

RESONANT HISTORIES

Pacific artefacts and the voyages of HMS Royalist 1890-1893



ALISON CLARK

with contributions by

EVE HADDOW & CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT

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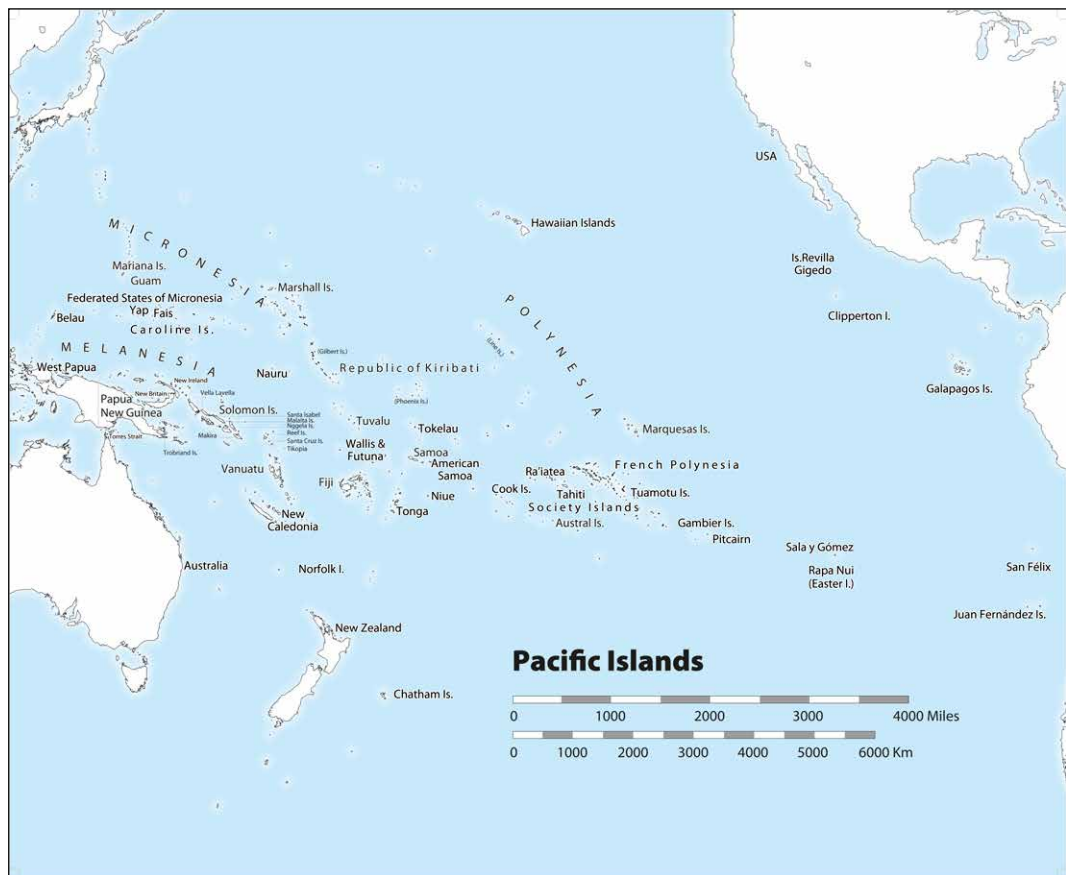
Editor

Alison Clark is a Research Associate at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. She currently works on the ERC funded *Pacific Presences* project. Both her Master's (2007) and PhD (2013) theses were on the Indigenous Australian collections of the British Museum. Her current research is focused on Kiribati, where she is interested in the contemporary resonance of historic museum collections, and the revival of certain cultural practices. She has previously worked on projects at the British Museum, and the October Gallery in London.

Contributors

Eve Haddow is a PhD Candidate at the Australian National University (ANU), Canberra. Her research explores the role of Christian missionaries in the development of archaeology in the Western Pacific in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The project incorporates examination of museum collections and archival photographs, and maps traces of missionary relationships with Pacific Islanders, largely in Vanuatu and the eastern Solomon Islands. This research is part of the Australian Research Council Laureate project *Collective Biography of Archaeology in the Pacific: A Hidden History*. Eve is also an Assistant Archivist with the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau.

Christopher Wright is a Lecturer in Anthropology at Goldsmiths, University of London. From 1992 until 2000, he was Photographic Officer at the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. He is co-editor of *Between Art and Anthropology* and *Contemporary Art and Anthropology*.



Map of the Pacific by Mark Gunning 2017. Copyright Powell-Cotton Museum.

PREFACE

Between 2013 to 2018 the European Research Council funded *Pacific Presences: Oceanic art and European museums* ran an ambitious project that explored the extensive collections of art and artefacts from the Pacific region that are cared for in ethnography and world cultures museums across Europe, from Spain to Russia. The team reconsidered famous works of Oceanic art, but put more energy into research of little-known, sometimes vast collections in storage, and in particular made connections across collections, reconstructing the histories of particular art forms and their contexts, and investigating collections made by particular travellers and fieldworkers which have in many cases been dispersed across many institutions.

The project was empowered, above all, by dialogue with Pacific Islanders. We have had extraordinarily rewarding engagements with many scholars, curators, artists, elders and community members from Pacific nations and diasporas. Many have joined the project for periods as affiliated scholars and visitors. They have undertaken study visits with us, they have contributed joint presentations to conferences, they have produced works of art, some acquired by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge where the project was based, and they have written or co-written for various project publications. *Pacific Presences* not only enlarges understanding of Oceanic art history and Oceanic collections in important ways, but it also enables new reflections upon museums and ways of undertaking work in and around them. It exemplifies a growing commitment on the part of curators and researchers not merely to consult, but to initiate and undertake research, conservation, acquisition, exhibition, outreach and publication projects collaboratively and responsively.

This book series publishes work arising from, or associated with, the project. It includes studies dedicated to particular genres such as the famous coconut-fibre armour of Kiribati, critical reflections on concepts and methodologies in the anthropology of art, and a summative two-volume set of overviews of collections in specific countries, and case studies from a range of perspectives. This volume, *Resonant Histories*, exemplifies one of our core methodologies, that of re-assemblage. While other studies generated by the project have addressed eighteenth and early nineteenth century collections arising from voyages of exploration, this book importantly represents naval voyages from the end of the century, intimately associated with colonial administration. The 1890s are seen as a high point of imperialism, a time marked by the notorious ‘scramble’ for colonial territory in Oceania as well as Africa, by the publication of Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, and by the acquisition of truly massive ethnographic collections from across Oceania.

Alison Clark’s involvement in this project was prompted by her visits to the Powell-Cotton Museum, an independent museum in Kent showcasing the collections of the English hunter and traveller Percy Powell-Cotton (1866-1940). As Clark explains in the Introduction to this book, the collection included just under a hundred artefacts brought back from the Pacific by Captain Edward Henry Meggs Davis (1846-1929).

Yet Davis had collected much more, and investigations carried out over five years established that nearly 1500 objects and photographs associated with Davis's Pacific voyages were dispersed across 14 museums in five countries. While the single largest work, a feast trough from the Solomon Islands, has recently been controversial as a looted artefact, this book draws attention to the heterogeneity of these artefacts and their stories. Similarly, Islanders today respond in heterogeneous ways to these expressions of their heritage.

This book will, in future, provide Islanders with ways into these collections. Once-powerful and highly-valued objects that lapsed into obscurity for decades are once again visible. They can be recognized for their artistry and the values they bear. They express great cultural achievement and bear histories that need to be acknowledged and considered, as Islanders prepare to respond to new challenges.

Nicholas Thomas

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

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On 29 September 2018 *The Times* newspaper featured an article discussing a Solomon Islands feast bowl, loaned by the British Museum for the *Oceania* exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, London.¹ The feast bowl (Figure 4.4) was just one artefact looted by Captain Edward Henry Meggs Davis from Roviana, in the Solomon Islands in 1891. It is entangled² in the complexities of the relationships and encounters between Islanders and Europeans in the Western Pacific during the colonial period. It is also a visual demonstration of these relationships – both sides of the feast bowl depict warriors holding clubs and shields, and in one case a revolver. From the early nineteenth century onwards, European traders in the Western Pacific region had introduced items such as revolvers, muskets and iron blades, which were incorporated into axes. These items added further fuel to local competition between communities, and between Islanders and Europeans. It was precisely these things, and the situations in which they became embedded, that the British sought to police, and the feast bowl was looted as crew members of the Royal Navy's Australian station ship HMS *Royalist* conducted punitive raids on the Solomon Islands in 1891 to enforce British law and order.

As well as focusing on the complex history of the artefact *The Times* article also raised the question of repatriation. Tony Heorake, the director of the Solomon Islands National Museum was quoted as saying that if the artefact was looted, it should be returned to 'its kastom owners'³ in the Pacific. This discussion surrounding the feast bowl from Roviana highlights the resonance of such artefacts for communities today and the value of unpacking the collection history of items now located far from their originating community. A total of 548 artefacts were acquired by HMS *Royalist* in the Solomon Islands, including the looted feast bowl and other items taken during punitive raids. However those artefacts represent just over one third of the total collection of artefacts brought back to Britain by Davis. Davis was captain of HMS *Royalist* from 6 October 1889 until May 1893, visiting New Caledonia, Vanuatu, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and the Marshall Islands. In total he collected 1,481 artefacts from across the Western Pacific region and left traces in the histories of many of the Islands he visited.

This book provides detailed historical background to the voyages of HMS *Royalist* undertaken by Davis, in order to provide the context for this large collection of artefacts sent back from the Pacific to England. It offers a detailed view of the contents



Figure 1.1. Portrait of Edward Henry Meggs Davis. Courtesy Bexhill Observer.

and development of the collection, and what the collection can tell us about British ethnographic collecting at the end of the nineteenth century. This book also seeks to build upon existing research which has already revealed the contemporary salience of HMS *Royalist* within the Solomon Islands⁴, by exploring the traces left by the ship among the other Pacific Island communities it visited under the captaincy of Davis, and by asking what the contemporary relevance of this period of colonial history might be for Islanders today.

Born in Galway in 1846 Edward Henry Meggs Davis (Figure 1.1) entered the service of the Royal Navy in September 1860, aged 14. He was appointed Captain in January 1887, at various times commanding the ships *Medusa*, *Royalist*, *Colossus*, *Royal Sovereign*, *Howe* and *Urgent*, and travelling around the Pacific, the Mediterranean, Ireland and Jamaica. On 23 January 1895 Davis married Ethel Mary Lambe at Stoke Damerel church in Plymouth, near Her Majesty's Naval Base Devonport. The family settled in Bexhill-on-Sea in Sussex, near Ethel's childhood home of Chichester. The couple had four children, Edward Peverell Meggs, Ranulph Peverell Meggs, John Charles Peverell Meggs and Geoffrey Peverell Meggs. He retired from active service in 1905, and after retirement was given the title Rear-Admiral. In 1906 he was added to the list of Nautical Assessors in the House of Lords, working part time in this capacity until January 1929. Davis died at his home in Bexhill-on-Sea on 6 October 1929 after falling from a window in the house.

I first encountered Davis and the cultural material associated with HMS *Royalist* at the start of the ERC funded project *Pacific Presences: Oceanic Art and European Museums*, when I was invited to visit the Pacific collections cared for by the Powell-Cotton Museum at Quex Park in Kent. Among the list of collections I was provided

Figure 1.2. Whale's tooth neck ornament, the Solomon Islands. ETH. DAVIS.80. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Powell-Cotton Museum.



with, the name Admiral Davis appeared attached to 99 artefact records. These artefacts cared for by the Museum varied in type and geographic provenance, and in many cases featured intriguing handwritten labels (Figure 1.2). Their presence in the Powell-Cotton Museum was intrinsically linked to the development of its collections, and this book explores the role of the Davis collection more broadly in the development of British ethnographic museum collections.

This book seeks to unpick the fine details of what has emerged as a complex and internationally dispersed collection, cared for by multiple museums in multiple countries. In the early stages of researching the artefacts collected by Davis, I wanted to gain an overview of the scale of the collection: how many artefacts could still be located and where were they held? It quickly became clear that the scale of this task was monumental and we may never know how many artefacts still survive, as it is possible that many still exist in undocumented private collections. Five years later, 792 artefacts and 65 photographs have been located in 14 museums across five countries. Two further artefacts collected by other crew on board HMS *Royalist* have also been located in Australia. This kind of work to determine the breadth and depth of a collection can be hugely rewarding, often bringing new insights to collections and their histories. In particular I was keen to discover the current location of these artefacts in order to reunite this information with the communities from which they originated over 126 years ago. As well as exploring the Indigenous meanings of these collections this book seeks to explore the non-Indigenous meanings that are embedded in this 'maritime' collection, particularly considering how the 'education of officers and

the life experiences of officers and crew inform their values and interests.⁵ In addition to the detective-like investigation, the first three chapters of this book provide the historical background to the three voyages of HMS *Royalist*, discussing each voyage, its aims and outcomes, and the role that Davis played within this. The three voyages of HMS *Royalist* are deeply embedded in the carving up of the Western Pacific region by European nations in the late 1880s. Providing both the historical and political context for the voyages has allowed for the collecting practices of Davis to be interrogated, but it has also revealed the many contradictions and failures of the administration of the Western Pacific by European powers. The beginning of this book constructs a timeline of these events that is self-consciously European. It is a history that is almost entirely constructed from the written record, and one that reveals the need for other histories that are not necessarily constructed within this European model⁶.

The contributors to the second part of this book have each chosen to focus on one island that was visited by HMS *Royalist* throughout its time in the Western Pacific. These final three chapters explore how HMS *Royalist* has an ongoing presence in the contemporary imaginary – often as a way of understanding social, political or environmental issues – of some of the places it visited in the Pacific: Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and Kiribati. In the past 20 years scholars have sought to interrogate the historical, usually European, archive, reading it not just as fact, and often in light of emerging Indigenous oral histories. The final three chapters in this book seek to remind us that there is no definitive version of history. Instead the chapters reveal local significances of this period of history and its resonance today, and are entangled in stories of migration, and social and cultural change. In Chapter 5 Eve Haddow considers the legacy of Davis' investigation into the murder of the English planter George de Latour in Aore, Vanuatu. Haddow highlights the connection of an artefact collected by Davis, now in the collections of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, to this period of civil unrest, and looks at wider issues of cultural and social belonging. In Chapter 6 Christopher Wright deals with memory and material culture in the Solomon Islands. Wright explores how local people in Roviana compare present day ethnic tensions to those experienced during the period HMS *Royalist* conducted punitive raids in the region in 1891. Finally in Chapter 7 I consider the continued importance of HMS *Royalist* or, more specifically, the British to a community at Taratai village in North Tarawa, Kiribati.

Reassembling the collection of artefacts brought together by HMS *Royalist* has revealed its value both in its whole and in its parts to a variety of people in different places and at different times⁷. It is hoped that this act of reassemblage will provide Islanders with a way into this collection. These artefacts, brought together by Davis, bear counter-histories that need to be acknowledged and considered, particularly as Islanders experience social, cultural and environmental change.

CHAPTER 2

‘Enacting British Law’ in the Pacific: the three voyages of HMS Royalist

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In the second half of the nineteenth century the focus of British interest in the Pacific shifted from Polynesia to Island Melanesia. Commerce, plantation economies, labour recruitment and mission stations established by Europeans and Americans developed rapidly in the area known as the Western Pacific¹. The office of the Western Pacific High Commission was established by Britain in Suva, Fiji in 1877, and administered the islands under its jurisdiction throughout its term from Suva and Honiara in the Solomon Islands. The Commission sought to extend British authority over its subjects in a context where Britain was not claiming sovereignty over those islands in the Western Pacific where its subjects has chosen to reside.² Colonial engagement in the region was intense but because formal sovereignty had yet to be extended the Commission found itself in a kind of governmental no mans land where it had to deal with outrages committed by their nationals and the local reactions to them, whilst Islanders had to deal with new situations, and escalating conflict. Conflict was not just between Europeans and the Indigenous population, but also among European and American agents themselves. Crimes committed by Europeans in the Western Pacific led to punishment by their parent country in order to protect the Indigenous population. At the same time, crimes committed by Pacific Islanders against Europeans also resulted in punitive action, with European nations sending warships to protect their citizens and their interests. Attempts were also made to control the recruitment of Pacific Islanders for labour and to restrict the sale of guns by traders to the Indigenous population. As a result the Australian Station (1859-1913), an outpost of the British Royal Navy, which had been established as part of the development of self governing colonies in Australia in the 1850s, engaged its ships in the policing of the region from the late 1880s onwards.³ HMS *Royalist* is part of this history.

The Australian Station third class cruiser HMS *Royalist* attempted to enforce law and order in the region whilst also seeking to declare particular islands British protectorates. The ship was commanded by Captain Edward Henry Meggs Davis between 1890 and 1893, and sailed around the Western Pacific, stopping at Vanuatu (referred to as the New Hebrides during the colonial period), New Caledonia, New Guinea (Papua New Guinea), the Solomon Islands, Fiji, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (Kiribati and Tuvalu) and the Marshall Islands. His voyages were divided into three

distinct periods each with a different aim. The first voyage, mostly in Vanuatu, was operated under the auspices of the Anglo-French Joint Naval Commission. Vanuatu had been declared a neutral territory by France and England in 1887 in order to protect the interests of their citizens residing in the Islands and in response to a fear of German colonial expansion in the Pacific. Davis spent most of his time in Vanuatu maintaining law and order and removing arms sold by traders to the islanders. On the second voyage he was instructed to establish law and order in the Solomon Islands and New Guinea after the deaths of several European traders in the region, and spent approximately a year there conducting significant punitive expeditions amongst the Islands. The third voyage visited the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and the Marshall Islands, albeit the latter very briefly. The aim of this third voyage was to declare the Gilbert Islands a British Protectorate and explore the possibility of declaring the Ellice Islands a British Protectorate as well. This chapter will explore the context and aims of each voyage in detail, considering how both local and international politics affected the success of these voyages and how they were perceived both back in Britain and in the Pacific.

Negotiating the ‘free’ Western Pacific

In his analysis of the Commission Deryck Scarr highlighted the complexity, and ultimately the impracticability of the duties required of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, who sought to supervise labour recruiters and traders across a vast area encompassing Micronesia as well as Melanesia, whilst also forming recommendations for the extension of the British Empire in the region with woeful funding and staff resources⁴. These duties were made more difficult by the interests of other foreign polities in the region. In a letter between Julian Pauncefote, the Under Secretary for the Colonial Office, and John Thurston, the Acting High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, on 21 March 1885, Pauncefote conveyed the outcomes of discussions between the German court and British government regarding the governance of the Western Pacific. He wrote

I am to observe that Her Majesty's Government had not contemplated any annexation in New Britain, New Ireland or Duke of York Island, and have acquiesced in the Proclamation of a German Protectorate over them, fully understanding that any British subjects now or hereafter trading there will have German protection for their persons and property, as far as it can be given.⁵

Pauncefote continued, adding that

with regard to the Solomon and Santa Cruz Islands, and any other places in the Western Pacific not under English, German or French sovereignty or protectorate, it may be desirable to make efficient working arrangements under which the interests of British and German Governments shall be guarded either by the joint action of the two Governments, or by one or other of them, as may be agreed.⁶

The German government, whose trading presence was felt more strongly in the Pacific than its governance, did not begin to consider its colonial presence in the Western Pacific region (Figure 2.1) until after unification in 1871.⁷ In 1884 it began declaring Pacific Islands protectorates, starting with Kaiser Wilhelmsland (north east New Guinea) and the Bismarck Archipelago, and following with the Marshall Islands and the northern Solomon Islands in 1885. Unlike in Britain, the costs of administering many of these German protectorates were not met by the German Government but by trading companies such as the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Sudsee-Inseln zu Hamburg (DHPG). This was because German activity in the Western Pacific was focused on commercial interests rather than governance. In contrast, by the late 1880s, France, whose interests in the Western Pacific region were limited, had established a penal colony on New Caledonia (1864) and a joint naval commission with Britain over Vanuatu (1887). The dispatches between the British Colonial Office and the Western Pacific High Commission during the 1880s discuss the struggle of these seats of empire for control, largely for commercial interests, over what were at that time referred to as 'free' Pacific Islands.

In November 1882 an article was published in the newspaper *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung*, highlighting New Guinea as a possible area for German colonial expansion. In response the Queensland Government, a British colony, panicked and reacted by, in 1884, announcing the annexation of New Guinea. In the British Foreign Office dispatches the Queensland Government is described as 'acting purely on its own authority' and the act was subsequently 'disavowed by the English Government' declaring it null and void.⁸ Britain emphasized to the Queensland Government that 'the purpose and view of the Government of Great Britain [was] not to undertake any more annexations and not to lay upon itself the burden of any more Colonies.'⁹ Despite this, and as a result of Germany showing interest in New Guinea by declaring Kaiser Wilhelmsland a protectorate, Britain, recognizing the commercial benefits of the area, declared a protectorate over south-eastern New Guinea, reluctantly entering into negotiations with Germany over further division of the Western Pacific region.

Negotiations between Britain and Germany progressed and in an enclosure from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office written on 16 March 1885 it stated that a draft boundary on the North East coast of New Guinea had been agreed to denote British and German territories, with the islands off the North Coast included in the German Protectorate, and the D'Entrecasteaux group remaining under British control. As part of this agreement Britain withdrew from Rook Island (Umboi) and Long Island. A boundary on the east was drawn between these territories and those already under Dutch occupation. Following these successful negotiations, in 1885 Germany petitioned Britain to 'enter into negotiations for the definition of the spheres of influence sovereignty ('Machtsphären') of both Powers in the hitherto independent portions of the South Sea Archipelago'¹⁰ and to address the question of Samoa, which had entered into a Treaty with Germany in 1879, but was petitioning the British Government for the annexation of the islands by Britain or New Zealand. Thurston was keen to maintain the relative 'independence' of Samoa and suggested

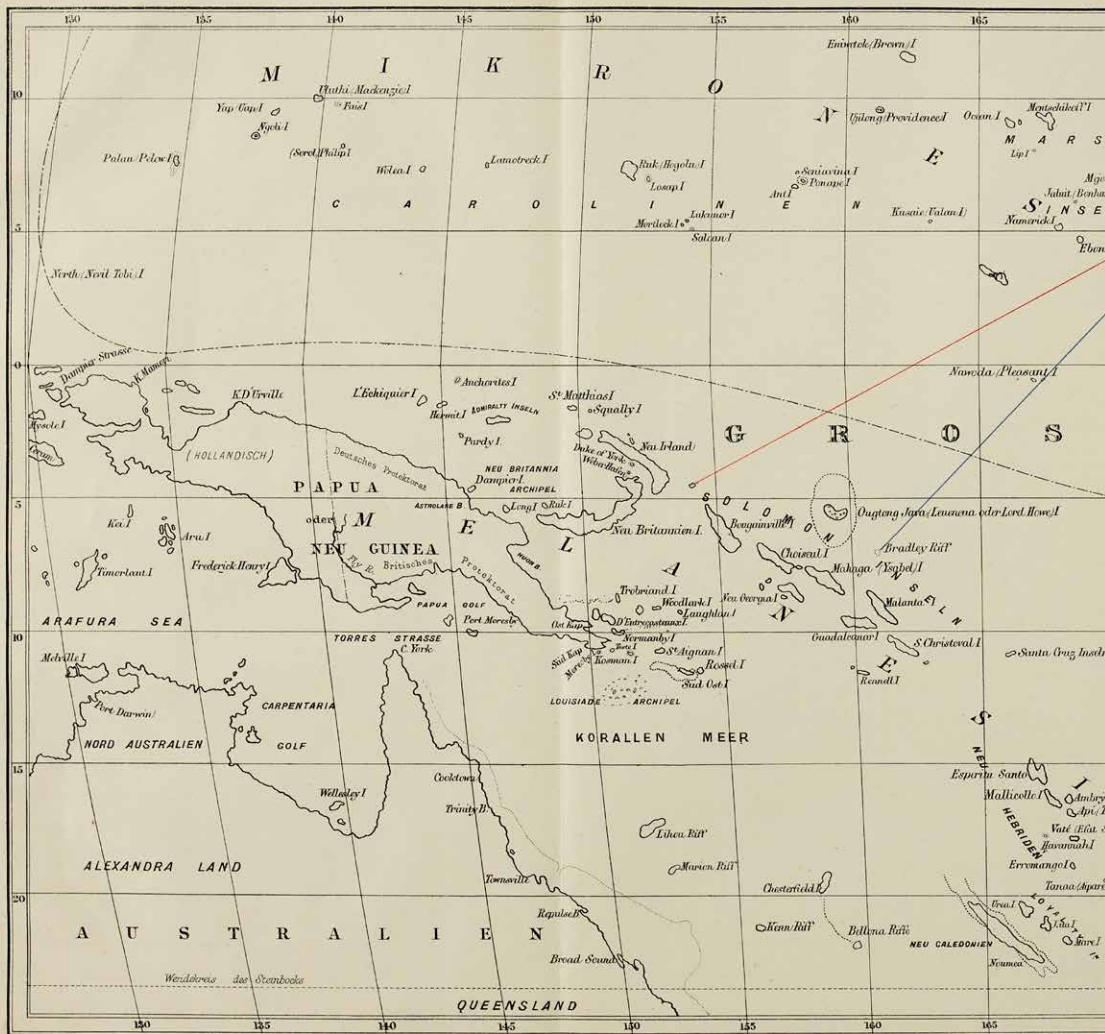
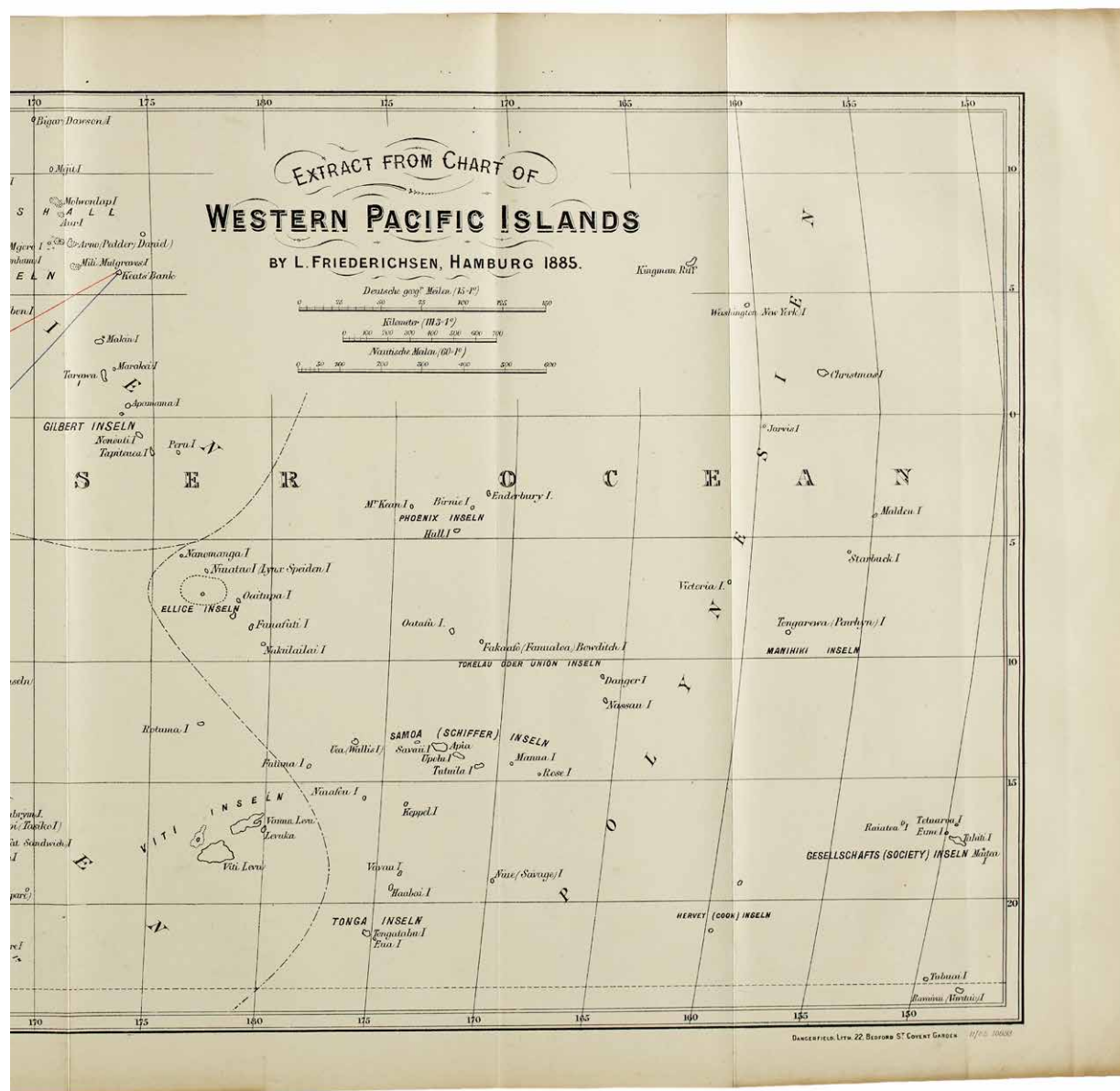


Figure 2.1. Extract from Chart of Western Pacific Islands by L. Friedrichsen, Hamburg 1885. FO881-10004X. Copyright National Archives.



a proposal for the administration of affairs by one of the Treaty Powers, security to their common satisfaction being taken that such administration is conducted in the name of the King, and that the independence of the islands is not endangered.¹¹

The aim of this proposal was not in fact to allow Samoa to be independent but instead to enable the Samoan Government to, in the words of Thurston, grasp ‘the fundamental principles of government, and acquire the ability for managing the affairs of their small State’¹² within a framework of European understanding. A subsequent amendment to the working agreement between Britain and Germany was drawn up to include the suggestions made by Thurston as well as the following points:

The Commission having considered the commercial interests generally of the two Governments in the islands referred to, with regard to a geographical delimitation of their respective spheres, recommend:-

1. That Germany should not make acquisitions of territory, accept Protectorates, conclude Treaties, or interfere with the extension of British influence and jurisdiction in the Gilbert and Ellice Groups and that part of the Western Pacific lying south of a line drawn from Sir Charles Hardy’s Island to Keat’s Bank [located in the Marshall Islands], and not forming parts of the following groups, viz., the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, the Navigator [Samoa] and Friendly Islands [Tonga], which should continue to form a neutral region and common field of enterprise.
2. That Great Britain should not make acquisitions of territory, accept Protectorates, conclude Treaties, or interfere with the extension of German influence and jurisdiction in the Marshall, Caroline and Pelew Islands, or other islands lying north of the line above described.

It is suggested that the Governments might with advantage abandon any possessions and withdraw any Protectorates already established within the limits proposed to be assigned to the other.¹³

The reasons given for these suggestions were based on the geographic location of these islands in relation to existing German and British holdings in the Pacific. While the recommendations did not prohibit Britain from annexing, forming treaties with or protectorates over the Solomon Islands or Vanuatu, it was within Britain’s interests for these regions to remain neutral. Preventing Germany from acquiring particular islands was strategic, as while Britain did not want to acquire them it did want to maintain the status quo that facilitated the running of their missions and trading posts. Thurston elaborated on this reason when he wrote that

There are, the labour trade apart, no German interests in the Solomon Islands. There are, however, many trading posts belonging to Englishmen; naval and coaling stations also have been formed by the officer commanding the Australian squadron at Treasury Island, Ugi and Hathorne Sound. Regular hydrographic surveys have also been conducted by British officers for years past in this group, and finally, it is one of the chief fields of action on the part of Bishop Selwyn (the successor of the late Bishop Pattison), and the Melanesian Mission.¹⁴

Conscious that friendly relations with the French Government were necessary for this agreement with Germany to be successful, the British Foreign Office proposed that an invitation should be extended to the French Government to participate in the arrangement specifically with regard to those islands that should continue to form a neutral region due to France's interests at that time in Vanuatu.¹⁵ Acquiescence on the part of the British Government to France and Germany over Islands in the Western Pacific region were also linked to wider British colonial interests. By gaining the favour of the German Chancellor in particular Britain hoped to make better deals in other part of the world such as Africa.¹⁶

The formal union between Britain and Germany over the Western Pacific region became known as the Anglo-German Pacific Commission. The final agreement had the demarcation line between British and German spheres of influence running from 'the north-east coast of New Guinea'¹⁷ through the Solomon Islands, and dividing the Marshall and Gilbert Islands. For Germany this meant that they were able to retain some control of the Solomon Islands, specifically the three greater northern islands of Bougainville, Choiseul, and Isabel Islands, but also gained the Caroline Islands. While these negotiations were still being finalized, on 28 November 1885 the Foreign Office received a telegram from Her Majesty's Minister in Japan noting that Germany had sent the man-of-war *Nautilus* to the Marshall Islands and hoisted its flag over the Islands.¹⁸ It was not until 26 February 1890, however, that an official protectorate was announced over the Marshall Islands by Germany.

Germany, France and Britain were not the only nations with interests in the region at this time. Spain raised objections over Britain agreeing to give Germany the Caroline and Pelew Islands (Palau), as they had historic interests in these Islands.¹⁹ The United States also expressed its displeasure at the agreement in a letter from the Department of State in Washington to the Foreign Office on 27 February 1886. The Department wrote that

We have no treaty relations with the Marshall or Gilbert groups. They are understood to belong to the large category of hitherto unclaimed islands which have been under no asserted administration, and where the traders of various nationalities have obtained lodgement through good relations with the natives. Of the Gilbert Islands we have no precise information. M.von Alvensleben recently stated in conversation that the German claim to the Caroline Islands having been decided adversely Germany would instead take possession of the Marshall group. It is understood, but informally so, that an arrangement exists between Great Britain and Germany whereby the two

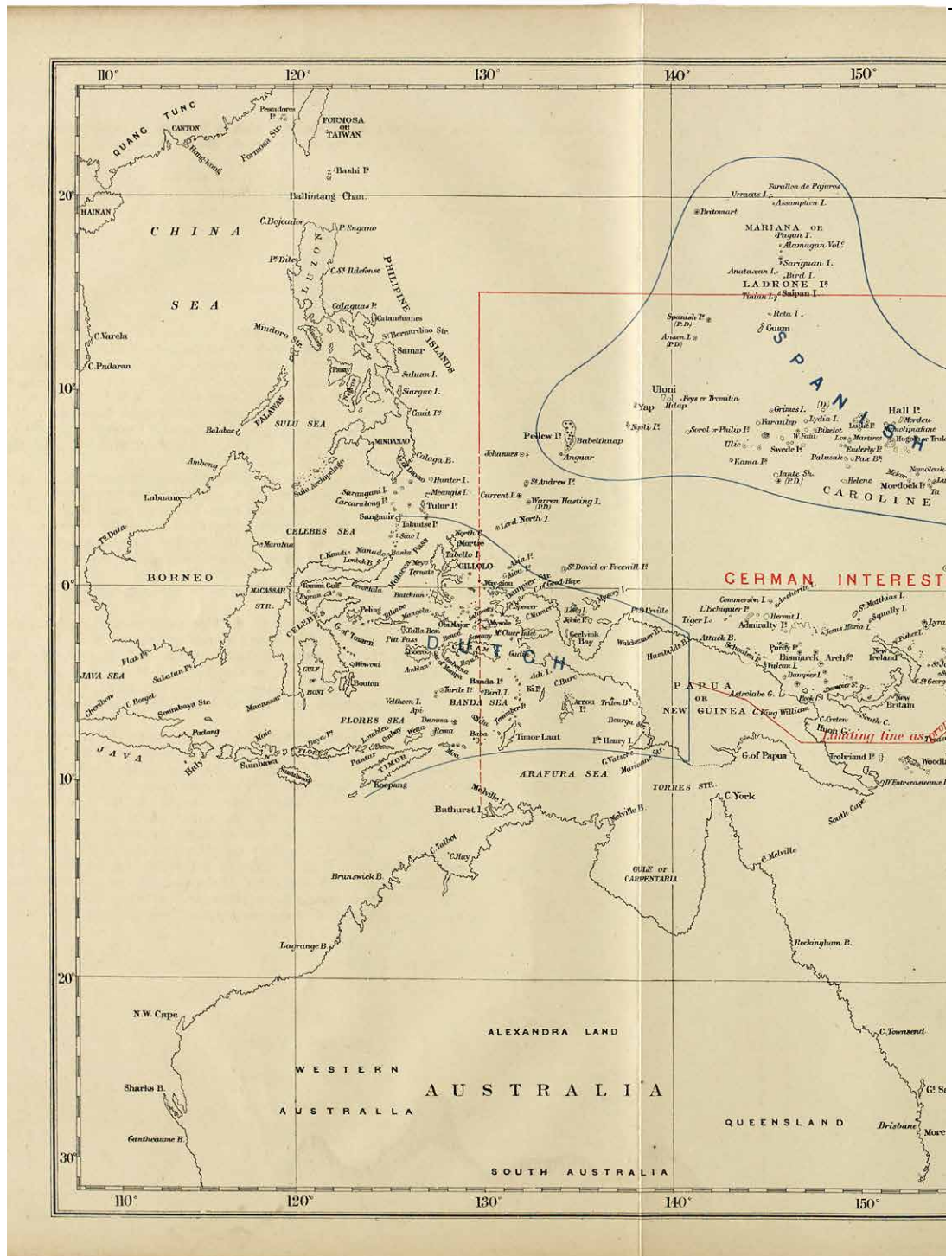


Figure 2.2. Map to Illustrate Draft Proposal of an Agreement between Great Britain and Germany. FO881-10004X. Copyright National Archives.

former Powers will confine their respective insular annexation in the Pacific Ocean within defined areas or zones, and that under this arrangement the Marshall Islands fall within the zone where Germany can operate without coming into collision with Great Britain.

It is not easy to see how either Great Britain or Germany can assert the right to control and to divide between them insular possessions which have hitherto been free to the trade of all flags, and which owe the civilising rudiments of social organisation they possess to the settlement of pioneers of other nationalities than British or German. If colonial acquisition were an announced policy of the United States it is clear that this country would have an equal right with Great Britain and Germany to assert a claim of possession in respect of islands settled by American citizens, either alone or on a footing of equality with British and German settlers ... What we think we have a right to expect...is that interests, found to have been created in favour of peaceable American settlers in those distant regions, shall not be disturbed by the assertion of exclusive claims of territorial jurisdiction on the part of any Power which has never put forth any show of administration therein, that their trade and intercourse shall not in any way be hampered or taxed otherwise than as are the trade and intercourse of the citizens or subjects of the Power asserting such exclusive jurisdiction...We have had occasion to say as much to Germany and Spain.²⁰

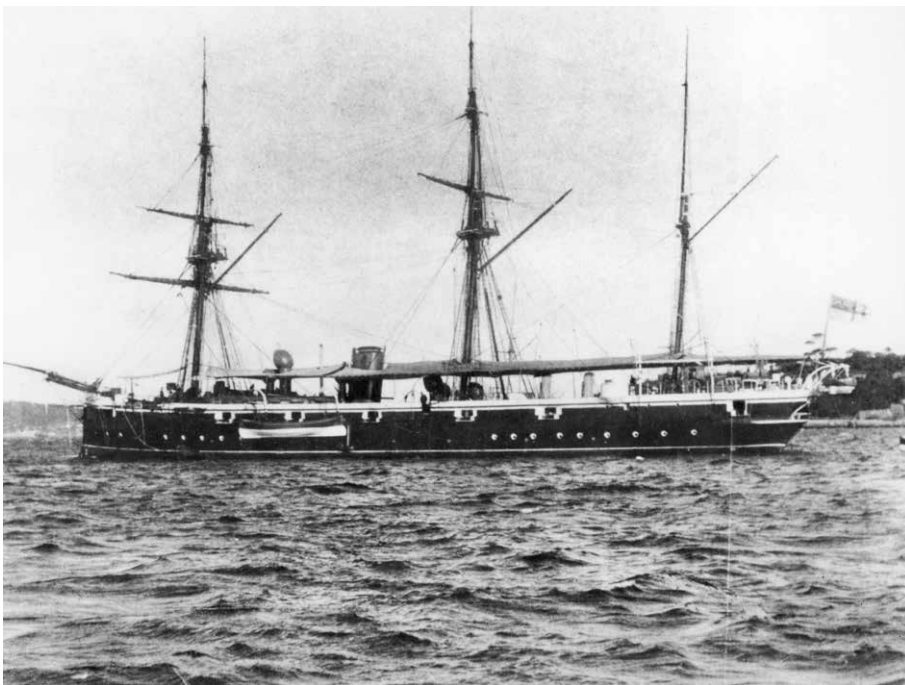


Figure 2.3. HMS Royalist at sea. 302264. Courtesy and Copyright Australian War Memorial.

Britain and Germany included the interests of Spain and France in their final map which depicts a division of the Western Pacific by European interests (Figure 2.2), but largely ignored the complaints of the United States of America, who by its own admission did not have a policy of colonial acquisition. While both Britain and Germany continued to allow American traders to live and work in the islands they held jurisdiction over, these traders were subject to much stricter rules and regulations, which ultimately affected the businesses run by their citizens in the Western Pacific. The final declaration by the Anglo-German Pacific Commission relating to the Demarcation of British and German Spheres of Influence in the Western Pacific was eventually signed on 6 April 1886. The declaration read:

The Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., and the Government of His Majesty the German Emperor, having resolved to define the limits of the British and German spheres of influence in the Western Pacific;

Declaration:-...

3. Germany engages not to make acquisitions of territory, accept Protectorates, conclude Treaties, or interfere with the extension of British influence, and to give up any acquisitions of territory of Protectorates already established in that part of the Western Pacific lying to the east, south-east, or south of the said conventional line.
4. Great Britain engages not to make acquisitions of territory, accept Protectorates, conclude Treaties, or interfere with the extension of German influence, and to give up any acquisitions of territory of Protectorates already established in that part of the Western Pacific lying to the west, north-west, or north of the said conventional line.
5. Should further surveys show that any islands, now indicated on the said charts as lying on one side of the said conventional line, are in reality on the other side, the said line shall be modified so that such islands shall appear on the same side of the line as at present shown on the said charts.
6. This Declaration does not apply to the Navigator Islands [Samoa], which are affected by treaties with Great Britain, Germany and the United States; nor to the Friendly Islands [Tonga], which are affected by treaties with Great Britain and Germany; nor to the Island of Niue (Savage Island), which groups of islands shall continue to form a neutral region; nor to any islands or places in the Western Pacific which are now under the sovereignty or protection of any other civilised power than Great Britain and Germany.²¹



Figure 2.4. Map of New Caledonia and Vanuatu. Courtesy of CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University. Released under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike Licence.

Unlike Germany, Britain was not in a rush to make any further movement in the Western Pacific immediately following the signing of the declaration. Instead, through the Royal Navy's Australian Station it monitored its areas of influence by sending several ships to cruise for months at a time in this region. The ships were tasked with maintaining law and order in the region and resolving disputes. When describing the duties of these ships to Lord Knutsford, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Thurston wrote:

The ships in question are commanded by officers who, as a rule, hold commission as Deputy Commissioners for the Western Pacific. They are called upon to deal with questions of a difficult nature almost always involving decisions upon purely legal principles which have not been previously studied by them. It thus happens that men are occasionally arrested, or arrested and committed for trial to Fiji, upon evidence which could scarcely fail in sustaining a conviction in the Supreme Court. In other cases the intention



Figure 2.5. Photograph of George De Latour's grave. Courtesy Fiji Museum.

and meaning of the Orders in Council have been misunderstood, and persons committed for trial have been sent up without the witnesses examined at the preliminary hearing, and without any attempt to procure their attendance.²²

By Thurston's own admission, the officers charged with the day-to-day overseeing of Britain's interests in the Pacific were often under qualified for the task at hand and therefore made mistakes or exhibited poor judgement. Yet Thurston and later commissioners relied on these ships and their officers to 'make his jurisdiction felt in those areas where he had no resident deputies. And since his jurisdiction did not extend to offences committed by Islanders against British subjects, [naval] commanders were called upon to cover this lacuna by naval act of war'²³. Assigned to HMS *Royalist* as Captain in October 1889, Davis was often criticized, either by the press in Australia or the Western Pacific High Commission, for his actions in undertaking his duties as laid out by the Admiralty.

The Admiralty actively worked to prevent the sale of guns and ammunition to Pacific Islanders and in 1884 the British government had established a regulation to prohibit the supply of arms, ammunition and explosive substances to Islanders in the

Friendly Islands, Navigator Islands, Union Islands (Tokelau), Phoenix Islands, Ellice Islands, Gilbert Islands, Marshall Islands, Caroline Islands, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, Australia, New Guinea, New Britain and New Ireland.²⁴ In 1888 a further regulation was established to prohibit the supply of intoxicating liquors to Islanders of the same islands listed above.²⁵ Davis was tasked with enforcing these laws during his captaincy of HMS *Royalist*, as well as resolving local disputes between Islanders and Europeans. Many matters that needed to be resolved by HMS *Royalist* were brought about at the request of British traders who sought protection from their home country and retribution by them. Through reading the Admiralty reports as well as newspaper articles published at the time, it becomes clear that these traders often manipulated the Royal Navy for their own benefit and gain. The remainder of this chapter discusses each of the three voyages undertaken by Davis as captain of HMS *Royalist*.

Voyage 1: 21 April 1890-23 November 1890

HMS *Royalist* (Figure 2.3) left Sydney on 21 April 1890 for Noumea 'for duty as Senior Officer in the New Hebrides, and to form part of the joint Naval Commission for the maintenance of order in these islands' (Figure 2.4).²⁶ The joint Naval Commission held by the British and French governments allowed both nations to preside over Vanuatu, as both had trading and missionary interests in the Islands. It allowed both governments to police 'crimes against Europeans through a shipboard tribunal that acted as a summary court without due process, representation, or appeal and through violent punitive expeditions'.²⁷ This understanding between France and Britain was established in 1877 and included the ruling that neither power would encroach upon the independence of Vanuatu, meaning that in turn neither government could adjudicate on issues relating to land, which at that time was a major source of conflict.

The British government found itself caught between the limitations of the agreement and the politics of missionaries, traders, settlers and the Indigenous population. Missionaries in Vanuatu and across Island Melanesia often opposed labour recruitment 'because it undermined their efforts to build and maintain congregations'²⁸. They therefore pushed for British annexation as a means of regulating or even preventing labour recruitment within Vanuatu. Thurston wrote to Lord Knutsford about the matter on 4 October 1890. He wrote, with a clear understanding of the motivations of the mission, that:

the policy recommended by the New Hebrides Mission is opposed to all its previous acts and traditions, and I cannot but feel that its desire to encourage British settlement, even though such settlement would, under certain circumstances, strengthen those influences which are bringing about the extermination of the islanders, are founded upon political motives.²⁹

In addition British traders and settlers on the Islands complained about French settlers, and on 3 October 1890 the Foreign Office reported that the 'French Government has appointed a Commission to inquire into and report upon the best means of developing the French establishments in the New Hebrides'.³⁰ George De Latour, an English planter living on Aore, wrote several letters to the British Government complaining about the



Figure 2.6. Map of the Solomon Islands. Courtesy of CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University. Released under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike Licence.

practices of the French Government, in particular highlighting the practice of the French Government of sending 'liberes' (freed convicts) from New Caledonia to Vanuatu, claiming that it threatened both the safety of himself and islanders, but also his businesses.³¹ De Latour later petitioned Davis for assistance in what he claimed was an unwarranted dispute involving three local men and his housekeeper. De Latour and his son were later killed in a clash with these men that Eve Haddow has revealed was most likely linked to a personal grudge (Figure 2.5). The incident is discussed in detail by Haddow in Chapter 5, but is worth mentioning here as it is indicative of the way that traders manipulated the assurance of the Royal Navy to protect its citizens for their own benefit.

The Islanders accused in the De Latour case were sentenced to death and Davis' actions in the matter were both criticized and praised. In an interview printed in *The Queenslander* in 1890 Davis was quoted as saying 'though what has been done may not meet with approval in some quarters, I am fully convinced that it will have the effect of preventing further atrocities, at least for the present, in the group'.³² The same article cites local missionaries as supporting the work of Davis, while a later article in the *Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser* argues that Thurston did not approve of Davis' actions, claiming that was the reason the murder of another Englishman had not been avenged by the Royal Navy.³³

In addition to responding to requests for assistance by British expatriates, Davis was also charged with regulating the traffic in Pacific Island labourers. This is a task that figures heavily in all three voyages and in many islands deeply affected the Indigenous populations. The British government enforced rules under the Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868, which sought to strike a balance between the interests and welfare of the labourers, and the interests of the plantation owners. It required that labour recruiters hold a licence which specified precisely how many Islanders could be recruited. There were also guidelines on how long labourers could be transported for and this related to the size of the ship engaged, as well as how long labourers could be contracted for, usually not more than three years. The Act was amended to become the Pacific Islands Labourers Act 1880 in order to restrict the number of labourers recruited for work in Queensland. However, the Act was not enforced particularly strongly and the Admiralty were keen that Davis work to enforce the regulations more stringently. Davis looked 'with strong disfavour upon the whole of the traffic, not only at the Gilbert Islands, but at the New Hebrides, the Solomons and elsewhere'.³⁴ He felt that the labour trade encouraged disagreements in the Islands which often led to murder, but also that recruiting the young and the strong deprived the Islands of useful workers. Thus, whilst in many of the cases that involved British traders or plantation owners Davis tended to favour their opinion over that of the Indigenous person involved in the dispute, when it came to labour recruitment Davis strictly punished those recruiters who broke the rules. While the cases Davis dealt with generally involved punishing European and American labour recruiters, in one particular case Davis was asked to also punish local Islanders who had attacked the *Eliza Mary* after it was wrecked. Davis was asked to look into the disaster, in which the labour recruitment vessel was wrecked off the coast of Mallicolo (Malakula) in March 1890. The majority of Pacific Islanders onboard died, and those that did survive, it was claimed, were attacked by Islanders living on Mallicolo. Davis tried and punished three local Islanders, two of whom were flogged in the presence of the families of those who had been attacked.³⁵ Whilst each case dealt with by Davis was complex, his work during the first voyage was relatively straightforward; answering calls for help and adjudicating over the cases as he saw fit. The relative freedom allowed to Davis and the support given to him by his commanders at the Royal Navy's Australian Station may account for his heavy handed approach on the second voyage.

Voyage 2: 18 June 1891-9 December 1891

By 1890 the area commanded by the British in the Solomon Islands was known as the Lower Solomon Islands and comprised of Guadalcanal, San Cristoval, Savo, Florida, Malaita and Ulawa (Figure 2.6). That year it was proposed that a British Protectorate be established over the Islands, and Sir James Fergusson, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, commissioned Bishop Selwyn, the Bishop of Melanesia, to outline the benefits of this to the Colonial Office. Selwyn highlighted the benefits both to the Indigenous population, and to Europeans, remarking that Solomon Islanders would benefit from European intervention in the prevention of the sale of guns and ammunition, and in putting an end to 'internecine wars and head-hunting raids which are now so common'.³⁶ Selwyn advocated the establishment of a system of British law and order as beneficial for resolving disputes, and highlighted that British law would benefit British traders by placing restrictions on those non British traders also operating in the Islands. While the restriction on the supply of arms and ammunition to Islanders was already in place, the British Government did agree that these laws needed to be better enforced; however, forming protectorates over the Islands was cited

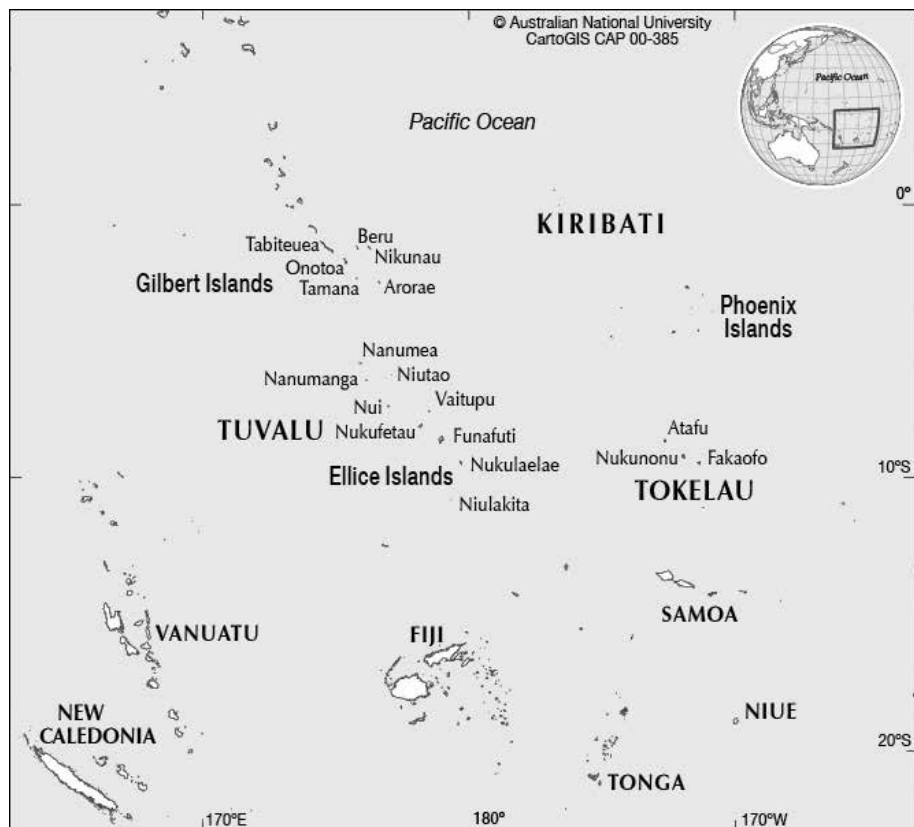


Figure 2.7. Map showing the former British Protectorate of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. Courtesy of CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University. Released under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike Licence.

as not being desirable at that time and it was not until 1893 that Britain declared the southern islands of the Solomon Islands a British Protectorate.

In 1891 the British trading company Messrs. Powell Brothers, resident on Santo in Vanuatu, who sought justice for Mr Sawers an English trader killed by Islanders, appealed to the Foreign Office for a change in policy and practice in Vanuatu. In particular the company highlighted the work of Davis in the Solomon Islands as an example, writing that a

great deal could be remedied if all those in command of Her Majesty's ships would act as Captain Davis, of Her Majesty's ship 'Royalist', has done recently on the Solomon group, where he headed an expedition ashore, and although the camps or villages might be found to be vacated, the news soon spreads that the White man is able and 'game' to follow up those who commit a crime.³⁷

The expeditions of second voyage of HMS *Royalist* have been discussed extensively. In particular texts have focused on the punitive action taken by Davis at Roviana Lagoon³⁸ and, just as on the first voyage, Davis is both criticized and praised.

On 29 March 1889 a letter written by Edmund Pratt, a trader based at Rubiana (sic) in the Solomon Islands, to the *Sydney Morning Herald* was published in the paper.³⁹ The letter detailed numerous murders of Europeans from as far back as 1874, and chastised the Royal Navy for its lack of action with any effect. On 30 June 1891 HMS *Royalist* arrived in the Solomon Islands. As Christopher Wright highlights in Chapter 6, long intervals often occurred between a crime being reported by a European and punitive action being taken by the Royal Navy. The murders reported by Pratt included those of two of his own Islander employees in a first attack in 1888, and two additional Islander employees as well as the European employee William Dabelle in a second attack on his trading post in 1889. In the second attack the heads of those murdered were taken and in both attacks Pratt claimed loss of goods.⁴⁰ The Royal Navy decided that these reports needed to be investigated, and HMS *Royalist* was dispatched to apprehend the murderers.

On his way back and forth between Australia and the Solomon Islands, Davis spent a few days in the areas now known as Milne Bay Province and the Bismarck Archipelago and collected 132 artefacts. HMS *Royalist* stopped at Dinner Island or Samarai in Milne Bay Province to collect supplies of coal, and because the Island was an administrative centre for the British Protectorate of British New Guinea. Davis was required to visit missions in the area to provide short reports on their work and mediate any disputes between the missions and Pacific Islanders. The London Missionary Society had founded a mission on the Island and Davis also visited newly founded missions stations at Bartle Bay and Goulvain⁴¹, as well as other missions in the area during his time in New Guinea. From Dinner Island the ship continued to the Solomon Islands and on 15 August 1891 Davis arrived at Nusa Zonga, in Roviana Lagoon and received news that four Islander employees of Captain Thomas Woodhouse, the officer in charge of the settlement, had recently been murdered. Davis sought justice for both these murders and those reported by Pratt. He practised the common technique of the Royal Navy of collective punishment where communities were given the opportunity to hand over the accused and suffer

no further consequence. On receiving no response Davis and his officers landed and subsequently took hostages in place of the murderers until the community could or would deliver those he sought. When he still did not receive the offenders he sought, Davis and his crew destroyed all of the villages in Roviana Lagoon as a warning (Figure 6.3). This punitive raid and the consequences of it are discussed in detail by Wright in Chapter 6. Just as with De Latour, it was alleged by newspapers that 'a grievance existed'⁴² between Pratt and Solomon Islanders who attacked his property and murdered his employees, and that the grievance had been caused by Pratt. The Royal Navy only chose to believe the Europeans who complained to them, whose business was often improved through punitive action. There was also a clause in the instructions given to Royal Navy officers that stated that in cases of punitive action the Royal Navy were to leave plantations and trading posts as intact as possible.

The punitive raid at Roviana was just one element of a longer campaign of punitive raids by HMS *Royalist* in retribution for crimes committed against British expatriates living in the Solomon Islands. Prior to the raids at Roviana Lagoon, Davis, in August 1891, shelled villages along the Maramasike Channel, Malaita with HMS *Ringdove*. The two ships then led landing parties to further destroy villages in an attempt to make Islanders give up the murderers of Fred Howard, a trader on Ugi Island, who was murdered by a group of Malaita men.⁴³ Two days later the crews of HMS *Royalist* and *Ringdove* destroyed another village on San Cristoval and took the chief hostage after the community would not give up the murderer of Sam Craig, a mate of the schooner *Sandfly*. A week later another village on Malaita was destroyed in an attempt to capture men involved in an attack on the schooner *Savo*, where two Europeans were murdered and one injured. This fortnight of destruction culminated in the events at Roviana which saw destruction of a scale never before seen.

An article in the *Brisbane Courier* on 16 December 1891 heavily criticized Davis' actions but also placed blame with the instructions given, implying that Davis had minimal agency in the punitive raids. The article stated:

Probably in all this, Captain Davis did the best thing he could do according to his lights; at all events we presume he only carried out his instructions, which were doubtless inconsistent with the patience necessary to find individual culprits and impress the natives with the scrupulosity of British justice.⁴⁴

Davis' actions on the first and second voyages suggest that he carried out his instructions within his own understanding of those instructions, and perhaps subject to his own moral code. In October 1891 Woodhouse, who had previously been aided by Davis, was charged alongside his associate Robert Cable for breaking the Pacific Islands Labourers Act. The vessels *Emma Fisher* and *Freak* owned by Woodhouse were found to be carrying Pacific Island labourers without a licence.⁴⁵ As has been previously stated, Davis strongly disagreed with the labour trade, and despite taking the side of Woodhouse in previous cases relating to disputes with local Solomon Islanders, Davis chose to punish the infringement as he saw fit. Whether the criticism of his actions in the Solomon Islands affected Davis or not is impossible to know. Just as his actions during the second voyage may have been affected by those of the first voyage, the third voyage, which by

comparison was relatively free from conflict, may have been a result of the heavy and justified criticisms Davis received in relation to his time in the Solomon Islands.

Voyage 3: 27 April 1892-30 August 1892

Unlike Germany, which had quickly acquired the Marshall Islands, Britain made no immediate movement in the area of the Western Pacific region known as Micronesia.⁴⁶ It was not until 1892, when competition over trading interests between Germany and America in the Gilbert Islands suggested that the Gilbert Islands might be acquired by Germany, that Britain made a move (Figure 2.7)

In 1890 Thurston recommended the acquisition of the Gilbert Islands by Britain, not only to forestall this possible action by Germany, but also to control the recruitment of labour, the sale of guns and liqueur, and to end growing turbulence in the islands. On 1 January 1892 a dispatch was sent from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office urging the Colonial Office to decide whether the Gilbert Islands should be declared a British Protectorate. The dispatch was prompted by correspondence from the German ambassador who advised that delaying this action would damage British interests in the region.⁴⁷ In response, Evan Macgregor, Permanent Secretary to the Admiralty, wrote to the Foreign Office on 5 January 1892 that

from a naval point of view no advantage would result from the annexation of these islands, as they are merely coral reefs raised little above the level of the sea. Their productive powers are poor, and their population subsist mainly on fish.⁴⁸

The Gilbert Islands were located far from the centre of administration for the Western Pacific in Fiji, and had no trade interests for Britain. Britain's reasons for declaring a protectorate over the Islands stemmed from obligation and pride, recognizing that if it did not declare a protectorate the only other option would be to concede the Islands to Germany, which did have trade interests in the region. On 23 January 1892 instructions were given to establish a British Protectorate in the Gilbert Islands. The justification given by the Colonial Office for establishing protectorates over Pacific Islands was clearly laid out in a dispatch between the office and the Foreign Office on 20 January 1893. It stated that

Protectorates have been decided upon, not on account of the territorial importance or the commercial advantages of the islands, but in order to enable Her Majesty's Government to repress crime and disorder, and especially in view of the recent revival of the labour traffic in these seas, to protect both the natives and persons dealing with them against outrages and injustice.⁴⁹

Davis was sent to the area in 1892 to carry out the work listed above, to declare the Gilbert Islands a British Protectorate and to investigate the possibility of also forming a protectorate over the Ellice Islands. The success of the Protectorate was because it gave Britain more authority and therefore control over the Islands than had previously been assigned to the Western Pacific High Commissioner under the Western Pacific Orders in Council of 1877-1880.

HMS *Royalist* arrived in the Gilbert Islands on 24 May 1892. Davis performed similar duties to the previous two voyages, maintaining law and order and removing arms that had been sold to Islanders by traders. His activities are listed in his reports to the Admiralty and in newspaper interviews produced when the ship returned to Australia in August 1892.⁵⁰ Davis visited each of the 16 Gilbert Islands in turn, declaring each island a British Protectorate, raising the Union Jack, and where possible collecting all guns from the Islanders. From his reports this appeared to proceed smoothly with Davis writing many of the Islanders were 'very pleased to have the Flag hoisted there'.⁵¹ This acceptance of British protection is further emphasized by a letter written on 15 November 1892 from Davis to Rear-Admiral Lord C. Scott of the Australian Station relaying the request of islanders from Arorai, Peru and Nukunau for the appointment of a British Resident in the Gilbert Islands.⁵²

Additional duties undertaken during this voyage included sentencing unscrupulous traders to prison time in Fiji, getting chiefs in North Tarawa to sign a peace agreement (see Chapter 7), getting a signed agreement by chiefs on Tamana to the cessation of flogging women, and removing troublesome missionaries from their duties. However, undertaking these additional duties in the Islands did not run smoothly. Several complaints were made against Davis by non-British citizens residing in the Gilbert Islands who were expelled by him. The majority of complaints came from American traders who were still unhappy about the effect of British law on their livelihoods in the Islands. An article in the *Washington Post* from 8 September 1892 reported that

the telegraphed report, that 'the American residents were furious but helpless' when the King's flag was pulled down and the British colours were hoisted over the Palace amid the salutes of British war-vessels, is supposed to have reference to the feelings of disappointment experienced by the Americans doing business in the islands because they had cherished the hope that the efforts made by King Tebureimoa to induce the United States to assume a Protectorate over the islands would prove successful.⁵³

The first complaint came from Mr Kustel, an American citizen, who complained of Davis' 'overbearing conduct' towards him in reaction to an assault Kustel committed on a Gilbert Islander.⁵⁴ Kustel, according to Davis' reports was one of several American traders in the Gilbert Islands who encouraged Islanders to fly the American flag and petition the American government for annexation even though this was not possible under the American constitution. A Gilbertese Islander living on Tarawa complained to Davis that Kustel had threatened to shoot him. Kustel, evidently not happy with being charged for this crime, complained about Davis' behaviour towards him, stating that Davis asked him

In a very blasphemous manner what I meant by such criminal conduct. I told him there were extenuating circumstances, and wished to explain myself. He positively refused to listen to any explanation. He said I should have tried that game in the Solomons, and I would have got my throat cut.⁵⁵

In response the Colonial Office and the American Department of State both asked to see Davis' report on the incident in which Davis wrote

I distinctly told Kustel that though this had occurred before the British flag was hoisted, it had been reported after- and that I was anxious to give him the opportunity of settling the affair amicably- and, as he acknowledged committing the assault, I asked him what reparation he proposed to make. He asked what I meant, and I suggested he should make a monetary compensation. He demurred, and then offered 10 dollars. I told him I did not consider that sufficient compensation for pointing a loaded revolver at a man, and threatening to shoot him...I neither swore nor made use of blasphemous language.⁵⁶

In his report Davis included statements by other Gilbert Islanders and a Swedish trader all of whom corroborated Davis' account.

The second complaint was made by Mr W.P. Kapua, a Hawaiian missionary and trader, who was compensated by the British Government for his treatment by Davis.⁵⁷ Kapu was asked to leave the Gilbert Islands by Davis after Kapua was accused of instigating a civil war among the Islanders living on Tabiteuea. Such was the matter of the expulsion that a conference was held to ascertain the regulations given to naval officers in carrying out their duties when establishing protectorates. Despite this Davis was allowed to continue his duties and was supported by Macgregor who, in a letter to the Admiralty on 26 June 1893, wrote

I consider Captain Davis a painstaking and energetic officer, and believe his action with regard to Kapua was taken in what he believed to be the interests of the natives. Only a short time ago, in conversing with the Bishop of Tasmania, who visited the islands for Bishop Selwyn, he told me that Captain Davis took more interest in the natives of the Pacific Islands than any other captain. My Lords desire to express their opinion that Captain Davis' explanation in the Kustel incident is entirely satisfactory and that he has shown great zeal and ability in the difficult and delicate work imposed upon him in regard to the natives of these islands; and I am to add that their Lordships propose to inform this officer that his services meet with their cordial approval.⁵⁸

Further complaints were also made against Davis by Adolph Rick, an American agent for the firm Messrs. A. Crawford who was based on Butaritari, and who had appointed himself the unofficial Consul for the United States of America in the Gilbert Islands. Conflicting accounts of this argument exist in the archives, with Davis describing Rick as 'a commercial agent of the United States' with no power to interfere with the work of the British Government.⁵⁹ The incident arose when Rick asked Davis to post some letters for him, all of which were marked with the return address 'United States Consulate, Butaritari, Gilbert Islands'.⁶⁰ Davis had made it known to Rick that under British jurisdiction the consulate could not exist and asked him to remove all reference

to this consulate before Davis would take the letters. Rick complained about Davis' disrespectful behaviour towards him to the American government, which in turn complained to British Foreign Office:

It cannot for an instant be supposed that Her Majesty's Government could have intended to give a Naval Commander the function of censorship over the official correspondence of an officer of a friendly Power with the Government he serves; and in regard to the entire proceeding, the Secretary of State quite fails to share Captain Davis' views as to that which constitutes discourtesy.

Neither is it readily supposed that Captain Davis' powers included the abrupt rupture and outlawry of the relations maintained by the United States' Government with the Gilbert Islanders through its deputed Agent.⁶¹

The Foreign Office agreed to recognize Rick as a Consulate for America and instructed Davis to recognize his status in the future. Ultimately though Davis was once again supported by Scott and the Admiralty, who described him as 'very thorough and satisfactory'⁶² in his dealings on the matter.

Fractured Protection

The third voyage was marked by its relative peace between Gilbert Islanders and the Royal Navy officers. The differing responses and reactions of Davis and his crew across the three voyages is indicative of what Scarr has described as two very different set of relations that existed between the British, Islanders in Melanesia and Islanders in Micronesia. The failings of the Western Pacific High Commission are revealed through these relations. In Melanesia because of the 'absence of any jurisdiction over Islanders for offences against British subjects, they continued to be regarded as members of responsible communities whose occasional violent acts must be interpreted as acts of war'⁶³ that were dealt with through punitive raids. Conversely in the Gilbert Islands disputes between Islanders and Europeans were generally dealt with 'in consultation with the island governments. The autonomy of these governments was always respected'⁶⁴ and as a result the Admiralty saw no need to conduct punitive raids. Ultimately these different responses led to incoherent and poorly managed relationships between Davis, Islanders, and European and American settlers in the Western Pacific.

Each voyage whilst distinct in its aim marked a further development in Britain's interests in the Western Pacific. Throughout all three voyages Davis sought to protect these interests and maintain law and order through the enactment of the British judiciary system. However many of the incidences within which he was involved 'reveal the lack of any coherent official stance on dealing with 'outrages' against'⁶⁵ these interests. It was in the midst of these complex and fraught negotiations over law and order that Davis collected artefacts and took photographs of the places he went and the people he met. The artefacts are entangled in the history of British colonisation of the Western Pacific, and the histories of the Pacific Islands Davis obtained them in. Their movement from the Pacific to Britain was a result of the relationships that were made and broken during this history.

CHAPTER 3

Collecting the Pacific

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Collections of ethnographic artefacts brought back to Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a direct result of British maritime endeavour and colonial expansion. As more people travelled to, and settled in the Pacific in the late nineteenth century the quantity of these artefacts collected, traded and sold increased in extraordinary numbers. The traffic in objects created by missionaries, traders, explorers and colonial officials meant that collecting was a common practice during the late nineteenth century, particularly due to the monetary potential offered by selling these objects to dealers or museums back in Europe.

There is no evidence to suggest that Captain Davis was tasked with collecting artefacts during his voyages in the Pacific; however, museums in Britain were known to write to army and navy captains and officers requesting material be brought back to Britain in exchange either for money or free entry into the museum for them and their family.¹ By 1890, when Davis began collecting artefacts in the Pacific, well-known publications such as the Royal Geographic Society's *Hints to Travellers* and the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland's *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* had been in use for just over 30 years. The manuals or guides gave travellers tips and recommendations on what and how to collect. The opening page of *Hints to Travellers* reads that 'this work will come into the hands of very different readers'² and goes on to state the book's aims as:

assisting all travellers to make their travels more pleasant to themselves and more profitable ... and [assisting] those residents abroad whom duty compels to spend large portions of their lives in remote localities, and who have therefore, the best opportunities for presenting complete and accurate information concerning distant regions.³

Many missionaries, government workers and amateur collectors owned a copy of *Hints To Travellers*, and it is frequently referred to as 'the collectors handbook' in the correspondence of collectors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁴ Davis' collecting practices may have been shaped or influenced by the recommendations made by the publication, and his duty as a naval officer did indeed 'compel him to spend large portions of [his life] in remote localities.'⁵ Similarly *Notes and Queries on*

Anthropology, which tended to be used more by professional scientists or ethnographers, provided a framework for how to think about the cultural groups travellers like Davis encountered, and may have also influenced what type of objects he chose to collect. In 1849, the Admiralty had also produced their own manual for collecting, *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry*, which directed naval servicemen on what and how they should be collecting. Of the categories listed in the manual, ethnology is included. The section on ethnology was written by James Prichard, a member of the Aborigines Protection Society and founding member of the London Ethnological Society. Prichard was a contributor to the development of all of these manuals in Britain, and was part of a committee formed by the British Association of the Advancement of Science in 1839 to produce a set of queries 'to be addressed to those who may travel or reside in parts of the globe inhabited by threatened races'.⁶ The questionnaire was republished, renamed and eventually, in 1874, published as the substantial guide *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*. Meanwhile, the Sub-Committee of the Royal Geographical Society, who in 1854 met to discuss their own need for a set of 'instructions' for collectors (which eventually became *Hints to Travellers*⁷) included Royal Navy Rear-Admiral Frederick William Beechey. Beechey would have been familiar with the Admiralty manual, as one member of his crew aboard the *Blossom* was tasked with collecting for Haslar Hospital Museum⁸. The Haslar Hospital Museum located in Portsmouth, was open between 1827 and 1855. The Museum was founded by the Royal Navy to acquire and display the collections made by naval surgeons and other medical officers, trained at Royal Haslar Hospital, and dispatched throughout the British Empire. Beechey himself donated artefacts to the United Service Museum based in Whitehall, London, a museum which sought to obtain collections made by naval and military personnel returning from service.

While the collections of Haslar Hospital Museum were provided predominately by the medical personnel trained at the Royal Haslar Hospital, they were at times supplemented by collections from other navy personnel, and they sometimes commissioned collections from scientists on exploration vessels⁹. Whilst the United Service Museum did obtain historically important collections, it often found itself caught between the greater success of Haslar Hospital Museum and the rules of the Admiralty. In the view of the Admiralty, all collections made on naval voyages were to be considered public property, meaning that they should find their way into national public institutions, which at the time included the Royal Gardens at Kew for botanical specimens and the British Museum (BM) for ethnography and natural history. However, they were flexible in their vision, undoubtedly understanding that they could not prevent all collecting, as is seen here in a letter from the Lords of the Admiralty to Beechey:

it is expected that your visits to the numerous islands of the Pacific will afford the means of collecting rare and curious specimens in the several departments of this branch of science [natural history]. You are to cause it to be understood that two specimens, at least, of each article are to be reserved for the public museums; after which the naturalist and officers will be at liberty to collect for themselves.¹⁰

Different museums had different interests and uses for these naval and military collections. Places like Haslar Hospital Museum saw the benefit of these collections for teaching the surgeons who trained there, and Daniel Simpson has argued that the ethnography collections 'were seen also as anatomical specimens, showing geographical and cultural variations of a single form, as in masks, shields and weaponry'.¹¹ The United Service Museum saw its collections as beneficial for training officers, and Nicole Hartwell has argued that 'the gathering of knowledge – of a scientific and anthropological nature – was of the utmost importance in inspiring a respectable and honourable character in young and senior officers'.¹² Encouraging officers to engage in collecting for the Museum would, it was hoped, dissuade them from engaging in less salubrious activities during their leave.¹³

Captain Davis' collecting

The production of guides and manuals for collecting marked the beginning of the professionalisation of disciplines. The work of military men, missionaries, colonial administrators and government officials was often criticised for its lack of scientific rigour and impartiality, and these guides helped collectors in the field to refine their skills and collect within a framework. In a workshop at the National Maritime Museum in 2005, Peter Gathercole argued that:

the primary motivation for collecting was the construction of power for all the parties involved. For Western collectors working within an enlightened scientific paradigm (such as Joseph Banks) collecting was about bringing the world to order, for others it was about making money through people's curiosity for the exotic.¹⁴

Whilst these were undoubtedly motivations for some collectors during that period, this either/or dichotomy is overly simplistic and assumes no scientific interest on the part of those collectors who were not professional scientists. One of Davis' motivations was clearly financial, as when negotiating the sales of his collection he wanted to get the best price possible to fund his retirement.¹⁵ However the artefacts appeared to hold value for him beyond purely financial motivations. The Admiralty often placed professional scientists on Royal Navy vessels undertaking voyages of discovery to ensure that they received the type of collections they required. HMS *Royalist* was not a voyage of discovery and as such did not contain a scientific contingent on its crew, yet collecting was undertaken, and by other crew members besides Davis, as will be discussed later in this chapter. There is no evidence to confirm if the Admiralty did commission Davis or any of his crew to create a collection or to record scientific data for them and so it is necessary to explore how and to what means Davis was undertaking this occupation.

The answer lies somewhat in how ethnographic artefacts were perceived in the late nineteenth century. An artefact's importance lay in its difference, its 'otherness', that it came from somewhere that was unfamiliar: 'Curiosity value in turn generated a monetary value, particularly within the context of London's booming business of private entrepreneurial cultural shows and attractions'.¹⁶ While we know that what is valuable to one person or one culture may not have been valuable to another, generally it was

understood that the more value attached to that artefact by its originating community, the more valuable it was for the collector, and subsequently its public.¹⁷ Often for European collectors an artefact's association to someone important in that community, e.g. a king, queen or chief, increased its value due to that association. It also elevated the status of the collector, as someone who had known someone of a high status, and we see this reflected in the catalogue entries for many of Davis' artefacts: '390. BAKHEA, breast ornament, belonged to Chief INGOVA', or '89. Pig hammer of TAPPEA. Chief of Aure ID, New Hebrides'.¹⁸ Value was also ascribed to an artefact based on its materials, or the complexity of its construction and this was also something that Davis understood; Gilbertese armour, a time-consuming artefact to produce, and one produced in relatively low numbers, was listed as 'very rare'¹⁹ in his catalogue.

The guides and manuals would have provided servicemen like Davis – those without a background in science, but with an interest in artefact collecting – with additional guidance on what they would have been expected to or recommended to collect, and what would have value for those back in Britain. In the anthropology section in *Hints To Travellers* it is noted that a collector should aim to include information about an object or the maker of that object according to the following categories: physical character, mode of subsistence, religion and customs, arts and manufacture, personal ornaments, hairstyle, carving, money and miscellaneous, which includes games, names, and cosmology. *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* asked collectors to record information in three broad categories: 'constitution of man ... culture ... miscellaneous'.²⁰ These categories required ethnographers to provide physical anthropology descriptions, as well as information on social life, arts and culture, including religion, marriage, arts and crafts, music, food and medicine. Importantly the guide also includes tips on how to collect, pack and store collections, how to make casts, and how to take photographs. While *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry* divided its ethnology section into the 'Physical Characters of Nations', 'Characteristics of the State of Society, etc.', and 'Language, Poetry and Literature'.²¹ Within these sections a focus on local variations of clothing, marriage, arts, language, war, agriculture, navigation, religion and civil government emerge as being areas of foci. There is mention in the manual of 'visible objects', but this is in relation to religion, asking the traveller to consider whether artefacts are embodiments of deities or ancestors. While it was expected that the naval personnel who were given the guide would collect artefacts, unlike the other two manuals there is no explicit guidance on how to do this. The naval manual could be interpreted as being less rigid in its instruction and, as Simpson has argued, would have allowed naval personnel more freedom 'to conceive of and to pursue their own investigations'.²²

By 1890, when Davis began collecting artefacts, infrastructures were already in place in Britain to support him in sending a collection back to the country and being able to sell it. At this time the BM had established itself as the foremost national institution where the best and most important collections from throughout the Empire were sent. By offering his collections to the BM, Davis was perhaps demonstrating his respect for duty, as at that time it was expected by the Admiralty that the bulk of naval collections would go to the Museum. It is not known which collecting manual Davis used, if any; however, if he sought to associate his collections with the BM then using the recommendations of the guides and manuals would have been beneficial. Michael

Bravo has argued that becoming an explorer or a scientist in the latter half of the nineteenth century 'demanded new forms of discipline and dedication in navigating, surveying, making observations, collecting specimens, depicting the natural world'.²³ For naval officers at the time, navigation and surveying were assumed specialisms, while an interest or specialism in the disciplines of ethnology, botany or natural history was not and was reserved for gentlemen of science.

Davis' naval records report a perceived lack of interest in study, as his evaluating officer wrote 'in view of small number of marks obtained at R.N. Coll. Exam, he cannot have taken advantage of the opportunities of study'.²⁴ Yet as further reports were made Davis was consistently praised for his 'zealous [behaviour]' and 'good judgement', and for being an 'intelligent officer'.²⁵ The word 'zealous' is used multiple times across a range of reports at varying points in Davis' career. This can be understood both as a positive characteristic, in terms of his enthusiasm for service and willingness to get involved, and as a negative characteristic in terms of his stringent application of rules and procedure, particularly during his time in the Solomon Islands. The 1800s were defined by the years post-1837 in the reign of Queen Victoria, an era known for its improvements and reforms, both socially, politically and culturally, and Davis was obviously keen to improve his social standing. In the act of collecting Davis appears to attempt to fulfil the criteria laid out in these books by recording information in almost all of the categories mentioned for many of his voyages. Davis seemed anxious to produce a comprehensive account of the peoples and cultures he encountered. For example, in the proceedings of HMS *Royalist*²⁶ he made notes during his time in the Gilbert Islands on categories such as housing, social customs, clothing, arms and armour, food, and the exports of Gilbertese people, as well as physical anthropological descriptions. However, while hinting at an awareness of ethnographic analysis, none of his notes describe the act of collecting objects (the Admiralty manual does not mention such a requirement). If Davis was following the guidance of the Admiralty manual, he may not have understood the need to describe his collecting. This does not reflect a disinterest in collecting, but instead perhaps a lack of training on how to produce ethnographic collections. Similarly, the production of a catalogue by Davis for his collection also suggests a desire for scientific ordering, yet the catalogue itself bears no logical ordering system. Perhaps then, Davis' interest in collecting lay in the value of the artefacts themselves, and in the opportunity to improve his position – both financially and socially – in terms of his reputation within the world of collectors, museums and science.

Australian newspapers of the 1890s actively reported the social gatherings of colonial high society. Davis' name is a frequent occurrence in these reports, attending parties held at Admiralty House, race days, visits to theatre, and picnics on steamers²⁷ during the periods that the ship was docked at Sydney and Melbourne. Davis also hosted 'at homes' onboard HMS *Royalist*. These gatherings were opportunities for Davis to show off his collections, with the *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser* reporting that 'The captain's cabin on the *Royalist* is in many respects as artistic and charming as the boudoir of a lady and the collection of art treasures in itself greatly interests visitors'.²⁸ While naval dances, held on the ship when it was in port in Australia, were also an opportunity to show off the collection, with another newspaper reporting that

There was a large and most interesting collection of South Sea curios on view, as well as some excellent photographs taken by Captain Davies [sic] of the localities he has visited in the *Royalist* since he has been on the Australian station.²⁹

Davis' collection was so revered that he was invited to contribute to an exhibition of 'Woman's Work' held at the Centennial Hall in Sydney in October 1892. He lent several items to the exhibition including 'some excellent specimens of shell-cutting and polishing, and curious knives, fighting knives of sharks' teeth'.³⁰ After retiring Davis maintained an interest in museums and was a member of the founding committee for the Bexhill Museum in 1912.³¹ He was also an active member of the social elite in Bexhill-on-Sea and was admired for his anthropological knowledge of other cultures. These activities all suggest a man who sought to improve his social standing and who saw ethnographic collecting as a means to this end.

Davis' naval record, while revealing something of his character, also provides an insight into his interests. In a report attached to his record written by Admiral Sir W Dowell, Davis is commended for his photographic skills.³² This is the only naval record reference we have that can give context to Davis' collecting and documenting practices. While this could easily be dismissed as a passing note, it is important in the context of an album of photographs held by the Fiji Museum, whose provenance is listed as HMS *Royalist*. The photographs from the voyages of the ship can fill in the blank spaces in Davis' reports and the associated textual records. The Fiji Museum holds 46 photographs mounted into an album and 17 loose photographs tucked inside the album. All 63 photographs were donated to the Museum in 1985 by Barbara Bowden who had received the album from a friend whose father had worked as a Sydney Harbour pilot and knew an elderly missionary.³³ None of the photographs are attributed to a photographer but some have captions that provide context and dates. Several of the photographs can be linked with greater certainty to Davis as they appear in the catalogues of collectors, as well as newspaper articles of the period attributed to him, and often feature artefacts he collected. The photographs provide a visual reference for the different kinds of interactions Davis was having and what was going on at the time of his collecting.

Throughout all three voyages, in Davis' correspondence with the colonial office and the foreign office there is no mention of him directly collecting artefacts. It is unclear how much Pacific Islanders influenced, or had agency in, the formation of Davis' collection. The previous chapter outlined the specific historical and political moment within which this collection was made, and it is important to bear this in mind when considering the formation of this collection. The Davis collection was made as a direct result of his being in a position of power, and this power would have affected what kinds of artefacts he had access to, as well as how he accessed or acquired them. The three voyages were distinct in their aims and as a result the narrative surrounding how the artefacts were obtained in different islands changes also. Artefacts were collected from the islands that Davis worked in, as well as from the islands HMS *Royalist* passed on its way back and forth to Australia where the ship was stationed. In particular, we see stops at Fiji and New Caledonia occur in most of the voyages, as these were

administrative centres for Britain and France in the Pacific during this period. The rest of this chapter will explore Davis' collecting practices during his captaincy of HMS *Royalist*. The Royal Navy logbooks for HMS *Royalist* give accurate dates and locations for the ship across its voyages, allowing us to narrow down the periods when Davis would have been in specific places. By matching these dates and locations to the locations indicated in Davis' catalogue (see Appendix) we can situate his collecting within particular contexts.

Collecting among the Islands

As is discussed in Chapter 2, the first two voyages around the islands of New Caledonia and Vanuatu, and New Guinea and the Solomon Islands were made for the purpose of maintaining law and order in those islands, within European definitions of what the law should be. The third and last voyage of the ship, under the captaincy of Davis, was concerned with establishing a British Protectorate in the Gilbert Islands and exploring the possibility of this also happening in the Ellice Islands. In these circumstances artefacts were acquired during very short visits, so it is likely that local residents wanted to exchange for trade goods within brief transactions. The brevity of these encounters is reflected in the catalogue, which provides limited cultural information and occasionally lacks even specific island provenance. Davis' collection strategy was most likely opportunistic, seeking items that were portable but also those that would have been easy to sell to collectors and dealers. Of the 1,481 artefacts collected by Davis, there are 561 weapons or artefacts associated with warfare. Weapons were popular items to collect: they would have been easily accessible to a male collector, and were particularly encouraged by the Admiralty, Royal Navy and their various museums. A large proportion of these weapons are from Vanuatu, with a total of 25 bows, 300 arrows, 20 wooden clubs, and 5 'tomahawks'. Charged with gathering European arms sold to Islanders by traders, Davis and his crew may have also confiscated Indigenous weapons in the course of their duties. This is not recorded in official reports, but other British government vessels in the Pacific are known to have done so. For example, in 1883, HMS *Dart* forwarded to Commodore Erskine 'three boxes [...] the third has five bows, five bundles of arrows (the ones in banana quivers are poisoned) and one spare bow with one arrow'.³⁴ These were payment for a fine levied by the ship for disturbances on northwest Ambrym island, Vanuatu.

Davis called the last voyage, which visited the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and the Marshall Islands, a 'mission of flag-hoisting'.³⁵ The narrative for this voyage is less about violence and retribution, and more about conflict resolution and peace. Whether or not this is because Davis was heavily criticised by both colonial officials and the Australian newspapers for his actions in New Guinea, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands is unclear, but Davis describes this last voyage as 'successful and interesting',³⁶ and he was praised for 'admirably' carrying out the work.³⁷ In his report to the Admiralty Davis wrote that:

When at Tarawa the natives were found to be fighting, and after a good deal of work we managed to bring the contending parties together, and got the leaders to sign a treaty of peace...[and] we succeeded in getting 200 stand of arms handed over voluntarily.³⁸



Figure 3.1. Photograph of an I-Kiribati man dressed in coconut fibre armour. Courtesy Fiji Museum.

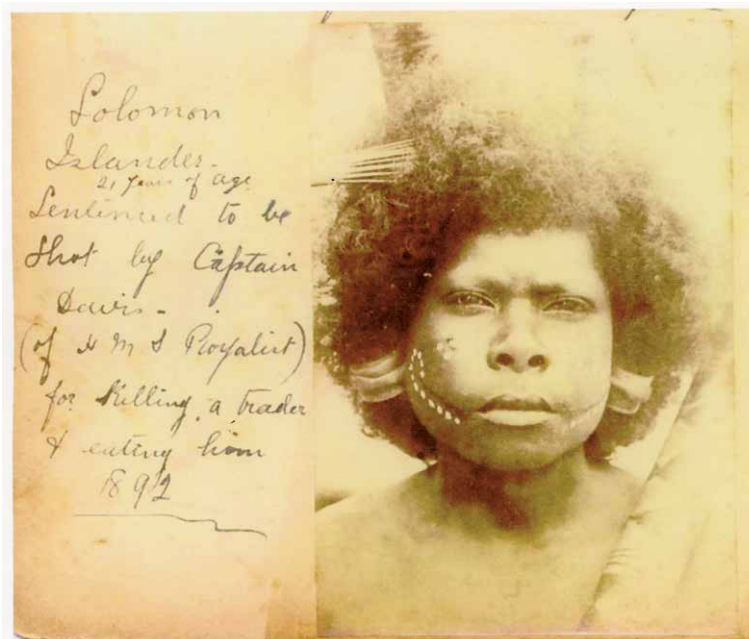


Figure 3.2. Photograph of a Solomon Islander. Found on an online auction site.



Figure 3.3. Skull house, the Solomon Islands. Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum 10638. Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.

Just as in Vanuatu, where Davis collected Indigenous arms as well as these European weapons, in the Gilbert Islands Davis collected 39 artefacts associated with warfare. The Gilbertese way was, and still is, not to use anything that no longer had any use. Davis' photographs document a moment of change in the Islands, as Islanders moved from needing complex woven coconut fibre armour to facilitate dispute resolution to relying on the British to maintain law and order. Figure 3.1 shows a Gilbertese man wearing a suit of coconut fibre armour later collected by Davis and numbered 495 in his catalogue (Figure 4.7). Davis may have been keen to document and preserve these artefacts in the face of rapid change, reflecting the salvage paradigm of the period.

Several other photographs in the Fiji Museum album depict the actual work of HMS *Royalist*, and provide contextual information about the people Davis met, as well as how he may have obtained particular artefacts. Figure 2.5, for example, shows the gravestone of George De Latour and his son William. The photograph is further discussed by Eve Haddow in Chapter 5 but is worth mentioning here because Davis's relationship with De Latour resulted in his acquisition of a 'pig hammer' from Vanuatu (Figure 5.2). Subsequent photographs not found in the Fiji Museum album also continue to emerge, and one found recently on an internet auction site (Figure 3.2) bears the caption 'Solomon Islander 21 years of age. Sentenced to be shot by Captain Davis (of HMS *Royalist*) for killing a trader and eating him 1892'. Figure 6.3, a photograph from the Fiji Museum album, depicts the punitive raid on Roviana undertaken by HMS *Royalist* in 1892. This photograph is, as Ben Burt and Deborah Waite have argued, proof that certainly in the Solomon Islands 'in performing

duties requiring Davis to 'punish natives' or 'burn villages', Davis was also acquiring 'many of his artefacts through raids'.³⁹ In attempting to capture Solomon Islanders who had murdered Europeans, Davis chose to burn villages as a punishment to those who would not reveal the whereabouts of the men he sought. In his report to the Admiralty regarding the work undertaken in the Solomon Islands, Davis wrote that 'in one house I found twenty-four heads ranged along one side, but it was too dark to see the rest of the house'. In the same report Davis also mentions finding spears in the house. Their mention suggests that these spears may have been looted by Davis and may be some of those listed as being from the Solomon Islands in his catalogue (see Appendix). It is very possible that in entering other houses Davis may have looted other artefacts found inside them. David Lawrence has written that Davis looted a 'skull-house, a ritual food trough and a *tomoko*'.⁴⁰ In fact two skull-houses, one food trough, referred to throughout this book as a feast bowl, and part of another feast bowl were taken (Figures 4.4, 4.44, 3.3 and 4.39) but there is no *tomoko* or war canoe listed in Davis' catalogue or any evidence to support this claim. Certainly though, it seems that many of the artefacts Davis chose to collect would have had a direct impact on the status of many of the islanders he was hoping to punish and, as Chris Wright argues in Chapter 6, 'the violence was seemingly directed at the mana of the victims, at their ability to function as powerful political lineages through access to ancestral relics'. For example, Davis acquired around ten whale's teeth neck ornaments from the Solomon Islands (Figure 3.4). These objects were described by Arthur Mahaffy, the Resident Magistrate and Deputy Commissioner for the Solomon Islands between 1896 and 1904, as 'the first thing my police look for ... the loss to a community is one of the heaviest punishments that can be inflicted upon it'.⁴¹ Similarly, several of the armbands (Figure 3.5) that Davis collected from Vanuatu signify 'male social status and/or ritual accomplishment'⁴² and may have had a similar impact to the original owners in Vanuatu as the removal of whale's teeth neck ornaments did in the Solomon Islands, or the confiscation of the pig hammer from chief Tappea, which is discussed further in Chapter 5. Other artefacts may have been acquired by punishment through fines. In one report Davis mentions that he accepted '300lb of turtle-shell'⁴³ as a fine payment in the Solomon Islands. Turtle-shell was also an important export of the New Georgia group in particular. There was a lot of competition among groups to sell to Europeans and this often caused internal warfare. The group of artefacts purchased from the Davis collection by the Powell-Cotton Museum included ten sheets of turtle-shell bound together (Figure 4.36). However, this item is not listed in the catalogue that Davis produced of his collection. Whether or not this artefact was in fact collected by Davis, and was received as a fine or as a trade good remains unclear. However, as turtle-shell was extremely popular in Victorian society it is clear that Davis was collecting artefacts that he understood would be valued back in Europe, whether they were included in his final collection or not.

Davis' work also required him to report on the work of missions in the islands, mediating any local disputes. On 2 April 1892 *Australian Town and Country Journal* published an article about the death of Reverend A.A. Maclaren who ran the Anglican Mission at Bartle Bay, New Guinea⁴⁴. The photograph (Figure 3.6) published alongside the article is a copy of a photograph in the album at the Fiji Museum, and the



Figure 3.4 (left). Whale's tooth neck ornament, the Solomon Islands. ETH.DAVIS.75. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Powell-Cotton Museum.

Figure 3.5 (above). Beaded armlet, Vanuatu. A.1954.175. Copyright National Museums Scotland.



Figure 3.6. Photograph showing the Mission Station at Bartle Bay. Courtesy of the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, HP87.14.20.



Figure 3.7. Photograph showing the Mission Station at Wanga Bay, San Cristoval. Courtesy of the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, HP87.14.43.

newspaper cites Davis as both the photographer and the source of the photograph. The photograph was taken in August 1891 on the way back to Australia from the Solomon Islands. While the newspaper article does not describe why HMS *Royalist* visited the mission, the fact that Davis was willing to have the photograph published suggests that he was keen to promote the work of the mission. It is difficult to determine what Davis' opinions were toward the work of missions in the Pacific. An article in the *Queenslander* included an extract from a missionary working in Vanuatu, who stated that Davis recognised the 'value of [the missions] whose work he highly appreciates'.⁴⁵ While Davis worked closely with missions in Vanuatu, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, he described the religious feeling he experienced in missions in the Gilbert Islands as 'puritanical indeed to an absurd degree'.⁴⁶ Specifically, he criticised fines imposed by protestant missions for trivial offences such as not adhering to the restrictions of the Sabbath. In contrast, he described the Catholic missions in the Gilbert Islands more sympathetically, and these critiques may in fact reveal Davis' own religious sympathies.

The visit to the mission station in New Guinea was not the only interaction Davis had with mission stations in the Islands. Davis also used his photographic skills to document the mission station at Wango, the Solomon Islands (Figure 3.7). Several photographs in the album held by the Fiji Museum depict the Station, the work that occurred there, and the Indigenous residents. Taki was the chief at Wango at the time of this visit, and is described as being 'friendly to the missionaries as to all Europeans',⁴⁷ eventually converting to Christianity in 1895. Bishop Montgomery described in his memoirs how in 1890 Taki had purchased a new canoe. He wrote 'I saw it in all its glory of inlaid pearl-shell ... The canoe is fully thirty feet long, and capable of accommodating



Figure 3.8. Photograph showing Taki and his tomoko. Courtesy of the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, HP87.14.63.



Figure 3.9. Portrait of Taki, British Museum Oc.G.T.2263. Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.

a great many people'.⁴⁸ Another photograph (Figure 3.8) in the Fiji Museum album depicts Taki and a group of Solomon Islanders standing in front of a voyaging canoe and that canoe is likely to be the one discussed by Montgomery. In the preface to the publication, Montgomery thanked Davis for supplying him with a portrait photograph of Taki, published in the book (Figure 3.9), which appears to be a close up of Taki standing in front of the canoe, possibly taken on the same day as the photograph from the Fiji Museum album. The BM hold both a glass plate negative and a lantern slide of the photograph and they are cited as having been photographed by Montgomery in 1892 using equipment lent by John Watt Beattie, who retained and published the photos. However, given that Montgomery thanked Davis for the photograph it seems more likely that Davis was in fact the photographer. The portrait of Taki does not feature in the Fiji Museum album and Davis may have given Montgomery a print from which Montgomery copied onto a glass plate negative. Beattie appears to have then later reproduced the image as a lantern slide.

In both photographs Taki is dressed the same except for one item, a pearl shell crescent-shaped neck ornament. In the group photograph he is not wearing it, while in the portrait he is. Though there are no named artefacts relating to Taki in the Davis catalogue, we know that Davis was at the very least gifting items to Taki: in a report to the Western Pacific High Commission he writes that he 'made a present of trade to Taki'.⁴⁹ That is not to say that Davis did not exchange further items with him, or receive

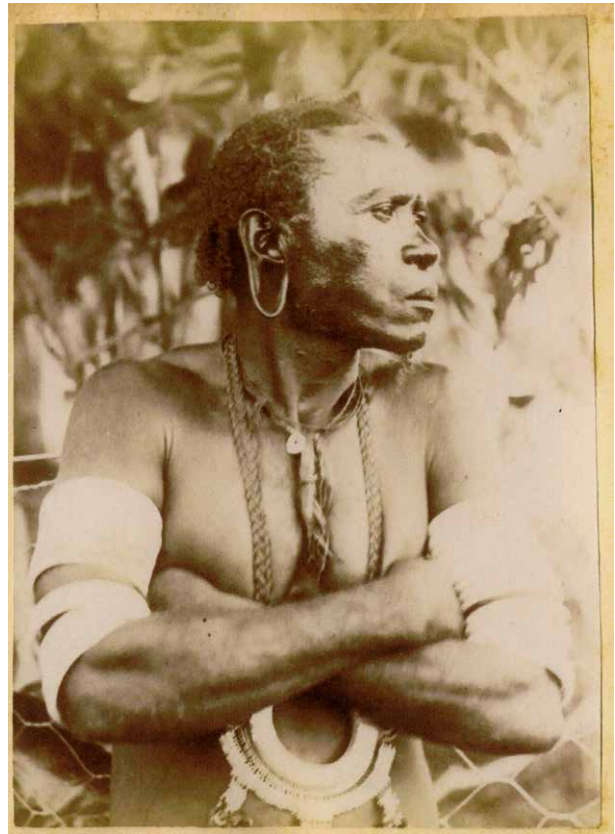


Figure 3.10. Photograph of Ingova, Chief at Rubiana. Courtesy Galerie Meyer.

gifts from him, and perhaps the missing pearl shell neck ornament was one of these artefacts. Davis collected artefacts from other chiefs throughout the Pacific, and the catalogue specifically lists eight items associated with named or unnamed chiefs. From the Solomon Islands this includes item 553 'Tomahawked skull from Chief Tono's house' from Vella Lavella, item 134 'Wooden shark-chief's skull inside-rare' from Santa Anna, item 184 'Chief's inlaid wand' from Malaita, items 549 and 550 both 'Chief's skull in reed basket, very rare' from Rubiana Lagoon, and item 390 'BAKHEA, breast ornament, belonged to Chief INGOVA'. Naming the people he was acquiring artefacts from allowed for the artefact and its acquisition to be situated within a particular moment.

Item 553 from the Davis catalogue was almost certainly acquired during a punitive expedition:

On Vella Lavella, HMS Royalist shelled the hill village of Ndovele because four crewmen of a trading vessel were killed for their heads by Tono, a local chief. Tono was later found dead in the village. Tono's war canoes, the construction and dedication of which were the purpose for taking the heads, were then burnt.⁵⁰

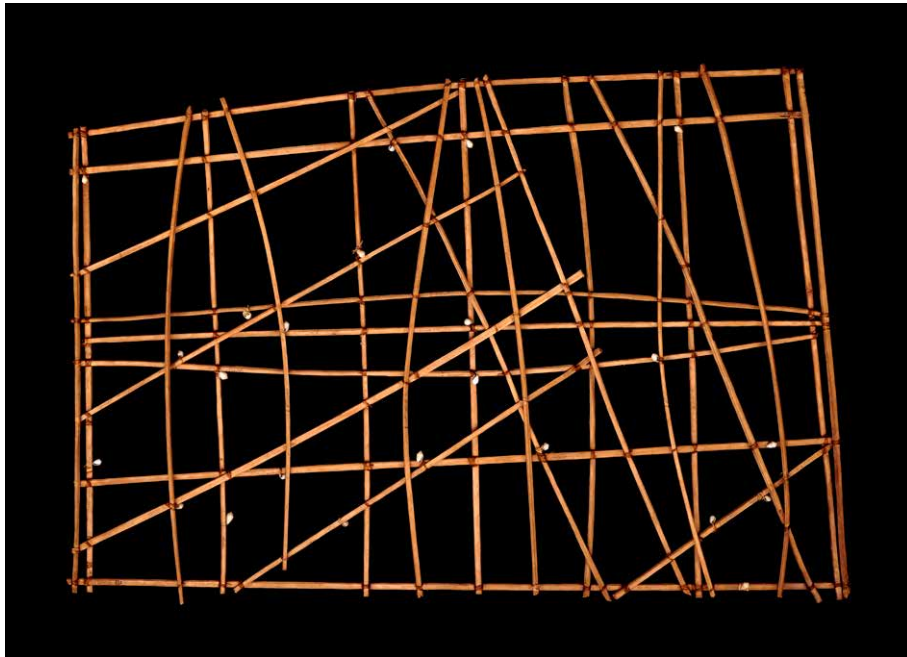


Figure 3.11. Navigation chart, Marshall Islands, 0c1904,0621.34. The Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Artefacts were acquired as often as they were destroyed. The skull looted from Rubiana Lagoon [sic] would have been acquired under the same circumstances when, in September 1891, the most destructive punitive expeditions were undertaken along the coastal communities of Rubiana Lagoon. The artefacts acquired in these encounters with named individuals reflected the kinds of interactions that Davis was having with them. Where people refused to hand over wanted individuals to the Royal Navy, villages were burnt and artefacts that would have given that individual ancestral power, and that would have not usually been traded or gifted to Europeans, were taken. In contrast, artefacts and photographs associated with Ingova [sic] reveal a different relationship. While this is discussed in more detail by Wright in Chapter 6, a 1905 report by Charles Woodford, Resident Commissioner of the Solomon Islands, noted that the breast ornament acquired from Ingova by Davis was directly presented to Davis in 1891.⁵¹ Another photograph (Figure 3.10) not featured in the Fiji Museum album and displayed by Parisian dealer Anthony Meyer in his 2014 exhibition *Early Photography of the Solomon Islands* bears the caption ‘Ingova, Chief of Rubiana’. We know that it was at least in the possession of Davis thanks to another copy of the same photograph being sent by Davis to the private collector James Edge-Partington, who included it in a catalogue of his own collection (see Chapter 4). The breast ornament was discussed in a 1904 article in *Man*. It stated that ‘one side [of the ornament] is marked with a faint yellow tinge, a characteristic which rendered it of considerable value in the eyes of the owner’.⁵² Ingova had a good relationship with Davis, who continued a long-standing relationship of cooperation that

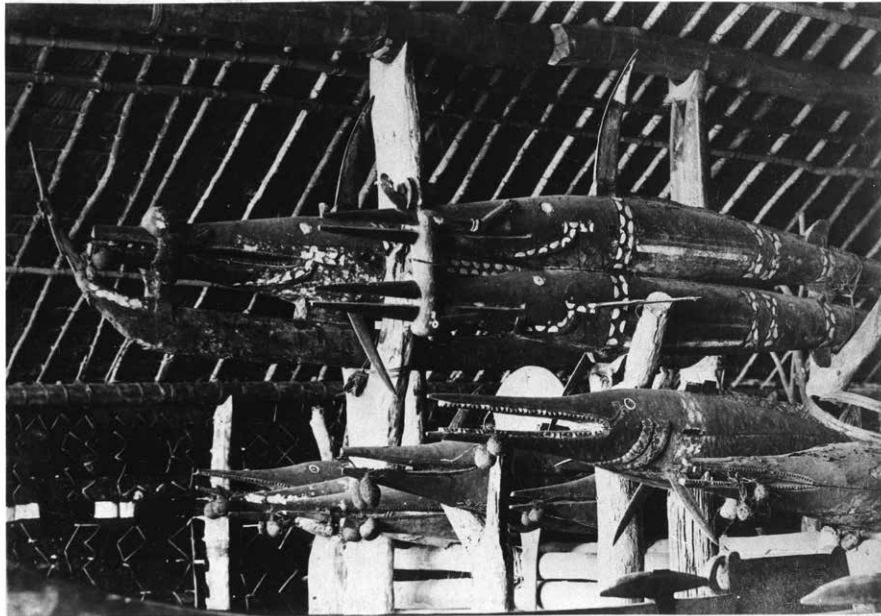


Figure 3.12. Photograph, 'Shark's containing Heads of Relatives on the Island of Santa Anna'. Courtesy of the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, HP87.14.59.

Ingova had established with the British, and the gift of a breast ornament (Figure 4.45) would have been a tangible statement of that reciprocal relationship.

Missionaries and chiefs were not the only people whom Davis could have been collecting from. As well as meeting a large number of traders among the Islands, Davis also worked alongside other colonial authorities, and members of the French and German colonial governments with shared interests in the Islands that Davis was visiting. During the ship's stop in the Marshall Islands, Davis collected 15 artefacts. Of those listed in the catalogue, all are portable, and all are everyday items except for item 509 'Native chart of Marshall Ids, very rare' (Figure 3.11). Davis spent only ten days in the Marshall Islands – not much time to study local customs – and the inclusion of a 'rare' item suggests some outside involvement in its procurement. While in Jaluit, Davis visited Captain Eugen Brandeis, the German Imperial Commissioner for the Marshall Islands, and the two maintained a friendly correspondence. Brandeis' wife Antoine was actively collecting artefacts in the Marshall Islands for the Freiburg Museum, and the couple may have advised Davis on what to collect, or even gifted items to him.

In an interview about his last voyage aboard HMS *Royalist* Davis stated that when stopping at the Ellice Islands on the way back to Australia 'the ship at every place was surrounded by natives, crowds of whom came on board'.⁵³ In his report to the Admiralty Davis wrote that when the ship stopped at Nanomana [sic] 'numbers of natives came on board, selling everything they possessed for tobacco'.⁵⁴ It would have been on occasions such as these that local artefacts were traded with Davis. The items collected from the Ellice Islands reflect this, as they are utilitarian and emphasise the



Figure 3.13. Photograph of three Solomon Islands men wearing body ornaments. Courtesy of the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, HP87.14.39.



Figure 3.14. Pandanus fibre skirt, Kiribati. Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum 10886. Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.

skill and work of women on the Islands. Fans, hats and skirts dominate the material culture from the Ellice Islands represented in the Davis catalogue.

Several photographs in the Fiji Museum album may also have been taken by Davis to give local context to the artefacts he was collecting, such as Figure 3.12, which shows rows of wooden coffins shaped like fish inside a building. Davis collected one of these artefacts and it is possible that one of those depicted in the photograph is now housed in the BM (Figure 4.5). Presumably Davis purchased the artefact or received it as a gift, since he did not conduct punitive raids in Santa Anna. However, as the coffins were important ancestral relics it seems unlikely that the community would have sold them unless they were forced to. Another photograph, Figure 3.13, depicts three Solomon Islands men wearing a variety of body ornaments, many of which are similar to those collected by Davis. But the focus of the photograph is the man on the right-hand side who is wearing a sunshade. Davis collected four sunshades, number 458-461 in his catalogue. Finally, a photograph depicting two Gilbertese girls standing inside a house wearing fibre skirts may have been taken by Davis to demonstrate how the pandanus fibre skirts and coconut wood disc belts (Figures 3.14 and 3.15) he collected would have been worn. These artefacts obviously interested Davis as he included a few sentences on clothing in the Gilbert Islands in his report sent to the Admiralty. Davis wrote 'Many of the young girls still wear the ti-ti, a very short grass petticoat, from 4 to 8 inches in depth. In some of the islands mats are used as the only dress by the men.'⁵⁵ He commented further on the material culture in the Islands later on in the report when he wrote:

Ornaments.- The ornaments are few; necklets made of small shells, porpoise, shark's, and occasionally human teeth, are worn. The necklet mostly in use by both men and women consists of girl's hair plaited very finely. The young



Figure 3.15. Coconut shell and shell disc belt, Kiribati. ETH. DAVIS.97. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Powell-Cotton Museum.



Figure 3.16. Photograph of a Solomon Islands girl onboard HMS Royalist. Courtesy Fiji Museum.



Figure 3.17. Wooden axe with pearl shell inlay and an iron blade, the Solomon Islands. Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum 11124. Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.

men of fashion use, to keep their mats in position, a girdle of girls' hair plaited into a rope, sometimes an inch or more in circumference. Employment of Women.-Plaiting this hair from short length of about 8 inches to 12 inches long, and mat-making, form the chief part of the industry of the women. Hats, baskets, and fans are also made, but not of a very fine description.⁵⁶

The level of detail in the descriptions, which included measurements, demonstrates that Davis did more than simply collect. The selection of artefacts collected from the Gilbert Islands suggest that he might have been using these items to inform his descriptions. Davis' catalogue lists 17 mats, eight dresses (male and female), eight fans, two hats, 49 personal ornaments, and nine belts from the Gilbert Islands. These artefacts are portable, generally everyday artefacts that would have been interesting to people in Britain as an example of how other cultures lived.

Other photographs give further context to life onboard HMS *Royalist*, depicting what happened to artefacts once they were collected, and the interactions that naval personnel and Islanders were having. Figure 3.16 depicts a girl from the Solomon Islands standing inside a cabin, on what we can assume is HMS *Royalist*, as denoted by a ship's porthole in the background of the image. The girl is standing with her arms resting on a carved wooden figure (Figure 4.41), and next to an axe inlaid with pearl shell with an iron blade (Figure 3.17). Both artefacts are now in the collections of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum and are numbers 50 and 449 in the Davis catalogue. Axes with iron blades may have been acquired by Davis because they were examples of hybrid artefacts⁵⁷, those that demonstrated Indigenous and European technology and

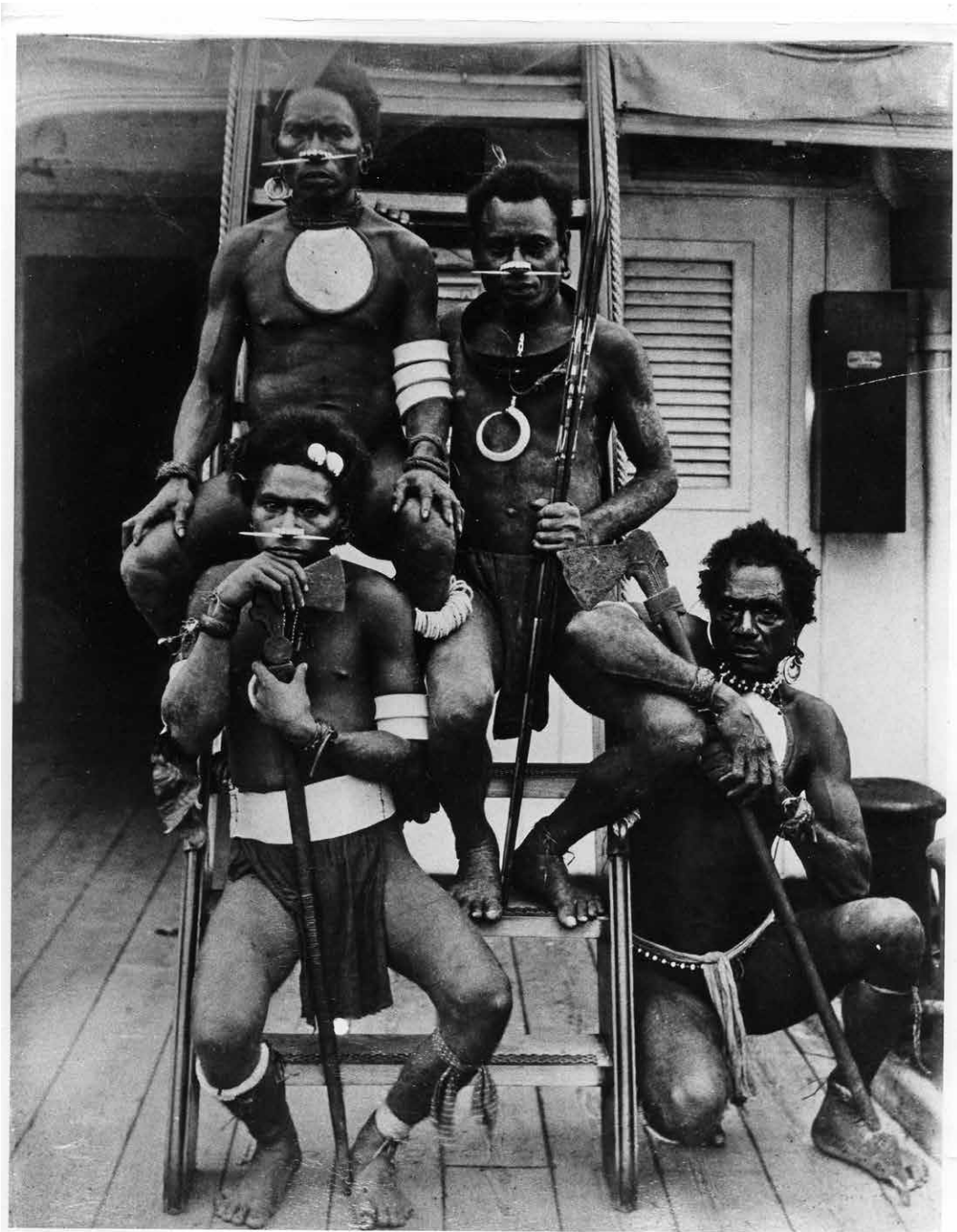


Figure 3.18. Photograph, 'Natives of Port Adam, Melita'. Courtesy of the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, HP87.14.47.

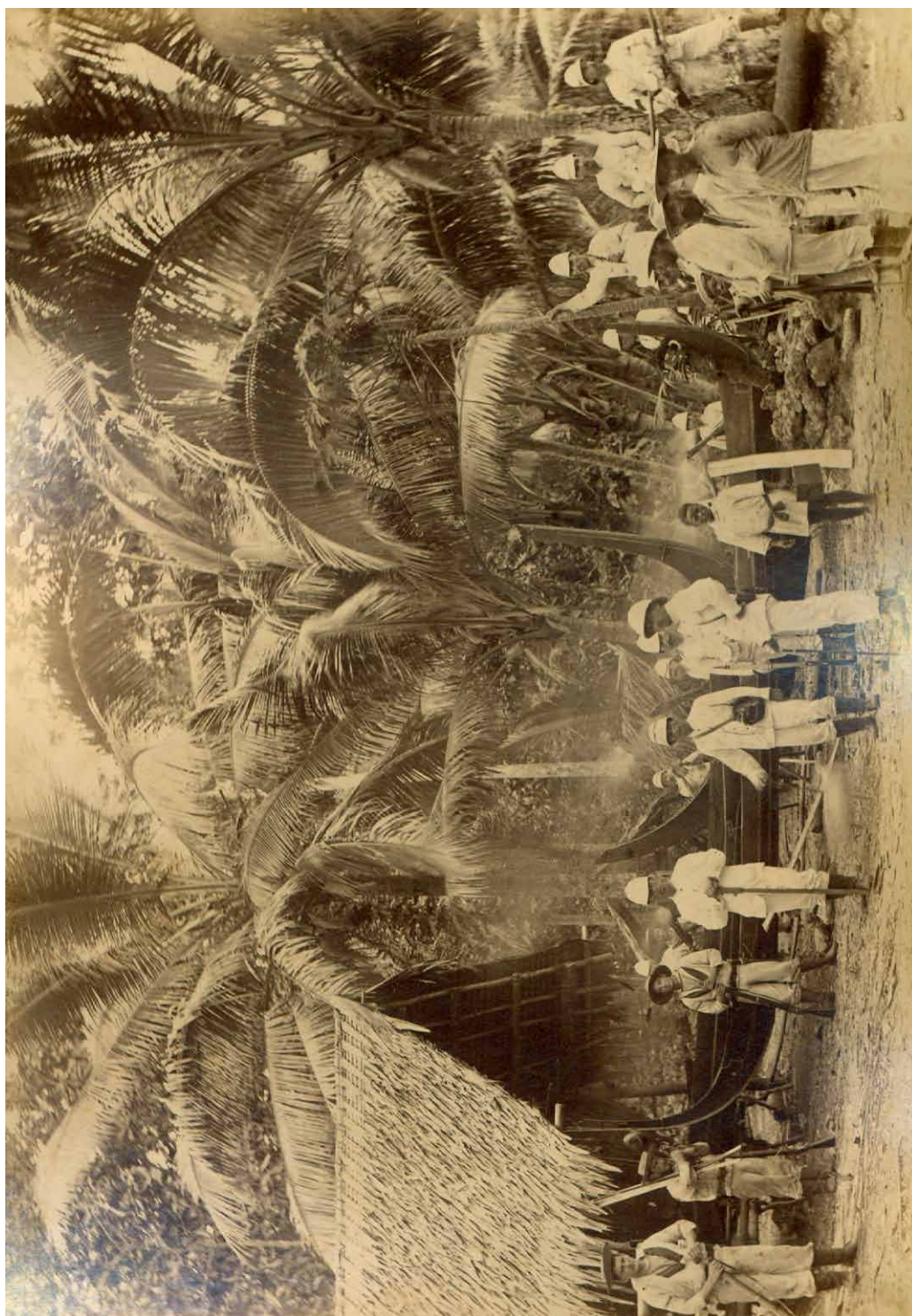


Figure 3.19. Officers and marines of HMS Royalist on the shore at Sisiata, 1891. Courtesy Fiji Museum.



Figure 3.20. Photograph depicting a young Pacific Islander boy with a cat and a dog. Courtesy of the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, HP87.14.57.



Figure 3.21. Photograph depicting a Gilbertese boy wearing naval clothing seated on a chair in front of a group of Gilbertese men. Courtesy Fiji Museum.

therefore would have been interesting for audiences back home. Davis may have also chosen to acquire the axes because the iron blades for the axes had been traded in by Europeans and so he may have perceived the artefacts as another example of European weapons that needed to be removed. Shapes of what could be other artefacts can be seen in the background of this photograph, while a pile of what appear to be wooden clubs or paddles can be seen behind where the axe stands. To the left of the girl is a plant apparently wrapped for transport, and this item could suggest that Davis was also making botanical collections. This photograph is one of only five that are believed to have been taken onboard HMS *Royalist*. Another of these photographs depicts a group of four men from the Solomon Islands seated on the deck of the ship (Figure 3.18). The caption for the image reads 'Natives of Port Adam, Melita', and shows the men wearing loin cloths, body ornaments and holding iron axes and wooden arrows. The two axes may be numbers 115 and 116 in the Davis catalogue, now housed in the Horniman Museum, and Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum (see Appendix), while many of the body ornaments worn may have been those collected by Davis. The photograph provides contextual information on how these artefacts would have been worn and used. The man seated at the front left of this photograph is depicted in another photograph in the Fiji Museum album in a close-up portrait. Clearly taken in the same location on the same day, the man is still holding the iron axe, but the caption for the photograph directs us to the focus of the image, reading 'native with nose ornament, belonging to Port Adam'. The nose ornament is made from a sea urchin spine and may be one of number 689 in the Davis catalogue (Figure 4.22).



Figure 3.22. Photograph of Fijian men pretending to perform a club dance. Photo by J.W. Waters. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.45512.ACH2.

The same girl from the photograph inside the ship appears again in four further photographs in the Fiji Museum album; the first is the same as Figure 3.16 except that the girl is photographed in profile; in the second she is standing clothed in a white shirt leaning against a door on the ship; and in the third she is unclothed again and reclining on a log onshore. In the fourth photograph she features in a group photograph taken on shore (Figure 3.19). In this photograph the crew of the ship are standing in front of a canoe house and two or three canoes. The girl is standing with the men dressed again in the white shirt and holding what appears to be a camera of some kind. We can only surmise what her role was within the context of HMS *Royalist*, she could have been taken



forcibly as part of a punitive expedition, perhaps she was being transported back home, or perhaps she had been 'hired' as an interpreter. The fact that she is holding a camera suggests she was assisting in some way. On the right-hand side of the photograph a young boy can be seen peering out from between two naval officers, clothed in naval uniform. The same boy appears in another photograph in the Fiji Museum album dressed again in a naval uniform and stroking a cat (Figure 3.20). The cat is seated on a cushion next to a dog. Cats, while not endemic to the Pacific, were frequently taken onboard ships to act as rat catchers and may have been a curiosity to Pacific Islanders. The boy in these photographs may in fact be the 'Samoan Boy'⁵⁸ referred to in an article in the *Australian* in 1893, which described a dance party held onboard HMS *Royalist*. In the article he is described as wearing a white drill suit and was most likely employed by Davis as an aide, someone who could negotiate local relations on the islands the ship visited, a common practice during this period. This is not the only photograph in which Pacific Islanders were dressed up in a naval uniform: one depicts two men standing dressed in naval uniforms featuring hats that read HMS *Royalist*; another depicts a man holding the flag of the Royal Navy; and a final photograph taken on the Gilbert Islands (Figure 3.21) depicts a Gilbertese boy seated in front of a group of Gilbertese men, on beach, on a chair from the ship wearing European clothing. From the 1760s, Pacific Islanders began volunteering

Figure 3.23. Photograph of the Rambaramp sold to Melbourne Museum (X 3347) by Lieutenant William Jarvie Colquhoun. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.3978.ACH1.



Figure 3.24. Greenstone axe, New Caledonia.
Collected by Lieutenant William Jarvie
Colquhoun, 1890. Museums Victoria (X 1975).

as crew on European and American ships. These adventurous individuals acted as translators and mediators between worlds: forging relationships, brokering exchanges and negotiating conflicts. These photographs document the interactions Davis was having with the islanders he was meeting and bringing on board the ship, and provide some further answers as to who the objects might have been coming from.

Fiji

Twelve of the photographs in the Fiji Museum collection are studio photographs and were not taken by Davis. Davis, or whomever collated the album, was clearly also collecting photographs from other places. One photograph (Figure 3.22), which depicts Fijian men pretending to perform a club dance, is known to have been photographed by J.W. Waters. Another photograph, depicting a group of the Solomon Islands men taking part in a kava ceremony was printed as a loose postcard by the Marist Mission and was available for purchase. The backdrops of

many of the other studio photographs resemble those used by Josiah Martin, but could have been photographed at any of the photographic studios in Fiji and purchased when the ship stopped there.

Other collections

Davis's catalogue (see Appendix) lists six artefacts that cannot have been collected by Davis in the Islands they originated from. Item 17 is described as the 'head dress of the King of Niue or Savage ID'. Items 344 and 345 are sets of turtle shell spoons and dishes from Palau. HMS *Royalist* never visited these Islands and, as far as we know, neither did Davis during the time that his collection was formed. Davis may have been acquiring these additional artefacts from other naval officers he socialised with at Admiralty House in Sydney, or other collectors in Australia or the Pacific Islands. As we have seen, he was an active member of a social network interested in collections and collecting in Australia, as well as being friendly with missionaries working in the Pacific Islands. Artefacts may have been exchanged and it may have been during one of these exchanges that the photograph album now in Fiji Museum was passed on to the 'elderly missionary'.

Davis was also not the only member of crew on board HMS *Royalist* collecting artefacts. On 13 August 1890, Lieutenant Victorian William Jarvie Colquhoun sold a Rambaramp from Vanuatu (Figure 3.23) to the Melbourne Museum. Later, on 21 November 1890, he also sold a greenstone axe from New Caledonia to the Museum (Figure 3.24). Based on the logbooks of the ship, the Rambaramp was collected either on 11 May 1890 or 1 July 1890, and the axe was most likely collected on 22 September 1890 or 10 November 1890. Colquhoun sold the artefacts to the Museum while the ship was docked in Australia. The Museum's Report of the Trustees for 1890 lists the axe as 'Nbouet, or Stone Hatchet, used at Cannibal Feasts', while the Rambaramp is listed as 'Ramej Pipisi'.⁵⁹ Rambaramp are associated with funerary rites, and this example consists of a human skull over-modelled with clay, mounted on a body made of carved wood. Further research by the Museum suggests that 'Ramej Pipisi' may be the name of the chief whose skull is inside the artefact, not the Indigenous name of the artefact. This is further contextualised by the Museum's provenance ledger, which lists the following information as being supplied by Colquhoun about the Rambaramp: 'Chiefs Monument from Port Sandwich Mallicolo Island as erected outside Chief's House after his death, body carving. Head real embalmed'.⁶⁰ The ledger notes Colquhoun's description of the axe as 'Hatchet or Nbouet. Of a Felspathic Rock, blade nearly oval; two holes drilled in it for attaching the handle with sinnet, used by canibals for dividing human bodies'.⁶¹ These cultural items are strikingly different from anything Davis acquired from Vanuatu, both being larger and more elaborate, and associated with status and ritual. Their acquisition may indicate personal relationships formed by Colquhoun, or an exchange of high value trade goods.

The Pacific Collected

Ethnographic collecting by the crew of HMS *Royalist* was undertaken as a way of collecting material evidence of 'other' cultures. It was also undertaken as a result of attempting to control and manage Pacific Islanders, and it can 'be used as a measure of imperialistic competition'.⁶² The competition by Britain, Germany and France for islands in the Pacific, as discussed in Chapter 2, could also be seen reflected in the size of the ethnographic collections made by those countries. The focus in Britain was on the scientific benefit of ethnographic collections, both within the realms of the emerging discipline of Anthropology but also within the teachings of the Royal Navy. The political and economic motives for the collection of ethnographic artefacts for Britain, France and Germany also developed to become as important as the scientific. As we will see in Chapter 4, Germany was the earliest country to recognise the purely commercial potential of these ethnographic collections, and this affected how the collection made by Davis was dispersed throughout Europe.

CHAPTER 4

All the Pacific for sale

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While the formation of Captain Davis' collection of Pacific artefacts is indicative of a chapter in the history of British maritime exploration and colonial expansion, the dispersal of the collection is typical of the time that followed; the period when museums but, more importantly, private collectors such as Harry Beasley, James Edge-Partington and Umlauff 'systematically tapped this source, each amassing superb collections by this process'.¹ Davis returned to his home in Bexhill-on-Sea, England in late 1893. Originally intending to sell the entire collection to a friend – who declined to make the purchase – Davis realised he needed to sell the collection to fund his retirement.² He therefore commissioned a local printer to publish a catalogue of his Pacific collection of 1,481 artefacts (Figure 4.1).

Gerrard and Sons

The catalogue made for the collection lists 700 entries – many of which describe multiples of artefacts grouped together – totalling 1,481 individual artefacts. Davis chose the firm Gerrard and Sons, a London based taxidermist and dealer, to sell the collection on his behalf. Gerrard and Sons was set up by Edward Gerrard in 1850 and run by his sons and brother as a taxidermists and furriers, remaining a family firm until its closure in 1967. Edward Gerrard had established the firm while employed in the Zoology department at the British Museum (BM), thereafter continuing to work at the BM and hiring his son to run the new business. The firm benefitted from Gerrard's networks within the BM, and later the British Museum of Natural History³ and these links continued after his death in 1910. In his history of the company, Pat Morris states that the firm relied almost exclusively on a following of loyal customers, and rarely advertised their sales in the press.⁴ Those advertisements that were placed in publications focus solely on taxidermy and natural history sales. Very few records of the business survive,⁵ and Davis' catalogues are the only catalogues used by Gerrard and Sons to mention ethnographic artefacts for sale. In addition, none of the literature regarding Gerrard and Sons⁶ mentions the sale or purchase of ethnographic artefacts, even though it is well known that the firm sold them.⁷ Thus, in order to understand why and how the artefacts were being sold by the Company, and where the artefacts are now, it is necessary to look at the correspondence between the museums that purchased artefacts from the Davis collection and Gerrard and Sons, and the networks that existed within their sales rooms.

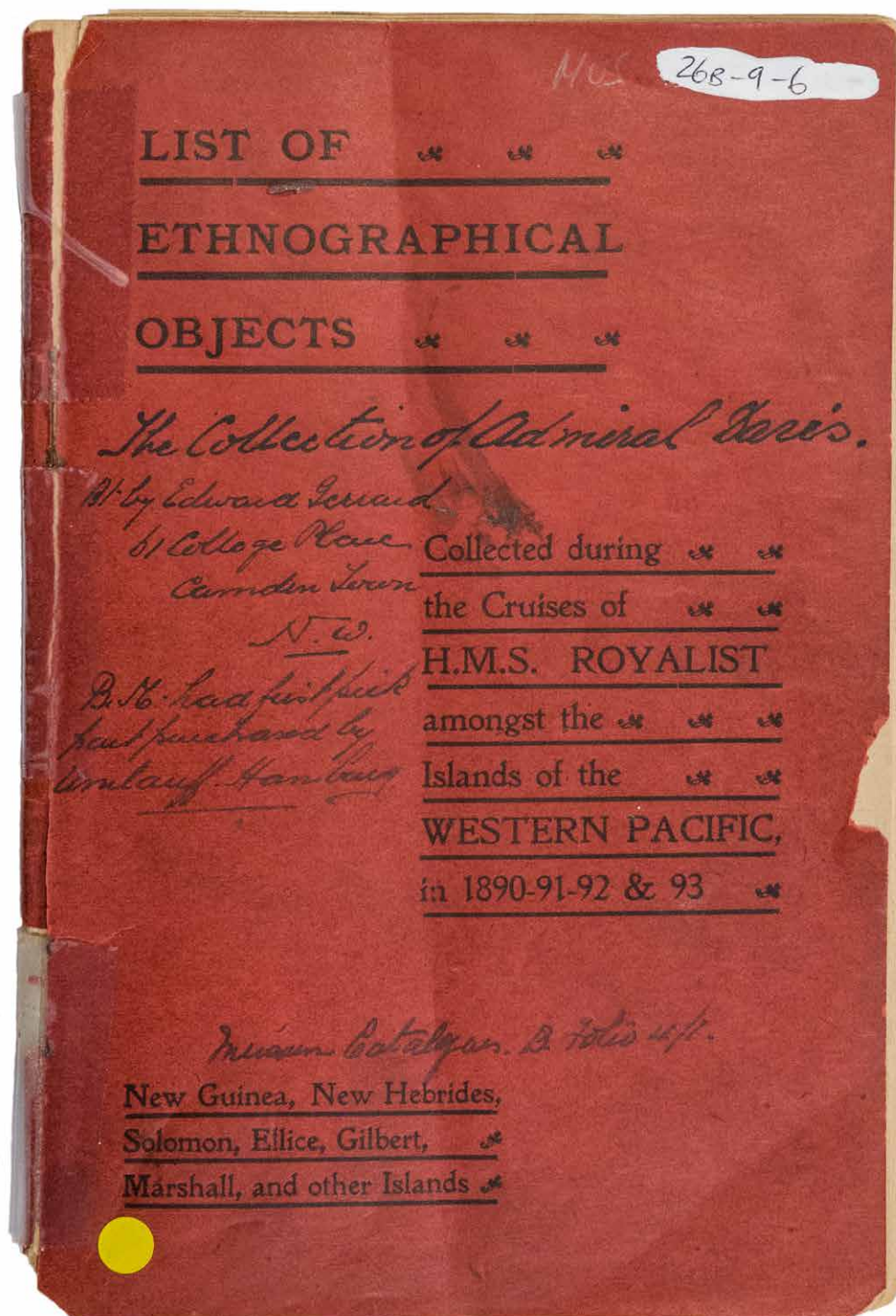


Figure 4.1. Catalogue of the collection by Captain Davis. MUS 26B-9-6. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

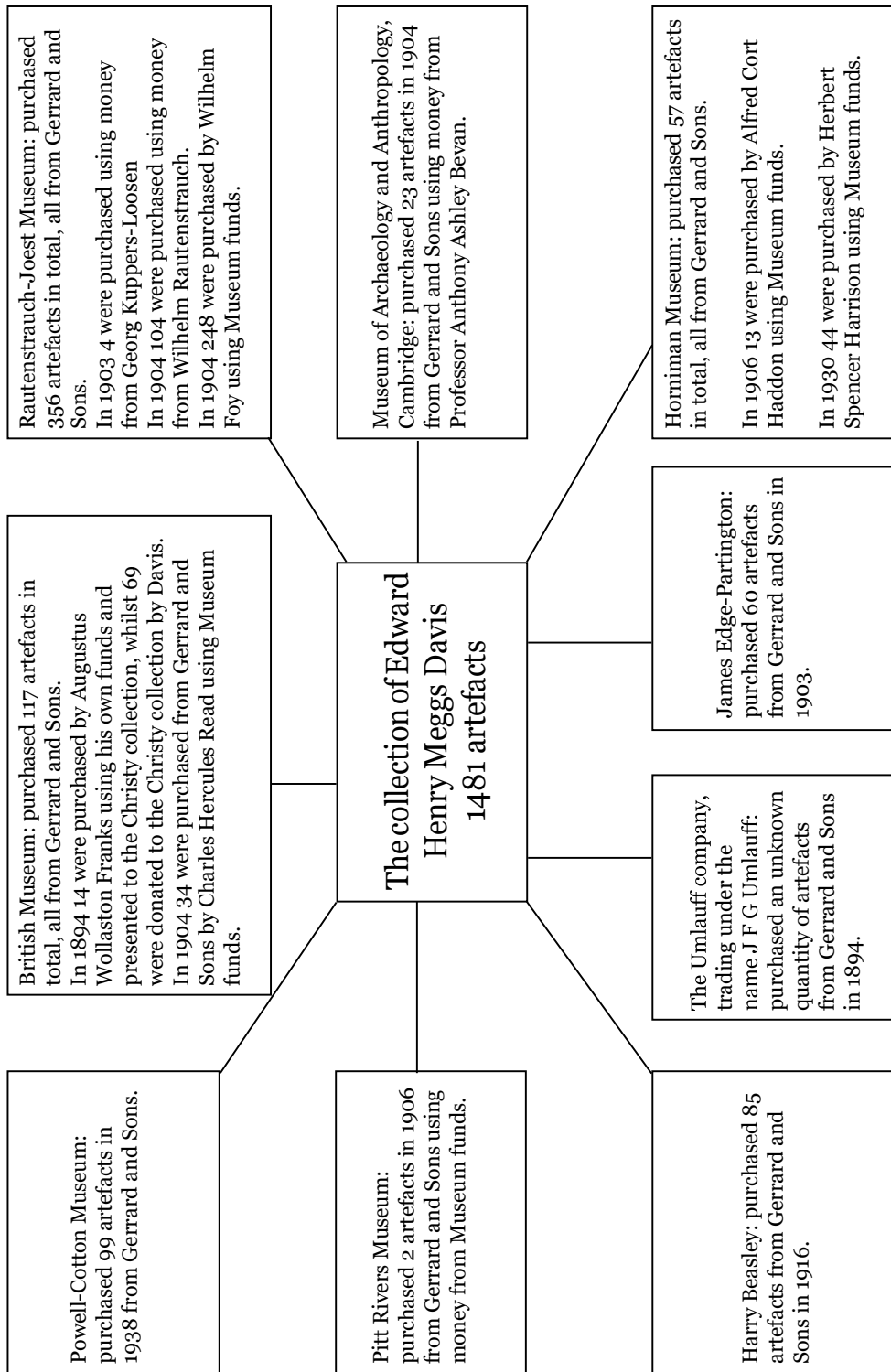


Figure 4.2. The dispersal of the Davis collection. Copyright Alison Clark 2017.

Very early on, well before the end of the nineteenth century, the Gerrard workshops had become famous as a place where hunters, travelers and naturalists could meet and exchange or sell specimens.⁸

In this period travellers, explorers, and government officials formed collections that spanned the disciplines of zoology, ethnography and botany. Although the primary business of Gerrard and Sons was natural history, it was only natural that they should diversify to deal with collections from other disciplines. From the middle of the eighteenth century, many ethnography collectors needed ‘assistance to get the material from the ships, pay any government duties owed, and co-ordinate’⁹ with the museum that their artefacts were going to. The recipient museum ‘was not always willing to accept material sent to them and furthermore they would not take responsibility for the return of any specimens or artefacts’.¹⁰ Thus the help of dealers or middlemen were required.

Gerrard and Sons set themselves up as intermediaries, adding to the primary income from their taxidermy business through this service, with Davis as one of their clients. Morris notes that the ‘diversity of their work was the greatest strength of Gerrards and their most distinctive feature’.¹¹ The correspondence files at the BM document the beginnings of this arrangement in a letter about the dispersal of a Fijian collection in 1870. On 9 May 1870, Edward Gerrard Junior wrote to Augustus Wollaston Franks, the Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography, noting that ‘Mr Ross has brought another lot of implements from the Feegee & Solomon Ids. He wants £18 for the whole collection. I shall be glad to send them for your approval or show them to you if convenient’.¹² Franks’ reply listed the artefacts that he would like and those he was sending back to the taxidermists.¹³ Most likely Davis picked Gerrard and Sons to sell his collection in order to draw on its popularity and its existing networks with museums in Britain and Europe. Collections such as Davis’ are complex relational assemblages (Figure 4.2). People were connected both personally and professionally and, through such networks information was traded about the collections that were coming out of the Pacific islands, as well as engagement in the exchange, sale, donation, and purchase of the artefacts themselves. The movement of the artefacts collected by Davis is typical: relying on these networks of relations. The collection was first dispersed through two routes: museums purchasing artefacts from Gerrard and Sons (and in some cases later exchanging these artefacts with other museums); and private collectors purchasing artefacts directly from Gerrard and Sons. Later most of the artefacts purchased by private collectors found their way into public museums. The remainder of this chapter is organized into those museums and individuals who helped to disperse the Davis collection over a 60-year period between 1894 and 1954.

The Gerrard and Sons sales

UK museums

The artefacts from the Davis collection acquired by museums reflect both the personal tastes of the curators but also the need or desire of many museums in this period to supplement their core or founding collections with material that would enable them to fulfil their aims and objectives. While Davis hoped that his collection would be



Figure 4.3. Fans, Kiribati, mounted as they would have been displayed in Swiss Cottage Museum, Osborne House. RCIN 84764.a-f. Copyright Royal Collection Trust / Copyright her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018.

sold to a single purchaser, museums preferred, often due to funding restrictions, to purchase individual pieces and Davis' collection was widely dispersed as a result. Large collections such as Davis' allowed museums to pick and choose the artefacts that suited their overall purpose.

The *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser* wrote that on returning to England Davis sent a number of items of 'woman's work' to Queen Victoria who gratefully acknowledged receipt of the items.¹⁴ These items included six fans from Kiribati, which were displayed alongside other gifts sent to the Queen in the Swiss Cottage Museum



Figure 4.4. Feast bowl, Solomon Islands.
Oc1903,1007.1. Copyright the Trustees of the
British Museum.

at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight (Figure 4.3).¹⁵ The gifts would have been sent to the Queen sometime between Davis arriving back from Kiribati in August 1892 and the publication of the newspaper article in September 1893. While the catalogue was printed in 1894 it seems likely that Davis would have included the artefacts gifted to Queen Victoria in the catalogue, as we find other artefacts that were also gifted listed in it, for example the feast bowl looted by Davis in Roviana, the Solomon Islands (see Chapter 2)¹⁶. Davis had gifted the feast bowl to a more senior colleague at the Royal Navy's Australian Station, Rear Admiral Lord Charles Thomas Montagu Douglas Scott, but it appears as item 325 in the catalogue (see Appendix). There may then be other artefacts, originally listed in the catalogue, housed in private collections that were sent as gifts by Davis that we currently do not know the location of.

The Davis catalogue was used by Gerrard and Sons as a sales catalogue. The collection was on general sale from 1896 onward and attracted the attention of many prominent museums and their curators, as well as major private collectors of the period many of whom had worked, studied or travelled together. A note on the BM's copy of the catalogue reads 'BM had first pick, part purchased by Umlauff Hamburg' (Figure 4.1), this was not unusual as the BM was understood to be the primary repository for ethnographic collections by the Admiralty. The BM obtained 83 artefacts shortly after the production of the catalogue in 1894, and it is assumed that these artefacts formed that 'first pick'. The BM lists two methods of acquisition for these 1894 artefacts; 14 were 'acquired from Davis' and 69 'donated by Davis'. Those 14 artefacts listed were purchased directly from Davis in Franks' name, all of which were then presented to the BM as part of the Christy collection. However, with the remaining 69, it seems out of character for Davis to have donated such a large number of artefacts to the BM given his desire to receive the best possible price for them. The entry for the artefacts in the Christy Register held at the BM states that all 83 artefacts were presented to the Christy collection, which could imply that those 69, supposedly donated by Davis,

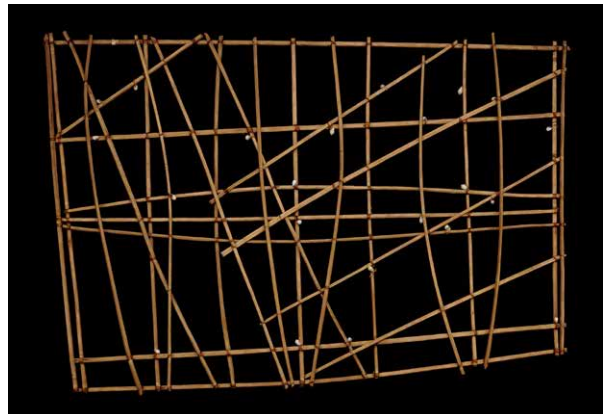
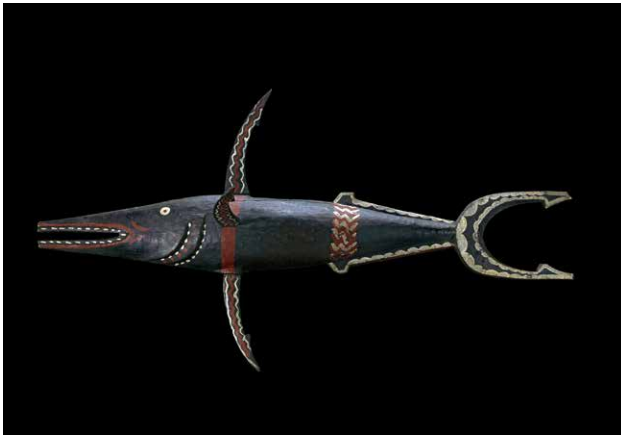


Figure 4.5 (top left). Wooden coffin, Solomon Islands. Oc1904,0621.13. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 4.6 (top right). Wooden figure, Solomon Islands. Oc1904,0621.14. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 4.7 (bottom left). Coconut fibre cuirass, Kiribati. Oc1904,0621.29. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 4.8 (bottom right). Navigation chart, Marshall Islands. Oc1904,0621.34. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.9. Grave ornaments, Solomon Islands. Oc1904,0621.3-5. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

were actually purchased by Franks with funds from the Christy Fund,¹⁷ as often happened. Alternatively Davis may have hoped to encourage the BM to purchase more items from his collection by making an initial donation.

In 1903 the BM also received three further artefacts from the Davis collection. The first two came from the private collector James Edge-Partington who donated two coconut shell bowls¹⁸ from Vanuatu to the Museum. The third artefact is the Solomon Islands feast bowl discussed above (Figure 4.4). In a letter from Davis to Charles Hercules Read, Franks' successor and Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at the BM, Davis wrote with annoyance about the feast bowl, stating that he gave Scott the bowl

on the understanding that he would not part with it, and that if he even thought of doing so I was to have the first refusal of it. It would have been a welcome addition to my lot and whoever wanted it would have had to take the whole collection as it is rare.¹⁹

Still hoping to sell the remainder of the collection as a whole, Davis wrote in the same letter to Read that 'I believe Gerrard has written to people abroad and when he gets replies we will see if the collection must be broken'.²⁰ Despite having deposited the collection with Gerrard and Sons, Davis did not rely solely on the firm to sell his collection and in the letter he clearly had the BM in mind as a prospective buyer, attempting to highlight

the value of some of the remainder artefacts to Read:

I fancy no specimen of 134 has ever left the Ids and I had no easy job to get it. I have a photo of the Tambu house in which they kept their things- 50 is a very fine specimen. 38 I cannot place from memory. 495 is the only armour so protected I saw in the whole group- I believe 509 is very rare, or was when I got it in 92. 546 are not easily procured and 352 amongst traders considered very rare.²¹

Davis noted the variety, quality and high value of particular numbered items (possibly those in which Read had expressed a previous interest, as denoted by marks next to items in the BM copy of the catalogue) and later explained his concern to receive good prices because of his prospective retirement on half pay. He highlighted in particular the rarity of some artefacts, demonstrating his knowledge of the collecting practices of the BM, an institution that was interested in having the best, unique and most historically important cultural artefacts. His

658. to Horniman Museum. per H. I. B.

17

645	Women's dresses, cassowary feathers	NEW GUINEA
646	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
647	Coils of shell and palm wood discs	GILBERT IDS.
648	Landing net	Ditto
649	Ditto	Ditto
650	Woman's dress	Ditto
651	Hook and line	Ditto
652	Fishing bag	TORRES IDS.
653	Woman's body ornament	NEW GUINEA
654	Two water bottles	SOLOMON IDS.
655	Dress and ornaments	Ditto
656	Two fans	GILBERT IDS.
657	Three fine mat bags	BANKS IDS.
658	Three ditto	Ditto
659	Large hook and line	ELLICE IDS.
660	Ditto	Ditto
661	Coil of native rope	GILBERT IDS.
662	Length of sennet	ELLICE IDS.
663	Length of square sennet	NIUTAO, Ditto
664	Coil of native rope	GILBERT IDS.
665	Basket	Ditto
666	Coral bowl	Ditto
667	Men's body belts	MALLICOLO, NEW HEBRIDES
668	Three baskets	TORRES IDS.
669	One basket	GILBERT IDS.
670	Two ditto	Ditto
671	One ditto	Ditto
672	Two hats	Ditto
673	Small clam shell	SOLOMON IDS.
674	Mat, 12ft. by 6ft. 6in.	ELLICE IDS.
675	Ditto, Ditto	Ditto
676	Ditto, 10ft. by 6ft. 6in.	Ditto
677	Ditto, 8ft. by 7ft.	Ditto
678	Ditto, colored, 9ft. by 5ft. 6in.	GILBERT IDS.
679	Two ditto	Ditto
680	Two ditto	Ditto
681	Three fans	Ditto
682	Ditto	Ditto
683	Ditto	ELLICE IDS.
684	Ditto	Ditto
685	Three combs	NEW GUINEA
686	Ditto	Ditto

Figure 4.10. Interior of the British Museum's copy of the Davis catalogue. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.

6		7	
196 Shell ornament and bead necklet	SOLOMON IDS.	238 Necklet made of discs of shells	GILBERT IDS.
197 Ditto, beads and human teeth	Ditto	239 Ditto	Ditto
198 Necklet, dogs' teeth and shells	Ditto	240 Ditto	Ditto
199 Ear rings—shell and tortoise shell	Ditto	241 Ditto, shell and women's hair plaited	Ditto
200 Ten shell armlets	Ditto	242 Ditto	Ditto
201 Eight ditto, and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Ditto	243 Ditto	Ditto
202 Eight shell armlets	Ditto	244 Ditto	Ditto
203 Native candle	RUBIANA, Ditto	245 Ditto	Ditto
204 Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets	SOLOMON IDS.	246 Ditto, women's hair plaited	Ditto
205 Ditto, and seed necklet	Ditto	247 Shell disc for breast ornament	Ditto
206 Ditto, and dyed senmet	Ditto	248 Ditto	Ditto
207 String of money (will purchase a woman)	NEW HEBRIDES	249 Two shell necklets	Ditto
208 Woman's dress and string of seeds	SOLOMON IDS.	250 Two Ditto	Ditto
209 Ditto and Jew's harp	Ditto	251 Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Ditto
210 Ditto	Ditto	252 Ditto	Ditto
211 Two very fine large clam shell armlets	Ditto	253 Ditto	Ditto
212 One ditto and three small ditto	Ditto	254 Hair necklet with shell disc	Ditto
213 Five shell armlets	Ditto	255 Plaited women's hair for necklets	Ditto
214 Five ditto	Ditto	256 Large shell disc necklet	Ditto
215 Four ditto	Ditto	257 Necklet of beads and bone ornament	Ditto
216 Four ditto	Ditto	258 Needle of bone for sewing thatch	Ditto
217 Four ditto	Ditto	259 Awl used for sewing canoe planks	Ditto
218 Four ditto	Ditto	260 Fish skin rasp for canoe building	Ditto
219 Bunch small shell rings	Ditto	261 Five combs	Ditto
220 Ditto, as a necklet	Ditto	262 Three ditto	Ditto
221 Whale's tooth used as necklet	Ditto	263 Three ditto	Ditto
222 Woman's dress and Jew's harp	Ditto	264 Three ditto	Ditto
223 Whale's tooth used as necklet	Ditto	265 Food pounder	Ditto
224 Ditto	Ditto	266 Bone needle for sewing thatch	Ditto
225 Woman's dress, dyed senmet, shell disc	Ditto	267 Ditto	Ditto
226 Grave ornaments	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto	268 Piece of whale's tooth for neck ornament	Ditto
227 Taro knife	BANKS IDS.	269 Two pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	MARSHALL IDS.
228 Necklet of porpoise teeth	SOLOMON IDS.	270 Two ditto	Ditto
229 Ditto, fish teeth	Ditto	271 Two ditto	Ditto
230 Lime gourd	Ditto	272 Half whale's tooth used as necklet	GILBERT IDS.
231 Ditto	Ditto	273 Woman's shark's teeth fighting knife	Ditto
232 Large paddle	NEW GUINEA	274 Ditto	Ditto
233 Basket	GILBERT IDS.	275 Ditto	Ditto
234 Necklet made of discs of shells	Ditto	276 Ditto	Ditto
235 Ditto	Ditto	277 Ditto	Ditto
236 Ditto	Ditto	278 Woman's fighting knife—fish jaw bone	Ditto
237 Ditto	Ditto	279 Ditto	Ditto
			shark's tooth

Figure 4.11. Interior of the Horniman Museum's copy of the Davis catalogue. Horniman Museum and Gardens.



Figure 4.12 (left). Carved wooden drum, Trobriand Islands. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.30.



Figure 4.13 (right). Trochus shell armlet, Papua New Guinea. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.37.



Figure 4.14 (left). Shell armlet, Papua New Guinea. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.38.



Figure 4.15 (right). Teeth neck ornament, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.41.



Figure 4.16. Shell necklace, Solomon Islands. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.34.



Figure 4.17. Fishing float, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.47.



Figure 4.18 (left). Netting hook, Papua New Guinea. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.39.

Figure 4.19 (above). Netting bobbin, Papua New Guinea. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.40.



Figure 4.20 (left). Shark tooth dagger, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.48.

Figure 4.21 (above). Ear ornaments, Solomon Islands. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.31-32.



Figure 4.22. Nose ornament, Solomon Islands. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.36.



Figure 4.23. Shell ornament, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.42A.



Figure 4.24. Shell ornament, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.42B.



Figure 4.25. Shell ornament, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.42C.



Figure 4.26. Shell ornament, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.42D.



Figure 4.27. Shell ornament, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.42E.



Figure 4.28. Shell necklace, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.43



Figure 4.29. Shell necklace, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.46.



Figure 4.30. Shell ornament, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.45.

letter clearly worked as the BM purchased catalogue numbers 134, 38, 495, 509, and 546 (Figures 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9), as well as a further 29 artefacts from the catalogue.

Only five copies of the Davis catalogue still exist. In addition to the one held by the BM, the Horniman Museum, the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum and the Alexander Turnbull Library each hold a copy. The fifth copy, currently owned by Jonathan King,²² was purchased from a sale of the estate of the private collector Kenneth Athol Webster. The notes within and upon the surviving catalogues give clues to the networks involved in the dispersal of the collection. Inside the BM copy, there are marks made by Read next to artefacts of interest, and his notes (Figure 4.10) mention J.G. Umlauff, Harry Beasley and the Horniman Museum, indicating possible purchases by these people and institutions. The Horniman Museum copy, which is the copy in the best condition, contains notes presumably made by Advisory Curator Alfred Cort Haddon²³ when he purchased 13 artefacts for the Museum in 1906, and include the prices that the artefacts were bought for (Figure 4.11). Haddon's purchases for the Museum placed an emphasis on collections from Oceania, in particular those from Papua New Guinea and the Torres Strait Islands. From the Davis collection Haddon chose utilitarian artefacts predominately from Melanesia. Popular types of artefact included body adornment, weaponry, baskets and bowls. Haddon's vision for the Horniman Museum was for the collections to be an educational resource that reflected the evolutionary approach to technology, and the artefacts that he purchased from Gerrard and Sons fitted this aim. The Museum later received a donation of a further three artefacts in 1916 from the Davis collection which had originally been purchased by Beasley. The final purchase of 44 artefacts from the Davis collection, via Gerrard and Sons by the Museum, occurred in 1930 under the stewardship of curator Herbert Spencer Harrison, a former student of Haddon. These artefacts complemented those purchased for the Horniman Museum by Haddon in 1906 and reflected Harrison's practice of continuing Haddon's vision for the Museum after his departure in 1915.

Three other UK museums made purchases from the Davis collection directly from Gerrard and Sons; the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (MAA) in 1904, the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) in 1906 and the Powell-Cotton Museum (PCM) in 1938. On 6 February 1904 Edward Gerrard Junior wrote to MAA Curator Anatole von Hügel advertising artefacts from the Davis collection that were for sale. His letter, like Davis' earlier one to the BM, highlighted particular items that he felt might interest von Hügel: namely '1, 2, 5, 10, 21 and 23'.²⁴ Gerrard referred to the Davis catalogue, which was enclosed with the letter. The catalogue is no longer part of the MAA archives and was most likely sent back to Gerrard and Sons with the items von Hügel would like to purchase marked on it. Von Hügel purchased 23 individual artefacts in total, represented in 13 listings in the Davis catalogue, but none of the artefacts purchased by him were those artefacts that were suggested by Gerrard in his letter. Instead von Hügel purchased 12 artefacts from Kiribati, six from the Solomon Islands and five from Papua New Guinea. In his reply to Gerrard's first letter, von Hügel wrote that 'ornaments, small tools & implements, artefacts, weapons or shields inlaid with shell, coloured or plaited fronds (?) are of special interest to us'.²⁵ Gerrard sent von Hügel a selection of artefacts based on von Hügel's preferences and from this selection he chose to purchase numbers '36, 521, 510, 575, 608, 527, 279, 205, 436, 199, 689, 647 and 250'.²⁶



Figure 4.31. Human hair necklace, Kiribati. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, E 1904.44.



Figure 4.32. Tattooing implements, Kiribati. 1906.66.1-2. Copyright Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.



Figure 4.33. Conus shell necklace, Kiribati. 1906.66.2. Copyright Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

(Figures 4.12-4.29). When buying artefacts for the Museum, von Hügel looked to fill gaps in the collection, purchasing artefacts that complemented the existing collection, and also purchasing multiple versions of particular types of artefacts, which could then be kept as duplicates to be traded with other museums.²⁷ From the list of artefacts the Museum received, all artefacts with the exception of numbers 575 and 436 arrived. Numbers 575 and 436 were a woman's dress and teeth necklaces from the Solomon Islands and four pig's jaws with tusks from Vanuatu. Instead the Museum received a shell necklace from Kiribati and a human hair necklace also from Kiribati (Figures 4.30 and 4.31) both of which are registered in sequence in MAA's accession register with the rest of the items purchased from the Davis catalogue. Item number 634 in the Davis catalogue is described as 'Length of plaited hair for seizings Gilbert IDS'. A label on the human hair necklace reads 'Hair strand/Gilbert Is'. What appears to be a human hair necklace, as it features a clasp, may have been catalogued by Davis as a length of human hair. Whether von Hügel reversed his numbers, mistakenly requesting 436 when what he wanted was 634 or Gerrard also reversed the numbers and sent 634 instead of 436 we may never know, but what remains in the Museum today is the human hair necklace. The replacement of 575 with the shell necklace from Kiribati remains a mystery. Von Hügel paid £4 10 shillings for the artefacts using money from Professor Anthony Ashley Bevan, Professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge and a major financial benefactor to the Museum. In a letter to Gerrard written in July 1904 in reference to another collection, von Hügel noted that the Museum's 'funds are very low'²⁸. This was true, but the fact that von Hügel was willing to find funds for the purchase of artefacts from the Davis collection signals its historical importance, and relevance to MAA.

The following year, in 1906, Henry Balfour, Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) purchased two artefacts from Gerrard and Sons using the Museum's fund.²⁹ There is no extant correspondence to contextualize this transaction but the two artefacts, purchased together for £3, formed part of a wider group purchase of 35 artefacts from Gerrard and Sons, not limited to the Pacific region. The two artefacts purchased were a tattooing implement and a conus shell necklace, both from Kiribati (Figures 4.32 and 4.33). The provenance of the Davis collection fits well within the collecting practices of Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers whose collection formed the founding collection for the PRM. The majority of the PRM's founding collection came from various field collectors, fellow members of the Anthropological society and second hand sources, such as auction houses and dealers, and some of these artefacts came from historically important voyages such as HMS *Rattlesnake*. Pitt-Rivers was particularly drawn to utilitarian objects that 'could best illustrate his theories on the evolution of design',³⁰ and much of the later developed collections within the Museum reflected this. The tattooing implement in particular would have been a useful opportunity for Balfour as it could have been used as an educational resource, a means of illustrating the evolution of tattooing from across the world, and would have complemented the existing collections of the PRM.

The acquisition of artefacts from the Davis collection by the Powell-Cotton Museum (PCM) was one of the last known purchases from Gerrard and Sons from this collection. The PCM at Quex Park in Kent houses the natural history and ethnographic



Figure 4.34 (left). Stingray barb weapon, Kiribati. ETH.DAVIS.25. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Powell-Cotton Museum.



Figure 4.35. Shell armlet, Papua New Guinea. ETH.DAVIS.65. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Powell-Cotton Museum.



Figure 4.36. Sample of turtle shell, Papua New Guinea. ETH.DAVIS.98. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Powell-Cotton Museum.



Figure 4.37. Sperm whale tooth ornament, Solomon Islands. ETH.DAVIS.68. Photograph by Josh Murfitt. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Powell-Cotton Museum.

collections of Percy Horace Gordon Powell-Cotton. Powell-Cotton travelled widely in Asia and Africa between 1887 and 1939, engaging in 28 expeditions to collect zoological and ethnographic specimens. He became a fellow of the Zoological Society, the Royal Geographic Society and the Royal Anthropological Institute, demonstrating his varied interests, but also how intrinsically linked these different fields were during this period. In 1896 Powell-Cotton built a pavilion in the gardens of his estate to house his natural history specimens and ethnographic artefacts collected on his expeditions to Asia and Africa, establishing the first iteration of the Museum known as the Pavilion or Museum of Hunting Trophies.

Powell-Cotton collected from both Africa and Asia, and he inherited some pieces from

Europe, but his collection predominately focused on Africa. He did not, however, visit the Pacific. In 1981 the collections of the Powell-Cotton were assessed by Keith Nicklin for the Museum Ethnographers Group newsletter.³¹ Nicklin noted that the development of the Museum could be understood in three distinct phases: the first was the founding of the Museum and the development of its field based collections; the second was the development of the Museum itself, cataloguing and filling gaps in the collection; and the third occupied by Nicklin and his article in the 1980s and onwards was the analysis and publication of the collections. The development of the Pacific collections occurred during this second phase, and I would argue that the third includes this chapter, which for the first time looks in detail at the Pacific collections of the PCM.

Between 1936 and 1938, recognising a gap in his collections, Powell-Cotton began purchasing collections from the Pacific. The collections were purchased from approximately six sources: Pinfold, 'Singapore', Devon, Walker, Mackay and Gerrard and Sons. George Frederick Pinfold was a taxidermist and curator of the Powell-Cotton Museum from 1920 to 1945. The artefacts listed as 'Singapore' came from an unknown auction house based in Singapore from whom Powell-Cotton purchased artefacts during his World Trip. F & G Devon was an antiques shop located in the nearby town of Margate. Archdeacon Robert Henry Walker was a missionary with the Church Missionary Society whose objects came from another missionary in the field, Florence Coombe. Captain R.N. Mackay was a private collector and close personal friend of Powell-Cotton. Finally there was Gerrard and Sons who had provided taxidermy services to Powell-Cotton from the 1890s onwards. Powell-Cotton drew

upon his networks to develop his collections. These artefacts were sourced by Powell-Cotton from friends, colleagues and acquaintances that he made while travelling, and his relationship with Gerrard and Sons may have been how he became aware of the Davis collection. However, Powell-Cotton's personal correspondence shows that he also collaborated with the departments of Ethnography and Natural History at the BM and that he was a close friend of Henry Balfour at the PRM. There are therefore several ways in which Powell-Cotton may have become aware of the Davis collection, and the fact that many of his close friends and museum colleagues had already expressed an interest in the collection through their purchase may have marked out the collection as important to Powell-Cotton who was looking to complement his Asian and African collections. As we have seen with the rest of the Pacific collections he liked to purchase objects from within existing networks.

On 24 November 1938 PCM Curator George Frederick Pinfold, known as Fred, wrote to Harry Gerrard, who had taken over the running of Gerrard and Sons after the premature death of his brother Edward Gerrard the third.

I have been thinking over the matter of the Davis curios which I saw on Monday last. I do not think they are worth the £5 you ask, and from what I know of the market you will never get that price for them, but I would like to help you if possible.³²

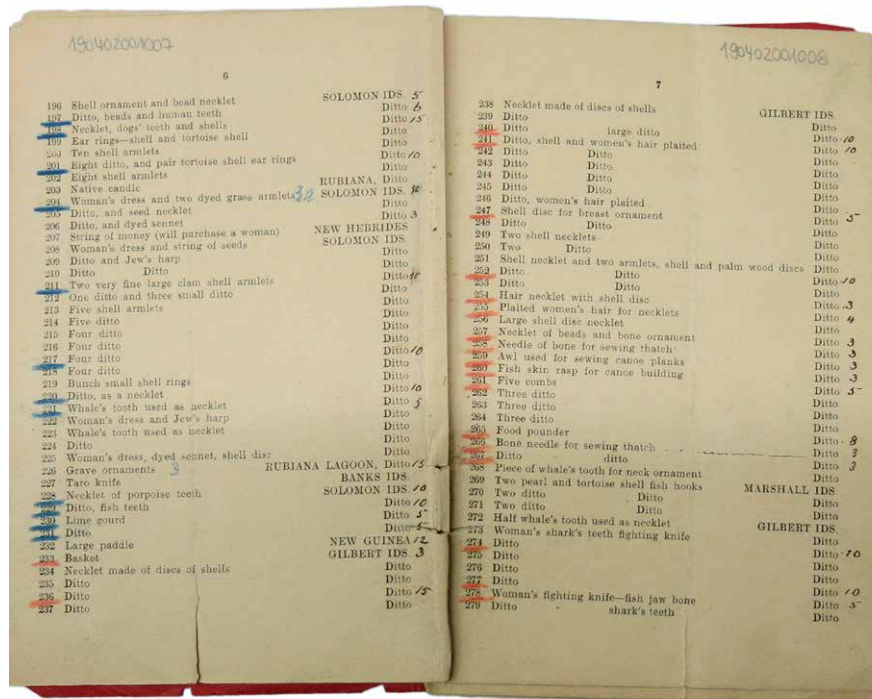


Figure 4.38. Interior of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum's copy of the Davis catalogue. Photograph by Alison Clark. Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.



Figure 4.39. Section of a feast bowl, Solomon Islands. Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum 11004. Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.

Pinfold suggested that he paid £2 for what appeared to be a large group of artefacts from Gerrard and Sons. In exchange for a reduction in price Pinfold offered to send the firm 144 reptile and amphibian specimens, and a collection of animal skeletons and skulls. As a result of this transaction the PCM purchased 99 artefacts from the Davis collection from Gerrard and Sons in 1938.

It is unclear whether Pinfold or Powell-Cotton specifically chose the items that were sent from the Davis collection, or that these 99 artefacts represented what remained of the collection, which by this time had been stored in London for 44 years. Either way, the willingness of the Museum to accept these artefacts may have been due to the materials that the artefacts were made from. Around 80% of the artefacts purchased by the PCM could be considered examples of economic zoology, and therefore fitting within the natural history focus of the Museum. The list of artefacts from the Davis collection includes weapons made from bone, shell ornaments, a sample of turtle shell, and whale teeth neck ornaments, of which there were 20 in the whole selection of 99 artefacts (Figures 4.34-4.37). While the acquisition of these artefacts is partly to do with the ease with which they could be fitted in with the Museum's existing collections. It was also to do with the networks of relations that occurred between collectors and museums at the time as a result of the closeness of the disciplines of ethnography, zoology, and geology³³.

Non-UK museums: the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum

Sales of the Davis collection were not limited to museums within the UK, and Gerrard and Sons drew on their networks in Europe to disperse the collection further. The Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum (RJM) was the only Museum outside of the UK we know of that purchased artefacts from the Davis collection directly from Gerrard and Sons. The Museum was founded in 1901 by Adele Rautenstrauch in honour of her husband Eugen Rautenstrauch, who died in 1900, and her brother Wilhelm Joest, whose collection she had inherited after his death in 1897. It formally opened in



Figure 4.40. Carved wooden crossbeam, Solomon Islands. Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum 11003. Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.



Figure 4.41. Carved wooden figure, Solomon Islands. Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum 11006. Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.



Figure 4.42. Figure carved from a tree trunk, Solomon Islands. Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum 11013. Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.

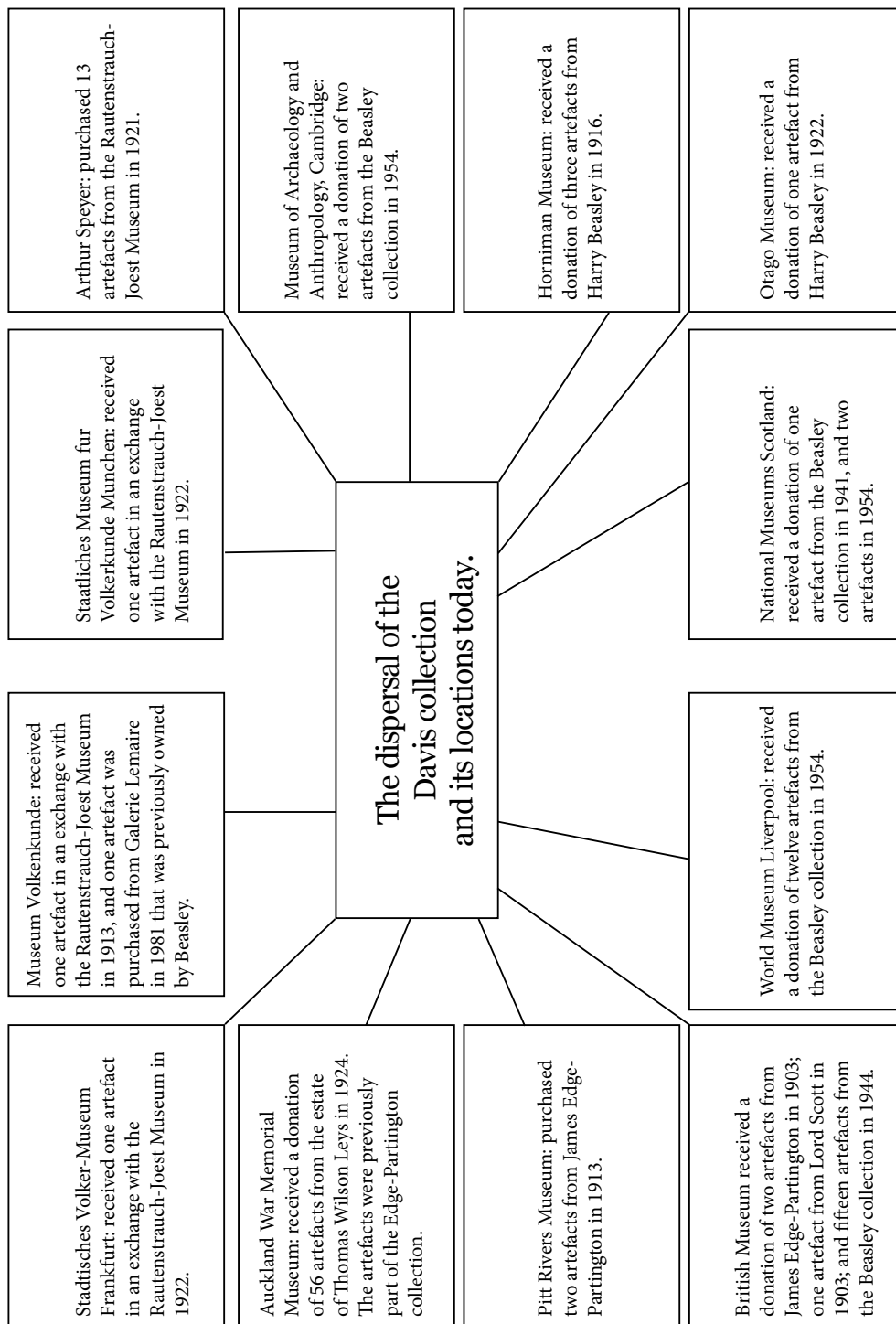


Figure 4.43. The purchase and dispersal of the Davis collection among private collectors.
Copyright Alison Clark 2017.

Cologne, Germany in 1906. During the development of the Museum the collections were added to from external sources; one of which was Gerrard and Sons. The copy of the Davis catalogue now held by the RJM was sent to the Director Wilhelm Foy by the Company. Foy marked what he wanted, informed the Company and the artefacts were shipped to Germany. The marks next to items in the RJM copy of the catalogue are in three different colours and each colour relates to the source of the finance for that purchase, as parts of the Davis collection were purchased on three separate occasions (Figure 4.38). The Museum is the largest holder of artefacts from the Davis collection, eventually purchasing 356 artefacts. Four artefacts were initially purchased in 1903 using money from Georg Küppers-Loosen the co-founder of the Friends of the Museum Association, and a member of the Colonial Society in Cologne. A traveller himself he also donated many artefacts to the Museum's founding collection. The second and third purchases occurred in 1904, when 104 artefacts were purchased with money from Wilhelm Rautenstrauch, the cousin of Eugen Rautenstrauch, and a further 248 artefacts were purchased with money from the Museum under the direct stewardship of Foy. The Museum holds some of the largest and more unique artefacts from the Davis collection, such as part of a Solomon Islands feast bowl, a carved cross beam from the Solomon Islands, a carved architectural figure from the Solomon Islands, and a figure carved from a tree trunk also from the Solomon Islands (Figures 4.39-4.42).

The original purpose of the Museum seems to have been to immerse the population of Prussia in the cultures of the world using a form of comparative framework. By the beginning of the twentieth century the German government had recognized that ethnography collections had a market value, and collecting became as much about colonial commerce as it was about scientific exploration or souvenir gathering. German expeditions, such as the Hamburg Südsee Expedition, often had their own ships, or access to them, and were able to transport large artefacts back from the Pacific in extraordinary numbers. There was a fashion during this period for each state to acquire as much as possible and as a result their finances were directed toward this aim. Cologne was unfortunately in the same state as Berlin, meaning state funds were limited and often devoted to Berlin rather than the smaller city³⁴. This explains why the artefacts purchased from Gerrard and Sons were acquired using mainly private funds.

During the development phase of the Museum many large or historically important artefacts were acquired and that may account for the selection made from the Davis collection. As part of his 1904 purchase Foy selected a section of a Solomon Islands feast bowl. Davis had obtained the carved crocodile head from the end of a feast bowl like the one he gave to Scott (Figure 4.4). Deborah Waite has stated that the evidence of complete Solomon Islands feast bowls is limited to two in the world, the one now in the BM, and one discussed in an article by Charles Woodford, Resident Commissioner of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (1896-1915).³⁵ While the carved crocodile head now in RJM is only part of a larger artefact, it is and was certainly significant given the scarcity of these types of artefacts in museum collections and Foy must have recognized this.

What is also unique about the RJM is that unlike all of the other museums that purchased items from the Davis collection, the RJM exchanged a small portion of the collection with other museums and dealers. The Museum was very active in trading

and selling what it saw as 'duplicate' artefacts, perhaps to supplement its income from the state and private donors. The first exchange occurred in 1913 when one artefact went to the National Museum of Ethnography in Leiden (today known as the Museum Volkenkunde), then 13 artefacts were exchanged with the dealer Arthur Speyer in 1921, one artefact was exchanged with the Städtisches Völker-Museum, Frankfurt in 1922, and finally one went to the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München (now the Museum Fünf Kontinente) in that same year. The artefacts exchanged out of the RJM included clothing, fishing equipment, body ornaments, combs and a mat. All of these artefacts are small, utilitarian and duplicates of other artefacts in the Davis collection at RJM. There are no records as to what the Museum received in return, but it was most likely artefacts that complemented its existing collections and perhaps filled gaps.

Out of the sales rooms

The private collectors

At the beginning of the twentieth century the market for ethnographic artefacts was changing. As British museums grew and changed, and as many 'gained a larger financial base and as the science of ethnology was professionalized museums' relationships with dealers'³⁶ became stronger. Later, acquisitions through these dealers became larger in scale. As travellers, museum expeditions, colonial expeditions and missionaries flooded the market with artefacts this led to 'the emergence of a specific market providing material for a handful of dedicated collectors'.³⁷ The collections of many of these private individuals eventually ended up in public institutions. In some cases these private collectors either worked or volunteered at the museums they were selling or donating to, an example would be James Edge-Partington; or composed collections or displays and commissioned collections to be made specifically for museums, such as J.E.G. Umlauff. While the individual artefacts may have been collected by colonial officials, ethnographers or missionaries in the field, their re-appropriation by private collectors gave them new meaning and, for the private collectors, new agency in these public institutions. In Britain there was a core group of predominately male private collectors during the end of the nineteenth century/ beginning of the twentieth century. Many of these men were instrumental in dispersing the Davis collection among museums (Figure 4.43) and included Edge-Partington, Harry Beasley, Henry Christy and Franks.

The copy of the Davis catalogue previously owned by Kenneth Athol Webster (1906-1967) clearly contains notes relating to both institutions and individuals who had purchased items from the collection such as the BM and James Edge-Partington. The last known sale of artefacts from the Davis collection occurred in 1938, but Webster was not active as a collector until 1945. He collected not just artefacts but manuscripts and ephemera associated with the Pacific and therefore it is likely that the catalogue did not originally belong to Webster. He may have purchased it from another auction or private collector such as Edge-Partington.³⁸ The copy of the catalogue held by the Alexander Turnbull Library may have belonged to the New Zealand collector Alexander Horsburgh Turnbull. Turnbull collected around 500 Pacific and Maori artefacts, which were donated to the Dominion Museum in 1913 (now Museum of New

Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa). He may have become aware of the collection through his fellow collector and correspondent Edge-Partington. The catalogue contains pencil notes made next to six entries for artefacts from Kiribati, Fiji, the Solomon Islands and the Trobriand Islands. The inside cover of the catalogue includes the handwritten note 'Return to E Gerrard & Son 61 College Place NW'³⁹. That the catalogue was never returned to Gerrard and Sons suggests that Turnbull may not have purchased any of the artefacts he was interested in. Whilst artefacts matching the descriptions of those highlighted in the catalogue do exist in the Turnbull collection at Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, there are no traces to accurately link these artefacts with those from the Davis collection.

James Edge-Partington

James Edge-Partington (1854-1930) purchased 60 Davis artefacts from Gerrard and Sons in 1903. He was a travel writer, ethnologist, private collector, and from about 1882 onwards a volunteer in the British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography Department at the BM. Edge-Partington travelled the world between 1878 and 1881 and included the Pacific Islands in these travels, collecting many objects and taking photographs. He also undertook a later return trip to the Pacific in 1897 to visit museum collections there. He was described as the BM's 'Pacific expert' during this period.⁴⁰ While at the BM he assisted with cataloguing and label writing for the Pacific collection, and by 1895 was receiving a small wage for the time he spent at the Museum. With the assistance of Charles Hercules Read at the BM, Edge-Partington published *An Album of the Weapons, Tools, Ornaments, Articles of Dress etc of the Natives of the Pacific Islands Drawn and Described from Examples in Public and Private Collections in England* in 1890. The two-volume book contained drawings of artefacts from the Pacific found in British collections, and Edge-Partington would continue to draw on his artistic skills to illustrate the catalogue of artefacts in his own private collection. A second volume of this book was produced in 1898 featuring additional artefacts that had come to Edge-Partington's attention.

As well as collecting artefacts during his travels in the Pacific, Edge-Partington also purchased items from auction houses or other collectors from that region. One of the many artefacts featured in the album was the skull house taken by Davis from Roviana, which entered the collections of the BM in 1894 (Figure 4.44). Edge-Partington most likely became aware of the Davis collection through his work at the BM; however, it appears that he also developed a professional relationship with Davis outside of his work at the BM. In 1904 Edge-Partington published an article in *Man* with Thomas Athol Joyce from the BM about the Solomon Islands funerary artefacts and featured many of those artefacts he or the BM had purchased from Davis.⁴¹ One of the artefacts featured was a breast ornament originally belonging to Chief Ingova of Roviana Lagoon (Figure 4.45). Three years later, Edge-Partington's son Thomas published a further article in *Man* about Ingova's funeral and included was a photograph of Ingova supplied by Davis⁴² (Figure 3.10). This photo is pasted into the catalogue of Edge-Partington's artefact collection housed at the BM, alongside the entry for the breast ornament. In the photograph Ingova is wearing an identical ornament. Whether this is the same artefact as that sold by Davis to Edge-Partington we cannot know, but given



Figure 4.44. Skull house, Roviana. British Museum Oc1894,-.188. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.45. Neck ornament, Roviana. Auckland War Memorial Museum 16409. Copyright Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.



Figure 4.46. Coconut shell bowl, Vanuatu. British Museum Oc1903,-.145. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.

that this photograph does not exist in the album of photographs from HMS *Royalist* housed at the Fiji Museum we can assume that Davis gave his copy to Edge-Partington when he purchased the artefact.

Edge-Partington purchased 60 artefacts in total from the Davis collection and his meticulous documentation practices meant that it is possible to match up nearly every artefact purchased with the original Davis catalogue. Like Pitt-Rivers and Balfour, Edge-Partington seems to have been more interested in everyday artefacts rather than collecting the very best examples of artefacts he could find.⁴³ In an appraisal of his collection Roger Neich calculated that Edge-Partington ‘passed on only about 10% of the objects that he obtained’.⁴⁴ Two artefacts from this 10% were two coconut shell bowls (Figure 4.46) from Vanuatu, originally part of the Davis collection. Edge-Partington donated these artefacts to the BM in 1903 and it is possible that he purchased them from Gerrard and Sons with the intention of giving them immediately to the Museum.

In 1912 Edge-Partington began thinking about selling his collection of artefacts to make more space in his house and in order to focus on print and book collecting. The collection was offered to the BM who purchased 102 artefacts in 1913 and a further five in 1915. Of the 1913 and 1915 purchases none were from the Davis collection. The PRM also made a purchase in 1913, and two of these artefacts were originally from the Davis collection.

Throughout his time researching Pacific collections Edge-Partington developed strong relationships with museums in New Zealand and became a member of the Polynesian Society of New Zealand. The remainder of his collection was offered to the Otago Museum, through Edge-Partington’s association with Henry Devenish Skinner. Unfortunately, the sale did not proceed and in 1924 the collection was instead offered to the Auckland War Memorial Museum. The Museum attempted public fundraising to purchase the collection and when it could not raise enough, brother and sister Mr W. Cecil Leys and Mrs Selwyn Upton stepped in and purchased the entire collection

of 2,529 artefacts in memory of their father Thomas Wilson Leys, who had been a councillor of the Museum: 56 of these artefacts were originally collected by Davis.

Harry Geoffrey Beasley

Harry Geoffrey Beasley (1882-1939) purchased 85 artefacts from the Davis collection through Gerrard and Sons in 1916. Beasley was a part of many of the same networks as Edge-Partington, and was friends with Balfour at the PRM and Joyce at the BM, but he also nurtured profitable relationships with dealers and museums abroad such as Umlauff. Beasley most likely became aware of the Davis collection through these networks within which purchases of artefacts from the collection had been made prior to 1916. The collection would have also appealed to Beasley's collecting agenda. Unlike Edge-Partington, Beasley never travelled in the Pacific, acquiring his collections from other sources both in Britain and abroad. Beasley, again unlike Edge-Partington, was very specific in what he wanted to collect. In her analysis of the Beasley collection, Lucie Carreau has divided its development into three stages⁴⁵, of which the second is relevant to the Davis collection. The second stage which occurred between 1914 and 1928 involved a 're-emphasis of the collection', where Beasley focused not only on specific types of artefacts, in particular fishhooks and hair combs, as well as tools and body ornaments, but also themes and those considered 'historic' artefact were deemed particularly important.⁴⁶ Out of the 85 Davis artefacts he purchased, 27 were fishhooks, and so are likely to be associated with this stage.

Historical artefacts had high value for private collectors, and Davis' collection, which represented an important part of British colonial history, would have been particularly appealing. In 1928 Beasley turned his private collection into the Cranmore Ethnographical Museum, run out of his home in Kent. Carreau has further argued that the development of Beasley's private collection into that of a museum was undertaken to give his collection an air of professionalism, and permanence, a place travellers, missionaries, ethnographers and government officials would want their collections to be exhibited.⁴⁷ This certainly worked and gave Beasley access in particular to a wider range of museums to exchange with both at home and abroad.

Beasley's acquisition of artefacts from the Davis collection was perhaps part of this development of his collection from amateur to professional and private to public. While the majority of the artefacts purchased from the Davis collection by Beasley were further dispersed among museums, private collectors and dealers after his death, there are two instances of Beasley donating artefacts to, or exchanging them with, museums. Beasley donated three artefacts from the Davis collection to the Horniman Museum in 1916, the same year that he purchased them from Gerrard and Sons. This suggests that they were always intended to form part of the Horniman Museum collections and not Beasley's own. A note in the BM's copy of the catalogue confirms this purchase (Figure 4.10), as it states '658. Pres to Horniman Museum by Beasley'. Listing number 658 in the Davis catalogue is three fine mat bags from the Banks Islands and it is these artefacts that were presented to the Horniman Museum by Beasley in 1916 (Figures 4.47, 4.48 and 4.49). The artefacts do not feature in Beasley's registers and do not feature the recognizable Beasley label suggesting that he never saw them as forming part of his own collection. In 1922 Beasley exchanged a Marshall Islands fishhook (Figure 4.50) originally from the



Figure 4.47 (top, left). Plaited bag, Banks Islands, Vanuatu. 16.46. Horniman Museum and Gardens.

Figure 4.48 (top, right). Plaited bag, Banks Islands, Vanuatu. 16.47. Horniman Museum and Gardens.

Figure 4.49 (bottom, left). Woven basket, Banks Islands, Vanuatu. 16.48. Horniman Museum and Gardens.

Figure 4.50 (bottom, right). Fishhook, Marshall Islands. D.23.98. Otago Museum. Copyright Otago Museum.

Davis collection, in return for five artefacts with the Otago Museum through Skinner, frequently exchanging artefacts with Skinner throughout his career.

Beasley died in 1939, and his collection was dispersed between 1941 and 1955 among British museums by his widow Irene Beasley. The dispersal was concentrated around six main museums – BM, PRM, MAA, NMS, the Red House Christchurch and World Museum Liverpool – and, in accordance with his will, the BM was offered the first selection. In 1941 one artefact from the Davis collection was donated to National Museums Scotland. A donation of 15 Davis artefacts from the Beasley collection to the BM occurred in 1944. Ten years later a further number of Davis artefacts were donated to other British museums: two to MAA; two to National Museums Scotland; and 12 to World Museum Liverpool. Red House does not appear to have received any Davis collection artefacts from the Beasley collection⁴⁸.



Figure 4.51 (above). Label handwritten by Davis onto a fish float, Kiribati. A.1904.105. Copyright National Museums Scotland.



Figure 4.52. Beasley label attached to a fishhook, Solomon Islands. Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1954.316a.



Figure 4.53. Label handwritten on the object by the Pitt Rivers Museum. 1913.65.36. Copyright the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Umlauff

The firm that became known as Museum Umlauff or simply Umlauff was founded in Hamburg by Johann Friedrich Gustav Umlauff. J.F.G. Umlauff began trading in 'curios' in 1859 and, as a result of the commercial success, formally established the business 'Naturalienhandlung, Muschelwaren-Fabrik, verbunden mit einem Zoologisch-Ethnographischen Museum' in 1868. Translated to mean 'natural medicine, shell work with a zoological-ethnographic museum' the firm took in almost everything brought back to Germany from other countries. Its family connections to Carl Hagenbeck (J.F.G. Umlauff married Hagenbeck's sister), a trader of wild animals and the founder of the modern zoo, aided the firm's ability to trade in everything and anything, and in turn helped to grow its networks and its markets, from museums, to zoos, to private collectors. The firm continued to grow so that in 1889 J.F.G. Umlauff received a licence to trade as the Umlauff Weltmuseum. Umlauff died the same year and his son Heinrich took over the ethnographic section, also running the majority of the commercial side of the business. In 1912 the business divided its various enterprises and Heinrich Umlauff was given control of the ethnographic business. Confusingly all three businesses continued to trade with the same name 'J.F.G. Umlauff Naturalienhandlung und Museum'. Umlauff worked closely with ethnography museums particularly in Germany, and was well known for selling large collections to museums in Leipzig and Hamburg, and individual artefacts to Berlin as well as many other museums in Germany. In a letter between Heinrich Umlauff and Karl Graf von Linden, the founder of the Linden Museum Stuttgart, Heinrich Umlauff explained that Umlauff

obtains ethnographic objects partly from its own travellers collecting objects at great expense, partly it buys them from occasional collectors, or at auctions in Germany or foreign countries, or through the purchase of private collections.⁴⁹

What remains of the Umlauff registers are now housed at the Museum am Rothenbaum, Hamburg. However, there is no written mention of the Davis collection or Gerrard and Sons within them. If we assume that the note on the front of the BM's copy of the Davis catalogue is correct, then Umlauff most likely purchased a substantial amount of the Davis collection. Of the 'people abroad' whom Gerrard and Sons were contacting, and whom Davis refers to in his letter to Read⁵⁰ at the BM, one of them may have been Umlauff. In a letter between Turnbull and Edge-Partington in 1902, Edge-Partington noted that British dealers 'have shipped most of their 'stuff' to Germany',⁵¹ reflecting the German recognition of the commercial value of these types of artefacts at that time and their desire to purchase as much as possible.

If Umlauff did purchase artefacts then they remain unlocated. Umlauff advertised its collections for sale all over the world to museums, other dealers and to private collectors; but they also preferred to keep collections as a whole rather than breaking them up.⁵² Artefacts from the Davis collection purchased by Umlauff could have been sold as a group, but this could have gone anywhere in the world. Conversely if the artefacts had not been sold by 1944 they would have been destroyed when the building housing the ethnographic collections was hit during an allied bombing raid. Unlike



Figure 4.54 (left). Handwritten Davis label.
Photograph by Gwil Owen. Copyright Museum of
Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, Z 9191.

Figure 4.55 (below). Label written by James Edge-
Partington. Auckland War Memorial Museum
15875. Copyright Auckland War Memorial
Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.



artefacts sold by Edge-Partington and Beasley, artefacts sold by Umlauff are not known to bear any particular label or marking, and without any discernible mark noting that the artefacts originally formed part of the Davis collection we may never be able to trace them.

Repurposing the collection

Many ethnographic objects in Europe changed hands on multiple occasions, crossing national and international borders and moving from and between field collectors, auction houses, dealers and museums. Many of the histories of these trajectories are now lost, leaving many artefacts without detailed provenances. There are still 689 artefacts from the Davis collection that are as yet unlocated. But every now and again some new data emerges and reveals further networks through which these artefacts have moved. The presence of labels on many of these objects has provided key data in the search for artefacts.



Figure 4.56. Coconut shell bowl, Vanuatu.
Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum 10985.
Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.



Figure 4.57. Coconut shell bowl, Vanuatu. British Museum Oc1903,-.146. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4.58 (left). Coconut shell bowl, Vanuatu. Auckland War Memorial Museum 14959. Copyright Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.



Figure 4.59 (right). Coconut shell bowl, Vanuatu. Auckland War Memorial Museum 14960. Copyright Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira.

The Museum Volkenkunde Leiden holds two artefacts from the Davis collection: one exchanged with the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in 1913 and one donated by Gallery Lemaire to the Museum in 1981. Gallery Lemaire was first opened by Matthias L.J. Lemaire in Amsterdam in 1933. The Davis artefact, a tridacna shell breast ornament from the Solomon Islands, was purchased by the Gallery from an auction in 1981 and bears an unmistakable detailed Beasley label. The Beasley registers unfortunately do not list the Davis catalogue number, but they do note that Beasley purchased the artefact from Gerrard and Sons in 1916. The artefact later made its way into the collection of another private collector, then to Gallery Lemaire and finally to the Museum in Leiden. Another Davis collection artefact, a porpoise tooth necklace from Roviana Lagoon, also identified by its Beasley label, was recently advertised for sale in a catalogue by Michael Evans Tribal Art in Dijon; what has happened to this artefact since is unknown.

The importance of labels in aiding the tracing and provenancing of dispersed museum collections cannot be underestimated⁵³, and the Davis collection is no exception. Gerrard and Sons used a wide variety of labels on their objects over the duration of the business and it is often possible to date an artefact based on the Gerrard and Sons label affixed to it. However, for some reason none of the artefacts in the Davis collection seem to have these labels attached.

In the case of the Davis collection, the presence of other labels on the artefacts has helped aid the tracing and identification of the collection today. Labels on Davis collection artefacts can be categorized into three types:

1. The Davis label: a handwritten label written directly onto the artefact itself or handwritten onto a piece of paper then affixed to the artefact (Figure 4.51).
2. The private collector label or dealer label (Figure 4.52): often the label that contains the most amount of accurate detail about the artefact. The label is either printed or handwritten and affixed to the artefact, or handwritten in a consistent manner directly onto the artefact.
3. The museum label (Figure 4.53): this can take a variety of forms and is often handwritten directly onto the artefact, in some cases presenting a confusingly similar label to that of the private collector, or is handwritten on a label that is attached to the artefact with string of some kind.

Davis appears to have written or instructed someone to write labels on most of his artefacts (Figure 4.54). Many of these feature numbers corresponding directly to Davis' catalogue, which provides geographical provenance and, in some cases, further contextual information about the artefact. Some labels also include more detailed information than can be found in the catalogue and have proved useful when discussing the salience of these artefacts with indigenous communities today. Yet the presence of labels can often be confusing. The handwritten label on a Davis collection artefact now in the collections of the PRM (Figure 4.53) did at first glance look like an Edge-Partington label (Figure 4.55). It replicates the formula of Edge-Partington's labels, which list the artefact type, its geographical provenance, its number in the Edge-Partington catalogue, the name of the collection it resided in at the time the label was written, date of purchase and any further provenance. What reveals the label

on Figure 4.53 to be a museum label and not an Edge-Partington label is firstly the handwriting, which is not the same as that on an Edge-Partington label, and secondly the fact that the date of purchase is wrong: it lists the date the PRM purchased the artefact not when Edge-Partington purchased it. In the majority of cases though labels on the Davis collection artefacts have been useful. Many artefacts in the Davis collection feature multiple labels allowing us to trace the history of that artefact from its point of collection to its current collection. In some cases this has also allowed for the reassembling of portions of the collection such as a grouping of ten kava bowls made from coconut shell and collected in Vanuatu, lots 331, 332 and 389 in the Davis catalogue (see Appendix, and Figures 4.46, 4.56, 4.57, 4.58 and 4.59). Dispersed across three museums, the labels on these artefacts brought not just consecutive catalogue numbers back together, but also specific lots that had been divided. The labels also provided key data which allowed for the artefacts to be interrogated now, and without this information the artefacts would have lost a lot of historical meaning within the European framework, that is to say outside of the Indigenous knowledge attached to the artefacts.

Reassembling

The dispersal of the collection brought together by Davis can tell us a lot about the development of ethnographic museums, particularly in Britain, from the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. These museums both large and small were founded, developed and, in many cases, became specialist ethnographic institutions⁵⁴ whose collections were products of empire. Networks of collectors, curators and dealers helped to disperse collections such as Davis' and significantly develop the collections of these museums.

Thinking about the Davis collection then involves thinking about the performative potential of the artefacts themselves. They are on the one hand ethnographic artefacts. Yet many, because of their use of animal parts, could be considered natural history artefacts. On the other hand, to many they may be utilitarian artefacts used to tell the everyday stories of cultures and societies, while others are prized for their aesthetic qualities, their fine detail, skill or uniqueness. Each individual that purchased artefacts from the Davis collection chose artefacts specific to the themes or aims of their museum or their private collection. These artefacts can and do mean and represent different things to different people or institutions at different times based on their interests, and the dispersal of the Davis collection demonstrates how artefacts can be repurposed and transformed.

The detective-like work that has been required to reassemble the collection has been greatly aided by marks left on these artefacts by the various people who have repurposed the collection. By reassembling the collection and discovering the current location of the artefacts brought together by Davis has also allowed for this information to be reunited with the communities from which they originated over 126 years ago. The value of unpacking the collection history of items now located far from their originating community is great and is demonstrated in the following three chapters, which highlight the resonance of these artefacts for communities in the Pacific today.

CHAPTER 5

Tracing Tappea: HMS Royalist in Vanuatu

EVE HADDOW

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For the last year or two I have been troubled with sleepless nights altho' after a hard days work I go to bed very tired and cannot sleep so I take a heavy dose of Laudanum or Cholorydine which ever I happen to have so if some day or night from an overdose I am found dead in my bed, who ever reads this will know the cause of it.¹

Three years after English planter George de Lautour composed this diary entry, he was found dead in bed on the small island of Aore, Vanuatu. However, the cause of death was not an overdose; he and his 19-year-old son William had been shot. The accused man, who was recorded in English-language sources as 'Thor', claimed the murder was retribution for ill-treatment by the elder de Lautour.² Captain Davis investigated the murders while stationed in Vanuatu, at that time known as New Hebrides/Nouvelles Hébrides. During Davis' time in the archipelago, from May to November 1890, he investigated two cases connected with de Lautour. The first resulted in an arrest, the second led to a triple execution.

Drawing on archival sources, including de Lautour's diary from 1887-1888, museum collections, and oral traditions, this chapter pieces together the events on Aore in 1890, while considering the relevance of this history in the area today. The discussion initially explores Davis' collection from Vanuatu, highlighting the connection of one particular artefact with unrest on Aore in June 1890. Following an account of this conflict, de Lautour's life history and character will be examined, contextualizing his role in the historical narrative. The discussion continues with an account of the events surrounding de Lautour's death and those individuals involved. The chapter concludes by reflecting on the contemporary legacy of the narrative of 1890 Aore. The author conducted fieldwork in south Santo, Aore and Malo in May and June 2017 to explore contemporary reflections on stories relating to de Lautour, and on Davis' collection from Vanuatu. This proved challenging as Aore is often described locally as no longer having any indigenous inhabitants: 'no man Aore'. What has emerged is a story of colonial violence, land alienation, and local politics and culture, with echoes in Aore and the surrounding area today.

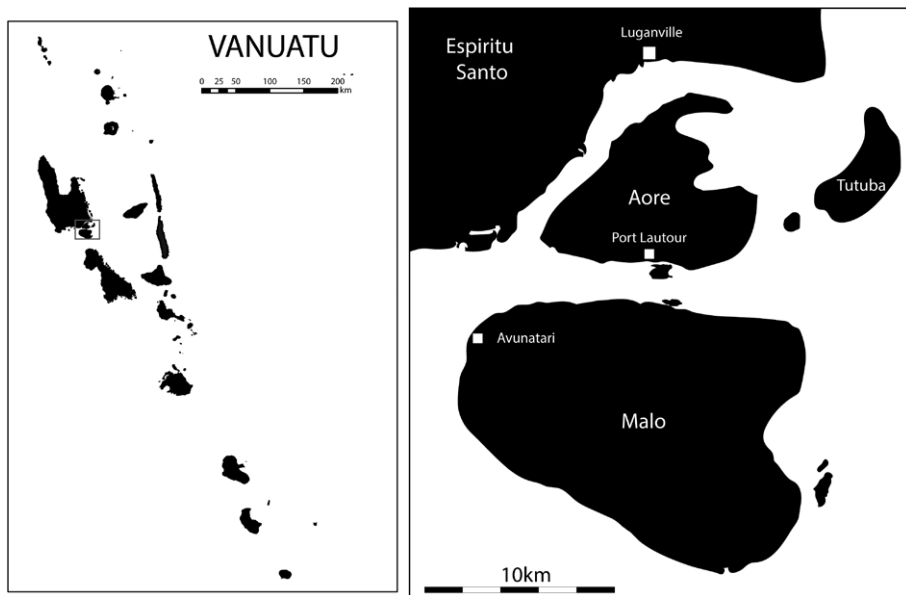


Figure 5.1. Map of Aore, Vanuatu and surrounding area. Copyright Eve Haddow.

Locating Aore

Aore appears in some historical European texts as ‘Aura’ or ‘Auré’. This 58km² island is in northern Vanuatu, situated off the southeast coast of Espiritu Santo, which is commonly abbreviated to Santo (Figure 5.1). Aore is a short distance across the Segund Channel from Santo’s capital Luganville, and is home to multiple plantations and high-end tourist resorts. On north Aore is Makué Lapita site, one of the earliest Lapita sites found in Vanuatu to date, and considered by archaeologists an important settlement in the peopling of the archipelago.³ The date for the first occupation of Makué is around 3000BP.⁴ A comparatively large volume of obsidian was found at the site, the majority of which has been sourced to the island of New Britain, Papua New Guinea, with almost 30% sourced to the Banks Islands in northern Vanuatu.⁵ Another Lapita site is in the location of de Lautour’s old house and plantation, at what is now named Lautour Bay, on the south of the island. The land is currently occupied by Aore Academy, run by the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church, who have leased the site since 1912.

Tappea’s pig hammer and other material collected by HMS *Royalist* in Vanuatu

One significant artefact collected by Davis offers a starting point from which to reflect on the events on Aore in 1890 (Figure 5.2). In the 1895 Davis catalogue, only three items of the 1,481 in the collection have a named person associated with them.⁶ Two are from the Solomon Islands; the third is from Vanuatu, described as ‘pig hammer of TAPPEA, Chief of Aure Id New Hebrides’ (see Appendix, cat.no. 89). Such an attribution provokes further questions: who was Tappea, and how did Davis acquire this ‘pig hammer’?



Figure 5.2. Wawusa, Pig killing club, previously owned by Tappea of Aore Island, Vanuatu. Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, 10951. Copyright Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.



Figure 5.3. Chief Takau Muele holding his wawusa, with Joyce and Marie Muele (L-R) outside Chief Takau's nakamal, Aore, Vanuatu 2017. Copyright Eve Haddow.

Tappea's pig hammer is now located at Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, in Cologne, Germany. Purchased in 1904, it is one of 65 items bought by the Museum from Davis' Vanuatu collection. On the shaft is a trace label bearing a partially visible inscription from the 1895 catalogue entry. The style of the 'pig hammer' is similar to older pig-killing clubs from nearby Malo and Tutuba islands, and other parts of South Santo.⁷ While discussing the story of Tappea in Chief Takau Muele's house on Aore in 2017, the author shared a photograph of Tappea's club. Chief Takau, who was born on Malo but is a kastom landowner on Aore, reached under a bed and pulled out a similar example belonging to him (Figure 5.3). He gave the local name as a wawusa. Such clubs are associated with male status and pig-killing ceremonies on Aore, Tutuba, Malo and Mavea islands. They are usually made from the root of a *Casuarina* tree, or vuiaru in Tamambo language of Malo, and naru in Bislama.⁸

The pig-killing club is one of 462 artefacts Davis acquired during the six-month period in 1890 when HMS *Royalist* travelled through Vanuatu, stopping at 27 islands, as well as Noumea, New Caledonia.⁹ The assemblage is typical of collections made by Europeans in Vanuatu in the

late nineteenth century, and includes popular portable items such as wooden clubs from Pentecost, pottery from Santo and wooden spatulas from Torres Islands.¹⁰ In addition to the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, material Davis collected in Vanuatu is held in the UK by the British Museum, Horniman Museum, and the Powell-Cotton Museum. Melbourne Museum, Australia, also houses two artefacts associated with the 1890 voyage of HMS *Royalist*, purchased directly from crew member Lieutenant William Jarvie Colquhoun (see Chapter 3). One item is a finely carved hache-ostensoir (greenstone axe, Figure 3.24) from New Caledonia, and the other is a rambaramp figure (Figure 3.23) purchased in Port Sandwich, now Lamap, Malakula, Vanuatu.

Aore material culture

Complementary nineteenth-century artefacts from Aore are elusive. In 1952, zoologist Marshall Laird observed a carved stone figure from Aore in the possession of a Monsieur Le Franc, a French plantation owner on nearby Tutuba island.¹¹ This 147mm long carving of heavy dark stone, the current location of which is unknown, was purchased from an old Aore woman who stated ‘it had been in the possession of her tribe for as long as could be remembered.’¹² In the early 1950s, Laird noted that the indigenous people of Aore ‘have now disappeared’ and the woman described herself as ‘the last of her tribe.’¹³ A turtle-shaped sacred stone remains in the Aore bush today. Its location is known to kastom owners on the island, one of few remaining traces of older material culture. A photograph of three Aore men, held by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, also offers a glimpse of the island’s past material culture (Figure 5.4). Viewing the image in 2017, people on Aore and Malo commented on the similarity of the adornments to those made on Malo, particularly



Figure 5.4. Three men on Aore Island, c. 1887. Photograph thought to be associated with HMS *Diamond*. Courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, P.45629.

the strings of cut white shell beads. The photograph is associated with HMS *Diamond*, which toured Vanuatu in 1887, the time of Tappea.

Kidnap and theft, June 1890

On 20 June 1890, de Lautour wrote to Davis while HMS *Royalist* was anchored offshore of Aore. He complained that three men, Barra-Barra, Son-om-bra and Targie, had threatened to shoot his housekeeper 'Vagathorlie' if she did not go with them, and that they had since come to take her away. He identified Barra-Barra and Vagathorlie as children of 'my Chief Leiloo', explaining that Vagathorlie had been his 'housekeeper' for five years with 'no wish to go away'.¹⁴ Leiloo had instructed de Lautour to shoot the men, who now threatened to attack him, and as a British subject, he requested assistance. Davis acknowledged the 'theft' of Vagathorlie, and 'the threat of the same three men against your property', the last word being scored through and replaced with 'person'.¹⁵ This was an important clarification as Davis only had jurisdiction to respond with force in the case of an 'act of war' committed against a British subject. The theft of property was considered a civil matter. Davis visited Leiloo the following day, demanding he honour a signed agreement by Leiloo and other Aore chiefs promising to protect and trade with de Lautour.¹⁶ In response to Leiloo's report that the men were hiding in the bush, Davis instructed him as Chief to fetch the men, Vagathorlie, and 'the things that had been stripped from off the woman', and to meet Davis on the beach a week later.¹⁷

When Davis returned to Aore on 29 June, he received word from de Lautour that two men named Thor and Tappea had kidnapped Vagathorlie. The initial information, although obtained from sources on Aore, and from Vagathorlie herself, was incorrect.¹⁸ Tappea and Thor had found Vagathorlie in de Lautour's paddock, stolen her belongings, and instructed her to blame the other three men. A few days later, they had returned to take her. De Lautour described Tappea as 'a notorious scoundrel'.¹⁹ He claimed that seven years earlier Tappea had killed the mate of a Fiji vessel, and had a white man's hands hanging inside his house. De Lautour also named Tappea as the instigator of the murder of crew members from the French schooner *Idaho*, which the Englishman had already reported to the French authorities. Since Davis's previous visit, Leiloo had instructed Tappea to bring Vagathorlie to the British Captain. However, Tappea disregarded the power of HMS *Royalist*, claiming it 'could not shoot any man, only break tree', having witnessed the French ship *Guichen* bombard the area when investigating the *Idaho* murder in 1887.²⁰ De Lautour's letter explained that on 24 June, at Leiloo's request, he accompanied the Chief and his men to Tappea's house. In the village, they found Tappea with a Snider rifle. Just as de Lautour was demanding that he return Vagathorlie, someone inside another house fired at them and Tappea fled. 'Bull-kee-ri', who de Lautour claimed fired the shot, loaded another cartridge, but one of Leiloo's men knocked him over.²¹ In anger, Leiloo apparently commanded his men to fire on the village, resulting in the death of a man and a woman, mistaken for a man. In addition to incriminating Leiloo for the murders, de Lautour cautiously clarified that he did not want any shooting: 'I [...] kept firing in the air so as to make much noise and keep 'Tappea's' people in the scrub and try and get 'Leeloos' people away, but Leeloo told me quietly to leave it to him'.²² De Lautour concluded his letter with

the assertion that he had always shown Thor and Tappea friendship, and did not get involved in their affairs, as long as they did not threaten him or his property. He had been increasingly asked to intervene in matters on Aore, but had made it clear he could only assist if Islanders had complaints against white men or ships, whereupon he could inform the correct authorities. The planter separated himself from local politics and any negative involvement with Islanders. However, conflicting evidence from Aore residents, European visitors and de Lautour's own diary suggests otherwise. Before examining evidence of de Lautour's character, the discussion now turns to the outcome of events in 1890 for Tappea.

Tappea's fate

Tappea was found and arrested by Davis, with the assistance of his crew and several Aore Chiefs and their men. Thor's brother Tulkari and another man, Molato, were also imprisoned until Vagathorlie was produced, as she was still in the bush with Thor and his father.²³ Tulkari, Chief Salackie, and Molato testified to Tappea's involvement in the murder of a white man seven years before, and that they had seen hands hanging in his house. Tulkari and Molato identified Roro, a deceased man, as having committed the murder at the instruction of Tappea. Tulkari admitted he 'tomahawked' the man, and Molato claimed he ate some of him.²⁴ Dras, an Aore man from Leiloo's area, translated their statements. They also testified that two men from Pentecost were killed by Metenavete of Malo and bought by Tappea, but de Lautour had the bodies buried. Tappea admitted taking Vagathorlie, killing the man with Roro, and putting his hands in his house. He recalled a French ship bombarding them because Metenavete killed two men. Tappea had paid 30 male pigs for the bodies, but de Lautour had intervened. Davis was convinced: Tappea was responsible for the murder of two Pentecost men who were crew on the *Idaho*. All evidence named Metenavete as the killer, but Davis clearly considered Tappea the instigator. Tappea was kept on board, and at a meeting of the Anglo-French Joint Naval Commission offshore of Noumea on 10 July 1890, he was sentenced to 15 years' hard labour and handed to the French, but was subsequently imprisoned on Île des Pins.²⁵

Most knowledge regarding the owner of the 'pig hammer' exists in these written historical accounts. Chief Takau Muele heard from his late father of a man named Tartappea who lived on the south side of Aore and was taken by white men to New Caledonia, but never returned. Tartappea had no children so his lineage ceased. In Davis's catalogue, Tappea is a 'Chief', although Chiefs connected to Aore today claim this was not true and Tappea was possibly the son of a Chief. His title is not discussed in the archival material from 1890. Furthermore, de Lautour recorded Tappea as a regular visitor to his property in his diary, with no indication of chiefly status. Wawusa are associated with status through pig-killing, so it is likely Tappea had achieved some elevated position in local hierarchy. Davis may have been unclear about Tappea's identity, or perhaps connected the club with a Chief in order to increase its value.

There are unsettling elements within the story of Tappea's removal from Aore. On 2 June 1887, de Lautour witnessed the Commander and Second Lieutenant of the *Guichen* coming ashore to interview Chief Leiloo. They 'arrested two of the murderers Leebo and Dennis, and could have had Tappea, Liti and Craig'. The next day:

Guichen proceeded to the place of the massacre of the boats crew of the 'Idaho' and commenced to bombard the place at daylight I believe with effect, I went out and witnessed it from my boat [...] during the bombarding all the natives were dreadfully frightened [...] I think they have learnt a lesson today that they badly needed and they now know that they cannot kill boats crew when they want fresh meat for their cannibal feasts.²⁶

De Lautour's comments reveal his support for violent action and his condescending attitude towards the local community. It appears irrelevant in Davis' dealings with Tappea that the *Guichen* had already arrested two men for the murder, whom they returned home, before shelling the area and supposedly ending the matter. It is also notable that de Lautour criticized Tappea's character in his correspondence with Davis, but his diary reveals the two had an amicable relationship. Tappea often worked for the planter, who even let Tappea borrow his gun. In August 1887, de Lautour noted that he 'gave 'Tappea' and Tupp-tee each a knife as a continuation of our friendship'.²⁷ Could Davis have been manipulated to mete out some punishment for a personal grudge? From Davis' perspective, the situation was an opportunity to send a message to other Islanders. By capturing someone in the bush 'where natives consider themselves perfectly safe', and punishing that individual for historical crimes, Davis believed his actions would be a deterrent for others.²⁸

Early life and character of George de Lautour

De Lautour was born in Weymouth, England, in 1846, to wealthy parents, William Francis Joseph and Eliza (née Turton). He settled in Queensland, Australia, in the late 1860s, and married Lavinia McKinley in Queensland in June 1870. Their son William was born in 1871. An early reference to de Lautour's character appears in the 1873 diary of 60-year-old William Nation, who accompanied de Lautour on an arduous expedition from Palmerston, Queensland to buy 800 cattle for trade. Nation described de Lautour as 'ill-tempered', 'malicious', 'a petty trickster' and a 'dingo'.²⁹ Nation was subsequently dismissed, and left with another man to find their own way home. Despite being an experienced bushman, Nation lost his way, and died while the younger man had gone for help. Shortly after, de Lautour left another companion in the bush, justly earning a negative reputation for abandoning others, and became widely disliked in the region.³⁰

Around 1880, de Lautour became Government Agent for the Queensland labour recruiting vessel *Jessie Kelly*, travelling around Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands. The ship was condemned in New Caledonia in 1884, and de Lautour was given passage on the *Emily*.³¹ He believed he was dying of an illness, but recuperated enough to quarrel with the Government Agent on board, and he subsequently demanded to be set ashore on Ambae, east of Aore.³² De Lautour remained there for two months before boarding another ship. He returned to Queensland for a short period, before establishing himself on Aore in 1885 with his son William, leaving behind his estranged wife.³³

Land and local relationships

De Lautour's character is further evident from his relationships on Aore. In late 1886, Douglas Rannie, another Government Agent on Queensland labour vessels, visited his 'old friend' de Lautour's estate on Aore, accompanied by his skipper and another man.³⁴ This was not Rannie's first visit; in 1885, he had acted as witness to the deeds for de Lautour's first land purchase.³⁵ He described de Lautour's home as two-storied, with a dining and living area downstairs and a sleeping area above reached by ladder that could be drawn up behind. The floors and walls were made of plaited cane. The house may have been the same one in which de Lautour was murdered. In an address to the Queensland branch of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia, Rannie reported that de Lautour was growing coffee, maize, and coconut trees on Aore.³⁶ He continued,

Mr de Lautour has had trouble with the natives at various times but his determined character, and his accuracy with the rifle, have taught them now to hold him in great respect and fear. One of his little peculiarities, which lends awe to the respect in which the natives hold him, is that he has both his gate-posts surmounted with a skull and cross-bones.³⁷

This is an edited version of an account published later.³⁸ As the visitors sat down to lunch in 1886, William de Lautour ran inside reporting a dog on the property. De Lautour senior promptly picked up his rifle and shot the dog, announcing: 'I would serve the dog's master exactly the same if he dared to disobey my orders.'³⁹ Thirty or forty Aore islanders watched from outside the property gates, behind which de Lautour said they must wait when coming to trade with him. On either gatepost was 'a human skull, and [...] nailed to the post two human thigh bones crossed', complemented by a handwritten sign employing racist language to threaten death to trespassers.⁴⁰ Rannie and his companions were 'rather taken aback [...] But de Lautour was not perturbed one little bit'.⁴¹ The planter evidently exerted power over local people through threats and violence. The description of the gate decorations is significant in light of accusations against Tappea in 1890. Reporting human hands attached to Tappea's wall when de Lautour himself had human remains attached to his own gates seems hypocritical to say the least.

Unsurprisingly for a man who sought power, de Lautour was well connected, forming alliances and friendships with powerful people both European and ni-Vanuatu. While on Aore, he collected shell specimens for British Diplomat Edgar L. Layard, to whom he referred in his diary as 'that dear old gentleman'.⁴² There is even a shell named D. De Latouri from 'Aura island'.⁴³ Layard apparently thought highly of de Lautour and sang his praises, as well as those of other morally dubious plantation owners.⁴⁴ Interactions with Davis suggest the Captain also trusted the English planter. On Aore, de Lautour maintained a close relationship with Chief Leiloo, described by kastom landowners on Aore today as a 'paramount chief'. In a lengthy letter to the *Brisbane Courier*, de Lautour claimed 'a noble chief' had recently died, and 'in the presence of all he gave me all his wives, people, houses, land, &c.', as well as requesting he care for the Chief's son.⁴⁵ The Chief is unnamed, but contextual information, elaborated on below, suggests he was Vagathorlie's husband.

De Lautour claimed land on Aore, Tutuba and Malo. The Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, houses a plaque proclaiming de Lautour's ownership of 22,000 acres of land on Malo in 1885.⁴⁶ The inscription appears to be the same as a notice he affixed to a tree on Malo on 25 July 1887.⁴⁷ He installed this following the arrival of Presbyterian missionary Reverend J.D. Landels. De Lautour's rhetoric in his diary reveals ongoing concern that the mission will claim 'his' land and a belief that Landels had been telling locals of his bad character.⁴⁸ In fact, de Lautour mistrusted many other European settlers, particularly regarding potential loss of land and, by association, loss of status.

Even William did not escape his father's disdain, who de Lautour described as 'brainless and devoid of all pluck', and a source of annoyance since his birth.⁴⁹ Conversely, Douglas Rannie described William as having a 'kindly disposition and frank manner' and a local favourite, often going on treks with Islanders.⁵⁰ Rannie later acquired an account from Aore Islanders of the death of the de Lautours, which reported that William's murderer paused before the act to explain he had always liked him.⁵¹ The sentiment of this account, true or not, reflects a local desire to express respect for William, with his father the real target.

The art of letter writing

De Lautour was skilled in tailoring his words for different audiences. From Aore, he wrote several detailed letters to the *Brisbane Courier*, reprinted in other Australian newspapers, which were a continuation of his previous letter writing in Queensland. The Aore letters reveal de Lautour's scripted public persona, describing climate, ill-health, and local residents in cheerful detail for Australian readers, despite the different story often told throughout his personal diary.⁵² Nine months after settling on Aore, de Lautour told the *Brisbane Courier* audience of his role arbitrating in a case where women had been stolen from a Chief, the Englishman ultimately deciding the women must be returned and ten pigs paid to the Chief.⁵³ This directly contradicts his claims to Davis that he never involved himself with local politics or disputes. When charged by a British officer for illegally employing 100 people from Malo on his Aore plantation, de Lautour cannily argued that the men were there of their own free will and not under his jurisdiction, thus evading further action.⁵⁴

Considering these character insights alongside discrepancies in correspondence and de Lautour's actions in June 1890, it seems likely he manipulated the Royal Navy to address personal grievances. He was aware that a British subject could access Davis's powers in certain circumstances. De Lautour's initial call for assistance against three local men who threatened to attack him came from a man who owned multiple rifles, regularly threatened people, and was apparently supported by local Chiefs. Having witnessed and supported the forceful actions of man-of-war vessels in the past, he was aware of the actions he was potentially initiating.

Murder and execution

The arrest of Tappea and acquisition of his wawusa was not the last of Davis's visits to Aore in 1890. In early October, word reached the Captain that de Lautour and his son were dead, murdered by Thor and assisted by Malo men. The Anglo-French Joint Naval Commission decided the matter should be settled as quickly as possible, and

Davis had 'full liberty of action to finish it'.⁵⁵ It was assumed the murder was retribution for Tappea's arrest. Davis arrived at Reverend J.D. Landels' mission station in Malo on 19 October. Thor had visited Landels on 24 September to say that he alone killed de Lautour and his son, and the three Malo men he took with him only manned the canoe.⁵⁶ Thor was living on Malo with Vagathorlie and planned to board the next man-of-war to inform the Captain. De Lautour had destroyed Thor's houses, fences and fruit trees, and killed his pigs, and 'had Mr de Lautour not destroyed his things, he would have remained quiet'.⁵⁷

Davis recorded statements from 11 individuals, with Reverend Landels as interpreter. Interviews were held with Aore and Malo residents, including two men who assisted in the murder, and two French settlers on Aore, Messieurs Briault and Giovanni.⁵⁸ Thor explained that de Lautour had killed a man, Taroulo, and a woman, Woo-loo-loo, on the day the planter and the others came to Billaworka.⁵⁹ This was the unnamed village de Lautour previously reported visiting, and at which he determinedly asserted to Davis that he had only shot into the air.⁶⁰ Thor claimed the men had appeared at the village suddenly and silently, and that de Lautour had opened fire before any discussions had taken place, killing Taroulo. Sumbey-wr-wr, Rorora, Tsingo and Insaria, all from Malo, had accompanied Thor on the night of the de Lautours' deaths for payment of a pig, and the first two had assisted in the murder directly.

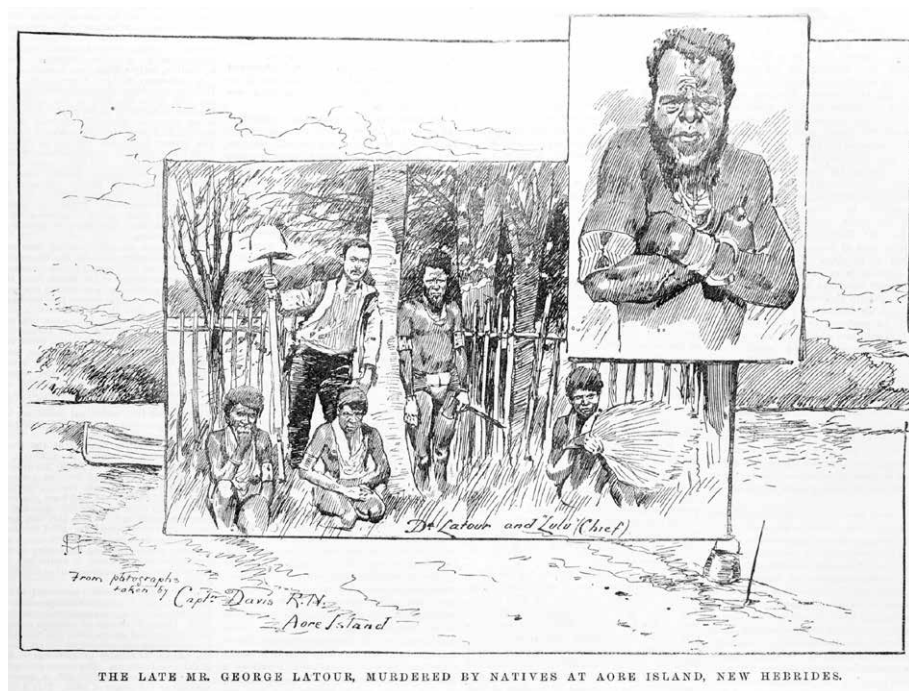


Figure 5.5. George de Lautour with Chief Leiloo, and Thor (inset), printed in the *Australian Illustrated News*, 8 November 1890, illustrated from a photograph by Davis. Courtesy State Library Victoria, IAN08/11/90/4.

Davis found Thor, Sumbey-wr-wr and Roroa guilty, and sentenced them to death. In a show of colonial force, he landed 80 British naval officers on Aore, had the three men tied to trees, and then executed by firing squad. Chief Takau Muele's father once told him a story of four men from Malo who were involved in the incident, as well as some boys, and as he understood all of the men were punished; he named them as Roroa, Sumbey-wr-wr, Vinsaria and Tosangavulo. Following Davis's verdict, the *Illustrated Australian News* published an illustration of de Lautour, with Leiloo and three women, one of whom may have been Vagathorlie (Figure 5.5). Inset was an image of 'the native who killed him'.⁶¹ The accompanying article was littered with errors and is revealing of attitudes towards people from the Vanuatu at the time. Tappea was not named but described simply as a chief, whose arrest was avenged by his 'tribe', the murderers assisted by 'the native wife of one of the men'.⁶² The article claimed the deaths were followed by celebrations, and a feast on William's body, the concluding statement being that de Lautour 'was respected by all in the group'.⁶³ Other Australian newspapers also reported William was eaten, despite all official records contradicting this. He was in fact buried with his father by M. Giovanni on the day the bodies were found.⁶⁴ Myths of tribal violence and cannibalism became justification for the Royal Navy's violent actions on Aore.

Vovotorle

'The woman Vagathorlie, who in my opinion, was the cause of all the trouble, and had connived at the murders, was a very bad woman, and I should send her back to the chief Leiloo'.⁶⁵

Vagathorlie, or Vovotorle as corrected by contemporary kastom landowners on Aore, is a central character in this story. One descendant of Chief Leiloo's lineage has identified Vovotorle as Leiloo's sister.⁶⁶ De Lautour described her as Leiloo's daughter.⁶⁷ In Vovotorle's own statement following the death of de Lautour in 1890, she named her father as Molinbakio, who had died around four years earlier, and her brothers as Molsava-sava and Rago-rago. Both brothers lived at Akati, Chief Salackie's village.⁶⁸ 'Moli' indicates a chief or leader in Tamambo language of Malo, and is used similarly across south and west Santo and beyond.⁶⁹ When a man kills pigs he takes such a name; for example, Chief Takau took the name Moli Sogesoge. Vovotorle was therefore likely to have been a Chief's daughter. She explained in her statement that her husband, Chief Molioulo, had died around four and a half years earlier, and she had been the youngest of his ten wives. Vovotorle was living with one of Chief Molioulo's sons when de Lautour took her away, just ten days after the Chief's death. Vovotorle stated 'I did not like going with Mr. de. Lautour, neither did Leiloo. All the people were angry with Mr. de. Lautour for taking me away'.⁷⁰ Molioulo is likely the 'noble chief' whom de Lautour claimed had given him his son and wives, and the same deceased Chief that Rannie visited in 1886.⁷¹ Rannie witnessed requests from the village that his friend take the Chief's son and any wife he chose, as the others were to be strangled.⁷²

After the three men initially approached Vovotorle in June 1890, she claimed that de Lautour tied her up in his house to prevent her being taken. Once released, she ran away to Thor: 'I did not go to Leiloo or my brothers, because Thor wanted me, and I

wanted Thor'.⁷³ Following Tappeas's arrest, Vovotorle and William had been instructed by George de Lautour to help destroy Thor's possessions so as to drive him off the island. On the night of the shooting, Vovotorle stated that she was asleep in the house. She explained that she had gone to bed first and that de Lautour had come in and shut the door. It is not clear whether this was a shared bedroom door, or the door of the house, but she was close enough to witness that he made no sound when killed. When Vovotorle ran out of the house she saw William de Lautour at the cookhouse door and Thor with a rifle. William cried out, and Vovotorle stated she asked Thor not to shoot him. After hesitating, Thor fired and the couple escaped to Malo by canoe.

Vovotorle claimed that de Lautour mistreated her, beating her if she did not work.⁷⁴ However, Davis never investigated the treatment of Vovotorle, nor the nature of the planter's relationship with her. In initial complaints regarding Vovotorle's kidnapping, she is discussed by Davis and de Lautour as property, and is ultimately blamed for the murder by Davis and the Australian press, indeed maligned as 'the sole cause of it'.⁷⁵ Within the narrative Vovotorle is simultaneously identified as a domestic servant without agency, and a troublesome character who is the cause of conflict for the men in this story. Thor implicated Vovotorle in the events, stating she had lit a flame showing the way to de Lautour's bedroom on the night of the murder, although Vovotorle's statement differed. Intriguingly, this detail is preserved in the limited oral record of the murder. This detail portrays Vovotorle as an accomplice, and might be viewed positively or negatively, depending on whether she is accepted as a strong woman battling male dominance, or a form of 'femme fatale'⁷⁶ with differing motivations.

The exact nature of Vovotorle and de Lautour's relationship is ambiguous. Several contemporary informants believe they must have been involved in more than a working relationship. In 1891, the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, John B. Thurston, referred to Vovotorle as 'a concubine detained by force', and believed the term 'housekeeper' was a euphemism.⁷⁷ French sources also noted that Vovotorle had been taken without permission and that it was her relatives and friends who murdered de Lautour.⁷⁸ De Lautour's diary reveals his reliance on Vovotorle, describing her as 'a brick [at that time slang for a reliable person] and as useful in household matters as any woman white or black could be'.⁷⁹ He also had earlier concerns about her loyalty and associations with other men. On 18 February 1888, he wrote: 'I find 'Vagathor-lie' and 'Boundro' have conspired to poison me and so far have made several unsuccessful attempts. Now that I am warned I am afraid they will find the boot on the other leg'.⁸⁰ In the days following this, de Lautour compiled a will, complaining of heart problems and partial paralysis of his limbs. Throughout 1887, he had a worsening illness with other symptoms including liver pain, and it is this pain he was self-medicating with opiates. As the diary ends on 28 February 1888, it is unclear how these events concluded, and his suspicions are not mentioned in any 1890 correspondence, although Vovotorle was clearly still living with him and de Lautour was still alive. Whether de Lautour's accusations of poisoning were paranoia or founded in some truth, he clearly distrusted his 'housekeeper' and sought to maintain some level of control over her. Following the murder investigation, Davis sent Vovotorle to Leiloo, although it is not known on Aore what happened to her after.

Punitive action in colonial Vanuatu

The activities of HMS *Royalist* crew on Aore were not unique to their ship, nor were they unique to that island.⁸¹ When discussing HMS *Royalist* with people from Aore and north Malo in 2017, the ship's name was not significant, but some commented on the familiar nature of the story of a ship crewed by white men who acted violently in the time of people's grandparents and great-grandparents. The first example of such action by the Royal Navy in Vanuatu took place in 1858 on Tanna island.⁸² In a detailed study of punitive actions on nearby Malakula, Stuart Bedford has demonstrated that resistance to colonialism and related punitive raids enacted by the British and French on that island took place for decades.⁸³ It was only after a particularly notable incident in 1916 that British legislation was changed to all but stop punitive expeditions to Malakula. In 1890, John B. Thurston strongly criticized Davis for his action in Aore, observing that the Captain did not have authority to sentence a person to death, nor to carry out the execution.⁸⁴ Thurston believed the intervention of the Royal Navy in the initial 'kidnap' of Vagathorlie was unjustified, and that Davis did not thoroughly investigate the murders, suggesting Davis preferred to take de Lautour's correspondence in June 1890 as a true representation of matters. Although Thurston did not condone Thor's actions, he believed the troubles had arisen 'from the immoral life and violent conduct of a British subject, who persisted in living with an unwilling native concubine'.⁸⁵ Despite this, Davis was ultimately supported by his superiors and permitted to continue captaining HMS *Royalist*.

'No Man Aore'

The differing accounts of Tappea, Vovotorle, Thor, and de Lautour are interwoven with the history of land alienation in Vanuatu, which remains a complex issue across the country today.⁸⁶ After the triple execution in 1890, Davis told a representative of Leiloo's people that 'if the fences of the late Mr De Lautour's property were kept in order, the next white man who took possession of the property would probably recompense them'.⁸⁷ Davis's comment is revealing of his attitude towards land rights, believing that a white settler should take ownership of the property rather than an Indigenous landowner. It also reveals his patronizing attitude towards Aore Islanders, assuming they would do as he instructed, especially if they thought they would be paid. A map produced by the Société Française des Nouvelles-Hébrides (SFNH) shows just how little of Aore remained under Indigenous ownership by the early twentieth century (Figure 5.6). Published in 1923, it was drawn up after surveys in 1910 and 1911 by the French government. A small section of just over 95 hectares is labelled 'Reserve Indigène', spanning the centre of the island, and appears to be the only area not considered European property at that time. Following Vanuatu's Independence in 1980, the Constitution stated that all land belonged to Indigenous landowners and their descendants, with the government able to acquire land for a public purpose, and so previously alienated land was returned to kastom owners.⁸⁸ Other legislative measures were introduced in the following years to regulate this further.

The last 'man Aore' is generally accepted as John Molivono, who died in 1983. He is defined as such because his parents had been born on the island, although he was brought up on Tutuba. Molivono wished to reconnect with Aore, and returned in the

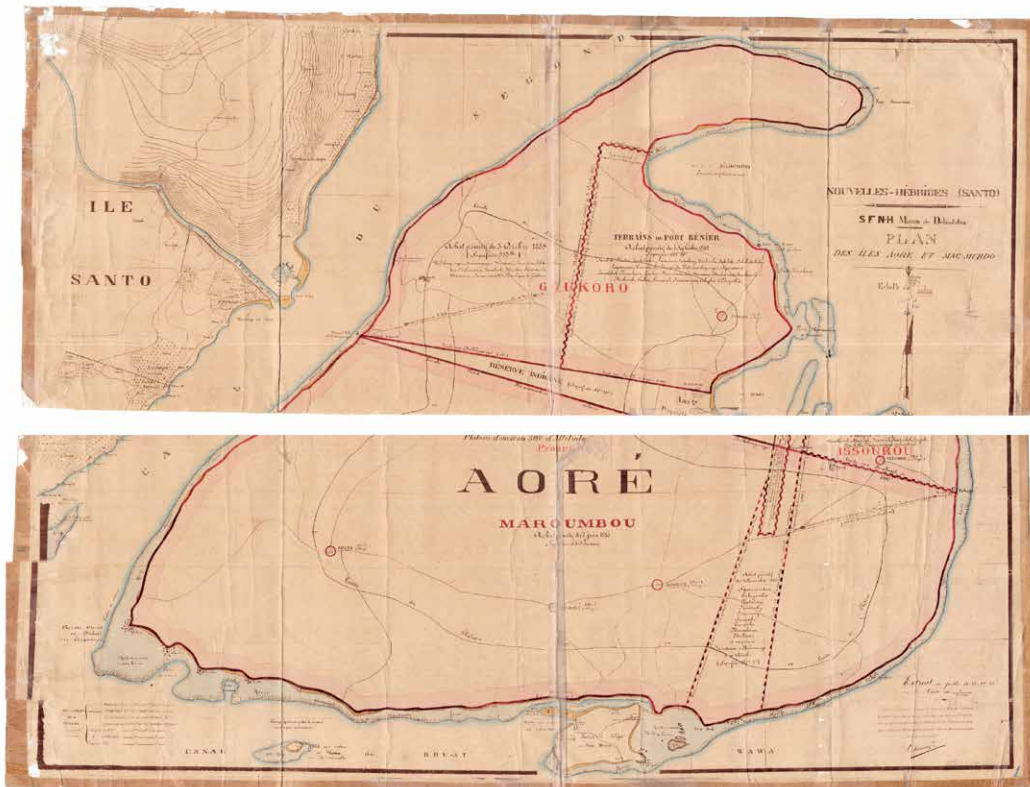


Figure 5.6. Map of Aore showing land divisions produced by Société Française des Nouvelles-Hébrides (SFNH), 1923, based on surveys from 1910-1911. Courtesy Vanuatu Nasonal Akaev, Port Vila.

1970s. Living with a couple working at the SDA school on the site of de Lautour's old plantation, he walked the island to revisit village sites, and the old nasara and navota.⁸⁹ The reason there is 'no man Aore' is multifarious. Some people left the island in the nineteenth century to work in Queensland, or on other islands, and did not return. That was the case for Chief Takau's ancestor who, according to oral tradition, was taken from the beach on the east side of Aore. Disease was also a contributing factor to dramatic population decline in other parts of colonial Vanuatu, such as on Aneityum, in the far south of Vanuatu, where the population fell from 3,513 in 1858, to 272 in 1924.⁹⁰ On the first page of his diary, de Lautour listed the groups living around him and the numbers of men, women and children, noting that nearby families had not given birth for two years.⁹¹ On the north side of the island he recorded 'some few babies', but described people as 'weedy and weak', with no constitution.⁹² Felix Speiser, a Swiss ethnologist who visited Vanuatu in 1910-1912, was told by Captain Briault that there were 300 people living on Aore in 1890, but there had been previously been 600.⁹³ By 1922, Cambridge-based ethnologist and psychologist W.H.R. Rivers wrote that 'the shores of [...] Aore are strewn with sherds of pottery which show the former presence of a population of considerable size; now just three inhabitants survive'.⁹⁴

A narrative of population loss on Aore, which continues to be discussed locally today, is that of a plantation owner who poisoned Islanders, prompting any survivors to migrate elsewhere. Some claim food or water was poisoned, and others talk of poisoned tobacco. One author cited de Lautour as allegedly having poisoned wells, but this is difficult to substantiate as no clear reference was provided.⁹⁵ In 1923, Speiser wrote that 30 of 60 inhabitants in the last Aore village were poisoned after eating a contaminated 'prisoner of war' from mainland Santo.⁹⁶ The description seems to refer to a person captured during local warfare, the original German term being 'kriegsgefangene'.⁹⁷ In 1978, men on Malo told anthropologist Kirk Huffman stories of a French or British plantation owner having once poisoned Islanders.⁹⁸ Informants today are unsure of who was responsible, and some question the validity of the story. One might ask why a plantation owner would kill off a local workforce; however, with workers available from nearby islands, it may have been preferable for a settler seeking land and profit to commit such a terrible act. Whether fact or fiction, the story remains within public consciousness in the Segund Channel area. It is perhaps best understood as representing the view that, either directly or indirectly, European colonists were responsible for the loss of the Indigenous population on Aore. The story also validates the narrative that descendants of those who fled Aore live on Tutuba, Malo and nearby locations today.

With 'no man Aore', those who claim kastom land on the island today grew up elsewhere, and a large portion of the island is leased to non ni-Vanuatu, with figures compiled in 2010 indicating that 65.3% of land is leased.⁹⁹ It is common to find online advertisements inviting investors to purchase land leases on Aore, which are clearly aimed at those living outside Vanuatu. Some ni-Vanuatu informants living on Tutuba and Aore believe men such as de Lautour came to Aore in the past for money, and that circumstances are very similar today. Howard Van Trease has described the situation that developed on Aore following Vanuatu independence as exemplary of the complications that could arise from the transfer of foreign-owned land to kastom owners.¹⁰⁰ Prior to 1980, it was commonly understood that there was no longer anyone from Aore, but after 1980, 19 people came forward to claim kastom ownership. Most were descendants of Aore residents who had moved to Tutuba, Malo and other islands. It was in 1982 that Chief Takau came to live on Aore, on his father's instructions. Chief Takau initially lived under a namele tree, having no house or established gardens. On his land today is a navota on which he has killed pigs, his father's smaller stones, known as vatu non moli (stones of chiefs), which were brought from Malo, and a navota belonging to his ancestor, Moli butu of Aore (Figure 5.7). Moli Butu's navota was originally positioned further in the Aore bush and, knowing its location, Chief Takau moved it near his own nakamal.¹⁰¹ Chief Takau describes Aore today as 'multicultural', with ni-Vanuatu families from various islands living there. Visiting a village on the northwest of the island, where people were constructing a new Presbyterian church, it emerged that everyone there was from Ambrym island. On asking a group of women the name of the village, they seemed uncertain and looked around for an older man who was the village head. On the spot, he gave the name Noko, and people explained that it was a new name for a new place. It was the creation of a new site on the Aore map. This small island, rather than simply being central to a narrative of loss, is also a landscape being constantly rewritten.



Figure 5.7. Chief Takau Muele with ancestral navota, Aore, Vanuatu 2017. Copyright by Eve Haddow.

Reflecting on Tappea's 'pig hammer'

The historical narrative of HMS *Royalist*'s visits to Aore is a tale of colonial force, with violent action taken against the inhabitants of a small Pacific island, already sparsely populated by 1890. The deaths of George and William de Lautour at Thor's hands were clearly violent acts, and Tappea was not without his crimes; however, de Lautour was not a passive victim. Tension had been simmering in the years following the English planter's arrival on Aore, and he was consistently portrayed as selfish and bad-tempered by others. He arguably lived a morally dubious life and did not always abide by the legal codes of the time. This was a man who displayed human remains on his gates in order to threaten his neighbours, and then argued that a similar act by Tappea was proof of that man's brutality. Davis did not adequately investigate Thor's justifications for the murder of de Lautour. He appears to have privileged the white planter's account of events as they unfolded in June 1890, particularly regarding the death of the man and woman in Billaworka. Chief Leiloo agreed with de Lautour's account of that day, not wishing to make any complaint to Davis. However, as High Commissioner Thurston later pointed out, Leiloo led the party to Billaworka and was hardly likely to complain about de Lautour when on that particular day they were working together.

The contemporary resonance of this history is palpable when visiting Aore. The island continues to be largely occupied by plantations, with a growing presence of 'eco-tourism' and high-end resorts aimed at wealthy visitors. Land leases regularly appear on social media targeted at foreign buyers, offering a life of paradise. However, there is also growing interest from Chiefs of Malo, Tutuba, Mavea, and Aore to promote

and record the culture of their islands. On Tutuba, there is a strong desire to record language and songs that are believed at risk of being lost. It is undeniable that the cultural and physical landscape of Aore has changed immeasurably over the past 200 years, with HMS *Royalist* playing just a small part in that. While the story of Tappea's pig hammer is full of loss, the region continues to be affected by rapid global and local change, meaning that artefacts such as the pig hammer also offer a chance to revisit, understand, record and share important history and kastom for the future.

CHAPTER 6

Histories

CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT

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Faletau's executive-style briefcase is slowly falling apart. The black fake-leather surface is scuffed and peeling; the chrome plating on the handle has chipped off and the corroded metal underneath leaves rust stains on your hands when you hold it. Yet, despite its dilapidated appearance, it is one of Faletau's favourite objects; he carries it around the village on important occasions and takes it with him to meetings. When he opens it, it is often with an air of solemnity, a sense of performative gesture; it is a ritual. The heavily stained interior gives off the musty, rotting smell that paper quickly acquires in the intense heat and humidity. It is where everything is kept:

Several creased, well-handled photographs – a fading, barely decipherable image of a young girl standing by some large plants looking straight at the camera, the colour bleached out to a series of pastel tones – a blurred black and white photograph of a woman standing by a bicycle – a colour Polaroid photograph, with a name and date written on the back, showing a man in a bright red shirt standing by a child.

Scraps of paper with hand-written commentaries on particular Bible verses.

Partial genealogies in elaborate geometrical forms drawn on oddly shaped pieces of cardboard.

A cutting – yellowing, torn, and stuck together with tape – from a Solomon Islands newspaper about Faletau's woodcarvings.

A postcard of Sydney Opera House from an Australian tourist he met in Munda.

Drawings that combine Christian symbolism with local animals – hearts, crosses and doves, with crocodiles and sharks.

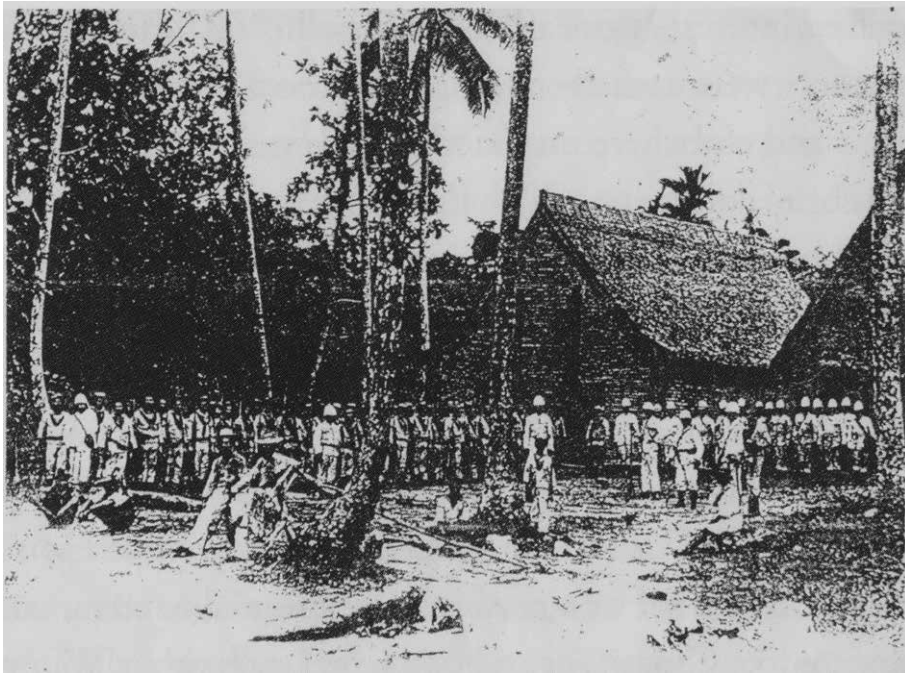


Figure 6.1. Faletau's photocopy. Courtesy Christopher Wright.

After shuffling through these objects, Faletau produces a creased and worn photocopy. It shows ranks of white-uniformed soldiers standing in front of a large western Solomons canoe-house (paele) (Figure 6.1). Faletau, who was aware of my concern with photographs and history, had come to find me and reveal this important history. The image is hard to make out in any detail, reduced as it is to a stark black and white by several generations of photocopying. Faletau has acquired a photocopy of a photocopy that is in the collection of the Cultural Centre in Gizo, a small wooden shed opposite the Gizo Hotel, which has one folder of plastic sleeves containing some 20 or so photocopies and copy prints of nineteenth century photographs of the western Solomons. These are part of a larger collection that was collated by an expatriate cultural worker, Barbara Riley, in the late 1980s.¹ The image's lack of legibility in no way diminishes its significance for Faletau. His fingers handle the stained and rapidly disintegrating sheet of paper delicately as he passes it to me.

The photocopy depicts one moment of what the British authorities described as a punitive raid on Roviana carried out by sailors and marines from HMS *Royalist* in 1891. But for Faletau there is no expectancy or need to ascribe the event a date – no need to secure it chronologically – and only one or two local people know with any precision the actual date of the event depicted. This is not considered important or necessarily relevant knowledge as far as this photocopy, or indeed many historical events, are concerned.²

The event itself is frequently referred to in general discussions about history and contemporary change in Roviana, and is often used in comparisons between past and present. Unlike the arrival of the Methodist Mission in Roviana on 23 May 1902, a date which local Methodists know and celebrate annually, the event in question here is located in broader and more ambiguous terms: people refer to ‘the time of *Royalist*’ rather than making any reference to a specific date. If people do place it in any chronology, the event is said to have happened *bifo lotu* – before the arrival of the mission. The latter event is used as a kind of temporal pivot; people talk about the time before the mission, and that behind (after) the mission.³ Although people do refer to the changes wrought by the *Royalist* event, it is not used as a marker of before and after in the same way. During 2000 to 2001, many conversations and oral histories – both those responses instigated by my questions, and those I overheard – that commented on the actions of the crew of HMS *Royalist* did so by making references to the violence, civil unrest and general disruption caused by the so-called ethnic tensions that affected the Solomon Islands from 1999 onward. The emphasis was less on the *Royalist* event as signalling a major change of epoch, and more on the event’s relation to current concerns. Why is this image of colonial force in the past seen to say something about contemporary problems?

Faletau had decided to show me the photocopy since I had expressed interest at an earlier passing allusion he made to the *Royalist* when we were talking casually about how the ethnic tension in Honiara and elsewhere on Guadalcanal was affecting life in Roviana. This brief comment, which links events in Roviana more than 100 years ago to those in the capital of Honiara in 2001, and also to events further afield both historically and geographically, was typical of the way in which ‘the time of *Royalist*’ often slipped into normal conversation:

The situation now is very bad. It cannot be solved until it all comes out [until events have run their course]. People will be killed. We have a mafia system in Honiara now. It would be better if we went back to a colonial government. The Solomons is like Croatia, everybody fights each other. Young people are against custom and they have crazy hearts. That is why they drink and fight and steal. It is like the time of *Royalist*. They came and destroyed everything. Everything will change.⁴

This kind of brief passing reference to the *Royalist* event – the detritus of history, like the photocopy, is a kind of visual detritus – nevertheless demonstrates its contemporary significance as a means of linking the past and the present. Faletau’s reference to Croatia comes from the way in which roadblocks manned by armed members of the self-styled Malaitan Eagle Force in Honiara were known by names like ‘Croatia’ and ‘Vietnam’. These, and other conflicts, some of which feature in videos available in Honiara and to a lesser extent Roviana, as well as in the media more generally (conflicts like the Palestinian intifada, Northern Ireland, and the Balkans were all reported in the *Solomon Star* newspaper), were frequently referred to in relation to the ethnic tensions. During my time in Roviana the *Royalist* was on occasion the subject of extended oral narratives – particular performances of history⁵ – and it was also slipped into everyday

conversations. This marked a significant change compared to my first visit to Roviana in 1998 when people could recount stories about *Royalist* when asked but did not relate them to the present day. Since at this point the ethnic tension had yet to make its influence felt, there was perhaps little need for the time of *Royalist* to serve as a point of reference for current events.

This act of colonial violence is discussed in relation to the present, and is seen to mark, or be indicative of, a period of change and upheaval. In order to understand the image, its relation to history, and its significance for Roviana people, Euro-American expectations are that we need to fix the photograph chronologically. This is how photographs and history are linked in most Euro-American discourses. The necessary 'forensic'⁶ work is done to uncover the history behind, or in the photograph; archives and collections are consulted, and the photograph has a text or caption attached to it that allows us to understand its historical place and importance. This is the Euro-American historical expectation of the photograph.

John Tagg referred to late nineteenth century photographs in Europe as 'paltry paper signs that are yet the very stuff of history – as though it were physically scored into their surface'.⁷ How can this fragile object support the weight of Faletau's 'important history'? What does it keep for him? The event represented in this much-handled photocopy has a continuing significance for Faletau, and tracing the histories that circulate around it reveals Roviana and Euro-American expectations of photography in relation to understandings of the past and the present.

One of my main concerns during the time I spent in Roviana was with the suitability, or not, of photographs as sources for Roviana people to think about their history. Not just to serve as occasions for the recital of formal oral histories but to provoke reminiscences, anecdotes and personal memories of all kinds. I want to understand Roviana historical expectations of photography and there is a sense in which the detail that anthropologists and historians try to provide through an archival history is irrelevant for contemporary Roviana people. They do not care for exact dates. The details they require and expect are of a different order from those required from this discursive archival history.⁸

Anthropological expectations of history suggest that I should look at oral accounts to see what they can add to the written archival one. In reconstructing the history of an attack by Malaitans on a trading vessel in the late 1800s, Roger Keesing asks how reliable and how illuminating oral historical evidence can be: 'how can such oral testimony, encrusted by time, compliment the archival records documenting events from a European perspective?'.⁹ He argues that, by using the archives,

we can thus reconstruct what actually happened (albeit from the perspective of the crew of a European ship recruiting indentured labor) a century ago; and we can thus compare this scenario with the perspectives of the indigenous attackers, which have been filtered through oral tradition.¹⁰

There is a temptation, following Keesing, to combine the archival and the histories to come up with the complete version – what actually happened – but Roviana attitudes to history acknowledge that histories are competing accounts constructed in the

present with a view to achieving certain ends. As Elizabeth Edwards argues in relation to photographs and history, 'we expect photographs to tell, but find them remarkably resistant, for, like history, they do not lend themselves to being dealt with in any definite way'.¹¹

The actions of the men of HMS *Royalist* caused significant changes in the lives of Roviana people, and many of them are able to give some account of this event. The following example comes from someone, Steven Ilo, with a direct genealogical connection to the events – a Roviana measure of the relative authority of an oral account. Steven's story is a direct response to seeing my photocopy, even more illegible, of Faletau's photocopy. The history is not really reliant on any detail in the photocopy, but is nonetheless prompted by it; like a shell valuable (*bakiha*) with a story attached to it, the photocopy functions as a mnemonic device. The history was recounted to an attentive crowd of adults and children who had been looking through the collection of prints I had taken with me to Kokorapa village on Nusa Roviana – one of Roviana Lagoon's many barrier islands:

I am Steven Ilo of Kokorapa, Nusa Roviana. I can only tell you what I know. How that burning happened. It is the story of the three people who killed the white man at Hombuhombu. It happened because the white men were buying copra. There was a trader who lived on Hombuhombu. The people of Vuragare [a settlement area of Nusa Roviana] would dry their coconut and take it to the trader to sell it. The buying price was bad from Peter Pratt so these people were not happy. They said this man lives on our island and that island belongs to us. He did not buy the island from us to operate his business there. He was not doing well for us. So the anger came from there. So the three men – warriors – went to Hombuhombu and killed ['whip' – *sekea*] the manager. After that there was an investigation by the white men. And that was how it became known that Vuragare people were responsible. That was when the man-o-war [*maneroa*] came and they bombed [*gona*] this place. This side of the island is deep and they stopped there to shoot at us. The people here had already heard the ship was coming. When they knew about it they left. They went to the shore [*Munda*]. Because there were people living near Bebea [a small island directly to the west of Nusa Roviana] they came to bomb around Bebea. They also bombed Nusa Roviana. They burnt all the houses and war canoes and all the warriors' belongings. There was nothing left. They [the people of Nusa Roviana] moved to those villages, Dundu, Kindu, Mono [all hamlets of Munda]. That is how the steamer [*sitima*] came to bomb Nusa Roviana because these three men had killed a white man. I do not know them all but one of them is Lotana. He was the person who got those other two and planned the killing. They were the ones who went and killed the white man at Hombuhombu. Lotana's father was Avosia from Bilua [*Vella Lavella*] and he married a woman from Vuragare who bore Lotana. Lotana married a Simbo woman called Atunaru and she bore Sibapitu. Sibapitu married Dae and she bore Siope, Nemo, Kele, Isiah, Buta, Pozelmali. Those were their children. That was how we are related to Lotana. That was how we came to be

and remain here today. They all ran away from here to Munda. Only Taqala remained here. They were just hiding everywhere. Then they left and stayed at Buala, Kepekepe, Langoro [all hamlets on the mainland opposite Nusa Roviana]. These were the places they settled. They lived along the Ilangana coast up to Dunde. That was how they came to live there. The people here came from Kazukuru and when the bombing from the man-o-war took place they left and went to the coast. Those from Kalikoqo [a settlement area on Nusa Roviana] were at Nusa Banga, Sasavele, and Bethlehem [other villages around Roviana Lagoon]. That is the story about how they came to be.¹²

Steven is not concerned with the kinds of accuracy that might be required of an archival history. His history is an explanation of how groups of people got to be where they are now, how those living in the present are directly connected to those in the past. Steven recounts the impact of the *Royalist* attack on the temporary movement of his extended kin group (butubutu) from Kokorapa to the mainland of New Georgia. This was the direct effect the *Royalist* event had for many Roviana people. The actions of HMS *Royalist* caused the relocation of one of the main butubutu of Kokorapa to found the village of Dunde on the Munda coast. The event also possibly had an effect on the position of Nusa Roviana as the political centre of the confederation of Roviana peoples. Steven's history starts with a declaration of identity – this is a history that starts from where one person is in the present; it is history from one 'side'.¹³ Steven also includes references to Kazukuru, an area in the interior of New Georgia from which populations moved to the coast in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The *Royalist* incident is one juncture in a series of population movements and changing relations to land that took place in Roviana over hundreds of years. Steven's oral account is a performance of history that uses a photograph, here in the form of a photocopy, as a starting point but is not exhausted by it. His history is one that is unconcerned with the details that would most likely form the focus of Euro-American endeavours in regard to the photograph's relation to history.

There are concerns with committing oral accounts to paper. Walter Ong has discussed the transient reality of the spoken versus the permanent unreality of the written word,¹⁴ but perhaps even a tape recording would preserve the phono-centrism of a Euro-American approach.¹⁵ For some contemporary Pacific historians it is precisely the 'transient reality' of the oral account that needs to be preserved in contrast to written histories.¹⁶ Photographs seem to hold out the promise of a permanent historical inscription, that such and such an event actually took place, but they are also resistant to fixed readings. However, this makes them particularly useful tools for Roviana histories. There is an equation made by many Pacific historians that a people's ability to know its past is a necessary prerequisite to its ability to control its future.¹⁷ My arrival in Roviana with a large number of historical photographs, at a time when there were significant changes occurring, meant that this equation was at the forefront of many discussions about what the photographs meant to Roviana people.

The photograph that is the source of Faletau's photocopy and the starting point of Steven's history was taken by a crew member of HMS *Royalist* at the time of the attack on Roviana villages. It is one of a series of photographs – now held by the Fiji Museum, the



Figure 6.2. Officers and marines of HMS Royalist on the shore at Sisiata, 1891. Courtesy Fiji Museum.



Figure 6.3. Buildings burning on Nusa Roviana island, 1891. Courtesy Fiji Museum.

British Museum and the Macleay Museum- that reveal an act of colonial violence (Figures 6.2 and 6.3). There is a text-based history that could be attached to Faletau's photocopy that comes from the 'printed papers', the archival records left behind by the colonial administration and old newspaper reports of the incident. There are many histories that revolve around Faletau's photocopy and, as Greg Denning points out, the relations between history and the contexts of its preservation are in one sense the 'text' that has to be dealt with.¹⁸ The side from which this textual history is written must remain clear.

One of the archival traces left by the *Royalist* incident begins with the written report in the British Admiralty records of Case No.32: '20th June 1889, on an island near Rubiana Island (New Georgia Island). Death, at the hands of natives, of Mr. William Dabelle, a trader, and two native boys, in the employ of Mr. Edmunds, a trader'.¹⁹ The account of the actions carried out by the men of HMS *Royalist* in Roviana Lagoon, and the events leading up to it, is constructed from the official reports and letters that can be found in the Royal Navy records housed in the National Archives, London and also in the National Library of Australia. The events referred to as 'the time of *Royalist*' took place in a period when relations between Roviana people and Europeans had shifted from relatively few sporadic contacts to more sustained and often permanent interaction.²⁰ As a result of a series of outrages against European traders, some of whom were, by the late 1880s, settled in various locations around the Solomon Islands, and attacks on their employees and vessels, the Royal Navy's Australian Squadron had begun to expand its activities in the islands during the 1870s. But despite the fact that between 1867 and 1879 34 Europeans, and 35 islanders employed by Europeans were killed, along with £24,000 of property reported as lost, only one such incident was reported in the western Solomons.²¹

The trading vessel *Marion Rennie* was attacked off the coast of Rendova island in 1867 and, in a pattern which was later to become common practice for the Royal Navy in the western Solomons, a full year after the attack, HMS *Blanche*, under the command of Captain John Montgomerie, shelled the islands of Roviana Lagoon.²² Although the organizer of the attack on the *Marion Rennie* was, according to the Admiralty reports, Londo, a banara (chief) from Rendova, the decision was made to attack villages in Roviana and, failing to apprehend Londo, Montgomerie imposed a fine of three tons of tortoise shell on him in his absence – a huge fine that was clearly impossible to actually pay.²³ The *Marion Rennie* incident and the various punitive measures taken by the British reveal the lack of any coherent official stance on dealing with 'outrages' against European (primarily British) interests. The case also shows that long intervals could occur between events and subsequent policing actions carried out by the Royal Navy.

Although villages could easily be shelled from the safety of Royal Navy warships creating a spectacular display, the best method of inflicting real and lasting damage was to send a landing party to burn houses and chop down coconut trees. Since the trees took six years to reach maturity and bear fruit, their destruction was a severe blow at a time when most trade with Europeans was rapidly shifting to copra. But the Royal Navy were also obliged to protect the interests of traders and were under instructions to avoid the wholesale destruction of plantations.²⁴ The other great loss that could be inflicted on Roviana people was the destruction of their large trading and raiding canoes (tomoko). These represented a significant material and spiritual investment,

the loss of which restricted the efficacy of local banara and polities.²⁵ After the shelling by the Navy in 1868 it was another 20 years before a similar incident reportedly took place in Roviana, despite the arrival of one or two Europeans who began to set up permanent trading posts in the lagoon.

Throughout the 1870s Royal Navy ships frequently called at Roviana, mostly Nusa Zonga, a small island off Munda, to gather information from traders and to recruit interpreters and guides. The island was also a coal depot for Royal Navy ships and a point where they could pick up Navy orders conveyed by trading vessels plying their trade between northern Queensland and the Solomons. For information about events in Roviana, the captains of Royal Navy ships were totally dependent on traders and local banara, particularly Inqava, who could speak pidgin English well and had gradually acquired a reputation as the 'king of Rubiana'.

Although relations between Roviana people and traders who had settled there were a potential source of arguments, Kim Jackson suggests that there were relatively few violent incidents in the 1870s because it was a period when the copra trade was blossoming. Roviana people were to a large extent able to dictate the process of this trade,²⁶ and increasingly demanded rifles, as well as the more acceptable axe blades, in return for copra. Some expatriate traders had a reputation for trading firearms, despite it being illegal under Queens Regulation No.1 of 1884.²⁷ Outside the changes caused by trade, the traders themselves, almost all of whom married local women, were figures of some influence and power, able to act as middlemen in the flow of European commodities. They participated in local networks of exchange and generosity, and when the naturalist and colonial official Charles Woodford spent several weeks in Munda in 1886, he complained that headhunting, ritual sacrifice and cannibalism were regularly being practised in the presence of Europeans.²⁸ Although only 11 Europeans were killed in the western Solomons between 1880 and 1896, the consequences of these outrages had a significant effect on the lives of Roviana people.²⁹

The *Royalist* incident was a punitive action carried out by the British in retaliation for two attacks on the English trader Edmund Pratt's trading station at Hombuhombu island in Roviana. A raid in October 1888 resulted in the death of two islander employees and the loss of £200 worth of goods.³⁰ The islanders working directly for European traders in the western Solomons were usually from elsewhere in the group, often Malaita. Roviana people were particularly averse to working for Europeans at this stage, and islander employees were outsiders who may well have been considered easier targets for local people as they had no relatives nearby who might avenge the death or demand compensation. In the first attack on Pratt's station, the killers came from Simbo, and they may have had a personal reason for the attack having been mistreated by Pratt in the past. Pratt wrote a letter concerning this attack to the *Sydney Morning Herald* that was published on 29 March 1889 under the byline 'Atrocities at Rubiana'. Pratt's station was attacked again on 20 June 1889 and two islander employees and one European working for Pratt, William Dabelle,³¹ were killed and their heads taken. The second attack, referred to in the official correspondence as Case No.32,³² was, after enquiries carried out by Captain Hand, understood to have been carried out by 'renegades' from Mbilua (Vella Lavella island).³³ However, as a response to these two outrages and insistent requests from traders, the Royal Navy decided to take punitive measures.

On 15 August 1891, Captain Davis in command of HMS *Royalist* was at Nusa Zonga where he found a Mr Atkinson in charge, because the regular officer in charge, Captain Woodhouse, had gone to Sydney to deliver a load of copra. Atkinson reported that four of Woodhouse's islander employees had recently been murdered at Ndovele village (Vella Lavella island) and Davis agreed to look into the matter to apprehend the killers of Dabelle and the two islander employees. He anchored off Ndovele village on 17 August and sent a message to deliver the killers. After getting no response, Davis landed with 25 men and proceeded into the bush to Ndovele and destroyed it. He then proceeded to Mbilua and took on board – although exactly how this was achieved is unclear – ‘Tooloo, the chief, and two other natives of that place until the murderers of Dabelle (case 32) [were] delivered up.’³⁴ The taking of hostages in cases like this was a recognized Royal Navy practice.

After a brief return visit to Nusa Zonga to refuel with coal, Davis was back at Mbilua on August 20 and again sent demands for the killers of Woodhouse's employees to be handed over. He was met with a series of excuses and left threatening to ‘make war on the whole of [Mbilua]’³⁵ if those wanted for the various killings were not surrendered on his next visit. In his reports to his commander in chief (Sir J.B. Thurston), Davis wrote that HMS *Royalist* anchored at Hathorn Sound at 7.45am on the morning of 24 September. Davis then proceeded with 30 armed men in rowing boats to Nusa Zonga where he ascertained – although the source of this information is not clear – that the five men wanted for Dabelle's murder were in ‘Rubiana’.³⁶

While at Nusa Zonga, Davis sent for banara Wonge, but he refused to comply and Inqava was apparently away fishing. Davis then sent a message back to HMS *Royalist* to order Lieutenant Luscombe to bring all the ‘small-arms men and marines’ to Nusa Roviana at daylight the following morning. Then, having assembled many local banara on Nusa Zonga, Davis warned ‘all the villages in the vicinity’ that they should give up the killers or he would ‘make war against all the villages in the district’. In the evening Davis went to ‘Cocorappa’ (Kokorapa) on ‘Rubiana Island’ (Nusa Roviana) and told the villagers that he and a small contingent of marines were going to camp there for the night. He repeated his warning that ‘if the seven murderers, whom they were harbouring, were not given up by the following morning, [he] should make war against all the villages’.³⁷

Following Davis, Luscombe arrived at Nusa Roviana at 8am on 25 September with all the ship's men (80 in total) and, since there was no sign of the murderers by 10am, Davis and his men ‘proceeded to destroy all the villages on and near Rubiana’. That night Davis, perhaps feeling it unwise to stay on Nusa Roviana, camped at Inqava's village (Sisiata) and on 26 September proceeded with the destruction of villages along the shoreline at Munda. Due to the long-standing relation between Inqava and the British, he left Inqava's two canoe sheds and own house intact, ‘in hopes that, on his return from his fishing expedition, he would endeavour to have the men given up’. By 3pm Davis had stopped burning villages in the Munda area and returned to Nusa Zonga. He left there with his men to rejoin HMS *Royalist* in Hathorn Sound at 4pm. Davis wrote of the attack:

In all I estimate 400 houses, 150 canoes, and 1,000 heads were destroyed. In one house I found twenty-four heads ranged along one side, but it was too dark to see the rest of the house. In Goolie's house [presumably his paele as this is where heads would have been kept], the chief who murdered Dabelle, I found several guns, spears etc. and from ten to fifteen heads. The big war canoes had been removed into the shallow lagoons, where, with the small force at my disposal, it was quite impossible to get at them, but this severe punishment will not be lost on the noted Rubiana head-hunters, who for years have considered themselves safe in their strongholds.³⁸

In his surveying expedition of 1893-1894, Henry Somerville recorded that Roviana people saw the beaches of the lagoon 'absolutely littered' with smashed skulls.³⁹ Davis returned to Nusa Zonga on 11 October and 'ascertained that [his] action of 25 and 26 September had had a great effect on the natives of Rubiana and Munda, and that there was some talk amongst them of delivering up some of the murderers'. He continued:

They were anxious to know what I intended to do, and I sent word to them that if they gave up the murderers I would do no more, but if they persisted in keeping them I should continue to make war on them.⁴⁰

The *Sydney Morning Herald* echoed Davis' sentiments on 10 December 1891: 'It is to be hoped that these savages, the noted Rubiana head-hunters, who have depopulated all the surrounding islands by their cruel practices, will not soon forget their well-merited punishment'.⁴¹

When the Royal Navy returned to Roviana in 1892 the islanders asked if they could now re-build their houses,⁴² and in 1895 Commander Rason reported that HMS *Royalist* is 'a name to conjure by, owing to the strong action of Davis, and his name is still respected throughout the group'.⁴³ Reverend George Brown visited Roviana in August 1899 and commented that 'many of the villages in that part were destroyed some years ago by H.M.S. *Royalist*, for some outrages committed against white men, and they do not yet appear to have recovered'.⁴⁴ Brown noticed a significant decrease in the population compared to his previous visit 20 years earlier and, when visiting some religious sites, declared that, 'the best of these had been destroyed by the ship of war, some years ago'.⁴⁵

In his account of Roviana in *The Savage South Seas*, E. Way Elkington wrote about Inqava's paele:

Fifteen years or more ago, old Ingova, the notorious head-hunting chief of Rubiana lagoon, was about at the height of his power, and his raids of slaughter to neighbouring islands were of dreadful frequency. It was to this canoe house that he returned after a successful expedition in his great TOMAKO (war canoes) laden with ghastly trophies, but ever since Rear-Admiral Davis, then of H.M.S. *Royalist*, sacked this place in 1891, all has been comparatively quiet, though I did hear, while I was there, that Ingova had led a head-hunting raid or two...

One day, soon after one of Ingova's rash ventures amongst white men, Commander... Davis played havoc with his village, burning and sacking it. It was no ordinary attack but a clean sweep he made of Rubiana, and then the shore was littered with Ingova's skulls: skulls that he and his fathers had collected for generations were scattered in all directions, and lay bleaching on the beach, some half burnt and others cracked and broken.⁴⁶

In addition to burning paele and smashing the skulls of victims from headhunting raids which would have been hung up inside them and inside ritual war-houses (zelepade), Davis also destroyed ancestral skull shrines (hope). He also took lots of Roviana material culture away with him (see Chapters 3 and 4). The actions of Davis and the crew of HMS *Royalist* reverberate, or echo, through the printed records, archives and museum collections of Europe and Australia. Woodford commented on a series of 'funerary ornaments' that had appeared as illustrations in an article by Thomas Edge-Partington and Thomas Joyce in the journal *Man* in 1904:

at the time I received the magazine I happened to be on a short official visit to Gizo, and as Ingava, the chief of Rubiana mentioned in the article, happened to be in the neighbourhood, I sent for him and showed him the plate. The old man was delighted and recognised every article illustrated. He told me that Figs. 1-5 were taken away by Captain, now Rear-Admiral Davis, from the natives of the village of Kolokongo at the time he visited Rubiana in 1891, and that the 'bakeha' illustrated in Fig.6 was presented to Captain Davis by himself.⁴⁷

Elkington reported that '[Inqava] wears no necklace round his neck now, for Admiral Davis has it, it having been given him by Ingova many years after that little visit as a kind of peace offering'.⁴⁸ The photograph of Inqava in Edge-Partington's obituary for him published in *Man* was reproduced from a copy in Davis' possession.⁴⁹ Davis also took a feast bowl from Kaliqogo on Nusa Roviana. These were usually kept in a paele and used for ritual feasts, and this is now the only surviving example of a whole Roviana feast bowl in existence (see Chapter 4).⁵⁰ In desecrating shrines and smashing or taking away ancestral skulls, Davis denied people access to their ancestral power and efficacy; in some ways, it was an assault on Roviana history.⁵¹

As Steven Ilo points out, the destruction wrought by the men of HMS *Royalist* had long-term effects in the sense of causing the relocation of people, and in disrupting political forms of power channelled through access to ancestral relics, but in other respects it was ineffectual. Although the British officially recorded the attack as a 'punitive action' for the murder of Dabelle and others, it is likely that it was also an attempt at the suppression of headhunting and the reduction of local resistance prior to the establishment of the British Protectorate in 1893.⁵² As an attempt at pacification its impact was minimal. It failed to destroy many tomoko, and for a headhunting raid on Choiseul three years later, in 1894, Inqava allegedly mustered 500 men and 22 tomoko from his and another chief's resources, and with help from traders he was able to use two English boats, 300-400 rifles and 5,000 rounds of ammunition.⁵³ In 1894, a year after the declaration of the British Protectorate, traders complained that people in the

western Solomons were too busy either headhunting, or dealing with its consequences, to gather copra and as a result the trade was suffering.⁵⁴

Although many Roviana people today know some stories about the *Royalist* incident, particularly stories related to the history of their own kin group, there is no strong sense of moral outrage at the actions of Davis and his men. According to Roviana accounts, the attacks did not result in the loss of life, nor were any of the prestigious and important tomoko canoes destroyed. And the violence was seemingly directed at the mana of the victims, at their ability to function as powerful political lineages through access to ancestral relics. With the destruction and capture of human remains and important religious items, the incident was perhaps seen as a strange form of British headhunting. This was certainly how Roviana people referred to it when I discussed the existence of human remains taken during the raid in the collections of the British Museum and other European institutions.

The *Royalist* incident did have an effect on Inqava's relative local position, improving his situation in both economic and political terms. The destruction wrought to others left him in a favourable position, and the increased reliance of the British on him as a middleman – reinforcing his image as the king of Roviana to outsiders – meant that he was able to enlarge his standing locally through increased access to trade and influence.⁵⁵ Pratt was involved in a land dispute with Inqava in 1893, the latter having made a complaint to the British authorities. Inqava won his case through the newly implemented British legal system.⁵⁶

The account of the *Royalist* incident pieced together from the printed papers constructs a narrative chain of events and dates. It fixes a precise chronological sequence in a style that fulfils Euro-American genre expectations of a history that is behind the photograph. But this is not a form of history within which the photocopy kept in Faletau's briefcase is embedded. This history from the printed papers has little relevance for Faletau. The context that leaves its mark on this history is the archive. The act of inscription I have carried out performs a history that links the Royal Navy records to the photograph. The text possesses an authority – all those footnotes giving the exact archival references – but it is an authority of which I am wary. Although individual Roviana people frequently requested that I write down their history, 'to make it straight', they were very much aware that history has a side; history is constructed from a certain position, and that people have different shifting positions.⁵⁷ They are aware of its manipulation by people in order to make themselves 'come up', to advance their own position, and having their history committed to paper is one way of enabling this as, in Roviana, the written word is increasingly thought to possess more authority than an oral account.

Do we understand Faletau's photocopy any better for knowing this archival history, or do we find what we already know? As Carlo Ginzburg warns: 'the historian reads into them [images] what he has already learned by other means, or what he believes he knows, and wants to demonstrate'.⁵⁸ The archival history positions the photograph as a document and performance of colonial power, but this reading forms another pacification of Roviana histories.⁵⁹ We must consider the possibility of other histories, what Klaus Neumann has called 'savage histories',⁶⁰ that are linked to the photograph.



Figure 6.4. Officers and marines of HMS *Royalist* on the shore at Sisiata, 1891. Courtesy Fiji Museum.

Before the advent of the written word Roviana oral history was channelled through mnemonic objects such as shrines and the topography of a religious landscape, shell valuables, ancestral relics all of which had histories associated with them.⁶¹ What do the details of the photograph that is the source of Faletau's photocopy tell us? The photograph (Figure 6.4) – reproduced more legibly – here has had a history constructed for it, laid down like a sediment in which it is embedded. We know it was taken on 25 or 26 September 1891, and we know something about what Davis thought he was doing. The photograph shows a large contingent of British sailors and marines from HMS *Royalist* standing in ranks in front of two paele, that, from other photographs I have seen, can be identified as belonging to Inqava. These buildings, along with houses in Inqava's hamlet of Sisiata, were the only ones to be left untouched by Davis and his men. The photograph bears the stamp of colonial performance; it seems to perfectly fit Foucauldian readings of a mutually supportive network connecting power, photography and the state.⁶² It has the feel of a ritual such as those enacted by the commander and crew of HMS *Curacao* several years later in 1893 when declaring the Solomon Islands a British Protectorate and raising the Union Jack flag on Nusa Zonga. It is a staged, almost theatrical, event, although for Roviana people the destruction was real enough.

The paele are at Sisiata, Inqava's hamlet within Munda, and the detail available in the copy-print (a digital scan) from the photograph in the Macleay Museum reveals details of the house on the left. A comparison with other photographs of these two buildings suggests that the paele on the left must have been built in the intervening period between a photograph taken by Woodford in 1886,⁶³ which shows a single canoe-house, and that taken by the photographer from HMS *Royalist* in 1891.⁶⁴ The

good condition of the thatch on the building also marks it out as being of relatively recent construction. This demonstrates the active expansion of at least one Roviana polity in the period leading up to the declaration of the British Protectorate in 1893. The building of a second paele demonstrates the relative success in economic terms that was being enjoyed by Inqava and his butubutu during this period. This is certainly forensic evidence, but does the increased legibility of the copy print actually enhance its historical potential for Roviana people? Our expectations of photography and history have been fulfilled – the detail has been filled in – in the same way that the copy-print is more legible than the photocopy.

But Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued that history, as a discourse produced at the institutional site of the university, remains European history.⁶⁵ Only Europe is theoretically knowable, all other histories are matters of empirical research that fleshes out a theoretical skeleton that is substantially ‘Europe’.⁶⁶ History is precisely the site where the struggle goes on to appropriate, on behalf of the modern, other forms of memory. Chakrabarty goes on to argue that Europe needs to be ‘provincialized’, and what is at stake here is precisely a Roviana history that is not based around a European model. History, certainly of the kind constructed from the printed papers, is firmly embedded in institutional practices that invoke the nation state. But in the same way that photographs taken by colonial officials can contain within them indigenous spaces – they are the result of various encounters – so histories have all kinds of absences and ambiguities that allow counter-histories to surface.⁶⁷ Europe must not be over-privileged. Constructing a colonial history can amount to perpetuating that past precisely through a particular way of constructing it.⁶⁸ For Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplin, their project of ‘taking photos home’ to Maori communities, was successful because

the photographs conveyed a past which had not died in individual memories, but which had been suppressed in the European-recorded historiography. They became the means by which a people’s history was recovered and their particular understanding of it brought into the world of light.⁶⁹

Keesing has written about the way in which he was co-opted into the Kwaio project of ‘straightening out’ and ‘writing down’ their history from the early days of his fieldwork on the Solomon island of Malaita in 1962.⁷⁰ He was pleased when the Kwaio ‘learnt to write down their genealogies in proper anthropological fashion rather than in Biblical ‘begats’.⁷¹ In Roviana the histories that can be ‘recovered’ from nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs are essentially those of extended kin groups and particular ancestors, but the writing down of genealogies causes significant problems, and there is a tacit realization that a single, uncontested history is not possible.

Rubbis

In relating the *Royalist* incident to the movements of his butubutu, Steven Ilo’s account above also demonstrates one reason why the incident is referred to in conversations about problems caused by the recent ‘ethnic tensions’ in the Solomons, such as Faletau’s passing comment that I started with. In 2000 and 2001 the influx of refugees

into Roviana from the troubles in the capital Honiara on Guadalcanal island had exacerbated long-standing arguments about land rights as people built new houses and made new claims for land, or reinstated dormant ones. The actions of HMS *Royalist* in 1891 caused a significant shift in residence patterns and land ownership, just as the problems in Honiara in 2000, which caused many Roviana people living in the capital to return home, entailed shifts in residence and reawakened land issues.

The troubles also affected Roviana people in other ways. As well as physically making more firearms available, as people brought these back with them from the capital, events in Honiara had an impact on local conceptions of violence in the past and the present. A series of violent incidents in Munda and elsewhere in Roviana – including the attempted killing of an expatriate, rape, and armed robbery – threatened local people's ideas of acceptable behaviour and cultural continuity. The disappearance of respect in the younger generations, and other perennial concerns, were thrown into sharp focus and became the subject of many heated debates. Donald Maepio's comment is typical of many I heard:

Before people had respect. Kastom was strong. If you did something wrong you had to pay a fine. People had respect for their elders. Now it has all finished. Now young people smoke [marijuana] and drink – they have guns – there is nothing for them. We need to make kastom strong again. Otherwise it will all be lost. Everything now is rubbis [rubbish].⁷²

Munda is now home to two local youth gangs, Westside and Tupac (after the Rap singer, Tupac Shakur) and marijuana is grown and smoked by teenagers, although currently not in large enough quantities to initiate the drugs-for-guns trade that is now widespread in Papua New Guinea. But people did express grave concerns that unless action was taken, the kinds of crime and violence (rascalism) that they associated with Papua New Guinea would soon spread to Roviana. Munda gangs mark out their territory through graffiti (Figures 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7) mimicking styles they encounter in the few videos and music magazines they see. As a result of one particular generational dispute Faletau was beaten up by a much younger relative. He spent several days in the local hospital, shaken by the collapse of respect that such an action signalled, as much as he was physically injured. The attack represented an assault on his conceptions of how things should be. It was against a backdrop of this kind of violence that discussions of history and HMS *Royalist* took place. For Faletau the violence of current events was beyond his understanding – 'the youth are crazy in their hearts'. For him, relating recent incidents to the *Royalist* attack was a way of making some sense of them. Histories often reveal more about the present of their telling than any past events, and Faletau's reactions to violent events in Munda were concerned with change and the ability to control change. The violence threatened Faletau's image of a peaceful Christianized Roviana, differentiated from the 'time before'.⁷³

The actions of youths also represent a threat to memory for a particular generation of Roviana people who have some knowledge of kastom. The lack of interest shown in kastom creates fear about its disappearance. Many older people complained that young people were not interested in their knowledge and would not listen to oral



Figure 6.5. Graffiti in Munda. Courtesy Christopher Wright.



Figure 6.6. Graffiti in Munda. Courtesy Christopher Wright.



Figure 6.7. Graffiti in Munda. Courtesy Christopher Wright.

histories. The Solomon Islands population growth rate has steadily increased over the past two or three decades and, as a result, a large proportion of the population are now aged under 20.⁷⁴ There are very few job opportunities for those leaving school and, particularly when young people have been to Honiara for their education, there is little or no interest in returning to Roviana and taking up a subsistence living based on fishing and gardening. Large numbers of bored teenagers are turning to marijuana and, in the absence of money to buy imported alcohol, are making a local moonshine called kwaso. In Honiara there is a growing problem with street crime and drug and alcohol use, and this was replicated on a smaller scale in Munda with the sudden influx of people fleeing the capital in 2000.

In comparison to contemporary events, the actions of the officers and men of HMS *Royalist* are understandable. British pacification did not result in the death of large numbers of Roviana people. As Christine Dureau points out, although they destroyed tomoko and religious relics, actions that undoubtedly had a significant impact, the British did not leave a 'legacy of death that could contribute to resistance and assertive identity building'.⁷⁵ There is a sense of loss, but there is surprisingly little anger about the actions of the men of HMS *Royalist*. The incident is recounted in the same way as stories about raids on Roviana carried out by people from Vella Lavella. It is seen as a retaliation for the murder of one person from a 'side'; Roviana people reportedly saw all 'white men' (tie vaka – people of the ship) as belonging to the same side.⁷⁶ Although elements of both the *Royalist* incident and current events are beyond the control of Roviana people, the *Royalist* incident is knowable in the sense that the actions of those involved are explainable in terms of local models and, as it happened in the past, the outcomes are known. The violent incidents in Munda in 2001 demonstrated the uncertainty of the future. Older Roviana people recall the colonial past in favourable terms, at least rhetorically, and although Independence Day is now celebrated in Roviana, it also provides an occasion for forms of colonial nostalgia. It is not that the events depicted in Faletau's photocopy are seen in a positive light – they are not – but there is an ambivalence that surrounds the image, that mitigates against it being seen solely in negative terms.⁷⁷

The other mitigating factor against negative readings of the *Royalist* incident is the way in which notions of savagery were displaced onto Malaitans. This was a feature of Roviana reactions to the violence in Honiara associated with the 'ethnic tensions'. The perceived threat of Malaitan aggression was a part of daily life in 2000 and 2001. There were regular rumours that members of the Malaitan Eagle Force were planning an attack on Munda or Gizo in which they would arrive in high-powered speedboats from Honiara and would loot, kill and burn. There is a sense in which Roviana people have ideas about Malaitan pagans that align them with colonial attitudes,⁷⁸ but these views are also informed by local oral histories of violent encounters between Roviana people and Malaitans working for European traders in the nineteenth century. Several Malaitan families were evicted from Munda directly after the armed coup in March 2000, and their burnt out houses were potent symbols of the disorder.⁷⁹ The displacement of savagery onto others allows a more favourable perception of powerful ancestors who, despite being bifo lotu, were even then 'not as violent' as Malaitans. In this context the actions of the British are seen as negative, but not because they were in essence bad people.

If we return to Faletau's passing comment that linked the events of the attack by HMS *Royalist* with upheaval caused by the ethnic tensions, both this, and his photocopy, can now be seen in a new light. Despite its relative illegibility, the photocopy endows the *Royalist* event with a visibility that enhances its significance. The visibility it enables is not a product of any visual clarity in the image, but the image functions like an object of memory. Both Faletau's comment and his photocopy are integral to understandings and expectations of history in contemporary Roviana. Faletau's conflation of past and present is itself photographic.⁸⁰ Edwards argues, after Eduardo Cadava, that 'photographs interrupt history and open up another possibility of history, one that spatialises time and temporalises space'⁸¹ and photographs are 'points of fracture', points that allow an 'opening out' and the possibility of new histories.⁸² The kinds of creativity that can result from shifting photographs from archives into other spaces reveals their historical usefulness to be myriad rather than singular.

Photographs are not valued as historical evidence in Roviana, at least not in the way dictated by any Euro-American model. Although there is an interest in the kinds of material culture photographs depict, their use extends far beyond this. Their efficacy resides in their ability to suggest a plenitude of memories and histories.⁸³ Nicholas Thomas's notion of double vision seems appropriate here: 'Indigenous historical consciousness is not necessarily defined around the same events or chronologies as European narrative. It may occupy a different ground altogether.'⁸⁴ Edwards argues against decoding the photographic image to reveal a truth, and suggests that, in approaching its relation to history, the focus should be on 'how photographic meaning is made in the precise intersections of ethnography, history and the past, both as a confrontation with the past and as an active and constituent part of the present'.⁸⁵

As Neumann has written in relation to Pacific histories, there is a need 'to subvert History with histories, no longer their grandiose history as an alternative to the colonial one, but breaking down the category history'.⁸⁶ In Roviana, committing a history to paper is seen as a way of making it strong, of fixing it in an authoritative form. Histories will undoubtedly continue to be written in some form in Roviana, but photographs are better suited to the more fluid and mobile work of Roviana histories. They can provoke histories and memories that are not immobilized by being written down. Photographs seem to offer the promise of historical fixity, of certainty, but they not do this, and it is precisely because they do not that they are such useful tools for Roviana histories. What does Faletau keep in his briefcase? He keeps the possibility of bringing forth a whole range of histories, and of opening up memories. He keeps a photo object that does the work of remembering, and that holds out the possibility of what Neumann calls a 'savage history'.⁸⁷ This is the alchemy of Faletau's photocopy.

CHAPTER 7

The Union Jack Festival, Kiribati

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I proceeded at noon for Teretei [sic]- meeting the king and the southern chiefs on the way- they evidently not caring to land until I arrived. I was met in the Maniaba by about 500 natives. Having explained my mission, and hoisted the flag, I told people that the war was over, and that in future there were to be no North and South parties- there was to be one party only and I hoped that now that peace was established they would try to improve the island.¹

When HMS *Royalist* arrived on the island of Tarawa in June 1892, Captain Davis had already declared a British protectorate over ten of the sixteen islands in the Gilberts group. While Tarawa was not the first of the Gilbert Islands to have the British flag raised over its coral soil, it was the most deeply affected by this act.

British annexation

In his report to the Admiralty about the third voyage of HMS *Royalist*, Davis described how when the ship arrived at Taratai village, on Tarawa, Islanders were in a period of civil war. A chief from South Tarawa, the paramount chief or king of Tarawa, was in conflict with Tentikinaich a chief from North Tarawa. Davis, who had heard about the conflict, arrived just before the fighting began only to be informed that the chief had already died.² Davis ordered Tentikinaich to stop the war and asked all Gilbertese to give up their guns, a list of which is recorded in the foreign office correspondence. In the Admiralty report it states that all of the Southern and Northern chiefs were asked to decide who should be the next paramount chief of the island, and Tenmaton from South Tarawa was nominated and recognized by all as being the natural successor. Despite Tenmaton being a southern chief, as overall ruler of the island, Davis commanded him to relocate to the northern village of Taratai, described by Davis as the 'principal village'³ of the island. Davis' decision was an attempt to remove Tenmaton from Mr Kustel, an American trader living in South Tarawa who he described as having a bad influence on Tenmaton. It was at Taratai on 8 June 1892, after this 'civil war' was ended that the Union Jack was raised, and the island of Tarawa was declared a British Protectorate. Davis continued with his mission, collecting guns introduced by European and American traders from both North and South Tarawa



Figure 7.1. The crew of HMS Royalist collecting guns on the Gilbert Islands, 1892. Courtesy Fiji Museum.

(Figure 7.1) and told everyone to return to their villages as a new government was going to be established to look after them.

Tarawa was the only island in the group where Davis spent any significant amount of time (more than one or two days), and this time was justified as peace keeping, which necessitated the strong and sustained establishment of the new Chief Tenmaton. Davis wrote in his report:

I pointed out to the King that I had given Tarawa far more attention than any other Island in the Group, in order to firmly establish his authority on the Island and that on the next visit of a British Man-of-War, I trusted that the state of the Island under his rule, would show that my endeavours had not been in vain.⁴

A previous peace treaty had been brokered between chiefs on the island by HMS *Miranda* in 1886, but had been unsuccessful and Davis was obviously keen that his would be seen to be a success.

In 1893 a Resident Commissioner was appointed to the Gilbert Islands. Initially based in Taratai, they were later moved further south on Tarawa, to Abaokoo and then Bairiki where the main Kiribati government offices are based today. Despite this, in a newspaper article summarizing the third voyage, Davis was recorded as saying that 'Butaritari is the most productive in the group, and its town or village the principal in the islands ... If a British residency is established in the Gilberts, it will no doubt be at Butaritari'.⁵ Why then was it established on Tarawa and why the village of Taratai? The answer may lie in British American relations in the Gilbert Islands in the 1890s.

American traders were unhappy with the annexation of the Gilbert Islands by Britain as it affected their local trading relations. Butaritari was the island where most American expatriates lived in the 1890s, and the decision to choose Tarawa as the seat of British governance may have been a way of appeasing the Americans. By establishing Taratai as the focal point of government activities on Tarawa, Davis was also moving activity away from American influences already established on the island.

One story, many voices

The story of the arrival of the British is well known throughout Kiribati. Today local oral narratives reflect the general context of the written Admiralty accounts, describing how, when Davis arrived, Tarawa had been engaged in a period of civil war involving ten successive conflicts over four generations between different chiefly groups. It is the individual details that change throughout oral narratives and other published accounts, such as the names of the chiefs involved and the reasons for local cooperation with the British. Despite Davis reporting that the Gilbertese actively campaigned for the Gilbert Islands to become a British protectorate,⁶ the reality seems less clear. Missionaries and traders had already been in the Islands for approximately 50 years prior to the arrival of HMS *Royalist*, changing the way of life significantly through the introduction of new religions, new laws and new materials. Oral histories tell competing narratives regarding this moment of change. Some argue that people were too scared of the warships to protest. Others state that life had already changed so much that people could not see how it could change any more. '[P]eople who had been defeated in warfare welcomed the British as a means of checking the tyranny of the victors, and with hopes of regaining lost lands.'⁷ Change had the potential to equalize society through British democracy, and recognizing local Indigenous agency in its implementation should not be underestimated. The pacification enforced by the British, and the resulting stability, may be the reason why Davis managed to collect relatively rare artefacts, like the coconut fibre cuirass (Figure 7.2), with ray skin sewn onto the front, as Islanders believed that they would no longer have any use for armour and weapons now that major local conflicts had ended, and that they were under the protection of the Crown⁸.

The core aspects of this narrative have been given further validation through a series of I-Kiribati publications: the publication of *The*



Figure 7.2. Coconut fibre and ray skin cuirass. Oc1904,0621.29. Copyright The Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 7.3. The crew of HMS Royalist raising the flag on the Gilbert Islands, 1892. Courtesy Fiji Museum.

Proceedings of HMS Royalist, May-August 1892 written by Davis and published by the Tarawa based Tungavalu Society in 1976, and the locally produced book *Kiribati: Aspects of History* in 1979. The widely popular website Jane's Oceania, run by an I-Kiribati expatriate, has also given this story a wider audience by making the Admiralty reports available online. Local people then have a core narrative that is a collection of memories told and understood from the point of view of the people of Taratai. The truth of what happened at Taratai (Figure 7.3) and the specific circumstances surrounding the annexation of Tarawa by the crew of HMS *Royalist* are almost unimportant now. The collective validation of the communities oral narrative legitimizes a Taratai cultural identity as distinct from that of other I-Kiribati.⁹

Revering Kappitoria

In his report to the Admiralty Davis made particular note of the Gilbertese 'knowledge of, and reverence for, 'Kappitoria' (Queen Victoria)' describing it as 'most surprising, considering how remote these islanders are from the outer world. I encouraged them to visit the ship, and the greatest artefact of interest to them on board was a photograph of Her Majesty'.¹⁰ Once the Gilbert Islands were brought under a British style of governance certain British elements were incorporated into Gilbertese society such as the payment of a Queen's Tax by local residents, and the celebration of the monarch's birthday. In return for his services to the Gilbertese people, Davis received 259 artefacts, not just from Tarawa, but from across the 16 islands he visited. The fans gifted from Davis to Queen Victoria (see Chapter 4) take on new meaning within this context. Were they gifts from local people to Davis or were they gifts that were

intended to make that journey to Queen Victoria's home at Osborne House, with Davis understood as a conduit for these gifts? While, for Davis, the majority of these artefacts were commodities that he sold on, perhaps representing one-sided gifts, or even some form of compensation for his work, to the people of Taratai in particular these artefacts initiated the beginning of what is now a 126-year long relationship with Britain. As Claire Warrior has argued, 'trading relationships do not just involve exchanges of goods, but rather are part of a wider system of circulating values and, in imperial and colonial contexts, different systems of value frequently come into contact with one another'.¹¹ Without a clear understanding of what these values are for both parties, different expectations then arise.

The Union Jack Anniversary Celebration

During a visit to Kiribati in 2016, I wanted to know if the *Royalist* featured in everyday life and found that the legacy of HMS *Royalist* and Davis feature quite strongly not just in local oral histories, but also within the national curriculum, the historical resources of the Catholic church, and the tourist industry. When people were shown pictures of the artefacts and photographs collected from Kiribati during the voyage, some people wanted to talk about artefacts, but many wanted to talk about the history. These discussions about HMS *Royalist* centred on a festival at Taratai (Figure 7.4), which is held in June each year with a date chosen based on the tides. It is well known throughout Kiribati and was started by the father of Raakai Curry, a current festival committee member, who, in 1992, petitioned the British High Commission on behalf of Taratai village to commemorate the centenary of the arrival of the British. The British High Commission, who were at that time still based in Tarawa, agreed to help the festival, and donated solar lights, a volleyball net (almost every village in Kiribati has one), two flag poles, a plaque commemorating the arrival of the British in 1892, and a small boat, named the *Royalist*, in order to allow people from Taratai no longer living in the village to attend the festival, which is only accessible by boat (Figure 7.5).

When interviewed, people from Taratai recalled that the festival was started to commemorate the moment when Davis brought peace to the island of Tarawa. The story of that peace has been passed down through the generations and people said that it was a good thing as it brought equality for all Islanders. Local council members said that in 1892 the community of Taratai welcomed Davis and his crew, and that they saw him as coming to help them.¹² That Kiribati is a peaceful nation is a very big part of Kiribati culture. The motto of peace is written on t-shirts and te be, the traditional wrap worn by men and women, used in advertising and tourism, and it is this message that is more important than the negative impact British colonialism had on the Islands. After independence from Britain in 1979, the national motto of Kiribati was also developed to emphasize the peaceful nature of the Island nation: it reads 'Te Mauri, Te Raoui, Te Tabomoa' meaning health, peace and prosperity. The festival was started after independence and Natan Itonga, a member of the Taratai diaspora in South Tarawa, suggested that the establishment of the Union Jack festival was in part about maintaining that connection with the British who had left.¹³ In her discussion of colonized Pacific societies, Jeannette Mageo has asked 'how do foreign elements, whether patterns of thinking or objects, enter into indigenous ways of going



Figure 7.4. The mwaneaba decorated for the Union Jack Anniversary Celebration at Taratai village, North Tarawa. Photograph by Alison Clark 2017. Copyright Alison Clark.



Figure 7.5. The British and Kiribati flag poles at Taratai village, North Tarawa. Photograph by Alison Clark 2016. Copyright Alison Clark.

about the world?’¹⁴ The Union Jack was recognized across the Pacific as a foreign symbol of power. Embracing this symbol into Indigenous society and culture meant that those who were associated with it enhanced their local standing.¹⁵ For example, the Union Jack was incorporated into local chiefly symbolism in Tahiti and Tonga. In the Gilbert Islands the Union Jack was raised in communities on the understanding that that community was then associated with the power of the British Empire. The continuation of this ritual by the community at Taratai continually reemphasizes this power affiliation.

The festival became so popular with the village that an organizing committee was set up and in 2017 it celebrated its 25th year. The committee is currently based in Betio, South Tarawa, which contains a large Taratai diaspora who have moved to South Tarawa for better job prospects and access to education. Known formally as The Union Jack Anniversary Celebration, each festival has a packed programme that begins with a parade led by the police band (Figure 7.6). Children from each school in Taratai and the surrounding villages march behind the police band and line up in rows in front of the marquee in which local dignitaries sit. Speeches are then made by the local priest, and the President of Kiribati, or representatives from the government, and women from Taratai perform a traditional dance. The Kiribati flag and the Union Jack are hoisted up the two flagpoles and the national anthems of each country are sung. The chairperson of the festival committee gives a speech, before all of the dignitaries are taken to the beach on the ocean side of the village to visit the place where nei Kateara, the ancestor of Taratai, sat waiting for her husband (Figure 7.7). More dancing and refreshments are provided and then everyone is moved back to the mwaneaba (meeting house) for further speeches, the announcements of donations, more dancing and a large feast (Figure 7.8). The formal activities finish anytime between 3pm and 5pm and are marked by a volleyball match in front of the mwaneaba. Evening activities for those who can stay commence around 6pm with another feast, a beauty contest and a quiz. Planning and fundraising for the festival begins in March each year and on average the festival costs AU\$10,000 to run. Aside from local fundraising from businesses and many of the resident high commissions, members of the expatriate Taratai community who live in Australia, England, the USA, and New Zealand also contribute money, as do Taratai seamen working on ships abroad. Everyone is expected to contribute. Families that cannot attend make a financial contribution, which maintains their place within the structure of the community.

In 2017, I participated in the festival and it was claimed that I was the first British person to have attended the festival since its inauguration in 1992. This inaugural festival was the first and the last time that a representative from the British High Commission, which no longer has offices in Kiribati, attended. In this role of British representative I was asked to give a speech at the festival on the history of HMS *Royalist* in Kiribati. As a British researcher, considering the legacy of this historical encounter, I have become inadvertently entangled in, what could be argued is, a delayed exchange relationship between the community at Taratai and the British.¹⁶ Davis was perceived as representing the British government and its subjects. Hence, the relationship that commenced with his arrival in 1892 was not between two individuals, or even between an individual and a group, as Davis may have thought, but rather, a relationship



Figure 7.6. School children marching in front of the mwaneaba at the Union Jack Anniversary Celebration at Taratai village, North Tarawa. Photograph by Alison Clark 2017. Copyright Alison Clark.



Figure 7.7. Guests visit the monument for nei Kateara as part of the Union Jack Anniversary Celebration at Taratai village, North Tarawa. Photograph by Alison Clark 2017. Copyright Alison Clark.



Figure 7.8. The feast inside the mwaneaba as part of the Union Jack Anniversary Celebration at Taratai village, North Tarawa. Photograph by Alison Clark 2017. Copyright Alison Clark.

between the village of Taratai and Britain. For the community of Taratai, Davis brought peace and a new way of life, which, because it flattened a hierarchical chiefly social system, was largely seen as beneficial for the whole village. His arrival in 1892 earmarked Taratai as a place of importance, and its role as the first seat of the new national government is still remembered today. When I first arrived at Taratai in 2016, people thought that I was from the British High Commission, and they raised the Union Jack to celebrate my arrival. There was a sense of disappointment on their part once this misunderstanding was cleared up, but there also remained an expectation about what my role should be as a British citizen. Whether it was intentional or not, the donation of goods and the stamp of approval given by the British High Commission to the festival in 1992 had perpetuated the relationship initiated by Davis in 1892. When I left the village in 2016, I was given instructions to deliver an invitation for the 2017 festival to the British High Commission in Fiji and to ask them to fix the now broken boat that was donated in 1992. The annual celebrations of the festival, which include the British national anthem and the British flag, highlights the importance of the British connection for the people at Taratai. Not only do the celebrations allow them to maintain their relationship with the British, they also maintain Taratai's status as an important village in Kiribati history. Mageo has argued that 'what remains in memory for the long duree is what has significance for us individually or collectively'.¹⁷ The community of Taratai has chosen to privilege their part of British colonial history in the Gilbert Islands over other parts of that history, which affect other islands in the Group. Positioning themselves against other communities whose oral histories also include the arrival of the British and the raising of the Union Jack, for Taratai it is their

part in this national history that is the most important. Attendees at the festival in 2017 spoke about the special nature of Taratai and its descendants and this was obviously important to people, as they stated 'Taratai people are the cleverest in Kiribati, which is why so many of them leave the village',¹⁸ reiterating that Taratai is an important part of Kiribati national history. For the organizing committee, for the council at Taratai, and for the Taratai community, the festival is a chance to bring the dispersed community back together once a year and to celebrate how special and how important it is to be from Taratai. Civic pride is linked to national pride, but in order for it to be upheld it also requires that colonial ties remain and that these relationships, however tenuous, are upheld. The Union Jack Anniversary Celebration can be viewed as a microcosm for wider issues relating to the reliance of previously colonized now independent Pacific nations, such as Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu or Kiribati, on foreign aid, whether that is from the country which colonized that island nation or from elsewhere. Foreign aid makes up around 20-25% of the gross domestic product (GDP) of Kiribati allowing the country to make much needed infrastructure improvements. Foreign donations from Taratai expatriates and supporters, and from the Taiwanese, Australian and New Zealand high commissions based in South Tarawa also make up around 50% of the money needed to run the festival at Taratai each year. Taratai expatriates support the festival because it is an important part of their identity.

The reasons for holding the Union Jack Anniversary Celebration are ultimately linked to celebrating one's culture, its importance and its survival. Just as the people of Roviana use the arrival of HMS *Royalist* to discuss contemporary social issues (see Chapter 6) the people of Taratai are using the Union Jack Anniversary Celebration to celebrate their local and national culture, which in the face of a rapidly changing island due to migration and climate change, is an important constant in the face of change. As one of the committee members said: 'we will continue to hold this festival until we are covered by water'.¹⁹ In a 2017 article in the *Guardian*, former Kiribati President Anote Tong said:

climate change for most if not all of the countries in the Pacific is a survival issue ... if we do not address the climate change challenge, all of our efforts in trying to achieve economic survival, economic viability all will come to nought.²⁰

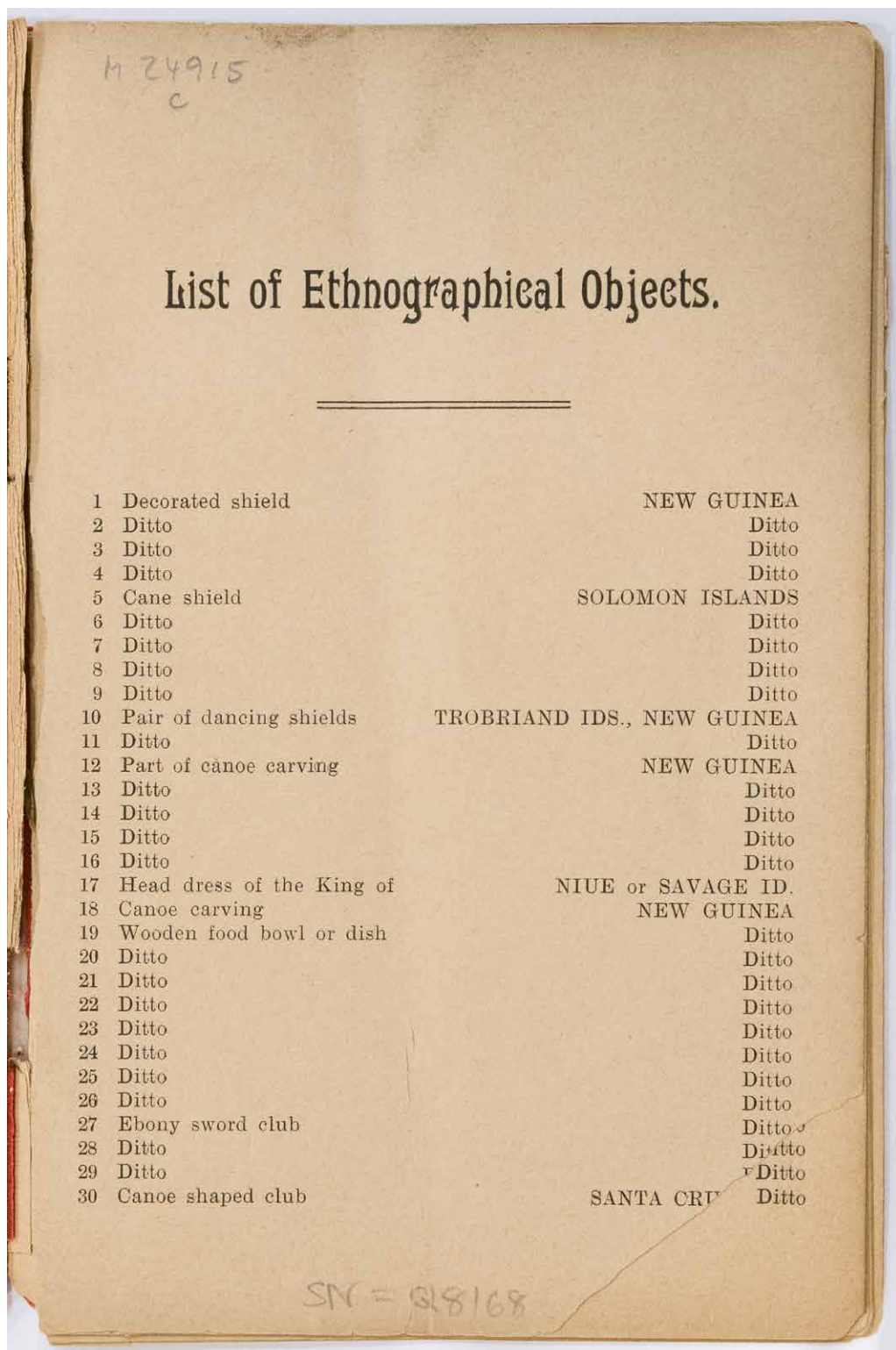
Tong's statement can be applied not just to economic survival but also cultural survival. I-Kiribati are reliant on the help of other nations to ensure their survival and for the community at Taratai their reliance on the relationship with Britain is more important than ever. Should the Islands eventually disappear, the I-Kiribati-British relationship will inform a new chapter in the history of British maritime exploration and colonial expansion. The artefacts that formed a part of the initial exchange relationship will be crucial in this process, as they act as a kind of diaspora of Kiribati material culture.²¹ The artefacts received and collected by Davis will continue to mediate relationships between Kiribati and Britain. How this relationship develops and continues remains to be seen.

APPENDIX

List of ethnographical objects

The collection of Captain Davis

The purpose of this appendix is to provide an indication of the current location of some of the artefacts collected by Captain Davis. Where there is a ? indicates that this is a probable guess. Those interested are referred to the institutions concerned for fuller information. Not all of the artefacts have been located and the author invites readers to assist in updating the catalogue whenever they come across a relevant artefact.



List of Ethnographical Objects. Collected during the Cruises of H.M.S. ROYALIST amongst the Islands of the WESTERN PACIFIC in 1890-91-92. New Guinea, New Hebrides, Solomons, Ellice, Gilbert, Marshall and other Islands.

List of Ethnological Objects.

Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
1	Decorated shield	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15715	
2	Decorated shield	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15716	
3	Decorated shield	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	12758	
4	Decorated shield	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
5	Cane shield	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
6	Cane shield	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
7	Cane shield	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11126	
8	Cane shield	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11127	
9	Cane shield	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
10	Pair of dancing shields	Trobriand Ids. New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
10	Pair of dancing shields	Trobriand Ids. New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
11	Pair of dancing shields	Trobriand Ids. New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15714	
11	Pair of dancing shields	Trobriand Ids. New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15713	
12	Part of canoe carving	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.26	
13	Part of canoe carving	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
14	Part of canoe carving	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
15	Part of canoe carving	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	12767	
16	Part of canoe carving	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
17	Head dress of the King of	Niue or Savage ID	?	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11150	
18	Canoe carving	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
19	Wooden food bowl or dish	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.6	
20	Wooden food bowl or dish	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
21	Wooden food bowl or dish	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
22	Wooden food bowl or dish	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
23	Wooden food bowl or dish	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
24	Wooden food bowl or dish	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
25	Wooden food bowl or dish	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
26	Wooden food bowl or dish	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
27	Ebony sword club	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.1	
28	Ebony sword club	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.2	
29	Ebony sword club	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.3	
30	Canoe shaped club	Santa Cruz IDS	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			

31	Coil of native rope	SOLOMON IDS.
32	Large fish hook	TASMAN IDS.
33	Hammer for breaking nuts	SOLOMON IDS.
34	Pig hammer for killing pigs	SOLOMON IDS.
35	Wooden drum	NEW GUINEA
36	Ditto	Ditto
37	Carved head from trunk of tree	SOLOMON IDS.
38	Carved wooden figure	SAN CRISTOVAL, Ditto
39	Ditto from post supporting ridge pole	UGI, Ditto
40	Conch shell—for signalling	Ditto
41	Ditto	Ditto
42	Wooden measure	Ditto
43	Carved wooden figure	Ditto
44	Ditto	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
45	Ditto, from post supporting ridge pole	Ditto
46	Ditto ditto	Ditto
47	Carved crocodile's head—man's head in jaws	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
48	Carved figure	UGI, SOLOMON IDS.
49	Ditto	Ditto
50	Ditto (hard wood), 4ft. 3in.	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
51	Large green stone axe, complete	NEW GUINEA
52	Ditto	Ditto
53	Ditto	Ditto
54	Stone club	Ditto
55	Ditto single star	Ditto
56	Ditto double star	Ditto
57	Ditto single disc	Ditto
58	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
59	Club	MALAITA ID., SOLOMON IDS.
60	Wooden bowl (large), inlaid pearl shell	ULAWA, SOLOMON IDS.
61	Club	MALAITA ID., SOLOMON IDS.
62	Wooden bowl, inlaid pearl shell	ULAWA, Ditto
63	Large ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
64	Wooden bowl Ditto	Ditto Ditto
65	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
66	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
67	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
68	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
69	Model canoe Ditto	SANTA ANNA, Ditto
70	Ditto	STEWART ISLANDS
71	Conch shell, formed like whale's tooth	SOLOMON IDS.

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
31	Coil of native rope	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Horniman Museum?	30,13	
32	Large fish hook	Tasman Islands				
33	Hammer for breaking nuts	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
34	Pig hammer for killing pigs	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
35	Wooden drum	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum	D8/1938	
36	Wooden drum	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	1904,3	
37	Carved head from trunk of tree	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11013	
38	Carved wooden figure	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.14	
39	Ditto from post supporting ridge pole	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11005	
40	Conch shell- for signalling	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1894,-.195	
41	Conch shell- for signalling	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891			
42	Wooden measure	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11028	
43	Carved wooden figure	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891			
44	Carved wooden figure	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
45	Ditto from post supporting ridge pole	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11007	
46	Ditto from post supporting ridge pole	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1894,-.189	
47	Carved crocodile's head- man's head in jaws	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11004	
48	Carved figure	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891			
49	Carved figure	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891			
50	Carved figure 4ft. 3in	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11006	
51	Large green stone axe, complete	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Wolrd Museum Liverpool?	54.109.80	Only the blade.
52	Large green stone axe, complete	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
53	Large green stone axe, complete	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
54	Stone club	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	12755	
55	Stone club single star	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	12757	
56	Stone club double star	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	12756	
57	Stone club single disc	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Horniman Museum?	6,37	
58	Stone club single disc	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Horniman Museum?	6,38	
59	Club	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891			
60	Wooden bowl (large), inlaid pearl shell	Ulaw	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
61	Club	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891			
62	Wooden bowl, inlaid pearl shell	Ulaw	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.255	
63	Wooden bowl, inlaid pearl shell	Ulaw	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
64	Wooden bowl	Ulaw	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
65	Wooden bowl	Ulaw	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
66	Wooden bowl	Ulaw	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
67	Wooden bowl	Ulaw	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
68	Wooden bowl	Ulaw	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
69	Model canoe	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11030	
70	Model canoe	Stewart Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11145	
71	Clam shell, formed like whale's tooth	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11098	

72	Club	MALAITA ID., SOLOMON IDS.	
73	Club shield	SANTA ANNA, Ditto	
74	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
75	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
76	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
77	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
78	Carved wood	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto	
79	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
80	Ditto crocodile	Ditto	Ditto
81	Kawas (bar of coral) used for fighting	TANNA, NEW HEBRIDES	
82	Conch shell, for signalling	SOLOMON IDS.	
83	Ebony sword club—carved	NEW GUINEA	
84	Ditto	Ditto	
85	Ditto	Ditto	
86	Palm wood club	GILBERT IDS.	
87	Ditto	Ditto	
88	Ditto	Ditto	
89	Pig hammer of TAPPEA	Chief of AURE ID., NEW HEBRIDES	
90	Tomahawk	Ditto	
91	Ditto	Ditto	
92	Ditto	Ditto	
93	Ditto	Ditto	
94	Ditto	Ditto	
95	Wooden club	FIJI IDS.	
96	Dancing wand, spear and axe	SOLOMON IDS.	
97	Hammer for breaking nuts	Ditto	
98	Ditto	Ditto	
99	Small club	FIJI IDS.	
100	Shells, slung, for attracting fish	SOLOMON IDS.	
101	Water gourd, inlaid beads	TREASURY ID.	
102	Ditto Ditto	Ditto	
103	Lime gourd and spoon	NEW GUINEA	
104	Tomahawk, inlaid pearl shell	SOLOMON IDS.	
105	Tomahawk	Ditto	
106	Fishing float	UGI, Ditto	
107	Ditto	Ditto Ditto	
108	Wood ear plugs—inlaid pearl shell	Ditto	
109	Rice pounder	Ditto	
110	Dancing club	SANTA ANNA, Ditto	
111	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
112	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
113	Wood food bowl shaped like cow	Ditto	Ditto

Beasley Coll. 20/-

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
72	Club	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891			
73	Club shield	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
74	Club shield	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
75	Club shield	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
76	Club shield	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
77	Club shield	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
78	Carved wood	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
79	Carved wood	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
80	Carved wood crocodile	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	11003	
81	Kawas (bar of coral) used for fighting	Tanna, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10954	
82	Conch shell- for signalling	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
83	Ebony sword club-carved	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.4	
84	Ebony sword club-carved	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
85	Ebony sword club-carved	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
86	Palm wood club	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10832	
87	Palm wood club	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge	2008.26	
88	Palm wood club	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1944,02.917	
89	Pig hammer of TAPPEA	Chief of Aure ID, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10951	
90	Tomahawk	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	10952	
91	Tomahawk	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
92	Tomahawk	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
93	Tomahawk	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
94	Tomahawk	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
95	Wooden club	Fiji Islands	16/11/1891-17/8/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.10	
96	Dancing wand, spear and axe	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10928	Spear
96	Dancing wand, spear and axe	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10929	Dancing wand
96	Dancing wand, spear and axe	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10930	Axe
97	Hammer for breaking nuts	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11122	Tapa beater
98	Hammer for breaking nuts	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
99	Small club	Fiji Islands	16/11/1891-17/8/1892			
100	Shells, slung, for attracting fish	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.20	
101	Water gourd, inlaid beads	Treasury Island	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11111	
102	Water gourd, inlaid beads	Treasury Island	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11112	
103	Lime gourd and spoon	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Horniman Museum?	6,32	
104	Tomahawk, inlaid pearl shell	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
105	Tomahawk	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
106	Fishing float	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891			
107	Fishing float	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891			
108	Wood ear plugs- inlaid pearl shell	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11058	
108	Wood ear plugs- inlaid pearl shell	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11059	
109	Rice pounder	Ugi	6/7/1891-5/11/1891			
110	Dancing club	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
111	Dancing club	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
112	Dancing club	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
113	Wood food bowl shaped like cow	Santa Anna	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11027	

114	Stone adze	SOLOMON IDS.
115	Adze—with plane iron	Ditto
116	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
117	Fishing net	NEW GUINEA
118	Ditto	Ditto
119	Ditto	Ditto
120	Ditto	Ditto
121	Ditto	Ditto
122	Ditto	Ditto
123	Ditto	Ditto
124	Two hand nets for fishing on reefs	Ditto
125	Woman's dress	Ditto
126	Bamboo pipe	Ditto
127	Ditto	Ditto
128	Fibre of Pandanus palm for making nets	Ditto
129	Ditto	Ditto
130	Carved and inlaid food bowl	SOLOMON IDS.
131	Large shell adze	BANKS IDS.
132	Green stone axe	SOLOMON IDS.
133	Plane iron adze	NEW HEBRIDES
134	Wooden shark—chief's skull inside—rare	
	from SANTA ANNA, SOLOMON IDS.	
135	Mask	NEW HEBRIDES
136	Coil of native rope	SOLOMON IDS.
137	Bead armlet	NEW HEBRIDES
138	Two ditto	Ditto
139	Drill	SOLOMON IDS.
140	Tree fibre—used for stupefying fish	BANKS IDS.
141	Taro knife	Ditto
142	Pudding ditto	Ditto
143	Carved lime spoon	SOLOMON IDS.
144	Two yam knives	BANKS IDS.
145	Spear with human bones	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
146	Ditto	Ditto
147	Ditto	Ditto
148	Ditto	Ditto
149	Ditto	Ditto
150	Ditto	Ditto
151	Ditto	Ditto
152	Ditto	Ditto
153	Ditto	Ditto
154	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
114	Stone adze	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15178,2	
115	Adze- with plane iron	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Horniman Museum?	30,39	
116	Adze- with plane iron	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	11123	
117	Fishing net	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.202	
118	Fishing net	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell Cotton Museum?	D20	
119	Fishing net	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
120	Fishing net	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
121	Fishing net	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
122	Fishing net	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
123	Fishing net	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
124	Two hand nets for fishing on reefs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
124	Two hand nets for fishing on reefs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
125	Woman's dress	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	D12	
126	Bamboo pipe	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
127	Bamboo pipe	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
128	Fibre of Pandanus palm for making nets	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.205	
129	Fibre of Pandanus palm for making nets	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	British Museum?	Oc1980,Q.262	
130	Carved and inlaid food bowl	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
131	Large shell adze	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10995	
132	Green stone axe	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
133	Plane iron adze	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
134	Wooden shark- chief's skull inside-rare	Santa Anna		British Museum	Oc1904,0621.13	
135	Mask	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.19	
136	Coil of native rope	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1894,-.197	
137	Bead armet	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	National Museums Scotland	A.1954.175	
138	Two ditto	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.82	
138	Two ditto	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.83	
139	Drill	Solomon Islands				
140	Tree fibre- used for stupefying fish	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
141	Taro knife	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10979	
142	Pudding knife	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10980	
143	Carved lime spoon	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum?	Oc1904,0621.15	
144	Two yam knives	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10981	
144	Two yam knives	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10982	
145	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
146	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
147	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
148	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
149	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10942	
150	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
151	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
152	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10943	
153	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
154	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			

155	Spear with human bones	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
156	Ditto	Ditto
157	Paddle	SOLOMON IDS.
158	Ditto	Ditto
159	Ditto	Ditto
160	Ditto	Ditto
161	Ditto	Ditto
162	Ditto	Ditto
163	Ditto	Ditto
164	Ditto	Ditto
165	Ditto	Ditto
166	Ditto	NEW HEBRIDES
167	Ditto	Ditto
168	Ditto	Ditto
169	Club	Ditto
170	Ditto	Ditto
171	Ditto	Ditto
172	Ditto	Ditto
173	Ditto	Ditto
174	Ditto	Ditto
175	Spear	BOUGAINVILLE, SOLOMON IDS.
176	Ditto	Ditto
177	Ditto	Ditto
178	Ditto	Ditto
179	Ditto	Ditto
180	Ditto	Ditto
181	Ditto	Ditto
182	Ditto	Ditto
183	Ditto	Ditto
184	Chief's inlaid wand	from MALAITA, SOLOMON IDS.
185	Club or staff	Ditto
186	Nut ear ring, inlaid pearl shell	Ditto
187	Woman's dress	Ditto
188	Shell necklet and ear rings	Ditto
189	Seed necklet and shells (fresh water), widow's ornaments	Ditto
190	Shell disc for breast ornament	Ditto
191	Seed necklet—used by widows	Ditto
192	Tortoise shell armlet	Ditto
193	Body belt	NEW GUINEA
194	Ditto	Ditto
195	Dog's tooth and bead necklet	SOLOMON IDS

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
155	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
156	Spear with human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
157	Paddle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11149	
158	Paddle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	11113	
159	Paddle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
160	Paddle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
161	Paddle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
162	Paddle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
163	Paddle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11115	
164	Paddle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11116	
165	Paddle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
166	Paddle	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	10947	Paddle shaped club.
167	Paddle	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	10948	Paddle shaped club.
168	Paddle	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
169	Club	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
170	Club	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
171	Club	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10950	
172	Club	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
173	Club	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10949	
174	Club	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10953	
175	Spear	Bougainville	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
176	Spear	Bougainville	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
177	Spear	Bougainville	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
178	Spear	Bougainville	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
179	Spear	Bougainville	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
180	Spear	Bougainville	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
181	Spear	Bougainville	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
182	Spear	Bougainville	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
183	Spear	Bougainville	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
184	Chief's inlaid wand	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11092	
185	Club or staff	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891			
186	Nut ear ring, inlaid pearl shell	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891			
187	Woman's dress	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891			
188	Shell necklet and ear rings	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11047	
188	Shell necklet and ear rings	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891			
189	Seed necklet and shells (fresh water), widow's ornaments	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11041	Seed necklet
189	Seed necklet and shells (fresh water), widow's ornaments	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11043	Shells.
190	Shell disc for breast ornament	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11060	
191	Seed necklet-used by widows	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11044	
192	Tortoise shell armlet	Malaita Island	9/7/1891-7/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11082	
193	Body belt	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	British Museum?	Oc1944,02.1950	
194	Body belt	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	British Museum?	Oc1944,02.1951	
195	Dog's tooth and bead necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	National Museums Scotland	A.1954.147	

196	Shell ornament and bead necklet	SOLOMON IDS.
197	Ditto, beads and human teeth	Ditto
198	Necklet, dogs' teeth and shells	Ditto
199	Ear rings—shell and tortoise shell	Ditto
200	Ten shell armlets	Ditto
201	Eight ditto, and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Ditto
202	Eight shell armlets	Ditto
203	Native candle	RUBIANA, Ditto
204	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets	SOLOMON IDS.
205	Ditto, and seed necklet	Ditto
206	Ditto, and dyed sennet	Ditto
207	String of money (will purchase a woman)	NEW HEBRIDES
208	Woman's dress and string of seeds	SOLOMON IDS.
209	Ditto and Jew's harp	Ditto
210	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
211	Two very fine large clam shell armlets.	Ditto
212	One ditto and three small ditto	Ditto
213	Five shell armlets	Ditto
214	Five ditto	Ditto
215	Four ditto	Ditto
216	Four ditto	Ditto
217	Four ditto	Ditto
218	Four ditto	Ditto
219	Bunch small shell rings	Ditto
220	Ditto, as a necklet	Ditto
221	Whale's tooth used as necklet	Ditto
222	Woman's dress and Jew's harp	Ditto
223	Whale's tooth used as necklet	Ditto
224	Ditto	Ditto
225	Woman's dress, dyed sennet, shell disc	Ditto
226	Grave ornaments	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
227	Taro knife	BANKS IDS.
228	Necklet of porpoise teeth	SOLOMON IDS.
229	Ditto, fish teeth	Ditto
230	Lime gourd	Ditto
231	Ditto	Ditto
232	Large paddle	NEW GUINEA
233	Basket	GILBERT IDS.
234	Necklet made of discs of shells	Ditto
235	Ditto	Ditto
236	Ditto	Ditto
237	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
196	Shell ornament and bead necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
197	Shell ornament and bead necklet, beads and human teeth	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.35	
198	Necklet, dog's teeth and shells	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.44	
199	Ear rings- shell and tortoise shell	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	1904.31-32	
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
200	Ten shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
201	Eight shell armlets and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11061	
201	Eight shell armlets and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11062	
201	Eight shell armlets and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11063	
201	Eight shell armlets and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11064	
201	Eight shell armlets and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11065	
201	Eight shell armlets and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11066	
201	Eight shell armlets and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11067	
201	Eight shell armlets and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11068	
201	Eight shell armlets and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11069-11070	
202	Eight shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
202	Eight shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
202	Eight shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
202	Eight shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
202	Eight shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
202	Eight shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
202	Eight shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
202	Eight shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
203	Native candle	Rubiana	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
204	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11079	One armlet
204	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11080	One armlet
204	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
205	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets and seed necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	World Museum Liverpool?	54.112.336	One armlet
205	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets and seed necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	World Museum Liverpool?	54.112.336	One armlet
205	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets and seed necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology	1904,33	Skirt
205	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets and seed necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology	1904,34	Seed necklet
206	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets and dyed sennet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	World Museum Liverpool?	54.112.341.A	One armlet
206	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets and dyed sennet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	World Museum Liverpool?	54.112.341.B	One armlet
206	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets and dyed sennet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			

196	Shell ornament and bead necklet	SOLOMON IDS.
197	Ditto, beads and human teeth	Ditto
198	Necklet, dogs' teeth and shells	Ditto
199	Ear rings—shell and tortoise shell	Ditto
200	Ten shell armlets	Ditto
201	Eight ditto, and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Ditto
202	Eight shell armlets	Ditto
203	Native candle	RUBIANA, Ditto
204	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets	SOLOMON IDS.
205	Ditto, and seed necklet	Ditto
206	Ditto, and dyed sennet	Ditto
207	String of money (will purchase a woman)	NEW HEBRIDES
208	Woman's dress and string of seeds	SOLOMON IDS.
209	Ditto and Jew's harp	Ditto
210	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
211	Two very fine large clam shell armlets.	Ditto
212	One ditto and three small ditto	Ditto
213	Five shell armlets	Ditto
214	Five ditto	Ditto
215	Four ditto	Ditto
216	Four ditto	Ditto
217	Four ditto	Ditto
218	Four ditto	Ditto
219	Bunch small shell rings	Ditto
220	Ditto, as a necklet	Ditto
221	Whale's tooth used as necklet	Ditto
222	Woman's dress and Jew's harp	Ditto
223	Whale's tooth used as necklet	Ditto
224	Ditto	Ditto
225	Woman's dress, dyed sennet, shell disc	Ditto
226	Grave ornaments	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
227	Taro knife	BANKS IDS.
228	Necklet of porpoise teeth	SOLOMON IDS.
229	Ditto, fish teeth	Ditto
230	Lime gourd	Ditto
231	Ditto	Ditto
232	Large paddle	NEW GUINEA
233	Basket	GILBERT IDS.
234	Necklet made of discs of shells	Ditto
235	Ditto	Ditto
236	Ditto	Ditto
237	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
207	String of money (will purchase a woman)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
208	Woman's dress and string of seeds	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
209	Woman's dress and string of seeds and Jew's harp	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Städtisches Volker-Museum Frankfurt?	24387	Banana fibre skirt.
209	Woman's dress and string of seeds and Jew's harp	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
209	Woman's dress and string of seeds and Jew's harp	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
210	Woman's dress and string of seeds and Jew's harp	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum?	Oc1944,02.1374	Jew's harp.
210	Woman's dress and string of seeds and Jew's harp	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
210	Woman's dress and string of seeds and Jew's harp	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
211	Two very fine large clam shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
211	Two very fine large clam shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
212	One very fine large clam shell armlet and three small clam shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
212	One very fine large clam shell armlet and three small clam shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
212	One very fine large clam shell armlet and three small clam shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
212	One very fine large clam shell armlet and three small clam shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
213	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
213	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
213	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
213	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
213	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
214	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
214	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
214	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
214	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
214	Five shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
215	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
215	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
215	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
215	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			

196	Shell ornament and bead necklet	SOLOMON IDS.
197	Ditto, beads and human teeth	Ditto
198	Necklet, dogs' teeth and shells	Ditto
199	Ear rings—shell and tortoise shell	Ditto
200	Ten shell armlets	Ditto
201	Eight ditto, and pair tortoise shell ear rings	Ditto
202	Eight shell armlets	Ditto
203	Native candle	RUBIANA, Ditto
204	Woman's dress and two dyed grass armlets	SOLOMON IDS.
205	Ditto, and seed necklet	Ditto
206	Ditto, and dyed sennet	Ditto
207	String of money (will purchase a woman)	NEW HEBRIDES
208	Woman's dress and string of seeds	SOLOMON IDS.
209	Ditto and Jew's harp	Ditto
210	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
211	Two very fine large clam shell armlets.	Ditto
212	One ditto and three small ditto	Ditto
213	Five shell armlets	Ditto
214	Five ditto	Ditto
215	Four ditto	Ditto
216	Four ditto	Ditto
217	Four ditto	Ditto
218	Four ditto	Ditto
219	Bunch small shell rings	Ditto
220	Ditto, as a necklet	Ditto
221	Whale's tooth used as necklet	Ditto
222	Woman's dress and Jew's harp	Ditto
223	Whale's tooth used as necklet	Ditto
224	Ditto	Ditto
225	Woman's dress, dyed sennet, shell disc	Ditto
226	Grave ornaments	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
227	Taro knife	BANKS IDS.
228	Necklet of porpoise teeth	SOLOMON IDS.
229	Ditto, fish teeth	Ditto
230	Lime gourd	Ditto
231	Ditto	Ditto
232	Large paddle	NEW GUINEA
233	Basket	GILBERT IDS.
234	Necklet made of discs of shells	Ditto
235	Ditto	Ditto
236	Ditto	Ditto
237	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
216	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
216	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
216	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
216	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
217	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
217	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
217	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
217	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
218	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
218	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
218	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
218	Four shell armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
219	Bunch small shell rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.59	
220	Bunch small shell rings as a necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11078	
221	Whale's tooth used as necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11097	
222	Woman's dress and Jew's harp	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.85	Banana fibre skirt.
222	Woman's dress and Jew's harp	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.87	Jew's harp.
223	Whale's tooth used as necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
224	Whale's tooth used as necklet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
225	Woman's dress, dyed sennet, shell disc	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
226	Grave ornaments	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Horniman Museum?	6,28	
227	Taro knife	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
228	Necklet of porpoise teeth	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11052	
229	Necklet of fish teeth	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11053	
230	Lime gourd	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
231	Lime gourd	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
232	Large paddle	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
233	Basket	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10876	
234	Necklet made of discs of shells	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.102	
235	Necklet made of discs of shells	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Pitt Rivers Museum?	1906.66.2	
236	Necklet made of discs of shells	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10867	
237	Necklet made of discs of shells	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.252	

238	Necklet made of discs of shells	GILBERT IDS.
239	Ditto	Ditto
240	Ditto large ditto	Ditto
241	Ditto, shell and women's hair plaited	Ditto
242	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
243	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
244	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
245	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
246	Ditto, women's hair plaited	Ditto
247	Shell disc for breast ornament	Ditto
248	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
249	Two shell necklets	Ditto
250	Two Ditto	Ditto
251	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Ditto
252	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
253	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
254	Hair necklet with shell disc	Ditto
255	Plaited women's hair for necklets	Ditto
256	Large shell disc necklet	Ditto
257	Necklet of beads and bone ornament	Ditto
258	Needle of bone for sewing thatch	Ditto
259	Awl used for sewing canoe planks	Ditto
260	Fish skin rasp for canoe building	Ditto
261	Five combs	Ditto
262	Three ditto	Ditto
263	Three ditto	Ditto
264	Three ditto	Ditto
265	Food pounder	Ditto
266	Bone needle for sewing thatch	Ditto
267	Ditto ditto	Ditto
268	Piece of whale's tooth for neck ornament	Ditto
269	Two pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	MARSHALL IDS.
270	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
271	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
272	Half whale's tooth used as necklet	GILBERT IDS.
273	Woman's shark's teeth fighting knife	Ditto
274	Ditto	Ditto
275	Ditto	Ditto
276	Ditto	Ditto
277	Ditto	Ditto
278	Woman's fighting knife—fish jaw bone	Ditto
279	Ditto shark's teeth	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
238	Necklet made of discs of shells	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-253	
239	Necklet made of discs of shells	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
240	Necklet made of discs of shells	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10866	
241	Necklet made of discs of shells and women's hair plaited	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Horniman Museum?	6,3	
242	Necklet made of discs of shells and women's hair plaited	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology?	E 1904.44/ Z 11630	
243	Necklet made of discs of shells and women's hair plaited	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-241	
244	Necklet made of discs of shells and women's hair plaited	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-242	
245	Necklet made of discs of shells and women's hair plaited	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-243	
246	Necklet made of discs of shells and women's hair plaited	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.99	
247	Shell disc for breast ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10873	
248	Shell disc for breast ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15876	Onotoa
249	Two shell necklets	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.98	
249	Two shell necklets	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.36	
250	Two shell necklets	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	E 1904.46/Z 7197	
250	Two shell necklets	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	E 1904.44/Z 11630	
251	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
251	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
251	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
252	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10869	Shell necklet
252	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	12378	Armlet
252	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	12377	Armlet
253	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
253	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
253	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
254	Hair necklet with shell disc	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10874	
255	Plaited women's hair for necklets	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10875	
256	Large shell disc necklet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
257	Necklet of beads and bone ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10871	
257	Necklet of beads and bone ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15874	
258	Needle of bone for sewing thatch	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10844	Bone needle
259	Awl used for sewing canoe planks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
260	Fish skin rasp for canoe building	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10847	Fish skin rasp

238	Necklet made of discs of shells	GILBERT IDS.
239	Ditto	Ditto
240	Ditto large ditto	Ditto
241	Ditto, shell and women's hair plaited	Ditto
242	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
243	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
244	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
245	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
246	Ditto, women's hair plaited	Ditto
247	Shell disc for breast ornament	Ditto
248	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
249	Two shell necklets	Ditto
250	Two Ditto	Ditto
251	Shell necklet and two armlets, shell and palm wood discs	Ditto
252	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
253	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
254	Hair necklet with shell disc	Ditto
255	Plaited women's hair for necklets	Ditto
256	Large shell disc necklet	Ditto
257	Necklet of beads and bone ornament	Ditto
258	Needle of bone for sewing thatch	Ditto
259	Awl used for sewing canoe planks	Ditto
260	Fish skin rasp for canoe building	Ditto
261	Five combs	Ditto
262	Three ditto	Ditto
263	Three ditto	Ditto
264	Three ditto	Ditto
265	Food pounder	Ditto
266	Bone needle for sewing thatch	Ditto
267	Ditto ditto	Ditto
268	Piece of whale's tooth for neck ornament	Ditto
269	Two pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	MARSHALL IDS.
270	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
271	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
272	Half whale's tooth used as necklet	GILBERT IDS.
273	Woman's shark's teeth fighting knife	Ditto
274	Ditto	Ditto
275	Ditto	Ditto
276	Ditto	Ditto
277	Ditto	Ditto
278	Woman's fighting knife—fish jaw bone	Ditto
279	Ditto shark's teeth	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
261	Five combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10861	
261	Five combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10862	
261	Five combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10863	
261	Five combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	unlocated Speyer collection		
261	Five combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10865	
262	Three combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.24	
262	Three combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.24	
262	Three combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.24	
263	Three combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.24	
263	Three combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.24	
263	Three combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.24	
264	Three combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
264	Three combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
264	Three combs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
265	Food pounder	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10835	Coral pounder
266	Bone needle for sewing thatch	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10845	Bone needle
267	Bone needle for sewing thatch	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10843	Bone awl
268	Piece of whale's tooth for neck ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Pitt Rivers Museum	1913.65.38	Onotoa
269	Two pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15877	
269	Two pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	Otago Museum?	D23-98	
270	Two pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1980,Q.871	
270	Two pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892			
271	Two pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.50	
271	Two pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.51	
272	Half whale's tooth used as necklet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15875	Onotoa
273	Woman's shark's teeth fighting knife	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10840	
274	Woman's shark's teeth fighting knife	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10838	
275	Woman's shark's teeth fighting knife	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15883	
276	Woman's shark's teeth fighting knife	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15884	
277	Woman's shark's teeth fighting knife	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15885	
278	Woman's fighting knife- fish jaw bone	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10842	Fish jaw bone
279	Woman's shark's teeth fighting knife	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	E 1904.48/ Z 7052	

280	Woman's fighting knife—shark's teeth	GILBERT IDS.
281	Half whale's tooth for necklet	Ditto
282	Basket	Ditto
283	Ditto	Ditto
284	Fighting spear for ripping shark's teeth off spear	Ditto
285	Palm wood spear	Ditto
286	Palm wood spear fitted shark's teeth	Ditto
287	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
288	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
289	Ditto Ditto and a plain spear	Ditto
290	Ditto	Ditto
291	Single fighting stick fitted shark's teeth	GILBERT IDS.
292	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
293	Forked, ditto Ditto	Ditto
294	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
295	Shark's teeth sword	PERU Ditto
296	Cocoa nut scraper	KURIA Ditto
297	Two pearl shell fish hooks <i>Beasley Coll. 4/</i>	MARSHALL IDS.
298	Shell sinker for fishing	GILBERT IDS.
299	Fighting weapon—whale's bone handle and shark's teeth	Ditto
300	Ditto wood and ditto	Ditto
301	Two palm wood clubs	Ditto
302	Two ditto	Ditto
303	Two ditto	Ditto
304	One ditto	Ditto
305	One square and one round, pointed spears	Ditto
306	One short spear with bone head	Ditto
307	One sennet jacket and trousers for fishing in	Ditto
308	One ditto Ditto	Ditto
309	One trousers Ditto	Ditto
310	One ditto Ditto	Ditto
311	One bone body belt	MIANA Ditto
312	Shell adze	MARSHALL IDS.
313	Fancy plaited rope	Ditto
314	Ditto	Ditto
315	Bone body belt	MIANA, GILBERT IDS.
316	Body belt, palm wood discs	Ditto
317	Two mats, cocoa nut fibre	Ditto
318	Three men's straw hats	ELLICE IDS.
319	Two baskets, three fans	Ditto
320	Two baskets, three fans	ELLICE IDS.
321	Two clubs—rare	SOLOMON IDS.

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
280	Woman's fighting knife-shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10839	Small shark's tooth weapon
281	Half whale's tooth for necklet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Pitt Rivers Museum	1913.65.36	Onotoa
282	Basket	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10878	
283	Basket	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10877	
284	Fighting spear for ripping shark's teeth off spear	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1904,0621.30	
285	Palm wood spear	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
286	Palm wood spear fitted shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
287	Palm wood spear fitted shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
288	Palm wood spear fitted shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
289	Palm wood spear fitted shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
290	Palm wood spear fitted shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
291	Single fighting stick fitted shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Pitt Rivers Museum?	1906.66.1.1-2	Tattooing equipment.
292	Single fighting stick fitted shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10841	Tattooing equipment.
293	Forked, Single fighting stick fitted shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.217	
294	Forked, Single fighting stick fitted shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
295	Shark's teeth sword	Peru Island	2/6/1891-4/6/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10836	From Beru.
296	Cocoa nut scraper	Kuria Island	6/6/1892-7/6/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10640	Scraper
297	Two pearl shell fish hooks	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1980,Q.872	
297	Two pearl shell fish hooks	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1980,Q.873	
298	Shell sinker for fishing	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.27	
299	Fighting weapon- whale's bone handle and shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.24	
300	Fighting weapon- whale's bone handle and shark's teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
301	Two palm wood clubs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10833	
301	Two palm wood clubs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10834	
302	Two palm wood clubs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1894,-.215	
302	Two palm wood clubs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1894,-.216	
303	Two palm wood clubs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1944,02.916	
303	Two palm wood clubs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	National Museums Scotland	A.1947.50	
304	One palm wood club	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
305	One square and one round, pointed spears	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10828	
305	One square and one round, pointed spears	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10829	
306	One short spear with bone head	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10827	
307	One sennet jacket and trousers for fishing in	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10891	Overalls
307	One sennet jacket and trousers for fishing in	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10892	Sleeves
308	One sennet jacket and trousers for fishing in	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
309	One trousers	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
310	One trousers	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			

280	Woman's fighting knife—shark's teeth	GILBERT IDS.
281	Half whale's tooth for necklet	Ditto
282	Basket	Ditto
283	Ditto	Ditto
284	Fighting spear for ripping shark's teeth off spear	Ditto
285	Palm wood spear	Ditto
286	Palm wood spear fitted shark's teeth	Ditto
287	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
288	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
289	Ditto Ditto and a plain spear	Ditto
290	Ditto	Ditto
291	Single fighting stick fitted shark's teeth	GILBERT IDS.
292	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
293	Forked, ditto Ditto	Ditto
294	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
295	Shark's teeth sword	PERU Ditto
296	Cocoa nut scraper	KURIA Ditto
297	Two pearl shell fish hooks <i>Beasley Coll. 4/</i>	MARSHALL IDS.
298	Shell sinker for fishing	GILBERT IDS.
299	Fighting weapon—whale's bone handle and shark's teeth	Ditto
300	Ditto wood and ditto	Ditto
301	Two palm wood clubs	Ditto
302	Two ditto	Ditto
303	Two ditto	Ditto
304	One ditto	Ditto
305	One square and one round, pointed spears	Ditto
306	One short spear with bone head	Ditto
307	One sennet jacket and trousers for fishing in	Ditto
308	One ditto Ditto	Ditto
309	One trousers Ditto	Ditto
310	One ditto Ditto	Ditto
311	One bone body belt	MIANA Ditto
312	Shell adze	MARSHALL IDS.
313	Fancy plaited rope	Ditto
314	Ditto	Ditto
315	Bone body belt	MIANA, GILBERT IDS.
316	Body belt, palm wood discs	Ditto
317	Two mats, cocoa nut fibre	Ditto
318	Three men's straw hats	ELLICE IDS.
319	Two baskets, three fans	Ditto
320	Two baskets, three fans	ELLICE IDS.
321	Two clubs—rare	SOLOMON IDS.

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
311	One bone body belt	Miana Island	26/5/1892-16/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.21	
312	Shell adze	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10927	
313	Fancy plaited rope	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.108	
314	Fancy plaited rope	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	Horniman Museum	30,14	
315	Bone body belt	Miana Island	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10872	
316	Body belt, palm wood discs	Miana Island	23/6/1892-4/7/1892			
317	Two mats, cocoa nut fibre	Miana Island	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10895	
317	Two mats, cocoa nut fibre	Miana Island	23/6/1892-4/7/1892			
318	Three men's straw hats	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10915	
318	Three men's straw hats	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10916	
318	Three men's straw hats	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
319	Two baskets, three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10907	Fan
319	Two baskets, three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10908	Fan
319	Two baskets, three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10909	Fan
319	Two baskets, three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10911	Basket
319	Two baskets, three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10913	Basket
320	Two baskets, three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
320	Two baskets, three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
320	Two baskets, three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
320	Two baskets, three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
321	Two clubs- rare	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
321	Two clubs- rare	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			

322	Two inlaid combs and two women's dresses	SOLOMON IDS.
323	One ditto and two ditto	Ditto
324	One carved club	NEW GUINEA
325	Carved food bowl, used at cannibal feasts	RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
326	Three clubs	SOLOMON IDS.
327	Sword club	NEW GUINEA
328	Three clubs	SOLOMON IDS.
329	Two clubs	NEW HEBRIDES
330	Two clubs	Ditto
331	Three KAVA bowls	TORRES IDS.
332	Three ditto	BANKS IDS.
333	Shell adze head	Ditto
334	Two pudding pounders	Ditto
335	Nut crackers	SOLOMON IDS.
336	Six very small fish hooks	Ditto
337	Pair of shell armlets	NEW GUINEA
338	Lime gourd	Ditto
339	Six very small fish hooks	SOLOMON IDS.
340	Piece of stalactite	OCEAN ID.
341	Rope and implements used in making	Ditto
342	Fish hook	Ditto
343	Pair of shell armlets	NEW GUINEA
344	Tortoise shell dish and two spoons	PELLEW IDS.
345	Ditto and one spoon	Ditto
346	Two small lime gourds	NEW GUINEA
347	One ditto and spoon	Ditto
348	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
349	One ditto Ditto	Ditto
350	Large paddle	Ditto
351	Sheathed spear, single human bone head	FLORIDA ID., SOLOMON IDS.
352	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
353	Three hard wood spears	NEW GUINEA
354	Ditto	Ditto
355	Ditto	Ditto
356	Four spears, various	SOLOMON IDS.
357	Ditto	Ditto
358	Ditto	Ditto
359	Ditto	Ditto
360	Ditto	Ditto
361	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
322	Two inlaid combs and two women's dresses	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Horniman Museum?	30,25	
322	Two inlaid combs and two women's dresses	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11083	
322	Two inlaid combs and two women's dresses	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
322	Two inlaid combs and two women's dresses	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
323	One inlaid comb and two women's dresses	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
323	One inlaid comb and two women's dresses	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
323	One inlaid comb and two women's dresses	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
324	One carved club	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
325	Carved food bowl, used at cannibal feasts	Rubiana Lagoon		British Museum	Oc1903,1007.1	
326	Three clubs	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
326	Three clubs	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
326	Three clubs	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
327	Sword club	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
328	Three clubs	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
328	Three clubs	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
328	Three clubs	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
329	Two clubs	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
329	Two clubs	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
330	Two clubs	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
330	Two clubs	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
331	Three KAVA bowls	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14958	
331	Three KAVA bowls	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14959	
331	Three KAVA bowls	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	British Museum	Oc1903,-.145	
332	Three KAVA bowls	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10985	
332	Three KAVA bowls	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10983	
332	Three KAVA bowls	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10984	
333	Shell adze head	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10996	
334	Two pudding pounders	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10971	
334	Two pudding pounders	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10972	
335	Nut crackers	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15184	
336	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
336	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
336	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
336	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
336	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
336	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
337	Pair of shell armlets	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
337	Pair of shell armlets	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
338	Lime gourd	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.18	

322	Two inlaid combs and two women's dresses	SOLOMON IDS.
323	One ditto and two ditto	Ditto
324	One carved club	NEW GUINEA
325	Carved food bowl, used at cannibal feasts	
	RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.	
326	Three clubs	SOLOMON IDS.
327	Sword club	NEW GUINEA
328	Three clubs	SOLOMON IDS.
329	Two clubs	NEW HEBRIDES
330	Two clubs	Ditto
331	Three KAVA bowls	TORRES IDS.
332	Three ditto	BANKS IDS.
333	Shell adze head	Ditto
334	Two pudding pounders	Ditto
335	Nut crackers	SOLOMON IDS.
336	Six very small fish hooks	Ditto
337	Pair of shell armlets	NEW GUINEA
338	Lime gourd	Ditto
339	Six very small fish hooks	SOLOMON IDS.
340	Piece of stalactite	OCEAN ID.
341	Rope and implements used in making	Ditto
342	Fish hook	Ditto
343	Pair of shell armlets	NEW GUINEA
344	Tortoise shell dish and two spoons	PELLEW IDS.
345	Ditto and one spoon	Ditto
346	Two small lime gourds	NEW GUINEA
347	One ditto and spoon	Ditto
348	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
349	One ditto Ditto	Ditto
350	Large paddle	Ditto
351	Sheathed spear, single human bone head	
	FLORIDA ID., SOLOMON IDS.	
352	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
353	Three hard wood spears	NEW GUINEA
354	Ditto	Ditto
355	Ditto	Ditto
356	Four spears, various	SOLOMON IDS.
357	Ditto	Ditto
358	Ditto	Ditto
359	Ditto	Ditto
360	Ditto	Ditto
361	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
339	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15171,1	
339	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15171,2	
339	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15171,3	
339	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15171,4	
339	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15171,5	
339	Six very small fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15171,6	
340	Piece of stalactite	Ocean Island	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
341	Rope and implements used in making	Ocean Island	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10925	
342	Fish hook	Ocean Island	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10924	
343	Pair of shell armlets	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.65	
343	Pair of shell armlets	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
344	Tortoise shell dish and two spoons	Pellev Islands	?	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15878	dish
344	Tortoise shell dish and two spoons	Pellev Islands	?	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15881	spoon
344	Tortoise shell dish and two spoons	Pellev Islands	?	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15882	spoon
345	Tortoise shell dish and one spoon	Pellev Islands	?	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15879	dish
345	Tortoise shell dish and one spoon	Pellev Islands	?	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15880	spoon
346	Two small lime gourds	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	British Museum?	Oc1978,Q.481	
346	Two small lime gourds	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
347	One small lime gourd and spoon	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.17	
348	One small lime gourd and spoon	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Horniman Museum?	6,32	

322	Two inlaid combs and two women's dresses	SOLOMON IDS.
323	One ditto and two ditto	Ditto
324	One carved club	NEW GUINEA
325	Carved food bowl, used at cannibal feasts	
	RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.	
326	Three clubs	SOLOMON IDS.
327	Sword club	NEW GUINEA
328	Three clubs	SOLOMON IDS.
329	Two clubs	NEW HEBRIDES
330	Two clubs	Ditto
331	Three KAVA bowls	TORRES IDS.
332	Three ditto	BANKS IDS.
333	Shell adze head	Ditto
334	Two pudding pounders	Ditto
335	Nut crackers	SOLOMON IDS.
336	Six very small fish hooks	Ditto
337	Pair of shell armlets	NEW GUINEA
338	Lime gourd	Ditto
339	Six very small fish hooks	SOLOMON IDS.
340	Piece of stalactite	OCEAN ID.
341	Rope and implements used in making	Ditto
342	Fish hook	Ditto
343	Pair of shell armlets	NEW GUINEA
344	Tortoise shell dish and two spoons	PELLEW IDS.
345	Ditto and one spoon	Ditto
346	Two small lime gourds	NEW GUINEA
347	One ditto and spoon	Ditto
348	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
349	One ditto Ditto	Ditto
350	Large paddle	Ditto
351	Sheathed spear, single human bone head	
	FLORIDA ID., SOLOMON IDS.	
352	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
353	Three hard wood spears	NEW GUINEA
354	Ditto	Ditto
355	Ditto	Ditto
356	Four spears, various	SOLOMON IDS.
357	Ditto	Ditto
358	Ditto	Ditto
359	Ditto	Ditto
360	Ditto	Ditto
361	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.					
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number
349	One small lime gourd and spoon	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Horniman Museum?	30,32
350	Large paddle	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
351	Sheathed spear, single human bone head	Florida Island	30/6/1891-1/7/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.31
352	Sheathed spear, single human bone head	Florida Island	30/6/1891-1/7/1891		
353	Three hard wood spears	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
353	Three hard wood spears	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
353	Three hard wood spears	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
354	Three hard wood spears	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
354	Three hard wood spears	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
354	Three hard wood spears	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
355	Three hard wood spears	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
355	Three hard wood spears	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
355	Three hard wood spears	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		
356	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
356	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
356	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
356	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
357	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
357	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
357	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
358	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
358	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
358	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
358	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
359	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
359	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
359	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
359	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
360	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
360	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
360	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
360	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
361	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
361	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
361	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
361	Four spears various	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		

362	Four spears, various	SOLOMON IDS.
363	Ditto	Ditto
364	Pudding pounder	Ditto
365	Ditto	Ditto
366	Ditto	Ditto
367	Bow and four arrows	Ditto
368	Ditto	Ditto
369	Ditto	Ditto
370	Ditto	Ditto
371	Bow and six arrows	Ditto
372	Ditto	Ditto
373	Ditto	Ditto
374	Ditto	Ditto
375	Bow and five various arrows	Ditto
376	Bow and eight arrows	Ditto
377	Bow and seven arrows	Ditto
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	
ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES		
379	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Ditto
380	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Ditto
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips	NEW HEBRIDES
382	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
383	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
384	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
385	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
386	Bow and six arrows	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
387	Ditto	Ditto
388	Bow and five arrows	Ditto
389	Four cocoa nut bowls	Ditto
390	BAKHEA, breast ornament, belonged to Chief INGOVA	
RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.		
391	Pearl shell disc	Ditto
392	Club	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
393	Club	MALO, Ditto
394	Twelve arrows	Ditto
395	Eight arrows	Ditto
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Ditto
397	One bow, eight arrows	Ditto
398	Sixteen arrows, poisoned	Ditto
399	Bow and ten arrows, poisoned	Ditto
400	Ditto, six arrows, various	Ditto
401	Ditto, six arrows, unique	Ditto

362	Four spears, various	SOLOMON IDS.
363	Ditto	Ditto
364	Pudding pounder	Ditto
365	Ditto	Ditto
366	Ditto	Ditto
367	Bow and four arrows	Ditto
368	Ditto	Ditto
369	Ditto	Ditto
370	Ditto	Ditto
371	Bow and six arrows	Ditto
372	Ditto	Ditto
373	Ditto	Ditto
374	Ditto	Ditto
375	Bow and five various arrows	Ditto
376	Bow and eight arrows	Ditto
377	Bow and seven arrows	Ditto
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Ditto
ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES		
379	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Ditto
380	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Ditto
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips	Ditto
NEW HEBRIDES		
382	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
383	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
384	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
385	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
386	Bow and six arrows	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
387	Ditto	Ditto
388	Bow and five arrows	Ditto
389	Four cocoa nut bowls	Ditto
390	BAKHEA, breast ornament, belonged to Chief INGOVA	Ditto
RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.		
391	Pearl shell disc	Ditto
392	Club	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
393	Club	MALO, Ditto
394	Twelve arrows	Ditto
395	Eight arrows	Ditto
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Ditto
397	One bow, eight arrows	Ditto
398	Sixteen arrows, poisoned	Ditto
399	Bow and ten arrows, poisoned	Ditto
400	Ditto, six arrows, various	Ditto
401	Ditto, six arrows, unique	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.					
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number
375	Bow and five various arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
375	Bow and five various arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
375	Bow and five various arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
375	Bow and five various arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
375	Bow and five various arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
376	Bow and eight arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
376	Bow and eight arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
376	Bow and eight arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
376	Bow and eight arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
376	Bow and eight arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
376	Bow and eight arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
376	Bow and eight arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
376	Bow and eight arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
377	Bow and seven arrows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891		
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
379	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
379	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
379	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
379	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
380	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
380	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
380	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
380	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		

362	Four spears, various	SOLOMON IDS.
363	Ditto	Ditto
364	Pudding pounder	Ditto
365	Ditto	Ditto
366	Ditto	Ditto
367	Bow and four arrows	Ditto
368	Ditto	Ditto
369	Ditto	Ditto
370	Ditto	Ditto
371	Bow and six arrows	Ditto
372	Ditto	Ditto
373	Ditto	Ditto
374	Ditto	Ditto
375	Bow and five various arrows	Ditto
376	Bow and eight arrows	Ditto
377	Bow and seven arrows	Ditto
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	Ditto
ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES		
379	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Ditto
380	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Ditto
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips	NEW HEBRIDES
382	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
383	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
384	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
385	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
386	Bow and six arrows	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
387	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
388	Bow and five arrows	Ditto
389	Four cocoa nut bowls	Ditto
390	BAKHEA, breast ornament, belonged to Chief INGOVA	
RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.		
391	Pearl shell disc	Ditto
392	Club	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
393	Club	MALO, Ditto
394	Twelve arrows	Ditto
395	Eight arrows	Ditto
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Ditto
397	One bow, eight arrows	Ditto
398	Sixteen arrows, poisoned	Ditto
399	Bow and ten arrows, poisoned	Ditto
400	Ditto, six arrows, various	Ditto
401	Ditto, six arrows, unique	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.					
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number
382	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
382	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
382	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
382	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
382	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
382	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
383	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
383	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
383	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
383	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
383	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
383	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
384	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
384	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
384	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
384	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
384	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
384	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
385	Six arrows, human bone tips (rare)	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
386	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
386	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
386	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
386	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
386	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
386	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
386	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
387	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
387	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
387	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
387	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
387	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
387	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
387	Bow and six arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		

362	Four spears, various	SOLOMON IDS.
363	Ditto	Ditto
364	Pudding pounder	Ditto
365	Ditto	Ditto
366	Ditto	Ditto
367	Bow and four arrows	Ditto
368	Ditto	Ditto
369	Ditto	Ditto
370	Ditto	Ditto
371	Bow and six arrows	Ditto
372	Ditto	Ditto
373	Ditto	Ditto
374	Ditto	Ditto
375	Bow and five various arrows	Ditto
376	Bow and eight arrows	Ditto
377	Bow and seven arrows	Ditto
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	
ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES		
379	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Ditto
380	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Ditto
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips	NEW HEBRIDES
382	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
383	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
384	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
385	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
386	Bow and six arrows	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
387	Ditto	Ditto
388	Bow and five arrows	Ditto
389	Four cocoa nut bowls	Ditto
390	BAKHEA, breast ornament, belonged to Chief INGOVA	
RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.		
391	Pearl shell disc	Ditto
392	Club	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
393	Club	MALO, Ditto
394	Twelve arrows	Ditto
395	Eight arrows	Ditto
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Ditto
397	One bow, eight arrows	Ditto
398	Sixteen arrows, poisoned	Ditto
399	Bow and ten arrows, poisoned	Ditto
400	Ditto, six arrows, various	Ditto
401	Ditto, six arrows, unique	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.					
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number
388	Bow and five arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
388	Bow and five arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
388	Bow and five arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
388	Bow and five arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
388	Bow and five arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
388	Bow and five arrows	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
389	Four cocoa nut bowls	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14962
389	Four cocoa nut bowls	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14861
389	Four cocoa nut bowls	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14960
389	Four cocoa nut bowls	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	British Museum	Oc1903,-.146
390	BAKHEA, breast ornament, belonged to Chief INGOVA	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	16409
391	Pearl shell disc	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15174
392	Club	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890		
393	Club	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
394	Twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
395	Eight arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
395	Eight arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
395	Eight arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
395	Eight arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
395	Eight arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
395	Eight arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
395	Eight arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
395	Eight arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890		

362	Four spears, various	SOLOMON IDS.
363	Ditto	Ditto
364	Pudding pounder	Ditto
365	Ditto	Ditto
366	Ditto	Ditto
367	Bow and four arrows	Ditto
368	Ditto	Ditto
369	Ditto	Ditto
370	Ditto	Ditto
371	Bow and six arrows	Ditto
372	Ditto	Ditto
373	Ditto	Ditto
374	Ditto	Ditto
375	Bow and five various arrows	Ditto
376	Bow and eight arrows	Ditto
377	Bow and seven arrows	Ditto
378	Bow and eight arrows, human bones	
ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES		
379	Four arrows, human bone tips (rare)	Ditto
380	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Ditto
381	Eight arrows, human bone tips	NEW HEBRIDES
382	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
383	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
384	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
385	Six ditto Ditto	Ditto
386	Bow and six arrows	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
387	Ditto	Ditto
388	Bow and five arrows	Ditto
389	Four cocoa nut bowls	Ditto
390	BAKHEA, breast ornament, belonged to Chief INGOVA	
RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.		
391	Pearl shell disc	Ditto
392	Club	ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
393	Club	MALO, Ditto
394	Twelve arrows	Ditto
395	Eight arrows	Ditto
396	Seven arrows, poisoned	Ditto
397	One bow, eight arrows	Ditto
398	Sixteen arrows, poisoned	Ditto
399	Bow and ten arrows, poisoned	Ditto
400	Ditto, six arrows, various	Ditto
401	Ditto, six arrows, unique	Ditto

402	Bow and twelve arrows	MALO, NEW HEBRIDES
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Ditto
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	BANKS IDS.
405	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES
406	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
407	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES
408	Bow and six arrows, poisoned	Ditto
409	Bow and six arrows	Ditto
410	Bow and ten arrows	BANKS IDS.
411	Ditto, nine arrows	Ditto
412	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
413	Ditto, six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES
414	Ditto, five ditto	Ditto
415	Ditto, six ditto	Ditto
416	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
417	Obsidian headed spear	ADMIRALTY IDS.
418	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES
419	Ditto, nine arrows, human bones	Ditto
420	Twenty-six arrows, various	Ditto
421	Two mats	AOBA, Ditto
422	One man's dress	Ditto Ditto
423	Two ditto	Ditto Ditto
424	One mat, dyed	Ditto Ditto
425	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
426	Two men's dresses, very finely worked	Ditto Ditto
427	Musical instrument	Ditto
428	Ditto	Ditto
429	Three tortoise shell armlets	Ditto
430	Two men's dresses, dyed	AOBA, Ditto
431	Two wood and two tortoise shell yam knives	TORRES IDS.
432	Three tortoise shell ditto	Ditto
433	Wooden food dish	BUKA BUKA, Ditto
434	Bow and twelve arrows	BANKS IDS.
435	Two native candles	Ditto
436	Four pig's jaws with tusks	NEW HEBRIDES
437	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	SOLOMON IDS.
438	Two ditto	Ditto
439	Large net	Ditto
440	Fine net for carrying food	YSABEL, Ditto
441	Small mat bag, containing charm	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
442	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
402	Bow and twelve arrows	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Malo, New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	Bow. 14966	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,1	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,2	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,3	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,4	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,5	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,6	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,7	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,8	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,9	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,1	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,11	
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Auckland War Memorial Museum	14967,12	

402	Bow and twelve arrows	MALO, NEW HEBRIDES	
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned		Ditto
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	BANKS IDS.	
405	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
406	Ditto Ditto		Ditto
407	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
408	Bow and six arrows, poisoned		Ditto
409	Bow and six arrows		Ditto
410	Bow and ten arrows	BANKS IDS.	
411	Ditto, nine arrows		Ditto
412	Ditto Ditto		Ditto
413	Ditto, six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
414	Ditto, five ditto		Ditto
415	Ditto, six ditto		Ditto
416	Ditto Ditto		Ditto
417	Obsidian headed spear	ADMIRALTY IDS.	
418	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
419	Ditto, nine arrows, human bones		Ditto
420	Twenty-six arrows, various		Ditto
421	Two mats	AOBA, Ditto	
422	One man's dress	Ditto Ditto	
423	Two ditto	Ditto Ditto	
424	One mat, dyed	Ditto Ditto	
425	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto	
426	Two men's dresses, very finely worked	Ditto Ditto	
427	Musical instrument		Ditto
428	Ditto		Ditto
429	Three tortoise shell armlets		Ditto
430	Two men's dresses, dyed	AOBA, Ditto	
431	Two wood and two tortoise shell yam knives	TORRES IDS.	
432	Three tortoise shell ditto		Ditto
433	Wooden food dish	BUKA BUKA, Ditto	
434	Bow and twelve arrows	BANKS IDS.	
435	Two native candles		Ditto
436	Four pig's jaws with tusks	NEW HEBRIDES	
437	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	SOLOMON IDS.	
438	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto
439	Large net		Ditto
440	Fine net for carrying food	YSABEL, Ditto	
441	Small mat bag, containing charm	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto	
442	Ditto Ditto	Ditto	Ditto

402	Bow and twelve arrows	MALO, NEW HEBRIDES	
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned		Ditto
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	BANKS IDS.	
405	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
406	Ditto Ditto		Ditto
407	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
408	Bow and six arrows, poisoned		Ditto
409	Bow and six arrows		Ditto
410	Bow and ten arrows	BANKS IDS.	
411	Ditto, nine arrows		Ditto
412	Ditto Ditto		Ditto
413	Ditto, six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
414	Ditto, five ditto		Ditto
415	Ditto, six ditto		Ditto
416	Ditto Ditto		Ditto
417	Obsidian headed spear	ADMIRALTY IDS.	
418	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
419	Ditto, nine arrows, human bones		Ditto
420	Twenty six arrows, various		Ditto
421	Two mats	AOBA, Ditto	
422	One man's dress	Ditto Ditto	
423	Two ditto	Ditto Ditto	
424	One mat, dyed	Ditto Ditto	
425	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto	
426	Two men's dresses, very finely worked	Ditto Ditto	
427	Musical instrument		Ditto
428	Ditto		Ditto
429	Three tortoise shell armlets		Ditto
430	Two men's dresses, dyed	AOBA, Ditto	
431	Two wood and two tortoise shell yam knives	TORRES IDS.	
432	Three tortoise shell ditto		Ditto
433	Wooden food dish	BUKA BUKA, Ditto	
434	Bow and twelve arrows	BANKS IDS.	
435	Two native candles		Ditto
436	Four pig's jaws with tusks	NEW HEBRIDES	
437	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	SOLOMON IDS.	
438	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto
439	Large net		Ditto
440	Fine net for carrying food	YSABEL, Ditto	
441	Small mat bag, containing charm	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto	
442	Ditto Ditto	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
412	Bow and nine arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
413	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
413	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
413	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
413	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
413	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
413	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
413	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
414	Bow and five arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
414	Bow and five arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
414	Bow and five arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
414	Bow and five arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
414	Bow and five arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
414	Bow and five arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
415	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
415	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
415	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
415	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
415	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
415	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
415	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
415	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
416	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
416	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
416	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
416	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
416	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
416	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
417	Obsidian headed spear	Admiralty Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
418	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
418	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
418	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
418	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
418	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
418	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
418	Bow and six arrows	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
419	Bow, nine arrows, human bones	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10932	
419	Bow, nine arrows, human bones	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10933	
419	Bow, nine arrows, human bones	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10934	
419	Bow, nine arrows, human bones	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10935	
419	Bow, nine arrows, human bones	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10936	
419	Bow, nine arrows, human bones	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10937	
419	Bow, nine arrows, human bones	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10938	
419	Bow, nine arrows, human bones	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10939	

402	Bow and twelve arrows	MALO, NEW HEBRIDES
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned	Ditto
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	BANKS IDS.
405	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES
406	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
407	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES
408	Bow and six arrows, poisoned	Ditto
409	Bow and six arrows	Ditto
410	Bow and ten arrows	BANKS IDS.
411	Ditto, nine arrows	Ditto
412	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
413	Ditto, six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES
414	Ditto, five ditto	Ditto
415	Ditto, six ditto	Ditto
416	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
417	Obsidian headed spear	ADMIRALTY IDS.
418	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES
419	Ditto, nine arrows, human bones	Ditto
420	Twenty-six arrows, various	Ditto
421	Two mats	AOBA, Ditto
422	One man's dress	Ditto Ditto
423	Two ditto	Ditto Ditto
424	One mat, dyed	Ditto Ditto
425	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
426	Two men's dresses, very finely worked	Ditto Ditto
427	Musical instrument	Ditto
428	Ditto	Ditto
429	Three tortoise shell armlets	Ditto
430	Two men's dresses, dyed	AOBA, Ditto
431	Two wood and two tortoise shell yam knives	TORRES IDS.
432	Three tortoise shell ditto	Ditto
433	Wooden food dish	BUKA BUKA, Ditto
434	Bow and twelve arrows	BANKS IDS.
435	Two native candles	Ditto
436	Four pig's jaws with tusks	NEW HEBRIDES
437	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	SOLOMON IDS.
438	Two ditto	Ditto
439	Large net	Ditto
440	Fine net for carrying food	YSABEL, Ditto
441	Small mat bag, containing charm	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
442	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto

402	Bow and twelve arrows	MALO, NEW HEBRIDES	
403	Ditto, ten very fine arrows, poisoned		Ditto
404	Twelve arrows, human bone tips	BANKS IDS.	
405	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
406	Ditto Ditto		Ditto
407	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
408	Bow and six arrows, poisoned		Ditto
409	Bow and six arrows		Ditto
410	Bow and ten arrows	BANKS IDS.	
411	Ditto, nine arrows		Ditto
412	Ditto Ditto		Ditto
413	Ditto, six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
414	Ditto, five ditto		Ditto
415	Ditto, six ditto		Ditto
416	Ditto Ditto		Ditto
417	Obsidian headed spear	ADMIRALTY IDS.	
418	Bow and six arrows	NEW HEBRIDES	
419	Ditto, nine arrows, human bones		Ditto
420	Twenty-six arrows, various		Ditto
421	Two mats	AOBA, Ditto	
422	One man's dress	Ditto Ditto	
423	Two ditto	Ditto Ditto	
424	One mat, dyed	Ditto Ditto	
425	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto	
426	Two men's dresses, very finely worked	Ditto Ditto	
427	Musical instrument		Ditto
428	Ditto		Ditto
429	Three tortoise shell armlets		Ditto
430	Two men's dresses, dyed	AOBA, Ditto	
431	Two wood and two tortoise shell yam knives	TORRES IDS.	
432	Three tortoise shell ditto		Ditto
433	Wooden food dish	BUKA BUKA, Ditto	
434	Bow and twelve arrows	BANKS IDS.	
435	Two native candles		Ditto
436	Four pig's jaws with tusks	NEW HEBRIDES	
437	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	SOLOMON IDS.	
438	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto
439	Large net		Ditto
440	Fine net for carrying food	YSABEL, Ditto	
441	Small mat bag, containing charm	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto	
442	Ditto Ditto	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
431	Two wood and two tortoise shell yam knives	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10973	Wooden knife.
431	Two wood and two tortoise shell yam knives	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10974	Wooden knife.
431	Two wood and two tortoise shell yam knives	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10975	Turtles shell knife.
431	Two wood and two tortoise shell yam knives	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10976	Turtles shell knife.
432	Three tortoise shell yam knives	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.95	
432	Three tortoise shell yam knives	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.97	
432	Three tortoise shell yam knives	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.96	
433	Wooden food dish	Buka Buka	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
434	Bow and twelve arrows	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890			
435	Two native candles	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10993	
435	Two native candles	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10994	
436	Four pig's jaws with tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
436	Four pig's jaws with tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
436	Four pig's jaws with tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
436	Four pig's jaws with tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
437	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11032	Necklet
437	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11056	Skirt
437	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
437	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11033	Necklet
438	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11036	Necklet
438	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11037	Necklet
438	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
438	Two women's dresses and seed ornaments for widows	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
439	Large net	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11142	
440	Fine net for carrying food	Ysabel	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11102	
441	Small mat bag, containing charm	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	World Museum Liverpool?	54.109.48	
442	Small mat bag, containing charm	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15181	

443	Lime spoon, inlaid pearl shell	SOLOMON IDS.
444	Tappa cloth	Ditto
445	Tappa cloth	Ditto
446	Two paddle shaped clubs (scarce)	SAVO, Ditto
447	Orange cowrie shell	Ditto
448	Two lime boxes	Ditto
449	Axe with iron blade	Ditto
450	Native pipe made of shell	MARAU SOUND, Ditto
451	Three ear sticks, engraved	BANKS IDS.
452	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
453	Two taro knives	Ditto
454	Stone adze and handle	SOLOMON IDS.
455	Three women's dresses and three grass armlets	Ditto
456	Two ditto, two ditto	Ditto
457	Life preserver, iron head	Ditto
458	Sunshade worn by men, fish hooks stuck in	
	RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.	
459	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
460	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
461	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
462	Stone adze and handle	NEW HEBRIDES
463	Four pig's jaws and tusks	Ditto
464	Four ditto Ditto	Ditto
465	Three pig's jaws and tusks	NEW HEBRIDES
466	Fijian Chieftain's covering, 18ft. square	FIJI
467	Ditto Ditto smaller	Ditto
468	Seven yards fine white Tappa cloth	Ditto
469	Fijian man's dress, Tappa, trimmed feathers	Ditto
470	Woman's dress	Ditto
471	Fine white Tappa dress	Ditto
472	Two dance sticks, trimmed feathers	Ditto
473	Woman's dress	ELLICE IDS.
474	Ditto	Ditto
475	Man's dress, fine mat	GILBERT IDS.
476	Woman's dress	Ditto
477	Ditto	Ditto
478	Man's dress, fine mat	Ditto
479	Woman's dress	WOODLARK IDS.
480	Ditto	ELLICE IDS.
481	Woman's dress	Ditto
482	Ditto	Ditto
483	Three ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
443	Lime spoon, inlaid pearl shell	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11093	
444	Tappa cloth	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1894,-.194	
445	Tappa cloth	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1894,-.191	
446	Two paddle shaped clubs (scarce)	Savo	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11117	
446	Two paddle shaped clubs (scarce)	Savo	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11118	
447	Orange cowrie shell	Savo	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
448	Two lime boxes	Savo	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1894,-.199	
448	Two lime boxes	Savo	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11094	
449	Axe with iron blade	Savo	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	11124	
450	Native pipe made of shell	Marau Sound	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11096	
451	Three ear sticks, engraved	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10997	
451	Three ear sticks, engraved	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10998	
451	Three ear sticks, engraved	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10999	
452	Two ear sticks engraved	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.91	
452	Two ear sticks engraved	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.92	
453	Two taro knives	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10977	
453	Two taro knives	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10978	
454	Stone adze and handle	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11146	
455	three women's dresses and three grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
455	three women's dresses and three grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
455	three women's dresses and three grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
455	three women's dresses and three grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
455	three women's dresses and three grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
455	three women's dresses and three grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
456	Two women's dresses and two grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
456	Two women's dresses and two grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
456	Two women's dresses and two grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
456	Two women's dresses and two grass armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
457	Life preserver, iron head	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
458	Sunshade worn by men, fish hooks stuck in	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11091	
459	Sunshade worn by men, fish hooks stuck in	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Horniman Museum?	6,33	
460	Sunshade worn by men, fish hooks stuck in	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
461	Sunshade worn by men, fish hooks stuck in	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
462	Stone adze and handle	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
463	Four pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
463	Four pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
463	Four pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
463	Four pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			

443	Lime spoon, inlaid pearl shell	SOLOMON IDS.
444	Tappa cloth	Ditto
445	Tappa cloth	Ditto
446	Two paddle shaped clubs (scarce)	SAVO, Ditto
447	Orange cowrie shell	Ditto
448	Two lime boxes	Ditto
449	Axe with iron blade	Ditto
450	Native pipe made of shell	MARAU SOUND, Ditto
451	Three ear sticks, engraved	BANKS IDS.
452	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
453	Two taro knives	Ditto
454	Stone adze and handle	SOLOMON IDS.
455	Three women's dresses and three grass armlets	Ditto
456	Two ditto, two ditto	Ditto
457	Life preserver, iron head	Ditto
458	Sunshade worn by men, fish hooks stuck in	
	RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.	
459	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
460	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
461	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
462	Stone adze and handle	NEW HEBRIDES
463	Four pig's jaws and tusks	Ditto
464	Four ditto Ditto	Ditto
465	Three pig's jaws and tusks	NEW HEBRIDES
466	Fijian Chieftain's covering, 18ft. square	FIJI
467	Ditto Ditto smaller	Ditto
468	Seven yards fine white Tappa cloth	Ditto
469	Fijian man's dress, Tappa, trimmed feathers	Ditto
470	Woman's dress	Ditto
471	Fine white Tappa dress	Ditto
472	Two dance sticks, trimmed feathers	Ditto
473	Woman's dress	ELLICE IDS.
474	Ditto	Ditto
475	Man's dress, fine mat	GILBERT IDS.
476	Woman's dress	Ditto
477	Ditto	Ditto
478	Man's dress, fine mat	Ditto
479	Woman's dress	WOODLARK IDS.
480	Ditto	ELLICE IDS.
481	Woman's dress	Ditto
482	Ditto	Ditto
483	Three ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
464	Four pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
464	Four pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
464	Four pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
464	Four pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
465	Three pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
465	Three pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
465	Three pig's jaws and tusks	New Hebrides	10/5/1890-8/11/1890			
466	Fijian Cheiftains covering, 18ft square	Fiji	16/11/1891-17/8/1892			
467	Fijian Cheiftains covering, 18ft square	Fiji	16/11/1891-17/8/1892			
468	Seven yards fine white Tappa cloth	Fiji	16/11/1891-17/8/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.93	
469	Fijian man's dress, Tappa, trimmed feathers	Fiji	16/11/1891-17/8/1892			
470	Woman's dress	Fiji	16/11/1891-17/8/1892			
471	Fine white Tappa dress	Fiji	16/11/1891-17/8/1892			
472	Two dance sticks, trimmed feathers	Fiji	16/11/1891-17/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10969	
472	Two dance sticks, trimmed feathers	Fiji	16/11/1891-17/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10970	
473	Woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
474	Woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
475	Man's dress, fine mat	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10887	
476	Woman's dress	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10886	
477	Woman's dress	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
478	Man's dress, fine mat	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
479	Woman's dress	Woodlark Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
480	Woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
481	Woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10904	
482	Woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
483	Three woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10901	
483	Three woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10902	
483	Three woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			

484	Two women's dresses	ELLICE IDS.
485	Two ditto	Ditto
486	One ditto	Ditto
487	One ditto	Ditto
488	One ditto	Ditto
489	Child's sleeping mat	GILBERT IDS.
490	Three women's dresses	Ditto
491	Three baskets and one mat in process of making	Ditto
492	One long fringed mat, 15 feet	Ditto
493	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
494	One fine mat	GILBERT IDS.
495	Sennet armour, breast covered fish skin, and helmet of fish skin	Ditto
496	Ditto, high back and helmet	Ditto
497	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
498	Body belt of ray skin, very rare	Ditto
499	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
500	Sennet belt for fighting suit	Ditto
501	Sennet cap, ditto	Ditto
502	Sun fish helmet	Ditto
503	Large ball cocoa nut fibre rope for sewing canoes	Ditto
504	Two body belts of strung discs of palm wood	Ditto
505	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
506	Three ditto Ditto	Ditto
507	Long necklet of human teeth	Ditto
508	Fine mat and fan	MARSHALL IDS.
509	Native chart of Marshall Ids., very rare	Ditto
510	Long necklet of human teeth	GILBERT IDS.
511	Model sailing canoe, for racing	Ditto
512	Ditto Ditto (no outrigger)	Ditto
513	Three fly whisks	Ditto
514	Ditto	Ditto
515	Ditto	Ditto
516	Three combs	NEW GUINEA
517	Pandanus palm fibre and bobbin for making nets	NEW GUINEA
518	Fine net and bobbin	Ditto
519	Two small food dishes	Ditto
520	One net, shell sinkers	Ditto
521	Two shell armlets	Ditto
522	Shell ornaments for prow of canoe	SOLOMON IDS.
523	Large lime gourd and spoon of cassowary bone	SOLOMON IDS.

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
484	Two woman's dresses	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
484	Two woman's dresses	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
485	Two woman's dresses	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
485	Two woman's dresses	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
486	Woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
487	Woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
488	Woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
489	Child's sleeping mat	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10897	
490	Three women's dresses	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10888	
490	Three women's dresses	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10889	
490	Three women's dresses	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10890	
491	Three baskets and one mat in process of making	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
491	Three baskets and one mat in process of making	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
491	Three baskets and one mat in process of making	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
491	Three baskets and one mat in process of making	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
492	One long fringed mat, 15 feet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10896	
493	One long fringed mat, 15 feet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
494	One fine mat	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
495	Sennet armour, breast covered fish skin and helmet of fish skin	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.29	Cuirass
495	Sennet armour, breast covered fish skin and helmet of fish skin	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.28	Helmet
496	Sennet armour high back, and helmet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
496	Sennet armour high back, and helmet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1894,-.218	Cuirass.
497	Sennet armour high back, and helmet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
497	Sennet armour high back, and helmet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
498	Body belt of ray skin, very rare	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
499	Body belt of ray skin, very rare	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Horniman Museum	30,4	
500	Sennet belt for fighting suit	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10639	
501	Sennet cap	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10641	
502	Sun fish helmet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1894,-.219	
503	Large ball cocoa nut fibre rope for sewing canoes	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
504	Two body belts of strung discs of palm wood	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1982,Q.864	
504	Two body belts of strung discs of palm wood	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1980,Q.945	
505	Two body belts of strung discs of palm wood	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.246	
505	Two body belts of strung discs of palm wood	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.247	
506	Three body belts of strung discs of palm wood	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.97	
506	Three body belts of strung discs of palm wood	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Horniman Museum?	30,18	
506	Three body belts of strung discs of palm wood	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Horniman Museum?	6,31	
507	Long necklet of human teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10870	
508	Fine mat and fan	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892			

484	Two women's dresses	ELLICE IDS.
485	Two ditto	Ditto
486	One ditto	Ditto
487	One ditto	Ditto
488	One ditto	Ditto
489	Child's sleeping mat	GILBERT IDS.
490	Three women's dresses	Ditto
491	Three baskets and one mat in process of making	Ditto
492	One long fringed mat, 15 feet	Ditto
493	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
494	One fine mat	GILBERT IDS.
495	Sennet armour, breast covered fish skin, and helmet of fish skin	Ditto
496	Ditto, high back and helmet	Ditto
497	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
498	Body belt of ray skin, very rare	Ditto
499	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
500	Sennet belt for fighting suit	Ditto
501	Sennet cap, ditto	Ditto
502	Sun fish helmet	Ditto
503	Large ball cocoa nut fibre rope for sewing canoes	Ditto
504	Two body belts of strung discs of palm wood	Ditto
505	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
506	Three ditto Ditto	Ditto
507	Long necklet of human teeth	Ditto
508	Fine mat and fan	MARSHALL IDS.
509	Native chart of Marshall Ids., very rare	Ditto
510	Long necklet of human teeth	GILBERT IDS.
511	Model sailing canoe, for racing	Ditto
512	Ditto Ditto (no outrigger)	Ditto
513	Three fly whisks	Ditto
514	Ditto	Ditto
515	Ditto	Ditto
516	Three combs	NEW GUINEA
517	Pandanus palm fibre and bobbin for making nets	NEW GUINEA
518	Fine net and bobbin	Ditto
519	Two small food dishes	Ditto
520	One net, shell sinkers	Ditto
521	Two shell armlets	Ditto
522	Shell ornaments for prow of canoe	SOLOMON IDS.
523	Large lime gourd and spoon of cassowary bone	SOLOMON IDS.

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
509	Native chart of Marshall Ids, very rare	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.34	
510	Long necklet of human teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	E 1904.41/Z 7194	
511	Model sailing canoe, for racing	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.32	
512	Model sailing canoe, for racing no outrigger	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10848	
513	Three fly whisks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10858	
513	Three fly whisks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10859	
513	Three fly whisks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10860	
514	Three fly whisks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.222	
514	Three fly whisks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1980,Q.942	
514	Three fly whisks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	oc1894,-.223	
515	Three fly whisks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
515	Three fly whisks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
515	Three fly whisks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
516	Three combs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.22	
516	Three combs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.23	
516	Three combs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
517	Pandanus palm fibre and bobbin for making nets	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
518	Fine net and bobbin	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
519	Two small food dishes	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
519	Two small food dishes	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
520	One net, shell sinkers	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
521	Two shell armlets	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	1904,37	incised shell ring
521	Two shell armlets	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	1904,38	shell ring
522	Shell ornaments for prow of canoe	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
523	Large lime gourd and spoon of cassowary bone	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.26	Gourd and spoon listed as one object.
523	Large lime gourd and spoon of cassowary bone	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.26	Gourd and spoon listed as one object.

524	String of money, discs of red coral strung			NEW GUINEA
525	Ditto			Ditto
526	Ditto			Ditto
527	Bobbin for net making and hook to secure net whilst working it			Ditto
528	Ditto and Pandanus fibre			Ditto
529	Imitation tusk made from shell			Ditto
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons			TROBRIAND IDS.
531	Ditto			Ditto
532	Ditto			Ditto
533	Canoe carving			NEW GUINEA
534	Wooden fish colored			RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
535	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern			ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
536	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
537	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
538	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
539	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
540	One ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
541	One ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
542	One ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
543	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
544	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
545	Carved and inlaid figure			SOLOMON IDS.
546	Three grave ornaments, carved shell and human bones			RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
547	Three ditto	Ditto		Ditto
548	One ditto	Ditto		Ditto
549	Chief's skull in reed basket, very rare			Ditto
550	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
551	Skull			Ditto
552	Head, inlaid pearl shell, very rare			RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
553	Tomahawked skull from Chief Tono's house			VELLA LAVELLA
554	Canoe war god, to secure to prow			RUBIANA LAGOON
555	Ditto, inlaid pearl shell			Ditto
556	Fine inlaid palm wood spear			SAN CRISTOVAL, SOLOMON IDS.
557	Ditto		Ditto	Ditto
558	Comb and three tortoise ear rings			Ditto
559	Three inlaid carvings of figures			Ditto
560	Two heads carved out of coral			Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
524	String of money, discs of red coral strung	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Horniman Museum?	30,19	
525	String of money, discs of red coral strung	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
526	String of money, discs of red coral strung	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
527	Bobbin for net making and hook to secure net whilst working	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	1904,39	Hook
527	Bobbin for net making and hook to secure net whilst working	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	1904,4	Bobbin
528	Bobbin for net making and hook to secure net whilst working	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
528	Bobbin for net making and hook to secure net whilst working	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.19	Bobbin
529	Imitation tusk made from shell	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15712	
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	British Museum?	Oc1990,Q.26	
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.9	
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Horniman Museum?	30,21	
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Horniman Museum?	30,22	
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
531	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
532	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
532	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
532	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
532	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
532	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
532	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
532	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
532	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
532	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons	Trobriand Islands	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			

524	String of money, discs of red coral strung			NEW GUINEA
525	Ditto			Ditto
526	Ditto			Ditto
527	Bobbin for net making and hook to secure net whilst working it			Ditto
528	Ditto and Pandanus fibre			Ditto
529	Imitation tusk made from shell			Ditto
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons			TROBRIAND IDS.
531	Ditto			Ditto
532	Ditto			Ditto
533	Canoe carving			NEW GUINEA
534	Wooden fish colored			RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
535	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern			ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
536	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
537	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
538	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
539	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
540	One ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
541	One ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
542	One ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
543	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
544	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
545	Carved and inlaid figure			SOLOMON IDS.
546	Three grave ornaments, carved shell and human bones			RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
547	Three ditto	Ditto		Ditto
548	One ditto	Ditto		Ditto
549	Chief's skull in reed basket, very rare			Ditto
550	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
551	Skull			Ditto
552	Head, inlaid pearl shell, very rare			
553	Tomahawked skull from Chief Tono's house			RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
554	Canoe war god, to secure to prow			VELLA LAVELLA
555	Ditto, inlaid pearl shell			RUBIANA LAGOON
556	Fine inlaid palm wood spear			Ditto
557	Ditto		Ditto	SAN CRISTOVAL, SOLOMON IDS.
558	Comb and three tortoise ear rings			Ditto
559	Three inlaid carvings of figures			Ditto
560	Two heads carved out of coral			Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
533	Canoe carving	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
534	Wooden fish colored	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11019	
535	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Horniman Museum?	6,34	
535	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Horniman Museum?	6,35	
536	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	World Museum Liverpool?	54.114.79	
536	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	World Museum Liverpool?	54.114.78	
537	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
537	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
538	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
538	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
539	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
539	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
540	One piece of pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Horniman Museum?	6,36	
541	One piece of pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
542	One piece of pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10964	
543	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10965	
543	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10966	
544	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
544	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern	Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides	20/6/1890-3/11/1890			
545	Carved and inlaid figure	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11008	
546	Three grave ornaments, carved shell and human bones	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.3	
546	Three grave ornaments, carved shell and human bones	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.4	
546	Three grave ornaments, carved shell and human bones	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.5	

524	String of money, discs of red coral strung			NEW GUINEA
525	Ditto			Ditto
526	Ditto			Ditto
527	Bobbin for net making and hook to secure net whilst working it			Ditto
528	Ditto and Pandanus fibre			Ditto
529	Imitation tusk made from shell			Ditto
530	Eight finely carved ebony lime spoons			TROBRIAND IDS.
531	Ditto			Ditto
532	Ditto			Ditto
533	Canoe carving			NEW GUINEA
534	Wooden fish colored			RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
535	Two pieces pottery, imitation old leather bottle pattern			ESPIRITU SANTO, NEW HEBRIDES
536	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
537	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
538	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
539	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
540	One ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
541	One ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
542	One ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
543	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
544	Two ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
545	Carved and inlaid figure			SOLOMON IDS.
546	Three grave ornaments, carved shell and human bones			RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
547	Three ditto	Ditto		Ditto
548	One ditto	Ditto		Ditto
549	Chief's skull in reed basket, very rare			Ditto
550	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
551	Skull			Ditto
552	Head, inlaid pearl shell, very rare			
553	Tomahawked skull from Chief Tono's house			RUBIANA LAGOON, SOLOMON IDS.
554	Canoe war god, to secure to prow			VELLA LAVELLA
555	Ditto, inlaid pearl shell			RUBIANA LAGOON
556	Fine inlaid palm wood spear			Ditto
557	Ditto		Ditto	Ditto
558	Comb and three tortoise ear rings			Ditto
559	Three inlaid carvings of figures			Ditto
560	Two heads carved out of coral			Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
547	Three grave ornaments, carved shell and human bones	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum?	15186	
547	Three grave ornaments, carved shell and human bones	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum?	15187	
547	Three grave ornaments, carved shell and human bones	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11144	
548	One grave ornament, carved shell and human bones	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15185	
549	Chief's skull in reed basket, very rare	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10638	Skull house
550	Chief's skull in reed basket, very rare	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1894,-.188	Skull house
551	Skull	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
552	Head, inlaid pearl shell, very rare	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11009	
553	Tomahawked skull from Chief Tono's house	Vella Lavella	15/8/1891-14/10/1891			
554	Canoe war god, to secure to prow	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11010	
555	Canoe war god, to secure to prow	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11011	
556	Fine inlaid palm wood spear	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891			
557	Fine inlaid palm wood spear	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891			
558	Comb and three tortoise ear rings	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10959	Ear ring.
558	Comb and three tortoise ear rings	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10960	Ear ring.
558	Comb and three tortoise ear rings	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10961	Ear ring.
558	Comb and three tortoise ear rings	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891			
559	Three inlaid carvings of figures	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11018	
559	Three inlaid carvings of figures	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891			
560	Two heads carved out of coral	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.1	
560	Two heads carved out of coral	San Cristoval	3/7/1891-20/10/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.2	

561	Two small canoe gods	SOLOMON IDS.
562	Large inlaid canoe god	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
563	Well inlaid wood figure	Ditto Ditto
564	Six clam shell armlets	Ditto
565	Four large ditto	Ditto
566	Four clam shell armlets	Ditto
567	Eight shell armlets	Ditto
568	Six clam shell armlets	Ditto
569	Six shell armlets	Ditto
570	Large clam shell armlet	Ditto
571	Tusk neck ornament	Ditto
572	Necklet, flying fox teeth	Ditto
573	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Ditto
574	Ditto Ditto	<i>Pearley Coll. 5/-</i> Ditto
575	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
576	One finely worked comb	Ditto
577	Two ditto	Ditto
578	Four tusks for armlets	Ditto
579	Canoe ornament of feathers	Ditto
580	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
581	Six stone adze heads	SOLOMON IDS.
582	Four ditto	Ditto
583	Three shell breast ornaments	Ditto
584	Four tusk armlets	Ditto
585	Five shell spoons	Ditto
586	Small shell rings	Ditto
587	Seed necklet and colored sennet	Ditto
588	Stone hammer for cracking nuts	Ditto
589	Nose ornament	SANTA ANNA, Ditto
590	Whale's teeth necklet	GILBERT IDS.
591	Ditto	Ditto
592	Lot of teeth	Ditto
593	Implement for gouging out eyes	Ditto
594	Bone thatch needle	Ditto
595	Three whale's teeth, breast ornament	Ditto
596	Two teeth necklets	Ditto
597	Two very fine mats, women's dress	MARSHALL IDS.
598	One basket	GILBERT IDS.
599	One cocoa nut spoon	Ditto
600	Mat	ELLICE IDS.
601	Two mats	GILBERT IDS.
602	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
561	Two small canoe gods	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11014	
561	Two small canoe gods	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11015	
562	Large inlaid canoe god	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
563	Well inlaid wood figure	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.12	
564	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
564	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
564	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
564	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
564	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
564	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
565	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
565	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
565	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
565	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
565	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
566	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
566	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
566	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
566	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
566	Four clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
567	Eight shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
567	Eight shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
567	Eight shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
567	Eight shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
567	Eight shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
567	Eight shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
567	Eight shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
568	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum?	15189	
568	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
568	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
568	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
568	Six clam shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
569	Six shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
569	Six shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
569	Six shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
569	Six shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
569	Six shell armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
570	Large clam shell armlet	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11077	
571	Tusk neck ornament	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
572	Necklet, flying fox teeth	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11054	
573	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Michael Evans Fine Tribal Art?	Beasley number 1015	Teeth necklet
573	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Horniman Museum?	30,35	Teeth necklet
573	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
574	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11050	Teeth necklet
574	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
574	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
575	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11049	Teeth necklet
575	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11048	Teeth necklet
575	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11051	Skirt

561	Two small canoe gods	SOLOMON IDS.
562	Large inlaid canoe god	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
563	Well inlaid wood figure	Ditto Ditto
564	Six clam shell armlets	Ditto
565	Four large ditto	Ditto
566	Four clam shell armlets	Ditto
567	Eight shell armlets	Ditto
568	Six clam shell armlets	Ditto
569	Six shell armlets	Ditto
570	Large clam shell armlet	Ditto
571	Tusk neck ornament	Ditto
572	Necklet, flying fox teeth	Ditto
573	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Ditto
574	Ditto Ditto	<i>Pearley Coll. 5/-</i> Ditto
575	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
576	One finely worked comb	Ditto
577	Two ditto	Ditto
578	Four tusks for armlets	Ditto
579	Canoe ornament of feathers	Ditto
580	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
581	Six stone adze heads	SOLOMON IDS.
582	Four ditto	Ditto
583	Three shell breast ornaments	Ditto
584	Four tusk armlets	Ditto
585	Five shell spoons	Ditto
586	Small shell rings	Ditto
587	Seed necklet and colored sennet	Ditto
588	Stone hammer for cracking nuts	Ditto
589	Nose ornament	SANTA ANNA, Ditto
590	Whale's teeth necklet	GILBERT IDS.
591	Ditto	Ditto
592	Lot of teeth	Ditto
593	Implement for gouging out eyes	Ditto
594	Bone thatch needle	Ditto
595	Three whale's teeth, breast ornament	Ditto
596	Two teeth necklets	Ditto
597	Two very fine mats, women's dress	MARSHALL IDS.
598	One basket	GILBERT IDS.
599	One cocoa nut spoon	Ditto
600	Mat	ELLICE IDS.
601	Two mats	GILBERT IDS.
602	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
576	One finely worked comb	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11087	
577	Two finely worked combs	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
577	Two finely worked combs	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
578	Four tusks for armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.66	
578	Four tusks for armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.66	
578	Four tusks for armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.66	
578	Four tusks for armlets	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.66	
579	Canoe ornament of feathers	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.88	
580	Two canoe ornaments of feathers	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
580	Two canoe ornaments of feathers	Rubiana Lagoon	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
581	Six stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
581	Six stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
581	Six stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
581	Six stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
581	Six stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
581	Six stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
581	Six stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
582	Four stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
582	Four stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
582	Four stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
582	Four stone adze heads	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
583	Three shell breast ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15175	
583	Three shell breast ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15176	
583	Three shell breast ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15177	
584	Four tusk armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
584	Four tusk armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
584	Four tusk armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
584	Four tusk armlets	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
585	Five shell spoons	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.30	
585	Five shell spoons	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.31	
585	Five shell spoons	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.32	
585	Five shell spoons	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
585	Five shell spoons	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			

561	Two small canoe gods	SOLOMON IDS.
562	Large inlaid canoe god	RUBIANA LAGOON, Ditto
563	Well inlaid wood figure	Ditto Ditto
564	Six clam shell armlets	Ditto
565	Four large ditto	Ditto
566	Four clam shell armlets	Ditto
567	Eight shell armlets	Ditto
568	Six clam shell armlets	Ditto
569	Six shell armlets	Ditto
570	Large clam shell armlet	Ditto
571	Tusk neck ornament	Ditto
572	Necklet, flying fox teeth	Ditto
573	Woman's dress and two teeth necklets	Ditto
574	Ditto Ditto	<i>Pearley Coll. 5/-</i>
575	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
576	One finely worked comb	Ditto
577	Two ditto	Ditto
578	Four tusks for armlets	Ditto
579	Canoe ornament of feathers	Ditto
580	Two ditto Ditto	Ditto
581	Six stone adze heads	SOLOMON IDS.
582	Four ditto	Ditto
583	Three shell breast ornaments	Ditto
584	Four tusk armlets	Ditto
585	Five shell spoons	Ditto
586	Small shell rings	Ditto
587	Seed necklet and colored sennet	Ditto
588	Stone hammer for cracking nuts	Ditto
589	Nose ornament	SANTA ANNA, Ditto
590	Whale's teeth necklet	GILBERT IDS.
591	Ditto	Ditto
592	Lot of teeth	Ditto
593	Implement for gouging out eyes	Ditto
594	Bone thatch needle	Ditto
595	Three whale's teeth, breast ornament	Ditto
596	Two teeth necklets	Ditto
597	Two very fine mats, women's dress	MARSHALL IDS.
598	One basket	GILBERT IDS.
599	One cocoa nut spoon	Ditto
600	Mat	ELLICE IDS.
601	Two mats	GILBERT IDS.
602	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
586	Small shell rings	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
587	Seed necklet and colored red sennet	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
588	Stone hammer for cracking nuts	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11099	
589	Nose ornament	Santa Anna				
590	Whale's teeth necklet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
591	Whale's teeth necklet	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Auckland War Memorial Museum	15886	
592	Lot of teeth	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
593	Implement for gouging out eyes	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
594	Bone thatch needle	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10846	Bone needle
595	Three whale's teeth, breast ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
595	Three whale's teeth, breast ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
595	Three whale's teeth, breast ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
596	Two teeth necklets	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.100	
596	Two teeth necklets	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.101	
597	Two very fine mats, women's dress	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892			
597	Two very fine mats, women's dress	Marshall Islands	23/6/1892-4/7/1892			
598	One basket	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.232	
599	One cocoa nut spoon	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10898	
600	Mat	Ellice Islands				
601	Two mats	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
601	Two mats	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
602	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.224	

603	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	GILBERT IDS.
604	Ditto	Ditto
605	Ditto, not slung	Ditto
606	Ingenious flying fish hook line and float	ONOTOA, Ditto
607	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
608	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
609	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
610	Large wooden shark hook	MIANA, GILBERT IDS.
611	Ditto	TAMANA, Ditto
612	Flying fish hook and line	TAPUTEWA, Ditto
613	Ditto	MIANA, Ditto
614	Ditto, double	Ditto Ditto
615	Fish hook and line	TAMANA, Ditto
616	Ditto	Ditto Ditto
617	Long length cocoa nut fibre line	ELLICE IDS.
618	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	GILBERT & ELLICE IDS.
619	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
620	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
621	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
622	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
623	Three stinging ray's tails, used for whips	GILBERT IDS.
624	Flying fish hook and line	TAPUTEWA, Ditto
625	Three hooks and lines	ELLICE IDS.
626	One ditto	GILBERT IDS.
627	Three ditto	ELLICE IDS.
628	Three ditto	Ditto
629	Two ditto, larger, one plaited line	Ditto
630	Two ditto	GILBERT IDS.
631	One ditto	Ditto
632	Lot of iron hooks <i>Becky Coll. 5/</i>	Ditto
633	150 yards plaited women's hair, for seizings	Ditto
634	Length of plaited ditto Ditto	Ditto
635	Basket	Ditto
636	Part plank of canoe showing mode of lashing	ELLICE IDS.
637	Whale's tooth breast ornament	GILBERT IDS.
638	Ditto	Ditto
639	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	SOLOMON IDS.
640	Ditto	Ditto
641	Ditto	Ditto
642	Ditto	Ditto
643	Carved and inlaid post for ridge pole	Ditto
644	Man's dress, Aoba, and woman's dress	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
603	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10883	
604	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.104	From Abemama
605	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.225	
606	Ingenious Flying fish hook line and float	Onotoa	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.226	
607	Ingenious Flying fish hook line and float	Onotoa	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.227	
608	Ingenious Flying fish hook line and float	Onotoa	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	E 1904.47 / Z 7191	
609	Ingenious Flying fish hook line and float	Onotoa	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Horniman Museum?	30,37	
610	Large wooden shark hook	Miana Island	26/5/1892-16/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10851	
611	Large wooden shark hook	Tamana	31/5/1892-25/7/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.107	
612	Flying fish hook and line	Taputewa	24/5/1892-23/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1980.Q.946	From Onotoa
613	Flying fish hook and line	Miana Island	26/5/1892-16/7/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.105	From Onotoa
614	Flying fish hook and line	Miana Island	26/5/1892-16/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	10926	From Onotoa
615	Fish hook and line	Tamana	31/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.53	
616	Fish hook and line	Tamana	31/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	ETH.DAVIS.52	
617	Long length cocoa nut fibre line	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.206	
618	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10852	Fish hook
618	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10853	Fish hook
618	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10854	Fish hook
618	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
618	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
618	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
619	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
619	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
619	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
619	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
619	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
619	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
619	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
620	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
620	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
620	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
620	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
620	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
620	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			

603	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	GILBERT IDS.
604	Ditto	Ditto
605	Ditto, not slung	Ditto
606	Ingenious flying fish hook line and float	ONOTOA, Ditto
607	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
608	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
609	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
610	Large wooden shark hook	MIANA, GILBERT IDS.
611	Ditto	TAMANA, Ditto
612	Flying fish hook and line	TAPUTEWA, Ditto
613	Ditto	MIANA, Ditto
614	Ditto, double	Ditto Ditto
615	Fish hook and line	TAMANA, Ditto
616	Ditto	Ditto Ditto
617	Long length cocoa nut fibre line	ELLICE IDS.
618	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	GILBERT & ELLICE IDS.
619	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
620	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
621	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
622	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
623	Three stinging ray's tails, used for whips	GILBERT IDS.
624	Flying fish hook and line	TAPUTEWA, Ditto
625	Three hooks and lines	ELLICE IDS.
626	One ditto	GILBERT IDS.
627	Three ditto	ELLICE IDS.
628	Three ditto	Ditto
629	Two ditto, larger, one plaited line	Ditto
630	Two ditto	GILBERT IDS.
631	One ditto	Ditto
632	Lot of iron hooks <i>Becky Coll. 5/</i>	Ditto
633	150 yards plaited women's hair, for seizings	Ditto
634	Length of plaited ditto Ditto	Ditto
635	Basket	Ditto
636	Part plank of canoe showing mode of lashing	ELLICE IDS.
637	Whale's tooth breast ornament	GILBERT IDS.
638	Ditto	Ditto
639	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	SOLOMON IDS.
640	Ditto	Ditto
641	Ditto	Ditto
642	Ditto	Ditto
643	Carved and inlaid post for ridge pole	Ditto
644	Man's dress, Aoba, and woman's dress	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
621	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
621	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
621	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
621	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
621	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
621	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
622	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
622	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
622	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
622	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
622	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
622	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
623	Three stinging ray's tails used for whips	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	D25	
623	Three stinging ray's tails used for whips	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
623	Three stinging ray's tails used for whips	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
624	Flying fish hook and line	Taputewa	24/5/1892-23/7/1892			
625	Three hooks and lines	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.213	
625	Three hooks and lines	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.211	
625	Three hooks and lines	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.212	
626	One fish hook and line	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
627	Three hooks and lines	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.214	
627	Three hooks and lines	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
627	Three hooks and lines	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
628	Three hooks and lines	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
628	Three hooks and lines	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
628	Three hooks and lines	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			

603	Cocoa nut slung as water bottle	GILBERT IDS.
604	Ditto	Ditto
605	Ditto, not slung	Ditto
606	Ingenious flying fish hook line and float	ONOTOA, Ditto
607	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
608	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
609	Ditto Ditto	Ditto Ditto
610	Large wooden shark hook	MIANA, GILBERT IDS.
611	Ditto	TAMANA, Ditto
612	Flying fish hook and line	TAPUTEWA, Ditto
613	Ditto	MIANA, Ditto
614	Ditto, double	Ditto Ditto
615	Fish hook and line	TAMANA, Ditto
616	Ditto	Ditto Ditto
617	Long length cocoa nut fibre line	ELLICE IDS.
618	Six various sized wooden fish hooks	GILBERT & ELLICE IDS.
619	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
620	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
621	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
622	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
623	Three stinging ray's tails, used for whips	GILBERT IDS.
624	Flying fish hook and line	TAPUTEWA, Ditto
625	Three hooks and lines	ELLICE IDS.
626	One ditto	GILBERT IDS.
627	Three ditto	ELLICE IDS.
628	Three ditto	Ditto
629	Two ditto, larger, one plaited line	Ditto
630	Two ditto	GILBERT IDS.
631	One ditto	Ditto
632	Lot of iron hooks <i>Becky Coll. 5/</i>	Ditto
633	150 yards plaited women's hair, for seizings	Ditto
634	Length of plaited ditto Ditto	Ditto
635	Basket	Ditto
636	Part plank of canoe showing mode of lashing	ELLICE IDS.
637	Whale's tooth breast ornament	GILBERT IDS.
638	Ditto	Ditto
639	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	SOLOMON IDS.
640	Ditto	Ditto
641	Ditto	Ditto
642	Ditto	Ditto
643	Carved and inlaid post for ridge pole	Ditto
644	Man's dress, Aoba, and woman's dress	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
629	Two hooks larger, one plaited line	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.111	
629	Two hooks larger, one plaited line	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.112	
630	Two hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
630	Two hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
631	One hook	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
632	Lot of iron hooks	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum	Oc1944,02.267-279	
633	150 yards plaited woman's hair for seizings	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	World Museum Liverpool?	54.111.201	
634	Length of plaited hair for seizings	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-244-245	
635	Basket	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
636	Part plank of canoe showing mode of lashing	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
637	Whale's tooth breast ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Powell-Cotton Museum	D80	
638	Whale's tooth breast ornament	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
639	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
639	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
639	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
640	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
640	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
640	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
641	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
641	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
641	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
641	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
642	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
642	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
642	Three pearl and tortoise shell hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
643	Carved and inlaid post for ridge pole	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
644	Man's dress Aoba, and woman's dress	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			

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645	Women's dresses, cassowary feathers	NEW GUINEA
646	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
647	Coils of shell and palm wood discs	GILBERT IDS.
648	Landing net	Ditto
649	Ditto	Ditto
650	Woman's dress	Ditto
651	Hook and line	Ditto
652	Fishing bag	TORRES IDS.
653	Woman's body ornament	NEW GUINEA
654	Two water bottles	SOLOMON IDS.
655	Dress and ornaments	Ditto
656	Two fans	GILBERT IDS.
657	Three fine mat bags	BANKS IDS.
658	Three ditto	Ditto
659	Large hook and line	ELLICE IDS.
660	Ditto	Ditto
661	Coil of native rope	GILBERT IDS.
662	Length of sennet	ELLICE IDS.
663	Length of square sennet	NIUTAO, Ditto
664	Coil of native rope	GILBERT IDS.
665	Basket	Ditto
666	Coral bowl	Ditto
667	Men's body belts	MALLICOLO, NEW HEBRIDES
668	Three baskets	TORRES IDS.
669	One basket	GILBERT IDS.
670	Two ditto	Ditto
671	One ditto	Ditto
672	Two hats	Ditto
673	Small clam shell	SOLOMON IDS.
674	Mat, 12ft. by 6ft. 6in.	ELLICE IDS.
675	Ditto, Ditto	Ditto
676	Ditto, 10ft. by 6ft. 6in.	Ditto
677	Ditto, 8ft. by 7ft.	Ditto
678	Ditto, colored, 9ft. by 5ft 6in.	GILBERT IDS.
679	Two ditto	Ditto
680	Two ditto	Ditto
681	Three fans	Ditto
682	Ditto	Ditto
683	Ditto	ELLICE IDS.
684	Ditto	Ditto
685	Three combs	NEW GUINEA
686	Ditto	Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
645	Women's dresses, cassowary feathers	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	D13 and D14	
646	Women's dresses, cassowary feathers	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Powell-Cotton Museum?	D15 and D16	
647	Coils of shell and palm wood discs	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	E 1904.42 A-E / Z7194	
648	Landing net	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10849	
649	Landing net	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10850	
650	Woman's dress	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
651	Hook and LINE	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
652	Fishing bag	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Powell-Cotton Museum	D87	
653	Woman's body ornament	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891			
654	Two water bottles	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.196	
654	Two water bottles	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
655	Dress and ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
656	Two fans	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
656	Two fans	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
657	Three fine mat bags	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10989	
657	Three fine mat bags	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10990	
657	Three fine mat bags	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.204	
658	Three fine mat bags	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Horniman Museum	16,46	
658	Three fine mat bags	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Horniman Museum	16,47	
658	Three fine mat bags	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	Powell-Cotton Museum?	ETH.DAVIS.90	
659	Large hook and line	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	National Museums Scotland?	A.1904.110	
660	Large hook and line	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
661	Coil of native rope	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10855	
662	Length of sennet	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	British Museum?	Oc1894,-.210	
663	Length of square sennet	Niutao	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
664	Coil of native rope	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Horniman Museum?	30,15	
665	Basket	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
666	Coral bowl	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
667	Men's body belts	Mallicolo	11/5/1890-4/7/1890			
668	Three baskets	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10986	
668	Three baskets	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10987	
668	Three baskets	Torres Islands	10/5/1890-8/11/1890	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10988	
669	One basket	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
670	Two baskets	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
670	Two baskets	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
671	one basket	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
672	Two hats	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10884	
672	Two hats	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10885	
673	Small clam shell	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
674	Mat 12ft by 6ft 6in	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
675	Mat 12ft by 6ft 6in	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
676	Mat 10ft by 6ft 6in	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
677	Mat 8ft by 7ft	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	10893	
678	Mat, colored 9ft by 5ft 6in	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
679	Two mats	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
679	Two mats	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
680	Two mats	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
680	Two mats	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			

658. to Horniman Museum. per H. G. B.

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645	Women's dresses, cassowary feathers	NEW GUINEA
646	Ditto Ditto	Ditto
647	Coils of shell and palm wood discs	GILBERT IDS.
648	Landing net	Ditto
649	Ditto	Ditto
650	Woman's dress	Ditto
651	Hook and line	Ditto
652	Fishing bag	TORRES IDS.
653	Woman's body ornament	NEW GUINEA
654	Two water bottles	SOLOMON IDS.
655	Dress and ornaments	Ditto
656	Two fans	GILBERT IDS.
657	Three fine mat bags	BANKS IDS.
658	Three ditto	Ditto
659	Large hook and line	ELLICE IDS.
660	Ditto	Ditto
661	Coil of native rope	GILBERT IDS.
662	Length of sennet	ELLICE IDS.
663	Length of square sennet	NIUTAO, Ditto
664	Coil of native rope	GILBERT IDS.
665	Basket	Ditto
666	Coral bowl	Ditto
667	Men's body belts	MALLICOLO, NEW HEBRIDES
668	Three baskets	TORRES IDS.
669	One basket	GILBERT IDS.
670	Two ditto	Ditto
671	One ditto	Ditto
672	Two hats	Ditto
673	Small clam shell	SOLOMON IDS.
674	Mat, 12ft. by 6ft. 6in.	ELLICE IDS.
675	Ditto, Ditto	Ditto
676	Ditto, 10ft. by 6ft. 6in.	Ditto
677	Ditto, 8ft. by 7ft.	Ditto
678	Ditto, colored, 9ft. by 5ft 6in.	GILBERT IDS.
679	Two ditto	Ditto
680	Two ditto	Ditto
681	Three fans	Ditto
682	Ditto	Ditto
683	Ditto	Ditto
684	Ditto	ELLICE IDS.
685	Three combs	Ditto
686	Ditto	NEW GUINEA
		Ditto

List of Ethnological Objects.					
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number
681	Three fans	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892		
681	Three fans	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892		
681	Three fans	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892		
682	Three fans	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892		
682	Three fans	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892		
682	Three fans	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892		
683	Three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892		
683	Three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892		
683	Three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892		
684	Three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892		
684	Three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892		
684	Three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892		
685	Three combs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	12785
685	Three combs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	12786
685	Three combs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	12787
686	Three combs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	12788
686	Three combs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	12789
686	Three combs	New Guinea	14/9/1891-20/9/1891		

687	Three nose ornaments	SOLOMON IDS.
688	Three ditto	Ditto
689	Three ditto	Ditto
690	Three ditto	Ditto
691	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Ditto
692	Five ditto Ditto	Ditto
693	Five ditto Ditto	Ditto
694	Five ditto Ditto	Ditto
695	Three fans	ELLICE IDS.
696	Fishing line and hook	GILBERT IDS.
697	Woman's dress	ELLICE IDS.
698	Fine fishing net	Ditto
699	Wooden spoon	BANKS IDS.
700	Stone adze	SOLOMON IDS.

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List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
687	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Horniman Museum?	30,28	Clam shell nose plug.
687	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum?	Oc1904,0621.18	Clam shell nose plug.
687	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	11104	Clam shell nose plug.
688	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
688	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
688	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
689	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Cambridge	1904,36	One sea urchin nose ornament
689	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	British Museum	Oc1904,0621.17	One sea urchin nose ornament
689	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.89	One sea urchin nose ornament
690	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11103	One sea urchin nose ornament
690	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum?	11106	
690	Three nose ornaments	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11107	One sea urchin nose ornament
691	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
691	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
691	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
691	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
691	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
692	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
692	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
692	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
692	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
692	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
693	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	11110	Pearl shell fish hook.
693	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
693	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
693	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
693	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			

687	Three nose ornaments	SOLOMON IDS.
688	Three ditto	Ditto
689	Three ditto	Ditto
690	Three ditto	Ditto
691	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Ditto
692	Five ditto Ditto	Ditto
693	Five ditto Ditto	Ditto
694	Five ditto Ditto	Ditto
695	Three fans	ELLICE IDS.
696	Fishing line and hook	GILBERT IDS.
697	Woman's dress	ELLICE IDS.
698	Fine fishing net	Ditto
699	Wooden spoon	BANKS IDS.
700	Stone adze	SOLOMON IDS.

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Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.*

List of Ethnological Objects.						
Davis Catalogue Number	Davis Catalogue Description	Place collected	Date Collected	Current Institutional Location	Current Institutional ID number	Notes
694	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
694	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
694	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
694	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
694	Five pearl and tortoise shell fish hooks	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			
695	Three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10905	
695	Three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10906	
695	Three fans	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10910	
696	Fishing line and hook	Gilbert IDS	24/5/1892-25/7/1892			
697	Woman's dress	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892			
698	Fine fishing net	Ellice Islands	28/7/1892-4/8/1892	Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum	10922	
699	Wooden spoon	Banks Islands	24/6/1890- 31/10/1890	National Museums Scotland	A.1904.93	
700	Stone adze	Solomon Islands	23/6/1891-5/11/1891			

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

1. 'Islanders tell museum bosses to return looted cannibal trough', *The Times*, 29 September 2018.
2. Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects. Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1991); B. Burt and D. Waite, 'The Davis collections from Roviana', in L. Bolton, N. Thomas, E. Bonshek, J. Adams and B. Burt (eds) *Melanesia Art and Encounter* (British Museum Press: London, 2013); N. Thomas, 'The Kalikongu Feast Trough', in P.W. Brunt, N. Thomas, L. Bolton, D. Brown, S. Mallon and D. Skinner (eds) *Art in Oceania A New History* (Thames and Hudson: London, 2012).
3. 'Islanders tell museum bosses to return looted cannibal trough'.
4. Christopher Wright, *The Echo of Things: The Lives of Photographs in the the Solomon Islands*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Burt and Waite, 'The Davis collections from Roviana'.
5. Janet Owen, 'Collecting Artefacts, Acquiring Empire: A Maritime Endeavour', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 18 (2006), 147.
6. Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for Indian Pasts?', *Representations* 37 (1992), 1–26.
7. Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Chapter 2

1. The term Western Pacific region is used to include the islands of Fiji, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Marshall Islands, Caroline Islands, Palau, Solomons, Tonga, Samoa, Tokelau, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, New Guinea and Savage Island (Niue). It is a political term which was constantly changing and meant different things to different people at different times.
2. Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1967).
3. John Bach, 'The Royal Navy in the South West Pacific: the Australia Station 1859-1913', *The Great Circle* Vol.5, No.2 (1983) pp. 116-132.
4. Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914*, p.xvi.
5. The National Archives (TNA): FO 881/10004X, Enclosure 1 in No. 1.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Deutsches Historisches Museum. 2017. *German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present* (Deutsches Historisches Museum: Berlin).
8. TNA: FO 881/10004X, Enclosure 1 in No. 1.
9. *Ibid.*
10. TNA: FO 881/10004X, Enclosure 1 in No. 3.

11. TNA: FO 881/10004X, Enclosure 1 in No. 5.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914*, 1967).
17. TNA: FO 881/10004X, Enclosure 1 in No. 68.
18. TNA: FO 881/10004X, No. 25.
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13. Letter from A.W. Franks to Edward Gerrard Junior. Department of Prehistory and Europe, British Museum Correspondence, Gerrard, 24/11/1870.
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16. There are a number of fans from Kiribati listed in the Davis catalogue that have not been located in Museums and so some of these fans may be those now cared for by Osborne House.
17. In addition to leaving his collection to the British Museum, Henry Christy left a sum of money that was used to establish the Christy Fund. This fund, of which A.W. Franks was a trustee, was to be used to purchase important collections or individual artefacts.
18. Davis catalogue numbers 331 and 389.
19. Department of Prehistory and Europe, British Museum Correspondence, Davis, 22/9/03.
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22. Jonathan King is a collector and was Keeper of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the British Museum from 2005–2012. He is at the time of writing the Von Hügel Fellow at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge.
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32. Letter from George Frederick Pinfold to Harry Gerrard, 24 November 1938. Davis Collection, Small Collections, Powell-Cotton Museum Archives.

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36. H. Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture, Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), p. 104.
37. L. Carreau, 'Towards a Re-evaluation of Private Collectors: Harry Beasley's Collection of Pacific Artifacts (1895–1939) and its Contribution to 20th Century Museums in the UK', *Pacific Arts* 8 (2009), p. 32.
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42. Thomas Edge-Partington, 'Ingava, chief of Rubiana, Solomon Islands: Died 1906', *Man* 7, 15 (1907), 22–23.
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55. Anglo-French Naval Commission. Meeting 8 Oct 1890, 'Proceedings of Anglo-French Naval Commission in the New Hebrides', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand. WPHC 4/IV 329/1890 [microfilm].
56. Edward H. M. Davis, Report to Commander in Chief, 12 November 1890 [10pp. and 12 enclosures], 'Murder of Mr de Lautour and his son at Aure. Action of Captain Davis of H.M.S. 'Royalist'', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WPHC 4/IV 358/1890, [microfilm], p. 2.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, enclosures 1–11.
59. *Ibid.*, enclosure 11.
60. George de Lautour to E.H.M. Davis, 27 June 1890, 'Capt Davis's proceedings re 'Tappea' who took away Mr de Lautour's housekeeper', Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, WPHC 4/IV 265/1890 [microfilm].
61. 'The Late Mr De Latour [sic]', *Illustrated Australian News*, 8 November 1890, p. 10.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. Edward H.M. Davis, Report to Commander in Chief, 12 Nov 1890 [10pp. and 12 enclosures], 'Murder of Mr de Lautour and his son at Aure. Action of Captain Davis of H.M.S. 'Royalist'', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WPHC 4/IV 358/1890, [microfilm], enclosures 3 and 4.

65. Edward H.M. Davis, Report to Commander in Chief, 12 Nov 1890 [10pp. and 12 enclosures], 'Murder of Mr de Lautour and his son at Aure. Action of Captain Davis of H.M.S. 'Royalist'', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WHPC 4/IV 358/1890, [microfilm], p. 7.
66. Interview by author with Barnabas Vuro, Luganville, Santo, May 2017.
67. George de Lautour to E.H.M. Davis, 20 June 1890, 'Capt Davis's proceedings re 'Tappea' who took away Mr de Lautour's housekeeper', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WPHC 4/IV 265/1890 [microfilm].
68. Edward H.M. Davis, Report to Commander in Chief, 12 Nov 1890 [10pp. and 12 enclosures], 'Murder of Mr de Lautour and his son at Aure. Action of Captain Davis of H.M.S. 'Royalist'', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WHPC 4/IV 358/1890, [microfilm], enclosure 8.
69. Jauncey, 'Dictionary of Tamambo, Malo'.
70. Edward H.M. Davis, Report to Commander in Chief, 12 Nov 1890 [10pp. and 12 enclosures], 'Murder of Mr de Lautour and his son at Aure. Action of Captain Davis of H.M.S. 'Royalist'', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WHPC 4/IV 358/1890, [microfilm], enclosure 8.
71. Rannie, *My Adventures among South Sea Cannibals*, p. 153.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Edward H.M. Davis, Report to Commander in Chief, 12 Nov 1890 [10pp. and 12 enclosures], 'Murder of Mr de Lautour and his son at Aure. Action of Captain Davis of H.M.S. 'Royalist'', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WHPC 4/IV 358/1890, [microfilm], enclosure 8.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Edward H.M. Davis, Report to Commander in Chief, 12 Nov 1890 [10pp. and 12 enclosures], 'Murder of Mr de Lautour and his son at Aure. Action of Captain Davis of H.M.S. 'Royalist'', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WHPC 4/IV 358/1890, [microfilm], p. 9; see 'The New Hebrides, Cruise of H.M.S. Royalist', *Brisbane Courier*, 28 November 1890, p. 7.
76. P.D. MacDonald, 'The femme fatale 'housekeeper' (n.d.), in H.E. Maude Papers, Section 2 - Stories: 'Western Pacific High Commission' Part I, Series N: Macdonald Papers, H. E. Maude Digital Archive, University of Adelaide Library Special Collections, Australia, <http://hdl.handle.net/2440/101181> (accessed 17 April 2017)
77. John B. Thurston to Commander in Chief, 20 Dec 1890, 'Australian Station New Hebrides 1890 - Additional Correspondence respecting outrages by Natives on British Subjects, and other matters which have been under inquiry during the year 1890', in *Proceedings of H.M. ships in New Hebrides, New Guinea and Solomon Islands: printed copies, forwards*, Western Pacific Archives Inwards

- Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WPHC 4/IV 96/1891 [microfilm], p. 8.
78. Patrick O'Reilly, *Hebridais: repertoire bio-bibliographique des Nouvelles-Hebrides / Patrick O'Reilly ; avec des portraits de Jean Lebedeff, et des illustrations de Georges Guiraud, Michel Lablais & Roland Mascart* (Paris: Musee de l'homme, 1957), p. 125.
 79. George de Lautour, 5 Oct 1887, 'Latouor [sic], George de – Diary', Manuscripts, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Micro-MS-Coll-01-L55 [microfilm, copied in 1972 from original, Fiji Museum, Suva]; 'brick', Oxford English Dictionary, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com> (accessed 20 December 2017).
 80. George de Lautour, 18 Feb 1888, 'Latouor [sic], George de – Diary', Manuscripts, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Micro-MS-Coll-01-L55 [microfilm, copied in 1972 from original, Fiji Museum, Suva], emphasis original.
 81. See Chris Ballard and Bronwen Douglas (eds), 'Special issue: Punitive Expeditions', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 18, 1(2017) [Project MUSE, doi:10.1353/cch.2017.0003].
 82. Ron Adams, *In the Land of Strangers: A Century of European Contact with Tanna, 1774–1874* (Canberra: Development Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1984), pp. 49–50.
 83. Stuart Bedford, 'A good moral effect?': Local opposition and colonial persistence in Malakula, New Hebrides, 1875–1918', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 18, 1(2017) [Project MUSE, doi:10.1353/cch.2017.0003].
 84. John B. Thurston to Commander in Chief, 20 Dec 1890, 'Australian Station New Hebrides 1890 - Additional Correspondence respecting outrages by Natives on British Subjects, and other matters which have been under inquiry during the year 1890', in *Proceedings of H.M. ships in New Hebrides, New Guinea and Solomon Islands: printed copies, forward.*, Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WPHC 4/IV 96/1891 [microfilm], pp. 7-9.
 85. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
 86. See Howard Van Trease, *The politics of land in Vanuatu* (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1987); and Siobhan McDonnell, Matthew G. Allen, and Colin Filer (eds), *Kastom, Property and Ideology: Land Transformations in Melanesia* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2017).
 87. Edward H.M. Davis, Report to Commander in Chief, 12 Nov 1890 [10pp. and 12 enclosures], 'Murder of Mr de Lautour and his son at Aure. Action of Captain Davis of H.M.S. 'Royalist'', Western Pacific Archives Inwards Correspondence, Special Collection, University of Auckland, New Zealand, WPHC 4/IV 358/1890, [microfilm], p. 8.
 88. Van Trease, *The politics of land in Vanuatu*, pp. 259–265; Joseph D. Foukona, 'Management of customary land as a form of communal property in the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji', in Lee Godden and Maureen Tehan (eds), *Comparative*

Perspectives on Communal Lands and Individual Ownership: Sustainable Futures (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p. 271.

89. *Nasara* is a Bislama language term for meeting ground, associated with ceremony and ritual. *Navota* is generally a pig-killing platform, but in this context was used to refer to stones used in hunting magic. Interview with Rachel Joe, Aore, May 2017, who had cared for J. Molivono with her husband.
90. Matthew Spriggs, *The Island Melanesians* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 257–261.
91. George de Lautour, 22 May 1887, 'Latouor [sic], George de – Diary', Manuscripts, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Micro-MS-Coll-01-L55 [microfilm, copied in 1972 from original, Fiji Museum, Suva], emphasis original.
92. *Ibid.*
93. Felix Speiser. *Ethnology of Vanuatu: an early twentieth century study*, translated by D.Q. Stephenson (Bathurst NSW: Crawford House Press, 1991 [Berlin: C.W. Creidel, 1923]), p.34.
94. W.H.R. Rivers, 'The psychological factor', in *Essays on the depopulation of Melanesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 84.
95. Van Trease, *The politics of land in Vanuatu*, p. 129.
96. Speiser, *Ethnology of Vanuatu: an early twentieth century study*, p. 34.
97. Personal communication, Hilary Howes, December 2017.
98. Personal communication, Kirk Huffman, June 2017.
99. Sue Scott, Milena Stefanova, Anna Naupa and Karaeviti Vurobaravu, 'Vanuatu national leasing profile: A preliminary analysis', *Justice for the Poor Briefing Note*, *World Bank* 7/1 (2012), p. 3.
100. Van Trease, *The politics of land in Vanuatu*, p. 262.
101. *Nakamal* is a Bislama language term for a meeting house.

Chapter 6

1. Western Provincial Administration, 'Reflections of Western Province' (Gizo: Cultural Affairs Office, 1991).
2. Klauss Neumann, 'Starting from Trash', in Robert Borofsky (ed.), *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), reports that, similarly, the Tolai people of Papua New Guinea are vague about dates, where a Western historian would strive for the utmost precision.
3. In pigin the phrases *bifo lotu* and *bihaen lotu* are used to indicate broad historical epochs; particularly the former, which is the ubiquitous phrase to historically locate all sorts of events and artefacts.
4. Faletau Leve, interview with Christopher Wright (2000).
5. Geoffrey White, *Identity Through History: Living Stories in a Solomon Islands Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
6. Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).
7. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographics and Histories* (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 7.

8. See also Shankar Aswani, 'Changing Identities: The Ethnohistory of Roviana Predatory Head-Hunting', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 109 (2000) for a discussion of oral history in Roviana.
9. Roger. M. Keesing, 'The Young Dick Attack: Oral and Documentary History on the Colonial Frontier', *Ethnohistory* 33 (1986), 269.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 9.
12. Steven Ilo, interview with Christopher Wright (2000).
13. Edvard Hviding, *Guardians of Marovo Lagoon: Practice, Place and Politics in Maritime Melanesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996)
14. Neumann, 'Starting from Trash', p. 66.
15. Jacques Derrida, *Echographies of Television: Filmed Interviews* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002).
16. Klauss Neumann, *Not the Way It Really Was* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1992).
17. Robert Borofsky (ed.), *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000)
18. Greg Dening, *History's Anthropology: The Death of William Gooch* (New York: University Press of America, 1988), p. 26.
19. UK Royal Navy Australian Station 23 National Library of Australia mfm G 1799-1843.
20. See also Christopher Wright, 'Prologue', *The Echo of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).
21. Kim B. Jackson, 'Tie Hokara, Tie Vaka: Black Man, White Man: A Study of the New Georgia Group to 1930s', Unpublished PhD thesis, Australian National University (1978), p. 76.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
23. UK Royal Navy Australian Station 23 National Library of Australia mfm G 1799-1843, p. 2.
24. Jackson, 'Tie Hokara, Tie Vaka: Black Man, White Man', p. 99.
25. The attacks were to a large extent ineffective at reducing the scale of headhunting, see Marty Zelenietz, 'The End of Headhunting in New Georgia', in Margaret Rodman and Matthew Cooper (eds), *The Pacification of Melanesia* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1979); John McKinnon, 'Tomahawks, Turtles and Traders: A Reconstruction of the Circular Causation of Warfare in the New Georgia Group', *Oceania* 45 (1975), 290-307; Aswani, 'Changing Identities'.
26. See also Wright, 'Prologue'.
27. Jackson, 'Tie Hokara, Tie Vaka: Black Man, White Man', p. 83.
28. Charles Woodford diary entry for September 1 1886. Woodford Papers. Australian National University Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, 1288. Five microfilm reels. Libraries Australia ID- 43048991.
29. Judith Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: A History of a Pacific Archipelago, 1800-1978* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), pp. 395-397.

30. Kim B. Jackson, 'Tie Hokara, Tie Vaka: Black Man, White Man: A Study of the New Georgia Group to 1930s', Unpublished PhD thesis, Australian National University (1978), p. 83.
31. William Dabelle's brother Tom had been murdered on Yanuta Island, west of San Cristoval on 26 March 1889. UK Royal Navy Australian Station 23 National Library of Australia mfm G 1799-1843, p. 2.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 11. The ship the *Marshall S* was attacked in Roviana in May 1891 and two Savo members of its crew were killed. One of the killers, Buko, was caught and flogged. This was a contributing factor to the decision to attack Roviana. See Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, appendix 6, p. 395. The term Rubiana was used in at least two ways in British accounts of the area; to refer to Roviana Lagoon generally, but also to refer specifically to the island of Nusa Roviana. It is sometimes unclear in which sense it is being used.
37. *Ibid.* Tooloo, who had been kept as a hand-cuffed hostage since August to identify the murderers, escaped during the night (of 25th to 26th) and went alongside the English schooner *Saucy Lass* (a ship belonging to the European trader Frank Wickham), with the hope of getting his handcuffs filed off, but Wickham returned him to Davis at Nusa Zonga later the following day.
38. UK Royal Navy Australian Station 23 National Library of Australia mfm G 1799-1843, p. 12. Having wrought so much destruction in Roviana, Davis proceeded to San Cristoval island where he executed a local man called Taiemi, 'having previously satisfied myself as to his guilt, from the evidence of natives who witnessed the murder, and he himself having confessed to the crime. I shot him on the same spot he murdered Craig in January last, in the presence of Chief Wasinghow and other natives' (p. 13). There is a photograph of the moment before this execution in the Fiji Museum. Here state terror and photography come together.
39. Henry Boyle Somerville, 'Ethnographic Notes in New Georgia, Solomon Islands', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 26 (1897), p. 399.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December 1891, p. 4.
42. UK Royal Navy Australian Station 23 National Library of Australia mfm G 1799-1843, p. 12.
43. Jackson, 'Tie Hokara, Tie Vaka: Black Man, White Man'.
44. The Missionary Review 1899, p. 2.
45. UK Royal Navy Australian Station 23 National Library of Australia mfm G 1799-1843, p. 3.
46. Ernest Way Elkington, *The Savage South Seas: Painted by Norman Hardy and Described by E. Way Elkington*, (London: A and C Black, 1907), pp. 90-99.
47. Charles Woodford, 'Further Note on Funerary Ornaments from the Solomon Islands' *Man* 5 (1905), 38.
48. Way Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, p.100.

49. Thomas W. Edge-Partington, 'Ingava, Chief of Rubiana, Solomon Islands: Died 1906', *Man* 7 (1907), p. 22.
50. Thomas W. Edge-Partington, 'Note on the Food Bowl from Rubiana', *Man* 6 (1906), p. 121, Deborah Waite, 'An Artefact/Image Text of Head-Hunting Motifs' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 109 (2000).
51. Keesing describes how the Malaitan police involved in punitive raids after an infamous event in colonial history known as the Bell massacre desecrated ancestral shrines in order to systematically destroy other Malaitans' relationships with their ancestors. Roger M. Keesing, 'Colonial History as Contested Ground: The Bell Massacre in the Solomons', *History and Anthropology* 4 (1990).
52. Marty Zelenietz, 'The End of Headhunting in New Georgia'; McKinnon, 'Tomahawks, Turtles and Traders'; Aswani, 'Changing Identities'.
53. Judith Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*, p. 91.
54. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 June 1894.
55. There are many other banara who are of equal, or more, importance to Roviana people historically.
56. See also Wright, 'Prologue'.
57. Similar requests are a feature of relations between anthropologists and Melanesians; Neumann, *Not the Way It Really Was*, p. 249.
58. Carlo Ginzburg, John A. Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
59. Aswani, 'Changing Identities'.
60. Klauss Neumann, 'Starting from Trash', p.72.
61. Tim Thomas, Peter Sheppard and Richard Walter, 'Landscape, Violence and Social Bodies: Ritualised Architecture in a Solomon Islands Society', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7 (2001), 545–572.
62. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographics and Histories* (London: Macmillan, 1988).
63. Charles Woodford, *A Naturalist Among the Headhunters* (London: G.Philip, 1890), p. 159.
64. See Rudolphe Festetics von Tolna, *Chez Les Canibals: Huit ans de croiserie dans l'Océan Pacifique et Indien a bord du yacht* (Paris: Plous Nourrit, 1903), p. 327 for another photograph of the second canoe-house.
65. Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for Indian Pasts?', *Representations* 37 (1992), 1–26.
66. UK Royal Navy Australian Station 23 National Library of Australia mfm G 1799-1843, p.3.
67. Edwards, *Raw Histories*, pp. 107–131.
68. Michael Taussig, *The Nervous System* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 38.
69. Judith Binney and Gilian Chaplin, 'Taking the Photographs Home: The Recovery of a Maori History', *Visual Anthropology* 4 (1990), 431.
70. Keesing, 'Colonial History as Contested Ground', p. 296.
71. *Ibid.*
72. Donald Maepio, interview with Christopher Wright (2001).
73. Faletau Leve, interview with Christopher Wright (2000).

74. Statistics from UNICEF.
75. Christine Dureau, 'Decreed Affinities: Nationhood and the Western Solomon Islands', *Journal of Pacific History* 33 (2001), 143.
76. Keesing has argued that Malaitans viewed Europeans as a single group, and as such they were responsible for each other's actions and therefore vengeance could be taken on any one of them. Roger. M. Keesing, 'The Young Dick Attack: Oral and Documentary History on the Colonial Frontier', *Ethnohistory* 33 (1986).
77. So we should not read it as solely about the imposition of colonial power.
78. Keesing, 'Colonial History as Contested Ground'.
79. Many Malaitan 'squatters' were evicted from their homes on the road between Munda and Noro. However, some long-term Malaitan residents of Munda were allowed to stay, but only those married to local women or working temporarily in the bank.
80. As Walter Benjamin suggests; 'to articulate the past historically does not mean to recognise it 'as it really was'. It means to seize a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger' (Eduardo Cadava, *Words of Light: Theses on the Photography of History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 63).
81. Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 116.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
83. See Lucy Lippard (ed.) *Partial Recall* (New York: The New Press, 1992) for a series of diverse responses to photographs of Native North Americans.
84. Diane Losche and Nicholas Thomas, *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 4.
85. Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p. 7.
86. Klaus Neumann, 'Starting from Trash', p. 75.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Chapter 7

1. E.H.M. Davis, *The Proceedings of HMS Royalist, May-August 1892* (Tarawa: Tungavalu Society, 1976), p. 7.
2. Sister Alaima Talu, *Kiribati: Aspects of History* (Tarawa: University of the South Pacific, 1979).
3. Edward Henry Meggs Davis, *The Proceedings of HMS Royalist, May-August 1892* (Tarawa: Tungavalu Society, 1976), p. 7.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
5. 'Life in the Pacific', *Table Talk*, Friday 16 September 1892, p. 8.
6. Protectorate over Gilbert Islands. Account of Establishment in May and June 1892, by 'Royalist', with tabular statement giving information as to each island. Also information as to Ellice Islands and Marshall Islands, p. 43. National Archives FO 534/58. Davis wrote in his report that 'It appeared to me the unanimous wish of the inhabitants in this group that the British flag should be hoisted'.
7. Sister Alaima Talu, *Kiribati: Aspects of History* (Tarawa: University of the South Pacific, 1979), p. 66.
8. I-Kiribati do not usually continue to make anything that does not have a purpose.

9. Marshall D. Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1981); Marshall D. Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Jeannette Marie Mageo, *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).
10. Protectorate over Gilbert Islands. Account of Establishment in May and June 1892, by 'Royalist', with tabular statement giving information as to each island. Also information as to Ellice Islands and Marshall Islands, p. 43. National Archives FO 534/58.
11. Claire Warrior, 'Objects of Trade: An Introduction', *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 20 (2008), 13–16.
12. Interview with Taratai council, 12 May 2016.
13. Interview with Natan Itonga, 16 June 2017.
14. Jeannette Marie Mageo (ed.), *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), p. 1.
15. *Ibid.*, p.9.
16. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Oxford: Routledge, 1990).
17. Mageo, *Cultural Memory*, p. 1.
18. Interview with Nabuti, 17 June 2017.
19. Interview with Raakai Curry, 15 May 2016.
20. Mike Bowers, 'Waiting for the tide to turn: Kiribati's fight for survival', *Guardian*, 23 October 2017.
21. Paul Basu, 'Object Diasporas, Resourcing Communities: Sierra Leonean Collections in the Global Museumscape', *Museum Anthropology* 34/1 (2011), 28–42.

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RESONANT HISTORIES

This book explores a complex relational assemblage, a collection of 1481 Pacific artefacts brought together by Captain Edward Henry Meggs Davis, during the three voyages of HMS Royalist between 1890-1893. The collection is indicative not just of a period of colonial collecting in the Pacific, but also the development of ethnographic collections in the UK and Europe. This period of history remains present in the social and cultural lives of many Pacific Islanders today.

Using the collections as a starting point the book is divided into two parts. The first provides the historical background to the three voyages of HMS Royalist, discussing each voyage, its aims and outcomes, and the role that Davis played within this. Davis' motivations to collect and the various means of collecting that he employed are then explored within this historical context. Finally the first part considers what happened to the collection once it was sent from the Pacific to England, where and how it was sold, and how the collection was a part of and subject to the networks of museums, and private collectors in the UK and Europe during the end of the 19th century beginning of the 20th century. It offers a detailed view of the contents and development of the collection, and what the collection can tell us about British ethnographic collecting at the end of the nineteenth century.

The second part of the book explores the traces left by the ship amongst the Pacific Islands communities it visited. Focusing on three Pacific Islands- Vanuatu, Solomon Islands and Kiribati- the chapters in this section interrogate the contemporary relevance of this period of colonial history for Islanders today, exploring current social, political and environmental issues.

