), and it is necessary to trace them backwards from that time.

Unfortunately, as discussed elsewhere (e.g. by Miller, 1973; Kaeppler, 1979; King, 1981) it is often not easy to trace the history of early Pacific artefacts in the British Museum because of poor documentation procedures in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Fortunately, for all three heads there is evidence from a work published *circa* 1803-1805 that all three were on display in the early 1800s.

The work in question is the second volume of J.P. Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*. The date on the title page of this volume is 1803, although the preface is signed and

dated March 1805. Whilst research may have been carried out over several years before the book was published, the description of the British Museum can be given an approximate *terminus post quem*: Malcolm mentioned (p. 531) that material from Egypt was stored in two temporary sheds, and this material reached the Museum early in 1802 (Miller, 1973: 97). The important thing to note is that Malcolm's review of the British Museum occurred before the auction sale of the Leverian collection, so none of the eight heads sold in 1806 can be represented by any of these three examples.

Malcolm gave an 11-page description (pp 520-531) of the 'Otaheite and South Seas Rooms' as they then stood. The relevant passage is on page 524, and reads:

> They [Hawaiian representations of deities] are busts, uniformly woven with red feathers, except a border at the base of yellow, a tuft of the same colour on the largest head, and a pair of yellow lips to one. The eye-brows are all black; the eye-balls enormous pieces of mother-of-pearl, and the pupils are little globes of black wood. Of the rows of real teeth of fish or animals two have depressed corners, and are of monstrous extent, giving an air of grief, attended by an expression of savage wildness
>
> The largest is without hair, but another has a great deal of black.
>
> The third has a shocking set of distorted features, with the eyes and mouth carried quite into the temples. This kind of plume, brought from the back of the head down to the space between the eyes, which is composed of white feathers, a border, and sprinkling of red, intermixed in lozenges.

This passage makes most sense if the order of paragraphs two and three is reversed, so the description of two with downturned mouths is followed immediately by 'The third has a shocking set of distorted features...' As the phrase 'the third' (not 'a third') is used there were probably only three heads present on display, and all of the information

presented by Malcolm can be fitted into a scenario of these three heads being HAW78, HAW79 and HAW80.

1. The largest (HAW 79):

a. Has a 'tuft' of yellow on the head. This kind of plume, brought from the back of the head down to the space between the eyes, which is composed of white [sic - have just been stated to be yellow!] feathers, a border, and sprinkling of red, intermixed in lozenges. The spots of red on the yellow portion of HAW 79 are distinctive.

b. Is without hair

c. Has 'a shocking set of distorted features', with the eyes and mouth carried quite into the temples.

2. One with hair (HAW78):

a. has a pair of yellow lips.

b. Is one of the two having a mouth with depressed corners

c. Has a great deal of black hair.

3 (HAW80)

a. Is the other of the two having a mouth with depressed corners

Since not all of the ethnographic collections of the British Museum were on display, it is possible that further wicker heads were stored in the basement along with 'the largest and most repellant specimens of Nature and Art' (Malcolm, 1803: 531). It is, however, suspicious that in 1890 these three heads were the only ones figured by Edge-Partington and to date no other examples have been found in store.

6. In the British Museum, London, England. (Figure 8)

Catalogue number: HAW 80

Figured: Edge-Partington (1890: 50, no. 1); Brigham (1899: fig. 25); Buck (1957: fig. 321 a); Holt (1985: 89).

Description: Height 75 cm. Crestless; mouth with upper and lower rows of teeth parallel, strongly downturned; buccal cavity 'stopped'; nose long; eyes oval, the 'white' of the right eye broken in two pieces by a vertical crack; neck long, epiglottis not indicated. Mostly covered with red feathers, with yellow ring around base of neck. Eyebrows [? and nostrils] of black feathers. There are 144 teeth. In good condition, with most feathers present; some yellow missing around the base of the neck.

History: see above.

7. In the British Museum, London, England. (Figure 9)

Catalogue number: HAW 78

Figured: Edge-Partington (1890: 50, no. 3); Brigham (1899: fig. 26); Joyce (1925: 168); Buck (1957: fig. 322a); Kaeppler (1982: fig. 40); Kaeppler, Kaufmann & Newton (1997: fig. 48). A painting by Fredda B. Holt inspired by this head was reproduced by Holt (1985: 85).

Description: Height 63 cm. Crestless; with human hair, some of which lies straight backwards from the forehead other is long bunches tied alternatively falling backwards to the left and right (conveying an effect of being braided; neck short, epiglottis not indicated; nose broad and flat, not upturned; mouth with rows of teeth parted laterally, the buccal cavity 'stopped'; eyes oval, pointed at both ends of the long axis, pupils large. There are 118 teeth, 58 in the upper row and 60 in the lower. Covered with red feathers, with black for eyebrows and a broad band of yellow around the base of the neck and around the mouth. In good condition, with most feathers remaining except for some of the yellow neck feathers.

History: see above.

This example is very similar in appearance to the one in Berlin (VI253)

Kaeppler (1978) equated this head with one figured by Sarah Stone in Lever's Museum (painting reproduced by Force & Force, 1968: 25). Both are crestless, haired figures, but there are differences in the shape of the mouth, the length of the neck, the shape of the hairline and the width of the eyebrows. Also, as discussed above, there is evidence that a head with hair was on display in the British Museum before the auction sale of Lever's collection.

8. In the British Museum, London, England. (Figure 10)

Catalogue number: HAW79

Figured: Edge-Partington (1890: 50, no. 2);Brigham (1899: fig. 28).

Description: Height 104cm. Crested; mouth with upper and lower rows of teeth more widely separated laterally, and strongly upturned; buccal cavity 'stopped'; nose short, upturned; eyes very elongate, set vertically; neck very long, epiglottis not indicated. Mostly covered with red feathers, with yellow on the sides and top of the crest and in a ring around base of neck. The yellow of the crest is spotted with red, and between the rows of teeth is barred vertically with red and yellow. There are approximately 150 teeth. In good condition, with most of the feathers remaining; the two parts of the 'white' of the right eye became slightly dislocated prior to 1899.

History: see above.

This the least figured of any of the five British Museum examples, not even being illustrated in Buck's (1957) major treatment of Hawaiian material culture. Very similar in appearance to LMS221, it can be distinguished by the longer and more slender neck

and by the pattern of feathers. The yellow of the crest is patterned with spots of red; also, the mouth between the rows of teeth is vertically barred with red and yellow. This latter feature serves to emphasise the aggressive expression of the mouth.

9. In the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (Figure 11)

Catalogue number: 37-4-70/530

Figured: Buck (1957: fig. 322b); Barrow (1972: 152: fig. 270); Kaeppler (1982, frontispiece).

Description: Height 61cm. Crestless; with human hair mostly of a natural colour but also with long locks of bleached hair; neck short, epiglottis not indicated; nose long, not upturned; mouth with rows of teeth parted laterally, the buccal cavity 'stopped'; eyes oval, not set obliquely. In poor condition, lacking the feathers, the eyes and most of the teeth.

The history of this example, which is identical to that of the other head in the Peabody Museum, was outlined by Barrow (1972: 153). It entered the possession of Rev. William Richards before 1833, and he gave it to the Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts, from whence it passed to the Peabody Museum in 1937.

The entry in the Accession Book of the Peabody Museum reads: "Wicker-work idol, formerly covered with feathers - the favourite god of Kekuaokalani, who rebelled against Rihoriho in 1819. Human sacrifices were offered to this idol at the commencement of hostilities in 1819." An added note states: "Image of the war god Kukailimoku (god who devoured the islands). Probably originally decorated with feathers. Carried on a standard by his own priest, the god was said to gnash his dog's teeth and roll his pearl shell eyes at the scent of battle, while the feathers of his crest rose of their own accord."

According to Buck (1957: 511) an old handwritten label gives the following: "God of Kekuaokalani. To this idol two human sacrifices were offered at the commencement of the battle (1819) which decided the fate of idolatry in the Sandwich Islands. Presented by Mr Richards." Presumably, this label was added whilst it was in the Andover

Theological Seminary.

It is interesting to see the use of 'Rihoriho' for Liholiho and, in the entry for 37-4-70/531 (below), 'Tamehameha' for Kamehameha. This would suggest that the information in the accession book was committed to paper sometime in the 1820s or 1830s: after this, one would expect the modern spelling.

This example is one of two heads that have been linked in some way with Kekuaokalani, the other being in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. It is probable that several 'war gods', including Kuka'ilimoku, passed into the custodianship of Kekuaokalani following the death of Kamehameha I, and which would be expected to be present on the field of the battle at Kuamoo. However, before accepting the Peabody Museum head as *the* Kuka'ilimoku it is best to remember the confusion caused a century ago by Brigham's assumptions about that god!

10. In the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (Figure 12)

Catalogue number: 37-4-70/531

Figured: Buck (1957: fig. 323b); Kaeppler (1982: fig. 43).

Description: Height 37 cm. Crestless; with long but scanty human hair attached to the top of the head; rows of teeth slightly parted laterally, not upturned; the buccal cavity 'open'; neck long and unusually thick-set, epiglottis not indicated; nose long and narrow, not upturned; eyes strongly obovoid, the narrower ends directed mesad. Judging by photographs, there are 61 teeth present. In poor condition, lacking the feathers, but the eyes and teeth are present.

Note: This institution should not be confused with the similarly-named Peabody-Essex Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, which also holds a large and important ethnographic collection.

The known history of this head is identical with the other example in the Peabody

Museum, it being collected by Rev. William Richards prior to 1833 and passing from the Andover Theological Seminary to the Peabody Museum in 1937.

The entry in the Accession Book of the Peabody Museum reads: "Wicker-work idol, formerly covered with feathers - the favorite war-god of Tamehameha, who was for many years king of Sandwich Isls and died in 1819. Row of dog's teeth from ear to ear and eyes of mother of pearl".

Kaeppler (1982: 105), truly said of this head that it has 'unique stylistic features'. The obovoid eyes with the pupils set off-centre (nearer to the nose than they 'should' be), the mouth shaped as a simpering grin and the pycnic neck all suggest - to me - that this is a representation of someone with mental disfunction. However, this presupposes that the heads are indeed representational, and that the expression is meant to convey a permanent state of mind. It is equally possible that it was intended to as an expression of offence in the same way as the 'wry mouths' made by Tahitians and the contorted faces still made by New Zealand Maori during the *haka*.

11. In the Field Museum, Chicago, U.S.A. (Figures 13a, 13b)

Catalogue number: 272591

Figured: Buck (1957: fig. 323c); Force & Force (1971: 83).

Cited: Kaeppler (1998)

Description: Height 27cm. Crested; mouth of 'figure-of-eight' form; buccal cavity 'open' [?]; teeth (uniquely for wicker heads) are from sharks rather than dog canines; nose short, not upturned; eyes oval, set obliquely; neck short, epiglottis not indicated. Mostly covered with red feathers, with yellow on top of the crest and in a ring around base of neck, and a black band along the sides of the crest. Judging by Buck's photograph, there are approximately 24 teeth. In good condition, with most of the feathers remaining.

This was the last known example of a wicker head being in private hands: the only other remaining outside of a museum during any part of the 20th century being that presented by Lord St Oswald to Te Papa Tongarewa in 1912. According to information given by A.W.F. Fuller to R.W. Force it was obtained by Fuller *circa* 1926 from members of a family called Bate, who lived near Portsmouth (England). It had allegedly been in the Bate family for several generations and their tradition was that it had been collected by a member of Cook's crew, who gave it to a member of the family. The Bishop Museum archives hold a transcription (in the Kaeppler file) of a tape recorded conversation between Fuller and Force, in which Fuller stated that he knew of the existence of the head from the time of World War I, that he paid £30 for it, and that there was a watercolour painting of it dating from about 1860. Ownership of the head passed to the Field Museum in 1958 when they acquired Fuller's collection.

Kaeppler (1978) noted that a 'Bates' sailed on Cook's third voyage and also a 'Bates' was a purchaser at the sale of the Leverian Museum, but no firm evidence has been traced to forge a firm link between this head and Cook's voyage.

This head is unusual in its small size (at 27 cm high the smallest known example and a quarter the height of the largest) and in the teeth, which are those of sharks rather than the usual dog's canines. The eyes are unusually large in proportion to the whole, but given the general variation in eye form, this is probably not significant.

12. In the Museum of Marischal College, University of Aberdeen, Scotland

(Figure 14)

Catalogue number: IV-43

Figured: Reid (1912); Hunt (undated).

Description: Height 30.3 cm. Crestless; with lengths of human hair attached to the crown of the head; rows of teeth slightly parted laterally, not upturned; the buccal cavity 'open'; neck short unusually thick-set, epiglottis not indicated; nose short and upturned; eyes oval, set slightly obliquely. Judging by photographs, there are approximately 55 teeth present. In poor condition, lacking the

feathers and the eyes, but the teeth are present.

There is, unfortunately, no recorded history of this head. Charles Hunt, the curator of Marischal College museum, has suggested (*pers. comm.*) that it was probably acquired by them between 1800 and 1840 but there are no accession registers available covering those dates.

13. In the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne, England. (Figure 15)

Catalogue number: NEWHM: C584.

Figured: Brigham (1903: 439); Jessop & Starkey (1999: plate A). Sketched in a notebook of A.W. Franks, dated *circa* 1870 (Museum of Mankind, London: catalogue no. SS19);

Description: Height, 81cm. Crested; mouth with upper and lower rows of teeth strongly divergent laterally, the upper row upturned on both sides; buccal cavity 'stopped'; eyes elongate-oval, set obliquely; nose short, strongly upturned; neck long, epiglottis not indicated. The original covering of feathers has almost disappeared and although the bases of some feathers remain, there is not enough to discern their colour. Fox's comment (Fox, 1827) 'has been covered with the red feathers of the Hook-billed Red Creeper' indicates that the feathers were probably already missing by 1827. They were certainly gone when Franks saw this head in the late 1860s/early 1870s. An early manuscript label, visible in Brigham's (1903) photograph, is also now missing.

The head can be traced with certainty as far back as 1827, when it was listed by Fox (1827:198) among the collection of George Allan. Allan's collection had remained at his house from 1800, the date of his death, until 1822. It was due to be sold by auction, and a catalogue of it was prepared (Anon, 1822), but the whole collection was bought by private treaty for the Literary & Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne before the auction took place. The head was listed in the auction catalogue as lot 3 (part) on p.

59, an 'Indian god from Owhyhee, and mahogany bracket'.

There is no record of movement of the head prior to its existence in Allan's collection. Allan had bought material from Daniel Boulter, and his marked copy of the *Museum Boulterianum* (Boulter, 1793) survives in the Hancock Museum, but there are no wicker heads listed there. Fox (1827) suggested that Allan acquired items from Sir Ashton Lever's Museum, but there is no supporting evidence for that assertion, and it must be remembered that Allan died before the main Leverian sale of 1806.

The most likely source from which Allan acquired the head is the collection of Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790) of Wycliffe, North Yorkshire (Boyd & Jessop, 1998). Allan bought Tunstall's collection of birds in 1791, following Tunstall's death the previous year. The remainder of Tunstall's collection was sold by auction in 1792 (Anon, 1792; Jessop, 1999).

Whereas Marmaduke Tunstall generally retired from 'Society' on moving north to Wycliffe in 1776, before Hawaii was known to Europeans, he did not move his Museum from London until 1783 (Boyd & Jessop, 1998), by which time Hawaiian items were circulating among British collectors. A faint indication of Tunstall's interest in the South Seas is shown in a letter (Bodleian Library, MS English Letters C229, ff 102-103; Jessop & Boyd, 1999), which is undated and to a correspondent in Hamburg (possibly J.F. Bolten: see appendix on Tunstall's correspondence), that stated in somewhat ungrammatical French:

> "Aiant par le Conte de Messiers Banks & Solander recu quelques oiseaux tres curieux & extremement bien embaumes & empailles qui sont arriver nouvellement de vous & scachant par eaux que voux avier envier d'avoir quelques choses des arrives terres nouvellement decouvertes en la Mer Sud, J'ai pris la liberte de vous envoyer un petit paquet des vetements des inhabitants, quelques coquilles, & quelques petites instruments ou de guerre ou de menage, j'en souhaite beaucoup que j'en pourrai en avoir vous envoie un plus grand quantite des

> curiosites & mieux choisies, j'espere de recevoir dans un peu de temps quelques choses bien curieuses aux retour d'un de mes amis qui voyage a present dans les mers & lequel j'attends de revoir au printemps prochain ...

In other words, Tunstall had a large enough collection to afford to send surplus material to acquaintances, and expected to receive further examples following the return of a voyage. The auction sale of his collection (Anon, 1792) included only twelve lots from the Pacific, mainly of cloth and mats. There were, however, several Hawaiian items present in the second day's sale:

Lot 12 Various fish hooks, combs, skins of birds, &c. Otaheite, and Sandwich Islands.
Lot 122 A feather cloak, uncommonly large, such as is worn by the chiefs in the Sandwich Islands.
Lot 139 ... 12 varieties of stained cloth, from Sandwich Islands.

Also (lot 126): Four interesting views of islands in the South Seas, viz. *Huaheine*, *Charlotte Sound*, in New Zealand, *Morea*, and *Owhyhee*, one of the Sandwich Islands, in which is a representation of the death of Captain Cooke; the whole elegantly framed and glazed.

The small number of ethnographic items in the auction, compared to the otherwise extensive nature of Tunstall's collection, suggests that the bulk of ethnographica had already been removed between Tunstall's death and the time of the sale. It is not unreasonable to assume that Allan was allowed to pick from Tunstall's collection whatever he wanted, but that Tunstall's family was aware of the financial value of the feather cloak and retained it for auction.

After Fox's catalogue of 1827 the next mention of the head is to be found in a notebook by A.W. Franks, datable to *circa* 1870 (Museum of Mankind, London: catalogue no. SS19), where it was described as 'wicker work head, the feathers are all perished. Sandwich Is. (B.M.)'. Brigham missed it when compiling his first monograph (Brigham,

1899), but included it in the first supplement (Brigham, 1903: 439). This included a photograph which clearly shows a square handwritten label: it is unfortunate that this label has since disappeared, as it may have helped trace its earlier history.

The head was highlighted by Russell Goddard (1929: 137) as being among the Hancock Museum's most important possessions. It was on display until 1992 in the museum's ethnographic gallery. When that gallery was cleared for redevelopment it was removed, and it is currently held in store.

14. In the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, Germany. (Figure 16)

Catalogue number: VI253

Figured: Sarah Stone, 1787 (published in Force & Force, 1968: 27); Guiart (1963: 402); Kaeppler (1978: fig. 58).

Description: Height 62cm. Crestless; with human hair, attached to the forehead and lying backwards; mouth with rows of teeth slightly parted, the buccal cavity 'stopped'; eyes oval, pointed at both ends, pupils large; neck short, epiglottis not indicated; nose broad and flat, not upturned. Judging by photographs there are approximately 95 teeth. Covered with red feathers, with black for eyebrows and a broad band of yellow around the base of the neck. In good condition, with most feathers remaining except for some of the yellow neck feathers.

The history of this head was detailed by Kaeppler (1974). Brought back from Cook's last voyage, it was acquired by Sir Ashton Lever and sketched by Sarah Stone in 1787 (Force & Force, 1968: 27; Figure 17). In the auction sale of Lever's collection in 1806, it was bought by 'Brogden'. H. Brogden Esq. F.L.S. was listed as a donor to William Bullock's Museum in 1809, a year before this head was listed in a catalogue of Bullock's collection.

At the auction sale of Bullock's collection in 1819 the head was bought by M.H.K. Lichtenstein, director of the Zoological Museum of the University of Berlin, probably

on behalf of the Königlich Preussische Kunstkammer, an ancestor of the Museum für Völkerkunde.

In appearance, this example is very similar to British Museum HAW78, but can be distinguished particularly by the braided appearance of the long locks of hair in the Berlin example.

15. In the University of Göttingen, Germany. (Figure 18)

Catalogue number: Oz 254

Figured: Plischke (1929); Bühler, Barrow & Mountford (1962: 158); Guiart (1963: 401); Kaeppler (1998).

Key citations: Plischke (1929); Kaeppler (1998)

Description: Height 46.5 cm. Crested; mouth with upper and lower rows of teeth strongly divergent laterally, the upper row upturned on both sides; buccal cavity 'open'; eyes oval, set obliquely, large in proportion to rest of figure; nose short, upturned; neck short, epiglottis indicated. Covered with red feathers, with the crest yellow, yellow 'ears' and a ring of yellow around the base of the neck; also with black feathers for eyebrows. Judging by photographs there are approximately 100 teeth. In good condition, with feathers remaining.

Brought to England by Cook's crew, the head escaped the usual fate of ethnographic 'curiosities' of that voyage, i.e. transfer to Sir Ashton Lever's *Holophusicon.* Instead, it was a part of a major collection that was assembled by the London dealer George Humphrey and presented to Göttingen University by King George III of England in 1782.

In recent years the whole Cook collection at Göttingen has been documented in detail, in a profusely illustrated monograph (Hauser-Schäublin & Krüger 1998). Kaeppler contributed the discussion of the Hawaiian material to that book. Earlier, the head was the subject of the first significant academic treatment of wicker heads by anyone other

than Brigham (Plischke, 1929).

This head is similar in appearance to the example in the Field Museum, Chicago (272591). They differ in height (46.5 against 27 cm) and the teeth in the Chicago head are shark's teeth, but both are crested figures with necks of similar proportion, mouths and noses of similar shape and eyes that are disproportionately large.

16. In the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, France. (Figure 19)

Catalogue number: 78.30.15. (older number 10691)

Cited: Buck (1957)

Figured: Guiart (1963: 403); Anon (1965: 103)

Description: Height 67 cm. Crestless, and without hair; rows of teeth parallel, broadly curved, the buccal cavity 'stopped'; neck long, epiglottis not indicated; nose short and upturned; eyes round, each set on a strong prominence. Judging by photographs, there are approximately 90 teeth present. In poor condition, lacking the feathers, but the eyes, and teeth are present.

This example was first recorded in an inventory of the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, dated 3rd Thermidor, year 5 [= 21 July 1797], where it was noted that the feathers had already deteriorated (Anon., 1965: 102). It was transferred to its current home in 1797 (A. Kaeppler *pers. comm.*).

The overall appearance of this head is very distinctive because of the strongly protruberant large round 'staring' eyes, and the mouth that is turned upwards in an apparent grin. The shape of the mouth is approached only in the Loutherbourg sketch (*vide infra*), which cannot represent the Paris head because other facial features differ.

17. In Te Papa Tongarewa (National Museum of New Zealand), Wellington, New Zealand. (Figure 20)

Catalogue number: FE000325

Key citation: Kaeppler (1974)

Figured: Poignant (1967: 42); Barrow (1972: 270).

Description: Height 82.5cm. Crested, mouth of 'figure-of-eight' form, buccal cavity 'stopped'; eyes oval, set somewhat obliquely; nose short; neck short, epiglottis not indicated. Covered with red feathers, with the crest yellow; with black feathers for eyebrows. Judging by photographs there are approximately 120 teeth. In good condition, with most feathers remaining.

The first recorded location of this example was in 1805, when it was in William Bullock's Museum in London (Kaeppler, 1974). A previous catalogue of Bullock's Museum, in 1801, had not listed it so it was probably acquired between those two dates. Unfortunately, there is no history of the head prior to this, so it is not possible to state whether it was - or was not - acquired on Cook's last voyage.

On the sale of Bullock's collection by auction in 1819 the head was bought by Mr Charles Winn. His grandson, Lord St Oswald, presented it to the current owners in 1912. Te Papa Tongarewa also hold Winn's copy of the auction catalogue of the Bullock collection. On its transfer to the Museum, the only wicker head then known to be in private hands was that later acquired by Fuller (and now in the Field Museum, Chicago).

18. In the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, England. (Fig. 21)

Catalogue number: 1886.1.1448

Figured: Brigham (1903: 440).

Key citation: Kaeppler (1978a)

Description: Height 52 cm. Crestless; with long locks of human hair attached to the crown of the head; mouth of 'figure-of-eight' form, buccal cavity 'stopped'; eyes oval, pupils absent; neck long, epiglottis not indicated; nose short, upturned. Judging by photographs there are approximately 85 teeth. In fair condition, but the feathers now missing.

Inadvertently omitted from Brigham's initial *opus* on Hawaiian feather work, the Oxford example was figured in the first supplement (Brigham, 1903). The head is unusual in that the mother-of-pearl eyes have no pupil: it thus has the appearance of being blind in both eyes. The teeth (to judge by Brigham's figure) appear to be the incisors of dogs, not canines as is usual.

The head was mentioned briefly in the official published account of the voyage of the *Blonde* (Byron, 1826: 48), as part of a discussion of the battle in which Kekuaokalani was killed and his 'war god' was taken prisoner. A footnote on the same page added that the god was brought to England by Lord Byron. The god was called 'Karai' by Byron, the word probably equating to *ka'ai* [=wrapped], an adjective not uncommonly applied to Polynesian sacred objects which were wrapped with bark cloth to signify the indwelling of the god's spirit.

Further information on the head acquired by Byron in Hawaii is contained among a series of disjointed terminal notes to the diary of the Rev. R.R. Bloxam (National Library of Australia, Canberra cat. no. MS4255).

On p. 141of his diary, Bloxam noted:

> His Lordship received this idol standard as a present from one of the missionaries with the accompanying letter - "My Lord. I have the honour to send for your acceptance a feather god once belonging to Kekuaokalani - it is called the Akuapio or Captive God as it was taken on the field of battle - it used to be carried by its possessor in procession when he went to the morai, or on any public occasion when a crier preceding it called on all the standers by to prostrate themselves on pain of death - this was the standard around which [Kekuaokalani's] followers rallied".

On p. 143 he added:

> The feathered idol presented by Naihe to Lord Byron was called Keoloeva [=Keolo'ewa]. It was made more than 150 years [ago] and worshipped by the fathers of Naihe and lastly by him.

The two separate entries in Bloxam's manuscript raise the possiblility that Byron acquired two heads, one presented by one of the missionaries and the other by Naihe: it is, however, more parsimonious to suppose that Naihe sent the one head as a present to Byron *via* the missionaries. The prominence of Naihe among the christianised sect at the time would support this latter possibility.

Keolo'ewa, probably equates with the object known as Kukeolo'ewa, which was described by William Ellis (1826: 58) (possibly on hearsay evidence, as there is no evidence that he saw it) as having a body of wood wrapped in *kapa*, the head and neck formed of wicker-work, covered with red feathers, and a helmet placed on its head, from the crown of which long tresses of human hair hung down over its shoulders. Its mouth described as being 'large and distended'. This description of the wicker portion of Kukeolo'ewa certainly agrees with the appearance of the head now in Oxford.

There is evidence that Byron donated the head to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford in 1827, shortly after his return from the Pacific. In 1836 it was listed as no. 504 on page 147 of a catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum (Duncan, 1836), being described as 'An idol from Otahite formed of wicker work, covered with parrots' feathers. [donor] Lord Byron, R.N.'

It was transferred from the Ashmolean to the Pitt Rivers Museum on November 28, 1885, and was listed on pp 273-274 of volume 2 of the 'List of Anthropological Objects transferred from the Ashmolean to the Pitt Rivers Museum 1886', where it was described as: '1448 An Idol, or war god from the Sandwich Islands ... Given by Lord Byron ['R.N.' inserted] 1827'.

Kaeppler has, uncharacteristically, introduced some confusion into the situation, by assuming (Kaeppler 1982: 106) that a wicker head taken by R. Bloxam from the Hale

o Keawe is probably the one now in the Pitt Rivers Museum. Bloxam's example was figured in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* (Bloxam, 1826: 88), and an attached description gave the height as nearly three feet in height: 1886.1.1448 is considerably shorter (52 cm) than this, and there are also discrepancies in the obliqueness of the eyes and the shape of the attached hair.

Having associated Bloxam's head with Oxford, it then became necessary to account for Byron's example: Kaeepler went on to state: 'The present location of this image is unknown, so its style cannot be ascertained. It probably does not have human hair however, because the histories of the extant feathered images with hair are relatively straightforward'.

The confusion can be resolved by removing the assumption that Bloxam's head is in Oxford: its closest resemblance is to the example in the A.M.N.H. (*vide* no. 19 below) If the head in the Pitt Rivers Museum is indeed Kukeolo'ewa, then it is highly significant. Kukeolo'ewa (which translates as 'Ku the supporter' according to Malo, 1951) was one of the principal war gods of the chiefs of the island of Maui. It was worshipped by chief Kahekili, who 'delighted in war', and who died in 1793. Two years later the whole of Maui was conquered by Kamehameha I of Hawai'i, and the figure of Kukeolo'ewa was adopted and worshipped by him.

The story of this head is discussed in greater detail below.

19. In the American Museum of Natural History, New York, U.S.A. (Figure 22)

Catalogue number: 80.0/672

Figured: Barrère (1994: 14)

Description: Height 62 cm. Crested, the crest having backwardly-directed human hair attached; mouth with upper and lower rows of teeth strongly divergent laterally, the upper row upturned on both sides and the lower slightly downturned; buccal cavity 'stopped'; eyes elongate, set obliquely; nose short, strongly upturned; neck long, epiglottis not indicated. The original

covering of feathers has almost disappeared; the pearl shell is missing from the eyes but at least the left pupil remains. Judging by photographs there are approximately 130 teeth.

The history of this example has not been elucidated: it is catalogued at the A.M.N.H. as being found in storage, the collector unknown, in 1907 (Paul Beelitz, *in litt.*, 1999). A search of the *Annual Reports* of the institution from its foundation until 1907 failed to reveal a donor. It is possible that it came with a major acquisition such as the Appleton Sturgis collection of 2,200 Pacific items purchased in 1891, much of which was initially held in store through lack of display space; this would still leave open the question of its prior movement.

Barrère (1994) published a photograph of 80.0/672 with a caption claiming that it 'had stood on the casket of the god-chief Keawe'. This implies that Barrère believes that the A.M.N.H. head was the one removed by R.R. Bloxam from the Hale o Keawe in 1825. Bloxam's head was figured in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* (M.H. Bloxam, 1826: 88) (see fig. 23), with an attached description. Many years later, the same M.H. Bloxam, who was a younger brother of Andrew Bloxam of the crew of the *Blonde*, exhibited some of his collection of 'savage curiosities' to the Natural History Society of Rugby School, an event that was reported in the school's publication *The Meteor* (1885, no. 216: 65-67). Although a wooden figure from the Hale o Keawe was exhibited, there is no mention of wicker heads in the article. A copy of the *Meteor* article was presented to the Bishop Museum by A.R. Bloxam, and is annotated by him to read: 'Nos 2 3 4 *Mirror* for October 1826 now in my possession', but there is no indication of a wicker head being in A.R. Bloxam's possession at that time.

The A.M.N.H. example certainly agrees with M.H. Bloxam's figure of the Hale o Keawe head (fig.) in the line of the hair, the shape of the nose and the oblique angle of the eyes. The expression of the mouth is more extreme than Bloxam indicated and the feathers and beads are now absent; at 62 cm (2ft) high, it is also smaller (two-thirds the size) quoted by Bloxam. Without details of the movements of the head prior to 1907 I would hesitate to agree with Barrère's equation of 80.0/672 with the head that stood

over Keawe's bone bundle.

20. Now missing. (Figure 23, right example)

This example was figured by Sarah Stone *circa* 1783, it then being in Lever's collection. Stone's original sketch is in the Bishop Museum, and it has been reproduced by Force & Force (1968: 23) and by Holt (1985: 83).

Although there is no indication of scale in Sarah Stone's drawing, the main features are well enough illustrated to enable a description to be made.The head was crestless and lacking hair, although there was a sagittal crest of yellow feathers; the upper and lower rows of teeth were slightly parted laterally; the eyes crescentic; the nose broad; the neck long. The colour was mainly red, with yellow sagittally and as a ring around the base of the neck, and black as nostrils and eyebrows. Stone's sketch shows 36 teeth to be present.

This head could have been bought at the Leverian auction in 1806 by any of the following:

a. Fichtel, who bought two examples, one of which is now in Vienna.
b. Newman
c. Brent
d. An unknown buyer, who bought Lot no. 1 of the last three days of the sale.

21. Now missing. (Figure 24)

Figured by Sarah Stone *circa* 1783, it then being in Lever's collection. The original sketch is in the Bishop Museum, and it has been reproduced by Force & Force (1968: 25) and by Holt (1985: 83). Kaeppler (1978) suggested that it is probably HAW78; doubts about this suggestion have been detailed above.

Although there is no indication of scale in Sarah Stone's drawing, the main features are well enough illustrated to enable a description to be made.The head was crestless and had hair affixed, apparently some hair was black and some pale coloured (possibly

bleached with lime); the upper and lower rows of teeth were slightly parted medially; the eyes oval; the nose long; the neck short. The colour was mainly red, with a yellow ring around the base of the neck and black nostrils and eyebrows. Stone's sketch shows approximately 60 teeth to be present.

Only one of the eight heads in the sale of Lever's collection was described as having hair. This was Lot 849, 'A very curious feathered idol, ornamented with hair, Sandwich Islands', which was purchased by Higgins for £1.12.0. However, a second head that is known to have hair (and which survives in Berlin) was merely described as being 'very curious'.

Kaeppler (1978) suggested that the 'Higgins' who bought several items at the Leverian sale was John Higgins, who married Theresa Longuet in 1804 and lived at Turvey in Bedfordshire: they are known to have assembled a wide-ranging collection. The present whereabouts of the Higgins's collection is unknown.

22. Now missing. (Figure 25, right example)

A pantomime with scenery designed by Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg, called *Omai, or a trip round the World* was first performed in London in December 1785 (*vide* Joppien, 1979). A watercolour study of Pacific artefacts by Loutherbourg, presumably a preparatory sketch for scenery and props, survives in the Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington, New Zealand). It shows two heads: one is readily recognisable as British Museum VAN231. The other is more problemmatical; the mouth is depicted as a broad, upturned grin, totally unlike any other head; there is an indication of a yellow sagittal stripe, and there appears to be hair present: this second head does not resemble any surviving example.

At the time that Loutherbourg made his sketch, VAN231 was in Sir Ashton Lever's Museum, and he could have sketched it there. Alternatively, the drawing could have been copied from an engraving in Cook & King (1784: pl. 67) based on an illustration by John Webber. The fact that none of the other eight items (which are not wicker heads) on Louthenbourg's page of sketches was copied from a published source suggests that

his drawings were based on actual objects. If that assumption is correct, then it is quite likely that they were all present in Lever's *holophusicon*.

Loutherbourg's sketch of VAN231 is tolerably accurate, with the exception of the neck (which is double the length of that of the actual specimen). Given the range of expressions in known examples of heads, his other figure (here numbered as 22) is perfectly credible as an object rather than a product of Loutherbourg's imagination.

If number 22 was in Lever's collection, then it would probably have been one of the eight auctioned in 1806. Of these eight, three are known to survive (in London, Vienna and Berlin) and a further two have had 'Lever' provenance attached to them (in Chicago and London) with uncertainty. With the addition of the missing heads, here numbered 20 and 21, there is still at least one - and up to three - further Lever specimen(s) to be accounted for. Loutherbourg's drawing may then enter the equation.

Other recorded wicker heads

These have not been numbered in sequence as above, because we do not have a record of their appearance: they may even be represented by any of the surviving examples with unrecorded provenances.

1. Two formerly in the possession of the Protestant Unitas Fratorum (Moravian Brother) in Herrnhut, Germany. They passed from James Burney to Benjamin La Trobe (Brother La Trobe), and were taken from England to Germany between 1780 and 1782 (Augustin, 1993; see also Kaeppler, 1998: 238). The collection was moved to Niesky in 1809 and thus removed from public view. Some of the Herrnhut collection was subsequently destroyed by bombing in 1945, but a significant number of artefacts survive. There is, apparently, no record of these two wicker heads since they were listed in the late 18th century, as numbers 268 and 269

2. Two, or three, heads seem to have been brought to England on the *Blonde* in addition to the one presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Byron in 1827 (which is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum).

The diary of Richard Rowland Bloxam (National Library of Australia, Canberra cat. no. MS4255) includes a reference, among a series of disjointed terminal notes, to the acquisition of wicker heads. He discusses (p. 143) the example presented to Byron, then adds:

> The feathered idol in my possession was the God of Taraiopoo king of Owyhee when Capt. Cook visited it - it was placed in the temple where prayers were made and offerings presented to it. Not unfrequently the blood of human victims stained its altar. At the death of Taraiopu it was placed over the tappa underneath which his bones were deposited. From this sanctuary I sacrelegiously removed it.
>
> The other feather idol which I have is adorned with a helmet and was their God of war and of cursing Akua Anana (evil god) - it was to this image they offered up their prayers which were twofold - the one was called Pule Hula Hula prayer of Salvation and Victory [... the other...] Pule Oenemo curse upon all their enemies".

Bloxam's earlier reference (p. 141) to the head in Byron's possession as being Keolo'ewa rules out the possibility of it equating to either of Bloxam's examples.

Rev. R. Bloxam's wicker heads were also mentioned in a letter to an uncle (Jaggar, 1924). He first mentioned the items he received at Oahu 'several war clubs, daggers, spears, ... two large feathered deities, ...' etc. Later, describing the rape of the Hale o Keawe, he stated that he 'succeeded in appropriating to myself two wooden gods, a feathered deity that covered the bones of Keawe, grandfather of Terreaboo[Kalani'opu'u]...' etc.

Thus, according to this letter, Bloxam acquired not two, but three heads: two on Oahu and one on Hawai'i. The one mentioned in his notebook as standing over the bones Kalani'opu'u was here said to cover the remains of Keawe.

3. Two examples noted by Brigham (1903: 443): 'The late King Kalakaua told me he had seen two huge images with wicker heads in a legendary cave at Kealakekua'. This cave was within two miles of the one in which the Bishop Museum's 'Kukailimoku' was found.

SALE, AND MOVEMENT OF HEADS

An interesting feature of the history of wicker heads, after their acquisition by westerners, is their stability of location. Only two have transferred ownership in the 20th century, no. 17 (now in Te Papa Tongarewa) and No. 11 (in the Field Museum, Chicago). Throughout their known life, most have been in institutional rather than private hands, and none is now known to be owned privately.

Of the institutions, thirteen are held in major, internationally important state-funded museums: British Museum (London), Bishop Museum (Hawaii), Museum für Völkerkunde (Vienna and Berlin), Musée de l'Homme (Paris), Te Papa Tongarewa (Wellington), Field Museum (Chicago), American Museum of Natural History (New York). A further five are held in University Museums: Aberdeen, Oxford, Göttingen, Peabody Museum (Harvard).

The Hancock Museum in Newcastle, which holds the 19th, is anomalous in being owned by a society, the Natural History Society of Northumbria.

First transfer to western control - 1779

The first transfer of heads to non-Hawaiians was in 1779, when the *Resolution* and *Discovery* visited Hawai'i. A large number of 'curiosities' were brought back from this voyage by several members of the crew, and a small number of museums still hold discrete 'Cook' collections. In recent decades a small number of *catalogues raisonnées* of these collections has been published: for Göttingen (Hauser-Schäublin & Krüger, 1998), Leningrad, Berne and Florence (Kaeppler, 1978b), and the Museum of Mankind (Kaeppler, 1979).

The 'official' collection of the voyage was bequeathed to Sir Joseph Banks by Captain Clerke (Beaglehole, 1967: clxv; Kaeppler, 1978: 46), but other collections were early dispersed to private hands. In 1780 Banks passed a number of ethnographic articles from the *Resolution* and *Discovery* to the British Museum, and other collections were donated by John Gore, James King, James Burney, and others.

Cook intended his own collection to pass to Sir Ashton Lever's museum - the so-called *holophusicon* - in London (Kaeppler, 1978; Kaeppler, 1979), and Cook's patron Lord Sandwich duly passed this material over to Lever in late 1780 or early 1781 (for the story of Lever and his *holophusicon*, see Whitehead, 1969, Largen, 1987, Kaeppler, 1978, Kaeppler, 1979, Force & Force, 1968). Lever's collection was catalogued on two occasions, first in an appendix to an act of Parliament (Anon., 1784), secondly as a display companion (Anon., 1792) but both of these lists were very incomplete. Finally, an inventory was prepared when the collection was auctioned (Anon., 1806).

Sarah Stone drew a selection of artefacts in Sir Ahton Lever's museum. Force & Force (1968) dated these drawings to 1783, on the basis of newspaper cuttings in the notebook. Stone's sketches were the only parts of the collection excluded from the lottery of Lever's Museum enabled by the Act of Parliament of 1784 (Anon, 1784): some, at least, have survived and are in library of the Bishop Museum. All four of Sarah Stones sketches of wicker heads were reproduced in colour by Holt (1985): interestingly, two of these heads do not appear to have survived to the present.

Fortunately, some annotated copies of the sale catalogue of Lever's collection survive. Eight heads were listed, these and their purchsers were:

Lot 213 Idol, curiously constructed of feathers, etc. Sandwich Islands. Purchased by Newman for 15/6[1] (sold 6 May, 1806).

Lot 407 Curious feathered idol, Sandwich Islands; and a dagger, from ditto. Purchased by Fichtel for 8/-[2] (sold 8 May, 1806).

Lot 494 Feathered idol, Sandwich Island. Purchased by Fitchell [=Fichtel]for 7/6[3] (sold 9 May, 1806).

Lot 849 A very curious feathered idol, ornamented with hair, Sandwich Islands. Purchased by Higgins for £1.12.0[4] (sold 13 May, 1806).

Lot 5662 A remarkably large feather idol, from ditto [Sandwich Islands]. Purchased by Hewett for 10/6[5] (sold 30 June, 1806). [Now in the British Museum (VAN231)]

Lot 5767 A very curious feather idol, Sandwich Islands. Purchased by Brogden (sold 1 July, 1806). [now in Berlin (VI253)].

Lot 6158 An uncommonly large and perfect scarlet and yellow feather idol, with pearly eyes, Sandwich Isles. Purchased by Brent for £1.6.0[6].

Lot 1 [of a supplement, covering the three last days of the sale] Large feathered idol, Sandwich Islands. Name of purchaser and price unknown.

The earliest appearance of a head on the open market (rather than being handed directly to Sir Ashton Lever) was sold at auction on 14-15 June, 1781. The sale was held by Hutchins of London, and the catalogue did not give the name of the owner of the collection, noting only that it was 'the property of an officer' of the *Discovery*. The officer is now usually (e.g. by Kaeppler, 1979) identified as being David Samwell and the catalogue (Anon., 1781) referred to as the 'Samwell sale catalogue'. There is only one known original of this sale catalogue surviving, in the library of the Bishop

1 T he equivalent purchasing power of this sum in 2002 is £33.02 (McCusker, 2003)
2 T he equivalent purchasing power of this sum in 2002 is £17.04 (McCusker, 2003)
3 T he equivalent purchasing power of this sum in 2002 is £15.98 (McCusker, 2003)
4 The equivalent purchasing power of this sum in 2002 is £68.18 (McCusker, 2003)
5 T he equivalent purchasing power of this sum in 2002 is £22.37 (McCusker, 2003)
6 T he equivalent purchasing power of this sum in 2002 is £55.39 (McCusker, 2003)

Museum.

Among the 248 lots auctioned was, as lot number 64: 'An idol, composed of wicker-work, covered with feathers, mother of pearl, dog's teeth, human hair, &c. from Sandw. Isles'. It sold for £1.0.0[1]; the name of the buyer was not noted.

Tally of heads in 18th-early 19th century Europe

In addition to the eight heads auctioned from Lever's collection, there are others that could not have been part of that collection because they were recorded elsewhere prior to 1806. One was in Göttingen by 1782 and a second in George Allan's possession by 1800 (if acquired from Marmaduke Tunstall, then predating 1790). A third was noted as being in Paris in 1796, a fourth and fifth in Hernhut in the 1780s and a further three in the British Museum (HAW78, HAW79, HAW80) were on display *circa* 1803.

The example in in Te Papa Tongarewa was listed as being in Bullock's museum in 1805, and if that date is accepted then it cannot have been in the Lever sale and thus becomes a 17th early example.

The one that was auctioned in the Samwell sale in 1781 *could* have been any of the latter seven, so it is unwise to add an eighteenth to this list.

An 18th century origin has been claimed for the example in the Field Museum Chicago, but without firm supporting evidence I am reluctant to add this to the list of early examples.

1 T he equivalent purchasing power of this sum in 2002 is £81.61 (McCusker, 2003)

Dates when wicker heads were first known to be in Western hands

No.	Head now in:	traceable to:	
1	Bishop Museum	1850	
2	Bishop Museum	1860	
3	Vienna	1779	(*ex* Cook's last voyage)
4	British Museum	1779	(*ex* Cook's last voyage)
5	British Museum	1826	(by tradition is *ex* Leverian Museum)
6	British Museum	c. 1803	
7	British Museum	c. 1803	
8	British Museum	c. 1803	
9	Peabody Museum	1833	
10	Peabody Museum	1833	(supposedly pre-1819)
11	Field Mus., Chicago	mid 19th C.	(supposedly *ex* Leverian Museum)
12	Aberdeen	mid 19th C.	(probably acquired 1800-1840)
13	Hancock, Newcastle	1800	(if *ex coll.* Tunstall, then pre-1790)
14	Berlin	1779	(*ex* Cook's last voyage)
15	Göttingen	1779	(*ex* Cook's last voyage - in Germany by 1782)
16	Paris	1796	
17	Wellington	1805	
18	Oxford	1825	
19	AMNH, New York	?1825	
20	missing	1779	(*ex* Cook's last voyage)
21	missing	1779	(*ex* Cook's last voyage)
22	missing	1779	(*ex* Cook's last voyage)
-	missing (Herrnhut)	1780-82	(*ex* Cook's last voyage)
-	missing (Herrnhut)	1780-82	(*ex* Cook's last voyage)

REFERENCES

Published material cited in this appendix is listed in the main list of references