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*The Marquesan Collection at the British Museum, London:
Genesis, growth and stasis*

*A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of*

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Abstract

This thesis examines the formation of the collection from the Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia, at the British Museum in London. Specifically, it investigates the historical and museological factors which have influenced acquisition over time, and questions why the collection was not expanded in the second half of the twentieth century. Marquesan culture is outlined, in order to contextualise the circumstances in which objects were first collected, and to gain insight into both indigenous and outsider priorities in these exchanges. The dramatic impact of contact, and colonisation by the French, facilitates an understanding of the major changes in artistic production over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which led to the cessation of certain art forms, the persistence of others, and the creation of completely new categories. This establishes, therefore, what was available for collection. Archival research served to trace objects to the moment of collection, and to reveal the main characters and transactions which led to their acquisition by the Museum. It emerges that individual collectors and curators played a central role in the growth and composition of the collection – attitudes of the latter being strongly influenced by contemporary anthropological theory.

The main factors which contributed to the stasis of the collection are the relatively limited availability of Marquesan objects in comparison to earlier periods, combined with the persistence of negative attitudes towards objects which demonstrated significant external influence. The manner in which the collection has been presented to the public via exhibitions is also studied, revealing the multiple redefinitions of the objects and their role within the Museum and scholarly discourse over the course of the collection's existence. A clear and persistent bias towards the earliest collected material becomes apparent throughout. The thesis argues that the composition of the collection has served to maintain this bias, and to restrict the development of new exhibition initiatives, which may have created the impetus for renewed collecting. A

reassessment is suggested, in light of changing museum practice and the contemporary relevance of the collection for Marquesans.

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Reader's note

British Museum registration numbers vary significantly in their format, and while they may appear inconsistent, care has been taken to reproduce them accurately throughout.

Where the word 'museum' appears with an upper case 'M', it is the British Museum which is being referred to.

Where the word 'Māori' appears without a macron on the 'a', this is a faithful reproduction of exhibition or publication titles.

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Glossary

'akatia – land/property owner

aoa - banyan tree

etua – a god

haka'iki – chief

hakakai - large ear ornaments made of ivory

heana - commemorative human sacrifice

hue ehi – bowl of carved coconut shell (*hue* is gourd, *ehi* is coconut)

ipu ehi – bowl of carved coconut shell

ke'a tuki popoi - stone *popoi* pounder

ko'ina - feast

ko'oka – round wooden bowl

ma – fermented breadfruit paste

mata'eina'a – kin group

me'ae – sacred ceremonial place

mió – *Thespesia populnea*

ouoho - garment made of human hair

pa'e kaha – head ornament made of curved plates

paepae – house platform

parahua – long paddle-ended club

pareo – dyed garment made of cloth

popoi – breadfruit preparation

pu ihu – nose flute

pu taiana/taiata – bone ear ornament

ta'a puaika/puaina – ear piercer

ta'avaha - headdress of black cockerel plumes

tahi poniu – abrus seed neck ornament

tamanu – species *Calophyllum inophyllum*

tapa - barkcloth

tapu – divine/sacred power

tapuvae – stilt step

tau'a – shamanistic priest

tiki – human image

tiki ivi po'o – bone ornament

toa – warrior

tohua - ceremonial plaza

tokotoko pio'o/to'oto'o pio'o – chief's staff

tou – species *Cordia subcordata*

tuhuka (*tuhuna* in the south) – craft or religious specialist

tuhuka/tuhuna o'ono – religious specialist/hereditary priest

uhikana – pearl and turtleshell head ornament

umete - decorated wooden bowl, lidded

‘u’uhe – turtleshell ear ornament

vaeake – stilt

vaka - canoe

Sources: Kjellgren (2005); Thomas (1990); Dordillon (1931 [1904])

Chapter One

Introduction

The Marquesan Collection at the British Museum, London: Genesis, growth and stasis

The Marquesas Islands are part of French Polynesia and lie 800 miles northeast of Tahiti, in the eastern Pacific. Around 8000 people inhabit the six main islands, dwelling in deep valleys surrounded by high peaks. Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka make up the northern group, and Hiva Oa, Tahuata and Fatuiva the southern group (see Figure 1). The islands were settled by Polynesians by around 700 A.D., and were annexed by France in 1842. The Marquesas are administered from the capital of French Polynesia, Pape'ete (Tahiti, Society Islands).

The British Museum's relationship with the islands began in the 1770s, when objects collected on James Cook's second Pacific voyage of exploration were donated to the Museum. The Marquesan collection at the British Museum is part of the Oceanic collections, which incorporate material from Australia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. These collections are amongst the most significant and extensive outside of the region, and many of the objects are well-known and frequently published¹.

The research problem and the aim of this investigation

After growing to include 212 objects, the Marquesan collection at the British Museum was effectively discontinued in the mid twentieth century, with only seven objects being added after 1954. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the historical and museological factors which influenced the formation of the collection – its genesis and growth from the eighteenth to the mid twentieth century – and the reasons for the period of stasis which followed, leading to the collection's current composition.

¹ The Oceanic collections incorporate approximately 35,000 objects.

Consideration is given to how the collection has been used to represent Marquesan culture, and its effectiveness and relevance in the present.

The Marquesan collection has never been the subject of any concentrated research project. As a result the available documentation on the collection has never been collated and interpreted in a manner which would allow the significance of the collection to be appreciated or to be made clear to the public. Certain ‘iconic’ objects, such a large *moai* figure from Rapa Nui (Easter Island)² continue to dominate representations of the Eastern Pacific at the British Museum. I have chosen to target this collection as one in particular need of research and reassessment because this is intrinsically worthwhile and because I have a particular interest in the Eastern Pacific. As a curator in the British Museum’s Oceania Section, it has also been important for me to identify parts of the collection which have not had attention from previous curators. This study shows that certain Marquesan objects have been favoured and regularly exhibited, however the majority have not. Details of how objects were collected - the particular locations on specific islands and the particular circumstances and individuals involved – have never been examined. The motivations and biases of particular field collectors have not been previously studied, particularly as these correspond with institutional collecting priorities and the activities of particular curators.

The research project has been limited to the British Museum’s Marquesan object collection, and does not cover the small photographic or print collection at the Museum, or make comparisons with the collections of other institutions. Significant collections from the Marquesas Islands are, for example, also to be found in the collections of the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, France, the Ethnologisches Museum (part of Staatliche Museen) Berlin, Germany, the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu (USA), amongst others.

² The name of this figure is *Hoa Hakananai’a*. It was collected in 1868 on the voyage of the HMS *Topaze* (see Chapter Three) and its museum registration number is Oc1869,1005.1.

The structure of the thesis

There are four main chapters in the thesis. The purpose of Chapter Two is to give a full sense of the social context in which the objects were produced. It provides an overview of the islands' prehistory and history, charting cultural change over time. Marquesan culture at the time of contact with Europeans is outlined, in order to contextualise the circumstances in which objects were first collected from the islands, and to gain insight into both indigenous and outsider priorities in these exchanges. The dramatic impact of increased contact, and colonisation by the French, facilitates an understanding of the major changes in artistic production in the islands over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which led to the cessation of certain art forms, the persistence of others, and the creation of completely new categories. This establishes, therefore, what was available for collection.

The purpose of Chapter Three is to trace the history of the British Museum's collection, and to present the evidence for the centrality of certain historical and museological factors in shaping the actual composition of the collection, and in contributing to the collection's discontinuation. The pattern of acquisitions is traced, from eighteenth century beginnings, to a peak in the late nineteenth century, to the last items added to the collection in 2004 (the collection made during my fieldwork in 2010 for this project is discussed in Chapter Five). Building on the previous chapter, the circumstances of collection from the islands themselves are brought to light where possible, in order to highlight the element of indigenous agency throughout the collection. Much of the information presented in this Chapter and in the associated Appendices (A & B) represents my own original research on particular parts of the collection. The role of particular collectors and the manner in which their interests directed their collecting endeavours is also explored, as it leads to certain trends as the collection expanded. The approaches of the curators in charge of the ethnographic collections and how these were informed by contemporary developments in disciplines such as anthropology and art history emerge as having central importance to the direction of collecting activities over time.

Chapter Four reveals the manner in which the collection has been presented to the public over the course of its history. Display, its dependence on the collection's composition, and its nature as a visual manifestation of curatorial biases, is shown to be itself a powerful factor in shaping and potentially inhibiting the development of the collection. The chapter provides insight into which objects have been exhibited, in what context, and how they have been interpreted. It also considers those objects which have been excluded from the public arena and investigates the reasons for this. Display agendas are shown to be related to the preoccupations of anthropology and Western art theory, but remain problematically detached from developments in the islands themselves, and in current museum practice.

These developments are discussed in Chapter Five, which analyses in more depth the multiple redefinitions of the objects in the Marquesan collection, their role in scholarly discourse and in the museum context. The prescriptive nature of these definitions is shown to have compounded the emphasis on the Marquesan past, and maintained a situation in which cultural change has persistently been excluded as a valid narrative. The chapter considers how a reorientation towards the internal dynamics of Marquesan culture may be achieved, and how this would serve to bring the treatment of the collection into line with contemporary museological discourse on collections formed in the colonial era. An outline of later twentieth century developments in Marquesan artistic practice provides examples of how internal priorities might be reflected through a museum collection, with reference to the fieldwork carried out in the islands for this project in November 2010. The future potential of the collection as a tool for engaging with people in the Marquesas, as part of the collection's reassessment, is also discussed.

Following the concluding chapter, Appendices are provided to aid in the understanding of the thesis as it relates to the research data. Appendix A is a selected catalogue which focuses on those objects which illustrate points made in Chapter Three in particular. The catalogue enables more of the previously unknown details, which are a product of this research project, to be outlined. These include the circumstances of collection, and the cultural significance of the objects. Appendix B is a full listing of the collection with basic acquisition details, and again new information such as likely field

collection dates and locations. Notes made from field interviews with two Marquesan carvers are provided in Appendix C, and these have special relevance to the discussions in Chapter Five. Appendix D is a complete listing of the objects purchased for the Museum during my fieldwork in November 2010, which is also covered in Chapter Five. Appendix E includes the Ethics documentation associated with this project.

Methodology

The history of the collection is presented here as a case study of the naturalist type (Blatter, 2008). The intrinsic interest of the case of the Marquesan collection lies in the observable extremes at work – the extraordinary cultural changes experienced in the Marquesas Islands, coupled with the absence of a colonial relationship between the islands and Britain, and the dramatic reduction in activity surrounding this collection from the mid-twentieth century onwards. From expansion to neglect, the trajectory of this collection is not unique within the British Museum or other museums, and the factors at work find parallels elsewhere also. A detailed chronological narrative of the collection is provided in order to facilitate the identification of causal processes, which in turn may be recognised in other cases. Thus the issues and solutions discussed in Chapter Five in particular have a broader relevance when applied to collections in Western institutions which are related to cultures which have experienced radical changes.

This research project has been based on library, archival, collections and field research. In studying the history of the Marquesan collection, I examined the Museum's own documentation for details about specific objects or collections, which had not been entered into the Museum's central database, created in the 1980s. This included original museum registers and registration slips, as well as supplementary documentation in associated files (lists, letters, field notes), correspondence held in the archives of the Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas and the Department of Prehistory and Europe, and published and unpublished diaries and journals of field collectors, for example the field journals of James Hornell, in the University of Cambridge archives. I examined the objects themselves. Old labels

either pasted or tied on to the objects provided clues to their collection history, such as names, previous collection numbers or even writing style. Carrying out photography of the collection has enabled comparisons to be made between images and earlier drawings of objects. This enabled me to reunite several objects which had lost their original British Museum registration numbers with those numbers and therefore the associated history. Examining the objects showed that a wide variety of local and introduced materials were employed in innovative ways – relating this to the likely production date provided useful insights into changing artistic practice.

In November 2010 I spent two and a half weeks in the Marquesas Islands. This fieldwork was undertaken in order to raise awareness of the existence of the British Museum's Marquesan collection, and to gain a better understanding of current artistic practice in the islands. I gained feedback on particular historic objects, interviewed two male wood carvers, and met a number of other artists during this period. A low risk notification was submitted and approved to the University's Ethics Committee in relation to this research (see Appendix E). I was also engaged in making modest purchases for the British Museum, with a goal to begin a process of revitalization of the collection. I aimed to collect something from each of the five islands that I visited, giving attention to the different art forms available, and including work by both male and female artists. One of the most valuable outcomes of this part of the research was building relationships with Marquesans, and gaining insight into the different motivations for producing art in the islands at present (see Chapter Five).

As I co-curate the Oceanic collections at the British Museum, this has had a bearing on my research interests and the development of this project. I am privileged to have sustained access to the collections, and knowledge of projects related to other parts of the Oceanic collections, which has enabled me to assess the relative amount of attention that the French Polynesian and specifically the Marquesan collections have had over time. As mentioned above, I have a special interest in the Eastern Pacific and intend that this research might underpin efforts to facilitate greater exposure for the Marquesan collection.

While an 'insider', I have made every effort to identify where institutional biases have limited the development of the collection and the pace at which new approaches have been implemented. However, my perspective remains that of one who believes that that the work of the British Museum's Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas in particular is extremely valuable and important. This is in part because I have a background in anthropology, and see that where curators are engaged in anthropological fieldwork (as in this department), there is increased opportunity for collaborators in originating communities to have genuine participatory roles in the Museum's work. My own origins as a New Zealander mean that I am familiar with bicultural approaches to cultural heritage management in practice, and my New Zealand-based courses in museum studies have also emphasised this aspect of museum work. I am therefore accustomed to the idea that descendant individuals and groups expect to have involvement with museums which care for their cultural heritage, and equally believe that where museums actively seek to involve these stakeholders, they increase the relevance of the collection for all.

The role of the curator is central to these efforts, therefore it is important that curators develop a self-reflexive approach to managing and presenting the collections that they are responsible for. For example, in making new acquisitions, taking advice from a range of individuals is important, particularly those who are aware of work which is held in high regard locally. The role of the curator is discussed in Chapter Three, in relation to the formation of the Marquesan collection and as having a profound influence on the direction of the collection at key junctures.

Conceptual framework

The thesis draws on key developments within the fields of anthropology and museology. Of those drawn from anthropological theory, the work of two historical anthropologists, Greg Dening and Nicholas Thomas, is of specific relevance to this research project. Both Dening (1980) and Thomas (1990) have carried out detailed historical studies on the Marquesas Islands, paying particular attention to the worldview of outsiders and islanders as played out in encounter situations. Both emphasise the centrality of indigenous values in determining the nature of exchanges

and the incorporation of exotic items into local exchange networks, until the point where external influences overwhelmed internal systems which gave way to rapid cultural change. These observations are brought to bear on the Marquesan collection, its composition and significance as a record of Marquesan history. The importance of increased attention to priorities internal to Marquesan society is a key part of the thesis argument, and is underpinned by this work.

In considering the need for the Marquesan collection to be reassessed, in light of the extraordinary stasis which has persisted from the mid twentieth century into the twenty-first, both theoretical and practical issues from current museology have been taken into account. The work of Phillips and Steiner (1999), which builds on the earlier work of Graburn (1976) provides a useful framework with which to deconstruct some of the object definitions applied to ethnographic material in the museum context. These definitions are revealed to be firmly rooted in the museum context and to obscure indigenous definitions and categories. Therefore an alternative approach is required to reassess the same collections in the present. Kreps' 2003 study *Liberating Culture* emphasises the importance of cross-cultural approaches to managing cultural heritage, as a means of 'narrowing the gap' between institutions and originating communities. More recently (2008) she has advocated the adoption of 'appropriate museology', a strategy for ensuring the involvement of community stake-holders in cultural heritage projects. The value of engagement with indigenous owners is put forward as a key means by which the interpretation of the collection can be reoriented and made more 'authentic' in the present. Recent projects at the Museum which demonstrate this method of engagement are also outlined.

Chapter Two

The Marquesas Islands: People, culture and history

Introduction

The Marquesas Islands, or Te Henua 'Enana, are amongst those archipelagos at the outer limit of Eastern Polynesia, with only the islands of Pitcairn and Rapa Nui occupying the vast space of ocean further towards South America. Regarded as a remote archipelago to this day, their settlement around AD 700-800 was another feat of the seafaring Polynesians who had their homeland in the islands of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. Drawing on various accounts of the Marquesan past, this chapter sets out to provide a background to the Marquesas – in particular the way in which Marquesan culture developed over time, and to describe the important aspects of Marquesan social organisation, as it was recorded by early visitors to the islands. Only in doing so can the significance and meaning of the objects now in the collections of the British Museum be adequately understood. While the first part of the chapter covers prehistory and the settlement of the islands, the second part outlines the contact history of the islands. The pattern of contact – from early voyagers, to missionaries and traders, French colonial forces, and later tourists and ethnologists – and the nature of the exchanges between islanders and visitors, determined the circumstances in which objects left the islands and ultimately reached the Museum. The impact of colonisation and increased contact with outsiders had a devastating effect on the Marquesan population, altering the lives of islanders and their ability to maintain social structures as they had previously existed. The correspondent effect on artistic production was to be profound and long lasting.

Part One: Prehistory

Ancestors of the Polynesians

The ancestors of all Polynesians are the Lapita peoples. Largely identified on the basis of distinctive pottery, Lapita sites were excavated by archaeologists working in the 1950s and 60s. Sites were first located in New Caledonia (the name Lapita was taken from a site on the Foué Peninsula), New Ireland, New Britain, and the Solomon Islands (Buka). These were areas within Near Oceania, which had been inhabited by indigenous non-Austronesian or Papuan language speakers for at least 30,000 years; waves of migration resulting in culturally diverse populations. Evidence suggests the Austronesian-speaking Lapita people moved southwards from Taiwan over a period of 1500 years, reaching Near Oceania around 1500 B.C. (see Figure 2). It was in the Bismarck Archipelago that the innovative Lapita cultural complex emerged, as new arrivals became integrated with existing populations (Green, 1991; Kirch, 2000)³. The discovery of Lapita earthenware in Western Polynesia overthrew traditional theories about the arrival of the Polynesians in the Pacific, from an unknown, continental homeland⁴ (see Figure 3). Setting off from a location in the south-eastern Solomons and/or northern Vanuatu, the Lapita settled first Fiji (1200-1000 B.C.), followed by Tonga, and later Samoa (by 1000 B.C.) (Kirch, 2000). Interisland contact was maintained in this area over the first millennium B.C. as Polynesian culture gradually developed, with distinctive material culture, cosmologies and social organisation.

Creating and locating 'Polynesia'

It is from French commander Dumont d'Urville that we have gained the cultural-geographic groupings which have persisted into the present: Micronesia, Melanesia

³ Note there is a competing theory which suggests Lapita culture developed in Island South-East Asia prior to arrival in the western Pacific (Bellwood, 1979, cited in Pietrusewsky, 1993).

⁴ In addition, the assumed division between the prehistory of Melanesia and Polynesia based on modern physiological and cultural differences was shown to be incorrect.

and Polynesia⁵. D'Urville's distinctions correlated with the observations made by previous European visitors on the physical, cultural and linguistic traits of the people they encountered in the Pacific. Comprehensive studies in archaeology, genetics and linguistics in the second half of the twentieth century enabled the production of detailed models of Pacific settlement sequences, including the movement of Lapita peoples and later the eastward migrations of Polynesians. In the case of Micronesia and Melanesia, D'Urville's groupings have proven inadequate as meaningful cultural units, given the great diversity in these areas, largely as a result of multiple migrations (Kirch, 2000)⁶. However, studies in physical anthropology and genetics have shown a level of homogeneity in the Polynesian phenotype and genotype which is consistent with the idea of a common ancestral homeland.

Oceanic genetics, archaeology and linguistics: Eastward movement and entangled pathways

While genetic studies do not resolve all of the questions surrounding the settlement of the Pacific, using the information provided from studies of α -globin and mitochondrial DNA, it has been possible to make several specific conclusions. In Polynesia, about 15% of people have α -thalassaemia chromosome, usually only present in areas where malaria is a problem. The specific type of α -thalassaemia chromosome present in Polynesia, is only found in Vanuatu (and in smaller numbers in Papua New Guinea). This suggests that Vanuatu was an important homeland area for the ancestors of the Polynesians, or that there was significant contact between populations (Martinson, 1996). In addition, because this genetic feature constitutes a disadvantage where malaria is not present (as in Polynesia), but it still persists in the Polynesian genotype, this suggests Polynesia had a small founding population, which arrived relatively recently.

⁵ D'Urville published a paper 'Sur les îles du Grand Océan' (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 17) in 1832 in which he presented the tripartite division of the Pacific.

⁶ Nevertheless the terms persist for the geographic regions of the Pacific, and shaped early studies in Oceanic anthropology. The latter has had ongoing ramifications for the interpretation of Oceanic cultures.

In seeking to map the multiple migrations which led Polynesians to eventually settle the furthest islands of Rapa Nui, the Hawaiian Islands and New Zealand, the models presented have often taken the form of a family tree. The Eastern Polynesian linguistic model, proposed by Green (1966) and Pawley (1966), and revised by Marck (1996; see Figure 4), presents two main subgroups within Proto Central Eastern: *Tahitic*, and *Marquesic*; the latter incorporates Marquesan, Mangarevan and Hawaiian. Drawing on the work of Bruce Biggs (1992, 1993, 1994, unpublished Comparative Polynesian Lexicon project files, cited in Marck, 1996), Marck suggests that Hawaiian branched from Proto-Marquesic prior to certain innovations within the Marquesan language itself.⁷ Marck has discovered that these Marquesan innovations are shared with Mangarevan, suggesting a later settlement for this area. As with the higher branches, Proto-Marquesic is identified on the basis of reconstructed forms unique to the languages within this grouping. As for the geographic home of Proto-Marquesic, Marck places this in the Marquesas and possibly also the Tuamotu Archipelago directly to the south.

Settling the Marquesas

It was formerly thought that the Marquesas were the first islands to be settled from Western Polynesia (Emory and Sinoto, 1965). They in turn acted as a dispersal centre for the rest of Eastern Polynesia. Kirch (1984) subsequently suggested an expanded Eastern Polynesian homeland area which encompassed both the Marquesas Islands and the Society Islands also. Kirch (2000) has since proposed an alternative scenario, replacing the idea of one major migration (and subsequent dispersal) with the idea of an expansion *process*, encompassing at least three movements out of Ancestral Polynesia. One of the main reasons that the Marquesas were singled out as an early settlement and dispersal centre by Emory and Sinoto, were the results drawn from the pioneering excavations conducted by Robert Suggs on Nuku Hiva, the largest of the Marquesas Islands. His investigations at the Ha'atuatua dune site produced two radiocarbon dates that led him to estimate that initial settlement took place between

⁷ Green (1966) identified the Southern Marquesan dialect as having the closest association with Hawaiian.

150 B.C. and A.D. 100. Since, the time depth has been reduced, perhaps most dramatically by Barry Rolett and Eric Conte (1995) in relation to the Ha'atuatua site. They demonstrated that initial settlement took place no earlier than the 10th century⁸, and occupation was concentrated in the 15th century. With these and other revisions (including of Wairau Bar in New Zealand⁹), the initial colonization of Eastern Polynesia is now estimated by Anderson and Sinoto to fall between 900 and 1200 A.D.¹⁰ (2002). Allen (2004) however notes that with the settlement of Hawaii being placed between 700 and 900 A.D., as the agreed source for this population movement, the Marquesas must have been settled prior.

Cultural change in prehistory

The Polynesian settlers of the Marquesas introduced pigs, chickens, dogs and rats, and 18 cultigens including tree crops (Addison, 2006). In her reworking of Suggs' five-stage model of cultural change in the Marquesas, Allen (2004) suggests that the Initial Settlement period can be placed at 700-900 A.D. During this time, dispersals to other islands were likely prompted by overuse of wild and readily-available resources in individual locations. Domestication of plants and animals was a feature of the Developmental Period (1100-1300 A.D.), encouraging more permanent settlements, possibly evidenced in the form of stone pavements at the sites of Hanamiai on Tahuata in the southern Marquesas, and Hane on Ua Huka in the northern Marquesas (Allen, 2004). By expanding into previously uninhabited valleys such as Hanamiai, populations could maintain a "broad spectrum subsistence pattern" within which the marine

⁸ Allen (2004) notes however that there is little information on the stratum from which the date of 1000 A.D. was drawn.

⁹ Dating of the Wairau site was adjusted in 1999 to suggest initial settlement at the 13th century. The upper layers of this site had been dated to 1000-1100 A.D. As the site seemed to yield "a more developed version of Ancestral Polynesian assemblages", in order to allow for development and migration, earlier dates for the settlement of tropical eastern Polynesian had previously been favoured (Anderson and Sinoto, 2002).

¹⁰ Differing results for the same samples from different laboratories led to the dismissal of some earlier dates in proposed ranges for particular sites. A persistent problem is accurately dating wood and shell, the analysis of each tending towards older dates (Anderson and Sinoto, 2002).

environment was central (Rolett, 1996, p.536). Approximately 400 years after initial settlement of Hanamiai, however, subsistence strategies turned towards domestic animals, and a rapid increase in the number of pigs suggests agricultural production had progressed. Pigs were fed on agricultural surplus, and reserved for consumption primarily at feasts (Addison, 2008). Breadfruit became a staple crop, and the storage of fermented breadfruit paste (*ma*) became economically and politically very important across the archipelago (Rolett, 1996). Interisland voyaging continued in the Developmental Period. Evidence includes the presence of finished basalt adzes at Hanamiai, which have been linked to the quarry at Eiao, an uninhabited island to the north of Nuku Hiva in the northern Marquesas, 130 kilometres from Tahuata (Rolett, 1996)¹¹. External contacts included Tahiti, the Tuamotu Archipelago and Mangareva (Allen, 2004).

While emphasising that change occurred at variable rates across the archipelago, Allen (2004) suggests that an Expansion Period can be placed between 1300 and 1600 A.D.. The agricultural economy continued to grow, and supported larger populations. Stone-constructed ritual complexes known as *ahu* or *me'ae* likely became more complex. Allen cautions that as yet there are no dated architectural sequences in the islands to confirm this however. Full description of the Marquesan Classic Period (1600-1970 A.D.) is similarly reliant on this absent data. A decrease in inter-island voyaging is also observed in the Expansion Period, a pattern seen across Eastern Polynesia. Island communities turned to locally-available resources – for example, Eiao stone disappears from Hanamiai after around 1400 A.D. There is evidence to the contrary however. Three exotic pottery sherds found by Suggs at the Ha'atuatua site, a site which (as described above) is not thought to represent initial settlement, were analysed in the 1970s and found to be of Fijian origin (Dickinson & Shutter, 1974). Rolett (1996) argues that this may indicate *multiple* contacts with the west, and at the relatively late period 1300-1500 A.D. (the date of the layer in which they were found) (Rolett et.al, 1997). This may be indicative of wider trade networks which were in

¹¹ Re-examination of the Ha'atuatua site on Nuku Hiva 1992-4 also yielded evidence that a variety of stone imported from Eiao and quarries on other Marquesan islands was present on Nuku Hiva (Rolett et.al, 1997).

some cases only activated at long intervals (and is unlikely to indicate *direct* contact with Western Polynesia).

Evidence from oral tradition

Marquesan oral histories also offer insight into the origins of the first Marquesan settlers, settlement sequence of the islands, and voyaging practices, as well as Marquesan cosmology. These were recorded primarily by nineteenth century missionaries and by ethnologists including Karl von den Steinen, who visited the islands in 1897, and Edward Smith Craighill Handy of the Bayard Dominick Expedition (1920-21), organised by the Bishop Museum, Honolulu¹². While Handy (E.S.C. Handy, 1923) found no explicit mention of the settlement of the islands, he argues that the placenames in sacred chants (*vavana* and *pu'e*) he recorded at Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa in the southern Marquesas, indicate a memory of these places. They include Tona Tapu (Tonga-tabu), Vevau (Vavau), Fiti Nui (Fiji Nui), Havai'i (Hawai'i, Savai'i), Upo'u (Upolu), and Po'apo'a (Borabora). The practice of transplanting placenames gives rise to the following example: "Fiji to the Tongan was Fiji Nui, "the great land to the west;" Hiti Nui was the ancient name of Tahiti; Fiti Nui to the Marquesan was a region on the western end of Hiva Oa" (1923, p.11).

Creation chants recount the beginning of humanity from the union of Atea (male life force), and Atanua (female). Atea was one of the gods to emerge when Papa una ('level above') and Papa a'o ('level below') were separated by the god Tonofiti (the latter became god of the underworld).¹³ Atea's unions with One u'i ('red earth/dark sand', according to Handy's informants, and an elemental female force) generated islands and the growth of trees and plants (1923, p.322). Further unions with other female elements/goddesses generated all animate and inanimate things. Most of the

¹² The latter has been critiqued by Dening (1980) for its simplification of many aspects of Marquesan culture, and lack of attention to factors of change.

¹³ Handy usefully explains however that Atea was regarded primarily as a fructifying, generative force characterised as a clear, white space, which was therefore a concept more than a god (1923, p.245). He goes on to connect the Marquesan *atea* with the Tahitian and Samoan concept of the 'va', and other Polynesian equivalents.

main gods do not feature in genealogies recorded by Handy in the southern Marquesas as Atea does, although a Nuku Hiva narrative recorded by von den Steinen describes the god Tiki as the ancestor of man, following his union with Hina Mata One (Hina with the face of sand) (von den Steinen, 1988). Otherwise the god Tana'oa was of central importance as the god of the sea and winds, and the patron of fishing. Other gods included Maui, who as elsewhere in Polynesia, had many adventures and was credited with fishing up land from the sea.

Marquesan socio-political structure

Marquesan society was, in the period of early sustained contact, arranged along tribal lines. The islands were not politically united, and each island was not typically ruled by a single chief¹⁴. Rather, each island had multiple groupings, often associated with a particular valley. These kin groups were known as *mata'eina'a*, and each was led by chiefs (*haka'iki*) who traced their lineage to a founding ancestor and to the gods (*etua*) themselves. *Haka'iki* had *mana*, or supernatural power, as a result of their connections to the gods, and were in turn considered divine/sacred (*tapu*). Their persons and all associated clothing, ornaments and weaponry were *tapu* also and could only be touched by a sanctioned few. Where tribal authority was vested in a female *haka'iki*, her *tapu* status may have enabled her to engage in certain activities generally restricted for most women, such as warfare (Thomas, 1990).

Warfare, was in many, but not all cases, stimulated by the dualistic division of the *mata'eina'a* (Thomas, 1990). In the southern Marquesas, many of the *mata'eina'a* descended from the ancestor Nuku, while others were the descendants of his younger brother, Tane. Nuku and Tane had settled different parts of the island of Hiva Oa, following a quarrel. Subsequently, the *mata'eina'a* of Tahuata and Fatuiva were connected with either the Nuku or Tane tribal division, and their allies and enemies were determined accordingly¹⁵. There was a similar situation on Nuku Hiva, where the groups fell into the Taipi or the Te'i'i division, again according to their descent from quarrelling brothers. Conflicts were often sparked by specific circumstances however

¹⁴ With the exception of Ua Pou, see Thomas, 1990.

¹⁵ Warfare was carried out between islands within the southern and northern groups.

– the requirement of a “commemorative human sacrifice” or *heana* to balance the passing of a revered person, such as a priest (*tau’a*), was a regular stimulus (Thomas, 1990, p.22; Dening, 1974). With this motivation, Marquesan warfare was not necessarily intensive, involving drawn-out battles with many fatalities, but rather, raids and counter-raids were a major feature (Suggs, 1963; Dening, 1974). Enmities were not always absolute, however, and measures such as marriage alliances were used at certain times to bring peace and resolution (Thomas, 1990).

Warriors, or *toa*, had ample opportunity to achieve status and renown in Marquesan society. Acts of bravery, demonstrations of skill and strength, and the possession and display of the appropriate weapons and regalia were central to progression. *Toa* in fact often wore the regalia of the chief they represented into battle (Dening, 1974). David Porter (1780-1843) was an American naval captain of the frigate *Essex*, who claimed the island of Nuku Hiva in 1813 and carried out damaging raids on the Hapa’a and the Taipi, in collaboration with Keatonui, chief at Taioha’e. Porter described the appearance of the warriors he encountered early in his stay on Nuku Hiva (see Figures 5 & 6):

I had seen several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of the cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied around their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales’ teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whale’s tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their Loins several turns of the stronger kind of the paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. This is a faithful

picture of a warrior, and of the chief of such warriors I had formed an exalted opinion.

(Porter, 2009 [1822], p.219)

Religious specialists known as *tuhuka* or *tuhuna o'ono* were central to the maintenance of knowledge and tradition. They facilitated ceremonies and memorised genealogies and oral traditions (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). However the prophetic priests, or *tau'a*, had greater power and could in fact be considered gods themselves, as certain chiefs might be, and were certainly deified after death (as mentioned above, a human sacrifice was offered as a sacrament to effect this transition (Denig, 1980)). During life they interpreted the will of the gods by entering a trance and becoming temporarily possessed. The sacred places known as *me'ae* were the domain of the *tau'a*, and were used for ceremonies and as burial sites. *Me'ae* consisted of temple platforms and the houses of the *tau'a*, and also human figures (*tiki*) representing deified ancestors (E.S.C. Handy, 1923). These were located at isolated sites, usually higher up the valleys, and often very close to a banyan tree, which was also considered sacred (see Figure 7). *Tau'a* could be male or female, and Thomas (1990) notes that female *tau'a* were able to enter *me'ae* and other *tapu* spaces, which women were generally excluded from, and might also officiate at human sacrifices as their male counterparts did.

Tapu and hierarchy

The *tapu* system in Marquesan society determined a person's status and social behaviour in any given context. These social distinctions were not necessarily obvious to those Europeans who made short visits to the islands, but longer-term visitors made frequent mention of the effects of *tapu* on their own situation and that of islanders. *Haka'iki*, *toa*, *tau'a* and *tuhuka* made up the *tapu* class of society, as did relatives of the chief, and others genealogically linked to previous leaders (Denig, 1974). Women were usually excluded due to their ability to negate the *tapu* state, with the exception of female leaders and priestesses. Women were obliged to avoid certain places and activities, such as travelling by *vaka* (canoe), and eating particular foods, at all times. Other *tapu* prohibitions were on types of activities which required the presence of the

gods in order to be successfully fulfilled – for example, tattooing, warfare, and learning songs or chants (Thomas, 1990).

Feasting and power

Feasts, referred to as *ko'ina* or *mau* took place at the behest of the chief, and were regular and important events in the Marquesan calendar. Only a chief had the power to command that resources be prepared and reserved in large quantities for such occasions¹⁶. Thomas (1990) argues that the intensification of breadfruit production and the storage of *ma*, the fermented paste in pits, where it could last for decades, were in fact motivated primarily by the practice of feasting, and not by the periodic failure of the crop due to drought, which resulted in severe famines. All of the important events in a chief's life cycle were collectively celebrated with ceremony and feasting – including his circumcision, his first tattooing and the preparation of memorials for his dead father (Denig, 1974). The most elaborate feasts were *mau tupapa'u*, held to commemorate an important chief or priest. Other occasions included the completion of a house, canoe or fishing net, tattooing, and war (Denig, 1974; Thomas, 1990). Feasts were accompanied by songs, chants and dances – new creations which matched the significance of the occasion. A lot of time was expended in preparing headdresses and ornaments to be worn at the feasts.

Artists and production

Art production in the Marquesas was a highly specialised activity. The original inhabitants of the Marquesas, as Polynesians, would have already practised wood and stone carving, barkcloth making and tattooing, and also brought and made pottery – a practice they later abandoned. It is thought that specialists known as *tuhuka* (*tuhuna* in the south) were responsible for the production of a very narrow range of artefact types, increasing the quality of their workmanship. Robarts described typical occupations as “A carpenter or canoe builder, a drum maker, a fan maker, a hair

¹⁶ Not all large ceremonial events focused on feasting – dance performances were more prominent at some celebrations.

worker, a maker of ornaments, a tattooer, a surgeon, fisherman” (Denning, 1974, pp.252-3). Other specialist besides these also worked in the service of chiefs and other individuals, in return for food and clothing (Denning, 1974).

Art production itself was *tapu*, and carried out under the patronage of particular deities (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). *Etua* (gods), were frequently represented in *tiki* form, particularly as sculptures to be placed on *me’ae*. Besides temple architecture, smaller sculptures in stone were made as offerings to particular gods (Kaepler & Kaufmann, 1997). The *tiki*, or human figure, is a common form in Marquesan art. The human body and face are also frequently used in stylized form as motifs, for example in surface decoration of wood carving, or intricately-worked shell head ornaments. The typical rendering of a *tiki* figure consists of a broad face, with large, open eyes dominating the upper half of the face, and a nose and mouth carved in relief. The body is squat, with a protruding stomach, hands often placed either side of the navel, or with one hand to the chin; the legs are slightly bent. Three-dimensional *tiki* figures are featured on wooden stilt steps, small bone ornamental toggles, in addition to free-standing carvings.

Certain objects were produced only in certain parts of the Marquesas or on particular islands, and were traded as part of exchange networks. Finely woven fans, for example, were a specialist product of Tahuata, while stone pounders were only made in certain areas, and are today particularly associated with the island of Ua Pou, where a rare type of flower stone used for ‘decorative’ stone pounders can be found.

Art, Marquesan society and cultural change

The relationship between art and society has been discussed in Gell’s comparative study of Polynesian tattooing (1993). Gell’s main interest is in relating art style to social milieu - the discussion posits tattooing as integral to major institutions in Polynesian societies such as politics, warfare, and religion. Gell agrees with Thomas’s (1990) analysis that Marquesan society was in fact a *once-stratified* society that had ‘devolved’ through failure to maintain itself. Connections between persons were defined by need, rather than a unifying tribal structure. For example, *haka’iki* (chiefs) were in a position of power because of “primogeniture and superior sanctity”, but yet

needed to maintain their position by, for example, forming alliances with those who owned property – the *'akatia* - but also by marriage, adoption and feasting clubs (Gell,1993, p.166). Whereas elsewhere in Polynesia chiefs managed their community's well-being through connection with the gods, in the Marquesas *etua* communicated through *tau'a* (shamanistic priests), who rivalled chiefly power. Hence, the main concerns of *haka'iki* were secular – warfare, trade and exchange (including of raw materials and artefacts). Gell compares their control of the divine power of the gods, and in turn political power, to that of chiefs in other Polynesian societies:

The function of encompassing and of ensuring divine protection and prosperity therefore lay less with the chiefs than with those inspired individuals whose identification with the gods was personal and contingent, not genealogical and structural. Chiefly power was itself encompassed.

(Gell, 1993, p.168)

Gell also makes important observations on the degree to which *tapu* controlled behaviour in the Marquesas. The set of *tapu* grades dictated that one's status at any time was dependent on context. *Tapu* was also a means of monopolising – this can be related to access to food sources (particularly the staple, breadfruit), and artefacts. Artefacts were given personal names in order to make them *tapu* to all other persons and so monopolise them. Gell suggests this improved efficacy and function by imbuing the object with a differential *tapu* and by preventing the object from being simply an example of a (generically-named) object type. In a similar manner to his later work, 'motifs' are related to the management of divine power in Polynesia and the Marquesas. For example, groups of people, the action of wrapping, and actual design images could act as 'closure motifs', which created a defensive barrier. The duplication of figures – 'multiplicity', also achieves this end – in carving and particularly in tattoo imagery in the Marquesas.

Part Two: Contact History

First contacts

If, as discussed above, the Marquesas were first settled shortly before 700 A.D., then there was a considerable period before any non-Polynesian visitors reached the islands. The year was 1595, and the results were disastrous. A fleet of four ships led by Alvaro Mendaña de Neyra, a Spanish captain who in 1568 had been the first European to discover the Solomon Islands, departed from Paita in Peru in June. Mendaña's goal was to establish a colony in the Solomons, and no doubt to pursue his earlier goal of discovering a gold-rich southern continent (Dunmore, 1992)¹⁷. On 21 July Mendaña reached the southern Marquesas, sighting the island of Fatuiva first. Here they were greeted with around seventy canoes, from which local men and boys boarded the ships. When their inquisitiveness became too much, the situation became violent and eight or nine islanders were killed (Dening, 1980). At Tahuata, violence recurred on a larger scale, from the moment of anchorage in Vaitahu Bay. In between the bloody skirmishes caused by the crews' impatience and disregard, the Spaniards held mass on the beach to mark the feast of the martyr Saint Christine (Dening, 1980). For this occasion, Tahuata was named Santa Christina. Fatuiva had been named La Magdalena, the uninhabited island of Motane, San Pedro, and Hiva Oa, La Dominica. The collective name Mendaña gave to the islands of the southern group was Las Marquesas de Mendoza, after his patron Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis de Cañete, Viceroy of Peru. Although he never knew of the existence of the northern group, the name became known from the charts and was later applied to the whole group, as it is today.

For almost two hundred years following Mendaña, there are no recorded visits by European ships to the Marquesas. In April 1774 Captain James Cook sought anchorage for the *Resolution* in Mendaña's 'Madre de Dios' (Vaitahu Bay), during his second Pacific voyage. Two vessels, the *Resolution* and *Adventure* sailed on this voyage, which

¹⁷ Mendaña never did complete his mission, dying on the island of Santa Cruz having not reached the nearby Solomons.

was to confirm that a large southern continent did not exist. Arrival at the Marquesas was eagerly anticipated by the crew, who had been experiencing bouts of illness due to a lack of fresh and varied food (Forster, 2000). While Cook avoided the excesses of the Spanish, the visit was not without fatalities. In finding that islanders who approached the ship in canoes would not always surrender their fresh breadfruit in return for nails, Cook fired a shot over their heads. He ordered his men to repeat this action when he was told of a theft of an iron post, but “unluckily for the thief they took better aim than I ever intend and killed him the third Shott” (Cook, 2003, p.340). It is clear from Georg Forster’s account that the crew would have departed at this point, as an armed group of islanders assembled on the beach, had the need for supplies not been so urgent¹⁸ (Forster, 2000). Cook went ashore with the young Society Islander, Mahine¹⁹, and after explaining their needs, the islanders were extremely helpful in pointing out water sources and bringing bananas and breadfruit. If these were not offered in the quantities Cook and the crew might have wished for, this was forgiven by the younger Forster at least, who recognised that cultivation was not a straightforward matter in the steep and rocky valleys of the Marquesas (Forster, 2000).

The following two days were also spent in trying to replenish the ship’s supplies, particularly in obtaining pigs, but Cook was dissatisfied and frustrated after his own men inadvertently raised the price of these by offering red feathers obtained in Tonga, which were considered *tapu* and highly valuable for the Marquesans²⁰. Islanders also “gave many head-dresses, and other ornaments, in exchange for them” (Forster, 2000, p.335). Mahine also engaged in several exchanges, being fascinated by the similarities between Tahitian culture and that of the Marquesans. Georg Forster, who made

¹⁸ Georg Forster was the son of the voyage naturalist Johann Reinhold Forster, and was nineteen years old when in the Marquesas.

¹⁹ Mahine, also known as Hitihiti, had joined the *Resolution* at Huahine, around the same time that Mai, originally from Ra’iatea, was joining the *Adventure*. Unlike Mai, who travelled on to England, Mahine was returned to the Society Islands having travelled to Tonga, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), and the Marquesas with the *Resolution* (Thomas, 2003). A *paepae* (stone platform) in Vaitahu Bay was named ‘Hitihiti Paepae’, after this memorable visitor (Denning, 1980).

²⁰ Only small quantities of red feathers could be taken from parrots which dwelt in remote areas of the islands (Thomas, 2003).

numerous comparisons with Tahiti and Tahitians, regretted that the short stay in the islands “prevented our forming a more perfect acquaintance with the natives, who seem to be well worth the contemplation of philosophic travellers” (Forster, 2000, p.340). Forster’s descriptions however, Hodges drawings, and the objects collected during this short stay provide one of the first records of Marquesan society (see Figure 8). The objects collected were subsequently the first Marquesan objects to be seen in Britain, and a few of their number were ultimately to constitute the beginnings of the British Museum’s Marquesan collection.

Trade and exploration

Cook and his crew had followed the “vague expressions” of Mendaña’s charts to eventually locate the Marquesas, but departed having recorded more accurate coordinates, and having added Fatuuku, named Hood Island, to the charts of the southern Marquesas. The way for future voyagers was now clearly marked, and the islands, particularly Vaitahu Bay at Tahuata, were considered a convenient stopping point. Traders soon joined explorers, particularly as the newly independent United States sought to revive itself economically. The development of the fur trade on the northwest coast of the North American continent, with China as the intended market, led to an increased need to travel across the Pacific. The northern Marquesas were sighted in April 1791, when the American captain Joseph Ingraham, a fur trader in command of the *Hope*, passed through the islands en route to the American northwest coast. Following a stop at Tahuata to take on wood, water, fruit and pigs, he named the first island of the northern group that he saw, Ua Huka, after President George Washington, and the group became known as the Washington Islands (Denig, 1980; Hiroa, 1953). Ua Pou he named Adams Island, and Nuku Hiva, Federal Island. He also discovered the uninhabited islands of Eiao and Hatutu (Dunmore, 1992). Ingraham did not actually land at any of the islands in the northern group. Just two months later, Etienne Marchand, a naval man also on a fur-trading mission which had departed from Marseilles, sailed from Tahuata to the northern group. He named the island of Ua Pou after himself, and the group as a whole he claimed for France, and named Îles de la Révolution (Dunmore, 1992). A chance meeting with Ingraham in Macao, where

both were selling furs, and where Ingraham was seeking treatment from the surgeon of Marchand's ship the *Solide*, revealed to Marchand that Ingraham had in fact beaten him to the discovery of the northern group²¹ (Dunmore, 1992).

The nineteenth century: Sustained intrusion

One of the causes of the Anglo-American war (1812-15) was the restrictions Britain had earlier imposed on trade between the United States and France, as Britain was at the time at war with France (the Napoleonic wars). Britain and the United States were to compete for maritime supremacy and Britain in particular sought to dominate sea trade, in which Americans were becoming increasingly involved. One of the outcomes of this conflict was that islands such as the Marquesas took on a new strategic significance. In 1813, the American naval captain David Porter arrived in Nuku Hiva and established a fortified settlement at Taioha'e. His prior accomplishments in the Pacific included capturing several British whaling vessels (Thomas, 1990). Through exchanging names with the chief Keatonui of the Tei'i in Taioha'e, Porter was pressed to participate in the Tei'i's ongoing conflict with the Hapa'a, a neighbouring tribe, who had recently reinvigorated the conflict by insulting Keatonui's recently deceased mother. Porter, or Opoti as he was known, effected the entry of muskets into intertribal warfare in the Marquesas, with several of the Hapa'a being killed by muskets in the conflict. Porter dictated to Mouwateie of the Hapa'a that peace would prevail as long as he and his men were supplied with pork and fruit weekly, in return for iron and other useful articles (cited in Thomas, 1990). The decisive victory had the unprecedented effect of causing other *mata'eina'a* to fall under Porter's authority, also sending food and luxuries to Porter at Taioha'e. When the Taipi did not comply, delivering a diatribe against Porter and the Tei'i, Porter launched an attack on their valley (see Figure 9). His first attack from the beach was repelled by the Taipi, but his second had devastating consequences. Villages were burned, with houses, canoes and drums being destroyed (Thomas, 1990). These actions were remembered bitterly by the Taipi for years later, but amongst the Tei'i, Porter was a hero through which they had lived their finest hour. The expectation was set that foreign visitors might be used

²¹ With the exception of Motu Iti, northwest of Nuku Hiva.

to great effect in local conflicts, which had not abated in the wake of Porter's actions (Thomas, 1990).

Thomas (1990) explains the effects of Porter's visit on exchanges between Marquesans and foreign visitors. Muskets, or *puhi*, were now highly desirable, and attainable only through interaction and alliance with foreigners. They were quickly absorbed into the *tapu* system, for example, a particular musket being named after the man it had killed, in the same manner as clubs or spears. They were one trade item that gave visitors easier access to precious pigs, with red cloth and whale teeth also encouraging islanders' generosity. It is important to note that these changes were mainly felt in the main bays of contact in Nuku Hiva, Tahuata and Hiva Oa. Elsewhere, foreign visitors continued to be treated with apprehension (Thomas, 1990).

Missionary endeavours

Following the unsuccessful efforts of the lone missionary William Pascoe Crook in the late eighteenth century, two decades passed before there was further missionary activity in the Marquesas. The subject of how best to transmit the word to the "savage, promiscuous and indolent" Marquesans was frequently discussed at the London Missionary Society mission at Tahiti (Dening, 1980, p.172)²². In the mid 1820s, unsuccessful attempts were made by the LMS to establish missions led by Tahitian teachers at Tahuata, Ua Pou and Fatuiva. In each case the Tahitians were not sent additional staff or even supplies as was promised on their departure (Dening, 1980). The group was to have been visited by Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett of the LMS, during their tour of Pacific missions between 1821 and 1829, but they had been put off by the recent ransoming of a sea captain, and were enjoying relative success among the Hawaiian chiefs (Thomas, 1990; Hiney 2000). In 1829, George Pritchard and Alexander Simpson of the London Missionary Society visited Tahuata, in response to an 1827 report by William Ellis written to the directors of the LMS, stating the importance of the Marquesas (Dening, 1980). They were planning to establish a

²² The LMS (London Missionary Society) were a Protestant organisation that had been established in 1795, and missions at Tonga, Tahiti and the Marquesas were amongst the first to be established (Hooper, 2006).

mission, which they discussed with the chief of the Hema, Iotete. Nevertheless they concluded that 'native' missionaries should precede English (Denig, 1980). Plans did not come to fruition until 1834, when David Darling of the LMS arrived at Vaitahu from Tahiti. Darling's purpose was to oversee the establishment of a mission that would be run by the younger missionaries John Rodgerson²³ and George Stallworthy (Thomas, 1990). Darling also brought Tahitians and a converted Marquesan from Nuku Hiva. The work did not go smoothly. Stallworthy was frustrated by the islanders' reluctance to accept the alternative version of the world's creation, in which Jehovah, not Tiki, was the creator of man (Gunson, 1978). In March 1839 he wrote 'This benighted and sin-stricken people seem to be wholly insensible to any discrepancy between the book of nature and their own absurd and wicked legends' (cited in Gunson, 1978)²⁴. Darling showed more interest in the 'wicked legends' and Marquesan beliefs more generally, seeking out a *tau'a* from which he might learn more. He wrote a comprehensive account of the *tapu* system and its intricate and myriad applications (Thomas, 2000). He too however failed to recognise any worth or logic within the material related to him, and railed against what he described as Marquesan 'conceit' in their insistent adherence to their own belief system (Gunson, 1978; Thomas, 2000). A selection of Marquesan objects was purchased by the British Museum in 1911, following an earlier loan from the London Missionary Society Museum.

Catholic missionaries also selected Tahuata as their starting point in establishing missions in the islands (see Figure 10). They were drawn from the Paris-based Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, and arrived in 1838 with Captain Abel Aubert Dupetit-Thouars in the *Venus* (Thomas, 1990). The purpose of the expedition was to maintain French commercial and political interests in the Pacific, with Dupetit-Thouars becoming involved in settling tensions between missionaries, traders and local leaders in both Hawaii and Tahiti (Dunmore, 1992). In the Marquesas he carried out a detailed survey, after depositing Fathers Dosithée Desvault, Louis de Gonzague Borgella and Brother Nil Laval at Vaitahu, fresh from success in the Gambier Islands. A small group of objects collected by the voyage translator was later acquired

²³ Rodgerson's wife was one of the first European women to live in the Marquesas.

²⁴ Despite his frustrations, Stallworthy stayed till 1841, beyond Darling and Rodgerson (Thomas, 2000).

by the British Museum. The Catholic missionaries were soon able to extend their work to cover Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, as a further six missionaries were added to their number (Denning, 1980). They were well-supported through the French government, who viewed missionary work as preparation for political control of the Pacific. Nonetheless this batch of missionaries suffered equally to others. However in actively appropriating existing concepts and indigenous language terms to describe aspects of the creation, for example, and by frequent demonstration of the rituals of a Catholic faith, they were able to slowly gather a degree of interest amongst islanders (Denning, 1980). By this stage John Stallworthy remained the only LMS missionary based at Vaitahu, but he was joined in 1839 by Robert Thomson, who soon moved on to Nuku Hiva, the home of the *haka'iki* Temoana, who had travelled to England, returning with Thomson. Temoana did not however lend his influence to Thomson's cause, and he and Stallworthy finally departed in 1841, leaving the Catholic missionaries to struggle on (Denning, 1980).

French annexation

Admiral Dupetit-Thouars returned to the Pacific in 1842, sailing in the *Reine Blanche*. France had failed to secure New Zealand as a colony, and was eager to consolidate its interests elsewhere. Dupetit-Thouars made for Vaitahu first, where he took possession of the southern Marquesas for the King of France, with full ceremony executed by sixty infantry men. Lotete was made to sign a cession of the territory, and barracks were promptly erected (Denning, 1980). Given that Lotete had accommodated many foreign visitors to his bay, and exchanged names with Dupetit-Thouars at his first visit in 1838, these actions must have seemed harsh and contradictory. Two hundred soldiers established themselves at the Vaitahu base, making untenable demands on the valley's population, which itself had already dropped to around two hundred due to earlier outbreaks of introduced disease such as smallpox and tuberculosis (Denning, 1980). Dysentery, and conflict with the French led to more deaths. Lotete and his people had retreated into the mountains. The French did not allow him to return to Vaitahu, and instead replaced him with another *haka'iki*, Maheono. Lotete was to die in 1844, by which time the population of Tahuata was struggling to maintain itself,

having been reduced to around 1000 (Denning, 1980). Those left were more susceptible to the Christian message in their state of despair, and were at least spared continued service to the soldiers when the latter were evacuated in 1847.

Dupetit-Thouars convinced two Hiva Oa *haka'iki* to sign over that island, before proceeding to Nuku Hiva at the end of May 1842. Temoana was the chief at Taioha'e. Uncertain alliances of the Tei'i, Hapa'a and the Taipi prevailed through Temoana's various family relationships (Denning, 1980). Temoana's request that Dupetit-Thouars fetch his Taipi wife from the Taioa people provided an excuse for Dupetit-Thouars to summon the chiefs of the Taipi and Taioa, in addition to the Tei'i, and to proceed in securing the island of Nuku Hiva for the French. With hundreds of men brought for the task, the building of a camp and fort, as at Vaitahu, commenced under the command of Lieutenant Colett. Dupetit-Thouars moved to bring Tahiti, the real focus of French ambition, under French protection in September 1842 (Dunmore, 1992). Taioha'e never became a naval base of any consequence, but a station was maintained from 1842 onwards, with frequent changes of commander. Personnel were briefly evacuated from Taioha'e in 1849, only to be recalled to establish a penal colony for French political exiles which was later moved to New Caledonia (Denning, 1980). A significant collection of American and Oceanic objects donated by Dupetit-Thouars are now in the collections of the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris.

Disease and destruction

The population of the Marquesas is estimated to have been around ninety thousand in 1798, based on the estimations of the missionary William Pascoe Crook and beachcomber Edward Robarts, who both spent time on Tahuata and Nuku Hiva (Robarts, 1974). By 1863, this had dropped to around nine or ten thousand. While some diseases already existed in the islands prior to contact, dysentery, fever, smallpox, influenza, tuberculosis, elephantiasis (caused by the introduced *filariasis* mosquito) and leprosy were all brought by visiting ships (Denning, 1980). Either side of 1800 there had been famines which had affected Tahuata, Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, causing hundreds of deaths. Droughts and famines were a regular occurrence, caused by failure of the breadfruit crop. The rhythm of intertribal warfare was changed

forever with the introduction of the musket, and casualties dramatically increased. Then there were the killings effected by foreign visitors, beginning most dramatically with the arrival of Mendaña. Islanders fought back, out of self-protection and in acts of delayed retribution for attacks by earlier ships, thus maintaining their reputation amongst sailors as a savage people to be treated with suspicion and on so many occasions seemingly 'pre-emptive' violence. The peak of visits to the Marquesas was reached between 1845 and 1860, whalers having followed in the wake of sandalwood traders. The impact of contact was felt least in Hiva Oa, which had the highest remaining population of around four and half thousand in 1863 (Denig, 1980). The relative inaccessibility of many of its bays had provided an element of protection.

Colonial control and cultural change

Certain cultural practices had prevailed despite the rapid changes brought by colonisation. Islanders had continued to sporadically practice the taking of sacrificial victims, or *heana*, in retribution, or to mark an occasion such as tattooing, coming of age, or the passing of an important leader (Denig, 1980). The French sought to suppress many of these activities. In 1863, Bishop Dordillon drew up a set of laws which forbade the performance of chants, the playing of drums, tattooing, and pandanus garlands and coconut oil as body decoration (Moulin, 1994). Punishments were often disproportionate – tattooing carried a much more serious sentence (ten days in prison, two-three months public work) than threatening to kill someone (two-ten days of public work). As Moulin explains, while the legislation did not stop artistic production altogether, it drove it out of the public arena and assigned negative associations.

The French concentrated their activities in the northern Marquesas, dealing out punishments when events such as a murder took place - the relevant valley might be bombarded from a ship in the bay, for example, as at Hanapaaoa on Hiva Oa in 1874, when a chapel was destroyed (Denig, 1980). In 1878, a series of killings and harassment of garrisons ultimately led to Hiva Oa being entirely disarmed, by the nephew of Admiral Abel Dupetit-Thouars, Admiral A.G.H.N. Bergasse Dupetit-Thouars. Several ships and hundreds of French soldiers, Tahitians, and Marquesans from the

northern group carried out the task, and stations were established throughout the southern Marquesas. Restrictions on many aspects of islanders' lives were imposed – liquor was forbidden, parents had to send their children to school, men were forced to build roads, *tapu* places were abolished, and all travel was restricted (Dening, 1980). The *tau'a* and *tuhuka* and *haka'iki* (the latter having been replaced in many cases by lower-ranking individuals appointed by the French), who might have otherwise drawn their communities in such difficult times were either gone, or no longer had an arena in which their authority could be exercised. Feasting, with the corresponding maintenance of loyalties and power, was no longer practised. Thus this major focus for artistic production and expression of tribal pride through song and dance was gone. The *tapu* system, associated with leaders, priests and the sacred *me'ae*, could no longer be maintained.

Tourists and ethnologists

By the late nineteenth century, the Marquesas had developed a reputation which was sufficiently fantastic to draw not only hardened explorers, sailors and traders to their shores, but the occasional curious recreational traveller. The publication of Herman Melville's *Typee* (1846), a fictionalised account based on a month's stay on Nuku Hiva in 1842, was an enduring influence. It had firmly established ideas of the romance and savagery of the South Sea Islands, immortalising the valley of Taipivae, where the runaway sailor Melville had hidden. Scottish writer Robert Louis Stevenson visited in the *Casco*, on one leg of several tours around the Pacific. His experiences became part of the posthumous publication *In the South Seas* (1896).

The first trained ethnologist to work in the Marquesas was Karl von den Steinen, in 1897. Von den Steinen was a German physician, who had prepared for this travels by extensive examination of Marquesan material in museum collections. He later published a very detailed three volume work on Marquesan art, titled *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst* (1925-1928). Many households in the Marquesas have well-worn copies of von den Steinen's volumes in the original German, and some the recently published French translation. Von den Steinen's collection is in the Ethnologisches Museum, part of Staatliche Museen in Berlin, Germany. Prior to the

publication of von den Steinen's volumes, an American scientific expedition was undertaken by scholars from the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu. The Bayard Dominick Expedition team of 1920-1 consisted of anthropologist Edward Smith Craighill Handy and his wife Willowdean Handy, an artist, and the archaeologist Ralph Linton (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). Linton published two large works on archaeology and material culture (Linton, 1923; 1925), and E.S.C. Handy a volume on Marquesan culture (E.S.C. Handy, 1923)²⁵, covering mythology, social organisation and practices. W.C. Handy wrote two works on tattooing (W.C Handy, 1922) and string figures (W.C Handy, 1925). These ethnographic works are comprehensive and influential, but in many places conflate information gathered during the team's nine-month stay with much earlier accounts from missionary sources, which are not clearly referenced. Thomas has described these works as 'profoundly ahistorical', and thus they must be used with awareness of their limitations (1990, p.191). The objects collected on the expedition are in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Twentieth century transitions

Between the two World Wars, the Marquesan population dropped to a low of just a few thousand. Today the archipelago has a population of eight and half thousand, Nuku Hiva, Hiva Oa and Ua Pou each having approximately two thousand inhabitants. Another ten thousand Marquesans live in Tahiti (Ivory, 1999). From the 1880s onwards, there had been a regular monthly shipping service between San Francisco, the Marquesas, and Pape'ete. It transported mail and supplies, and a few travellers (Ivory, 1999). Cargo vessels also operated between Pape'ete and the Marquesas. In order to make the most of the opportunity for commerce beyond copra and pigs, Marquesans began to carve small, portable and highly decorated objects, for sale. These included coconut and wood bowls, model canoes, paddles, and clubs. The works of von den Steinen, the Handys and Linton document these types of objects. They are now regarded as examples of "traditional" art in the Marquesas, and the publications are an important resource, as mentioned (Ivory, 1999).

²⁵ And two smaller publications on music (1925) and mythology (1930).

Private yachts, like the trading vessels before them, have used the Marquesas as a convenient stopping point after departing from North America's West Coast, since the late nineteenth century. Due to a lack of infrastructure, this continues to be one of the best ways to see the islands and to appreciate their dramatic bays and peaks. Independent travel of this kind would have been curtailed during the two World Wars, as were scientific or anthropological expeditions (Ivory, 1999). It was not until the 1960s and 70s that tourism increased in Tahiti, following the opening of the airport. Marquesans began to export art to Tahiti for sale to foreigners. From the 1980s flights to the Marquesas began – these are still limited and expensive, and due to the fairly rough nature of the islands themselves, tourism remains small-scale in the islands. The major contributor to tourism is the cargo and passenger ship the *Aranui II*, which makes regular round trips of the islands, return from Pape'ete. Each trip brings approximately one hundred tourists, who ashore for a few hours, but stay on the ship (Ivory, 1999).

While French Polynesia consists of five culturally distinct archipelagoes – the Society Islands, the Austral, Tuamotu and Gambier Islands, and the Marquesas - seventy per cent of the population resides in the Society Islands. There is considerable resentment of Tahiti's level of political power in relation to the outer archipelagoes, and the way in which funding from the central French Government is divided (see Figure 11). For this reason, Marquesans wish not for independence from France, as in Tahiti, but for a continuing and direct relationship with France (which would require the Marquesas being recognised as a new Overseas Territory) (Moulin, 1994; 2001). Cultural influence from Tahiti is strong, particularly as Marquesans are required to have their high school education in the capital of French Polynesia, Pape'ete. Here, while Marquesans are discriminated against, their dances and artistic designs are at risk of being subsumed into a pan-French Polynesian culture – Marquesan tattoo designs are for example in wide usage. From the 1970s, a Marquesan cultural association, Motu Haka was established, with the preservation and protection of cultural patrimony as its explicit goal. This was supported by the Catholic Church, which now has an official policy of promoting Marquesan artistic expression (Moulin, 1994). Biennial cultural festivals in

the islands, which were started in the 1980s, have become a very important focus for cultural expression and artistic production.

Conclusion

The degree of change and the rapidity with which it occurred in the Marquesas meant that the population suffered more than many others in Polynesia. The suppression of traditional activities and the loss of specialists had a particularly negative impact on Marquesans' ability to transmit knowledge and practices from one generation to the next, a difficulty which encompassed artistic production. The objects collected from the islands span this period of dramatic change – but most were collected as change progressed most rapidly, during the nineteenth century. The individuals who passed through the islands each brought with them a particular agenda, which influenced what they were interested in acquiring. This first depended on what islanders were offering at any given moment – be it treasured family heirlooms made decades earlier, or newly produced wood-carvings. The next chapter details some of these exchanges, as they relate to the formation of the British Museum's Marquesan collection.

Chapter Three

The genesis, growth and stasis of the British Museum's Marquesan collection

Introduction

The Marquesan collection at the British Museum had its beginnings in the eighteenth century, when material collected on James Cook's second voyage of exploration to the Pacific was donated. The people at Tahuata had exchanged high value items such as personal ornaments and regalia, to mark this extraordinary encounter. This chapter explores the factors which shaped the collection as time progressed – particularly the element of indigenous agency which is perceptible throughout the collection, in addition to the role of collectors and curators, developments in academic theory, institutional priorities and historical factors. It draws on original museum documentation such as registers and correspondence, and additionally, published and unpublished diaries and journals of field collectors. The information represented here and in Appendix A and B is original research which links in many cases the documentation and objects for the first time. Most significantly it identifies specific dates and locations for the moment of collection from the Islands themselves, enriching the understanding of this collection and increasing its potential for future engagement with Marquesans.

Donations of material from Cook's three Pacific voyages were not recorded in detail on arrival at the Museum. This chapter includes a synthesis of the work of Cook scholar Adrienne Kaeppler, as it relates specifically to the objects in the British Museum's Marquesan collection. Further details on specific objects are provided in Appendix A, a selected catalogue of the collection (note this is not repeatedly referenced in the text). A bar graph (see Figure 12) charts the collection's growth and stasis from 1770 to 2009, providing a useful comparison of donations and purchases over this period. Additional graphs (see Figures 13 & 14) provide information on the range of object

types in the collection and the pattern of acquisition. Few items were added to the collection in the first half of the nineteenth century, with the objects donated by Captain Edward Belcher in 1842 being a notable exception²⁶. Here original research into Belcher's voyage account as it relates to the objects in the collection is presented, shedding light on specific encounters, negotiations and locations on the main island of Nuku Hiva. It was not until the generous bequest of collector Henry Christy was made in 1865 that the collection grew in scope and variety. Now perceptibly a discrete collection, it benefitted from the attention of influential curator Augustus Wollaston Franks, who worked to enhance the Pacific collection through a broad network of sources. Most significantly, Franks made it acceptable to *purchase* ethnographic material on a larger scale – a trend which led to the proportion of purchases and donations being almost even into the first two decades of the twentieth century. At several key junctures, collecting agendas are shown to be closely related to contemporary anthropological theory. Following World War I, few purchases were made, but the collection continued to benefit from donations, usually of material collected from the islands much earlier. The bequest of the collection of H.G. Beasley in 1944 was the last major addition to the collection – Beasley's assiduous collecting of Pacific material ensuring the Museum's Marquesan collection gained a greater number of utilitarian objects, in addition to singular examples of object types typically sought after by collectors.

The last additions were made to the collection in 2004²⁷, when it reached a total of 219 objects²⁸ (see Appendix B for a full listing). In tracing the collection's history up till this point, this research has revealed that from the mid twentieth century, acquisitions were few and incidental, and as the following chapter will show, the collection was

²⁶ It is important to note that the acquisition year of thirty-five objects in the collection is unknown – objects which have lost their documentation are more likely to have entered the Museum prior to 1850, before registration processes were properly established.

²⁷ This is excluding the field collection that I made in November 2010, as part of this research, which is covered in Chapter Five and Appendix D.

²⁸ In the course of the research for this thesis, ten objects previously identified as Marquesan have been reattributed to locations elsewhere in the Pacific, and in three instances, France (Oc,+160, 161 and 162).

rarely exhibited. It is argued that the main factors which contributed to the stasis of the collection are the relatively limited availability of Marquesan objects in comparison to earlier periods, combined with the persistence of negative attitudes towards objects which demonstrated significant external influence, or which had been produced for sale. In addition, the Museum's field collecting projects in the later twentieth century did not extend to French Polynesia. As a result, the collection has limited scope as a research and exhibition resource for the representation of recent cultural and artistic developments in the Marquesas Islands, and remains in need of reassessment in order to ensure its ongoing relevance.

The British Museum and the Pacific

In exploring the history of the Marquesan collection at the British Museum, a brief introduction to the institution itself must first be given. The British Museum was established in 1753, as the result of the famous physician, Sir Hans Sloane, offering his vast collection to the nation, for the sum of twenty thousand pounds. Considered a leading figure in the English Enlightenment, Sloane's collection was both eclectic and encyclopaedic, and has been described as demonstrating a "universalist approach to knowledge", which remains a primary tenet of the British Museum's philosophy today (Wilson, 2000, p.14). The Museum is considered a 'world museum' - an updated title for the British Museum and its encyclopaedic collections. The aspiration to universalism also underpins the Museum's Acquisition Policy, which expresses a commitment to the ongoing maintenance of the collection through time:

The British Museum is a universal museum holding an encyclopaedic collection of material from across the world and *all periods* of human culture and history. For the benefit of its audience now and in the future, the Museum is committed to *sustaining and improving* its collection.

(emphasis mine; British Museum, 2007, Pt.1)

The founding collection of the Museum did not include any Pacific objects. The first acquisition from Oceania is directly linked to increasing British efforts towards exploration of the region. In 1771 the Museum received a canoe from Nukutavake, in

the Tuamotu Archipelago, in the region which was to become French Polynesia (see Figure 15). It had been collected in 1767, on the British voyage of the *Dolphin*, captained by Samuel Wallis. The canoe is today one of the earliest documented Polynesian objects in the world (Hooper, 2006).

This auspicious beginning was soon followed by acquisitions from James Cook's three Pacific voyages of exploration, 1768-71, 1772-5, and 1776-80. Museum records indicate that seven separate collections were gifted between 1771 and 1780, made through the Lords of the Admiralty, and coming directly from the expeditions' leaders, James Cook and Joseph Banks (who only travelled on the first voyage), and other commanders and crew members. Individual objects are not recorded, and the collections were not registered until much later, at the end of the nineteenth century, when Pacific specialist (and volunteer) James Edge-Partington, worked through the collections from Oceania (Starzecka, 1998). Further material from these voyages was acquired later from other sources. While material from the voyages was distributed to other individuals and institutions besides the British Museum, the gifts indicate that the Museum had become, in a relatively short period, a recognised and logical national repository for material collected on official voyages of exploration. Former Museum director David Wilson describes the acquisitions as placing the Museum 'in the forefront of collecting in the newly explored parts of the world' (2000, p.42).

The beginnings of the Marquesan collection

Amongst the acquisitions from Cook's second voyage, were the first Marquesan objects to enter the Museum's collections. The *Adventure* returned to England in July 1774, the objects collected on the voyage being in the care of Captain Furneaux (Kaepler, 2011). Material from Cook's second voyage most likely entered the Museum as part of a collection of eighteen objects, donated by the Lords of the Admiralty and received on 3 February, 1775. While the first voyage had primarily intended to chart the transit of Venus from the Society Islands, which had been identified as a suitable vantage point from which to observe this event²⁹, the second

²⁹ Observations made from various points on the globe enabled the calculation of the distance between the earth and the sun (Thomas, 2003).

was focused on the search for a southern continent. Once the crew's need for food and water was met, trade in other items commenced. While European weapons made non-co-operation a fatal option, it can be argued that during this encounter, Marquesans determined what was to be offered to the foreigners in exchange for the both the gifts of nail and cloth offered to them, and what they desired from the ship and the individuals on it. What they desired corresponded directly with indigenous systems of value. Major factors influencing the particular types of objects obtained by the crew, I would argue, was influenced by the crew's possession of red feathers from Tonga, which were immediately attractive to the Marquesans, and the presence of the Society Islander, Mahine.

Mahine, who was excessively fond of these people, on account of the vast similarity between their manners, language and persons, and those of his nation, was continually engaged in conversation with them, and purchased a great number of their ornaments...

...Captain Cook found a great quantity of vegetables, some fowls and hogs, at the trading place, which he purchased for small nails, knives, pieces of cloth, &c. The red feathers of Tonga-Taboo, or Amsterdam Island, were likewise in great repute here, and the natives gave many head-dresses, and other ornament in exchange for them.

(Forster, 2000, pp.334-5)

While Kaeppler (c.1978, p.165) suggests that "ostensibly the Marquesans had little to trade", their sense of urgency and appreciation of the extraordinary nature of the encounter led them to part with high value, personal ornaments and weapons. These included headdresses, head ornaments, neck ornaments, fans, clubs and spears. Thirty-five objects from this four-day visit have been identified by anthropologist and Cook scholar Adrienne Kaeppler, in museums around the world (c.1978). It can be assumed that all material from Cook's only stop at the Marquesas in April 1774 were from Tahuata, however there is a small chance that the Hiva Oa people who came to trade on the third day may have also brought a few objects, but only fruits are mentioned (Forster, 2000, p.334).

Of those objects identified by Kaeppler, a club, and a sling can be found in the British Museum's collection (see Figures 16 & 17). Both were Query or 'Q' numbered (a numbering system used for objects which have lost the number originally assigned) in response to Kaeppler's research in the 1970s. The club is clearly depicted in an artefact plate which illustrated the Atlas to Cook's second voyage, alongside other ornaments (see Figure 18).

There is evidence that the sling did not come to the Museum immediately following the second voyage, but entered the collection of the Leverian Museum³⁰. Sir Ashton Lever's museum housed his extensive personal collection, and had moved from Alkrington Hall, Middleton, Manchester, to Leicester House (in Leicester Square), London, in 1774, so that it could be more easily visited. The sling was amongst those museum objects sketched by Sarah Stone (ca.1760-1844), an artist who built her career on drawing objects in the Leverian Museum (Kaeppler, 2011)³¹. The Leverian Museum's collection was ultimately sold at auction in 1806, after the museum had been moved to an unfashionable part of London, and became commercially unviable. The sling is annotated in a catalogue from the sale (twelve of which survive) to have been purchased by a Mrs Higgins³². She is thought to have purchased fifty-eight objects at the sale, and of these, the sling is thought to have come to the British Museum at some point in the nineteenth century, possibly as part of the Henry Christy bequest (see below) (Kaeppler, 2011). Other objects of types known to have been collected on Cook's second voyage (and identified by Kaeppler in other museums collections) are amongst the Q numbered objects in the British Museum. Some of

³⁰ Joseph Banks, a Museum Trustee, influenced decisions *not* to purchase material from Cook's voyages, which ultimately became part of Lever's collection (Wilson, 2000).

³¹ Drawings of second voyage material in the Leverian Museum were probably made between 1775 and 1780, before any third voyage material was acquired (Kaeppler, 2011).

³² Cook scholar Adrienne Kaeppler has done extensive research on the purchasers at this sale. Mrs Higgins is thought to have been Theresa Longuet (1779-1845), of Turvey Abbey in Bedfordshire. Forty-seven objects were acquired by the British Museum from Charles Longuet Higgins (son of Theresa and John Higgins) in 1904. However, Kaeppler states that the objects purchased by Mrs Higgins in 1806 cannot be identified within the 1904 collection, and therefore it is Kaeppler's opinion that some came to the British Museum earlier, possibly as part of Christy's collection (Kaeppler, 2011).

these objects continued being made into the nineteenth century, and so it is not possible to strongly suggest they may have been collected by Cook and his crew, simply to state that given the late registration of the Cook material, this possible attribution cannot be ruled out.

Marquesan politics and 'trifling presents': the first half of the nineteenth century

There was a considerable lapse in time before any other Marquesan objects were to be added to the Museum's collections³³. While British missionaries, traders, and other voyagers became active in the Pacific before the eighteenth century came to a close, the Museum was not to benefit from their collecting endeavours until later in the nineteenth century. In the first part of the nineteenth century, however, the Museum did receive further collections from official voyages in the Pacific. Many of these were surveying voyages, such as that led by Edward Belcher, in the *Sulphur*, and sought to consolidate and monitor British political and trading interests in America, the Pacific and Asia³⁴. The *Sulphur* voyage spanned 1835-1842, with the period 1840-41 spent engaged in the Opium War with China. Two hundred and seventy-nine objects in the British Museum from Alaska and elsewhere in North America, South America and China are associated with Belcher - one hundred and twenty of the total are from the Pacific. Of these, six are Marquesan objects, four of which were donated by Belcher in 1842. The remaining two were acquired at an 1872 sale of Belcher's collection, at which Keeper³⁵ Augustus Wollaston Franks was purchasing for the Museum³⁶ (see Figures 21-24).

³³ See previous note on Q numbered objects in the collection.

³⁴ Belcher had been born in Nova Scotia, and joined the Royal Navy in 1812, at age 13 (Dunmore, 1992). He became leader of the *Sulphur* expedition when the original commander, Sir Frederick Beechey, became ill (King, 1997).

³⁵ The heads of curatorial departments at the British Museum are still known as Keepers.

³⁶ Franks purchased the objects, then presented them to the Museum's Christy Collection. Franks noted against some of the lots whether they were from the *Blossom* or the *Sulphur* voyage – attributions which King (1997) believes are unreliable. The Marquesas were only visited on the voyage of the *Sulphur*.

The Marquesan objects which were collected by Belcher have not previously been documented using Belcher's own account of his time in the Marquesas. The nature of Belcher's encounters with islanders reveal a very different set of local political circumstances to those in place during Cook's earlier visit to Tahuata. Contact with European traders, and specifically, the dramatic impact of Captain David Porter's visit in 1813 (see previous chapter), had altered the way in which Nuku Hivans conducted exchanges. After visits to Hawaii and surveying work up and down the American west coast, the *Sulphur* and accompanying schooner the *Starling* arrived in the Marquesas from Mexico on January 20th, 1840 (Dunmore, 1992). Based on the description of Taioha'e Bay published by Vancouver in 1798, Belcher chose this in preference to Vaitahu as the location to set up his observatory. He sought a location "where I might be free from the interruption of the natives", to carry out the surveying work (Belcher, 1843, p.353). Despite this, he was surprised to be left alone, finding that the chief, Temoana, had forbidden islanders to interact with him, until the purpose of his visit was established.

When Belcher visited Temoana, the chief explained that he was expecting a British ship, which was to assist him in asserting his authority more broadly on Nuku Hiva, but specifically at that time against the people at nearby Taioa Bay (Belcher, 1843). Very possibly, Temoana was envisaging the kind of assistance which Porter had provided to the Tei'i people under chief Keatonui (Temoana's great grandfather (Thomas, 1990)). Belcher responded by inviting Temoana and affiliated chiefs to his tent to discuss a solution. They attended with the LMS missionary Thomson, who was eager to prevent a conflict. Belcher offered to negotiate peace with the chiefs of Taioa – Lieutenant Kellett made the journey on his behalf, returning with the message that the Taioa would provide a feast for Temoana, but not submit to his authority. This did not alter Temoana's planned course of action, and Belcher reports that it did not prevent "the king, however, frequenting my tent with less reserve, unattended, and sending trifling presents" (Belcher, 1843, p.357). Thus the objects Belcher donated from the Marquesas could be associated with chief Temoana at Taioha'e, or have been exchanged with Kellett at Taioa. Another location was visited during the ten day stay – Belcher went to 'Tacapa' (possibly Haka Pa'a), one of the bays within Comptroller's Bay

(see Figure 19), in order to “obtain hogs for the crew, curiosities, &c., as well as to ascertain the nature of the bay...” (Belcher, 1843, p.358). At Tacapa, Belcher reveals what each party was seeking, and failing, to trade: “few articles were obtained... muskets and powder being the general demand for hogs, or war-clubs” (Belcher, 1843, p.358). Ultimately Belcher left, having had Temoana to sign a document declaring British subjects at Nuku Hiva would be protected, as Thomson became increasingly entangled between pro and anti-war factions at Taioha’e.

The objects donated by Belcher on his return in 1842 are two long paddle clubs, or *parahu/parahua*, a staff or *tokotoko pio’o/to’oto’o pio’o*, a pair of ear ornaments, or *pu taiana/taiata*, and a pair of black *koku’u* seed wrist ornaments. Although the ornaments were valuable items made with great care, these may have been the ‘trifles’ Belcher refers to receiving as inducements from Temoana. The clubs and staff are prestigious objects associated only with high-ranking men. One can only speculate at which stage of his negotiations Temoana may have presented these to Belcher.

Belcher’s experiences and difficulties are consistent with the changes charted by historical anthropologist Nicholas Thomas (1990). Thomas’ thorough examination of historical sources reveals the extent to which interactions between Marquesans and outsiders continued to play out according to indigenous cultural logic, giving way to external pressure only shortly before the archipelago’s annexation by the French in 1842 – very shortly after Belcher’s visit³⁷. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, he describes trade items as having value to Marquesans as curiosities. Islanders at this time could only be induced to part with their possessions in exchange for whale teeth, or red cloth. Following Porter’s visit in 1813, however, the definitive victories achieved with muskets had ensured that for a time chiefs at Taioha’e enjoyed unprecedented deference from *mata’eiina’a* in Nuku Hiva, and subsequently islanders became willing to trade anything for guns or gunpowder (Thomas, 1990). Belcher’s reluctance to participate in this trade limited his collecting prospects.

³⁷ Belcher encountered Dupetit-Thouars in Hawaii in 1837, where they in fact cooperated to maintain the interests of English and French nationals in the archipelago (Dunmore, 1992).

Collectors and curators: the second half of the nineteenth century

Personal connections were to become, in the second half of the nineteenth century, pivotal to the development of the ethnographic collections at the Museum, and in turn the Marquesan collection. The collection at the mid nineteenth century appears to have solely consisted of personal ornaments and weapons, in a direct reflection of what Marquesans viewed as appropriate exchange items, passed in most cases from chiefs to high-ranking Europeans (see Figure 14).

Even as late as 1860, the Museum still did not have a clear policy on whether or not it should be acquiring ethnographic material. Ethnographic collecting up till this point had been largely passive, despite the early popularity of displays of material collected on the voyages of explorers James Cook and George Vancouver (see below), which may have encouraged more active acquisition of material from the Pacific and the Americas (Wilson, 2000). The issue was not simply apathy, but an antipathy amongst influential members of staff, such as the Keeper of Printed Books, Sir Anthony Panizzi, who argued against ethnographic acquisitions (Wilson, 2000). For example, when the Sir Stamford Raffles collection of Indonesian material (made in the 1820s) was offered to the Museum in 1858 at a modest price, it was refused, and was then only reluctantly taken when offered again as a donation. The person who was to profoundly alter the institutional outlook on this matter was Augustus Wollaston Franks. Franks, a medievalist, had initially been employed in 1851 to work on enhancing and exhibiting the collections of British antiquities. At this time, the Museum's ethnographic collections are estimated to have totalled approximately 3700 objects (King, 1997). Franks became the Keeper of the newly created Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in 1866 – his extraordinary talent for making acquisitions being a significant factor (Wilson, 2000). The Department included the ethnographic collections, and by the time he was made Keeper in 1866, Franks had already had a significant impact on the status of ethnographic material at the Museum. He had overseen the acceptance of collections including the Sir George Grey collection of Māori material (1854), Fijian material from the HMS *Herald* voyages (1857), and a mixed collection from the Haslar Naval Hospital (1853) (Wilson, 2000).

I would argue that even at this early stage, the Marquesan collection was viewed as a distinctive collection, albeit a small one. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the arrangement of museum displays from the eighteenth century onwards was very much determined by geographical boundaries – thus as they expanded, collections could be fitted into an established framework based on the objective distinction of place (Bolton, 1997). What was to truly establish the Marquesan collection as a distinctive collection that might warrant *active* expansion however was the bequest of collector Henry Christy in 1865. His collection was to be the catalyst for the transformation of attitudes towards ethnographic material more generally, validating it as an area for continued acquisition by the British Museum. Christy worked in his family's successful millinery business, based in Stockport, Cheshire. His collecting activities began during business trips to various international locations, and were initially focused on textiles (Wilson, 2000). He was further encouraged in his collecting of ethnographic material by contacts in the museum world, and by academics including anthropologist E. B. Tylor. The Christy collection consisted of archaeological and ethnographic material – the latter estimated to have numbered around 1000 objects, mainly from Mexico (Wilson, 2000). Franks' activities undoubtedly influenced the acceptance of the Christy Collection by the Museum's Keepers and Trustees, along with a sum of £5000, for the furtherance of the collection. The Christy collection spent the following fifteen years housed in Christy's Victoria Street flat, until the separation of the British Museum's natural history collections (to South Kensington) allowed space for the collection to be transferred to Bloomsbury. During the period in which the collection was at Victoria Street, Franks completed the registration, but also added to it with purchases from the Christy Fund, and with donations of objects he himself had purchased with his personal resources (Wilson, 2000). A significant difficulty is that these acquisitions were not always differentiated in the registration process (King, 1997). As a result of Franks' activity, the Christy Collection numbered around 20,000 objects when it was finally transferred to the Museum.

Amongst the twenty Marquesan objects which appear to have come from Christy's original bequest, are several extraordinary acquisitions. These include two pairs of complete stilts, or *vaeake* (see Figure 25). Stilt steps, *tapuvae*, are extremely common

in museum collections, being both ornate and portable. However the original poles have rarely been retained (see Figure 26). In the Marquesan-French dictionary prepared by Bishop Dordillon (1808-1888), he translates *vaeake* as ‘the god of those who walk with stilts’ (Dordillon, 1931; Kjellgren & Ivory 2005). They were made by specialists known as *tuhuka vaeake*, and were used in games and races on the paved courtyards of the *tohua*, or ceremonial plazas. Denning (1980) suggests that stilts may have been one of the first object types to become obsolete following contact with foreigners, based on the fact that there are so many stilt steps in museum collections, and few descriptions of them from the islands themselves. Ivory (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005) suggests their appeal to visitors may have encouraged their production for trade, being one of the first object types to be made for this purpose. There are fourteen stilt steps in the collection, besides the two pairs of complete stilts (see Figure 13).

During the period of his employment at the Museum (1851-1897), Franks was to increase the ethnographic collection tenfold. His contacts and sources were numerous, and included travellers, missionaries, and colonial administrators, but also scientists, collectors, dealers, and auction houses, in addition to colleagues in other museums, with whom he exchanged ‘duplicate’ objects – objects which were considered superfluous within the collection because of their frequency or similarity to others³⁸. A total of six Marquesan objects were used for these exchanges, all from the Christy collection (see Figure 12). The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the Copenhagen Museum and the Amsterdam Zoological Society all received foot-rests for stilts between 1869 and 1872, leaving two from Christy for the British Museum.

The problem of culture contact

Franks’ philosophy on collecting was well-developed and very much embedded within the emerging discipline of anthropology. He was not only interested in material culture, but in the knowledge and practices of other cultural groups. To this end, he

³⁸ King cites Charles Hercules Read, an assistant in Franks’ department, and his successor as Keeper, writing in 1890 to Dr Meyer in Dresden, ‘the fact is that these old Pacific duplicates are better than money and we must not squander them’ (1997, p.141).

contributed to questionnaires designed to facilitate collecting via explorers and travellers, published by the British Association for the Advancement of Science³⁹, covering topics ranging from diet to marriage customs to 'mental qualities' (Wilson, 2000, p.160). Importantly, he was interested in objects which related to the everyday, which he acknowledged were not necessarily aesthetically pleasing. Franks also subscribed to the contemporary notion, proposed by philosopher Herbert Spencer and developed by anthropologist John Lubbock, that the material culture and practices of 'primitive', non-European groups, could shed light on human cultural development in prehistory, and the development of European civilisation (Wilson, 2000). This became a rationale for the continued expansion of the ethnographic collections, and influenced Franks' arrangement of gallery displays (see following chapter). Franks did have certain provisos however when it came to collecting, and certainly did not advocate the indiscriminate acquisition of material belonging to the very recent past. In an 1868 address to the Museum's Trustees on the state of the ethnographic collection, he stated that he believed the Museum's collection should:

...illustrate the manners and customs of such races as have not been subjected directly to European civilisation, so as to furnish the student with the means of examining the affinities and differences between such races and also to reconstruct some of the lost pages of the history of the world.

(emphasis mine; citation in King, 1997, p.140)

Here Franks expresses a philosophy which was to dominate curatorial attitudes for decades to come, and which was to influence his own acquisitive patterns to a variable extent, as illustrated below.

The Marquesan collection includes a number of objects which are unique within the collection, and which are rare in any museum collection, particularly items of personal adornment. One of Franks' donations to the Christy Collection in 1871 was a pair of porpoise tooth ear ornaments, known as *'u'uhe*, which were worn by women (see Figure 27). They are noted to have come from Alfred Hirt, who is known to have

³⁹ Darwin, Lubbock and Tylor were among the other contributors (Wilson, 2000).

travelled in the Pacific, but their history is otherwise unknown⁴⁰. The ornaments consist of an 'S' shaped length of heat-moulded turtleshell, embellished with a bunch of porpoise teeth threaded on vegetable fibre, and decorated with blue glass trade beads. This particular pair is joined by a string of red and blue beads; on one side there is a fragment of two additional strings of clear and black beads. 'U'uhe have been made with introduced trade beads from the eighteenth century onwards. They are an example of the immediate incorporation of new materials into existing types of ornaments and objects.

Another of the objects which Franks acquired himself and donated to the Museum in 1871 is a chief's staff, or *tokotoko pio'o* (see Figure 28). This particular example has strips of red woollen cloth attached to the top of the human hair pom pom at the top end of the staff. Red cloth was very attractive to islanders, because of the association of the colour red with *tapu*. The way in which the strips of cloth have been used to enhance the power of this already prestigious chiefly object is another example of the ways in which *tuhuna/tuhuka* were assigning indigenous meanings to foreign materials; and where those foreign materials resembled the familiar, they were more highly valued. The staff was from the collection of Reverend William Sparrow Simpson (1828-1897). As a collector of ethnographic objects, it is likely that he sourced material for his collection from missionary colleagues, not being active in the field himself⁴¹.

The two objects described above were likely produced before the period in which European 'civilization' was imposed on the islands which now belong to French Polynesia, in the form of annexation by France in 1842. Their significance lies in their links to a particular period in Marquesan history, in which indigenous meanings were assigned to new materials and objects, and they were incorporated into the indigenous system. Thomas (1990) explains that in the early contact period, exchange with outsiders was controlled by indigenous practices such as name exchanges, which

⁴⁰ Hirt's collection was made up of nineteen Micronesian and Polynesian objects. It included another pair of Marquesan ear ornaments - *hakakai*, large ear ornaments made of ivory (Oc.7279.a and b).

⁴¹ Only one other Marquesan object was acquired from Sparrow Simpson – a shell armband (Oc.9319), which is not distinctively Marquesan, and which was acquired as part of a large purchase facilitated by Franks in 1875 (later purchases were made in 1895).

drew both parties into a relationship of mutual obligation. Later, as described in the previous chapter, chiefs at the main contact points of Vaitahu and Taioha'e gained power through semi-monopolisation of the trade in guns, which ultimately superceded local items in the indigenous exchange system, which was itself being transformed. However, ultimately, more centralised and powerful chieftainships did not develop in the Marquesas⁴², and movement of political power away from islander control was completed with annexation and the establishment of French military bases at Vaitahu and Taioha'e (Thomas, 1990).

Maintaining the collection

Despite these large scale changes, indigenous art production did not cease, but was reduced, altered, and applied in new contexts. Objects which may no longer have been used were retained within families, and occasionally traded. There are only a small number of objects in the Museum's Marquesan collection which were certainly collected from the islands in the second half of the nineteenth century, and as most are types considered heirlooms, they may have been of considerable age when collected. Despite Franks' primary interest in early material, and the reconstruction of collections from eighteenth and early nineteenth century voyages, he was also maintaining contact with those still engaged in exploration of the Pacific, which was increasingly becoming subject to colonial control. In 1869, the British Museum had received two Rapa Nui (Easter Island) *moai* statues, collected on the voyage of the British frigate the HMS *Topaze*. In writing to the commander Commodore Powell to acknowledge the arrival of the statues (which had been donated through the Lords of the Admiralty, following the larger of the two, the famous status *Hoa Hakananai'a*, being gifted to Queen Victoria), Franks boldly enquires after further material. The letter is very revealing of his methods:

I will venture to take this opportunity of enquiring whether you could assist me in obtaining for the British Museum (or its more comprehensive

⁴² Thomas attributes this to "fundamental features of the indigenous, precontact, social system", specifically the lack of tribute and hierarchical marriage systems (1990, p.157).

dependency the Christy Collection) some of the smaller curiosities from Easter Island or any other part of the South Seas. It is possible that some of the petty officers or sailors may have such specimens which they might be disposed to let me purchase at a fair price.

I am most anxious to obtain such specimens for the Christy Collection at the present moment as I am preparing a catalogue of the Collection for the press.

(Franks, 1869)

Franks' letter had quick results – Lieutenant Matthew James Harrison donated four Rapa Nui objects in October 1869. Thirteen objects, including four Marquesan objects, were received April 1870 from the ship's surgeon, John Linton Palmer. A listing made on April 18th 1870 lists tattooing powder (wrapped in bast) from Nuku Hiva (the island provenance not previously noted in the museum's registration records), and three bone cylinder ornaments, or *tiki ivi po'o* (see Figures 29 & 30). These were collected sometime between June and September 1868, when the *Topaze* toured the Marquesas and Tahiti, before later embarking on the journey to Rapa Nui (visited November 1868) (Barclay, 1899).

In 1878, a foot-rest for a stilt step, *tapuvae*, was purchased from Lieutenant-General Augustus W.H. Meyrick, an army officer and collector (Oc1878,1101.587). Thirty-six Oceanic objects were part of a large and varied collection of nine hundred objects, including Asian arms as well as Greek, Roman and Egyptian antiquities⁴³. Significantly, this was only the third Marquesan object to be purchased – the first was an 'u'u club from the Chatham Museum via Isaacson in 1844, and the second an armlet from Reverend Sparrow Simpson in 1875. Franks undoubtedly negotiated the purchase, which represented a significant quantity of ethnographic material, using Museum funds. It is highly likely that the other collections were of greater interest, and that accepting the collection as offered by Meyrick may have been a matter of politeness.

⁴³ The Museum has a total of 1678 objects from Meyrick, some donated and some purchased.

What is clear at this point is that Franks was actively acquiring Oceanic material by various means, but does not appear to be targeting particular locations.

Marquesan innovations

The late nineteenth century saw the Museum's first acquisition of a completely new Marquesan object type. Two pipes formerly belonging to collector William Bragge were purchased from a London dealer, William Wareham in 1882 (see Figures 31 & 32), and were again part of a much larger collection, in this instance several thousand objects, of which just 33 were Oceanic⁴⁴. William Bragge (1823-1884) was a civil engineer and steel manufacturer from Birmingham. Like many of Franks' contacts, he was involved with the Anthropological Society and the Royal Geographical Society. He worked and travelled internationally, including spending time in Brazil. He had numerous collections, but the largest consisted of 13,000 pipes and smoking apparatus, collected from locations all over the world – not all of which Bragge had personally visited (Smith, 2004). He published the collection in a catalogue titled *Bibliotheca Nicotiana* in 1880. A basic description is provided of each of the Marquesan pipes, but no information on their history⁴⁵. The Marquesan pipes, known as *epaepa* or *pioro*, were first made in the early nineteenth century, when whale's teeth became more widely available through trade with Europeans, and tobacco began to be cultivated in the islands (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). While these two examples left the islands, in general *epaepa/pioro* exemplify a type of object made as a direct response to external contact, but intended primarily for indigenous consumption, and according to indigenous artistic conventions and rules. As such they form a valuable part of Marquesan art history. Therefore, it is fortunate that they entered the collection as they did, as part of a larger collection, and that Franks did not strictly adhere to the collecting philosophy he had expounded in his 1868 address to the Museum's Trustees - as the pipes appear to be exactly the type of acquisition which

⁴⁴ Twenty-five of these were received by the Museum in 1882.

⁴⁵ In his introduction to the catalogue, Bragge writes 'It has not been thought well to burden this Catalogue with many notes referring to individual objects, or to the travellers who may have brought them to England...' (Bragge, 1880, p.ii).

would not have been approved of, outwardly illustrating the effects of European ‘civilisation’.

Putting incidental collecting of Marquesan material aside, Franks was also responsible for the first acquisition of a solely Marquesan collection in 1891. In addition to the acquisitions from Belcher’s voyage in the *Sulphur*, Franks donated material which had been collected during the same period, on the voyage of the *Venus* (1836-1839), commanded by the French Admiral Dupetit-Thouars (see Figure 33). Dupetit-Thouars had visited various locations in the Pacific during this voyage, including Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand, however, the five objects Franks acquired for the Museum were all Marquesan (Dunmore, 1992). Of course the broader historical importance of the voyage itself would have been a major factor (the voyage of the *Venus* preceded that of the *Reine Blanche*, during which the Marquesas Islands were annexed in addition to Tahiti), but it is also possible that by this point the collection could be viewed as having ‘critical mass’ - it numbered at least 61 objects (see Figure 12). It is not known what sum Franks paid from his own pocket for these historic objects – but their provenance makes them an extraordinary acquisition for a museum in Britain. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the national collections of the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris include objects collected by Dupetit-Thouars – there are twenty-five objects from the Marquesas, with several confirmed as being connected with the *Venus* voyage (Musée du Quai Branly, n.d.).

The donation of the *Venus* material was not the only extraordinary donation made by Franks in 1891. Three Marquesan objects associated with the surveying voyage of George Vancouver also entered the collection that year. Till this point, the two or three objects from Cook’s second voyage were the only eighteenth century Marquesan objects in the collections. Vancouver’s travels to the Pacific and the American northwest coast spanned 1791-5, and the official collection from the expedition was made by the naturalist Archibald Menzies, and came to the British Museum in 1796. However, the largest collection was, very unusually, amassed by the surgeon’s mate, George Goodman Hewett, and was kept by his descendants until Franks acquired it in 1891 (King, 1994). King notes that the material is “not magnificent” but that it “nevertheless contains innumerable unique artefacts of seeming insignificance” (1994,

p.35). Hewett's inventory lists several Marquesan items, including a head ornament (Oc,VAN.399), a neck ornament (Oc,1983,Q.15), an ear ornament (Oc,VAN.400), and a fish hook (unidentified) (see Figures 34-36). It is clear that Hewett actively sought to expand his collection following the expedition, buying material collected on the Cook voyages at the 1806 sale which followed the closure of the Leverian Museum⁴⁶. King suggests that Hewett's inspiration may have been his hatred of Vancouver, who was a much-disliked captain; Vancouver's own collection is largely untraceable (1994, p.35). As a low-ranking crew member, it is possible that Hewett's relationships with the unfortunate crew of the *Daedalus* were more active than those Vancouver or Menzies might have had or sustained on return from the expedition, and this is another possible means by which he acquired the Marquesan material. Given that neither the *Discovery* or its companion ship the *Chatham* called at the Marquesas Islands, the Marquesan objects associated with Hewett were most certainly in fact from the expedition supply ship, the *Daedalus* and are therefore linked with either Tahuata or Nuku Hiva. This is not recorded in any of the museum documentation which relates to these Marquesan objects.

The heights of the late nineteenth century

Franks left the Museum in 1896, and died the following year. During his period of employment he had overseen the expansion of the Marquesan collection from a total of at least eight objects, to sixty-eight. With Franks' departure, the expansion of the ethnographic collections maintained momentum under the new Keeper, Charles Hercules Read. Between 1890 and 1899, Franks' and Read's efforts ensured that acquisitions of Marquesan material reached their peak, and donations and purchases were almost even (see Figure 12). Read had worked for many years with Franks, having started as a voluntary assistant in 1874, and has been described as the Museum's first ethnographer, although he had not been university-educated (Wilson, 2000). Under Read, the first Marquesan acquisition was part of another significant

⁴⁶ These were acquired by the British Museum in 1891 as part of Hewett's collection, and catalogued as being from the Vancouver expedition, as the documentation did not differentiate (a problem affecting the Hawaiian acquisitions) (King, 1994).

purchase using the Christy Fund, from the traveller and lexicographer, Frederick William Christian (1867-1934). Christian's collection of one hundred and thirty six objects was solely from the Pacific, mainly the Caroline Islands in Micronesia. However, the collection included thirteen Marquesan objects, which Christian had collected directly from the islands himself, during an extended tour spanning 1894 to 1896 (see Appendix A). Christian later published an account of his time in the islands in 'Eastern Pacific lands: Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands' (1910). While it is very likely that independent travellers contributed in some instances to the collections of Christy and Franks, these details were not recorded. Christian's collection took shape as he followed personal whims and opportunities, and were therefore the result of less formal exchanges than those collected on earlier, official voyages. Christian outlines his motivation for visiting the Marquesas, on his departure from Samoa, where he had been visiting his friend the writer, Robert Louis Stevenson:

Seeking, therefore, to look a little deeper into the ways and wayward fashions of Primitive Man, I left Samoa provided with letters of introduction from Stevenson to his friends European and friends native both in Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands, where I was assured of a warm welcome and good sport in the way of grammar and dictionary-making, and in the collecting of folklore and ancient genealogies. Then I was to put my notes into a book, to follow up and underline if possible the appeal of the great writer on behalf of the Eastern Polynesians in his famous book *In the South Seas*.

(Christian, 1910, pp.17-18)

The objects Christian sold to the museum were the first examples of these types of objects to be received by the museum. Material from Christy and Franks was frequently acquired because of its antiquity and associations with early voyages. In contrast, the material collected by Christian reflects in several cases what was being made in the 1890s, and being sold to the Museum so soon after collection, it represents a true 'contemporary acquisition'. Presumably the object types were judged to be sufficiently 'traditional', either in form or decoration. The value of

Christian's collection is also in the documentation of his travels and some of his collecting escapades, in his published book. This has not been previously drawn on to more fully document the provenance of his collection, and some of the details provided contradict the Museum's records. Christian's focus was clearly language and genealogies however - his observations on material culture are cursory at best.

Up until the acquisition of Christian's collection, with few exceptions, all Marquesan acquisitions could be grouped into one of three broad categories – personal ornaments, weapons/regalia, and canoe equipment (see Figure 14). Notable exceptions are the two pipe bowls from the Bragge collection described above, which represent a new object type. Complementing these tobacco-related objects is a tobacco container (Oc1899,-.159) collected by Christian in Atuona, Hiva Oa (1894-5) (see Figure 37). The technique of pyrograving (burning on designs with a piece of hot metal) originated in New Caledonia and may have been brought to the Marquesas by the French garrison at Nuku Hiva in the 1840s (Ottino-Garanger, 1998, cited in Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). The application of known motifs and meanings to new objects such as tobacco containers illustrates the expansion and inventiveness of Marquesan artistic traditions. Christian also collected a wooden bowl, or *umete* (Oc1899,-.156-7) (see Figure 38) from the island of Fatuiva. Elaborately carved vessels and food bowls are recorded from the eighteenth century onwards, indicating a potentially long tradition of relief-carving in this manner. However, Ivory and Kjellgren (2005) have suggested the increased opportunity to trade with foreigners was one of the primary motivations for the further elaboration of surface decoration on bowls, clubs, paddles and canoe models in the late nineteenth century. The *umete* Christian collected is the first to enter the Museum's collections (see Figure 14). I would argue that this represents an object type which is a product of new economic circumstances, and is therefore it is a valuable addition to the collection, as a vehicle by which a better understanding of Marquesan realities at the close of the nineteenth century can be gained⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ The collection of bowls and containers numbers sixteen in total, and makes up a significant proportion of the overall collection (see Figure 13).

The twentieth century: seeking the Marquesan past

The purchase from Christian did not, unfortunately, stimulate a greater interest in more actively acquiring contemporary, or other, Marquesan material. Opportunities such as that offered by Christian were few and far between, reflecting the very low numbers of visitors to the islands, but particularly those who were British or had connections to Britain. The Museum continued to acquire mixed Oceanic collections, usually of older material. One of the most significant examples of this in the early twentieth century was the purchase of objects from the London Missionary Society. In 1911 a nominal sum was paid for the objects, which had been on loan to the Museum from 1890. The acquisition was considered highly important, particularly as the Oceanic material was from the early contact period, and had been collected by the first missionaries to work in that region (Braunholtz, 1953; Wilson, 2000). The collection included seven Marquesan objects (see Appendix A), which were most likely collected between 1829 and 1841, the main period of LMS activity in the Marquesas Islands (William Pascoe Crook had departed both Tahuata and Nuku Hiva with nothing, leaving the islands in 1798). The number of objects is in proportion to the organisation's activities in the Marquesas – in comparison, the Cook Islands LMS collection has 71 objects, and the Tahitian collection has 107 (Tahiti was the base which Darling and the other missionaries were connected to). David Darling (Tahuata), and Robert Thomson (Nuku Hiva) are perhaps the most likely collectors of the LMS objects, being most closely engaged with their respective communities over time. Exchanges were often initiated by the missionaries when they visited a new area, and given in return, particularly as departure gifts (Darling, 1835).

In 1925 the Museum was to benefit from a collection made by marine zoologist and ethnologist James Hornell (1865-1949). Maritime technology was a particular interest of Hornell's, and he went on to publish the reference volumes 'Canoes of Oceania', in the 1930s with anthropologist (and marine biologist) Alfred Cort Haddon. The Hornell collection has not been previously documented - all details have been drawn from Hornell's papers at Cambridge University Library, and a few letters at the British Museum. Some details recorded in Museum records have been corrected on the basis of this research. Hornell was the Scientific Director of the St. George expedition,

organised by the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association. The organisation was established in the early 1920s with an Advisory Council made up of representatives from British scientific societies. Its aims were to “organise expeditions to various parts of the world for the purpose of Scientific Research”, and “to assist scientific bodies in the collection of specimens and data, and to enrich our national collections with material which may not yet have been brought to this country” (Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, 1923). The St George expedition was the Association’s first, and sought to carry out research in the fields of ethnology, marine biology, general biology, ornithology, entomology, botany, geology and oceanography. Hornell, described as the ‘Late Director of Fisheries, Madras’, was to be responsible for ethnology. The expedition left England in April, 1924, and proceeded to carry out archaeological work at the island of Gorgona off Colombia, the Galapagos Islands and others. Large zoological collections were made, specifically entomological specimens, to “fill gaps in the British Museum’s collection” (Hornell, 1924)⁴⁸. Both during and after the expedition Hornell describes the discovery of petroglyphs at Gorgona as the most important discovery made (these are now in the British Museum). His disappointment with the outcomes of the expedition otherwise is very apparent in a 1925 letter to Captain T.A. Joyce at the British Museum, written while en route to Samoa, in which he describes the expedition as a “long and wearisome cruise”:

The programme originally made public & which largely influenced me to join the expedition, was abandoned & a multitude of islands cut out of the list... There was undue optimism all through and too little financial backing – probably also considerable extravagance over the outfit... Of course Gorgona was the saving grace. Without my finds there, I wd have had to consider the cruise a waste of time – for we either spent the rest of the time at islands where there have never been any inhabitants or at those that have been thoroughly worked thro’ ethnologically by the Bishop Museum people.

⁴⁸ The British Museum’s natural history collections moved to the new ‘British Museum (Natural History)’ in South Kensington in 1883 (Wilson, 2000).

(Hornell, 1925b)

This is of course a reference to the Marquesas, and the work of Bishop Museum researchers E.S.C. Handy, Willowdean Handy and Ralph Linton, the Bayard Dominick Expedition team of 1920-1. Despite Hornell's disenchantment, the eight Marquesan objects that were donated to the Museum from the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association via Hornell were very important acquisitions⁴⁹. They include architectural carvings and canoe parts – objects which were of significant age when collected, and which remain unique in the collection (see Appendix A). Other collectors had clearly not wished to burden themselves with such large objects, but the expedition yacht made their collection feasible. Hornell paid special attention to the structure of canoes, the layout of the sites and any remaining architectural structures, and taro irrigation systems, filling his diary with sketches and diagrams. Hornell was clearly actively but selectively collecting – he was primarily interested in acquiring old material, which he saw carefully stored in people's houses or which was brought out to be shown to him. In some cases these objects were either regarded as too precious to be parted with, or the price being asked was too high (Hornell, 1924-5)⁵⁰. What is clear is that Hornell considered himself to be participating in 'salvage anthropology'. One of several of the Association's leaflets advertising for additional (paying) researchers to join the expedition seems to confirm that contemporary Marquesans were not the main point of interest:

Easter Island with its great stone images gazing out over the Pacific, its atmosphere of mystery; Pitcairn, the island home of the survivors of that great tragedy, the mutiny of the *Bounty*...

...Rapa and the Australs, possibly the most interesting of all as being the least known; the remote Marquesas, once the home of a race of savage warriors but to-day presenting the sad spectacle of a dying race, and where

⁴⁹ These are the only Oceanic objects within a collection of 43 objects.

⁵⁰ Hornell wished to purchase an old stone *popoi* (breadfruit) pounder at Tahuata, from a man who was presumably very elderly, as he was tattooed; the man did not want to sell (Hornell, 1924-5, entry 10 Jan).

the valleys and towering peaks present the grandest scenery in all the wide Pacific

(Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, n.d. (presumably 1923))

While the collections made by Hornell and his team are important, it is extremely unfortunate that focusing field collecting activities on documenting Marquesan practices via objects made in the 1920s was not considered a valid endeavour. The St George Expedition was to be the last British research expedition with an ethnological focus to stop at the Marquesas – from this point onwards, the Museum's collection was entirely reliant on individual collectors with an interest in donating or selling to the British Museum.

One such individual was to be a Paul J Nordmann of Paris, who in 1934, sold a shell coronet from the Marquesas to the Museum. The headdress is known as a *pa'e kaha*, and is in very good condition (see Figure 39). Research for this project has revealed that the vendor was Paul *Isaac* Nordmann, originally from Switzerland. Nordmann arrived in Tahiti in 1928, and then spent two years in the Marquesas, before moving to Pape'ete, Tahiti. There he organized trade in ethnographic objects, selling to tourists, dealers and museums. In 1930 he donated a collection of eighty-nine objects to the Musée de l'Homme, eighty-eight of which were Marquesan (Musée du Quai Branly, n.d.). The Second World War made his work difficult, and he left Tahiti in 1942. After spending time in New Zealand, he returned to France in 1946 (O'Reilly and Teissier, 1975). Nordmann also donated three pieces of Marquesan tapa cloth to the Museum in 1934. His reasons for contributing to the British Museum's collections are unclear⁵¹, but he appears to have conveyed a fair amount of supplementary information on the *pa'e kaha* to Hermann Justus Braunholtz (at the Museum from 1938-1953), who wrote a short article on the object for The British Museum Quarterly in the following year.

⁵¹ Interestingly, James Hornell mentions meeting a Mr O Nordmann in Tahiti, March 1925 (Hornell, 1925a).

Good early specimens made in the genuine way, and of the proper materials, are now very difficult to obtain, and there was no complete specimen in the British Museum before. In the modern degenerate version of this head-dress the turtle-shell has been replaced by celluloid or vulcanized rubber and the pearlshell discs by porcelain buttons. Such is the effect of 'culture contact'.

(Braunholtz, 1935, pp.136-137)

Braunholtz's comments were based on a belief - well-entrenched by the 1930s, that the quality and more significantly *authenticity* of what was being produced by colonized groups had departed so far from the traditional, pre-contact ideal that it was not worth collecting. Nordmann had obviously been the one to supply Braunholtz with the information on contemporary *pa'e kaha*. He donated a shell version to the Musée de l'Homme also, but in addition they received two small rectangles of tinted celluloid, described as 'imitation tortoiseshell' (Musée du Quai Branly, n.d.). One of these is engraved (museum registration number 71.1930.22.16) (see Figure 40). While the *pa'e kaha* was a purchase, Nordmann donated three pieces of barkcloth in the same year. These were only the second acquisition of this object type, after Christian in 1899. A note in the Observations column of the 1934 museum register notes that Nordmann's donations were 'Modern Marquesas', implying the cloth may have been made recently, and therefore constitutes a truly twentieth century acquisition (British Museum, 1934).

Twenty-three Marquesan objects were acquired by the Museum in 1944, as part of a collection of almost 3000 objects, from the collector/curator Harry Geoffrey Beasley. The Marquesan component of the collection which was bequeathed through Irene Marguerite Beasley, following the earlier death of her husband in 1939, is second only to Henry Christy's in size. Harry Geoffrey Beasley was the heir to a successful brewery, and so was able to finance his collecting interest from an early age. He was involved with the Royal Anthropological Institute from 1914, eventually becoming Vice-President in 1932. This enabled Beasley to develop an extensive network of contacts, from which he sought material for his own private collection. In 1928 Beasley opened

the Cranmore Ethnological Museum, in Chislehurst, Kent. With the assistance of two curators, an extensive reference library which focussed on the Pacific was developed. He acquired extensively from family collections, missionaries and missionary museums, and collectors and dealers. Beasley's accession registers reveal that he purchased Marquesan material from a Mlle. C. Meyer in Paris, 1909; two *tapuvae*, stilt steps, from Paul Guillaume in Paris in 1924; a paddle and forehead ornament from a Dr Stephen Chauvet in 1928 (Waterfield, 2009). Two purchases were made from a Mr Nordmann who had arrived from Tahiti in 1935 and 1936 – these may have included Marquesan material, given it is likely this is the same Nordmann discussed above. A significant proportion of the Marquesan objects in Beasley's collection are fish hooks or fishing equipment (see Figure 14). Reflective of Beasley's own interests, such objects were not typically collected, but were increasingly important to developing theories for the settlement of the Pacific.

Here Beasley describes his view of the benefit of museum collections:

The end of the nineteenth century was the golden age for collectors of Pacific and other specimens... families whose relations had been engaged in Naval and other expeditions and voyages released artefacts into the marketplace. It is perhaps a good thing for students of anthropology that these areas have been more or less cleared, and that these specimens of man's handiwork, now obsolete, have found a permanent home in Institutions where their preservation is secured for all time under favourable conditions, and where they are available for study and comparison.

(1937, cited in Waterfield, 2009, p.79)

Beasley's collecting practices and his views on Pacific material culture in a museum context clearly demonstrate the degree to which objects were seen as appropriately disconnected from their originating communities, and especially their colonised contemporary descendants. Beasley stood at the intersection between the world of the collector/dealer and the museum curator/anthropologist. In fact his words could be argued to reveal the degree to which both worlds participated in the

commodification of objects and the ascription of value, in particular, the corresponding scholarly and market value of 'early material', based primarily on the absence or marginal degree of external cultural influences. Clearly this process had been a long time in the making, but by the twentieth century, it had had a severely inhibiting effect on the receptiveness of collectors and museums alike to acquiring contemporary material from the Pacific and elsewhere.

Mid-twentieth century: narrowing opportunities

While Hornell's expedition had offered some hope that research expeditions staffed with trained specialists might create field collections which would directly benefit museums, such ventures were challenging to finance. The course of twentieth century history was to work against further efforts of this nature, and besides Beasley's collection, no other Marquesan objects were acquired in the 1940s (see Figure 12). The last major acquisition in the Marquesan collection in the twentieth century came from the Wellcome Museum, in 1954. The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum began a programme of dispersal of the non-medical material in the museum, following the death of Henry Wellcome in 1936. Henry Wellcome was an entrepreneur and businessman, born in America. He trained as a pharmacist and established a pharmaceutical company in London in 1880. His museum opened in 1913, after many years of collecting. By the 1930s, it is estimated that Wellcome's collection consisted of over one million objects (Arnold and Olsen, 2003).

Many British museums were to benefit from the dispersals, in addition to museums in Zambia and New Zealand, in an early example of the return of cultural property (Russell, 1987). Being received as donations, the acquisitions were a significant boost to museums in the difficult, post-war period (Russell, 1987). Braunholtz oversaw the British Museum's selection, and the Oceanic objects were acquired at the end of the first round of dispersals. In total, the British Museum's Ethnography Department received 3000 objects, of which 1400 were Oceanic. The dispersals continued until 1983. Just eleven of these objects were Marquesan (see Appendix A).

The later twentieth century: approaching obscurity

Just four Marquesan objects were added to the collection in the remaining half of the twentieth century. Conversely, this period saw the expansion of the ethnography section in terms of specialist staff, and the appointments of specialist Oceanic curators. The Department of Ethnography had been created as a distinct department in 1945. During the war the department had just four staff, two of whom were on war service (Wilson, 2000). The period directly following saw the appointment of Bryan Cranstone, who was the first Museum staff member to make an Oceanic field collection, from the Central Highlands of Papua New Guinea (Sandaun/West Sepik Province). Cranstone's description of the motivation for exploring this region reflects earlier preoccupations, outlining an intention to make a collection which would illustrate 'as completely as possible the material culture of a mountain people whose way of life had not yet been substantially modified by Western influence' (Cranstone 1965, cited in British Museum, n.d.). Oceanic curator Dorota Starzecka collected during a tour of Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands in 1976, and another field collection of 330 objects from Papua New Guinea (East Sepik Province) in 1980. Field collections from Western Polynesia and New Zealand followed in the early 1990s. The Museum also benefitted from steady donations and purchases of material from these areas (and also Australia), particularly as British colonial officials were present in Melanesia (and parts of Micronesia) until Pacific nations gained independence in the 1970s. The number of independent travellers with connections to Britain in the English-speaking Pacific also gradually increased over time, as well as the number of anthropologists.

That there was not the same relationship to French Polynesia is unsurprising given the lack of an ongoing colonial link, and the language barrier. Museum resources and curatorial interest are certainly a factor however. The only twenty-first century acquisitions from the Marquesas were made by British Museum curator Jenny Newell, during short period of fieldwork in Tahiti in 2003. Two seed necklaces (Oc2004,02.20 and 21), were given to her by the Chief Minister for the Marquesas, and are likely from Nuku Hiva. A bone pendant from Tahuata (Oc2004,02.4, see Figure 41) was purchased from a market in the capital of French Polynesia, Pape'ete, where there is a community of Marquesans and where Marquesan artists periodically sell their work. The lack of

collecting in the Marquesas appears to be due to the fact that resources were being directed elsewhere – all of the locations chosen for British Museum field collecting supported the continuation of already substantial collections. It is important to note that Starzecka was instrumental in ensuring that the Museum was acquiring recently made material, which reflected current developments in the respective areas in which she worked. This was a significant alteration to previous curatorial practice, and ensured that the collections have maintained their research value over time. That smaller Pacific locations have not been proportionately targeted is due to practical considerations also. As explained in the previous chapter, flights to the Marquesas from Tahiti only started in the 1980s (the journey is 3 hours). The islands are very remote, and even today most tourists in the islands are visiting from Tahiti, rather than further afield. The expense of freight makes larger collecting projects prohibitive.

Conclusion

It is apparent from the graph of acquisitions by decade (see Figure 12) that from the beginning of the twentieth century purchases of Marquesan material were dramatically reduced, and a period of passive collecting ensued. Generous bequests accounted for a major proportion of acquisitions, with both Head (1931 collection (see Appendix A)), and Beasley having personal connections to British Museum curators through academic organisations. The Wellcome collection was also a valuable addition. The impact of the two World Wars should not be underestimated, in terms of the curtailment of organised expeditions and independent travel to the Pacific, but also the institution's purchasing capacity. This was a factor in reducing the amount of collecting taking place, compared with the later nineteenth century⁵². As noted in Chapter Two, between the two World Wars, the Marquesan population dropped to an all time low of just a few thousand. While small scale productions of wood carvings made for sale continued in this period, and as Hornell's journals reveal, some selling and gifting of older, existing objects continued (see Appendix A), the availability of material to purchase from the islands was limited. Thus the lack of material from this

⁵² Tony Bennett (2006) notes that the world wars reduced the international activities of European museums and the professional networks which had formed in Britain, particularly (p.58).

period in the collection again is partially a reflection of the contemporary situation in the islands themselves. However, as seen with Hornell, opportunities to collect recently produced material were not necessarily taken. Nordmann was one field collector of the period who appears to have made exceptions, while in general, European-based collectors who may have fed material towards the Museum were in many cases uninterested in what was being produced in the Marquesas from the late nineteenth century onwards, but rather aspired to acquisition of earlier material. The situation was compounded by negative curatorial attitudes towards modern productions, and again a persistent preoccupation with the reconstruction of the past.

As the century progressed, the lack of British political involvement in French Polynesia meant that when the Museum began to engage in active field collecting using their own staff, there was a natural bias towards parts of the Pacific with which Britain had had a colonial relationship. As Chapter Five will describe, the artistic renaissance in the Marquesas did not begin until the 1970s, and initially centred on religious architecture, and slowly grew to encompass a wider variety of forms and media, now made for internal purposes and for commercial sale. It would take several decades before the impact of these extraordinary developments would be felt beyond the French-speaking Pacific, and before collectors and curators would appreciate the new contexts in which Marquesan art was being produced. Meantime, the existing Marquesan collection failed to stimulate renewed interest, as it largely remained under wraps in storage.

Chapter Four

The Presentation of the Collection

Introduction

The British Museum's current policy on display states that one of the main purposes of displays at the Museum is 'to further knowledge and understanding of the world's cultures, *both past and present*, and their relationships to each other' (emphasis mine; British Museum, 2002, Section 2.3). While the main emphasis of this statement is on the relationship *between* cultures, I would argue for an equal emphasis on conveying a sense of how the past relates to the present *within* a particular culture. In charting the use of the Marquesan collection through display and publications, this chapter demonstrates that there has been a consistent focus on the Marquesan past in the collection's presentation to the public. This has partly served to highlight the unique and impressive elements of Marquesan art and culture, particularly as expressed through body adornment, prior to contact with outsiders. It has also been strongly influenced by British nationalism, and a desire to emphasise Britain's role in the exploration of the Pacific and in its colonisation, which continued well into the twentieth century. The dramatic impact of contact and colonisation, resulting in the suppression of Marquesan knowledge and practices, and extraordinary population decline, drew the Marquesas under the remit of the discipline of anthropology, and its project to document 'dying races', before all elements of so-called traditional culture were forgotten or disappeared. However, while objects which incorporated introduced materials, and which demonstrated Marquesan innovation had made their way into the collection, active collecting and display of such material was not at any point in the collection's museum history considered a priority. When in the later twentieth century attitudes within the institution and related disciplines had changed, and the inclusion of modern productions and new art forms was becoming acceptable, decades of Marquesan artistic production had gone undocumented, and the disappearance of 'Marquesan culture' had been effected in the museum context.

While attention was turned to ‘contemporary collecting’ in other parts of the Pacific, as a remote archipelago outside of the English-speaking world, the Marquesas were not included in these projects. Therefore, the chapter concludes by arguing that where a collecting agenda remains absent, new exhibition agendas are impossible – and the interdependence of collecting and exhibiting in perpetuating a collection’s relevance emerges as the core issue to be dealt with in relation to the British Museum’s Marquesan collection.

Pacific exploration and exotic curiosities

Evidence would suggest that from the 1770s, the Pacific collections as they existed at that time were available for the public to view, indicating that the Museum as an institution attributed a certain value to these objects. When material from Cook’s first Pacific voyage was donated by the Lords of the Admiralty in 1775⁵³, it was stated that it should be displayed ‘in a particular manner and in a distinguished place *as a monument of these national exertions of British munificence and industry*’ (emphasis mine; cited in Wilson, 2000, p.43). This grand assignment redefined, in British cultural terms, the new role that this varied group of objects were to fulfil in their new context. In the adoption of these alien objects, the individual nature of the objects themselves was not important, but rather what they could be made to collectively represent (Kopytoff, 1986). In the manner that Kopytoff describes, a degree of homogeneity was achieved, in order that the ‘monument’ be recognisable to a British public familiar with this concept, if not the heterogenous group of objects - they were displayed, in a dedicated room known as the ‘Otaheite’⁵⁴ or ‘South Sea’ Room, which was open from 1775, without island attributions, only the names of donors (Wilson, 2000)⁵⁵. Despite the prestige of Cook’s voyages of exploration, the ethnographic collections from the

⁵³ The first donation was made in 1771, two were made in 1775, another in 1776 and 1778, and three in 1780 (British Museum, n.d.).

⁵⁴ ‘Otaheite’ was the name applied to Tahiti. Examples of its use in the late eighteenth century seem to suggest it was at times used to indicate other island groups in Eastern Polynesia (or when applied to museum objects, sometimes indicated an incorrect attribution to Tahiti).

⁵⁵ Wilson (2000) suggests that further donations of Cook voyage material were perhaps stimulated by the existence of this display.

voyages were not treated with great care when they reached the Museum. Banks, a President of the Royal Society and Trustee of the British Museum, had been highly influential in acquiring the objects, but both he and museum officer Daniel Solander were naturalists, and spent their time recording and organising the natural history collections. The ethnographic objects remained unregistered, details of their history going unrecorded (Wilson, 2000).

The approach to the display and description of ethnographic material in the early nineteenth century suggests that the man-made, or 'artificial' curiosities continued to be considered subordinate to the scientific collections. The *Synopsis of the contents of the British Museum* (1808), indicates that the Pacific ethnographic displays were to be found in the first room of the Upper Floor, which features first in the guide. This room is described as 'containing a miscellaneous collection of modern works of art, from all parts of the world' (British Museum, 1808, p.4). The *Synopsis* provides concrete evidence that Marquesan material was on display at this early stage of the collection's history - 'Otaheite' occupied three cases, the Sandwich Islands (Hawaiian Islands) and the Marquesas Islands shared four cases. The Friendly Islands (Tonga) and New Zealand also had two cases each. Accompanying the geographic listing, was a summary of the display rationale:

This collection, the greatest part of which consists of donations, *not being strictly of a scientific nature*, no further detail is here given of its contents. In making the selection that is here exhibited from a large store of similar materials deposited in a less conspicuous part of the house, a preference has been given to such articles as may best serve to illustrate some local custom, art, manufacture or point of history; *but many even of these will gradually be set aside, to make room for others of more intrinsic value.*

(emphasis mine; British Museum, 1808, p.5)

Cases of natural history specimens were described in more detail. These included a case of 'South Sea minerals' in Room 8, which were itemized by shelf in the guide. However while the Cook collection objects may have been neglected in relative terms, 'modern works of art' from the Pacific occupied a total of eleven cases, while

equivalent material from Europe was represented in four cases, Asia two, Africa one, North America four, and South America just one⁵⁶. This disproportionate showing was not merely an indication of the collection's composition at the time, but of the prominence given to the recent Cook acquisitions due to their associations with major and successful British exploration voyages in the Pacific, and with the personalities of Cook and Banks. Now at least supplied with place names, the objects could be associated with newly discovered, exotic locations. However, in the absence of maps or further contextual information, these places only had meaning to the Museum's visitors as places visited by British explorers. Kreps (2003, p.150) describes the 'distancing' which was characteristic of past museum practice, wherein objects were both spatially and temporally distanced from their cultures of origin, but also conceptually distanced by being reinterpreted in the West (as described above). The foreign place names in isolation arguably reinforced a sense of the remote unknown.

The 1820 *Synopsis* suggests that as the Pacific collection grew, more effort was directed towards providing the visitor with more information to guide them around the gallery. However, it is clear that the labelling of the cases was minimal, and at times inaccurate. At this point in time, no further Marquesan material is recorded as having been added to the collection following the acquisition of material from Cook's second voyage (excepting the possibility that material collected on the voyage of the *Daedalus* was received from Archibald Menzies in 1796, see previous chapter). It is remarkable that the Marquesas are mentioned at all, given that Easter Island, another location visited on the second voyage only, is not. It would seem likely that the collection must in fact have consisted of *more* than simply the club Oc1978,Q.838 and sling Oc1977,Q.9. It is likely that other Q numbered Marquesan material is in fact very early – specifically gorgets, slings, cordage and fans. The 1820 *Synopsis* provides further evidence. The contents of Case 21 are described as being from the Sandwich Islands, however, included are 'gorgets made of red seeds', 'cordage' and 'slings'. There are two gorgets, or neck ornaments, made of red seeds in the Marquesan collection – Oc1980,Q.1050 and 1051 (see Figures 42 & 43). These are known as *tahi*

⁵⁶ Greek, Roman and Egyptian antiquities were displayed separately, as were terra cottas, coins and medals (British Museum, 1808).

poniu – ‘poniu’ being the name of the red abrus seeds. It should be noted that both of the *tahi poniu* have old, handwritten labels which have since been glued to the reverse of the ornaments, reading ‘Sandwich Isles’ – the name assigned by Cook to the Hawaiian Islands. Similar labels are attached to objects more securely attributed to the Cook voyages (see Figure 44). I suggest here that they might be attributed to the second voyage on the basis of this circumstantial evidence, and that they entered the collection either as part of the 1775 donation from the Lords of the Admiralty, or later, with the sling Oc,1977,Q.9, from Mrs Higgins (see previous chapter, and Appendix A).

Expansion and neglect

As described in the previous chapter, up till the 1860s, ethnographic material was acquired largely in a passive manner. In the absence of any articulated rationale for actively continuing the collection, the manner of display was correspondingly static and unimaginative. The 1838 *Synopsis* revealed a continuing emphasis on early voyage material, although it is noted that objects from Captain Beechey’s 1825-1828 Pacific voyage had since been added.

The remaining cases contain articles from the west coast of North America and the South Seas, chiefly *presented by Sir Joseph Banks, Captain James Cook, R.N., and Archibald Menzies, Esq.* Many of them are figured in *Captain Cook’s Voyages*.

(British Museum, 1838, p.7)

New acquisitions were progressively installed in Room 1 until the cases must have appeared very cluttered and dated. At this point the gallery was still simply described as containing ‘Artificial Curiosities from different Countries’. By 1847 the gallery had been retitled ‘the Ethnographical Room’, but it was not until the 1850s that descriptions for the cases were updated, with some anomalies relating to the Hawaiian and Marquesan material being resolved. Although significant additions to the Pacific collections are noted by voyage and donor, several more decades passed before there were any significant rearrangements of the displays. The Museum’s collections were in general expanding, and from the 1860s the *Synopses* were dedicated to particular

parts of the collection, with periodic general guides being published. The 1886 edition provides a frank introduction to the Ethnographical Gallery, stating that a 'collection of this nature had been gradually accumulating at the Museum, where it had not met with any special attention' (British Museum, 1886, p.212). The acknowledged catalyst for change had been the Christy bequest of 1865, space for which had only recently been found at the Museum in Bloomsbury, where the whole collection had been 'rearranged in a more systematic manner' (British Museum, 1886, p.212).

A new era: ethnography and science

The displays 'in a more systematic manner' would have been overseen by Franks, and this was to represent a very significant juncture in the treatment of the ethnographic collections, including the Marquesan material. The reorganisation was not only indicative of the increasing professionalization of museum practice, led in this case by Franks, but the alignment of museology with the emergent discipline of anthropology, and specifically evolutionary theory and racial science. Racial divisions were now noted alongside geographical boundaries. The 'Oceania' section of the 1886 Guide began as follows:

The collection from the black races of the Pacific, Australia and Melanesia, are arranged on the West side of the gallery, Cases 24-52, those from the brown races, Polynesia and Micronesia, on the opposite side, Cases 114-143.

(British Museum, 1886, p.214)

The Marquesas follow Easter Island as the first entry for Polynesia. Two whole cases were now dedicated to the archipelago, with no other description but 'dancing stilts and clubs of peculiar form', and brief mention of 'small objects' on display in a table case with material from Tahiti and the Cook Islands (British Museum, 1886, p.216). It appears that that the specific 'peculiarities' of the objects on display were, however, less important than their role within the collective display, which was to represent the Polynesian race.

The more orderly and 'scientific' arrangement was also part of Franks' strategy to overcome internal institutional prejudice towards the ethnographical collections. In 1857, the Principal Librarian had complained about the space taken up by 'Esquimaux dresses, canoes and hideous feather idols, broken flints, called rude knives, and so on...' (cited in Wilson, 2000, p.130). On arguing for the acceptance of the Christy bequest, Franks had specifically cited the collection's potential to illuminate aspects of the *European* past. The 1899 guide fully articulated the scientific rationale for the collection and display of non-Western objects, and reveals the manner in which they were viewed as a source of information about earlier stages of European development towards 'civilization'. This was perhaps one of the most extraordinary reinterpretations of non-Western objects in the museum context and in wider anthropological thought:

Ethnography is the name given to the scientific study of the manners and customs of particular peoples and of their development from savagery towards civilization; and it more especially concerns itself with those races that have no written records...

...The savage does nothing and makes nothing without a reason. He has his periods of progress from the more debased to the less debased, from the lower to the higher, and, as in all other developments, there is a method in his progress. An ethnographical collection is not to be regarded as a mere haphazard gallery of native curiosities without educational value...

...Taking them as a whole, the primitive races of to-day represent stages of culture through which our own ancestors passed on their upward path; in all probability the implements and weapons and utensils which they make and use are similar to those made and used in Europe thousands of years ago.

(British Museum, 1899, p.100-101)

In order to derive the maximum scientific benefit from studying non-Western cultures, therefore, gaining a sense of how they had been *before* European contact was of

paramount importance. Hence the value of early Pacific material was further reinforced by these new academic developments.

Ethnography and empire: the 20th century

While the information gained from the study of non-Western cultures may have been valued primarily for its comparative potential – the twentieth century saw an increased emphasis on ‘salvage anthropology’, which was concerned with recording cultures considered to be in danger of disappearance, either due to rapid cultural change and/or population loss. In the context of the British Museum, in the same period, there were increasingly explicit references to the British Empire, and to the institution and its collection as a physical manifestation of the success of British colonialism. There was a concurrent disinterest in examining how cultures were adapting to change, and a general distaste for contemporary material which evidenced this. The first *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* was produced in 1910, with a revised version in 1925. The preface by Keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography, Charles H. Read, remains in the later version, and delineates the areas of interest to contemporary anthropology:

At no one period in the world’s history has any one nation exercised control over so many primitive races as our own at the present time, and yet there is no institution in Great Britain where this fact is adequately brought before the public in a concrete form. *Meanwhile civilization is spreading over the earth, and the beliefs, customs, and products of practically all aboriginal peoples are becoming obsolete under new conditions which, though interesting from an economic point of view, have only a secondary importance for the ethnologist.* In proportion as the value of Anthropology is appreciated at its true worth, the material for anthropological study diminishes; in many cases native beliefs and institutions described in the book have already become obsolete, though it has been found convenient, in mentioning them, to use the present tense. Such facts alone enforce the necessity for energetic action before it is too late.

(emphasis mine; British Museum, 1925, pp.vi)

Read's comments on the use of the present tense for the sake of convenience (the creation of 'the ethnographic present' through this literary device became a recognised problem in anthropology) reinforce his stated view on contemporary cultures, and serves to render them invisible altogether – writing their own past over their present, having found the former preferable to the latter.

By this stage, references to specific cases had been abandoned, as displays were added to and altered regularly. The guides remained the main source of interpretation available to the public, and now provided contextual information on the societies which the objects belonged to. Twenty-seven pages were dedicated to introducing Polynesia and its inhabitants, with details of certain processes including *tapa* making and tattooing. A small section was included on the Marquesas. After detailing the European discoveries of the islands, brief comments are made about the islanders:

The inhabitants at the time of the discovery were physically a fine race, but are now dying out. They were cannibals, and constantly engaged in warfare for the possession of the narrow fertile valleys leading down from the mountains. They were tatued in a remarkably elaborate manner, the designs being reproduced in their carvings in wood, bone and shell. In their religious practices they resembled the Tahitians and other Polynesians, and had a *marae* or temple in every district.

(British Museum, 1925, p.172)

This brief paragraph implies that all that is worth knowing about Marquesans existed in their past – they are a people without a present or future. That cannibalism was practised is foregrounded in preference to a more nuanced summary of social organisation and religious practice, but fortunately artistic endeavour does feature. This coverage is the most the Marquesas received before or since in a British Museum guidebook.

The fact that Marquesan material was clearly on display in dedicated cases from the collection's beginnings into the twentieth century is very positive, however, with such

an emphasis on the past, there was no room to highlight innovative elements of particular objects in the collection (such as the *'u'uhe* discussed in the previous chapter), or post-contact object types such as the tobacco pipes. The scientific framework which guided the arrangement of ethnographic displays was underpinned by ideas about social evolution, which embodied an assumption that once external replaced internal forces in guiding the development of a particular culture, it had lost its scientific worth. As stated above, the 'new conditions' under which indigenous people were living and changing were not the primary interest of ethnologists at the time. In the absence of any imperative to represent the Marquesan present (or to articulate post-contact developments which were in fact evident in a number of objects within the collection by this time), there was no stimulus whatsoever for active collecting of recently produced material. Although by the 1920s, the basic principles of evolutionary anthropology were being called into question, anthropology was still to an extent 'object-oriented'. With its focus on groups which did not leave written records, Stocking argues that anthropology continued to perpetuate a view of objects as permanent embodiments of 'moments of past cultural or racial development' (1985, p.114). He also cites the 'political economy of anthropological research' as a factor, wherein anthropologists could garner support for their work by collecting objects for institutions while in the field. The collecting efforts of James Hornell and the stated goals of the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association which sponsored the St George expedition are a clear example of this. Hornell's persistent search for 'ancient' objects was consistent with anthropology as practised by those of his generation – a shift towards studies of present-day groups was to be led by younger scholars (Stocking, 1985).

Opportunity for change: the Museum of Mankind

Changes within the discipline of anthropology took time to manifest themselves in a museum display context however. By 1972, the Ethnography Department and the anthropological collections had moved because of space issues in Bloomsbury to a separate site in Piccadilly, named the 'Museum of Mankind'. Here there was greater exhibition space, and a decision was taken to simultaneously present a series of semi-

permanent exhibitions, rather than a small sample of objects from each part of the world represented in the collections (Wilson, 2000)⁵⁷. At no stage was there a dedicated exhibition of Marquesan material, although small exhibition labels found with a number of the personal ornaments would suggest a modest display of these was shown. The Ethnography section of the British Museum Guide of 1976 follows the format of earlier guides, but there is increased attention to the specific details of each society covered. While allusion is made to the contemporary culture of Papua New Guinea, where recent acquisitions (1960s) had been made by a British Museum expedition, the Polynesian section is written entirely in the past tense. Importantly, clear acknowledgement is made of the colonial impact on Polynesian societies, but this point is highlighted in order to then emphasise the value of the Museum's early (pre-colonial) Polynesian collections:

In contrast to Melanesia the people of Polynesia, although separated from one another by thousands of miles of ocean, all shared one basic culture and spoke variants of a single language. This culture has suffered heavily in most places from European influences, and the Museum's Polynesian material is particularly important because it includes many pieces collected by the first explorers and early missionaries.

(British Museum, 1976, p.250)

Between 1975 and 1980, an exhibition titled 'Captain Cook and the South Seas' was held at the Museum of Mankind, celebrating the earliest material and coinciding with the bicentenary of Cook's death in Hawaii. The scope of the exhibition was clearly to cover the historical period of Cook's Pacific voyages – as such the period of colonisation which followed, and the present day situation of Pacific Island societies was not addressed. Loans were made from other museums, and the section on Easter Island and the Marquesas Islands included the sling and club from the British Museum, and a pearlshell, turtleshell and feather headdress from the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. The accompanying object labels consisted of quotes from Cook about Marquesan weapons, slings and headdresses – all other exhibition labels followed this

⁵⁷ These ranged from several years to a decade.

format, with quotes from the journals of Cook, Forster, Banks and others (Starzecka, n.d.). Although the Marquesas were not considered one of the main cultures 'discovered' by Cook (the Society Islands, New Zealand, Hawaii and Northwest Coast of America were emphasised⁵⁸), their inclusion in the exhibition functioned to demonstrate the breadth and diversity of Cook's contacts, and his personal perspective on these. Cook as a historical figure, himself appeared in this context to represent the Pacific more powerfully than the objects themselves, which were significant through their association with him. As with even more recent shows, this exhibition was to prove the enduring appeal of Cook as heroic explorer.

Other exhibitions at the Museum of Mankind took a geographic rather than a strictly historical focus, enabling collection items from any time period to be included. These covered parts of the Pacific from which the Museum had large collections – Hawaii, Australia, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. The Marquesan collection was arguably too small in comparison to warrant a dedicated exhibition, however in the case of the islands of Micronesia, this was dealt with by having an exhibition which covered the whole region⁵⁹. A similar exhibition covering French Polynesia would surely have been marketable, by including the familiar and attractive 'Tahiti' in the title. Marquesan material could also have been used to good effect in thematic exhibitions. In 1988 a British Museum publication titled 'Ethnic Jewellery' was written by the Keeper of the Ethnographic collections, John Mack. The premise of the book is the universality of personal adornment as an indicator of social condition (Mack, 1988). A vast and diverse range of examples are drawn from Africa, the Middle East, Asia, the Pacific and the Americas, each covered in dedicated chapters. The Marquesas are briefly covered, with two pairs of ear ornaments and the *pa'e kaha* being highlighted and shown in photographs. Marquesan artistic conventions and the quality of workmanship in their construction are noted, however, as with the contemporaneous museum guidebook, the information is written in the past tense, with no reference to current practice. In the opening paragraphs of the Pacific chapter, the contents are described as such:

⁵⁸ This is noted in one of the accompanying publications (Cobbe, 1979).

⁵⁹ *Pattern of Islands*, 1983-1986.

All the objects illustrated in this chapter have been used to signify one person's social position in relation to others in their community, whether to dominate, entice or entertain. *The great majority date from the period soon after European contact was first established.*

(emphasis mine; Pole, 1988, p.115)

While a themed exhibition on jewellery would no doubt have been a success, the Pacific section of this publication demonstrates the limitations of the collection to adequately represent the contemporary Pacific. Although the disciplinary parameters informing ethnographic museum display had in fact widened considerably by the 1980s and the interpretation was informed by a wider range of fieldwork accounts and scholarship, while the collection still lacked recent material, exhibitions continued to emphasise and indeed further idealise the past. Reified in this manner, past cultures acted as a measure against which later descendant cultures would perpetually be measured against. The collection itself was now the inhibiting force, rather than disciplinary strictures. As mentioned in the previous chapter, museum field collecting efforts directed towards remedying this situation did not reach as far as the eastern limits of Polynesia.

Universality and fine art

Around this time, as demonstrated above, certain ethnographic objects were being recognised as having new potential to illustrate universal human concerns and practices. This approach often emphasised aesthetics, and invited the visitor to appreciate the unfamiliar by describing it in familiar terms (jewellery, sculpture), and perhaps associating it with more familiar pieces. *The Enduring Image: Treasures of the British Museum* was one such exhibition, which was created by the British Museum for loan to Mumbai and Delhi in 1997 and 1998 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of independence. The unifying theme was the image of man as a recurrent feature of many artistic traditions around the world. This provided the opportunity for a Marquesan *tiki* figure (Oc1899,-.155) to be selected for the first time for a *Treasures*

exhibition⁶⁰. The display of non-Western sculptural works is often prefaced with references to the interest of famous Western artists such as Henry Moore or Picasso – this strategy is used in the introduction to the Ethnography section of the catalogue, emphasising the contribution of non-Western traditions to European art history. The observation is made that ‘It is perhaps appropriate that an exhibition devoted to the human image should end with depictions that appear to the late twentieth century eye to be the freest and least contained by convention’ (Blurton, 1997, p.211). Conversely, the *tiki* follows Marquesan conventions closely, having a relief-carved face with large eyes, hands placed on the stomach, and knees slightly bent. The entry for the *tiki* itself provides contextual information on the Marquesan belief system, and draws comparisons with the Rapa Nui *moai*, two small examples of which feature in the following pages. Reference could have been made to the renewed interest in carving in the Marquesas, which had begun in the 1970s, and which included the creation of small *tiki* figures such as the one displayed. Ironically, this particular figure was described by its collector, F.W. Christian, as ‘surpassing ugliness’, when gifted to him by the chief Puku – the figure went on to tour to six more venues as part of a *Treasures* exhibition, between 2005 and 2007, making it one of the most exhibited Marquesan objects.

The redefinition of ethnographic or ‘primitive’ art as fine art via exhibitions has been discussed by many scholars (Graburn, 1976; Simpson, 1996; Phillips & Steiner, 1999). In relation to the ‘fourth world’ arts, Graburn explains that appreciation of their aesthetic value occurred in the twentieth century, following the lead of “disaffected Western artists, who took them as a form of innovative inspiration without realizing their inherent conservatism”, as appears to have occurred in the *Enduring Image* exhibition (1976, p.2). Of the wider impact in the field of art history, Phillips and Steiner argue:

The incorporation of non-Western objects into the disciplinary fold of art history that began around the middle of the twentieth century was a liberal

⁶⁰ *Treasures* exhibitions continue to bring together highlights of the Museum’s collection as travelling exhibitions for international venues

gesture of inclusion typical of its era. Formal recognition was extended, like the political sovereignty granted to a newly independent colony, but the infrastructure of Western knowledge formations remained firmly in place. To be represented as “art”, in other words, the aesthetic objects of non-Western peoples had to be transposed into the Western system of classification of fine and applied art.

(Phillips & Steiner, 1999, pp.6-7)

Marquesan objects barely featured in this reconceptualisation of ethnographic objects, but where they did, they were ‘sculptural’ works⁶¹. Where elsewhere this dubious rehabilitation appeared to be a catalyst for more meaningful reinterpretations which adhered to indigenous conceptualisations of efficacy (for example the legacy of the *Te Maori* exhibition in New Zealand and beyond), for Marquesan objects the impact was purely superficial and in fact represented a misunderstanding of the presence of indigenous conventions, in the manner Graburn describes. In appreciating the sculptural singularity of the figure, one is not necessarily afforded a better understanding of Marquesan art traditions.

The twenty-first century: looking back and moving forward

Both permanent and temporary exhibitions of Polynesian material in the British Museum in the twenty-first century have brought attention once more to the early collections, demonstrating a range of agendas in doing so. The decision to reunite the ethnographic collections with the main collections in the late 1990s had led to the closure of the Museum of Mankind. New galleries were created at Bloomsbury for the display of the North American, Mexican and African collections, but not for a Pacific gallery. However, there were opportunities for the display of Oceanic objects in other permanent galleries where mixed material was on display. Preparations were in

⁶¹ A 1970 Museum catalogue by Keeper William Fagg titled *The Tribal Image: Wooden Figure Sculpture of the World* epitomises this approach – Fagg was assisted by sculptor Leon Underwood, who ensured that ‘No piece has been included which he felt to be less worthy of an exhibition chosen by sculptural standards alone’ (Fagg, 1970, p.1). One of the Hawaiian figures included in the exhibition (c.1970-75) is described as having the qualities of ‘sculptural excellence... of the universal kind’ (cat no. 80).

progress for the reopening of 'the King's Library', a gallery which had been built as a library to house the book collection of King George III (which had been moved with the collections of the British Library to the St Pancras site in the 1990s). This vast gallery was to be refurbished in its original, eighteenth century style, and titled *The Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the 18th century* – with displays aiming to illustrate the British understanding of the world at this time. Natural and artificial curiosities from 'The New World' formed an important part of the overall narrative, and a dedicated section of the gallery was titled 'Trade and Discovery'. Here objects collected on Cook voyages are still on display, alongside other early material from the Pacific. In recreating the style of an eighteenth century gentleman's library, with books alongside exotic objects, interpretation panels and labels have been kept to a minimum. New systems of classification are referenced by the grouping of objects of the same type. A set of Marquesan *tapuvae*, stilt steps, for example are installed in one of the wall cases - a label notes where the objects are from, but no contextual information is provided (unlike the table cases, which have explanatory labels). While this method ensures the authenticity of the display style, it obviously does not encourage any deeper understanding of the originating cultures represented – rather it illustrates a chapter in *European* academic thought *about* those originating cultures, and so is valuable as a tool with which to better understand the encounters between Europeans and, Pacific islanders, for example, and the subsequent trajectory of the history of empire. The gallery is best appreciated in conjunction with galleries such as that titled *Living and Dying*, which also leads off the Great Court of the Museum. This gallery provides up to date information on a range of the world's cultures, specifically examining the ways in which diverse cultures meet the common challenges of human existence. Crucially it displays a significant amount of recently-made objects, and draws on anthropological fieldwork to provide context via text and images.

In 2006 a major historic exhibition of Polynesian objects was prepared by Professor Steven Hooper, at the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, University of Norwich. It included 270 loaned objects, and roughly half of these were from the British Museum's Pacific collections. The exhibition therefore constituted the largest showing of Polynesian art ever in the United Kingdom. Prior to this, a large exhibition titled *Maori*

had been held at the British Museum in 1998⁶², drawing solely on the Museum's collection of over 2500 taonga Māori. The Norwich exhibition was titled *Pacific Encounters: Art and Divinity in Polynesia 1760-1860*. This time period spanned the major British voyages of discovery, as well as the first missionary forays into the Pacific. Therefore post-contact material is included, and the question of 'authenticity' surrounding such material is clearly addressed in the opening chapter of the catalogue (Hooper, 2006). The exhibition's arrangement emphasised Polynesian cosmology and concepts such as *mana* and *tapu*. For example, human figures representing gods and ancestors were displayed in a section titled 'Marae', with explanations of this institution in the respective island groups. As the title suggests, emphasis was placed on the encounters which led to the objects leaving the islands, with an emphasis on how these exchanges fitted in to local customary practices, or to specific historic processes (for example, conversion and the relinquishing of ancestral deity figures). The objects were redefined as 'actors' in the exchange relationships, having agency in the same manner as human beings, in accordance with the theories of Alfred Gell (1998, cited in Hooper, 2006). These theories accord with Polynesian ideology, wherein a god figure *is* rather than *represents* a god (Hooper, 2006, p.28).

The exhibition included seven Marquesan objects from the Museum's collection. These included the canoe prow (Oc,LMS.194), bowl (Oc,LMS.195) and fan (Oc,LMS.199) which had been collected by members of the London Missionary Society; the staff (Oc1944,02.696) and 'u'u club (Oc1920,0317.1), which do not have a clear collection history; and the *pa'e kaha* (Oc1934,-.3) collected by Nordmann. With the exception of a drum and a trumpet, all of the objects represented in the Marquesan section were personal ornaments or weapons, reflecting the material typically collected in the designated period. Variety was nevertheless emphasised over collection history – the range of object types included enabled a fuller appreciation of Marquesan aesthetics to be gained. While the exhibition did not make strong connections between the early encounters and the state of present day societies in Polynesia, it aimed to convey the manner in which Polynesians themselves perceived

⁶² This was in part held to celebrate the return of the ethnographic collections to the main Museum site at Bloomsbury.

the objects which were on display, and as such it represented a highly significant step forward in the museum treatment of Pacific material culture. Importantly, the exhibition travelled to the new Musée du Quai Branly in Paris in 2008 for another three month showing. The catalogue was also produced in French, so making the exhibition accessible in this format at least to those in French Polynesia.

Closely following *Pacific Encounters* in late 2006 was another historically focussed temporary Polynesian exhibition, this time at the British Museum. Eastern Polynesian deities and representations of spiritual power were a major focus of this exhibition, which was titled *Power and Taboo: Sacred Objects from the Eastern Pacific* (see Figure 45). Hence, objects which were made prior to significant missionary influence (and deity figures collected *by* missionaries, as above) were centre stage. Sections of the exhibition were dedicated to particular island groups – including the Marquesas, which consisted of fifteen objects of personal adornment, all made in the late eighteenth century, or the first half of the nineteenth century. A major difference between *Pacific Encounters* and this smaller scale exhibition (of around 80 objects) was that the interpretation often focussed on particular indigenous actors in early encounters. In the Marquesan section, visitors were introduced to a series of key individuals via historic portraits, including the warrior Mufau, a member of chief Keatonui's family. People were thus able to see how various ornaments, such as human hair anklets, were worn, and what their overall effect was in combination with an array of ornaments and tattooing. In connecting the objects with real people in this manner, Marquesans themselves are finally brought into view. By presenting *specific* Marquesan identities, the display also avoided a homogenised view of, for example, 'the Marquesan warrior' (see Figures 46 & 47).

Another major difference between *Pacific Encounters* and *Power and Taboo* was that the latter aimed to visually represent the contemporary Pacific within the main exhibition space (as opposed to education programmes only). The two final sections of the *Power and Taboo* exhibition addressed the changes brought about by Christianity, the appreciation of Polynesian art by Western artists, in particular Henry Moore, and used several contemporary artworks to demonstrate that Polynesian art continues in a range of media in the present (see Figure 48). These included a *tivaevae* appliqué quilt

from the Cook Islands acquired in 2003, a drawing by New Zealand Māori artist John Bevan Ford, and a figure sculpture by carver Lyonel Grant. The latter two were both produced and acquired in the 1990s. These inclusions were highly important, in order to avoid giving the impression that the best of Polynesian art was produced in the past. For London museum audiences, who are predominantly European and North American, the Pacific is not a familiar region, and so the inclusion of recent material is a means by which visitors can be made aware that the region continues to be populated and that a diverse range of ever-changing cultures are present. While it was not necessarily possible to include more recent works in the space available – there were no recent Marquesan acquisitions available for inclusion, and so despite this opportunity, the present-day Marquesas could not be visually represented. This situation demonstrates the interdependence of collecting and exhibiting. Where the reality of the situation is that a particular culture is not producing material and/or it is not available for acquisition by collectors or museums, then collecting endeavours should of course be directed towards other media or locations. However in the case of the Marquesas, a wide range of material has been produced by skilled artists in the past several decades. The next chapter explores these developments, and considers what the Museum has ‘missed out’ on, through a lack of collecting in the Eastern Pacific region.

Conclusion

In tracing the exhibition history of the Marquesan collection at the British Museum, it has become very clear that the emphasis has remained on the presentation of the earliest collected material, particularly from the voyages of Captain Cook. The twenty-first century has seen another major exhibition focussed on the British explorer, ‘James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific’, which travelled to three European venues between 2009 and 2010 (and which included the two ‘Cook collection’ Marquesan objects from the British Museum, and many other objects besides). Twenty-first century exhibitions within Britain which have included Marquesan material have also had a historical focus, and have sought to emphasise indigenous agency in the ‘first encounter’ situations from which the earliest museum collections from the Pacific are

derived. While this reorientation towards Polynesians and Polynesian concepts via the media of exhibition has been extremely important, a continued focus on material from the early contact period must be balanced with equal emphasis on the contemporary Pacific. As outlined in the previous chapter, significant effort has been made and continues to be made to collect and exhibit recent material from the Pacific for the British Museum. Collections from New Zealand and Australia are regularly added to and recent permanent and temporary exhibitions have combined both historic and contemporary material, some items being commissioned especially for this purpose. The Marquesan collection has, however, not experienced the same reconfiguration as an 'active' collection, and is therefore in danger of appearing to lack contemporary relevance. The next chapter will outline how the collection may be re-evaluated in order to utilize its potential in new ways, and how it may be reinvigorated with a realistic strategy for contemporary collecting.

Chapter Five

Discussion and Analysis of the Collection

Introduction

In relating the British Museum's Marquesan collection to the history of the islands themselves, it has become clear to what extent the collection has been shaped by the changing context of artistic production, and in turn the pattern of contact with outsiders and the nature of exchange practices. Objects have been channelled into the Museum via networks of individuals who have to a large degree shared an interest in recording the Marquesan past, and distaste for the changes wrought by contact and colonisation, particularly as expressed through material culture. The manner in which the collection has been presented to the public via exhibitions and publications reveals the multiple redefinitions of the objects and their roles within the Museum and scholarly discourse over the course of the collection's existence. Again this shows a clear and persistent bias towards the earliest collected material.

In this chapter I will argue that the composition of the collection and its effective discontinuation in the twentieth century has led to a situation where the collection's potential as a resource has become limited. In the twenty-first century exhibition agendas have continued to privilege the past, and have therefore not acted as a stimulus for new collecting projects. Most importantly, the collection's contemporary relevance has not been reassessed in light of changing museum practice. In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss the ways in which museological and anthropological theory has influenced museum treatment of collections formed during the colonial era, and how it might underpin a potential reassessment. In the second part, I will discuss developments in Marquesan artistic practice in the twentieth century as it relates to the collection, with reference to a short period of fieldwork in the islands in November 2010 (see Appendix D on the field collection). Finally discussion turns to the collection's future potential, and consideration of possible strategies for the collection's reconfiguration.

Part One: Theory and Museum Practice

The ongoing problematization of culture contact

The practice of exhibiting objects in museums is based on the assumption that it is possible to equate static material culture objects with dynamic human cultures (Ucko, 1994, p.xiii)⁶³. Curatorial approaches to this challenge have changed dramatically over time, not least in the degree to which cultural dynamism is addressed at all. As the previous chapter has outlined, early ethnographical studies preferred to view particular cultures as fixed entities which represented a particular stage in the progress of man towards civilization – an inherent contradiction in this approach was the belief that non-Western cultures were static and unchanging. Translated in the museum context, this led to displays which often omitted any discussion of the time period in which objects had been made, or the factors bearing on the mode of production. The reluctance of Western museums to address the impact of contact and colonisation by collecting, showing and describing objects which demonstrated introduced elements or techniques was in part due to the fact that such representations did not fit with contemporary theoretical approaches. British Museum curator Hermann Braunholtz vividly captures the dilemma in relation to the practicalities of display arrangements in his 1942 paper, ‘Culture contact as a museum problem’:

Are we, then, to fill our ethnographical show-cases with a mixed ‘bag’ of bark-cloth and bicycles, of hand-loom and sewing machines? This might indeed give us a starkly realistic picture of certain native cultures as they are today. But the effect would be disconcerting, as well as offensive to aesthetic tastes, which shrink from violent contrasts in juxtaposition.

(Braunholtz, 1942, p.6)

The concern with aesthetics as expressed here is a problem which arises specifically from the museum context and is inextricably linked to an evolutionary approach to the study of culture, and the conceptualisation of cultural phenomena in biological terms.

⁶³ Ucko was referring to presentations of the archaeological past, in particular.

Braunholtz goes on to suggest that each 'stage' of a culture be represented in a linear fashion, beginning with "the 'pure' aboriginal or pre-European elements", moving on to the "hybrid elements, foreign in origin, but adapted more or less perfectly to native use", and finishing with "the bicycles and other extreme 'impurities' (which could perhaps be adequately illustrated by photographs, or merely listed)" (p.6). He advocates clearly stating the time period to which each stage belongs, so that the public are not misled about contemporary conditions (p.7).

Locating meaning

The problem with temporal and aesthetic categories as constructed within the Western museum context, is that they rarely correspond with indigenous categories (Bolton, 1997). For example, while the *tokotoko pio'o* (Oc.7226) donated by Christy and embellished with introduced red cloth may constitute a 'hybrid' object type, subordinate to earlier 'pure' forms, to its Marquesan owner its prestige derived from its status as a chiefly object, and the incorporation of a material which enhanced its *tapu* qualities according to indigenous criteria, but yet which may also have memorialised an exchange with a foreign visitor, which it was a chief's right to engage in (see Figure 28). It is precisely this social context which museum-generated categories may ignore and restrict. Bolton (1997) explains that is an assumption of anthropology that social context creates meaning, and that social context exists in a particular location. An object does not therefore have meaning independently of this context and place, and the aesthetic perception of an object is created by the viewer, not the qualities of the object itself (citing Strathern, 1990, in Bolton, 1997, p.24). Removed to a museum, objects are typically categorised by place of origin, which may be derived from their style or form (Bolton, 1997), but as argued in the previous chapter, this does not necessarily enhance understanding of social context as it existed in that place – rather it tends to reinforce categories of meaning in the locality in which the object is being viewed.

The manufacture of an object is also a component part of social context (Bolton, 1997). The production of *tokotoko pio'o* was the activity of specialist *tuhuka*, who carried out their work within the bounds of *tapu*, and usually in the service of a chief or other

high-ranking individual (Denning, 1980). Production under these conditions contributed to the significance of the finished product. That techniques of manufacture changed with the introduction of metal tools, for example, did not necessarily negate the *tapu* status of an object or its significance in its original context, however this distinction in a museum context may be taken as indicative of an object's 'hybridity'. Phillips and Steiner (1999) describe the relationship between hybridity and the perceived commoditization of indigenous art production in the West as follows:

Objects that incorporated Western materials, styles, and forms failed, however, to satisfy the longing among Western consumers for the lost authenticity of the local and handmade that accompanied industrialization... Ambivalence about commoditized forms of "primitive" art was part of a much wider discomfort with industrial production in Victorian society.

(Phillips and Steiner, 1999, pp.10-11)

Braunholtz's purity-hybridity-impurity continuum however is equally a product of the biological discourse of race, within which hybridity was defined as having a weakening and degenerative effect (Phillips and Steiner, 1999, p.10). The aesthetic judgment of non-Western material as 'hybrid', or 'commoditized' is, as Strathern argues, grounded in the personal context of the viewer, and is therefore much more informative of Western social context and categories. In the case of the Marquesan collection at the British Museum, the distancing between maker, user, and 'viewer' could not be greater (Kreps, 2003).

The collection as an embodiment of indigenous agency

While Braunholtz touches on 'native adaptation', the processes which led to the incorporation of new materials, styles, and forms were not considered a worthy avenue of investigation until the later twentieth century. This is perhaps partly because these processes were perceived as being outsider-driven. Thomas (1990, 1991), who has investigated the appropriation of muskets by chiefs in the southern Marquesas, concludes in relation to this and other Pacific examples, that "in certain

phases of contact and colonial history, indigenous people are no less powerful and no less able to appropriate than the whites who imagine themselves as intruders; and... indigenous perceptions of, and reactions to, foreign people and goods must be taken seriously (1991, p.184). This approach is a vital tool in reassessing collections formed in the colonial era, and is relevant to the Museum's Marquesan collection in its current form.

In researching the Marquesan collection, and the factors bearing on its formation and presentation to the public, it has become clear that rarely has indigenous agency as described above been properly recognised. As noted in the previous chapter, twenty-first century exhibitions have made significant progress in this area, in relation to material from the *early* contact period. However, the bulk of the collection consists of objects made in the nineteenth century, during which time Marquesan society was undergoing radical changes at all levels. Objects such as the *tokotoko pio'o*, the *'u'uhe* (turtleshell ear ornaments), and the ivory tobacco pipes are examples of indigenous appropriation of new materials and practices. The creation of carved wooden objects such as *umete* (bowls) enabled Marquesans to benefit from the presence of foreign visitors, and to participate in the new cash economy. Where objects can be related to the *internal* priorities of the originating culture at a particular point in history, then their 'meaning' can be properly located. Historical anthropology has much to offer in this project, and is naturally dependent on the existence of information sources for these past contexts. Engaging with this challenge is however necessary in order to further the reassessment project.

The realignment of categories of meaning with the originating culture, as opposed to that which prevails in the museum, where that museum is located elsewhere, is an aspiration of museum practice in the present. I use the word 'aspiration' deliberately, as this approach should not be misunderstood as having the capacity to reconstitute the original social context, or to achieve a mythical 'objectivity'. As argued by Clunas, "the official ideology of museums has, until recently, insisted that they stand outside of time and historical process; museums and their curators have tended to constitute themselves as the recorders of history, rather than as committed participants (cited in Barringer & Flynn, 1998, p.4). Barringer & Flynn place this development in its own

historical context, as part of a wider re-evaluation of the institutions and ideologies of colonialism which has taken place in the post-colonial world (1998, p.2). One of the most important aspects of this re-evaluation has been the entry of indigenous voices to museological discourse, and the emergence of an expectation that curators and their institutions engage with originating communities (Kreps, 2003). Bennett (2006) describes the variety of ways in which this is occurring:

According respect and recognition to previously marginalized or repressed histories and cultures, opening up the museum space to the representatives of different communities by providing them with opportunities for authoring their own stories, connecting exhibitions to programs of intercultural performance, repatriating objects collected through earlier colonial histories where the retention of those objects in museums generates ongoing cultural offense: these are now significant aspects of contemporary museum practice.

(Bennett, 2006, p.59)

Bennett places these practices within a broader strategy which seeks to develop the museum as a “facilitator of cross-cultural exchange with a view to taking the sting out of the politics of difference within the wider society” (2006, p.59). This strategy, he argues, is designed to free the museum of “the hierarchically organised forms of stigmatic othering” that it was formerly engaged in generating – as illustrated in Braunholtz’s categories (2006, p59). Here it is useful to consider again the British Museum’s policy on display, which states that the main purpose of displaying objects is not only to “to further knowledge and understanding of the world’s cultures, both past and present, and their relationships to each other”, but to “promote good relations and better understanding between the cultures, races and nations of the world” (British Museum, 2002, Section 2.3). This explicitly cross-cultural agenda stemming from display is of course ambitious, and must be supported through programmes which seek to achieve authentic representations of other cultures through engagement.

Programmes at the British Museum which have centred on the Oceanic collections constitute meaningful examples of cross-cultural engagement. In the case of the *Maori* exhibition of 1998, the curator Dorota Starzecka worked with Māori academics Ngahua Te Awekotuku and Arapata Hakiwai, and artist John Bevan Ford, on preparing the interpretation materials and an accompanying publication⁶⁴. The long lead time for the exhibition enabled staff exchanges between the British Museum and the National Museum in Wellington (which was shortly to reopen as the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa), and the creation of a field collection, which established long-lasting relationships between the Museum and Māori artists. The public programme involved Māori artists (primarily Ford), and the London Māori Club, Ngāti Rānana were involved with the opening events (Starzecka, n.d.). These elements combined meant that this exhibition had stimulated the highest degree of indigenous involvement around a single project on the Oceanic collections at that point in the Museum's history⁶⁵. That the curator, Starzecka, was a specialist in Māori art was a pivotal factor. More recently, the Melanesia Research Project (*Melanesian art: objects, narratives, and indigenous owners*), a five-year research project (2005-2010) on the Melanesian collections at the British Museum⁶⁶ sought specifically to engage traditional owners with the collections, inviting them to offer narratives and perspectives on the collection which would in turn reveal the contemporary significance of them, and in addition provide the opportunity to reflect on the relationship between museums and communities. The project had a range of outputs, including artworks, internationally-broadcast radio programmes and publications. The project was underpinned by research and documentation work on the history of the Melanesian collections.

Both of the projects described above have dealt with parts of the Museum's collection which number in the thousands. However they both offer tools which have equal

⁶⁴ D. Starzecka & J. Davidson (Eds.) (1998). *Maori art and culture*. London: British Museum Press.

⁶⁵ Starzecka's work with Ngāti Rānana has had a long-lasting effect, with this relationship being maintained by subsequent curators.

⁶⁶ The project was jointly run with Goldsmiths College, University of London, and was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

application to smaller collections, such as the Marquesan collection. Two key aspects are particularly relevant – creating the opportunity for indigenous perspectives on existing, historic collections, and the continuation of the collection in partnership with collaborators. Part of the next section of this chapter discusses my fieldwork in the Marquesas, which represents the beginning of the collection’s reconfiguration along these lines.

Part Two: Marquesan Artistic Change and Revival

Reviewing cultural change and hybridity

As simple representations of place, the Marquesan objects in the British Museum contribute to the notion of the British Museum as a universal museum which represents the diversity of the world’s cultures. Bennett (2006) warns that the recent redefinition of museums as managers of cultural diversity is problematic in that the concept of diversity is constructed from within the dominant culture, and is in turn displayed as a “national possession”, evidencing cultural tolerance (with reference to Hage, 1998, in Bennett, 2006, pp.61-62). A preferable goal is intercultural dialogue, within which objects themselves maintain mobility of meaning:

Far from anchoring objects in a fixed relation to specific cultures, the perspective of hybridity focuses on their role in mediating the relations between different cultures, belonging to none exclusively, but operating always in motion in the context of complex histories of transactional exchange.

(Bennett, 2006, p.62-3)

This is a useful redefinition of hybridity and coupled with envisaged future dialogue with Marquesans offers a route towards ongoing reinterpretations of the collection.

Halted trajectories and the existing collection

Had the collector Nordmann acquired an example of a celluloid and rubber *pa’e kaha* (headdress), examples of which he had seen while in the Marquesas between 1928

and 1930 (see Chapter Three), the interpretation of such an object in the present would differ greatly from contemporary assessments of value and significance. A recent British Museum display titled *Continuity and Change* sought to highlight the way in which altered forms, new materials and techniques related to both continuity and change in cultural practices and beliefs – often using pairings of similar objects made in different time periods. The celluloid and rubber headdress would have been celebrated for its ability to illustrate continuity of form, rendered in a material ascribed with new meaning in the indigenous context (see Figure 49). Interest in processes of cultural transformation and their material manifestations is a new research agenda in the Museum. Its examination via exhibition is made possible in an institution such as the British Museum, because of the breadth of the collection, and the potential to explore one theme across many cultures, thus successfully communicating the universality of cultural change and dynamism. Braunholtz clearly foresaw that cultural change was something which needed to be addressed via museum display, but he could not have predicted that the phenomenon could be interpreted in a positive manner. Herein lies one of the major challenges of making museum acquisitions – it is only through collecting consistently, even during periods where the material available may appear unattractive, or to record phenomena that curators may not feel are relevant, or which do not represent a culture at its best, that the future potential of a collection may be preserved.

Documenting struggle does not always correspond well to display agendas in which an implicit curatorial goal may be to address negative cultural stereotypes – in aid of this there is still a curatorial tendency to privilege aesthetics, and the culturally *distinct*, rather than so-called ‘hybrid’ forms. There is also a persistent aversion to acquiring objects which have been made for sale, often on the grounds that the same type of object is not used within the originating culture. As Graburn (1976) points out, this is often an incorrect assumption. In relation to arts produced for sale, he argues that:

Even here the accepted model of “traditional” changes over generations in the culture of the collectors; objects that would be deemed too innovative at one time are later found acceptable; collectors or museum curators who

reject items as too new or mere junk, often pay high prices for the same objects later on.

(Graburn, 1976, p.14)

I would argue that in the case of the Marquesas, objects produced for sale in the twentieth century might have much to offer in terms of documenting economic and cultural survival. At the lowest ebb in the Marquesan population (1930s), longstanding art traditions of carving and barkcloth manufacture were maintained primarily by those working to create items for sale. This generation has since been credited with laying the ground for artistic renaissance later in the 20th century, and so material from this period, while limited, would have added communicative power in the context of a collection which incorporated the subsequent developments (Ivory, 1999).

Unfortunately, the collection does not include material produced in the first or second half of the twentieth century, and so the trajectory of Marquesan artistic practices over time cannot be represented because of these gaps.

Artistic revival: carving in contemporary practice

In considering how Marquesan material culture might have been collected, and how it might be collected in the future, it is useful to examine the internal dynamics of art production from the twentieth century up till the present, and consider how Marquesan artists regard their own work. Marquesan carving has undergone several revivals and is now very much a flourishing art practice. Carving studios can be found on all of the islands, and carvers are commissioned to create works for churches, *tohua* (ceremonial plazas) and other public spaces (see Figure 50). Marquesan forms and motifs appear frequently elsewhere in French Polynesia, having been co-opted into a French Polynesian artistic canon, particularly visible in the tourist-oriented capital Pape'ete (Tahiti, Society Islands)⁶⁷. The construction of the Catholic Cathedral (Saint Mary, Queen of the Marquesas) in Taioha'e, Nuku Hiva was a major project, being built

⁶⁷ This is a source of tension, as many Marquesans resist the cultural dominance of the Tahitians (for example, only Tahitian is spoken on the radio, and from high school age children must study in Pape'ete).

during the period 1973-1977 (Ivory, 2002). The Bishop, Monsignor Hervé Marie Le Cléac'h, sanctioned the local carvers chosen to work on the project to use traditional Marquesan motifs and imagery, sparking a revival of carving skills, creativity and innovation (see Figures 51 & 52). This moment had a profound effect, after over a century of suppression of traditional skills, which had excluded Marquesan art from public settings. The carvers involved in the project – Damien Hatarau, René Uki Haiti and Kahee Taupotini - are still leading artists, and clearly have a sense of pride through their role in the Cathedral's creation. Carving in the Christian context became distinctly naturalistic, in contrast to the stylized human forms of the *tiki* figures, formerly carved to stand on *tohua*. Ivory (2002) credits these carvers with beginning "a new figural tradition in Marquesan carving that brings together a Marquesan point of view and Western aesthetic principles" (2002, p.397). In Figure 53, which shows one of the carvings at the Cathedral's entrance, the head of a *tiki* is depicted being squashed underfoot⁶⁸. If this can be interpreted as indicating the destruction of the old ways, then it is difficult to imagine a more explicit depiction of radical change - the conservatism would seem to run counter to the usual rhetoric of a cultural renaissance movement, but that is exactly what these carvings were the precursor to. The cultural organisation Motu Haka formed in 1978, as a means of asserting a distinctive Marquesan identity within French Polynesia (Ivory, 2002).

Since the 1970s, Marquesan carvers have reappropriated traditional art forms such as *tiki* (see Figure 54). While conducting fieldwork in the islands in November 2010, I interviewed two master carvers, the aforementioned Kahee Taupotini (Taioha'e, Nuku Hiva), and Anihoka Tepea (Hane, Ua Huka) (see Appendix C). Taupotini was one of the carvers who had worked on the Cathedral project, and Tepea is part of a number of carvers who have created a reputation for the island of Ua Huka as a place where high quality wood-carving is to be found. Both produce work to sell – Taupotini sells his work at the local arts centre, which is at the port in Taioha'e. This is the main port apart from Atuona in Hiva Oa, and the largest arts centre in the islands. Tepea makes a

⁶⁸ It should be noted that the Cathedral stands on the site of a former site of a *tohua* with temple platform, still visible in places, which was gifted by the female chief Vaekehu.

lot of his work on request, particularly for Rose Corser, an American woman who runs a shop and private museum in Taioha'e. Formerly he made a good living selling work at commercial exhibitions in Tahiti. The type of work that Tepea makes is closely driven by the tourist market - Corser sends images of old examples of Marquesan objects, 'u'u clubs for example, and he will produce exact copies, although his own style is still discernible. There is a perceived and real demand for replicas of older objects, based on nostalgia for the imagined Marquesan past. Newer styles are purchased too, but reportedly by a different type of tourist (Taiapa-Fournier, personal communication, 15 Nov 2010).

Graburn, in his seminal study *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*, states that "The market itself is the most powerful source of formal and aesthetic innovation, often leading to changes in size, simplification, standardization, naturalism, grotesquery, novelty, and archaism (Graburn, 1976, p.15). Tepea's work is deliberately 'archaic', however despite the commercial interest Tepea and other carvers have in producing 'copies' (replicas), the works are very clearly modern productions and the work of particular carvers⁶⁹. For example Tepea and another Ua Huka carver, Maurice Rootuehine, have both produced multiple but very different 'copies' of 'Tiki Moke', an unusual black stone *tiki* found by an old man named Moke around forty years ago in the valley of Hokatu. The original has since been lost, but a scale replica can be seen in the museum at Vaipa'e'e on the island (see Figure 55). I purchased a 'Tiki Moke' made by Tepea for the Museum, based partly on the fact that it was a 2010 production of a *tiki* and would provide the opportunity to make interesting connections with the older *tiki* in the collection. Tepea's rendering is larger than the original, and has been made of *miò* (*thespesia populnea*) using power tools, and required five sandings to achieve the highly polished finish. The rounded joints of the *tiki's* arms and legs have been made angular, and the buttocks are carved with a series of curved lines (see Figure 56). This is clearly an original creation that is inspired by and memorialises the older *tiki*.

⁶⁹ Of four carvers that I visited, all had copies of the German ethnologist von den Steinen's work, *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst* (1925-8), or the recent French translation.

Taupotini spoke critically of the standardization and simplification within contemporary Marquesan carving. To him the work that is made primarily for money lacks quality - those who make large numbers of similar objects for sale do so without putting their inspiration and culture into the work; a small number of token motifs are thoughtlessly applied (see Figure 57). In comparison Taupotini saw his work, which is driven by his own creativity, as adhering to the conditions which resulted in the finished article being *tapu*, or having divine/sacred power. This was in contrast to the work produced for commercial exhibitions of Marquesan art in Tahiti (one was on at the time of interviewing), which Taupotini did not participate in⁷⁰. Beliefs around *tapu* coexist with Christian beliefs (particularly in relation to the sacred nature of old *tohua* and *me'ae* sites), and the Marquesan cross is in equal abundance to other pre-Christian motifs, such as the *ipu*, meaning calabash or container (see Appendix D). Another important arena for the work of artists such as Taupotini is the cultural festivals, or *matavaa*, which are held every four years, with a smaller event biannually. Artists produce work to decorate the dance areas, and for sale. Taupotini took a leading role in the most recent, December 2011 festival, the theme of which was 'The Apprentice', encouraging a focus on younger artists' work.

The maintenance of tradition

The cultural festivals, the first of which was organised by Motu Haka in 1987, have been very important means of encouraging the continuation of artistic traditions, and in stimulating creativity in the performing arts (Ivory, 2002). Cultural maintenance is another aspect of the 'imitation' of older works by present-day artists. Taupotini finds his inspiration in the work of his ancestors, stating simply that 'Marquesan *tiki* are always the same' – that is, they have certain conventions which continue to be followed. Where producing exact replicas is not for the purposes of sale, it was described as a way of keeping the skills in the islands. This was particularly apparent at

⁷⁰ These have been held twice each year since the 1990s, and led to the formation of the organisation *Te Tuhuka o Te Henua Enana*, an association for the promotion of Marquesan art to wider markets (Ivory, 2002).

the traditional arts school, the Centre de Métiers d'Art, in Pape'ete, Tahiti⁷¹. Students begin at sixth form level and complete a two-year course – they come from all over French Polynesia, including the Marquesas. When I visited the students were preparing for their carving exams, during which they were to complete a scale replica of iconic Polynesian deity figures from museum collections around the world – the school has a set of some examples to be used as models (see Figure 58). One student was planning to carve the iconic figure known as A'a, from Rurutu in the Austral Islands, from the British Museum's collections (see Figure 59)⁷². In this setting, reproducing the historic sculptures is not simple replication, but represents a means of attaining the highest level of carving skill possible. In emulating past practitioners, cultural values and identity can be strengthened in the present. While this may at times appear to encourage conservatism, emphasising Polynesian identities has heightened importance in the French colonial setting.

Part Three: Reconfiguring the Collection

Decentralising authority and achieving authenticity

In outlining recent developments in Marquesan art, it becomes apparent that as in any society, the factors shaping artistic production, both internal and external, are complex and interwoven. If we accept that museums do work on the assumption that *to a degree* it is possible to equate static material culture objects with dynamic human cultures (Ucko, 1994), then it would seem a vital duty of museums to seek and to represent the factors surrounding artistic production as it changes over time, and most importantly, the *internal* agendas of makers and users of objects within a particular

⁷¹ Vocational high schools also exist on the main Marquesan Islands, and master carver Damien Hatarau teaches at the Taioha'e school (Ivory, 2002).

⁷² The Pape'ete students were all fully conversant with the British Museum's Collections Online, and had searched for objects from their home areas as well as works they wished to make to challenge themselves.

group. This is not only a means by which authority can be repositioned, but for facilitating the building of a more 'authentic' collection. In the course of the development of the Marquesan collection, internal factors such as economic survival were rejected, and the works produced were regarded as inauthentic. By imposing criteria of value based on a Western conceptualisation of cultural change, and on Western aesthetic tastes, the collection was effectively discontinued. Where certain factors such as the need for economic survival prevail however, there may still be resistance to engagement. Here Graburn encourages understanding of the artists and their art on their own terms, and an acceptance of change "as a universal feature in human culture" (1976, p.32). He also highlights the need to consider the self esteem of the peoples concerned. The brief investigations that I carried out during my fieldwork would seem to suggest that in emulating the world of past practitioners, artists of different ages find a sense of purpose, identity, and a means to make a living in a very small economy. These same artists are all engaged in a process of cultural transmission – often working with images, not actual examples of their cultural heritage, which exist in museums in Europe or North America, they bring into being that which they cannot otherwise access, to serve their present agendas. Established artists play a very important role in their communities, contributing to the individual identity of their particular islands by creating lasting public works in, churches, restored *tohua* and other public spaces, and in training younger artists. Referencing these developments would seem crucial to any representation of Marquesan culture today. Exploring the internal logic of cultural groups is a major focus of anthropological enquiry, and ethnographic methodologies can work to reorient the collecting project towards this endeavour. This provides a necessary balance to other collecting considerations.

Towards a reassessment of the collection

In recommending that the British Museum's Marquesan collection undergo a process of reassessment, as acknowledged in the introductory chapter to this thesis I am, like previous curators, establishing an area of interest within which meaningful work is warranted. It is important to note that other collections, often from similarly remote

locations (for example, the Tuamotu Archipelago), have followed a similar trajectory to that of the Marquesan collection, and are also deserving of attention. The collections research carried out for this project, in conjunction with an exploration of the islands' history, has enabled an accurate picture of the collection's composition and biography to be drawn. This work provides an excellent foundation upon which the process of reassessment can be based. My own fieldwork constituted an initial effort towards this goal.

Raising awareness

I firstly sought to address the collection as it currently stands. One of the goals of my fieldwork was to raise awareness on each of the islands that I visited (Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, Ua Huka, Hiva Oa and Tahuata, but not Fatuiva), of the existence of the British Museum's Marquesan collection. I found that people were surprised to learn of it – artists tended to be aware of French and American collections, but not British collections. Without exception, all those that I spoke with were very interested in leafing through the two folders of images that I had taken with me, and in asking questions about the pieces and their history. In the local context, people were most interested in learning what there was from their own island, while artists had a more general interest. The details about specific island provenance derived from this project are therefore very important to facilitating meaningful engagement with Marquesan communities in the future. People also readily provided identifications of woods and seeds, with their indigenous names, and commented on how these materials are used today. For example, a pair of black seed wrist ornaments collected by Belcher in 1840 (Oc.4379.a-b) were confirmed as being made of *koku'u* seeds, which are very popular for making necklaces with today, particularly on Nuku Hiva. I have since provided several artists that I met with printed images of object types they were particularly interested in, and am aware that replicas may be made of the objects. (It is important to note at this point that in the Marquesas, approximately one person in one hundred has computer access, so the opportunity to access the Museum's Collections Online database or to sustain relationships via email is very limited.) There is clearly potential therefore for the collection to be a stimulus for discussions around particular bodies of

knowledge (eg. the best type of wood to use for making a particular type of object), and for the reinvigoration or extension of particular skills (carving, plaiting). Such discussions around intangible heritage might benefit Marquesan individuals and groups, but also assist the Museum in more accurately interpreting Marquesan material culture.

Marquesan approaches to heritage preservation

There is plenty of evidence that Marquesans are actively engaged in preserving tangible and intangible cultural heritage⁷³. The aforementioned organisation Motu Haka is dedicated to preserving cultural patrimony, and has for example been instrumental in ensuring that the Marquesan language, *te e’o enana*, is used in primary schools. During my stay on Hiva Oa, Félicienne Heitaa, a member of Motu Haka, was organising a festival day dedicated to monoi oil and its traditional uses. In addition there are several small museums in the islands, including one at Vaipa’e’e on Ua Huka, under the curatorship of carver Joseph Va’atete. This was established by the former mayor and opened in 1989, now housing a small collection, mainly of replica objects carved by Va’atete and other artists (see Figures 60 & 61). Ceremonial sites, particularly restored *tohua*, are carefully tended and regularly cleared of plants in order to keep them ready for performances (see Figure 62). These examples indicate that the Museum’s collections might be utilized by Marquesans in ways determined by groups such as Motu Haka, to fit existing or new agendas of cultural heritage preservation⁷⁴. Ongoing (and ideally face-to-face) contact to generate such initiatives is of course a necessary part of this.

⁷³ The 2003 *UNESCO Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage* supports the preservation of intangible cultural heritage and recognises it as central to cultural identity and diversity (Kreps, 2008, p.29).

⁷⁴ This approach has parallels to Kreps (2008) ‘appropriate museology’, which recommends the participation of stakeholders in the development of museums based within their communities.

Contemporary collecting

The creation of contemporary collections can also be a means of engaging with originating communities and in contributing to a reassessment of the collection. New acquisitions may make connections with older material in the collection, or document completely new forms. As described in Chapter Three, the lack of contemporary collecting was maintained until curator Jenny Newell travelled to Tahiti in 2003. The lack of prior contact between the Museum and the Marquesas sustained the stasis of the collection. It is unrealistic that curators always lead in this work however, and maintaining contacts with colleagues working in the same area is a practical approach. For example, Te Papa Tongarewa's Cook Islands collection was enhanced in the 1990s by archaeologist Richard Walter amongst others, at the request of ethnologist Janet Davidson (Hutton, Akeli & Mallon, 2010). There is regular archaeological activity in the Marquesas and this is a possible avenue for further collecting in the future. London does not have a diaspora community of French Polynesians (in contrast to Paris and Toulouse), which is otherwise another means of facilitating new acquisitions⁷⁵.

The acquisitions that I made in the islands were funded from a temporary (three-year, 2009-2012) internal British Museum fund, known as the 'Modern Museum Fund'. This is expressly intended for making acquisitions of material made after 1900. A group of curators within the Museum known as the 'Modern Group' established the following criteria on which new acquisitions should be considered:

1 Document change (and continuity).

2 Throw light on the following areas of human activity: political; religious / spiritual / magical; social; economic; technological; artistic.

3 Build on the Museum's strengths by continuing to collect those categories of material culture traditionally collected by the Museum; alternatively, represent a modern category of objects that has taken on the roles of traditional objects;

⁷⁵ Diaspora communities and expatriate artists have been important sources of new material for the collections of Te Papa Tongarewa's collections, as detailed in papers on the Niuean collection (Akeli & Pasene, 2011), and the Cook Islands collection (Hutton, Akeli & Mallon, 2010).

or occasionally represent a category of object new to the Museum that documents human activity.

4 Respond to or throw light on the cultures represented in its historical collections (cross-departmental connections are a key aspect of this, as are antiquities departments' acquisitions of material from successor and other countries).

(British Museum's Modern Group, 2009)

From mid 2010 it was decided that applications for making field collections would be accepted by the fund. The criteria provided ample scope for making purchases in the Marquesas from the work available and importantly, the acquisition of objects which document change is actively encouraged. Advice from locals as well as other scholars who were familiar with the islands was an important source of guidance in selecting acquisitions (see Appendix D). For example, in Atuona, Hiva Oa, I purchased a *pu ihu* (nose flute) from a specialist maker of musical instruments (primarily drums and flutes), Tuarae Peterano. The object represents a renewed interest in traditional music, and is made in the style of nineteenth century examples, using the introduced technique of pyrograving (see Chapter Three). The use of designs such as the *ipu* (container motif) and their arrangement is very conventional. Peterano's products are consumed locally as well as being sold to tourists. On Tahuata, which can only be reached by boat from Hiva Oa, I purchased work from the bone carver Teiki Barsinas. Tahuata's speciality is now considered to be bone carving. Barsinas creates shell and bone pendants, which have a very long history in the islands. However, his work demonstrates a high degree of originality, in his use of the *tiki* motif to decorate the pendants. Stencilled and dyed *pareo* (garments) represent a type of garment in use since European cloth became more widely available – the technique is also used in the Society Islands. There were few available on Hiva Oa, and the one that I purchased depicts the famous stone *tiki* figures at the *me'ae* site at Puama'u. The use of particular *tiki* as motifs is a completely new practice in Marquesan art. Purchasing directly from artists, as in the case of 'Tiki Moke' mentioned above, enabled the

documentation of narratives considered the most socially significant by the makers themselves, and this was a highly valuable aspect of the work.

Future areas of collecting focus for the British Museum would include *tapa* cloth, which is primarily manufactured by women on the island of Fatuiva (I was unable to travel to this island as intended due to the boat going temporarily out of service during my stay). From the 1950s, the formerly plain cloth was decorated with tattooing designs, and later a wider range of motifs and everyday scenes (Ivory, 2002). Ivory (2002) explains the sale of such cloth, particularly to passengers of the *Aranui*, is central to the economy of this island⁷⁶. Ideally, the Museum would also acquire larger scale artworks such as sculptures created for use as part of cultural festivals, given that the collection is dominated by smaller more portable objects. In addition, acquiring twentieth century productions is also important in order to attempt to fill the gaps resulting from past practice – the dispersal of private collections, for example, may provide opportunity for such acquisitions in future.

Exhibitions

The multi-faceted nature of exhibitions means that they have broad potential for the participation of originating communities and as catalysts for new acquisitions. When working at a distance, the main issue in facilitating this form of engagement is cost. Exhibitions dedicated solely to Marquesan art are fairly rare, and opportunities for Marquesans to participate in their creation, particularly where exhibitions take place outside of the Pacific region, are even less common. In the case of *Adorning the World: Art of the Marquesas Islands*, a 2005 exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a group of Marquesans worked with external co-curator Carol Ivory, a Marquesan specialist who visits the islands regularly, to visit New York and to participate in the opening of the exhibition (see Figure 63)⁷⁷. Museum funds were not available to support this effort (Ivory, personal communication, 19 Feb 2012).

⁷⁶ The *Aranui* (see Chapter Two) is a cargo ship which travels between the islands and also carries passengers.

⁷⁷ The group also visited the collections at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, with the support of the curator there (Ivory, personal communication, 19 Feb 2012).

The British Museum's collection certainly has the potential for a dedicated exhibition. Depending on gallery space, such a presentation might be strengthened by material loaned from other British and European institutions. In the meantime, the improved documentation of the collection enables objects to be proposed for inclusion in Museum-wide exhibitions, but particularly touring exhibitions such as *Treasures of the British Museum*. The 2010 field collection was shown in the Museum's Centre for Anthropology display case, with information provided by informants being included in the text (see Figure 64). Objects from this collection have already been noted as potential inclusions for upcoming touring exhibitions which are still in the planning stages.

Preserving the potential for new narratives

All of the objects collected in 2010 (see Appendix D) make connections with earlier material in the collection, and therefore provide the opportunity for the older objects to be drawn into new narratives of cultural continuity, change and innovation. As outlined in the previous chapter, presentations of Marquesan material have emphasised the past, and in a few cases made reference to the impact of colonisation. By visually representing the present, with both objects and contextual images where possible, the present can be discussed as more than just a postscript to the events of history. Rather, the current social context of Marquesan artistic production can be presented, with the artworks as evidence of the dynamism and agency of Marquesan artists and communities. In this way, Marquesans are no longer excluded from the narrative, and through objects such as 'Tiki Moke' can offer new narratives and personal stories of their own. In order to preserve the potential for new narratives and insights to appear, as I have demonstrated in relation to the Marquesan collection, collecting consistently through time, and resisting comparative judgements that might be made about the material available and expected trajectories is important. In doing so, even modest acquisitions, or objects which may seem trivial are afforded a much greater communicative power when placed within a larger, internally-referencing collection.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This thesis has examined the British Museum's collection from the Marquesas Islands, and considered its beginnings, growth, and effective discontinuation in the twentieth century. In tracing the collection's history from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century, it has become clear that the stasis of the collection was primarily the result of factors internal to the British Museum, but which corresponded with wider academic theory on race and culture. Specifically, the persistence of negative curatorial attitudes towards representing cultural change through objects which evidence external influence has proved that the stasis in the collection was generated from the centre (the institution), to a greater degree than the source (the islands). While these attitudes were changing in the second half of the nineteenth century, renewed collecting projects had not, till the instigation of this project, been extended to the Marquesas Islands. In answering key questions around the history of the collection, it has become possible to understand the situation of unresearched collections more generally, and to understand the significance and potential of this particular collection.

The manner in which the collection has been presented to the public via permanent displays and temporary exhibitions has also been outlined, and a clear and persistent bias towards the earliest collected material has become apparent throughout. The multiple redefinitions of the objects and their role within the Museum and scholarly discourse over the course of the collection's existence are shown to have obscured indigenous systems of meaning, and to have circumvented acknowledgment of changing priorities within Marquesan society, as they relate to artistic practice.

The thesis also argues that the composition of the collection has served to maintain an emphasis on Marquesan culture as it existed in the past, and to restrict the development of new exhibition initiatives, which may in turn have created the impetus for renewed collecting. A discussion of recent developments in Marquesan artistic

practice reveal that attention to social context can inform contemporary collecting projects, facilitate meaningful engagement with originating communities, and enable museums to more effectively represent dynamic cultures via object collections. By reorienting attention towards the internal priorities of the producing group, historic collections can also be reassessed, enabling the full potential of the collection to be attained.

While this research project has confirmed that the British Museum's Marquesan collection is indeed lacking material produced in the twentieth century, it has revealed that the nineteenth century material which dominates is a highly valuable resource with which to describe this period of Marquesan history. A continuing emphasis on 'first contact' material is unjustified where this excludes other narratives of cultural change and indigenous response to colonisation. The research has now clarified the exact nature of these later, alternative narratives, and shown them to be both compelling and achievable via the collection as it stands (although the development of additional narratives based in the more recent past is also essential). This demonstrates that where collections remain unresearched, their potential remains limited, and dated interpretations continue to be recycled from decade to decade, or even century to century. Moreover, the Museum's policies around 'cultural change' as a phenomenon that should be documented and exhibited have moved on and are clearly supported within the institution. Hence further reassessment of the Marquesan collection, and other unresearched collections (particularly those associated with groups which have experienced radical changes either as a result of colonisation or other factors) is particularly timely. Of course, across very large collections such as the British Museum's, resources may restrict the even application of this agenda, however where research and reassessment can be achieved, their fulfilment enables the Museum to better align itself with current museological discourse and practice.

Here I will briefly highlight some of the key features of the collection (refer to Appendix A for detailed documentation and commentary) which support new narratives on the Marquesan past. Firstly, the collection includes an outstanding range of body adornment, including many rare types associated with those of high rank, and

incorporating numerous materials of particular value to Marquesans, for example, whale ivory. These are testament to the skill of *tuhuka*, the vibrancy of Marquesan feasting and dance, and the importance of demonstrating political power through one's appearance. Recreational objects such as the stilts (Oc.207.a&b, Oc.208.a&b) relate to the lighter side of Marquesan society, while incorporating valuable strips of barkcloth and being decorated with protective motifs also used in tattooing, for example. The small pouch of tattooing powder (Oc.6348) collected in 1868 can be connected with the banning of tattooing and a wide range of other traditional practices during the second half of the nineteenth century, which was to have a profound effect on Marquesan society and artistic output. However, objects such as the tobacco pipes (Oc,Ea.8 & Oc,Ea.9) and container (Oc1899,-.159), represent a concurrent uptake of new, introduced practices, and the innovativeness of the *tuhuka*. Similarly, the persistence of traditional art forms into the later nineteenth century demonstrates resilience in the face of extraordinary external pressure and influence. The wooden figure from Tahuata (Oc1899,-.160) decorated with tattoo motifs perhaps constitutes an example of cultural preservation, where the practice itself was forbidden. Objects such as the canoe prow ornament (Oc,LMS.194) collected by London Missionary Society members in the first half of the nineteenth century are important illustrations of the impact of change, having become obsolete by the end of the century. Late nineteenth century productions such as the elaborately carved bowls collected by F.W. Christian and intended for sale can be related to a changing economy and new motivations for the creation of older object types. These examples illustrate that the collection has significant potential as a communicative tool, when the objects are viewed as a means of accessing the experiences of Marquesan people in a period of dramatic change. This contrasts with earlier approaches which have devalued post-contact material and thus obscured these narratives.

This project has focussed on the development of the collection through time, charting the pattern of acquisitions and seeking insight into the reasons for the collection's growth and stasis in differing periods. When considering the collection's future, it should be acknowledged that in the past donations played a very significant role in the collection's expansion – donations which in many cases were the result of the personal

influence of key individuals such as curator and Keeper Augustus Woolaston Franks. The existence of collections such as Henry Christy's however, was dependent on the amount of material available for collection from the islands themselves, and the wealth and skill of Christy in procuring these objects from others. The decade beginning in 1890 saw Marquesan acquisitions peak, with an almost equal number of purchases and donations (see Figure 12). At this juncture, acquisitions of 'traditional' object types such as weapons and personal ornaments remained steady, but it is highly significant that the range of types expanded most dramatically at this time (see Figure 14). Domestic objects, such as *ke'a tuki popoi* (breadfruit pounders) became available as islanders embraced a wider range of food types and became willing to trade older objects in their possession in difficult economic times. These circumstances, quite obviously, will never be repeated. The effects of colonisation, including the dramatic impact on the Marquesan population size cannot be ignored as a historical factor which inhibited artistic production. A great many object types had ceased to be made, the skills lost with the death of *tuhuka* and the erasure of the social context in which these objects had played central roles, particularly as indicators of social status and rank. Two world wars also led to limited contact with the islands, as independent travel decreased worldwide. Therefore when considering the future of the collection, the approach recommended here takes collecting or expansion of the collection as just one component part of any reassessment effort. An overriding goal should be to place *people* at the centre of the Museum's activities around research and exhibitions. Here, as discussed in Chapter Five, new agendas might be offered by Marquesans themselves, in line with stake-holder-driven approaches to museological practice as recommended by Kreps (2008), and following other such examples (such as the Melanesia Project) at the British Museum.

Investigations into the development of Marquesan art in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have also been central to understanding what is *not* represented in the Museum's collection, and therefore how this might be explained and compensated for in representations of Marquesan culture in the museum context. These investigations enable one to understand the current forms of Marquesan art in relation to local priorities, which include preservation and revitalization of cultural heritage, and

economic survival. It is these internal agendas, rather than overriding institutional concerns, which should be sought in order to inform future collecting endeavours in particular. Periodic re-engagement will be necessary if the Museum is to achieve an ongoing 'intercultural dialogue', as recommended by Bennett (2006), in order to facilitate the *mobility* of the collection's meaning over time. The foundational research carried out for this project has set the stage for further engagement with Marquesans that will encourage the development of a broader and more nuanced range of potential research and exhibition outputs, and which will result in more accurate and authentic representations of the Marquesan culture, past and present.

Appendix A

Selected catalogue

This catalogue is a supplementary resource which provides details on key acquisitions within the British Museum's Marquesan collections. Some entries expand on descriptions found in Chapter Three. Others have not been mentioned in the main thesis due to space constraints, although they are also important acquisitions. The information has been gathered during the research process and in many cases represents the first synthesis of primary source documentation. The catalogue is arranged chronologically by *acquisition* year, except where otherwise stated. A full listing of the collection is provided in Appendix B.

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Cook collection 1770s (?)



Oc1978,Q.838

The club is of the type known as 'u'u. These clubs were and are made of *toa* (*Casuarina equisetifolia*), a hard and heavy wood used for weapons. The weight of the thick, oval head would have dealt a severe blow (the French term is *casse-tête*,

translates as ‘head-breaker’), but the clubs were also a prestigious possession of chiefs and warriors. This club is notable for its simplicity, in comparison to nineteenth century examples, which have elaborate relief decoration. It has two faces consisting of three knobs, which each in turn represent a small *tiki* face. The multiple *tiki* faces function similarly to tattoo imagery, having a protective quality.

Forster specifically mentions clubs in his account of the second voyage:

We soon returned to the trading place with our acquisitions, and conversed with the natives, who had now so far laid aside their distrust, as to part with their arms to us for our iron tools. These weapons were all made of the club-wood, or casuarina, and were either plain spears, about eight or ten feet long, or clubs, which commonly had a large knob at one end.

(Forster, 2000, p.333)



Oc1977,Q.9

The sling is made of coconut fibre, and is 230 centimetres long. These were commonly used in warfare – the woven pocket launching a stone missile. The length of the sling enabled them to be used long range, and they were used to great effect by the Taipi, in repelling the first attack from the sea by Captain David Porter⁷⁸. One end of the

⁷⁸ Despite arriving with an alleged force of five thousand men, and being armed with muskets, Porter repeatedly describes being “assailed by a shower of stones” as he and his Tei’i and Hapa’a allies tried to progress into the valley (Porter, 2009 [1822], p.264). Finally they retreated back to the beach, “much fatigued and harassed with marching and fighting, and with no contemptible opinion of the enemy we had encountered, or the difficulties we should have to surmount in conquering them” (Porter, 2009 [1822], p.265).

plaited sling is threaded through a black seed (possibly of the *koku'u* (*Sapindus saponaria*)) and a *tiki ivi po'o*, a bone (possibly human) cylinder, carved with a human figure. Tassels of human hair, each bound into a bunch with single strands of coconut fibre, complete the decoration. *Ivi po'o* were widely used threaded on cordage attached to slings, bowls, trumpets and drums, but also as personal ornaments. One other of the four slings in the Museum's collections has been identified as possibly being attributable to Cook's visit to the Marquesas – it is another Q numbered object which has lost all previous documentation, Oc1980,Q.1041, and is very similar to Oc1977,Q.9.



Oc1980,Q.1041

The missionary William Pascoe Crook describes slings as he observed them being used at Tahuata, 1797-8:

They also wear, as ornaments, tied round the head, their slings; which are much more neatly made than at Otahete [Tahiti]; &, when used for this purpose, have a Tuft of the white beard hair, tied at the end of the string. When they use them as weapons, they only swing them once round, before they let go the sliding end of the slings. The Stones, which they discharge, are as large, or larger than a Goose Egg.

(Dening, 2007, p. 59 (23 in original manuscript))

Other objects of types known to have been collected on Cook's second voyage (and identified by Kaeppler in other museums collections (c.1978)) are amongst the Q numbered objects in the British Museum. Some of these objects continued being

made into the nineteenth century, and so it is not possible to strongly suggest they may have been collected by Cook and his crew, simply to state that given the late registration of the Cook material, this possible attribution cannot be ruled out. These include two examples of the *uhikana* type of head ornament, which are associated with chiefs of the southern Marquesas (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). The first, Oc1980,Q.1044, consists of a woven coconut fibre band, to which is attached a pearl shell disc overlaid with a turtleshell plate. The second, Oc1980,Q.1055, lacks the turtleshell component, but has remnants of vertically arranged cock and tropic bird feathers, attached to the band. In the first, the turtleshell plate has openwork designs – four *ipu* motifs encircle a small, central disc. Ivory (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005) notes that all remaining examples of *uhikana* of this design were made before the 1830s. The Tahuata chief, Honu, who met Cook and his crew in 1774 is depicted wearing such a headdress, and an extraordinary *uhikana* with two pearl shell discs forms part of a headdress of long black cock feathers, which is illustrated in the artefact plate (see Figure 18). The latter was donated by Johann Reinhold and George Forster to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. The British Museum has no examples of a second type of *uhikana*, made in the late nineteenth century, in which six *tiki* figures of turtleshell encircle the central disc.



Oc1980,Q.1044



Oc1980,Q.1055

A second object type (also featured in the artefact plate, Figure 18) is a head-dress of coconut fibre, which has been dyed black (Oc1980,Q.1046). The head-dress consists of three rows of neat, vertical lengths of tightly twisted fibre, with plaited cords decorated with whale and human teeth. Forster describes these as “a circle from whence several ranges of twisted strings of coco-nut core, about two inches long,

either of the natural colour, or dyed black, diverged around the head” (Forster, 2000, p.332).



Oc1980,Q.1046

A third type, is a neck ornament known as a *tahi poniu*. These are constructed of breadfruit wood wedges and *poniu*, the red seeds of the abrus plant, a Polynesian introduction. There are two in the Museum’s collection, Oc1980,Q.1050 and Oc1980,Q.1051 (see Chapter Four).



Oc1980,Q.1050



Oc1980,Q.1051

G.H. von Langsdorff, expedition scientist on the Russian voyage of the *Nadezhda* and the *Neva* (1803-1806), which spent two weeks on Nuku Hiva in May, 1804, describes the neck ornament known as a *tahi poniu*:

A very favourite ornament for the neck is a sort of gorget, which has the shape of a horse-shoe, and is made of several rows of little pieces of bread-fruit wood strung together. To these are fastened, by means of a sort of resin which comes from the same tree, a number of those red and black seeds of the *abrus precatorius*, which the ladies in Europe use so much for necklaces.

(Langsdorff, 1813-4, p.171)

Kaeppler (c.1978) has identified four *tahi poniu* associated with Cook in museum collections, the Oxford example being the one most likely to have been drawn for the artefact plate published in the Atlas to the second voyage (1777). At least one of these must have belonged to the Vaitahu chief Honu, who is depicted by voyage artist William Hodges wearing one. Cook also records that Honu was willing to exchange some of his personal ornaments:

Towards Noon a chief of some consequence, attended by a great number of People, came down to us, I made him a present of Nails and Several other Articles and in return he gave me some of his ornaments, after these Mutal exchanges a good under Standing Seemed to be settled between us

and them so that we got by exchanges as much fruit as Loaded two boats
and then return on board.

(Cook, 2003, p.342 (April 9th entry))

Finally, two fans or *tahi'i* of the same type depicted in the plate are also amongst the Q numbered material (Oc1980,Q.1067 and 1068). These are another object associated with high-ranking individuals, of either sex. Four fans from Cook's visit to Tahuata have been identified in museum collections (Kaepler, c.1978). The two Q numbered fans in the British Museum are of the type not made after around 1800 – the handles have a flaring base and a smooth finish, while later styles are adorned with *tiki* figures (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005).



Oc1980,Q.1067



Oc1980,Q.1068

Isaacson/Chatham Museum purchase 1844

Early acquisitions of Pacific material by the British Museum were actively encouraged by trustee, Sir Joseph Banks, however this had not involved expenditure, as material collected on voyages had been received as donations. In 1844, a Marquesan '*u'u*' club, was amongst a small collection purchased from the Chatham Museum, from an 'Isaacson' (Oc1844,0725.4). Thirteen objects were acquired at this time, mainly weapons from Polynesia and West Africa. The club was only later identified as being Marquesan, indicating the collection was not well-documented when it arrived at the Museum. The Chatham Museum may have been located in Kent, and 'Isaacson' may have been Stephen Isaacson (1798-1849), a writer who belonged in the 1840s to the

British Archaeological Association, and who lived in Kent and had contacts with others whose collections were ultimately left to museums (Goodwin, 2006). The fact that Isaacson's collection was thought worthy of purchase, and material likely from the same individual was purchased later in the nineteenth century, suggests he was a respected collector, who probably had social connections with staff at the Museum.



Oc1844,0725.4

Three other objects are known to have been previously owned by Isaacson. Two Q numbered whale ivory ear ornaments or *hakakai* (Oc1980,Q.1057 & 1058) were added to the collection by Franks – old labels suggest in 1874. The third, Oc,+3276, came to the museum in 1886 from Franks, having been acquired by him in 1874 (see label).



Oc1980,Q.1057



Oc1980,Q.1058



Oc,+3276

Christy Collection stilts 1865



Oc,207.a

Oc,207.b

The *vaeake* Oc.207.a&b are in very good condition – both stilt steps are carved in the conventional manner with an outward facing *tiki* figure; they are each bound to the pole with barkcloth strips and plaited coconut fibre cordage. The light and dark brown cordage is bound in such a way as to create an attractive pattern of diagonally intersecting lengths, similar to the binding techniques seen on fan handles and other

objects. The poles themselves are made of light-weight wood, one (a) is relief-carved with a pattern of concentric diamonds, the other (b) with *ipu* motifs. In a second pair of *vaeake*, Oc.208.a&b, the coconut fibre cordage has been bound to create a pattern of concentric diamonds.



Oc.208.b

G.H. von Langsdorff, expedition scientist on the Russian voyage of the *Nadezhda* and the *Neva*, (1803-1806; two weeks were spent on Nuku Hiva in May, 1804), describes the popularity of *vaeake*:

Next to dancing, one of the favourite amusements among these people is running on stilts, and perhaps no nation upon earth can do this with so much dexterity as the inhabitants of Washington's Islands [the name given to the northern Marquesas following discovery by the American captain Joseph Ingraham in April, 1791]. At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this be accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shewn by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must great increase the difficulty: children are thoroughly habituated to this exercise, even by the time they are eight or ten years old.

(Langsdorff, 1813-14, pp.168-9)

HMS Topaze donations 1870



Oc.6348

The tattooing powder is a particularly poignant object. Tattooing had been formally banned from the 1860s, although given that fully tattooed elderly people were still living in the 1920s, it is very likely that the practice did in fact continue to a limited extent. One wonders about the circumstances of Linton's acquisition – perhaps as a surgeon he showed some interest in the technique of tattooing the skin in the extensive manner practised in the Marquesas, or perhaps it belonged to a *tuhuka/tuhuna* who felt it would be better to trade it away.



Oc.6336



Oc.6337

The three *tiki ivi po'o* (Oc.6336, 6337; 6335 is now missing) are small, portable objects, which at that time would still have been fairly common. Often carved from the bones of enemies, these small, durable figures represented ancestors, and as mentioned above were used to decorate a wide range of objects (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). Many of these objects were no longer in frequent use however – drumming, for example,

was one of the prohibited activities, so presumably fewer were made and decorated. With prohibitions partly aimed at halting the practice of human sacrifice, *ivi po'o* would no longer have been carved from enemy bones.

Markham donation 1870

Another donation which was undoubtedly a result of Franks' wide circle of contacts, and involvement in academic organisations, was of a club of the 'u'u type, from Clements R. Markham. Markham (1830-1916) was a historian and geographer, who published widely with the Hakluyt Society on discoveries and expeditions – he was the translator of the accounts of Quiros of Mendaña's Pacific voyages. In an undated letter to Franks (the club was received by the Museum in 1870), Markham writes: "The club was sent to me by an old Chilian clerical friend in 1859: Dr Don Francisco de Paula Tafo, Canonigo Magistral of the cathedral of Santiago, who said it belonged to his father, and was Araucanian. This statement took me in, and it is all I know about it. You have got a very nice woodcut of the top of it.... " (British Museum, n.d.)⁷⁹. It is unfortunate that Clements did not recognise the club as being Marquesan (rather associating it with Chile and Argentina), given his own contribution to the historical accounts of the Marquesas Islands. However, his letter indicates the club was likely collected in the early nineteenth century.

⁷⁹ This information has only recently been recorded against this object by Marjorie Caygill (British Museum), who is studying the Christy Correspondence.



Oc.6034

Based on Ivory's 1994 analysis of the 'u'u style of clubs, it appears to be of the earlier 'Style A' type, with the exception that there are small faces relief-carved either side of the club's head, a feature more characteristic of Ivory's 'Style B'. Ivory found only three such exceptional examples in her study of 239 clubs, and concluded that these three clubs (which included the British Museum club Oc1844,0725.4) may have been carved in Nuku Hiva in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, by a single artist (Ivory, 1994). While the likely date of Oc.6034 does not contradict Ivory's hypothesis, close examination of Oc1844,0725.4 and Oc.6034 reveal small differences in proportion and features, that make it difficult to confirm that they have been carved by the same artist.

HMS Challenger donation 1878

Another minor acquisition from the 1870s is a pair of ear ornaments, *pu taiana/taiata*, acquired during the oceanographic expedition of the HMS *Challenger*, 1872-1876, and donated to the Museum in 1878 by Scottish naturalist Sir Wyville Thomson (Oc,+592.a-b). The ornaments had previously been recorded as possibly being from the Tuamotu Archipelago, but they are certainly Marquesan – there was most likely a

stop at the islands in the second half of 1875. *Pu taiana* have openwork spurs or ivory or bone, worn behind the ear, the ornament being fastened at the front with a cap of shell. The spurs are carved in one of several conventional themes – this pair appears to relate to a story recorded by the German ethnologist Karl von den Steinen, in which two girls on a tree swing played a trick on a visitor named Akau. Akau instructed two warriors to take revenge – they threw stones at the branch, causing the girls to fall and die (cited in Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). On the upper ornament, the two small figures can be seen upside down between the two adult figures either side. A similar pair was donated by Belcher in 1842, and three examples (most likely made in the nineteenth century) came into the collection in the twentieth century.



Oc,+592.a-b

Bragge tobacco pipes 1882



Oc,Ea.8



Oc,Ea.9

It is thought that *epaepa* became one of the objects which a *tuhuna/tuhuka* might specialise in making. Oc,Ea.8 is carved with two *tiki* figures on each side, which would have been positioned upside down when the pipe was in use; the two figures on the end of the pipe have lost their heads. Oc,Ea.9 is similarly carved with two figures on the outer end of the pipe, but is otherwise plain; one of the figure's hands are placed on the stomach, the other has one hand raised to the chin, following the conventional style. *Tapu* restrictions were applied to both the apparatus and the practice of smoking – men and women smoked separately, and pipes belonging to a member of one gender would not be used by the other (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). As with other finely carved bone and ivory objects made from the pre-contact era onwards, they were passed from one generation to the next as heirlooms.

Venus voyage collection 1891

Franks acquired the collection from Madame de Marlin, who is described on the Christy Collection registration slips as the daughter of the *Venus* voyage interpreter⁸⁰. The collection includes two foot-rests for stilts, *tapuvae* (Oc,+5349 and 5350), a head-band decorated with whale teeth (Oc,+5351), a feather head ornament (Oc,+5352), and a semi-circular headdress of cock feathers, known as a *ta'avaha* (Oc,+5353).

⁸⁰ It has not been possible to determine who amongst those on the voyage this individual was.



Oc,+5350



Oc,+5351

The feather head ornament was known as a *peue kavii* or *tuetue*, is one of few surviving examples of this object type – one can be found in the collection of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (museum registration number 1922.1165). The ornament was worn on the head, with the pendants resting on the chest – here these include whale teeth pendants and a small *hakakai* ear ornament (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). It is a good example of the effort put into the making of prestigious ornaments to be worn at feasts and other gatherings. In the image of this object, one can see the delicate pattern of woven coconut fibre, forming the bindings which secure the feathers at either side of the ornament.



Oc,+5352

The *ta'avaha* headdress is also rare, and unique in the collection also. These were particularly valuable items, requiring the tail feathers of several hundred birds to complete (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). The objects would have been collected in 1838, when Dupetit Thouars visited the islands and completed a survey of the group. Given that he exchanged names with the chief Iotete at Vaitahu, this relationship may have provided the avenue for the flow of such illustrious gifts.



Oc,+5353

Vancouver voyage material 1891

George Vancouver sailed in the *Resolution* on Cook's second voyage, and the *Discovery* on the third, returning to England to be made lieutenant. He embarked on a surveying

voyage of the Pacific in 1791, now captain of another ship named the *Discovery*, accompanied by the *Chatham*, commanded by William Broughton⁸¹. Vancouver successfully charted the coastline of northwest America, and the Hawaiian Islands, which he claimed for King George III in 1793 (Dunmore, 1992). Vancouver's expedition required re-supplying while in progress, and Richard Hergest (who had also sailed on Cook's second and third voyages) was sent in command of the *Daedalus* to fulfil this mission. By the time he reached the Marquesas in March 1792, en route to Hawaii where he was to meet the *Discovery* and the *Chatham*, the ship had suffered significant damage. Upon arrival at Vaitahu Bay, a fire broke out in the stores. Some of the details are relayed by Vancouver in his *Voyage of Discovery* (1798, referenced here as Lamb, 1984), from letters of Hergest, Gooch, and the surviving master, Thomas New (Lamb, 1984, Vol. 1). After vexing the crew with their propensity to take items of curiosity from the ship, the islanders at Vaitahu demonstrated that they wished to make peace by sending a swimmer with a green branch wrapped in white tapa cloth to the ship. From this point the crew were able to trade openly for water, fruit and vegetables, and even some small pigs. Three chiefs came on board at different times (one of which Hergest later took hostage to ensure the return of a gun), and further exchanges of supplies are mentioned (Lamb, 1984, Vol.2).

The ship then proceeded to chart the northern Marquesas. The ship was met by canoes as it travelled along the coasts of the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou, and Hergest and Gooch went ashore at Taioha'e Bay, Nuku Hiva. Vancouver relays their experiences at Taioha'e:

The country seemed to be highly cultivated, and was fully inhabited by a civil and friendly race of people, readily inclined to supply whatever refreshments their country afforded. Our people were induced to entertain this opinion from the hospitable reception they experienced on landing, from the chiefs and upwards of fifteen hundred of the natives who were assembled on the shores of the harbour.

⁸¹ Broughton was to discover and name the Chatham Islands, while separated from Vancouver and the *Discovery* between New Zealand and Tahiti (Dunmore, 1992).

(Lamb, 1984, Vol. 2, p.782 (events of April 1st))

There were, therefore, several opportunities for objects to have been acquired by Hergest and the crew, including interactions with those of high rank. Hergest, who also believed himself to be the discoverer of the northern Marquesas, reached the Hawaiian Islands too late to meet the other ships, only to be murdered along with the astronomer Gooch. The *Daedalus* sailed on to Nootka Sound to assist Vancouver as planned (Dunmore, 1992). Marquesan material could have been transferred to the *Discovery* at this juncture, and later passed to Hewett. Positive relations certainly did not prevail during the second stop at Taioha'e Bay, Nuku Hiva, on the return voyage of the *Daedalus* in 1793, making exchanges of cultural objects less likely. The ship, which was now commanded by Lieutenant James Hanson, returned to the Marquesas in 1793, to Taioha'e Bay in Nuku Hiva. On board were crew from the *Discovery*, who were weary of travel and sick – there were only fifteen working crew members at this time (Denning, 1980; Denning, 1988). During their stay, the brother of the chief Keatonui was killed in a misunderstanding over trading fruit (this incident was later described to the missionary Crook) (Denning, 2007). As they departed, the crew also opened fire on Keatonui as he returned victorious from a raid on the Taipi – they suspected his approach was an attack on the ship. An unknown number were killed (Denning, 1980). A few objects collected in the Marquesas and taken on board the *Daedalus* were much later acquired by the British Museum, along with material from Hawaii and the American northwest coast.



Oc,VAN.400

The object described in Hewett's listing as an ear ornament, is in fact a *ta'a puaika/ta'a puaina*, an ear piercer. It is a simple example – these heirloom objects, sometimes made from the bones of ancestors, were often carved with full *tiki* figures.



Oc, Van.399

The head ornament is an *uhikana*, which consists of a pearl shell disc, overlaid with a turtleshell plate. The plate is delicately carved with a design of *ipu* motifs, which encircle a small, central disc.



Oc1983,Q.15

The neck ornament is a pendant made of shell, but shaped as a whale tooth – Forster describes seeing these at Tahuata in 1774, and an example from the Forster collection is now in the collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum (Forster, 2000). These pendants indicate the value and rarity of whale teeth, and the willingness of islanders to part with valuable possessions.

Christian collection 1899

Christian began in the southern group, and spent several months at Tahuata. Despite describing his accumulating a “little stock of curios” while there, Christian does not mention the occasion on which he collected a very extraordinary object (which is described in the museum register as being from Tahuata) (Christian, 1910, p.131). Oc1899,-.160 is a wooden female figure, which has been pyro-engraved with tattoo designs. It includes, for example, the delicate designs worn under the ear lobe, and the vertical lines which decorated the lips. The 1899 museum register notes that the wood is *mi'o* (*Thespesia populnea*), however Dr Paula Rudall (Jodrell Laboratory, Kew Gardens) recently examined the wood and suggested a species of *Fagraea* (*pua enana*) was likely. Given that tattooing had been suppressed for several decades by missionaries (who were still active in the islands in the 1890s; Christian expresses great admiration of their work), the figure may have been made for Christian, in response to his enquiries, as a demonstration piece. As such, it is a highly valuable record of a southern tattoo artist’s memory of the designs formerly used for female tattooing.



Oc1899,-.160

Christian visited the most remote island of Fatuiva in 1895, staying for twenty days (Christian, 1910). Here he collected a lidded wooden bowl, or *umete* (Oc1899,-.156-7). He comments on the expertise of the carvers of paddles, clubs and bowls on this island – expertise which he believed was disappearing:

But curios of this kind are harder to obtain every succeeding year, for, as the skilled native artificers die out, no one trains up others to take their place, and specimens are now scarcely to be found save by careful search in some European museum, or they may be brought to light amongst the dust and cobwebs in some obscure corner of a private collection. Still I was fortunate enough to secure one *Kokaa* or round bowl⁸², and one *Umete* or oblong dish, both carved in curious and elaborate patterns. They are now in the British Museum.

(Christian, 1910, pp.137-138)



Oc1899,-.156



Oc1899,-.157

⁸² The Museum has one other bowl received from Christian besides the *umete*. It is an *ipu ehi*, a relief-carved coconut bowl (Oc1899,-.158). It is featured in Christian's book, *Eastern Pacific Lands*, with the caption 'carved coconut-shell cup From Hiva-Oa Island' (1910, plate facing p.138). In the original museum register entry the 'cup' is recorded as being from Fatuiva – information which would have been supplied by Christian.



Oc1899,-.158, *ko'oka* or *ipu ehi*. Christian (1910) mentions acquiring a *ko'oka* on Fatuiva, however this bowl is pictured in the publication, with a caption attributing it to Hiva Oa.

Careful reading of Christian also enables a stone *tiki* and piece of white barkcloth, *tapa*, to be attributed to the island of Hiva Oa. Both are the first of these object types to enter the Museum's collections, and they were offered to Christian not as curios for sale, but as gifts on his departure from Hiva Oa in 1895. Given that the *tiki* was described as being of 'great antiquity' (and was therefore a significant gift on the part of the Atuona chief, Puku, who Christian had stayed with), it is unfortunate that Christian considered it 'surpassing ugliness' (Christian, 1910, p.150). It is also one of very few objects in the collection for which the name of the Marquesan owner is known with certainty. *Tiki* figures of this kind were placed at small shrines or *me'ae*, in order to propitiate the *etua* (gods) and ensure success in a particular endeavour (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005).



Oc1899,-.155

The cloth is greyish white, with a texture of uniform, parallel lines. This is typically the only pattern used on Marquesan cloth, and it was created by the ridges and grooves of the *ike* (tapa beater). It may be made from *ute* (paper mulberry tree, *Broussonetia papyrifera*), which was used for ceremonial purposes⁸³, or *mei* (breadfruit tree, *Artocarpus incisa*). It is significant that barkcloth was still being used as a gift at this point, and indicates its continuing status, despite a decline in its manufacturing⁸⁴.



Oc1899,-.168

Christian travelled on to Nuku Hiva, where he visited the female chief Vaekehu, wife of the late Temoana, and passed on a letter from Stevenson for her son, Stanislaw (Christian had had news of Stevenson's death in late 1894 while in the southern islands). From here he visited Ua Huka, where he spent Christmas of 1895, and where he collected several stone pounders⁸⁵. Again, these were the first of their type to

⁸³ *Ute* cuttings were planted at the birth of a child to fulfil ceremonial requirements throughout their life, including at tattooing and marriage (Handy, 1923; Kooijman, 1972).

⁸⁴ Marine biologist and ethnologist James Hornell was also given pieces of barkcloth during his 1924-5 visit to the islands as part of the St George Expedition – in each case these were cut from a length of old barkcloth, carefully kept by the owners (Hornell, 1924-5).

⁸⁵ Christian gives the pounders a brief and complimentary mention, but the most compelling account of his collecting endeavours on Ua Huka (and overall) is in relation to two human skulls, which Christian took from a sacred banyan tree, high in the peaks of Ua Huka (1910, pp.170-171). Christian states the skulls "are now in the College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields". Parts of the museum collection belonging to the Royal College of Surgeons (London) were destroyed during World War Two. Some of the surviving material was transferred to the Natural History Museum following, and the skulls collected by Christian may be two of the three in the NHM's human remains collection (the skulls have no accompanying documentation).

enter the collection, and while being valued in their own right, they were the first primarily utilitarian objects to be acquired. Breadfruit was a staple of the Marquesan diet, and children had formerly undergone a ritual in which their hands were made *tapu* for the purposes of pounding breadfruit into *popoi* (breadfruit paste) (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). Ua Huka was known for producing pounders, which were traded to other islands in the archipelago (E.S.C. Handy, 1923).



Oc1899,-.161

Turvey Abbey 1904

In 1904, a further six Marquesan objects were purchased as part of a larger collection of forty-one objects from Mr H. Longuet Higgins, of Turvey Abbey, Turvey, Bedfordshire. This acquisition had been under negotiation since Franks' time, and the material is noted to have been collected a long time previous (letter from Franks, 1890, cited in Museum's Collections Online database). The Marquesan acquisitions included four *tapuvae*, stilt steps, and an 'u'u club.



Oc1904,-.261



Oc1904,-.264

London Missionary Society collection 1911

In the catalogue of the Missionary Museum, published in 1826, an introductory advertisement explains the rationale for public display:

But the most valuable and impressive objects in this Collection are the numerous, and (in some instances) *horrible*, IDOLS, which have been imported from the South Sea Islands, from India, China, and Africa; and among these, those especially which were actually given up by their former worshippers, from a *full conviction of the folly and sin of idolatry* – a conviction derived from the ministry of the Gospel by the missionaries. The Directors, in exhibiting these singularly interesting objects, comply

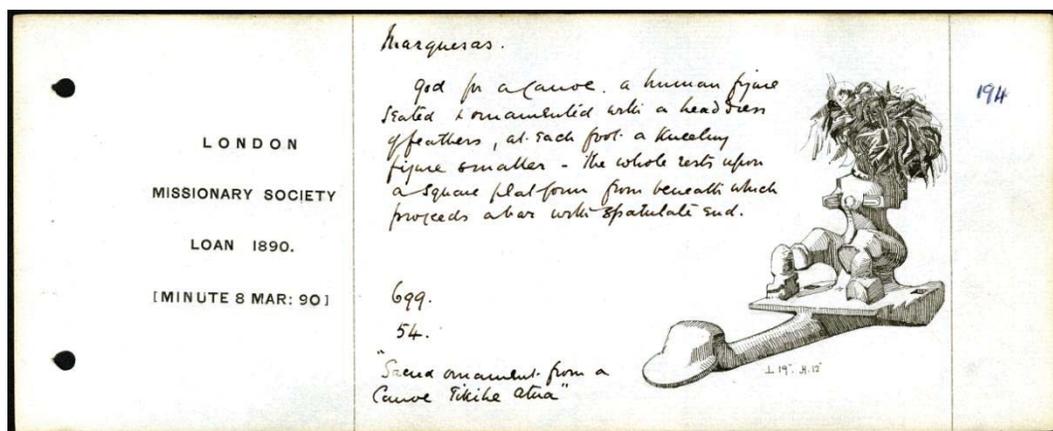
with the wish of the late king of Otaheite, who, when he abandoned the idolatrous and cruel religion of his fathers, requested the Missionaries either to consume these idols in the fire, or “send them to Britain, that the English people might see what foolish gods they had been accustomed to adore.”

(Missionary Museum (London), 1826)

The writer goes on to explain that the purpose of the displays is to encourage awareness and gratitude to God for the successful work of the missionaries, and to motivate ongoing support for their endeavours. What follows is a brief description of the display cases – at 1826 the material from the Pacific included the Hawaiian Islands, the Society Islands, and the Cook Islands, but presumably Marquesan material was later put on display.



Oc,LMS.194



Original museum registration slip for Oc,LMS.194

One of the objects belonging to the LMS collection, is a canoe prow ornament, known as *'au'au* or *pihao* (Oc,LMS.194) (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). It was likely attached to a medium-sized canoe. A seated *tiki* figure is carved with hands resting on the stomach, and feet resting on the heads of two smaller, outward facing *tiki* figures; all three are on a rectangular platform. A projecting bar terminates in a flat, stylized bird's head. A bowl in the LMS collection (Oc,LMS.195) has a similar, bird-shaped handle. The ornaments were positioned on the front of canoes, as separate, detachable carvings, and may have represented an ancestral deity in the line of the *haka'iki* who the canoe belonged to (there are two holes for lashing on either side) (Kjellgren & Ivory, 2005). Interestingly, the original museum registration slip drawing shows the figure, which is described as a 'god for a canoe', with a feather headdress⁸⁶. The headdress has since been lost. The significance of this canoe ornament, which is one of two in the collection (Oc.1972 was bequeathed by Henry Christy), is that it is an example of an object type which became obsolete, most likely by the mid to late nineteenth century. The design of Marquesan *vaka* (canoes) was influenced by European whaling boats and other foreign types, and ceased to have stern and prow carvings (Haddon and Hornell, 1938).



Oc,LMS.195

⁸⁶ In the early nineteenth century Captain David Porter reported canoes being adorned with feathers, white tapa cloth, and fresh coconut leaves, and other records note human hair and the skulls of enemies being attached to war canoes (Haddon and Hornell, 1938).



Oc,LMS.192



Oc,LMS.199

Hornell collection 1925

The *St George* made the Marquesas their first stop in the Pacific, following the Galapagos Islands. They arrived at the southern group on December 26th, 1924, and Hornell was guided around important ceremonial sites in Atuona, Hiva Oa. On Fatuiva he collected three fishhooks, one of which entered the Museum's collection in 1944, as part of the Beasley bequest (see below). On Nuku Hiva, he was more ambitious. On January 18th, 1925, members of the yacht's crew had removed two house posts carved as *tiki* figures, from a *me'ae* in the Ho'oumi Valley. Hornell returned with the crew and a local chief the next day to view the two remaining *tiki*. There are four *tiki* house posts now in the Museum, all previously presumed to have been from the Ho'oumi site (Oc1925,1119.183-186). However a letter from Hornell to Joyce written from Cambridge (Hornell, 1925c) explains that the post with two carved *tiki* figures is in fact from Omoa Valley, Fatuiva⁸⁷ (Oc1925,1119.186).

⁸⁷ Hornell suggests in the same letter that a *tiki* figure is sent to Cambridge and Oxford museums also, as the British Museum has three from one house. While Joyce expresses agreement in his letter of 5 November (Joyce, 1925), this did not happen. The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge has thirty-two Marquesan objects from Hornell, including human skulls, stone *popoi*



Oc1925,1119.185



Oc1925,1119.186

At another Nuku Hiva valley, Hakau, Hornell acquired the ends of a very large canoe, thought to have been an old war canoe, which was lying alongside another. He was granted permission by the chief Stanislao (grandson of the Stanislao mentioned above), who provided him with the following account of their history:

They are Hiva-Oan canoes, he says, belonging to Pua-mau. According to him, Haka-ui war canoes raided Pua-mau, and captured these canoes with several prisoners. All were taken back to Haka-Ui – the prisoners eaten & the canoes placed under the towering cliff behind the chief's house. The two captured canoes were named respectively Teomea & Tunauei.

(Hornell, 1924-5, 23 Jan 1925 entry)

pounders, tapa beaters, bailers and paddles. Henry Balfour at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford accepted Hornell's offer of a pair of Marquesan stilt steps (1925.30.1.1 and 1925.30.1.2), and there are seven other objects including adze blades and two lengths of white barkcloth from the expedition.



Oc1925,1119.187



Oc1925,1119.188

While Hornell was later told an alternative version of the same story, this is the only object in the Museum's collection to have been acquired with accompanying contextual information, provided by a named local informant. Hornell's level of documentation, while imperfect, is more comprehensive than any other contributor to the collection, and is in accordance with his role as expedition ethnologist⁸⁸. The generosity of the Hakaui chiefs with their possessions and time also led to a gift of a drum being made to the yacht's captain, which may in fact be the Q numbered object Oc1980,Q.1070 (Douglas & Johnson, 1926). Another drum, preceding the former in the numbering sequence (Oc1980,Q.1069) is attributed to the expedition, on the basis of an old label. Oc1980,Q.1068 is a fairly plain drum, which may be that described by Hornell at Atuona, Hiva Oa:

After lunch under a spreading mango, I was invited into a roadside house & given young coconuts. The man brought out an old drum similar in form to

⁸⁸ It should be noted that Hornell also appears to have wanted to make a contribution to physical anthropology. He records that the Hakaui chiefs allowed him to take measurements of their heads.

the one given the Capt. at Haka Ui. Being much broken, I did not offer to buy it.

(Hornell, 1924-5, 29 Jan 1925 entry)

Drums were the principal musical instrument in the Marquesas, and were given pride of place on platforms around *tohua* (ceremonial grounds) during feasts and gatherings. Besides a trumpet from the Christy collection, these are the only musical instruments in the Museum's Marquesan collection⁸⁹.



Oc1980,Q.1069



Oc1980,Q.1070

Alban Head collection 1931

John Alban Head (1873-1931) was a close contact of the Thomas Athol Joyce, who worked at the British Museum from 1902-1938, and who became during his time at the Museum an ethnographer specialising in the Americas. Head appears to have been within a circle which included Henry Balfour and C. Seligman (Joyce, 1931). Joyce

⁸⁹ An exception is a nose flute purchased during my 2010 fieldwork (see Appendix D).

and Head had been exchanging letters not long before Head's death in June of 1931. Shortly afterwards, the transfer of Head's bequest to the Museum was arranged – twenty-five objects, mainly Oceanic. Prior to this, Head had donated 120 objects to the Museum, from 1924 onwards, contributing important material from Australia and the Bismarck Archipelago.

Head's 1931 bequest included nine Marquesan objects (in the process of this research, an obsidian implement identified as Marquesan has been reattributed to the Bismarck Archipelago). He had made no previous donations of Marquesan material. Head's bequest includes a particularly interesting relief-carved staff, Oc1931,1118.6. The designs are carved in a style seen in the late 19th century onwards. It may be one of the few objects genuinely made in the early twentieth century.



Oc1931,1118.6

Beasley collection 1944

Those objects which came to the British Museum are testament to the breadth of Beasley's network. A *hoe* (paddle; Oc1944,02.698), has 'MARQUESAS' painted on it, matching the lettering on an 'u'u club from the 1931 bequest of John Alban Head (Oc1931,1118.9). We know from Head's letters that Beasley was a contact of his – the lettering may have been applied to objects in Head's collection, some of which may have passed to Beasley at Head's death, or alternatively, both Head and Beasley may have acquired from another collector who marked objects in this way.



Oc1944,02.698



Oc1931,1118.9

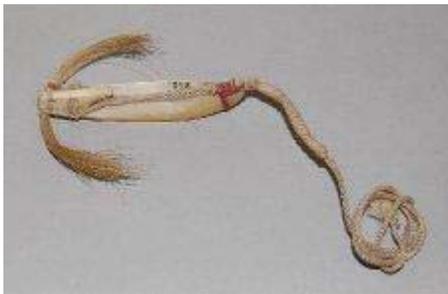
A piece of reddish brown barkcloth, Oc1944,02.691, is recorded in the museum register as being “Tappa from Nouka-Hiva ... brown only worn by royalty. Given by the wife of French Governor, July 19th 81.”⁹⁰ *Hiapo* cloth was made from the *aoa* (banyan, *Ficus prolixa*), and was reddish brown. Like the *aoa* tree, it had sacred associations, and was used to clothe first born males, and for the cloaks of priests and warriors. While yet to be sampled to confirm this identification, if this is *hiapo*, it is the only example in the Museum’s collections, and, is very rare.



Oc1944,02.691

⁹⁰ Commandant Henri Isidore Chessé was in power 1880-1, followed in September (to 1883) by Governor Frédéric Jean Dorlodot des Essarts.

As mentioned, Beasley also seems to have acquired objects from the St George South Seas expedition, led by Hornell (fish hook Oc1944,02.336). It cannot be ruled out that other objects received from Beasley were collected by Hornell – particularly those associated with fishing and watercraft. Oc1944,02.689, a net sinker, is unique in the collection – it is carved with two *tiki* figures, back to back, with a hole in the centre of the stone. Another addition which expands the range of the Marquesan collection is a model canoe, Oc1944,02.700. An old label would seem to suggest this was at one stage sold at a French auction, the previous owner being a ‘Monsieur Raoul’. The entire outer surface of the canoe is neatly carved with geometric patterns. Remnants of feather decoration can be seen attached to the coconut fibre bindings along each side.



Oc1944,02.336



Oc1944,02.689



Oc1944,02.700

Wellcome collection 1954

Two objects can be confirmed as having originally been from the collection of Edward Armytage⁹¹. One of these, a *pavahina* (Oc1954,06.415), or ornament made from old men's beards to be worn as part of a headdress, was acquired by the Wellcome Museum in 1931. The other, a large bowl, has no associated information (Oc1954,06.361).



Oc1954,06.415

Two further objects, adzes (Oc1999,Q.166 & 167), are also thought to have gone to the Wellcome Museum from Armytage. The Wellcome Register confirms they were acquired in 1932. Old labels note both are from the Armytage collection, and 167 is also linked to a 'Gauthier'. There is a chance this is the photographer, Louis Gauthier (1875-?), who was in Tahiti from 1904 to 1921, and who is known to have established a trade in Polynesian objects (O'Reilly and Teissier, 1975). The Wellcome Registers show that Armytage sold many Marquesan items in 1931, including, extraordinarily, three *pa'e kaha* head ornaments. Noted against most of the was 'Case 3505', indicating they

⁹¹ Thirty-five objects (two American, the rest Oceanic) which were ex-Armytage collection came to the British Museum from the Wellcome Museum in 1954. This number is likely to be higher, because prior owners were not always listed in the British Museum register, and where the original Wellcome number is missing, or the year in which the Wellcome Museum acquired the object, one has no tools with which to search the thousands of Wellcome register entries, which are not arranged geographically.

were on display as a group at the Wellcome Museum (Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 1931).



Oc1999,Q.166



Oc1999,Q.167

Another object from the Wellcome collection was a tiny *pu taiana/taiata*, ear ornament (Oc1954,06.407). This is noted in the British Museum register as having been collected by a 'de Mortillet'. The Wellcome register shows a group of Marquesan ear ornaments, from the C. de Mortillet collection were acquired in 1937. It is unclear if this may link these objects to the French archaeologist, Gabriel de Mortillet (1821-1898), an associate of Franks.



Oc1954,06.407

Appendix B

Listing of the Collection

Note: red text indicates new information resulting from this research project

Museum registration number	Object	Marquesan term	Donor/collector/previous owner	Museum acquisition date	Field collection date	Findspot
Oc1978,Q.838	club	<i>u'u</i>	From Capt James Cook, second voyage (<i>Resolution</i> and <i>Adventure</i>)	1775	1774	Tahuata (Vaitahu area)
Oc1842,1210.45.a	staff	<i>tokotoko pio'o/to'oto'o pio'o</i>	Donated by Sir Edward Belcher, HMS <i>Sulphur</i>	1842	1840	Nuku Hiva
Oc1842,1210.117 (MISSING, possibly Oc1982,Q.279)	club	<i>parahua</i>	Donated by Sir Edward Belcher, HMS <i>Sulphur</i>	1842	1840	
Oc1842,1210.118	club	<i>parahua</i>	Donated by Sir Edward Belcher, HMS <i>Sulphur</i>	1842	1840	
Oc1842,1210.123.a-b	ear ornament (pair)	<i>pu taiana/ pu taiaa</i>	Donated by Sir Edward Belcher, HMS <i>Sulphur</i>	1842	1840	
Oc1844,0725.4	club	<i>u'u</i>	Purchased from Isaacson, previously owned by Chatham Museum	1844		
Oc.15 (TRANSFERRED OUT)	hand weapon		Donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.61	paddle	<i>hoe</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.62 (MISSING)	blade		Donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.71	club handle	<i>u'u handle</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.94 (EXCHANGED OUT)	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.95 (was St.876)	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.96 (was St.876)	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas

Oc.97 (TRANSFERRED OUT)	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.98 (TRANSFERRED OUT)	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.120	club	<i>parahua</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.161 (EXCHANGED OUT)	paddle	<i>hoe</i>	Donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.207.a&b	stilts	<i>vaeake</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc208.a&b	stilts	<i>vaeake</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1297	ear ornament (pin only)	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1298 (was Oc1980,Q.1056)	ornament	<i>tiki ivi po'o</i>	Donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1663	trumpet	<i>putoka/puto na</i>	Collected by the United Service Museum; donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1673	paddle blade	<i>hoe blade</i>	Donated by Henry Christy1860-9	1860		
Oc.1969	fan	<i>tahi'i</i>	Collected by Wareham; donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1970	fan	<i>tahi'i</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1972	canoe prow figure	<i>'au'au or pihao</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1974 (TRANSFERRED OUT)	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1985	head ornament	<i>uhikana</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1986.a	sling/cordage		Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc.1989 (MISSING)	necklace		Donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas

Oc.3938	paddle	<i>hoe</i>	Donated by Augustus Woolaston Franks; ex-collection Bryce M Wright	1867		Marquesas
Oc.4379.a-b	leg ornaments (pair)		Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, purchased from Wareham, collected by Sir Edward Belcher, HMS <i>Sulphur</i>	1867	1840	Nuku Hiva
Oc.4380	ear ornament	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, purchased from Wareham	1867		Marquesas Islands
Oc.4381	ear ornament	<i>hakakai</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, purchased from Wareham	1867		Marquesas Islands
Oc.4382	ear ornament	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, purchased from Wareham	1867		Marquesas Islands
Oc.4574	ear ornament	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks	1868		Marquesas Islands
Oc.4789	head ornament		Collected by Haslar Hospital; collected by William Davis (RN); donated by Henry Christy 1860-9	1860		Marquesas or Hawaii
Oc.6034	club		Donated by Clements R Markham	1870		Marquesas Islands
Oc.6335 (MISSING)	ornament	<i>tiki ivi po'o</i>	Donated by JL Palmer, 1870, HMS <i>Topaze</i>	1870	1868	Marquesas Islands
Oc.6336	ornament	<i>tiki ivi po'o</i>	Donated by JL Palmer, 1870, HMS <i>Topaze</i>	1870	1868	Marquesas Islands
Oc.6337	ornament	<i>tiki ivi po'o</i>	Donated by JL Palmer, 1870, HMS <i>Topaze</i>	1870	1868	Marquesas Islands

Oc.6348.a&b	tattooing powder case and powder		Donated by JL Palmer, 1870, HMS <i>Topaze</i>	1870	1868	Nuku Hiva
Oc.7226	staff	<i>tokotoko pio'o/to'oto'o pio'o</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, collected by Rev Dr William Sparrow Simpson	1871		Marquesas Islands
Oc.7278.a-b	ear ornaments (pair)	<i>u'uhe</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, collected by Alfred W Hirt	1871		Marquesas Islands
Oc.7279.a-b	ear ornaments (pair)	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, collected by Alfred W Hirt	1871		Marquesas Islands
Oc.8037	club	<i>u'u</i>	Donated by R G Whitfield	1872		Marquesas Islands
Oc.8174.a-b (possibly Oc1980,Q.1042.a &b)	leg ornaments (pair)		Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, collected by Sir Edward Belcher, HMS <i>Sulphur</i>	1872	1840	Nuku Hiva
Oc.9057	staff	<i>tokotoko pio'o/to'oto'o pio'o</i>	Donated by John Davidson	1874		Marquesas
Oc.9319	armlet		Purchased from Rev Dr William Sparrow Simpson	1875		Marquesas?
Oc.9924	basket		Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, collected by Rev William Wyatt Gill	1876	1850s-80s	Marquesas or Tuamotu Archipelago
Oc,St.877	club	<i>u'u</i>	Donated by Henry Christy, 1860-1869	1860		Marquesas
Oc1878,1101.587	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Purchased from WH Augustus Meyrick	1878		
Oc,+592.a-b	ear ornaments (pair)	<i>pu taiana/ pu taiata</i>	Donated by Sir Wyville Thomson	1878	1875?	Marquesas

Oc,Ea.8	pipe-bowl	<i>epaepa or piro</i>	Purchased from W Wareham, collected by William Bragge	1882		Marquesas
Oc,Ea.9	smoking pipe	<i>epaepa or piro</i>	Purchased from W Wareham, collected by William Bragge	1882		Marquesas
Oc,+2066	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, from R H Soden Smith	1884		Marquesas
Oc,+2067	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks	1884		Marquesas
Oc.+2068	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks	1884		Marquesas
Oc,+3275	ear ornament	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Franks Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks	1886		Marquesas
Oc,+3276	ear ornament	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, from Isaacson	1886		Marquesas
Oc1983,Q.15	pendant		Donated by Franks, from George Goodman Hewett, <i>Daedalus</i>	1891	1792-3	<i>Tahuata (1792) or Nuku Hiva (1793)</i>
Oc,+5085.a&b	necklace		Purchased from G R Harding, collected by Noldwritt	1891		Marquesas?
Oc,+5095	club	<i>parahua</i>	Purchased from G R Harding, collected by Noldwritt	1891		Marquesas

Oc,+.5349	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, previously owned by Mme de Marlin, <i>Venus</i> voyage	1891	1836-1839 (voyage)	Marquesas
Oc,+.5350	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, previously owned by Mme de Marlin, <i>Venus</i> voyage	1891	1836-1839 (voyage)	Marquesas
Oc,+.5351	head-band		Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, previously owned by Mme de Marlin, <i>Venus</i> voyage	1891	1836-1839 (voyage)	Marquesas
Oc,+.5352	headdress	<i>peue kavii or tuetue</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, previously owned by Mme de Marlin, <i>Venus</i> voyage	1891	1836-1839 (voyage)	Marquesas
Oc,+.5353	headdress	<i>ta'avaha</i>	Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, previously owned by Mme de Marlin, <i>Venus</i> voyage	1891	1836-1839 (voyage)	Marquesas
Oc.VAN.399	head ornament	<i>uhikana</i>	Donated by Franks, from George Goodman Hewett, <i>Daedalus</i>	1891	1792-3	Tahuata (1792) or Nuku Hiva (1793)

Oc, Van.400	ear piercer	<i>ta'a puaika/puain a</i>	Donated by Franks, from George Goodman Hewett, <i>Daedalus</i>	1891	1792-3	Tahuata (1792) or Nuku Hiva (1793)
Oc,+5770	club		Donated by Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, collected by John W Luff	1892		Marquesas
Oc1896,-.928	club	<i>u'u</i>	Donated by Augustus Woolaston Franks.	1896		Marquesas
Oc1896,-.1142	staff	<i>tokotoko pio'o/to'oto'o pio'o</i>	Purchased from United Service Museum	1896		Marquesas
Oc1896,-.1231	headdress	<i>tete poniu</i>	Donated by Augustus Woolaston Franks.	1896		Marquesas
Oc1899,-.60	adze-head		Purchased from F.W. Christian	1899	1894-5	Hiva Oa
Oc1899,-.155	figure	<i>tiki</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian	1899	1895	Hiva Oa, Atuona
Oc1899,-.156	bowl	<i>umete</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian, 1899	1899	1895	Fatuiva
Oc1899,-.157	bowl/lid	<i>umete</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian, 1899	1899	1895	Fatuiva
Oc1899,-.158	bowl	<i>ipu ehi</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian, 1899	1899	1895?	Fatuiva or Hiva Oa
Oc1899,-.159	cylinder/contai ner		Purchased from F.W. Christian, 1899	1899	1894-5	Hiva Oa, Atuona
Oc1899,-.160	figure	<i>tiki</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian	1899	1894-5	Tahuata
Oc1899,-.161	pounder	<i>ke'a tuki popoi</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian	1899	1895-6	Ua Huka
Oc1899,-.162	pounder	<i>ke'a tuki popoi</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian	1899	1895-6	Ua Huka
Oc1899,-.163	pounder	<i>ke'a tuki popoi</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian	1899	1895-6	Ua Huka
Oc1899,-.164	fan	<i>tahi'i</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian	1899	1894- 1896	Marquesas
Oc1899,-.165	harpoon head	<i>mata ve'o ika?</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian, 1899	1899	1895	Nuku Hiva, Taipi Valley
Oc1899,-.168	barkcloth	<i>tapa</i>	Purchased from F.W. Christian	1899	1895	Hiva Oa
Oc1900,-.136	basket		Freer Donated by Rev Selwyn C Freer	1900		Marquesas or Tuamotu Archipelago
Oc1903,1116.12	pounder	<i>ke'a tuki popoi</i>	Donated by Francis Brent	1903		Marquesas

Oc1903,-.19	head-band	<i>uhikana</i>	Donated by Charles Hercules Read. Collected by Comte Alexis de Chastinier	1903		Marquesas
Oc1904,-.259	bowl		Purchased from Higgins, collected by Turvey Abbey	1904		Marquesas?
Oc1904,-.260	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Purchased from Higgins, collected by Turvey Abbey	1904		Marquesas
Oc1904,-.261	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Purchased from Higgins, collected by Turvey Abbey	1904		Marquesas
Oc1904,-.262	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Purchased from Higgins, collected by Turvey Abbey	1904		Marquesas
Oc1904,-.263	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Purchased from Higgins, collected by Turvey Abbey	1904		Marquesas
Oc1904,-.264	club	<i>u'u</i>	Higgins Purchased from Higgins. Collected by Turvey Abbey.	1904		Marquesas
Oc1906,-.165	club	<i>u'u</i>	Donated by Sir Charles Hercules Read.	1906		Marquesas
Oc1910,0610.1	club	<i>u'u</i>	Donated by TF Dillon-Croker	1910		Marquesas
Oc1910,-.286	vessel		Purchased from the London Missionary Society	1910	1829-1841?	Marquesas
Oc,LMS.192	club	<i>u'u</i>	LMS Purchased from the LMS in 1911	1911	1829-1841?	Marquesas
Oc,LMS.194	canoe prow ornament	<i>au'au or pihao</i>	Purchased from LMS 1911	1911	1829-1841?	Marquesas
Oc,LMS.195	bowl		Purchased from LMS 1911	1911	1829-1841?	Marquesas
Oc,LMS.196	belt		Purchased from LMS 1911	1911	1829-1841?	Marquesas?
Oc,LMS.198	lid/cover	<i>tiha/tifa</i>	Purchased from LMS 1911	1911	1829-1841?	Marquesas
Oc,LMS.199	fan	<i>tahi'i</i>	Purchased from LMS 1911	1911	1829-1841?	
Oc,LMS.214	ornament		Purchased from LMS 1911	1911	1829-1841?	Marquesas?
Oc1980,Q.1060.a-c (part of Oc,LMS.214)	ear ornaments (3)	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Purchased from LMS 1911	1911	1829-1841?	Marquesas
Oc1982,Q.674 (part of Oc,LMS.214)	ear ornament	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Purchased from LMS 1911	1911	1829-1841?	Marquesas

Oc1913,0524.76	club	<i>u'u</i>	Purchased from James Edge-Partington	1913		Marquesas
Oc1913,-.237	club	<i>u'u</i>	Donated by Dr Walter Leo Hildburgh	1913		Marquesas
Oc1915,1008.30	pounder	<i>ke'a tuki popoi</i>	Donated by EL Grüning	1915	1909	Marquesas
Oc1915,1008.31	pounder	<i>ke'a tuki popoi</i>	Donated by EL Grüning	1915	1909	Marquesas
Oc1915,1008.34	pounder	<i>ke'a tuki popoi</i>	Donated by EL Grüning	1915	1909?	Marquesas
Oc1915,1008.15 4	dress, skirt	<i>ouoho</i>	Donated by EL Grüning	1915	1909?	Marquesas
Oc1915,1008.15 5	dress, skirt	<i>ouoho</i>	Donated by EL Grüning	1915	1909?	Marquesas
Oc1915,1008.15 6	dress, skirt	<i>ouoho</i>	Donated by EL Grüning	1915	1909?	Marquesas
Oc1915,1008.15 7	dress, skirt	<i>ouoho</i>	Donated by EL Grüning	1915	1909?	Marquesas
Oc1920,0317.1	club	<i>u'u</i>	Donated by Thomas Boynton	1920		Marquesas
Oc1921,0616.4	club	<i>u'u</i>	Donated by Miss Hirst	1920		Marquesas
Oc1923,1006.1	hair ornament	<i>pavahina</i>	Donated by F Ormond	1923		Marquesas
Oc1923,1006.2	hair ornament	<i>pavahina</i>	Donated by F Ormond	1923		Marquesas
Oc1923,1214.45	figure	<i>tiki, double</i>	Purchased from Captain Alfred Walter Francis	1923		Marquesas
Oc1925,1119.18 3	house post	<i>tiki</i>	Donated by the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, collected by James Hornell	1925	1925	Nuku Hiva, Ho'oumi Valley
Oc1925,1119.18 4	house post	<i>tiki</i>	Donated by the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, collected by James Hornell	1925	1925	Nuku Hiva, Ho'oumi Valley
Oc1925,1119.18 5	house post	<i>tiki</i>	Donated by the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, collected by James Hornell	1925	1925	Nuku Hiva, Ho'oumi Valley
Oc1925,1119.18 6	house post	<i>tiki, double</i>	Donated by the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, collected by James Hornell	1925	1925	Fatuiva, Omoa

Oc1925,1119.18 7	canoe part		Donated by the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, collected by James Hornell	1925	1925	Nuku Hiva, Hakau
Oc1925,1119.18 8	canoe part		Donated by the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, collected by James Hornell	1925	1925	Nuku Hiva, Hakau
Oc1925,1119.19 5	mealing stone		Donated by the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, collected by James Hornell	1925	1924-25	Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1069	drum	<i>pahu</i>	Donated by the Scientific Expeditionary Research Association, collected by James Hornell	1925	1925	Hiva Oa, Atuona?
Oc1929,1111.1	ear ornament	<i>pu taiana/ pu taiata</i>	Donated by EL Grüning	1929		Marquesas
Oc1929,1111.2	ear ornament	<i>pu taiana/ pu taiata</i>	Donated by EL Grüning	1929	1909?	Marquesas
Oc1931,1118.6	stick		Bequeathed by Alban Head	1931		Marquesas
Oc1931,1118.7	club	<i>parahua</i>	Bequeathed by Alban Head	1931		Marquesas
Oc1931,1118.9	club	<i>u'u</i>	Bequeathed by Alban Head	1931		Marquesas
Oc1931,1118.10	club	<i>u'u</i>	Bequeathed by Alban Head	1931		Marquesas
Oc1931,1118.18	figure		Bequeathed by Alban Head	1931		Marquesas
Oc1931,1118.76	bowl		Donated by Alban Head, 1931	1931		Marquesas
Oc1931,1118.77	ear ornament	<i>pu taiana/ pu taiata</i>	Bequeathed by Alban Head	1931		Marquesas
Oc1931,1118.79. a&b	ear ornaments (pair)	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Donated by Alban Head	1931		Marquesas
Oc1933,0112.1	club	<i>u'u</i>	Donated by R Marsden Hutchinson Low, collected by William Low	1933	1813- 1820	Marquesas
Oc1934,1107.1	barkcloth		Purchased from Paul J Nordman	1934	1928-30 likely	Marquesas
Oc1934,1107.2	barkcloth		Purchased from Paul J Nordman	1934	1928-30 likely	Marquesas
Oc1934,1107.3	barkcloth		Purchased from Paul J Nordman	1934	1928-30 likely	Marquesas

Oc1934,-.3	head ornament	<i>pa'e kaha</i>	Purchased from Paul J Nordman	1934	1928-30 likely	Marquesas
Oc1944,02.58	fishing hook and line		Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas - southern
Oc1944,02.59	fishing hook and line		Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas - southern
Oc1944,02.60	fishing hook		Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley/Blackmore Museum	1944		Marquesas/Tahiti
Oc1944,02.336	fishing hook	<i>pa</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley; collected by Hornell, St George Expedition	1944	1925	Fatuiva, likely Omoa
Oc1944,02.685	fan	<i>tahi'i</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.686	adze blade, stone		Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.687	adze blade		Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.688	implement		Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.689	net sinker		Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.690	pounder	<i>ke'a tuki popoi</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.691	barkcloth	<i>tapa</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Nuku Hiva
Oc1944,02.692a &b	bowl	<i>umete</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.693	lid/cover	<i>taha/tifa</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas

Oc1944,02.694	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley/Blackmore Museum	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.695	stilt step	<i>tapuvae</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley/Blackmore Museum	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.696	staff	<i>tokotoko pio'o/to'oto'o pio'o</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.697	paddle	<i>hoe</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley/Blackmore Museum	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.698	paddle	<i>hoe</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley/Blackmore Museum	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.699	club	<i>u'u</i>	Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley/Blackmore Museum	1944		Marquesas
Oc1944,02.700	model canoe		Bequeathed by IM Beasley, collected by HG Beasley	1944		Marquesas
Oc1954,06.320	barkcloth	<i>tapa</i>	Donated by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine	1954		Marquesas
Oc1954,06.361	bowl		Donated by Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, collected by Edward Armytage	1954		Marquesas
Oc1954,06.362.a	bowl	<i>umete</i>	Donated by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine	1954		Marquesas
Oc1954,06.362.b	lid	<i>umete lid</i>	Donated by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine	1954		Marquesas
Oc1954,06.363	club		Donated by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine	1954		Marqueeasas

Oc1954,06.364	figure	<i>tiki</i>	Donated by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine	1954		Marquesas
Oc1954,06.365	figure (double)	<i>tiki</i>	Donated by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine	1954		Marquesas
Oc1954,06.407	ear ornament	<i>pu taiana/ pu taiata</i>	Donated by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, collected by de Mortillet	1954		Marquesas
Oc1954,06.415	hair ornament	<i>pavahina</i>	Donated by Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, collected by Edward Armytage	1954		Marquesas
Oc1961,03.3	vessel		Purchased from Canterbury Royal Museum, Ms Jean Cook (curator), 1961	1961		Marquesas
Oc1961,03.4	vessel		Purchased from Canterbury Royal Museum, Ms Jean Cook (curator), 1961	1961		Marquesas
Oc1976,01.1	figure	<i>tiki</i>	Purchased from Count Dominic de Grunne, 1976	1976		Marquesas
Oc1982,12.2	container		Purchased from Warwickshire Museum, collected by A Eardley-Wilmot	1982	1838?	Marquesas
Oc2004,02.4	pendant		Purchased by Jenny Newell (BM) in Tahiti	2004	2003	Tahiti
Oc2004,02.20	necklace		Gift to Jenny Newell (BM) from Minister of Marquesas	2004	2003	Tahiti
Oc2004,02.21	necklace		Gift to Jenny Newell (BM) from Minister of Marquesas	2004	2003	Tahiti
Oc1977,Q.9	sling		Cook From Capt James Cook	Q.	1774	<i>Tahuata (Vaitahu area)</i>
Oc1980,Q.1037	sling		Acquisition details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1038	sling		Acquisition details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas

Oc1980,Q.1040	net		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1041	sling		Cook From: Capt James Cook (?)	Q.	1774?	Tahuata (Vaitahu area)
Oc1980,Q.1042.a -b (possibly Oc.8174.a&b)	leg ornaments (pair)		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1043	hair ornament			Q.		
Oc1980,Q.1044	head-band	<i>uhikana</i>	Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1046	headdress		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1048	head-band		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1049	head ornament	<i>pa'e kaha</i>	Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1050	neck ornament	<i>tahi poniu</i>	Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1051	neck ornament	<i>tahi poniu</i>	Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1054	neck ornament		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1055	headdress		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1057	ear ornament	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Franks From Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, collected by Isaacson	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1058	ear ornament	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	From Sir Augustus Woolaston Franks, from Isaacson	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1059.a -b	ear ornament		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1063	ear ornament	<i>hakakai/ha'a kai</i>	Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1064	ear ornament	<i>pu taiana/ pu taiata</i>	Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1066	bowl	<i>ko'oka</i>		Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1067	fan	<i>tahi'i</i>	Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1068	fan	<i>tahi'i</i>	Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1980,Q.1070	drum	<i>pahu</i>	Hornell collection?:	Q.		Nuku Hiva, Hakauai?
Oc1982,Q.278	club		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1982,Q.279 (possibly Oc1842,1210.11 7)	club		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1982,Q.280	club		Acquisiton details unknown.	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1982,Q.281	club		Purchased from United Service Museum	Q.		Marquesas

Oc1982,Q.679	fishing line		From Augustus Woolaston Franks	Q.		Marquesas
Oc1999,Q.166	adze blade		Donated by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, collected by Armytage	Q.		Marquesas?
Oc1999,Q.167	adze blade		Donated by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, collected by Armytage, Gauthier	Q.		Marquesas?
Oc,BM.12 (MISSING)	club	<i>u'u</i>				Marquesas
Oc,BM.13 (MISSING)	club					Marquesas
Oc,BM.14 (MISSING)	club					Marquesas
Oc,BM.15 (MISSING)	club					Marquesas
Oc,EP.58	sling					Marquesas
Oc,EP.59	breast-ornament					Marquesas
Oc,EP.60	breast-ornament					Marquesas

Appendix C

Interview notes: Kahee Taupotini and Anihoka Tepea

Notes from interview with Anihoka Tepea, at Vaipa'e'e, Ua Huka, 15 November 2010

Translator: Karen Taiaapu-Fournier, friend of Anihoka (Marquesan to English)

Interviewer: Natasha McKinney

Anihoka is from Hane, Ua Huka.

How did you learn to carve? When did you start?

He was taught to carve by his uncle, as part of a group. He thinks he started around 1992. He was born in 1960.

What do you make?

He started by making small objects – *tiki*, weapons, 'u'u... Once he had experience in making these, he moved on to larger objects, other kinds of weapons. A lot of the things he makes are in Rose's shop (Taiohae, Nuku Hiva).

He uses a range of chisels, metal drills, chainsaws for cutting the tree, a plane.

In 1992 the group all worked together in the same workshop, with machinery, etc. He wanted to know the skill of carving. He and the others worked in producing copra, but not every day. He watched the older men sculpting and wanted to start himself.

What materials do you use?

He works in woods such as *mi'o*, *tou*, *toa*, sometimes stone – he will work in bone or stone if someone asks for it. In the past, people discovered *toa* was the best, strongest wood. He often makes things that Rose has requested ('u'u made of *toa*).

How do you decide the form and design?

About 50% of what he makes is in response to a request, and 50% is a result of his own thoughts/creativity. When Rose makes a request she sends a photograph, so that he can make an exact copy. He has a particular style – for example, Rose knows if his son has completed the work instead of him!

What do you do with your work when it is complete?

He makes work in readiness for other uses – for example for the mayor, for the museum. His work is very important for the community.

ha tiki = carving

Do you also teach carving?

The only young person he knows who wants to learn to carve is his son. Other young people don't have the patience to learn from him, because he works slowly and may work all day to complete a piece.

How do you decide the value of a piece, if you are selling it?

He decides the value based on how much work goes into a piece. He chooses motifs/designs which are appropriate to the object.

What does carving mean to you?

Carving is in his body and mind – he loves it and it is natural for him.

How do you think Marquesan carving has changed over time?

Carving has become easier than it was in the past, because of introduced machine tools. In the past, making one tiki might take one month. Now he can make things much more quickly – perhaps in the future it will be even quicker.

Do you participate in competitions?

It's good to see the work of other carvers. He can recognise the work of other carvers. For competitions he makes *tiki*, *'u'u*, *pirogue* (canoes)... He doesn't regret making copies to sell at expositions held at hotels, for example, because it has been a good way for him to make a living.

Notes from interview with Kahee Taupotini, at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, 16 November 2010

Translator: Emmanuel (Manu) Taupotini, son of Kahee (Marquesan to English)

Interviewer: Natasha McKinney

How did you learn to carve?

He started to carve at fourteen years old, so he has been carving for forty years. He started to carve in Hakau – he was born in Hakau. His teacher was (?) Kimitete. After that he made it his job. His primary job is now carving.

What do you make? What materials do you use?

He likes making a variety of things in a variety of materials – wood, stone, bone, but usually wood. For example *kokaa*, *kotue* (?), *hoe*... If one day he wants to make a tiki, he'll make a tiki, if he wants to make a hoe, he'll make a hoe.

What do you do with your work when it is complete?

All his work is at the arts centre, where they are bought by Americans etc. He has a lot of friends who come to see him – on the Aranui, military ships... When he was young there were a lot of military ships. He met a lot of Americans, French...

How do you decide the value of the work, if you are selling it?

He makes work primarily to sell, and based the price on the quality of the wood, the size, the decoration... His work varies in price from 6000-30000 francs.

What inspires you in your work?

He continues working in the same style as his ancestors – for example, tiki are the same, but the way of making them is now different – a Marquesan tiki is always the same!

How do you think Marquesan carving has changed over time?

When he compares Marquesan carving in the nineteenth century with now, he sees that there are carvers who just make things to sell, to make money. So they don't put their inspiration and the culture in the wood. But there are others who carve for money, but for the culture first. Then you have different carving. Some carvers sell a lot, but the quality is not there, the culture is not there. They put just a few designs on each piece, and it's done.

He was one of the men who worked on the Cathedral – with stones from each of the six islands in the Marquesas. For example, flower stone from Ua Pou. It was completed between 1976-1977. There was a party in 1977. You can see the carving of Mary, the Queen of the Marquesas Islands – this is the name of the Cathedral. He carved the figure with the bird, where the priest or bishop speaks (the pulpit). He also signed it.

He used to sign all of his work, but now he only signs very special works, like the work at the Cathedral. He does this for history (posterity) – it makes his children proud. Sometimes Manu gives tours of the church, and he is proud to say that his father made some of the carvings.

Appendix D

Field collection

This field collection was made in November 2010, during a short period of work in the Marquesas Islands. The purchases were funded by the British Museum's Modern Museum Fund, and aimed to document both continuity and change in Marquesan art, as it manifest in contemporary practice. The collection is modest, as the portability of objects was also a significant factor.

Object images are copyright of the Trustees of the British Museum; field images are copyright of Natasha McKinney, 2010.



Pitopitió seed



Red seed necklace, 2010,2051.1
Made by Naupoko Ah-Scha, Nuku Hiva

Red *pitopitió* (*Adenantha pavonina*) are used along with many other types of seeds to create beautiful necklaces, made primarily on Nuku Hiva. These are sold at the Centre Artisanal Taiohae, but are also made for local use, particularly for wearing on special occasions.

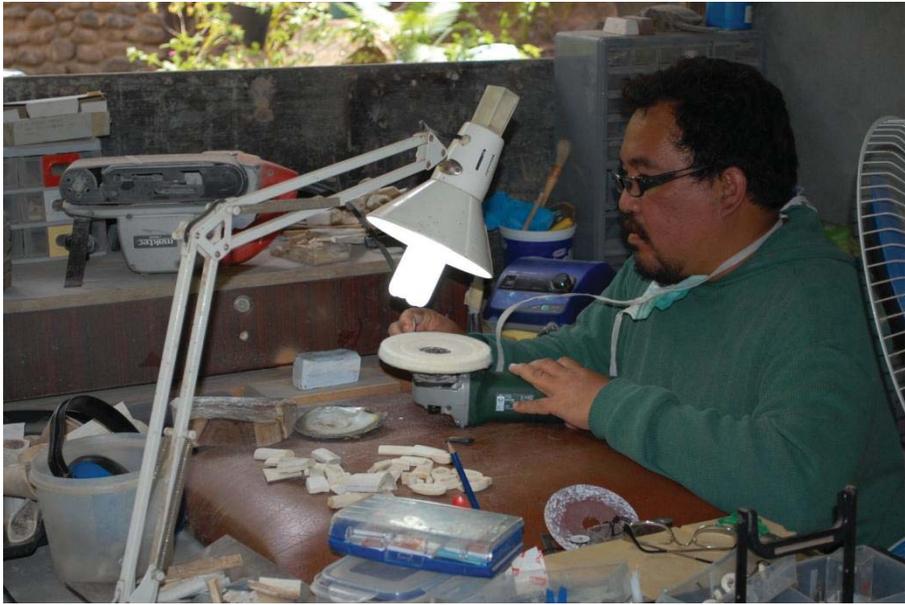


The church in Taipi Valley, with the Marquesan cross over the entrance.



**Sandalwood pendant, 2010,2051.2
Made by Teia Taata, Nuku Hiva**

Sandalwood was a lucrative resource which was exploited and rapidly exhausted by traders in the early 19th century. It was not traditionally used in carving and remains in scarce supply today (Ivory, 2002). The pendant is decorated with the Marquesan (Christian) cross, a popular and enduring motif.



Taata in his studio, Taipi Valley



Hair pin, 2010,2051.3
Made by Aline Panau, Ua Huka

This hair pin, made in Hane, Ua Huka is made of *tamanu* nut (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), painted and engraved with curvilinear designs.

A variety of hair ornaments are worn by Marquesan women to decorate their hair when worn twisted up into a knot at the back of the head.



Hair pin, 2010,2051.3
Made by Roro Fournier, Ua Huka

This example is made of *mió* (*Thespesia populnea*) and is also from Hane.



Hair pin, 2010,2051.12
Made by Didier, Fatuiva

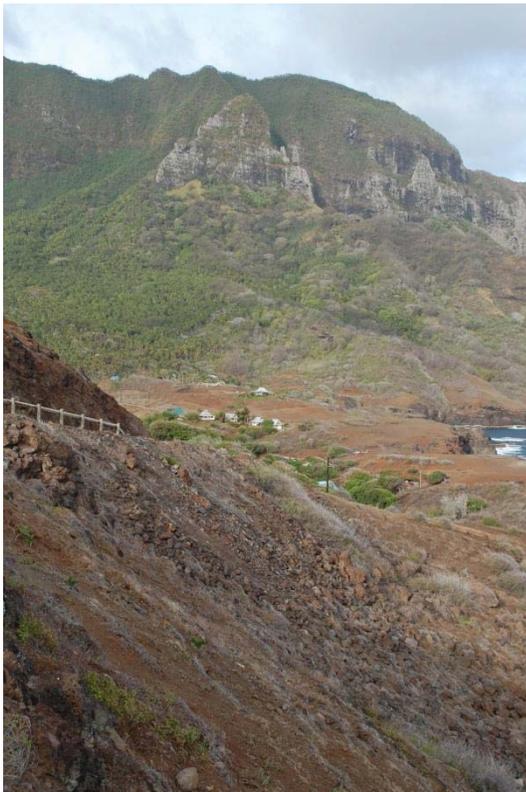
This example is made of bone and was purchased in Atuona, Hiva Oa.



Coconut bowl, 2010,2051.5

Made by Dolores Rootuehine, Ua Huka

Ipu ehi (coconut shell containers) have been made in the Marquesas Islands since the 1700s or earlier. This example from Hokatu in Ua Huka is carved with many variations of the Marquesan cross, and plant motifs. In the past bowls were engraved with designs – here the shell has been painted and then carved. Today they are used for a variety of purposes including storing seeds for making necklaces, as a kitchen container, or for taking to church.



The valley and bay of Hokatu, Ua Huka.



Tiki Moke, 2010, 2051.6
Made by Anihoka Tepea, Ua Huka

Tiki Moke is inspired by an unusual black stone *tiki* found around 40 years ago in Hokatu Valley by an old man named Moke. The original *tiki* was lost or sold, but not before a replica was made and placed in the museum at Vaipa'e'e. Tepea and other carvers continue to make their own versions of this famed *tiki*. This example is made of mió (*Thespesia populnea*).



Anihoka Tepea and his wife, with 'Tiki Moke', at their home in Hane.



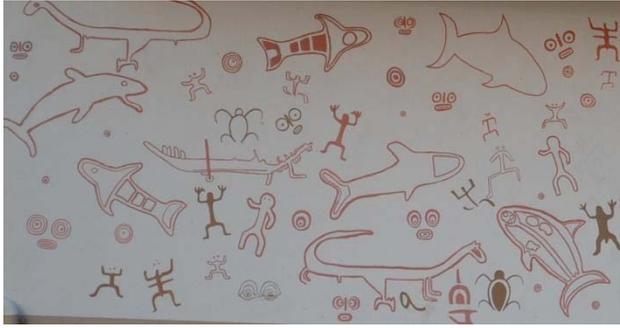
Turtle figure, 2010,2051.7
Made by Tane Tepea, Ua Huka

Honu (turtles) are creatures of sacred importance, having links with the spiritual realm. Images of turtles were carved as petroglyphs, and are still used as a tattoo motif. Small objects like this are made by young carvers in training. This example was made by Anihoka Tepea's son, Tane, from *tou* (*Cordia subcordata*).



Manta ray figure, 2010,2051.8
Made by Tane Tepea, Ua Huka

This carving of a *haha'ua* (manta ray) is made of *mió* (*Thespesia populnea*), with a tail of goat's horn. The back is carved with the Marquesan cross motif.



Petroglyph motifs including turtles and other sea creatures painted on the administrative buildings in Taioha'e, Nuku Hiva.



Bone ear ornament, 2010,2051.9
Made by Mo'ise Mote, Fatuiva

The Museum has many examples of bone ear ornaments, carved with multiple *tiki* figures and worn fastened with a shell cap at the front of the ear. These were made in the 19th century, but this *taiana* was made in Tahuata by an artist from Fatuiva, in 2010. It is intended for a man to wear, with the *tiki* figure with long, protruding tongue to the front, and fastened with a metal pin.



*Solange Timau (wife of Mote)
demonstrating how the
ornament is worn.*



Pendant, 2010,2051.10
Made by Teiki Barsinas, Tahuata

Teiki Barsinas is one of the best known carvers from Tahuata, an island which is now renowned for intricate bone carving. This pendant is relief-carved with a series of *tiki* faces, and represents an elaboration of earlier ivory ornaments which were highly valued.



Pendant, 2010,2051.11
Made by Teiki Barsinas, Tahuata

This shell pendant represents a completely new style, and is carved from a shell known locally as *putupe*.



*Teiki Barsinas in his
studio, Vaitahu, Tahuata.*



Textile, 2010,2051.13

Made by Line Touatekina, Hiva Oa

This *pareo* (garment) was purchased at the ceremonial site known at Ilpona, at Puama'u, on Hiva Oa. It has been dyed using stencils, which variously depict traditional motifs such as the *ipu* (container) motif, and actual *tiki* from the site. These include Tiki Maki Taua Pepe (to the lower left in this image; pictured below in situ), who is thought to be a female figure, depicted in the act of giving birth.



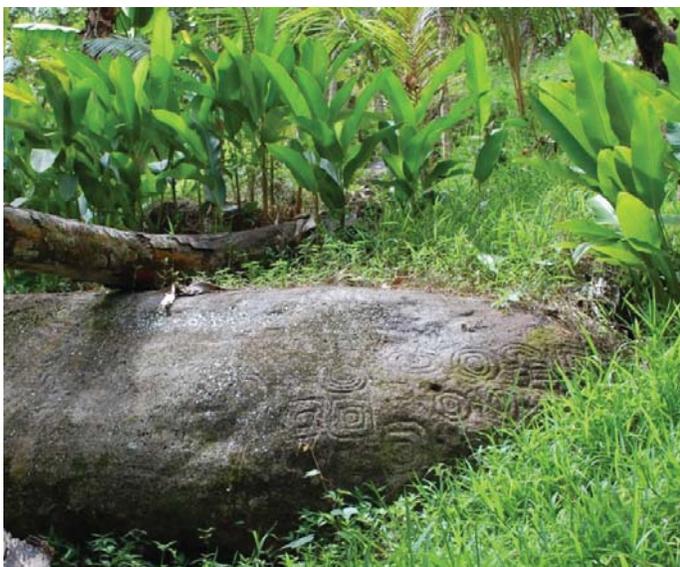


Nose flute, 2010,2051.14
Made by Tuarae Peterano, Hiva Oa

This is a bamboo *pu ihu*, designed to be played with the nose, to entertain at small gatherings. Decorated using the pyrograving technique, the main motif is the *ipu*, a word used to refer to a calabash, container, or protective covering. Warriors were tattooed with this motif. The Atuona artist Tuarae Peterano is a specialist maker of musical instruments.



Kohomoekehu Peterano, the artist's son, demonstrates how the flute is played. Artist's studio, Atuona.



Ipu motifs carved into a 'chief's stone' at Hana'i'apa, Hiva Oa.

Appendix E

Ethics documentation



Massey University

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

**NOTIFICATION OF LOW RISK RESEARCH/EVALUATION
INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS**

*(All notifications are to be typed)
(Do not modify the content or formatting of this document in any way)*

SECTION A:

1. Project Title The history of the British Museum's collection from the Marquesas Islands

Projected start
date for data
collection

November 9th, 2010

Projected end date November 26th, 2010

(Low risk notifications will not be processed if recruitment and/or data collection has already begun.)

2. Applicant Details *(Select the appropriate box and complete details)*

ACADEMIC STAFF NOTIFICATION

Full Name of Staff Applicant/s

School/Department/Institute

Region *(mark one only)*

Albany

Palmerston North

Wellington

Telephone

Email Address

STUDENT NOTIFICATION

Full Name of Student Applicant

Natasha McKinney

Postal Address

Telephone +44 79 443 13437

Email Address

Employer (if applicable)

British Museum

Full Name of Supervisor(s)

Susan F. Abasa

School/Department/Institute

Museum and Heritage Studies

Massey University

Region *(mark one only)*

Albany

Palmerston North

Wellington

Telephone

+ 64 6 350 5799
xtn 2409

Email Address

S.F.Abasa@massey.ac.nz

GENERAL STAFF NOTIFICATION

Full Name of Applicant

Section

Region *(mark one only)*

Albany

Palmerston North

Wellington

Telephone

Email Address

COPY

Full Name of Line Manager _____

Section _____

Telephone _____

Email Address _____

3 Type of Project (provide detail as appropriate)

Staff Research/Evaluation:

Academic Staff

General Staff

Evaluation

Student Research:

Name of Qualification

Credit Value of Research

(e.g. 30, 60, 90, 120, 240, 360)

If other, please specify:

MA
120

4. Describe the process that has been used to discuss and analyse the ethical issues present in this project. (Please refer to the Low Risk Guidelines on the Massey University Human Ethics Committee website)

I have discussed the issues with the Head of the Oceania section at the museum, Dr Lissant Bolton (an experienced anthropologist who carries out annual fieldwork in Vanuatu), and with my supervisor Susan Abasa. The MUHEC process has been explained and followed. They have agreed the work planned is acceptable and meets the MUHEC requirements.

5. Summary of Project

Please outline the following (in no more than 200 words):

1. The purpose of the research, and
2. The methods you will use.

(Note: ALL the information provided in the notification is potentially available if a request is made under the Official Information Act. In the event that a request is made, the University, in the first instance, would endeavour to satisfy that request by providing this summary. Please ensure that the language used is comprehensible to all)

The thesis examines the history of the Marquesan collection at the British Museum (200 objects), its formation and display. It addresses the lack of contemporary acquisition and implications for the museum's ability to present modern Marquesan culture. The thesis concludes by exploring the potential of collaborative engagement with Marquesans, contemporary collecting, research and interpretation as part of a reassessment of the collection.

I will spend two weeks in Papeete (Tahiti) and the Marquesas Islands from November 9th to the 26th. During that time, I will interview curator Tara Hiquily at the Museum of Tahiti and the Islands, about the presentation of Marquesan culture in Papeete, where a significant collection of Marquesan objects are held. I will seek advice from Hiquily about potential Marquesan carving specialists to interview while in the islands, and from Marquesan art specialist Carol Ivory (Washington State University) on tapa makers (tapa production is concentrated on the island of Fatuiva). Interviews will be taped and will rely on the assistance of a translator from Marquesan or French into English. I have prepared an information sheet about my research, and a consent form, as well interview questions, all of which will be translated into French ahead of time.

Please submit this Low Risk Notification (with the completed Screening Questionnaire) to:

The Ethics Administrator
Research Ethics Office
Old Main Building, PN221

COPY

Massey University
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North

SECTION B: DECLARATION *(Complete appropriate box)*

ACADEMIC STAFF RESEARCH

Declaration for Academic Staff Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. My Head of Department/School/Institute knows that I am undertaking this research. The information contained in this notification is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Staff Applicant's Signature _____ Date: _____

STUDENT RESEARCH

Declaration for Student Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Supervisor. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. The information contained in this notification is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

Student Applicant's Signature Natasha McKinney Date: 22/7/10

Declaration for Supervisor

I have assisted the student in the ethical analysis of this project. As supervisor of this research I will ensure that the research is carried out according to the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants.

Supervisor's Signature Susan F. Abasa Date: 24/7/10
Print Name SUSAN F. M. ABASA.

GENERAL STAFF RESEARCH/EVALUATIONS

Declaration for General Staff Applicant

I have read the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and discussed the ethical analysis with my Supervisor. I understand my obligations and the rights of the participants. I agree to undertake the research as set out in the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants. The information contained in this notification is to the very best of my knowledge accurate and not misleading.

General Staff Applicant's Signature _____ Date: _____

Declaration for Line Manager

I declare that to the best of my knowledge, this notification complies with the Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations involving Human Participants and that I have approved its content and agreed that it can be submitted.

Line Manager's Signature _____ Date: _____
Print Name _____



MASSEY UNIVERSITY

28 September 2010

Natasha McKinney



Dear Natasha

Re: The History of the British Museum's Collection from the Marquesas Islands

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 17 September 2010.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

John G O'Neill (Professor)
**Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)**

cc Ms Susan Abasa
School of People, Environment and
Planning
PN331

Mrs Mary Roberts, HoS Secretary
School of People, Environment and
Planning
PN331

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council

Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa

Research Ethics Office, Massey University, Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand
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E humanethics@massey.ac.nz animalethics@massey.ac.nz gtc@massey.ac.nz
www.massey.ac.nz

School of People, Environment & Planning
Massey University
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

*Thisis title: The history of the British Museum's collection from the
Marquesas Islands*

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

1. I agree / do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.
2. I agree / do not agree to the interview being image recorded.
3. I wish / do not wish to have a transcript of my recordings returned to me.

4. I wish / do not wish to have data placed in an official archive at the British Museum.

5. I agree / do not agree to the interview transcript and photographs being published by the researcher or the British Museum, in print, web or other media, or in exhibition displays.

6. I wish / do not wish my name to be omitted from any written reports on this research.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the

Information Sheet.

Signature:

Rudie

Date:

15th of November 2010

Full Name – printed:

Aniloka TEREA

Postal Address:

[Redacted]

Email Address:

[Redacted]

School of People, Environment & Planning
Massey University
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
New Zealand

Thesis title: The history of the British Museum's collection from the Marquesas Islands

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

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5. I agree/ do not agree to the interview transcript and photographs being published by the researcher or the British Museum, in print, web or other media, or in exhibition displays.

6. I wish/ do not wish/ my name to be omitted from any written reports on this research.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the

Information Sheet.

Signature: S. Toupaki

Date: 16/11/10

Full Name – printed: TAUBORINI SERVIN KAHAE

Postal Address: [REDACTED]

Email Address: [REDACTED]

**School of People, Environment & Planning
Massey University
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North
Nouvelle-Zélande**

Titre de la thèse : L'histoire de la collection du British Museum en provenance des Îles Marquises

FEUILLE D'INFORMATION

Je m'appelle Natasha McKinney et je suis en Master des Arts, à l'Université de Massey, en Nouvelle Zélande. Je vis à Londres et travaille en tant que conservateur de musée au British Museum, dans la section Pacifique.

Mon sujet de Master porte sur la collection du British Museum, sur les objets provenant des Îles Marquises. Cette collection est composée d'éléments historiques, collectés durant le 18^{ème}, le 19^{ème} et le 20^{ème} siècle. Dans l'optique de ma recherche, j'aimerais connaître les types d'objets d'art que les personnes fabriquent aujourd'hui dans les Îles Marquises. Je souhaiterais interviewer des artistes, des conservateurs de musée et des membres de communautés, afin de mieux comprendre l'art des Marquises. Si cela est possible, j'aimerais observer le travail des artistes, dans leurs studios (je suis particulièrement intéressée par les sculptures sur bois et la fabrication des toiles Tapa.)

Je vous invite à participer à ce projet. La durée de l'interview ne dépassera pas une heure. J'enregistrerai l'interview sur une cassette, et je souhaiterais prendre des photos des participants interviewés.

La transcription des interviews et les photographies seront utilisées dans ma thèse écrite pour l'Université de Massey, et dans les publications de revues portant sur le thème de ma recherche. Elles pourront également être utilisées en tant que support pour les conférences. Avec votre accord, des copies des transcriptions et des photographies pourront également être conservées par le British Museum, et utilisées dans les futures affiches sur l'art des Marquises. Je vous enverrai une copie de la transcription de l'interview, et, si vous le désirez, une copie de l'intégralité de ma thèse.

Vous êtes totalement libre de participer ou non à mon sujet de recherche. Si vous acceptez d'être interviewé, vous avez le droit :

- De refuser de répondre à n'importe quelle question
- D'arrêter l'interview à tout moment
- De demander de stopper l'enregistrement à tout moment durant l'interview

- De poser toutes les questions que vous souhaitez sur mon sujet de recherche, à tout moment durant votre participation
- De décider que votre nom ne soit pas utilisé, sauf si vous en donnez l'autorisation au chercheur
- D'accéder à un résumé des résultats d'analyse du projet, une fois celui-ci achevé

Pour toute question concernant le projet, n'hésitez pas à me contacter:

Natasha McKinney (chercheur)



Susan Abasa
Coordinatrice de programme
Museum and Heritage Studies
Massey University
Personnel Bag 11-222
Palmerston North
NOUVELLE-ZÉLANDE
+ 64 6 350 5799 xtn 2409

Ce projet a été évalué au moyen d'un contrôle par les pairs, et a été jugé comme étant à faible risque. Par conséquent, il n'a pas été révisé par l'un des Comités d'Éthique de l'Université. Le chercheur nommé ci-dessus est donc responsable de la conduite éthique de cette recherche.

Si vous avez des préoccupations quant à cette recherche et que vous souhaitez en faire part à quelqu'un d'autre que le chercheur, veuillez contacter le professeur John O'Neill, Directeur (Éthique des recherches), téléphone +64 6 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

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Abbreviations:

AOA – Department of Africa, Oceania and the Americas (British Museum)

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