

**Excavating Eden: Missionaries, Material Culture, and Migration  
Theories in the History of Pacific Archaeology, 1797–1940**

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## Declaration

To the best of my knowledge, the research presented in this thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is my own, except where the work of others has been acknowledged. This thesis has not previously been submitted in any form for any other degree at this or any other university.

All research was conducted in accordance with Australian National University ethics guidelines.

Eve Haddow

Word count: 73420

*For Agnes (1921–2013)*  
*A puzzle solver, a reader, a believer*

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## Abstract

From the arrival of the London Missionary Society in the Pacific in 1797, Anglophone missionaries began to engage with the prehistory of the region. By offering observations and published accounts, collecting material culture, and recording oral traditions and language terms, they contributed to emerging theories of the prehistory and origins of Pacific people. Some missionaries also presented their own interpretations of the available data. This thesis considers the involvement of Anglophone missionaries in the development of archaeology in the Pacific through the 19th and early 20th centuries and explores how and to what extent they were influenced by local and global frameworks. These frameworks included local artefact and knowledge networks as well as scholarly contributions by individuals and scientific societies. The thesis is framed around two individuals: Reverend Frederick Gatherer Bowie, active with the Presbyterian Church in Vanuatu (then New Hebrides), 1896–1933, and Reverend Charles Elliot Fox, active with the Melanesian Mission in Solomon Islands, 1902–1973. Evidence is drawn from the artefact collecting activities and writing of both men, and from Bowie's field photography. I demonstrate developments in missionary theories of prehistory over time, which can be traced alongside wider scholarly paradigm shifts and developing notions of 'time' as related to understandings of the human past. As well as exploring the agency of missionary researchers and their interlocutors, I seek to unravel the influence of interwoven knowledge networks on missionary engagement with Pacific prehistory, developing a narrative of the people and things involved. My research highlights the necessity of examining a range of actors and things circulating across different locales in the development of Pacific archaeology as a discipline. Such studies contribute to our understanding of how certain disciplinary concepts became popular and were replicated over time, and conversely how other theories fell out of favour. I argue that missionaries of different denominations, who may have previously been overlooked, have a place in this broader historical narrative. I also argue that missionary research resources have potential value for Pacific communities today, and that research presented in this thesis can facilitate access to such resources.

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## Glossary

**celt** a term for long stone or bronze axe- or adze-like tools

**filwoka program** in 1981, Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta established this program, whereby local men and women from different communities and islands volunteer their time to document and revive local knowledge and practices

**gamal** Mota term for large men's house; sometimes used by Melanesian Mission to refer to men's meeting places at St. Barnabas on Norfolk Island.

**Ham** from the Bible, Noah's son. Cursed by his father, or rather Ham's son Canaan was cursed.

**hau suru** stone receptacle, placed on top of *heo*, Makira, Solomon Islands.

**heo** burial mounds of earth and stone, Makira, Solomon Islands

**hera** according to C.E. Fox, the term for the burial ground associated with *heo*.

**kamali** see *gamal*

**kastom** Bislama term, encompassing the customary knowledge and practices of a place.

**korain sua** large stone pig-killing platforms, Nogogu, northwest Santo.

**natamarid** high chief on Aneityum, Vanuatu

**natmas** spirit, Aneityum language.

**natimas** Mota term for small men's meeting place; used by the Melanesian Mission to describe some of the buildings at the *vanua* on Norfolk Island in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Polynesian Outliers** islands considered culturally Polynesian but located outside the region of Polynesia.

**uro tano** Wusi language term for red-slipped pottery.

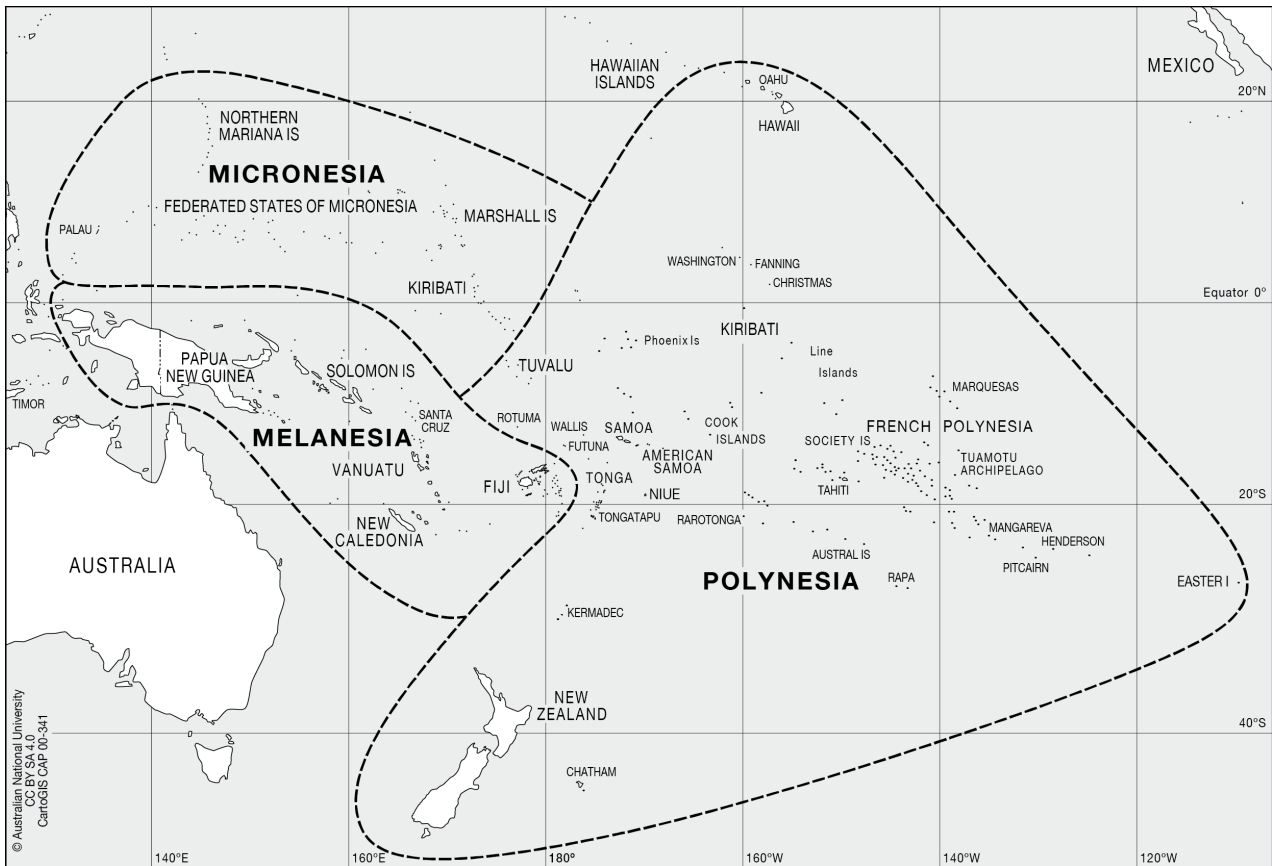
**supwentas** term used by Bowie to refer to members of a graded society in west Santo.

**vanua** Mota term for village; used by Melanesian Mission to refer to the buildings at St. Barnabas, Norfolk Island, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## A note on terminology

Throughout the text, I use New Hebrides as the historical name given by Captain James Cook to the islands known collectively as the independent nation of Vanuatu since 1980. I use Vanuatu when referring to the country in a contemporary context. The Banks Islands and Torres Islands in the north of the archipelago were often referred to separately from the New Hebrides, following the establishment of the Condominium of the New Hebrides in 1906, were administered as integral parts

In the case of individual island names, I refer to the historical name in the first instance and indicate the contemporary name in parentheses. I then use the latter throughout the text to assist in geographically locating those spaces. During the period discussed in this thesis, the island of Makira, Solomon Islands, of which I write at length, was generally referred to as San Cristoval or San Cristobal, but I endeavour to use the current name of Makira. In some instances, I specify 'San Cristoval District' in reference to the Melanesian Mission district.



**Map of the Pacific, indicating some of the island groups discussed in the chapters that follow.  
Source, CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University.**

## Introduction

Anglophone missionaries working in the Pacific region from 1797 to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century were not archaeologists, at least not in the sense that contemporary archaeologists would likely define themselves today. However, this thesis aims to demonstrate that missionaries in that period did examine and interpret the prehistory of those people they lived and worked with, and their research activities contributed to widespread ideas about the Pacific past for a network of scholars, savants, and the general public. Sacred Heart missionary Father Otto Meyer's 1909 report of unearthing 'prehistoric pottery', the first recorded excavation of material later to be termed 'Lapita' in the 1960s, was a significant moment in the history of Pacific archaeology.<sup>1</sup> However, this thesis probes beyond grand 'discoveries', into the micro-moments that form the narrative of missionary entanglement in the history of Pacific archaeology, exploring layers of localised experiences through which interpretations of prehistory were produced and reproduced, to be shared, disputed, or consumed.

Throughout the thesis, I consider the myriad methods and sources that Anglophone missionaries drew upon in observing and interpreting Pacific people's prehistory. They conducted landscape surveys, collected material culture, recorded oral traditions – including genealogies and origin stories – and documented their personal experiences. Unpacking written, visual, and artefactual traces, I examine both the process and the products of missionary engagement with the deep past in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. These sources also reveal narratives of those interlocutors who made such research possible; individuals who, like the Anglophone missionaries, enacted agency when transacting knowledge and material culture. By mapping knowledge networks, I consider how people, things, and ideas were circulated, modified, accepted, or rejected in the development of Pacific archaeology.

### Defining 'archaeology' in this thesis

In defining 'archaeology' in the context of this research, I accept it as encompassing the study of the origins, migrations, and deep past of Pacific people, particularly but not exclusively through material traces. Today, archaeology is defined in the *OED* as '1. Ancient history generally; systematic description or study of antiquities', and '2. *spec.* The scientific study of the remains and monuments

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<sup>1</sup> Emilie Dotte-Sarout and Hilary Howes, "Lapita Before Lapita: The Early Story of the Meyer/ O'Reilly Watom Island Collection", *Journal of Pacific History* 54, no. 3 (2019): 354–378.



of the prehistoric period.<sup>2</sup> Through the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, archaeology in the Pacific, and indeed in other locales, was less bounded; intertwined particularly with anthropology, ethnology, and linguistics. The relationship of archaeology with anthropology continues to some extent today, although by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the two had already diverged to incorporate distinct research methods, with archaeology having a greater focus on material culture and prehistory.<sup>3</sup>

Today ethnology is defined as '[t]he branch of knowledge concerned with human society and culture, and its development'.<sup>4</sup> The discipline is currently unfashionable, but in the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was an active field. As influential ethnologist James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848) defined it in his 1847 anniversary address to the prestigious Ethnological Society of London (ESL), ethnology was a history of human races investigating 'not *what is*, but *what has been*', which he directly connected to the field of archaeology.<sup>5</sup> Comparing ethnology with geology, Prichard asserted that both were branches of palaeontology, or what he also termed 'physical archaeology', but '[g]eology [was] the archaeology of the globe - ethnology that of its human inhabitants.'<sup>6</sup> Ethnological studies drew data from natural history, but also from the work of 'ancient historians', and from 'the history of languages and their affiliations.'<sup>7</sup>

By the 1930s, the vanguard of scholars leading Social Anthropology on its own methodological path attempted overtly to disentangle their discipline from ethnology. As Alfred Radcliffe-Brown asserted in his 1931 Presidential Address to the Anthropology section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS), ethnology was a historical science. He stated: 'Ethnology, in so far as it attempts not merely to classify races, languages and cultures, but to reconstruct their history, must necessarily maintain a very close connection with archaeology.'<sup>8</sup> This remained the case particularly in the Pacific Islands at that time. The associations of archaeological studies with linguistics, particularly comparative philology, will also become evident over the course of this thesis, in particular the entanglement of Pacific missionaries very early on with the philological

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<sup>2</sup> "archaeology, n.", OED Online, Oxford University Press, December 2019, accessed 11 January, 2020, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/10286?>

<sup>3</sup> See, Chris Gosden, *Anthropology and Archaeology: A Changing Relationship*, (London: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> "ethnology, n.", OED Online, Oxford University Press, December 2019, accessed 17 January 2020, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/64820?redirectedFrom=ethnology>

<sup>5</sup> James C. Prichard, "On the Relations of Ethnology to Other Branches of Knowledge", *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1848-1856)* 1 (1848): 302.

<sup>6</sup> Prichard "On the Relations of Ethnology to Other Branches of Knowledge", 303.

<sup>7</sup> Prichard, "On the Relations of Ethnology to Other Branches of Knowledge", 304.

<sup>8</sup> A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Present Position of Anthropological Studies", in *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Report of the centenary Meeting London 1931 September 21-30*, ed. British Association for the Advancement of Science (London: Office of the British Association, 1932), 167.

arguments of William Jones (1746–94) and of Prichard. The linguistic basis for connecting people in the past has continued to find resonance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the field of historical linguistics.

### Missionary endeavour and scientific research

A growing body of scholarship considers missionary engagement with the humanities and the natural sciences in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Oceania and elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> However, little specific attention has been given to missionary engagement with themes of an archaeological nature, including past migrations of people, ancient sites, unearthed materials, and the development of material culture over time.<sup>10</sup> This thesis contributes to that scholarly space. It also explores the acquisition and deployment of artefacts in learning about and creating narratives and

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<sup>9</sup> Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical missionaries in the South Seas, 1799-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978); John Barker, "Christianity in Western Melanesian Ethnography", in *History and Tradition in Melanesian Anthropology* ed. James G. Carrier (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 144–173; Niel Gunson, "British Missionaries and their Contribution to Science in the Pacific Islands", in *Darwin's Laboratory: Evolutionary Theory and Natural History in the Pacific*, eds. Roy M. MacLeod and Philip F. Rehbock (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 283–316; Sara Sohmer, "The Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology: A study in Symbiosis", in MacLeod and Rehbock, *Darwin's Laboratory*, 317–338; Barbara Lawson, *Collected Curios: Missionary Tales from the South Seas* (Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1994); Jane Samson, "Ethnology and Theology: Nineteenth Century Mission Dilemmas in the South Pacific", in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2001), 99–123; John M. Hitchen, "Relations between Missiology and Anthropology Then and Now—Insights from the Contribution to Ethnography and Anthropology by Nineteenth-Century Missionaries in the South Pacific", *Missiology* 30, no. 4 (2002): 455–478; Helen B. Gardner, "Missionaries, Evolutionism and Pacific Anthropology: The Correspondence of Lorimer Fison and Robert Codrington", in *New Pacific Review: Proceedings of the 16th Pacific History Association Conference*, eds. P. de Dekker, C. Sand and F. Angleviel (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004), 122–133; Sujit Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Helen B. Gardner, *Gathering for God: George Brown in Oceania* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006); Patrick Harries, *Butterflies & Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries & Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa* (James Currey, 2007); Jean Michaud, *'Incidental' Ethnographers: French Catholic Missions on the Tonkin-Yunnan Frontier, 1880-1930* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Helen B. Gardner, "'By the facts we add to our store': Lorimer Fison, Lewis Henry Morgan and the Spread of Kinship Studies in Australia", *Oceania* 79, no.3 (2009): 280–292; Patrick Harries and David Maxwell, *The Spiritual in the Secular: Missionaries and Knowledge about Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2012); Anekie Joubert et al., *Ethnography from the Mission Field: The Hoffmann Collection of Cultural Knowledge*, trans. Klaudia Ringelmann (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Jane Samson, *Race and Redemption: British Missionaries Encounter Pacific Peoples, 1790-1920* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2017); Thomas Anderson, *Reassembling the Strange: Naturalists, Missionaries, and the Environment of Nineteenth-Century Madagascar* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018).

<sup>10</sup> However, see Eve Haddow, "Pacific Prehistory and Theories of Origins in the Work of William Ellis", *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 8, no.1 (2017): 1–11; Eve Haddow, "Island Networks and Missionary Methods: Locating Charles E. Fox and Frederick G. Bowie in the History of Pacific Archaeology", *Journal of Pacific History* 54, no. 3 (2019): 330–353.

representations of the Pacific past and is positioned relative to extensive scholarship examining missionary collecting and contributions to museums and related institutions.<sup>11</sup>

On entering the mission field in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, many missionaries believed that understanding aspects of local beliefs, oral traditions, and social organisation would equip them for effective conversations about Christianity that could lead to conversion.<sup>12</sup> In-depth knowledge of local languages was also considered vital to achieving missionary aims. A simple misunderstanding of vocabulary could hinder attempts at Christian teaching, and confusion could, and did, arise. To illustrate this, in a July 1850 report titled ‘Hints on the working of missions’, an anonymous Presbyterian missionary in the New Hebrides provided an example of the word *nanemun*, which referred to ‘soul’ or ‘spirit’, but also to someone’s shadow. While he was preaching to a man on the importance of attending to the soul’s welfare rather than just that of the physical body, the man apparently turned to his shadow in surprise, turning back with a sceptical look that the missionary interpreted as ‘why be so concerned with that’.<sup>13</sup> Such seemingly simple misunderstandings could undermine missionary work and prevent proselytization. To some extent then, detailed research on anthropological topics relevant to 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century archaeological enquiries was necessary for making any inroads with a community, and ultimately for missionary ‘success’.

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<sup>11</sup> Lawson, *Collected Curios*; Arthur Smith, “Missionary as Collector: The Role of the Reverend Joseph Annand”, *Acadiensis* 26, no. 2 (1997): 96–111; Richard Eves, “Dr. Brown’s Study: Methodist Missionaries and the Collection of Material Culture”, *Museum Anthropology* 24 no.1 (2000): 26–41; Helen B. Gardner, “Gathering for God: George Brown and the Christian Economy in the Collection of Artifacts”, in *Hunting the Gatherers: Ethnographic Collectors, Agents, and Agency in Melanesia, 1870s–1930s*, eds. Michael O’Hanlon and Robert L. Welsch (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 35–54; Arthur M. Smith, ““Curios” from a Strange Land: The Artifact Collections of Reverend Joseph Annand”, in *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, eds. Jamie S. Scott and Alwyn Austin, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 262–78; Gardner, *Gathering for God*; Erin Hasinoff, “Christian trophies or Asmat ethnografica? Fr. Zegwaard and the American Museum of Natural History Asmat Collection, 1958–9”, *Journal of Social Anthropology* 6, no.2 (2006): 147–174; Joshua A. Bell, ““Expressions of Kindly Feeling’: The London Missionary Society Collections from the Papuan Gulf” in *Melanesia Art and Encounter* eds. Lissant Bolton, Nicholas Thomas, Elizabeth Bonshek, Julie Adams and Ben Burt (London: British Museum Press, 2013), 57–63.; Karen Jacobs, Chantal Knowles, and Chris Wingfield, eds., *Trophies, Relics and Curios? Missionary Heritage from Africa and the Pacific* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015); Chris Wingfield, ““Scarcely More than a Christian Trophy Case”? The Global Collections of the London Missionary Society Museum (1814–1910)”, *Journal of the History of Collections* 29, no. 1 (February 2016): 109–128; Rebecca Loder-Neuhold, “Crocodiles, Masks and Madonnas: Catholic Mission Museums in German-Speaking Europe” (PhD diss., Uppsala University, 2019).

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Sjaak Van Der Geest, “Anthropologists and Missionaries: Brothers under the Skin”, *Man* 25, no. 4 (1990): 588–601; Annekie Joubert et al., *Ethnography from the Mission Field*.

<sup>13</sup> Anon. “Hints on the working of missions”, Various pamphlets relating to Aneityum, New Hebrides, Special Collections, Ferg/5872, National Library of Australia, Canberra (hereinafter NLA).

However, effective proselytization was not the sole agenda driving missionary research. Many of the individuals discussed in the pages that follow were university educated, connected with scientific or antiquarian societies, or both. Activities such as photography and the collection of specimens and material culture were popular pursuits, not simply followed to fulfil the mission's agenda, but offering a recreational activity and an opportunity for study.

### Case studies

This thesis examines a wide network of people and things. However, the discussion is framed around the activities of two particular individuals embedded within opposing and yet collegiate mission societies, facilitating contrast and comparison of their narratives.<sup>14</sup> The first of these individuals, Reverend Frederick (Fred) Gatherer Bowie (1869–1933), was active between 1896–1933, and employed by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in the New Hebrides (Figure 0.1). The other, Reverend Charles Elliot Fox (1878–1977), worked with the Melanesian Mission from 1902–73, largely in Solomon Islands (Figure 0.2).<sup>15</sup> Active in the western Pacific at the same time, both Bowie and Fox were associated with mission schools and with large mission districts, and they shared corresponding relationships with ethnologist and psychologist William Halse Rivers Rivers (1864–1922). These parallels are pertinent to the thesis, as will be discussed in the chapters that follow. Following a preliminary survey of written and artefactual material, it became evident that numerous Anglophone individuals involved with mission work in the Pacific engaged with topics of an archaeological nature. By drawing on two specific cases, a lens can be placed on the details of missionary research, while simultaneously contextualising those narratives within broader missionary scholarship. As Fox and Bowie were active later in the evangelisation project, there is space to reflect on changes in approaches to, and reception of, missionary research from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to mid-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Furthermore, the Melanesian Mission is often acknowledged for its members' engagement with cultural life, whereas the Presbyterian Church in the New Hebrides has tended to be seen as having actively rejected cultural aspects of community life. This perceived difference offers another avenue for investigation.

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<sup>14</sup> See also, Haddow, "Island Networks and Missionary Methods".

<sup>15</sup> See, C.E. Fox, *Kakamora* (London: Hodder and Staughton, 1962); David Hilliard, "Charles Elliot Fox", *Journal of Pacific History* 13, no. 1 (1978): 74–75; Brian Macdonald-Milne, *Spearhead: The Story of the Melanesian Brotherhood* (Watford: The Melanesian Mission, 1981); Clive Moore, "Biography of a Nation: Compiling a Historical Dictionary of the Solomon Islands", in *Telling Pacific Lives: Prisms of Process*, eds. Brij V. Lal and Vikki Luker (Canberra: ANU Press, 2008), 281.

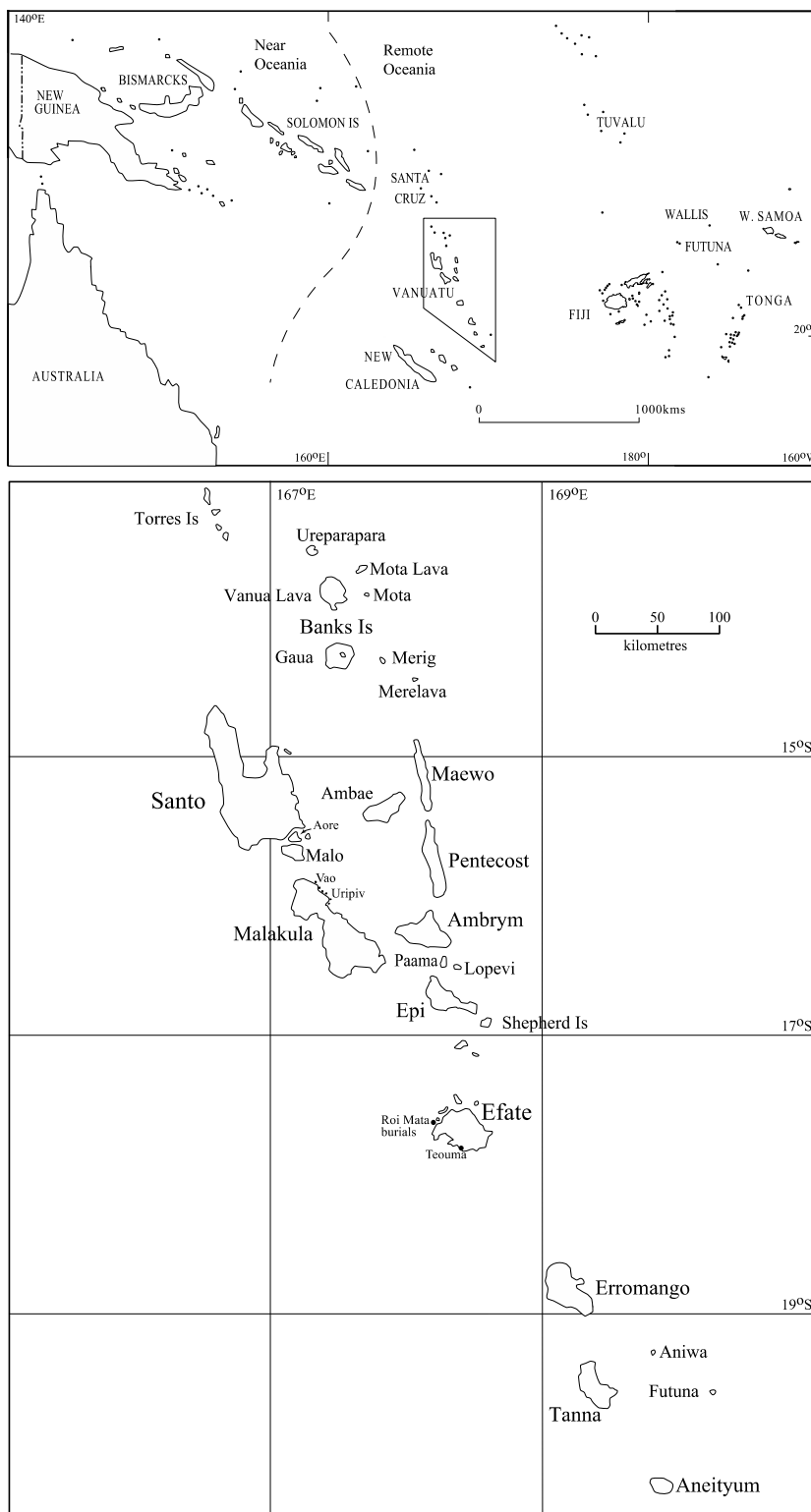
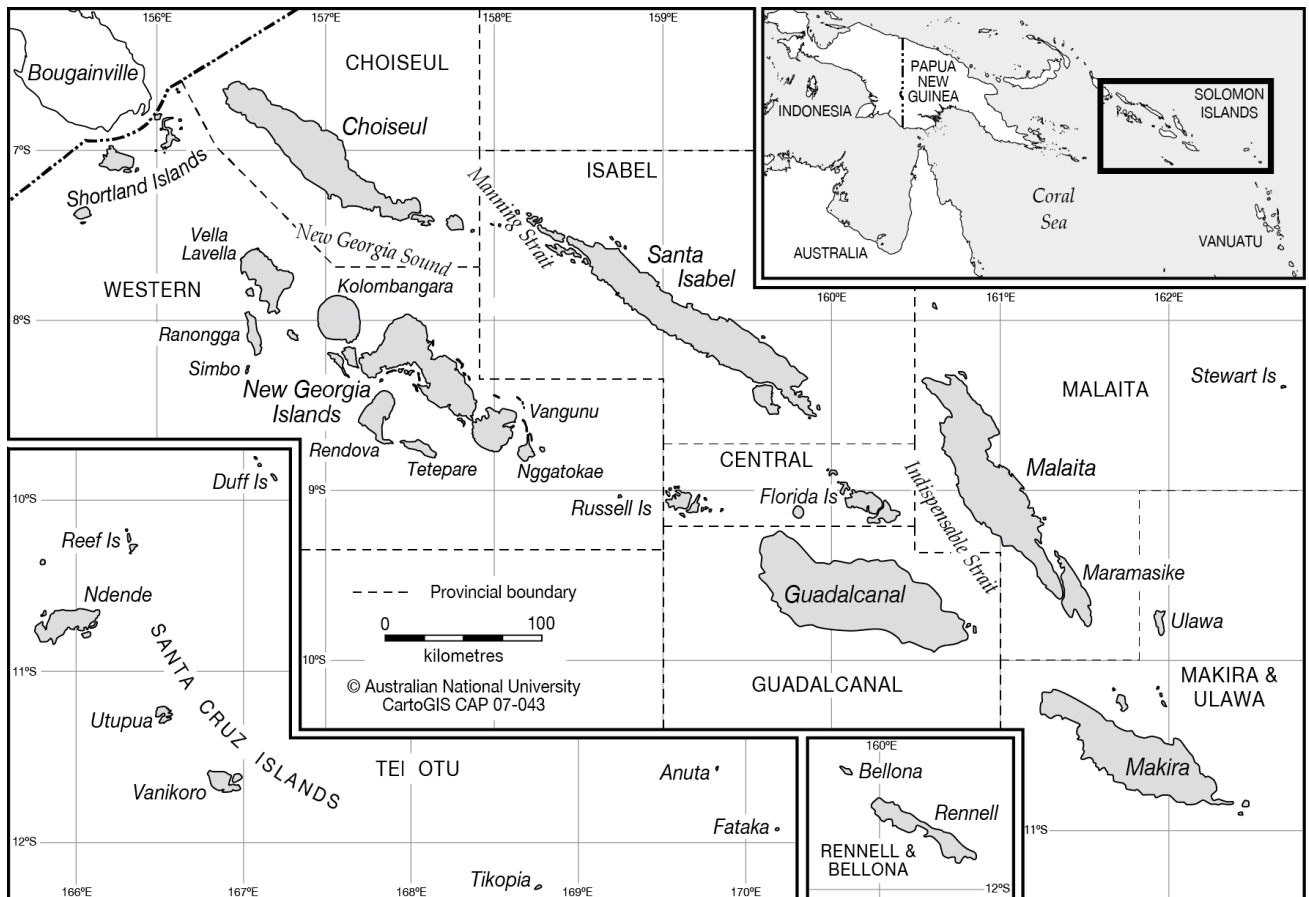


Figure 0.1. Map of Vanuatu (previously New Hebrides). Courtesy, Stuart Bedford, Australian National University.



**Figure 0.2. Map of Solomon Islands. Source, CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University**

*Frederick Gatherer Bowie*

Fred Bowie first came to my attention in 2013, while conducting a review of Pacific collections in Scottish museums.<sup>16</sup> On my first visit to the University of Aberdeen Museums (UAM), one of four partner museums in the project, I walked through the exhibits of the now closed Marischal Museum with Head of Museums Neil Curtis. Established as the University's anthropology museum in 1907, it has been closed to the public since 2008. On my initial visit, numerous displays remained in place as they had been at closure. In the low light of the closed gallery, against the furthest wall on the Museum's upper level, was a display case devoted to material from Vanuatu. Most artefacts had been acquired from Bowie, a previous student of the university, with several of his notebooks also exhibited. Over the course of that project I became increasingly intrigued by the UAM collections and others in Scotland acquired by Presbyterian missionaries to the New Hebrides, gradually realising that the majority of Vanuatu collections now in Scotland are connected in some way to missionaries.

<sup>16</sup> Eve Haddow ed., *Review of Pacific Collections in Scottish Museums*, November 2014, <https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/614956/review-of-pacific-collections-in-scottish-museums-full-text.pdf>



**Figure 0.3. Frederick Gatherer Bowie, probably on the mission ship. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**



**Figure 0.4. Jeannie Bowie (née Mutch) with two women, names unrecorded, Tangoa. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**

Bowie was born in 1869 in Kirkwall, on the Orkney islands off the far north of Scotland, the second of five sons (Figure 0.3). His father, Thomas Bowie, was from Sutherland, Scotland, and employed in Orkney as an Examining Officer for H.M. Customs. His mother Beatrice (Bessie) was born in the Shetland Isles to a fishing family. Fred Bowie's parents met in Shetland, subsequently moving to Aberdeen, where he and his brothers grew up. Bowie graduated from the University of Aberdeen with a Master of Arts in 1891 and took up Medicine following his preliminary studies.<sup>17</sup> Jeannie Bowie, Fred's wife, was born Jane Birse Mutch in 1874 in Angus, Scotland (Figure 0.4). By the age of seventeen, she was living in Aberdeen with her family, where she is recorded in the 1891 UK census as a seamstress. Jeannie utilised these skills as a missionary, teaching sewing classes to women. The Bowies embarked for the New Hebrides via Sydney in February 1896, having married in Aberdeen several weeks prior to their departure.

Following a tour of the New Hebrides mission stations, the Bowies initially resided with Reverend Dr. William Gunn (1853–1935) and his wife Margaret (1854–1932) on Aneityum, the southernmost island of the New Hebrides. The Gunns were the only other Free Church of Scotland missionaries in the archipelago at the time and offered the newly arrived young couple training and counsel. In February 1897, the Bowies took up a post on Tangoa, a small island off the south coast of Espiritu Santo, or Santo as it is generally abbreviated (Figure 0.5). Tangoa was home to the newly established Teachers Training Institute (TTI) where young men from different islands were trained in the Bible. They were also taught technical skills, which largely involved plantation work for the mission.<sup>18</sup> Once graduated, some were sent to villages as mission teachers for the Church, preferably accompanied by a wife. The Bowies worked alongside the Principal of the TTI, Reverend Dr. Joseph Annand (1844–1932) and his wife Alice, both of Nova Scotia. The Bowies became Presbyterian missionaries for the area of Tangoa not inhabited by the TTI, as well as the nearby island of Araki and a large area of the Santo mainland. The Bowies' first house was located adjacent to the site of the current Tangoan Presbyterian Church. In 1901, they also established an outstation at Tasiriki, southwest Santo and in 1913 Fred became principal of the TTI (Figure 0.6).<sup>19</sup> The couple remained at Tangoa until their deaths, Jeannie in 1930 and Fred in late 1933, and both are buried on Tangoa (Figure 0.7).

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<sup>17</sup> William Johnston ed., *Roll of the Graduates of the University of Aberdeen, 1860–1900* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1906); General Council of Medical Education and Registration, *Medical Students Register, List of Medical Students Registered During the Year 1890. Printed and published under the direction of the General Council of Medical Education and Registration of the United Kingdom* (London: HM Printing office, 1891), 22.

<sup>18</sup> John Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea: Christianity in Oceania to World War II*, (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1992): 364.

<sup>19</sup> F.G. Bowie to G. Smith, 20 February 1902, New Hebrides Mission Papers, Acc7548/D31a, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (hereinafter NLS).



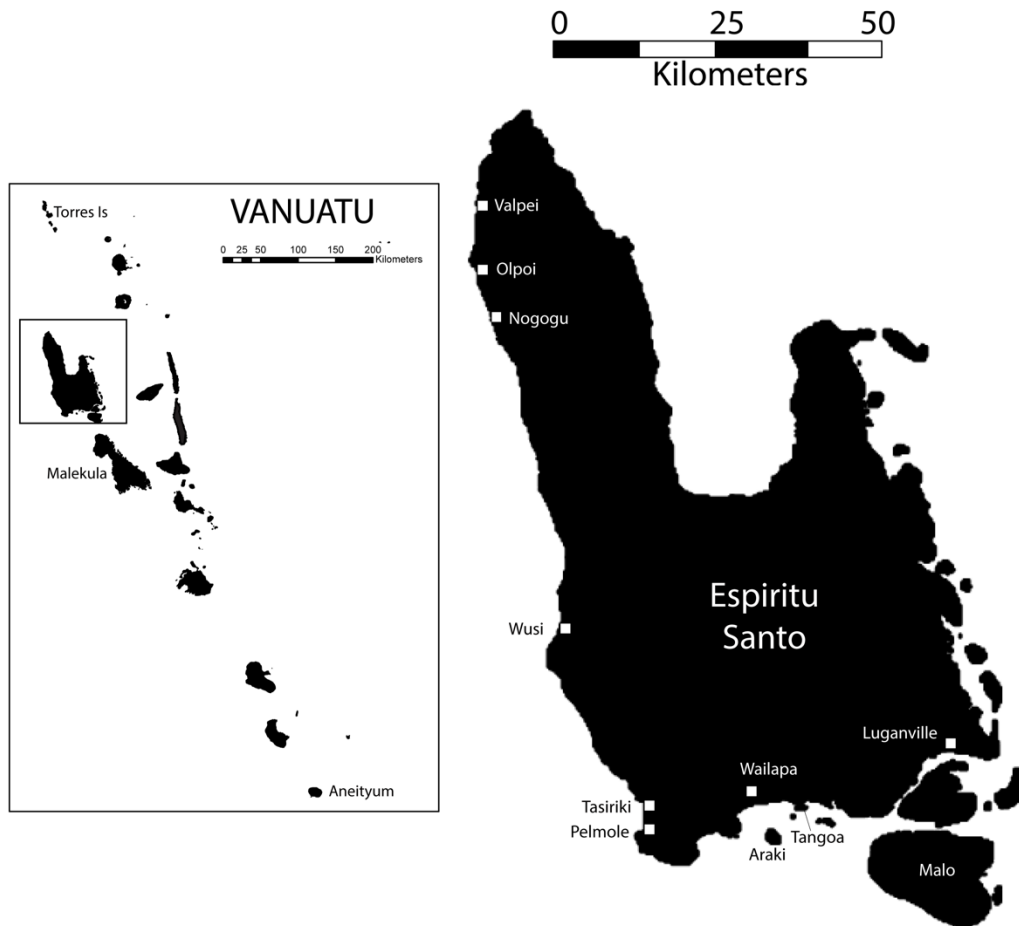


Figure 0.5. Map of Santo, indicating some of the key locations associated with Bowie's research and work. Copyright of author.



Figure 0.6. The Bowies' outstation, Tasiriki, Santo. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.



**Figure 0.7. Fred and Jeannie Bowie's graves on Tangoa island, Vanuatu. Photograph by author, 2017.**

Two of Fred Bowie's younger brothers also lived in the New Hebrides. In 1897, Fred's middle brother Reverend John T. Bowie (1871–1950) became medical missionary with the John G. Paton Mission Fund. Initially stationed at Hog Harbour, east Santo, and in 1899 transferred to the hospital managed by the New Zealand Presbyterian churches on Ambrym island. J.T. Bowie and his wife settled in New Zealand/Aotearoa in 1913, shortly after the Ambrym hospital was destroyed by a volcanic eruption (Figure 0.8). William (Willie) Alexander Bowie (1877–1926), the youngest of the brothers, initially owned a plantation in Tisman, Malekula, and bought land around Tasiriki in 1901.<sup>20</sup> When Willie died of blackwater fever, his wife took over the plantation for a period. She also appears to have supported Fred at the TTI between 1931–33, after Jeannie's death. The three Bowie brothers maintained regular contact with one another, with Fred and Willie having particularly close contact due to their proximity. Willie's land purchases around Tasiriki were facilitated by his eldest brother Fred, and although not a missionary, he was sometimes noted as hosting visitors to the Tasiriki outstation.<sup>21</sup> Willie also contributed to the ethnological and ethnographical research discussed in this thesis (see Chapters 3 and 7).

<sup>20</sup> F.G. Bowie to G. Smith, 1 November 1901, New Hebrides Mission Papers, Acc7548/D31a, NLS.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Graham Miller, *Live: A History of Church Planting in the Republic of Vanuatu*, vol.7, Santo and Malo, 1886–1948 (Port Vila: Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu, 1990), 149.



**Figure 0.8. ‘The hospital Dip Point Ambrim. Built by Dr Lamb. Dr [J.T.] Bowie present missionary 1905’. The hospital was destroyed in a volcanic eruption in 1913. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**

#### *Charles Elliot Fox*

I ‘met’ Fox in 2014 in Cambridge after asking Nick Stanley, an expert in the Melanesian Mission and missionary collecting, his thoughts about missionaries and archaeology. For Stanley, two names came to mind: Robert Henry Codrington and Charles Elliot Fox (Figures 0.9 and 0.10). Moira White’s research on Fox’s collections at Otago Museum, in Dunedin, New Zealand, provided a further introduction to Fox’s work.<sup>22</sup> Born in 1878, in Dorset, England, Fox was the son of Anglican clergyman Canon John Elliot Fox, who was born in 1845 in Demerara, British Guiana (now Guyana), where he married Emma Louisa Flora Phillips in 1872.<sup>23</sup> The family migrated to the North Island of New Zealand in 1884. In 1901, Charles Fox graduated with First Class Honours in Geology from Auckland University College. He claimed he was drawn to the western Pacific after meeting Solomon Islanders at a Melanesian Mission cricket tournament as a teenager.<sup>24</sup> After graduating from university, Fox became Master at his old school, Napier Boys’ High, and looked after the Napier Museum.<sup>25</sup> The results of a medical examination conducted on behalf of the Melanesian Mission in

<sup>22</sup> Moira White, “‘Your study of the things would be valuable’: The Solomon Islands Collection of the Revd Charles Elliot Fox”, *Journal of the History of Collections* 13 (2001): 45–55; Moira White, “The Spanish Sherds from San Cristobal”, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 111, no. 3 (2005): 249–254; See also, Darrell L. Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries: An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific* (Pasadena: W. Carey Library, 1983), 214–217.

<sup>23</sup> Hilliard “Charles Elliot Fox”; Moore, “Biography of a Nation”, 281; Tikwis A. Begbie, “British Guiana Colonists”, website, accessed December 2019, <https://www.vc.id.au/tb/>

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Dr Charles Elliot Fox, Audio, OHCL-002995, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand (hereinafter ATL).

<sup>25</sup> Walter J. Durrad, “Biographical notice”, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 57, no.1 (1948): 1.

1900 initially concluded he was not fit for the climate of its fields of Solomon Islands and the northern New Hebrides, Banks and Torres Islands.<sup>26</sup> However, in 1902 he was accepted as a teacher at the Melanesian Mission's St Barnabas College on Norfolk Island. The school provided education and religious training for Pacific students away from their homes, and was characterised by an ethos of equality, with all residents working and eating together.<sup>27</sup>



**Figure 0.9. Charles Elliot Fox (second from right), Auckland, 1894.**  
 Courtesy John Kinder Theological Library.

Ordained in 1903, Fox remained at St. Barnabas until 1911, although he had opportunities to visit the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands on the *Southern Cross* mission vessel. In 1911 he was tasked with establishing St Michael's School at Pamua, San Cristoval (now Makira), Solomon Islands and in 1915 took responsibility for the larger San Cristoval district (Figure 0.11). In 1924, Fox became Principal of the relocated Norfolk Island College, renamed as All Hallows School, at Pawa, Ugi island (now Uki ni Masi, or Uki). Between 1933–44, he was stationed on Guadalcanal, and then at Fiu, Malaita. Fox became Principal of the Catechists' School, 1950–51, and in 1952 Chaplain at diocesan

<sup>26</sup> Manuscript of C.E. Fox autobiography, c.1974, *Papers relating to Charles Elliot Fox*. McEwan, Jock Malcolm, *papers of*, MS-papers- 6717-115, ATL.

<sup>27</sup> Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 41–43; See also, Haddow, "Island Networks and Missionary Methods", 334–335.

headquarters. From 1952–54 he was Chaplain of the Melanesian Brotherhood at Tabalia on Guadalcanal. In 1956, Fox was made Canon of Melanesia, and his last post was at Taroaniara, Nggela island. Fox retired from the Melanesian Mission in 1973 and returned to New Zealand. In 1922 he received a Doctor of Literature from the University of New Zealand, as well as an MBE in 1952 and a CBE in 1974.<sup>28</sup> Fox never married, and after his death in New Zealand 1977, his body was sent to Solomon Islands for burial at the headquarters of the Melanesian Brotherhood, Tabalia, returned to the people with whom he had lived for most of his life.<sup>29</sup>

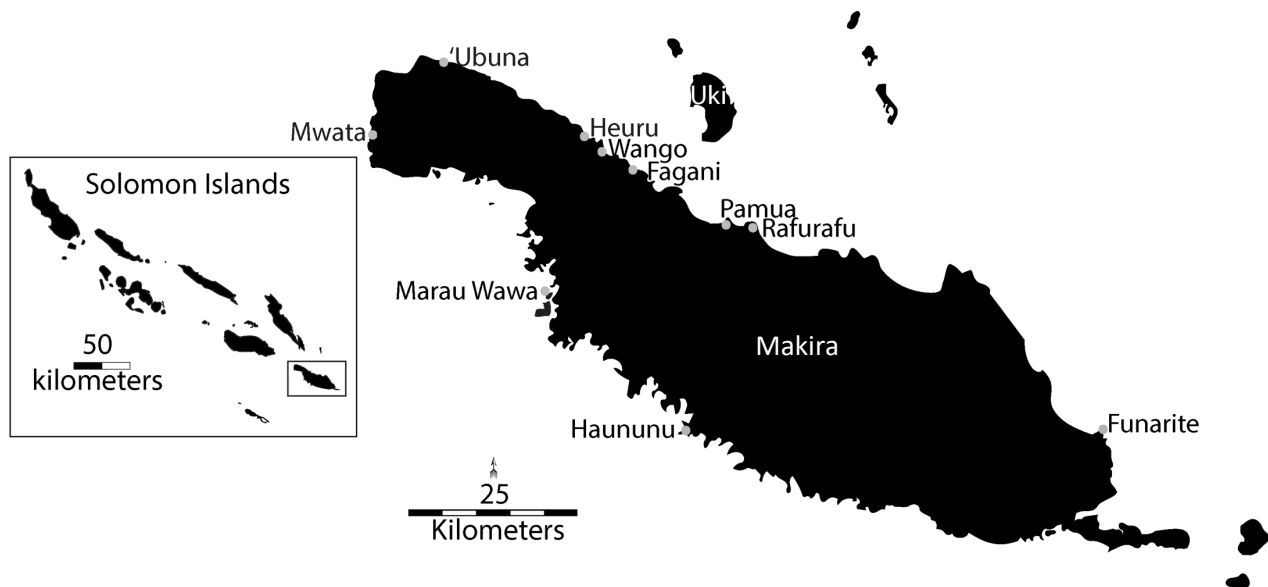


**Figure 0.10. Charles Elliot Fox.**

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<sup>28</sup> Moore, “Biography of a Nation”, 281.

<sup>29</sup> Brian Macdonald-Milne, *The True Way of Service: The Pacific Story of the Melanesian Brotherhood 1925–2000* (Leicester: Christians Aware, 2003), 210; Aram Oroï, “Press the Button, Mama! Mana and Christianity on Makira, Solomon Islands”, in *New Mana: Transformation of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures*, ed. Matt Tomlinson and Ty P. Kāwika Tengan (Canberra: ANU Press, 2016), 196.



**Figure 0.11. Map of Makira island showing some of the key locations in relation to C.E. Fox's research and mission work**

### Networks: People, things, places

Three key threads run throughout this thesis – networks, agency and time – and it is to the first that I now turn. Missionary understandings of Pacific prehistory were informed and facilitated by networks of people and things, which circulated in multiple locales, and are central to the discussion. Fox, Bowie, and other missionaries conducted their broadly archaeological research embedded within these complex knowledge networks, a situation which was of course not unique to missionaries, nor to the Pacific.<sup>30</sup> As Neil Safier demonstrated in his study of the Paris Academy of Sciences expedition to South America in 1735, information was 'partial and contingent' at each point within a network.<sup>31</sup> There was scope for interpretations and reinterpretations as data were produced and reproduced locally and globally. Letters and reports were shared with multiple audiences, and archaeological sites, while tethered to the landscape, could be transmitted further afield through portable material from those places. Visual representations in the form of photographs and illustrations could also be framed in the field, then later reframed in exhibitions, publications, or lectures delivered to learned societies and church groups. Makers in the islands shared their skills and processes by exchanging items with missionaries, subsequently displayed in metropolitan exhibits and positioned within dominant European narratives about manufacturing or

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Brett M. Bennett and Joseph M. Hodge eds. *Science and Empire: Knowledge and Networks of Science across the British Empire, 1800-1970* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>31</sup> Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 9.

human creativity. Lists of vocabulary and grammar were collaboratively compiled and circulated through private correspondence or in publications with comparative philologists looking to understand human origins through language. Finally, oral traditions recited by chiefs, mission employees, and other interlocutors were reproduced and distributed. Materials, ideas, and people therefore moved in and out of Pacific field sites, and this thesis aims to untangle some of these threads.

### *People*

The people who moved within these networks were not just the European missionaries. Relevant approaches and comparable research in exploring these networks of people can be found particularly in scholarship on ‘intermediaries’, much of which considers the role of indigenous individuals’ roles in exploration.<sup>32</sup> As will emerge in the subsequent chapters, indigenous mission employees, chiefs, savants, and collectors were all mobile agents in these networks. As an illustrative example, W.H.R. Rivers travelled to the Pacific and spent time with both Fox and Bowie. While in the New Hebrides in 1914–15, Rivers gathered data for his theory of Ambrym kinship from Ambrym men living on Santo and associated with Bowie’s mission and his brother’s plantation. The Bowie brothers acted as intermediaries, providing translations and access, and travelling around with Rivers on his fieldwork, with Willie particularly coordinating feedback later on Rivers’ manuscripts from Ambrym men and from Fred. Chapters 6 and 7 give particular focus to mapping those non-missionary actors within the knowledge networks.

### *Things*

Equally mobile within these networks were things. Artefact transactions should not be visualised as linear, whereby artefacts were transacted from maker, to missionary, to museum. There are examples of Pacific islanders employed by the mission conducting their own collecting, trading cloth and tobacco for spears, bows and other items, and of missionaries circulating things privately amongst themselves in the islands.<sup>33</sup> It is important not to make assumptions of how items moved, and in considering networks of things, I draw on extensive scholarship exploring museum collections

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<sup>32</sup> See, Felix Driver and Lowri Jones, *Hidden Histories of Exploration: researching the RGS-IBG collections* (London: University of London, in association with the Royal Geographical Society, 2009); Tiffany Shellam, Maria Nugent, and Shino Konishi, *Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on Exploration Archives* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> E.g. George Patterson, *Missionary Life Among the Cannibals: Being the Life of the Rev. John Geddie, D.D., First Missionary to the New Hebrides, with a History of the Nova Scotia Presbyterian Mission on that Group* (Toronto: J. Campbell, J. Bain and Hart, 1882), 499; For an example of missionaries exchanging items amongst themselves see, Smith, ““Curios” from a Strange Land”, 268.

as created and curated assemblages produced through complex processes of exchange, within local and global networks.<sup>34</sup> Beyond the museum, anthropological research has also increasingly explored the embeddedness of material objects within people's understandings of the world and their relationships with others in it.<sup>35</sup>

A particularly useful approach here is that of 'materialisation', which Jeffrey Sissons characterised as 'the process whereby forms of material culture become places or objects with which, within which, around which, and/or in terms of which social relations are enacted and thought.'<sup>36</sup> Materialisation conceptually avoids framing artefacts as static. According to Joshua Bell and Haidy Geismar, 'materialisation is an ongoing lived *process* whereby concepts, beliefs and desires are given *form* that are then *transformed* and *transforming* in their social deployment'.<sup>37</sup> Highlighting the dynamic nature of artefacts, such an approach 'allows us to expose the subtle nuances that objects bring to social lives and the ways in which objects both form and cross cultural, political and conceptual borders'.<sup>38</sup>

### Places

Histories of science have increasingly rejected conceptualisations of knowledge networks that perceived a flow of data from the 'periphery' (in this case Pacific island locales) into the European

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<sup>34</sup> See, George W. Stocking Jr., *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Michael O'Hanlon and Robert L. Welsch eds. *Hunting the Gatherers: Ethnographic Collectors, Agents and Agency in Melanesia, 1870s-1930s*. (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001); Chris Gosden and Chantal Knowles, *Collecting Colonialism: Material Culture and Colonial Change* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2001); Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips, *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2006); Sarah Byrne et al., *Unpacking the Collection: Networks of Material and Social Agency in the Museum* (New York: Springer, 2011); Rodney Harrison, Sarah Byrne and Anne Clarke eds. *Reassembling the Collection: Ethnographic Museums and Indigenous Agency*, (Santa Fe: SAR Press, 2013); Lucie Carreau et al., *Pacific Presences: Oceanic Art and European Museums*, 2 vols (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018); Alison Clark ed., *Resonant Histories: Pacific artefacts and the voyages of HMS Royalist 1890-1893* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019).

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Marilyn Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-while-giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1998); Marilyn Strathern, *Property, Substance, and Effect: Anthropological Essays on Persons and Things* (New Brunswick, NJ: Athlone Press, 1999); Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling & Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>36</sup> Jeffrey Sissons, "Heroic History and Chiefly Chapels in 19th century Tahiti", *Oceania* 78, no.3 (2008): 321.

<sup>37</sup> Joshua A. Bell and Haidy Geismar, "Materialising Oceania: New Ethnographies of Things in Melanesia and Polynesia", *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 20, no. 1 (2009): 4. Italics in original.

<sup>38</sup> Bell and Geismar, "Materialising Oceania", 7.



‘centre’.<sup>39</sup> This thesis emphasises the movement of people and things from Pacific island locales to a metropolitan university or museum *and vice versa*, moving away from a centre/periphery dichotomy that privileges one space over another. As anthropologist Margaret Rodman has suggested, ‘places are local and multiple. For each inhabitant, a place has a unique reality, one in which meaning is shared with other people and places.’<sup>40</sup> This approach is employed in exploring the places in which missionaries lived and engaged in broadly archaeological research – the mission school, or their district – and those in which their interpretations were shared, discussed, disseminated, or repackaged – the lecture theatre, the museum, or similar spaces (see particularly Chapters 6 and 7). To use Mary Louise Pratt’s terms, these spaces in which missionary archaeology was negotiated can also be seen as ‘contact zones’, defined by Pratt as ‘social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today.’<sup>41</sup>

The titles of Chapters 6 and 7 – ‘Presence and presents: Local networks of knowledge and exchange’ and ‘Knowledge networks in other locales’ – are part of a conscious mapping of these places within the missionary knowledge network. Chapter 6 considers knowledge exchange on Makira and Santo islands, and I identify these as ‘local networks’, emphasising these as localised places in which missionary researchers had embodied experiences with the Pacific past. As highlighted in Miriam Kahn’s 1990 publication on the ‘spatial anchoring of myth’ in Wamira, Papua New Guinea, in multiple Melanesian locations there are significant connections of places in the local landscape to the passage of time.<sup>42</sup> This had implications for potential missionary access to narratives of the past, and for those interpretations of prehistory formulated by outsiders. In Chapter 7, I examine what I initially conceived of as ‘global networks’ but are now identified as ‘other locales’. This is an intentional reframing of the dichotomies of Pacific island/non-Pacific island and periphery/centre. A lecture hall or museum display in the UK was ‘local’ for particular actors within the knowledge network discussed, and missionary engagement with Pacific prehistory was contingent on activities within all of these ‘locales’, where archaeological interpretations circulated through the movement of people and things in non-linear directions.

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<sup>39</sup> E.g. James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, eds., *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>40</sup> Margaret C. Rodman, “Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality”, *American Anthropologist*, 94, no. 3 (1992): 643.

<sup>41</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone”, *Profession* (1991): 34.

<sup>42</sup> Miriam Kahn, “Stone-Faced Ancestors: The Spatial Anchoring of Myth in Wamira, Papua New Guinea”, *Ethnology* 29, no. 1, (1990): 51–66.

*Tools from Actor Network Theory*

Originally developed by scholars looking at the formation of scientific knowledge, Actor Network Theory (ANT) has become increasingly popular in other areas of scholarship, including archaeological research, as a means to think about networks of people and things.<sup>43</sup> An ANT approach views people, things, and places as equal parts within a network, each representing a different 'node'.<sup>44</sup> The meanings and relevance of any particular node can change and evolve, implying a dynamic system. This is a useful tool with which to visualise an interconnected network, such as that presented in this thesis, as it encourages researchers to begin from a place that does not presume superior status of, or privilege, one aspect of a network. Maria-Theresia Leuker has illustrated the usefulness of the approach taken by one of ANT's key proponents, Bruno Latour, in exploring methods of knowledge transfer and accumulation in the history of European expansion. As Leuker puts it, 'Latour showed how interacting political, economic and scientific networks created the conditions under which information collected during expeditions abroad made Europe into a centre of knowledge and power'.<sup>45</sup> While I disagree with ultimately visualising Europe as a 'centre', the point here is the potential application of an ANT approach in this research project.

In contrast to Leuker's use of Latour's ideas, one of the major criticisms of ANT is its potential to obscure power imbalances.<sup>46</sup> By viewing actors within a network as symmetrical, inequalities may be overlooked or erased, which is deeply problematic when discussing mission histories. Acknowledging this flaw in particular, I do not advocate wholesale for ANT as a theoretical framework in this thesis, but instead follow Latour's own suggestion that it is less a theory and more of a tool-kit.<sup>47</sup> With this in mind, another of the 'tools' I have tried to utilise from ANT in my approach to knowledge networks is the notion of 'ontological multiplicities'.<sup>16</sup> This purports that there are multiple realities,

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<sup>43</sup> E.g. Byrne et al., *Unpacking the Collection*, 10–11; James L. Flexner, *An Archaeology of Early Christianity in Vanuatu: Custom and Religious Change on Tanna and Erromango 1839-1920*, Terra Australis 44 (Canberra: ANU Press, 2016), 130–131.

<sup>44</sup> For further work on ANT see, John Law and John Hassard, eds. *Actor Network Theory and After* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>45</sup> Maria-Theresia Leuker, "Knowledge Transfer and Cultural Appropriation: Georg Everhard Rumphius's 'D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer' (1705)", in *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks*, eds. Siegfried Huigen, Jan de Jong, and Elmer Kolfin, (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 146–147.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. Sandra G. Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Susan Leigh Star, "Power, Technologies and the Phenomenology of Standards: On Being Allergic to Onions", in *A Sociology of Monsters? Power, Technology and the Modern World*, ed. John Law, Sociological Review Monograph 38 (London: Routledge), 27–57; Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (Routledge: London, 1991).

<sup>47</sup> See, Bruno Latour, "On recalling ANT", in *Actor Network and After*, eds. John Law and John Hassard (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 15–25; John Law, "Actor-network Theory and Material Semiotics", in *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, ed. B.S. Turner (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 141–158.

and that people do not simply see one certain reality differently, but that different realities are created and experienced by the heterogeneous relationships ANT seeks to characterise. This concept advocates an approach that does not privilege one particular ontological view of the Pacific past, accepting that different viewpoints may be generated through the interaction of different people and things across spaces and time periods.

## Agency

Another significant theme of the thesis is that of agency, which is interwoven within these complex networks. I begin from a position that accepts both people and things have a capacity for agency, in that they can be *active agents*, an approach to ‘things’ that ANT also advocates.<sup>48</sup> Such a perspective accepts that ‘things’ can be both produced and producing, that they are not always passive, and humans not always active.<sup>49</sup> This is not to say that material agency is unproblematic; it is an ongoing debate for material culture theorists. As Alfred Gell argued in his theory on art and agency, objects themselves have the capacity to create their own actions and effects, rather than simply being symbols for action.<sup>50</sup> In Gell’s definition, which is not without its critics, this agency was formed through social actions. I believe the concept of materialisation is again useful here, to refer to the active, dynamic nature of an artefact and its affective connections to human social networks.<sup>51</sup> Within the context of this thesis, this means that artefacts telling stories of Pacific prehistory were, and are, more than signifiers of an idea or concept, but they also have a capacity to shape and inform the ideas and theories of human actors.

The active nature of material culture is apparent in the way that ‘things’ produced and mediated relationships — between a missionary and a chief, for example — but also in the transient nature of their meanings and interpretations. A ‘thing’ can convey a particular aspect of archaeological thought to a person or persons through its form, raw material, or an associated story, but it could also dynamically persuade a person of a different ontological reality in another time or place. This is demonstrated in the opening vignette of Chapter 7, focussing on a ‘boomerang’ collected by Bowie

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<sup>48</sup> See, Bruno Latour, “On Actor-network Theory: A Few Clarifications”, *Soziale Welt* 47, no. 4 (1996): 369–381; Law and Hassard, *Actor Network and After*; Law, “Actor-network Theory and Material Semiotics”; Latour, *Reassembling the Social*; Edwin Sayes, “Actor-Network Theory and Methodology: Just what does it mean to say that Nonhumans have Agency?” *Social Studies of Science* 44, no. 1 (2014): 134–149.

<sup>49</sup> Chris Gosden, “What Do Objects Want?”, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 12, no. 3 (2005): 194. See also, Arjun Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 1986); Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift*; Gell, *Art and Agency*; Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, “The Cultural Biography of Objects”, *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1999): 169–178.

<sup>50</sup> Gell, *Art and Agency*.

<sup>51</sup> Bell and Geismar, “Materialising Oceania”, 4–6.

in northwest Santo in 1914. Accepting that things have agency is also significant for specific examples of animated artefacts considered in the thesis, such as the bible from Bowikiki Church in Tasiriki, Santo, discussed in Chapter 6.

Human agency can be traced in a multitude of activities discussed in the chapters that follow. For example, agency is present in the act of a missionary pursuing the collection of a particular artefact, or a local interlocutor sharing a particular oral history. It can also be read in those spaces of active inaction where an individual either obscures or removes ideas and artefacts from circulation. This complements previous studies exploring the influence of agency on artefact collecting, and the ways particular approaches to collecting and recording material culture and people's social lives were embedded within existing structures of exchange, knowledge and status.<sup>52</sup>

Bronwen Douglas's theory of indigenous 'countersigns' is particularly relevant to my approach to indigenous agency, the term being borrowed from feminist literary critic Shari Benstock.<sup>53</sup> Aiming to 'foreground indigenous presence and agency', Douglas's concept views 'the distorted textual traces of agency as [...] an intrusive local element in the formulation and content of voyagers' perceptions and representations of indigenous people'.<sup>54</sup> Considering these countersigns particularly in relation to written and visual texts, such an approach 'decentr[es] the colonizers and coloniz[es] their texts'.<sup>55</sup> These countersigns are also present in assemblages of artefacts acquired by a collector, in the case of this thesis a missionary collector, given that Pacific people both produced and transacted these items.

James Flexner utilised this approach in discussing the nuances represented by a collection made by Hugh A. Robertson, a late 19<sup>th</sup> century Presbyterian missionary to Erromango island in the New Hebrides.<sup>56</sup> The collection represented Robertson's missionary ambitions to convert 'the heathen', offering museum audiences evidence of mission 'success', as well as supposedly indicating relics of a

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<sup>52</sup> E.g. Thomas, *Entangled Objects*); O'Hanlon and Welsch, *Hunting the Gatherers*; Gosden and Knowles, *Collecting Colonialism*; Gardner, *Gathering for God*; Byrne et al. *Unpacking the Collection*; Harrison, Byrne and Clarke, *Reassembling the Collection*.

<sup>53</sup> Bronwen Douglas, "Science and the Art of Representing "savages": Reading "Race" in Text and Image in South Seas Voyage Literature" *History and Anthropology* 11, no.2 (1999): 157–201; Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 3–35.

<sup>54</sup> Douglas, "Science and the Art", 194.

<sup>55</sup> Douglas, "Science and the Art", 194.

<sup>56</sup> Flexner, *Archaeology of Early Christianity*, 140.

declining indigenous culture.<sup>57</sup> In another respect, the artefacts convey Erromangan choices and agency regarding what was traded and produced for Robertson – and of course, what was not traded or produced.<sup>58</sup> Examining agency prompts questions around the authorship of narratives of Pacific archaeology, and related questions of authenticity, which will be addressed throughout this thesis. In the context of collecting data about the Pacific past, each item exchanged, oral tradition shared, local word recorded, and photograph captured involved decisions and interactions by Pacific islanders, who were therefore integral to the emergence of ideas about Pacific prehistory.

## Time

In 1988, James Clifford asserted that '[t]he Western practice of culture collecting has its own local genealogy, enmeshed in distinct European notions of temporality and order.'<sup>59</sup> Clifford was referring specifically to ethnography as a form of culture collecting, but a similar observation could apply to the missionary research discussed here and leads to the third key theme of the thesis: time.

Enquiries into Pacific prehistory were conducted at particular times, and against particular narratives of temporality and order. In approaching missionary conceptions *about* deep time *over* time, I draw on strategies advocated by Bronwen Douglas in the introductory chapter of *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940*.<sup>60</sup> Undoubtedly the concept of 'time' has a different historical characterization to that of 'race', the former not being explicitly associated with narratives of violence and subjugation, nor facing the same level of 'fierce scientific and moral opposition during the late twentieth [century]'.<sup>61</sup> However, temporality was drawn on to demonstrate and debate human difference, which reflected and was entwined with colonialism and imperial subjugation.<sup>62</sup> In the period discussed, the notion of 'time', like 'race', simultaneously exhibited 'slipperiness' yet 'ontological realism', which has continued to the present.<sup>63</sup> In challenging 'the naturalness of race', Douglas advocated examining the historical entanglement of ideas with 'embodied human actions', considering how ideas were enacted and transformed in the encounters of European and non-

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<sup>57</sup> See also, Thomas, *Entangled Objects*; Lawson, *Collected Curios*; Erin Hasinoff, *Faith in Objects: American Missionary Expositions in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>58</sup> Flexner, *Archaeology of Early Christianity*, 140.

<sup>59</sup> James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 232.

<sup>60</sup> Bronwen Douglas, "Foreign Bodies in Oceania", in *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940*, eds. Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (Canberra: ANU Press, 2008), 4–5.

<sup>61</sup> Douglas, "Foreign Bodies in Oceania", 4.

<sup>62</sup> See, Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Ian J. McNiven and Lynette Russell, *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2005).

<sup>63</sup> Douglas, "Foreign Bodies in Oceania", 4.

European people, places and things.<sup>64</sup> The same approach should be employed in historicising the notion of time.

In examining the complexity of exchanges and encounters informing missionary approaches to archaeology, I do not argue for a linear progression of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century ideas about ‘time’, particularly as missionaries’ Judaeo-Christian framings of time intersected with the emergent framings of the Eurocentric scientific establishment and also with indigenous concepts of chronology, making for a messy narrative of intertwined concepts. However, as certain key scholarly events and emergent theoretical approaches to temporality did inform, and sometimes challenge, missionary approaches to the Pacific past, it is useful to summarise some of these here. The period of initial Anglophone missionary activity in the Pacific followed the Enlightenment of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (see Chapter 1). Many continued to frame deep time against biblical stories, with the sum total of human history equating to around 8500 years since the events of Genesis, including the dispersal of people following the great Flood, Noah’s curse on his son Ham, and the diversification of a single language spoken by some of Ham’s descendants following the fall of the Tower of Babel. However, Johannes Fabian has demonstrated that even before Charles Darwin’s publication of the *Origin of Species* in 1859, an emergent rhetoric perceived the temporality of human existence as deeper than previously thought.<sup>65</sup> In this period, the works of geologist Charles Lyell (1797–1875) and French naturalist Jean-Baptiste de Monet de Lamarck (1744–1829) were particularly significant.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, one of the most dominant early 19<sup>th</sup> century Anglophone scholars of human development was James Cowles Prichard, whose approach reflected his own evangelical monogenist perspective that humans descended from one source.<sup>67</sup> As the discussion within this thesis will indicate, Prichard’s brand of ethnology was considered particularly pertinent by missionary researchers.

The advent of social evolutionism from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, which effectively sought to categorise peoples of the world into various stages of development over time, impacted dominant scholarly ideas relating to people’s prehistory. Some proponents advocated polygenist arguments, perceiving there to be multiple independent origins for different groups of people, which challenged the views of evangelical humanists.<sup>68</sup> However, social evolutionary perspectives and evangelical beliefs were

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<sup>64</sup> Douglas, “Foreign Bodies in Oceania”, 4–5.

<sup>65</sup> Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 11–12.

<sup>66</sup> Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 13.

<sup>67</sup> See, Bronwen Douglas, “Climate to Crania: Science and the Racialization of Human Difference”, in Douglas and Ballard, *Foreign Bodies*, 44–58, for the general question of monogeny-polygeny in science.

<sup>68</sup> See, George W. Stocking Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1968).

not completely irreconcilable, with influential theorists such as anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917) able to marry a belief in the unity of the human species with social evolutionary frameworks. Tylor has particular prominence for several of those missionary scholars discussed in this thesis. According to historian of archaeology Tim Murray, classic social evolutionary theory correlated complex social formations with technologies such as pottery and metal-use.<sup>69</sup> Enquiries into these artefact types certainly had prominence in missionary discussions of the Pacific past.

When Bowie and Fox arrived in their mission fields, their own engagements with time were initially influenced by their university educations and correspondents. For Bowie, this reflected connections to the University of Aberdeen anatomist Robert Reid, whose approach intertwined anatomy with anthropology and archaeology (see Chapters 3 and 7). Fox had completed research at university with geologist Algernon P. Thomas and had an academic understanding of geological epochs (see Chapters 5 and 7). Increasingly, both Bowie and Fox engaged with the diffusionist turn emerging from a developing critique of social evolutionism, influenced heavily by the likes of Rivers.<sup>70</sup> The perception of races facing extinction, which developed from the later years of the Enlightenment, pervaded the interpretations offered by numerous missionary researchers discussed in the thesis.<sup>71</sup> This notion was particularly relevant amongst the early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholarship with which Bowie and Fox engaged, ‘salvage ethnography’ taking particular prominence and incorporating ‘salvage’ of material culture.

Time is also significant at the micro-level of Fox and Bowie’s own years in the Pacific, in that their own personal relationships with interlocutors and interpretations shifted *over* time. Indicators of this lie in the various sources interwoven in this thesis, for example in Bowie’s artefact collecting. Initially he recorded finding items such as shells and stone tools on Aneityum beaches and exchanging tobacco for small items. Later, however, he wrote of events such as receiving items from chiefs as signs of friendship or of people bringing him material that they knew he was interested in. Likewise,

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<sup>69</sup> Tim Murray, “Social Evolutionary Theory and the Fifth Continent: History Without Transformation?” in *Social Theory in Archaeology and Ancient History: The Present and Future of Counternarratives*, ed. Geoff Emberling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 21.

<sup>70</sup> Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution*, 202–233; Adam Kuper, *The Reinvention of Primitive Society: Transformations of a Myth*, 2nd ed. (London; New York: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>71</sup> See, Russell MacGregor, *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880–1939*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997); Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); McNiven and Russell, *Appropriated Pasts*; Bronwen Douglas, “‘Novus Orbis Australia’: Oceania in the science of race, 1750–1850”, in Douglas and Ballard, *Foreign Bodies*, 99–156; Paul Turnbull, “British Anthropological Thought in Colonial Practice: the Appropriation of Indigenous Australian Bodies, 1860–1880”, in Douglas and Ballard, *Foreign Bodies*, 205–228.

Fox formed relationships over the years with people who were initially hostile to his presence, and participated in two significant ceremonies to exchange names with local men (see Chapter 6). He also developed new field research methods under tutelage from Rivers, with evidence that he modified his theoretical ideas and interpretations as he gathered more data.

### A multiplicity of sources

The tangible traces of missionary interests in broadly archaeological matters are complex and multifarious. They include museum artefacts, archives, published missionary accounts, photographs and illustrations, sites and landscapes, and oral accounts. The extensive nature of these sources contributed to my decision to anchor the thesis around the work of Fox and Bowie, and their specific mission organisations. The methodological approaches employed within this project were necessarily multifaceted in order to analyse those various sources. In particular, I have endeavoured to implement Bronwen Douglas' method of reading texts 'against the grain' to decentre European authors and actors in order to trace indigenous agency.<sup>72</sup> Douglas' own engagement with this metaphor is embedded in feminist anthropology and postcolonial scholarship.<sup>73</sup> She advocates for this in ascertaining countersigns, and exploring the ways that texts are shaped by local agency and presence. In Douglas' words: 'colonial texts encode cryptic traces of indigenous actions, desires and patterns of social and gender relations which, in unintended, muffled but sometimes profound ways, helped formulate colonial experiences, strategies, actions and representations.'<sup>74</sup>

Douglas' approach has relevance not only to texts and images but also to museum collections, from which stories not always accessible in historical documents can be unpacked.<sup>75</sup> I also accept that museum collections are integral assemblages – something can be said about them as a whole – but at item level it is possible to untangle object biographies. Arjun Appadurai's notion of an object having a biography and 'social life' offers a method for considering the multiple meanings, iterations, and entangled relationships of particular objects associated with Anglophone missionaries and the history of archaeology.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Bronwen Douglas, "Provocative Readings in Intransigent Archives: Finding Aneityumese Women", *Oceania* 70 (1999): 111–129; Bronwen Douglas, "Encounters with the Enemy? Academic Readings of Missionary Narratives on Melanesians", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 1 (2001): 37–64.

<sup>73</sup> See, Bronwen Douglas, *Across the Great Divide: Journeys in History and Anthropology*, (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 18 n15.

<sup>74</sup> Douglas, "Encounters with the Enemy?", 42.

<sup>75</sup> See, Byrne et al., *Unpacking the Collection*.

<sup>76</sup> Appadurai, "Social Life of Things, 3–63; See also, Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process", in Appadurai, *Social Life of Things*, 64–91; Janet Hoskins, *Biographical*



Another approach to archives that has had resonance since the early stages of this project is Laura Ann Stoler's call to read colonial archives *along the grain*.<sup>77</sup> This is complementary, not contradictory, to Douglas's method described above. Stoler particularly applied it to official colonial archives, which when subjected to close reading can reveal the anxieties, concerns, and inconsistencies of colonial rule. For missionary archives this applies to the multiple missionary letters, documents and publications, including mission periodicals. Sometimes specifically aimed at particular audiences, reading these materials along the grain offers insights into the nuances and inconsistencies of missionary actions, including their research, highlighting counter views to those perhaps found in personal archives or scientific publications. The mission archives reveal the different voices an individual missionary could embody, highlighting the often-conflicting actions evident when their broadly archaeological interests collided and co-existed with their mission work.

Photographs and illustrations also have potential to reveal deeper aspects of missionary encounters with archaeological enquiries, and particularly encounters with interlocutors. Both objective and subjective, photographs can suggest the motivations of the photographer and, where applicable, the agency and presence of the sitter. The practice of photography is also important to this thesis because, as Elizabeth Edwards has argued, in the later decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was intricately bound with the development of anthropological studies and was in a symbiotic relationship with material culture collecting.<sup>78</sup> Bowie was an avid photographer, with Fox providing visual representations in the form of his own illustrations and those of his interlocutors.<sup>79</sup> These offer further insights into both men's engagement with Pacific archaeology, alongside the visual records of other missionaries in the period discussed.

By conducting a short period of fieldwork on Santo, from 2 May – 11 June 2017, I also aimed to gather stories related to Bowie and his missionary research narrative, which are integrated into this thesis. By

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*objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Gosden and Marshall, "Cultural Biography of Objects".

<sup>77</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

<sup>78</sup> Elizabeth Edwards, "Performing Science: Still Photography and the Torres Strait Expedition", in *Cambridge and the Torres Strait: Centenary Essays on the 1898 Anthropological Expedition*, eds. Sandra Rouse and Anita Herle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 106–135; Elizabeth Edwards "Surveying Culture: Photography, Collecting and Material Culture in British New Guinea, 1898", in O'Hanlon and Welsch, *Hunting the Gatherers*, 103–126.

<sup>79</sup> Fox may have taken photographs, see, C.E. Fox to Walter J. Durrad, 13 November 1950, "W.J. Durrad, letters from Charles Fox", photocopy of Ms papers-1171-01 Alexander Turnbull Library, KIN109/1/1, John Kinder Theological Library, Auckland (hereinafter JKL). Fox writes that he has sent Durrad photographs, which have gone missing, but it is unclear if the images were captured by Fox himself.

sharing Bowie's photographs and notebooks, and images of artefacts he acquired, I endeavoured to have open discussions around the material, a method often utilised in museum collections research. This was also an opportunity to share some of the resources I had been uncovering relating particularly to south and west Santo, including the islands of Tangoa, Aore, and Malo. This fieldwork was conducted with Thomas Jimmy, a Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta (hereinafter VKS) *filwoka* from Tasiriki village, the location of Bowie's outstation established in 1901.<sup>80</sup> A similar period of fieldwork and collaboration on Makira was unfortunately beyond the scope of this research project, but future research would almost certainly expand the narratives presented in the chapters that follow as well as promoting access to Fox's research material.

### Structure of the thesis

'Things' have a prominent role in the narrative of missionary archaeology as well as being integral to my approach as a researcher. Artefacts and sites are both enduring tangible traces of Pacific prehistory, and of the historical narratives of archaeological work in the Pacific. In my overarching approach, I have implemented what Rodney Harrison termed an 'archaeological sensibility', aiming to keep 'things' central to the discussion in developing an understanding of the significance of particular artefacts.<sup>81</sup> In acknowledgement of this, each chapter opens with a vignette focusing on an aspect of material culture relevant to the subsequent discussion. This structure was inspired by Peter Jones's work *Ochre and Rust*, in which he examined 19<sup>th</sup> century Australian material culture and history.<sup>82</sup>

Chapter 1 considers ideas of Pacific prehistory emerging from the arrival of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in the region in 1797. I examine some of the observable interests in Pacific prehistory held by the earliest Anglophone missionaries in the region. In 1797, the term 'Melanesia' did not exist, Lyell and Darwin had not yet published their influential texts, and biblical interpretations of deep time were still widely accepted. Presenting the data and interpretations of Pacific origins and prehistory offered by some of those earlier missionaries, the chapter traces them alongside emergent dominant approaches but also by the movement of Anglophone missionaries ever westwards. This is especially illustrated by the discussion of Reverends George Turner and John

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<sup>80</sup> In the 1980s, VKS established the *filwoka* program, whereby local men and women from different communities and islands volunteer their time to conduct their own cultural research and to work with visiting researchers.

<sup>81</sup> Rodney Harrison, "Reassembling Ethnographic Museum Collections", in Harrison, Byrne and Clark, *Reassembling the Collection*, 18.

<sup>82</sup> Philip Jones, *Ochre and Rust: Artefacts and Encounters on Australian Frontiers* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2010).

Betteridge Stair, both active in Samoa, whose published accounts straddled the mid-decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The chapter also highlights interpretations of prehistory by other mission groups in that period, including the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and the emergence of certain tropes that are echoed throughout the thesis.

Chapter 2 focuses on the developing archaeological interests within the Presbyterian Church mission to the New Hebrides in the years leading up to Bowie's arrival in the region. This is not intended as an exhaustive and progressive list of missionaries and interpretations, but rather it frames the Presbyterian approach to archaeological enquiries, if indeed there was one clear approach. Chapter 3 explores Bowie's research, offering an in-depth examination of his collecting, photography, and field studies, and of his individual interpretations of the Pacific past. Chapter 4 follows a similar approach to that of Chapter 2 but focuses on the Melanesian Mission engagement with prehistory. Like Chapter 2, it examines some missionary researchers, particularly offering observations on the intellectual approaches of Fox's mission society. Chapter 5, which echoes Chapter 3, examines Fox's research, revealing his approach to Pacific prehistory and ethnology by recording sites, and collecting oral traditions and material culture from an early stage in his career. The discussion presents Fox's thesis of Pacific migration as evident in his written work up until 1940.

Chapters 6 and 7 are framed around the knowledge networks within which 'missionary archaeology' is interwoven, with particular reference to Fox and Bowie's research. Chapter 6 considers those indigenous interlocutors without whom Fox and Bowie's research would have been impossible. The focus is not on the broadly archaeological data, but on the knowledge networks themselves that facilitated missionary research. By untangling individual stories and considering the spaces that facilitated such interactions, the chapter observes some of the trends in island networks, asking how these might have influenced the tropes and themes that emerged in the discipline of Pacific archaeology. Chapter 7 follows the knowledge and collecting networks internationally, considering those nodes in 'other locales.' This chapter cements the argument that missionaries engaged with broader scholarly paradigms through various means, which influenced their own ideas about Pacific prehistory, and conversely saw missionaries influencing the intellectual work of others and popular perceptions of the Pacific past.

## Chapter 1: Monumental Sites and ‘Arkite idolotary’: Anglophone Missionaries in the Pacific from 1797

Vignette: 'Model canoe', Aneityum



**Figure 1.1. *Nelcau*, Aneityum. Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, E.406. Copyright, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery.**

This carved wooden artefact was acquired in the 1850s from Aneityum, the southernmost inhabited island in Vanuatu (Figure 1.1). Currently housed in the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, it was collected by George Turner (1818–91) of the congregationalist London Missionary Society (LMS).<sup>1</sup> Since at least the 1950s it has been described in the museum’s catalogue as a ‘model canoe’. However, on examining the artefact in 2014, it was apparent that it is strikingly different from other 19<sup>th</sup>-century Pacific canoe models found in UK museums, which usually feature a multitude of technical details, such as outriggers and fibre lashings. This ‘model canoe’ is carved from a solid piece of wood, bearing no resemblance in form to a comparable Aneityum-made model collected by Presbyterian missionary James Hay Lawrie for National Museums Scotland (NMS) in the late 1880s.<sup>2</sup> The Hunterian canoe does have a partially illegible inscription on the underside in

<sup>1</sup> See also, Eve Haddow and Andy Mills, “Idol Speculations: Aneityum *Nelcau* and Dr Turner’s Missionary Archaeology”, in *Unearthing Pacific Pasts Exhibition Catalogue*, eds. Tristen Jones and Matthew Spriggs (in review).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Model/nelgau/canoe, outrigger/dug-out’, A.1895.413.3, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh

Turner's hand, featuring the names 'Aichariai' and 'Nefatimitipeke'. A surviving 1860s exhibition label reveals what is most likely the full inscription, albeit with alternative spelling: '[T]he canoe in which the gods Aicharia and Nefatimepeke sat when they pulled up Aneitum [sic], one of the New Hebrides. Long an object of veneration there'.<sup>3</sup> This 'model' was therefore perceived to be a specific vessel from an oral tradition relating to the creation of Aneityum island. The museum classification obscures its significance in local understandings of the island's past, and in interpretations of that past by Turner and other outsiders, and consequently in the history of missionary engagement with Pacific prehistory.

As well as being entwined with an important origin myth, the artefact's practical usage is suggested by the fact that *nelcau*, the Aneityum word for 'canoe', has multiple definitions.<sup>4</sup> It is a term for a storage box, as well as being recorded in 1887 as the local name for the constellation Orion by Presbyterian missionary John Inglis.<sup>5</sup> In the 1840s, *nelcau* was also given as denoting each of the seven 'dominions' on Aneityum, under the jurisdiction of a *Natamarid*, or high chief.<sup>6</sup> In a recently compiled dictionary *nelcau* is also defined as the breastbone of a fowl.<sup>7</sup> However, the most relevant definition for this artefact is likely to be that of a canoe-shaped bowl for mixing kava<sup>8</sup>, which also appears in the form *Nelcau-Arñoñ* and *Nelcau-Tan*.<sup>9</sup>

The *nelcau* is one of over 200 Pacific items Turner acquired as a missionary and one of the oldest missionary-acquired items from Vanuatu. Based on Tanna island from 1842 to 1843 before relocating to a mission station in Samoa, Turner's written accounts suggest he was likely presented

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(hereinafter NMS).

<sup>3</sup> See also, James Edge-Partington, *An Album of the Weapons, Tools, Ornaments, Articles of Dress of the Natives of the Pacific Islands drawn and described from examples in Public & Private Collections in England, Second Series* (London: J Norbury, 1890), 81 no.8 'Wooden bowl. Long object venerated as the canoe in which the gods Aicharia and Nefatunipeke sat when they pulled up the island of Aneiteum. Aneiteum.'

<sup>4</sup> John Inglis, *A Dictionary of the Aneityumese Language: in two parts. I, Aneityumese & English. II, English & Aneityumese; also Outlines of Aneityumese Grammar, and an Introduction containing Notices of the Missions to the Native Races, and Illustrations of the Principles and Peculiarities of the Aneityumese Language* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1882), 99.

<sup>5</sup> John Inglis, *In the New Hebrides: Reminiscences of Missionary Life and Work especially on the Island of Aneityum, from 1850 till 1877* (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1887), 173.

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Spriggs, "'A School in Every District': The Cultural Geography of Conversion on Aneityum, Southern Vanuatu", *Journal of Pacific History* 20, no.1 (Jan. 1985): 23.

<sup>7</sup> John Lynch and Philip Tepakae, *Anejom dictionary: diksonari blong Anejom: nitasviitai a nijitas antas Anejom*, (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, RSPAS, ANU, 2001), 206.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew Spriggs, *The Island Melanesians* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 191 Plate 32.

<sup>9</sup> Lynch and Tepakae, *Anejom dictionary*, 206; John Lynch, "Kava-drinking in Southern Vanuatu: Melanesian drinkers, Polynesian roots", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 105, no.1 (1996): 32

with the *nelcau* on Aneityum in October 1859, when he collected several sacred stones and 'other relics of heathenism'.<sup>10</sup> This included 'gods of the sea'. In addition to prolifically acquiring material culture, Turner published work on ethnology and what he termed 'archaeology'. Prior to the development of detailed excavation and dating techniques, oral traditions and collections of related ethnographic material culture were important tools for Europeans interested in the prehistory of the Pacific islands. Stories of voyaging and the arrival of culture heroes such as 'Aichariai' and 'Nefatimitipeke' became embedded within developing archaeological interests in the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Pacific. Drawing on multiple sources, missionaries added their own interpretations and observations to those stories as they negotiated their positions within the social fabric of newly 'discovered' places. It is the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Anglophone missionary engagement with these methods and sources that this chapter looks to unravel.

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### Early Anglophone missionaries in the Pacific

This chapter examines some of the earliest Anglophone missionary activity in the Pacific, considering examples of missionary interaction with themes of prehistory in that period. The discussion demonstrates that from the initial arrival of the LMS in Tahiti in 1797, Anglophone missionaries made broadly archaeological enquiries, particularly by questioning the migration of people to the region and exploring the development of material culture. Their engagement with questions pertaining to Pacific prehistory was characterised by scholarly concepts dominant at the time, by personal encounters with Pacific people, and by Judeo-Christian framings of the past, which could vary depending on specific denominational beliefs. Methodologically, early mission representatives recorded observations and collected words, artefacts, and stories. The intention of the chapter is not to provide an exhaustive list of all those engaged with such subjects, particularly as valuable scholarship has already addressed early missionary engagement with 'science'.<sup>11</sup> Rather, several case studies are elaborated to illustrate key ideas held by early missionaries in the field relevant to the history of archaeology, prior to extensive proselytisation in the western Pacific, and to the arrival of the Presbyterian Church and Melanesian Mission in Oceania. Motivations, methods, and engagement with emergent 'archaeology' are traced through examples drawn mainly from the LMS. Some interpretations have resonance later in the thesis, particularly the tropes of isolated islands, comparisons with Ancient Egypt, and the perception that particular people lacked 'history'. The use

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<sup>10</sup> George Turner, *Samoa: A Hundred Years Ago and Long Before. Together with Notes on the Cults and Customs of twenty-three other Islands in the Pacific* (London: Macmillan, 1884), 326.

<sup>11</sup> See, Gunson, "British Missionaries and their Contribution"; Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire*.

of comparative studies and biblical analogy, and the significance of particular interlocutors who made missionary archaeology possible, are also revisited throughout the thesis.

### The arrival of the London Missionary Society in the Eastern Pacific

Following the exploratory expeditions of the *Dolphin* in the 1760s, and subsequent voyages led by James Cook, Louis Bougainville, and Domingo de Boneche, the 'South Seas' grew in its appeal as a prospective European colonial field, particularly the area around Tahiti in the Society Islands.<sup>12</sup> With colonial expansion came the prospect for missionary work, the latter arguably intertwined with imperial ambitions.<sup>13</sup> In Britain, it was a mixed denominational group formed in 1795 that realised the country's first efforts to evangelise in the Pacific. Initially known as *The Missionary Society*, it was renamed *The London Missionary Society* in 1818.<sup>14</sup> On 10 August 1796, the first LMS missionaries departed Blackwell, London, on board the barque *Duff* (Figure 1.2). Representing the LMS were thirty men, six women, and three children. Only four of the men were ordained ministers, with the other passengers listed as carpenters, shoemakers, smiths, and gardeners, among other trades.<sup>15</sup> The *Duff* anchored at Spithead near Portsmouth for several weeks before embarking for Tahiti, arriving there in March 1797. Drawing on a vocabulary produced by mutineers of the *Bounty*, the missionary group disembarked in Tahiti with a basic grasp of the language. The original manuscripts of 'Otaheitean language' were presented with an account of Tahiti to Thomas Hawies, one of the LMS Directors, by a local clergyman when the *Duff* docked in Spithead. The clergyman had acquired the material when the *Bounty* mutineers had been brought for trial in 1792.<sup>16</sup> This first wave from the LMS established

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<sup>12</sup> Sarah Irving-Stonebraker, "Theology, Idolatry and Science: John Williams' Missionary Ethnography and Natural History of the South Pacific", *Journal of Religious History* 42, no.3 (2018), 344; See also, Anne Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island: The European Discovery of Tahiti* (Berkeley: UC Berkeley Press, 2009), 1–30.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of missionary work as a form of colonialism see, Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire*, 14–36; See also, Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*; Gunson, "Missionary Interest in British Expansion in the South Pacific in the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of Religious History* 3, no.4 (1965): 296–313; Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the making of an imperial culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999); William C. Barnhart, "Evangelicalism, Masculinity, and the Making of Imperial Missionaries in Late Georgian Britain, 1795-1820", *The Historian* 67, no.4 (2005):712–732; Norman Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2005).

<sup>14</sup> LMS is used throughout this thesis to refer to The Missionary Society and The London Missionary Society.

<sup>15</sup> James Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the Years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff: Commanded by Captain James Wilson. Compiled from journals of the officers and the missionaries; and illustrated with maps, charts, and views, drawn by Mr. William Wilson. With a preliminary discourse on the geography and history of the South Sea islands; and an appendix, including details of the natural and civil state of Otaheite; by a committee appointed for the purpose* (London: S. Gosnell, for T. Chapman, 1799), 5–6; See also, Michael Cathcart et al., *Mission to the South Seas: The Voyage of the Duff, 1796-1799* (Parkville: History Department, The University of Melbourne, 1990).

<sup>16</sup> Wilson, *A missionary Voyage*, 13–14.

missions at Matavai on Tahiti, Tongatapu in the Tonga group, and Tahuata in the Marquesas islands, although the latter two were abandoned in 1799 and 1800 respectively.<sup>17</sup> Work on Tahiti was temporarily suspended for a period in 1808.<sup>18</sup>



**Figure 1.2. Portrait of the ship *Duff* by J. Saunders, 1797. Source, School of Oriental and African Studies Archives, CWM/LMS/Home/South Seas Pictures/16.**

Although not authored by an ordained missionary *per se*, the appendices to Captain James Wilson's published account of LMS missionary voyages on the *Duff* offer observations of Tahitian people and their religion and priesthood, as well as descriptions of customs, canoes, fishing, recreation, and a geographical account of the island itself. None of the appendices are devoted solely to the subject of the region's past, but passages within the account suggest an interest in the subject. For example, in May 1797, while on a voyage to the Marquesas islands, the *Duff* anchored at an uninhabited island in the Tuamotu archipelago. Captain Wilson named it 'Serle's Island', known today as Pukarua. He

<sup>17</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 12.

<sup>18</sup> For detailed early LMS histories see, William Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society: Comprising an account of the origin of the society; biographical notices of some of its founders and missionaries; with a record of its progress at home and its operations abroad*, vol.1 (London: John Snow, 1844); Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Frowde, 1899); C.W. Newbury, ed., *The History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830, Written by John Davies, Missionary to the South Sea Islands with Supplementary Papers of the Missionaries* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1961); Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*.



described a 'morai [*marae*] of stones, with one stone at a little distance placed upright'.<sup>19</sup> Nearby were the remains of 'two or three huts' and 'one circular hut', and 'vast quantities of clam shells.'<sup>20</sup> Wilson cited this as material evidence that the island was once inhabited. He judged the volume of clam shells as indicative that people must have lived there for some time. Further to this, he interpreted the presence of the *marae*, which he described as 'a place of worship', as showing first that such a structure was 'indispensably necessary' for the previous inhabitants. Secondly, Wilson deduced that inhabitants of different islands in the area shared a universal religious tradition even when the deities had different names, due to the presence of *maraes* across the region. As Wilson interpreted it, 'the manner of worship being everywhere the same, proves the tradition originally to be from one source.'<sup>21</sup> This suggests an appreciation of a single origin for inhabitants in the area, sharing a similar language, appearance, and culture, although Wilson did not suggest a source.

### John Davies and the emergence of early ethnological tropes

Historian Sujit Sivasundaram has argued the Enlightenment influenced evangelicalism and missionary activity at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in several ways.<sup>22</sup> This included the development of missionary interests in recording and classifying people they met within emerging ethnological frameworks of the period.<sup>23</sup> One particularly ethnologically engaged LMS missionary who arrived in Tahiti in 1801 was Reverend John Davies (1772–1855). After a post on Tahiti, Davies spent a year from November 1808 in Huahine, Society Islands, with a brief interlude in Port Jackson, Australia, prior to returning to Eimeo, now named Mo'orea, in 1811. Davies remained in the area until his death in 1855, taking up positions at Huahine and Papara, Tahiti, and initiating a mission on Rapa.<sup>24</sup> Davies is particularly recognised and respected for his linguistic work, which Niel Gunson characterised as 'a scientific interest'.<sup>25</sup>

Some of Davies' enquiries into Pacific prehistory are manifested in his detailed work on Polynesian linguistics. Notably, Davies revealed some of his perceptions of the origins of the people he lived and worked with in his 'Introductory remarks on the Polynesian Language', which forms the opening section of his Tahitian-English dictionary. The dictionary was the first of its kind published. His use of

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<sup>19</sup> Wilson, *A missionary Voyage*, 124.

<sup>20</sup> Wilson, *A missionary Voyage*, 124.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson, *A missionary Voyage*, 125.

<sup>22</sup> Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire*, 37.

<sup>23</sup> See also, Samson, "Ethnology and Theology".

<sup>24</sup> James Sibree, *A register of missionaries, deputations, etc. from 1796 to 1923*, 4th ed. (London: London Missionary Society, 1923), 5.

<sup>25</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 210.

the term 'Polynesian' encompassed all those who inhabited 'the South Seas', as was still the standard usage for Anglophone scholars at the time of publication in 1851.<sup>26</sup> Davies suggested that the Polynesian language could either be considered 'a primitive or mother tongue' in and of itself, or a relative to the Malay language, sharing a common origin; but either way it was 'undoubtedly of great antiquity'.<sup>27</sup> Expanding on this, he suggested it was most likely the speakers had been 'separated for ages from the rest of the world.' Davies' six-page introduction to the first Tahitian-English dictionary also indicates a troubling misunderstanding that has arguably pervaded studies in Pacific history and archaeology until relatively recently. That is, his assertion that most people speaking 'Polynesian' inhabited 'small detached islands, having little or no intercourse with each other.'<sup>28</sup> Historian Epeli Hau'ofa's influential 1993 paper 'Our Sea of Islands' has inspired a body of work in response to this particular constructed notion in recent decades.<sup>29</sup> However, as will also become evident throughout this thesis, this mythology of isolation was repeated, repackaged, and accepted throughout 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century research relating to archaeological subjects by missionaries and other scholars.

In the same text, Davies noted similarities between verb conjugation and 'primitive words' in Polynesian to those found in Hebrew.<sup>30</sup> He did not elaborate any conclusions, but his comment suggests a belief in past Hebrew connections and his framing of the ancient past in explicitly biblical terms. This connection with Hebrew language, particularly inspired by the linguistic work of British polymath and devout Christian William Jones (1746–94), was repeatedly theorised or alluded to in missionary writing in the decades following.<sup>31</sup> In the 1780s, Jones developed a method of comparing ancient languages in order to trace the migrations of the first groups of people across the globe, expanding on the Hebrew Bible and complementing the details in Genesis.<sup>32</sup> Jones believed the Flood had caused global devastation and that all people could be traced back to Noah, but also argued that there were other sources for elaborating this ancient history. Drawing on his research of

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<sup>26</sup> See, Bronwen Douglas, "Geography, Raciology, and the Naming of Oceania", *The Globe* 69 (2011): 1–28.

<sup>27</sup> H.J. Davies, *A Tahitian and English Dictionary with Introductory Remarks on the Polynesian Language, and a Short Grammar of the Tahitian Dialect: With an appendix containing a list of foreign words used in the Tahitian Bible, in commerce, etc., with the sources from whence they have been derived* (Tahiti: London missionary Society Press, 1851), i.

<sup>28</sup> Davies, *Tahitian and English Dictionary*, i–ii.

<sup>29</sup> Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands", in *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, eds. Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hau'ofa (Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, University of the South Pacific, 1993), 2–16.

<sup>30</sup> Davies, *Tahitian and English Dictionary*, i.

<sup>31</sup> See, Michael F. Robinson, *The Lost White Tribe: Explorers, Scientists and the Theory that Changed a Continent* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 64–74.

<sup>32</sup> Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 28–30; Robinson, *Lost White Tribe*, 64–66.

the Sanskrit language in India, he demonstrated that the 'Hamites', descended from Noah's son Ham, whom people previously theorised had colonised Egypt, Abyssinia and other parts of Africa, had also migrated to India, Italy, Greece, and possibly central America and East Asia.<sup>33</sup> This notably differs from later 19<sup>th</sup>-century writers, who associated Indians and Europeans, as well as Polynesians, with Noah's other son Japheth (see Chapter 2). Jones' family of languages was later termed the Indo-European or Aryan family, which Tony Ballantyne has demonstrated had profound impact on late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century debates over Polynesian identity, notably the idea of the Aryan Māori.<sup>34</sup> Jones' Judaeo-Christian understandings of the past also influenced leading early 19<sup>th</sup>-century ethnologist James Cowles Prichard's seminal theories on human origins.<sup>35</sup> Discussed further in Chapter 2, Prichard was a devout Evangelical and committed monogenist, which profoundly shaped his ethnological writing.

John Davies' Judaeo-Christian worldview is further evident in his comments on Tahitian methods of transmitting historical narratives through histories and genealogies of their gods. For him, the blending of men with gods in those narratives made it impossible to discern one from the other, suggesting Davies' inability to comprehend Tahitian conceptions of history and chronology in local terms. Tom Smith has argued that missionaries regularly misunderstood and decontextualized genealogies they recorded the eastern Pacific, partly because of the Polynesian interweaving of stories of nature, gods and ancestors in the past, which fundamentally differed from Western histories.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to publishing his own work, Davies shared much of the Polynesian ethnology he gathered with Sydney-based clergyman, writer, and ethnologist John Dunmore Lang (1799–1878). The latter's papers offer further glimpses of Davies' approach and methods. For example, on 24 October 1835, Davies explained he had been consulting with 'elderly intelligent people' on Tahiti, who told him stories from their ancestors that the first settlers in the islands came from the west, reaching Bora Bora island first.<sup>37</sup> Davies was evidently collecting and recording data from direct conversations with elders, which he considered valuable enough to share with others such as Lang, who shared an interest in the prehistory of the Pacific.

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<sup>33</sup> Ballantyne *Orientalism and Race*, 29; Robinson, *Lost White Tribe*, 70–71.

<sup>34</sup> Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*.

<sup>35</sup> Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*, 39.

<sup>36</sup> Tom Smith, "Islanders, Protestant Missionaries, and Traditions regarding the Past in nineteenth-century Polynesia", *Historical Journal*, 60, no.1 (2017): 71–94.

<sup>37</sup> John Davies to John Dunmore Lang, October 1835, Papers of John Dunmore Lang, vol. 15, Missions 1826-1877, mf A2235, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia (hereinafter SLNSW).

## Motivations and collaborations in early 19<sup>th</sup>-century missionary research

From the early presence of the LMS in the Pacific, missionaries seemingly had multifarious motivations for recording archaeological or anthropological material. In addition to Enlightenment-inspired interests in recording and classifying Pacific people, eminent historian of missions Niel Gunson claimed that considerable stimulus for scientific research by LMS missionaries originated outside of the mission field.<sup>38</sup> Exemplary of this is ethnologist John Dunmore Lang's extensive correspondence with Davies, John Muggerridge Orsmond (1784–1856), and a network of other LMS employees prior to Lang publishing his 1834 work, *View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation*.<sup>39</sup> Gunson has suggested it was Lang's correspondence that ultimately led to Orsmond, who arrived in the Pacific with the LMS in 1817, becoming 'the foremost authority on Tahitian traditions'.<sup>40</sup> Lang's own conclusion of Polynesian origins, drawing considerably on LMS data but not necessarily corresponding to the theories missionaries themselves postulated, was that South Sea Islanders were of Asiatic origin and that Indo-Americans were their descendants, the latter encompassing indigenous people of North and Central America.

In his seminal work, *Messengers of Grace*, Gunson discussed other missionary motivations for engaging with scientific investigations in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. He challenged an assumption that a missionary's anthropological interests indicated a different evangelical approach, in that such a missionary might be more sympathetic to local cultural practices and beliefs, or that their own encounters influenced a change in their worldview. Gunson suggested that in some cases it actually indicated 'an attempt to escape the reality of failure, or loneliness, or even lack of faith.'<sup>41</sup> He provided the example of Thomas Williams in Fiji, whose anthropological interests effectively saved him from spiritual disillusionment. Neither did it follow that speaking favourably about local islanders replaced negative perceptions of Pacific people, and often positive cultural observations were made in reference to a missionary's own immediate converts, rather than the community at large.<sup>42</sup> After all, if a missionary in that period went beyond scientific observation into the realms of 'sympathy', their doctrinal beliefs would have been questioned because, in Gunson's words, '[e]vangelical

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<sup>38</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 210–211.

<sup>39</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 211; John Dunmore Lang, *View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation; demonstrating their Ancient Discovery and Progressive Settlement of the Continent of America* (London: James Cochrane and Co., 1834).

<sup>40</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 211; Orsmond's material was largely published by his granddaughter, see for example, Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1928); Also, S. Percy Smith "The Genealogy of the Pomare Family of Tahiti, from the Papers of the Rev. J. M. Orsmond", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 2, no.1 (1893): 25–42.

<sup>41</sup> Gunson *Messengers of Grace*, 211.

<sup>42</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 212.

religion in the early nineteenth century made no allowance for any system other than the Jewish and Christian revelations'.<sup>43</sup> Biblical framings of the human past continued to underpin their ontological reality. In Orsmond's case, he collected extensive Polynesian histories, while simultaneously expressing disgust at and using all his efforts to combat the non-Christian gods.<sup>44</sup>

Missionary research aided the practicalities of their work. As Helen Gardner has asserted, those in the field became 'entangled in indigenous beliefs as they searched for concepts that could bridge the differences between Christian doctrine and cosmology on the one hand and local ideas on the other.'<sup>45</sup> Teaching 'science' was also a tool employed to convince others of Jehovah's existence. An interesting illustration of this comes from a speech given by a Mr. Noel on 14 May 1846 to the LMS Annual Public meeting at Exeter Hall, London. Discussing the 'Missionary English Schools' in India, the audience heard that science lessons could both rid India of idolatry, and make atheism impossible since students would see how the Christian god must have created the world around them: 'God will be acknowledged in Hindostan as fast as European Science opens its treasures to the intelligent students of that nation.'<sup>46</sup> Missionaries could engage with scientific enquiries, but it was also encouraged in Christian converts for its potential to expand their knowledge of Jehovah. In the course of this thesis it will be evident that these complex layers motivating and informing missionary research into archaeological subjects in the Pacific did not wane over time.

### William Ellis: Methods and theories of 'missionary archaeology', 1817–1825

Both Davies and Orsmond contributed to the writing of William Ellis (1794–1872), one of the most prominent missionary ethnological researchers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>47</sup> A prolific writer, Ellis's multi-volumed *Polynesian Researches* gained particular popularity with public and scholarly audiences alike.<sup>48</sup> Representing the LMS in the eastern Pacific from 1817–25, Ellis's first post was on Mo'orea,

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<sup>43</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 213.

<sup>44</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 212.

<sup>45</sup> Helen B. Gardner, "'The Faculty of Faith': Evangelical Missionaries, Social Anthropologists, and the Claim for Human Unity in the 19th Century", in Douglas and Ballard, *Foreign Bodies*, 266.

<sup>46</sup> Anon., "Thursday May 14<sup>th</sup>. The Annual Public meeting, Exeter Hall", *Missionary magazine and chronicle; Relating Chiefly to the Missions of the London Missionary Society* 10 (1846): 91.

<sup>47</sup> See, Gunson, "British Missionaries and their Contribution"; Christopher Herbert, *Culture and Anomie: Ethnographic Imagination in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Ron Edmond, "Translating Cultures: William Ellis and Missionary Writing", in *Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European voyages to the Southern oceans in the eighteenth century*, ed. Margarett Lincoln (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer: 1998), 149–162; Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Haddow, "Pacific Prehistory and Theories of Origins".

<sup>48</sup> William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years in the South Sea Islands; Including descriptions of the natural history and scenery of the islands - with remarks on the history,*

in the Windward Group of the Society Islands. Initially, he was tasked with learning the local language under Davies' guidance, and setting up the mission printing press.<sup>49</sup> On 30 June 1817, Ellis assisted Pomare II, the King of Tahiti, in printing the first Tahitian language book in the islands.<sup>50</sup> Islanders reportedly visited Ellis daily, hoping to acquire copies of various books being produced and to examine the printing house equipment.<sup>51</sup> The printing work therefore facilitated regular interaction with people of varying social statuses from Mo'orea and nearby islands, offering opportunities to build relationships and access cultural data.<sup>52</sup>

In 1823, Ellis travelled to the Hawaiian Islands with his wife Mary and three children, relocating there for just over a year on the request of American missionaries requiring his assistance and of the Hawaiian King and several chiefs. The period inspired Ellis's debut 1825 publication, *A journal of a tour around Hawaii, the largest of the Sandwich Islands*, which was republished as a longer volume in 1826 entitled *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, or Owhyee: With Observations on the Natural History of the Sandwich Islands, and Remarks on the Manners, Customs, Traditions, History and Language of their Inhabitants*.<sup>53</sup> In 1829, Ellis published the two-volume *Polynesian researches, during a residence of nearly six years in the South Sea Islands, including descriptions of the natural history and scenery of the Islands, with remarks on the history, mythology, traditions, government, arts, manners, and customs of the inhabitants*, republished in four volumes from 1831–36 to incorporate his Hawaiian Islands accounts. Across these texts, Ellis illustrated his theories of the origins of Polynesian inhabitants, supported by evidence from the landscape, material culture, and oral traditions – a research approach followed by many other Anglophone missionaries.

In *Narrative of a Tour*, Ellis suggested Hawaiian Islanders likely originally migrated from the Georgian Islands, which are the Windward Group of the Society Islands.<sup>54</sup> Briefly referencing evidence that he later interrogated further within *Polynesian Researches*, Ellis concluded: 'circumstances seem to

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*mythology, traditions, government, arts, manners, and customs of the inhabitants*, 2 vols. (London: Fisher, Son, and Jackson, 1829); William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands*, 4 vols. (London: Fisher, Son, and Jackson, 1831).

<sup>49</sup> William Ellis, 3 July 1817, CWM/LMS/ South Seas/ incoming correspondence/1812-1818 Box 2/Folder 5, Jacket A, School of Oriental and African Studies Archive and Special Collections, London.

<sup>50</sup> William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.1, 394.

<sup>51</sup> William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.1, 397.

<sup>52</sup> Haddow, "Pacific Prehistory and Theories of Origins", 2.

<sup>53</sup> William Ellis, *A Journal of a Tour Around Hawaii, the Largest of the Sandwich Islands* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster; New York: J.P. Haven, 1825); William Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, or Owhyee: With observations on the natural history of the Sandwich Islands, and remarks on the manners, customs, traditions, history and language of their inhabitants* (London: Fisher, Son, & Jackson, 1826).

<sup>54</sup> Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii*, 409.

favour the conjecture that the inhabitants of the islands west of Tongatabu [Tongatapu] have an Asiatic origin entirely; but that the natives of the eastern islands may be a mixed race, who have emigrated from the American continent, and from the Asiatic islands'.<sup>55</sup> In his 1829 edition of *Polynesian Researches*, Ellis suggested people previously moved from Malaysia across the northern Pacific, over the Bering Straits, and then back eastwards through either North and Central or South America.<sup>56</sup> He used knowledge of trade winds to support his argument, which he returned to in the lengthier four-volume *Polynesian Researches*.<sup>57</sup> The migration route had previously been suggested in 1803 by Spanish missionary Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, and from the late 1930s it was integral to Thor Heyerdahl's proposed theories of migrations to the eastern Pacific.<sup>58</sup>

### Material culture and archaeological remains

In deploying material culture to furnish his theory of Polynesian origins, Ellis claimed a number of examples indicated connections with the Aleutian Islands, Kurile (Kuril) Islands, Mexico, and parts of South America. One such example was that of the poncho, which was directly comparable with the Society Islands' *tiputa*, apparently resembling each other 'in every respect' except the raw material.<sup>59</sup> Ellis also listed a chess-like game, and the use of feathers to adorn the hair as material indicators.<sup>60</sup> Additionally, he referenced an account of a staff belonging to a 'Malay chief' in Penang provided by a Dr Buchanan, which was topped with human hair cut from an enemy at death. Ellis believed this corresponded exactly with the Marquesan method of decorating clubs and 'walking-sticks' with hair from those killed in battle.<sup>61</sup> Marquesan *tokotoko pio'ō*, often labelled 'walking sticks' by European collectors, were carried by people of status. Given the *tapu* nature of human hair in the Marquesas Islands it is possible it was ancestral hair, and that the notion of hair being from an enemy was deployed as part of the broader European trope of Marquesan people as cannibals and warriors.

Ellis's material-based evidence for Polynesian origins was not limited to artefacts he saw in current use. On uninhabited Fanning Island, midway between Hawai'i and Tahiti, he described pavements of

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<sup>55</sup> Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii*, 412.

<sup>56</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 37–63.

<sup>57</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2 (London: Fisher, Son, & Jackson, 1829), 48–52; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Eight Years*, vol.1, 121–127.

<sup>58</sup> Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*, (Sampaloc: Por Fr. Pedro Argüelles de la Concepcion, 1803); Thor Heyerdahl, "Did Polynesian culture originate in America?", *International Science* 1, no.1 (1941): 15–26.

<sup>59</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 126.

<sup>60</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 46.

<sup>61</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 45.

floors and house foundations, and stone adzes or hatchets that were 'found some distance from the surface'.<sup>62</sup> Ellis described these tools as exactly like those used by people in the North and South Pacific 'at the time of discovery', by which he meant recent European exploration.<sup>63</sup> The similarity in form, he concluded, was evidence that Polynesian island populations had been more extensive in the past. The monuments and remains were, according to Ellis, 'exceedingly rude', suggesting to him they belonged to people who themselves were 'rude and uncivilised and must have emigrated from a nation but little removed from a state of barbarism'.<sup>64</sup> He gave no explanation as to why he made such a value judgment but used it to further support his idea of American connections. He reasoned that in order for the islands to have been peopled only by 'Malays', such 'rude and uncivilised' people would have had to construct vessels and cross the ocean 'six or seven thousand miles against the regularly prevailing winds'.<sup>65</sup> Further archaeological evidence for connections to America was added to the four-volume 1831 edition, with Ellis referencing the discovery of skeletons 'in the caverns of Kentucky and Tennessee [...] of a Malay tribe', some of the bodies having been wrapped in feather cloaks apparently similar to ones found in Fiji and the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>66</sup> It was with such speculative observations, embedded in the observer's prejudices and presumptions, that grand theoretical narratives were constructed.

### Biblical traditions in Ellis' Polynesian Researches

In examining the origins of Pacific people, Ellis drew on oral traditions and genealogies, in particular stories of Ta'aroa or Tangaroa creating the world, and a narrative of a great flood – 'the deluge'.<sup>67</sup> Ellis interpreted any similarities to biblical narratives, if not necessarily pointing to a Hebrew origin for Polynesians, as suggesting 'that the nation whence they emigrated, was acquainted with some of the leading facts recorded in the Mosaic history of the primitive ages of mankind' – in other words, a diffusion of the story through past migrations from a people familiar with the events following the great Flood described in Genesis.<sup>68</sup> He also perceived similarities to narratives from other places, including 'more modern Hindoo, or Braminical [sic - Brahmanical] mythology', referencing the work of William Jones.<sup>69</sup> Ellis added that the story of the deluge in Polynesia not only resembled 'the

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<sup>62</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 50.

<sup>63</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 50.

<sup>64</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 50.

<sup>65</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 50.

<sup>66</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Eight Years*, vol.1, 122.

<sup>67</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 37–42.

<sup>68</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 42. The term 'Mosaic' here refers to writings attributed to Moses, particularly the book of Genesis.

<sup>69</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 42–44.



Mosaic, but those preserved by the earliest families of the postdiluvian world', supporting 'the presumption that their religious system has descended from the Arkite idolatry, the basis of the mythology of the gentile nations.'<sup>70</sup> In biblical narratives, the Arkites were descendants of Ham's son Canaan, the grandson Noah cursed, further demonstrating Ellis's association of Polynesian origins in deep time with biblical genealogies.

The term 'Arkite idolotary [sic]' was introduced by Jacob Bryant in his 1774–76 text *A New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology*. Bryant argued that 'pagan' myths from multiple geographical locations could be approached within an over-arching 'helio-arkite' interpretive framework; myths could be essentialised as compounds of memories of the biblical flood and of worship of the sun. Bryant concluded that the Ancient Egyptians' worship of their god Amon was in fact worship of their almost forgotten ancestor Ham, and the Hamians, or Amonians, were comprised of Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and others, including people of India.<sup>71</sup> He placed the dispersal of nations after the flood, but before the Tower of Babel.<sup>72</sup> The latter is the biblical story whereby the Cuthite family of the Hamians did not submit to the dispersal and remained in Asia, sharing one language and building the Tower. Their language was subsequently confused by God in order to punish their rebellion and arrogance, causing their dispersal. *A New System* was justifiably criticised by William Jones and others, although Jones did accept Bryant's conclusions, reworking and building upon them with a stronger linguistic argument in his Sanskrit work discussed above.<sup>73</sup> Bryant's work has been acknowledged as 'fumbling toward a scientific treatment of comparative mythology' and retained some relevance in 19<sup>th</sup>-century studies of mythology.<sup>74</sup> Jane Samson has identified Ellis's use of the term 'Arkite idolotary' as a strategy that simultaneously distanced islanders and indicated a shared humanity.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 62.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 43.

<sup>72</sup> Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, 44.

<sup>73</sup> Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, 44–47; Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*, 20.

<sup>74</sup> Edward B. Hungerford, *Shores of Darkness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941). See also Colin Kidd, "The Obsessions of Jacob Bryant: Arkite Idolatry and the Quest for Troy", in *The World of Mr Casaubon: Britain's Wars of Mythography, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 111–130.

<sup>75</sup> Samson, *Race and Redemption*, 219.



Figure 1.3. 'Ruins of an ancient fortification, near Kairua', from William Ellis's *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, or Owhyee*, 1826.

### Visualising the Pacific past

In Ellis's publications, he also offered the British public a visual record of Polynesia, complementing his writing with his own illustrations and those by colleagues and companions. *Narrative of a Voyage* (1826) featured landscape and site depictions based on originals made in situ by Ellis. This included an ancient ruined Hawaiian fortification, of archaeological interest at the time, which Patrick Kirch has cited as one of the earliest drawings of a Hawaiian archaeological site (Figure 1.3).<sup>76</sup> Another illustration in the 1827 edition showed a detail of a carving in the remains of an old *heiau* at Ahu'ena, on Hawai'i Island.<sup>77</sup> In the 1829 edition of *Polynesian Researches*, six figures illustrate landscapes or sites, including an engraving of the tomb of Pomare at Papaoa, on Tahiti.<sup>78</sup> Many of the landscapes are attributed to Englishman Captain Robert Elliot, a draughtsman with the Royal Navy. There was, therefore, a collaborative and creative element in creating a narrative of these vistas for Ellis's readership, with descriptions of different *marae* (temple structures) supporting these illustrations also drawing heavily on accounts of earlier missionaries, who had witnessed them in a more complete state, prior to alterations precipitated by Christian influence.<sup>79</sup> The illustrations

<sup>76</sup> Patrick Vinton Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 10, Fig. 5.

<sup>77</sup> William Ellis. *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, or Owhyee: With observations on the natural history of the Sandwich Islands, and remarks on the manners, customs, traditions, history and language of their inhabitants*, 2nd ed. (London: Fisher, Son, and Jackson, 1827), 407.

<sup>78</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, facing page 535.

<sup>79</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 206–208.

could be selectively deployed within the narrative, the language of which inevitably slipped from more objective 'scientific' observations to derogatory descriptions. This is observable, for example, in Ellis's account of human sacrifices offered within ethnographic information on the ritual use of *marae* in the Society Islands.<sup>80</sup>

Another feature of Ellis's illustrations is the presence of two portraits by his own hand of named individuals, with whom he formed close relationships in the Hawaiian Islands. The first of these, Kuakini, was the powerful Governor of Hawaii, and the other, of a man named Makoa, was Ellis's Hawaiian guide (Figure 1.4).<sup>81</sup> In the original 1825 *Tour of Hawaiian Islands*, Kuakini is illustrated in an English style dress shirt and jacket. His portrait is absent from the 1826 edition, but in all later editions he is depicted in a Hawaiian feather cloak. This editorial decision was likely a method of exoticising Ellis' acquaintance, comparable to the deliberate exoticisation of 'performing savages' at International Exhibitions and in other public forums.<sup>82</sup> Helen Gardner and Jude Philp have explored Methodist missionary George Brown's use of photography and photographs on New Britain, from 1875–80.<sup>83</sup> Brown was heavily engaged with ethnography, and the authors assert his use of photography to form local relationships, suggesting that the technology used required close interaction between photographer and sitter.<sup>84</sup> These relationships enabled Brown to build status, and collect artefacts and cultural information. While Ellis's technique was different, sketching portraits by hand would involve a similar if not greater personal interaction and the presence of these illustrations is suggestive of the close relationships Ellis formed with Kuakini and Makoa. This in turn would increase the potential for eliciting research data; similar interactions are highlighted in later chapters.

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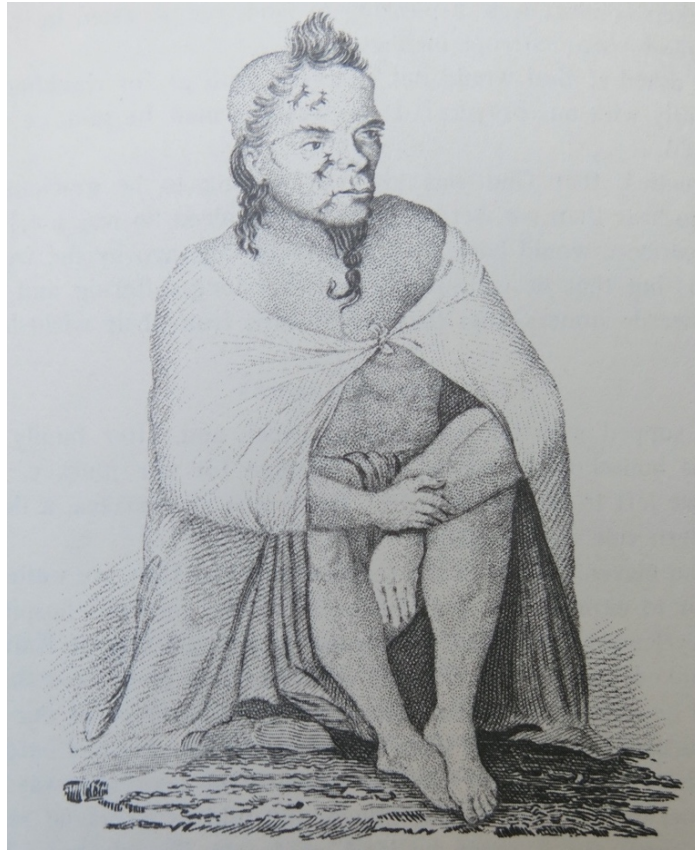
<sup>80</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.2, 209–214.

<sup>81</sup> Ellis, *Tour of Hawaiian Islands*, Frontispiece; Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii*, 84; Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii*, 2nd ed., facing page 85.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 2001), 15–37; Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), esp.73–76, 89–98.

<sup>83</sup> Helen B. Gardner and Jude Philp "Photography and Christian Mission, George Brown's Images of the New Britain Mission 1875-80", *Journal of Pacific History* 41, no.2 (2006): 175–190.

<sup>84</sup> Gardner and Philp "Photography and Christian Mission", 175.



**Figure 1.4. 'Makoa. The Guide who Piloted the Party Around Hawaii'. Reproduced from William Ellis's *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii*, 1826.**

Ellis's body of work is significant as it had continuing relevance for missionary and non-missionary engagement with Pacific prehistory. As cited by Ron Edmond, Ellis influenced the work of Charles Darwin, Herman Melville, Wilkie Collins, and Victor Segalen.<sup>85</sup> Ellis is also cited extensively by Prichard.<sup>86</sup> In 1893, missionary-ethnologist Samuel Ella described *Polynesian Researches* as 'an old and valuable book' in his paper 'The origin of the Polynesian Races', presented at the annual meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science.<sup>87</sup> Charles Elliot Fox also quoted Ellis's work in 1919 and 1924.<sup>88</sup> Further to this, Ellis' publications transcended language barriers; for example, in the 1920s, German ethnologist Georg Friederici drew on *Polynesian Researches* and

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<sup>85</sup> Edmond, "Translating cultures", 149–150.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. James C. Prichard, *Researches into the physical history of mankind*, Vol.5 (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1847).

<sup>87</sup> Samuel Ella, "The Origin of the Polynesian Races", in *Report of the Fifth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 1893*, eds. Ralph Tate, E.H. Rennie and W.H. Bragg (Adelaide: Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 1894), 133–143.

<sup>88</sup> C.E. Fox, "Social Organization in San Cristoval, Solomon Islands", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 49 (Jan-Jun. 1919): 169, 179; C.E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific: An Account of the Social Organization Magic and Religion of the People of San Cristoval in the Solomon Islands*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., 1924).

*Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii* to support his arguments for pre-Columbian contacts between Malayo-Polynesian peoples and the Americas.<sup>89</sup>

### John Williams' evangelical ethnology: Theories, methods and misunderstandings

Reverend John Williams (1796–1839), a contemporary of Ellis in the LMS, achieved sales of 38,000 copies within the first five years following the publication in 1837 of his account, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands: With Remarks Upon the Natural History of the Islands, Origin, Languages, Traditions and Usages of the Inhabitants*.<sup>90</sup> Now famous for his evangelical zeal – and infamous for his untimely death on Erromango – Williams paradoxically exhibited his interests in science and ethnography in the preface to his book.<sup>91</sup> On publication, fifty copies of the book were presented to notable scholars and scientific and literary societies, including the Royal Geographical Society and Royal Geological Society.<sup>92</sup> Williams also delivered talks in Britain to learned societies. Sivasundaram believes Williams' motivations for recording and reporting scientific matters were bound to an early 19<sup>th</sup>-century missionary 'appetite for social advancement'.<sup>93</sup> His career was exemplary of the upward social mobility available to missionaries in the period, with Williams starting out as an apprentice metal-worker and later becoming a respected and well-known member of the LMS. However, at the time not everyone agreed Williams had succeeded in his social advancement – John Dunmore Lang suggested Ellis must have written *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises* on the basis that Williams 'was an uneducated man, and a mere working blacksmith', and accused Ellis of plagiarising Lang's own work.<sup>94</sup>

In *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, Williams theorised there were two distinct races in Polynesia, by which he meant the broader Pacific: 'The one race is allied to the negro, having a Herculean frame, black skin, and woolly, or rather crisped hair; while the hair of the other is bright,

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<sup>89</sup> Georg Friederici, 'Die vorkolumbischen Verbindungen der Südsee-Völker mit Amerika', *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 36, no.1 (1928): 27–28, 36, 46, 48; Georg Friederici, "Zu den vorkolumbischen Verbindungen der Südsee-Völker mit Amerika", *Anthropos* 24, no.3/4 (1929): 443–4, 452, 454, 456, 478.

<sup>90</sup> John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands: With Remarks Upon the Natural History of the Islands, Origin, Languages, Traditions and Usages of the Inhabitants, for the London Missionary Society* (London: John Snow, 1837); Ebenezer Prout, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Williams: Missionary to Polynesia* (London: John Snow, 1843), 319.

<sup>91</sup> See, Irving-Stonebraker, "Theology, Idolatry and Science", 343–358.

<sup>92</sup> Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire*, 121; Prout, *Memoirs of the Life*, 448.

<sup>93</sup> Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire*, 49–55.

<sup>94</sup> John Dunmore Lang, *Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation; demonstrating their Original Discovery and Progressive Settlement of the Continent of America*, (Sydney: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1877), 308.

lank, and glossy, the skin of a light copper-colour, and the countenance resembling that of the Malay.<sup>95</sup> The former he referred to as 'the Polynesian negro', inhabiting 'western Polynesia', and the latter 'the Polynesian Asiatic'. Williams rejected his colleague Ellis's idea that Polynesians migrated through South America.<sup>96</sup> He had a little more confidence in the maritime prowess of Polynesian ancestors, believing it possible to travel by canoe from Sumatra to Tahiti, and was certain Malay people came eastwards through the Pacific.<sup>97</sup> Acknowledging that he lacked data about origins of 'the Polynesian negroes', Williams hypothesised that they had inhabited all of the islands prior to the arrival of Malay Polynesians, who 'succeeded in conquering and extirpating them from smaller islands and groups'.<sup>98</sup> Not so on the larger islands, hence their continued presence there. Williams added that 'the Polynesian negroes' were 'enveloped in a moral gloom of deeper hue' than their colour, requesting public support for the mission from British Christians.<sup>99</sup> Williams' proposal of a 'Malay Polynesian' conquest was echoed in ethnologist Prichard's hypothesis in his five-volume third edition of *Researches into the Physical History of Man* (1836–47).<sup>100</sup> This argument remained prominent in missionary and non-missionary interpretations of the peopling of the Pacific; an argument for colonisation in which saw 'stronger' lighter skinned populations displacing darker skinned 'original', and often by association 'primitive', inhabitants.

In Christopher Herbert's examination of both Williams' and Ellis' ethnographical writing, he identified the former as an unlikely early proponent of cultural immersion as a method for understanding the worldview and cultural aspects of Pacific communities.<sup>101</sup> Williams also argued for the importance of using people's accounts verbatim and the necessity of learning the local language in any scientific research. As Herbert noted, Williams' self-confessed approach surprisingly echoed those developed by Franz Boas in the 1890s, and Bronislaw Malinowski in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>102</sup> That is not to say that Williams necessarily followed these instructions to the letter, nor was he always capable of understanding the world in which he immersed himself. His religious beliefs and social background can often be 'read' in his interpretations. An exemplary instance of Williams' lack of local understanding appears in his observations on Polynesian god images. In Maia Jessop's (now Nuku) thesis examining gods and missionaries in early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Tahiti and the

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<sup>95</sup> Williams, *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, 503.

<sup>96</sup> Williams, *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, 512.

<sup>97</sup> Williams, *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, 512.

<sup>98</sup> Williams, *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, 513.

<sup>99</sup> Williams, *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, 513–514.

<sup>100</sup> See, Douglas, "'Novus Orbis Australis'", 133.

<sup>101</sup> Herbert, *Culture and Anomie*, 163–164.

<sup>102</sup> Herbert, *Culture and Anomie*, 163.

Austral Islands, she highlighted Williams' questioning of the efficacy of *hand-made* gods.<sup>103</sup> This, she argued, illustrated Williams' inability to understand these images as vessels imbued with potent energy through ritual practices, rather than being the specific god itself.<sup>104</sup> Williams' assertion that he did not speak for Islanders in his writing, 'but allowed them to speak for themselves', has also been questioned as the language employed often suggests paraphrasing.<sup>105</sup>

### The Church of Latter-Day Saints: Theories of the past embedded in religious doctrines

Although this chapter largely focuses on LMS missionary engagement with the Pacific past, Anglophone missionaries from other Christian churches entered the Pacific in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century after the initial waves of LMS missionaries, and they too interpreted the prehistory of the people they met. This included members of the American Board of Missions, active in the Hawaiian Islands from 1820, and of the Wesleyan Methodist church, who began work in Tonga in 1822. Amongst those who framed observations and interpretations of the past around the Bible, specific denominational beliefs led to variations in those Judaeo-Christian frameworks. An example of this is found in the overarching theory of Pacific migration held by representatives from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS), who arrived from America at Tubuai in the Austral Islands, approximately 640km south of Tahiti, in April 1844. The mission was established only thirteen years after the founding of the LDS church and its religious doctrines by Joseph Smith.<sup>106</sup>

In a similar way to a theory that developed regarding Semitic and Hamitic origins for Pacific people (see Chapter 2), Norman Douglas has argued that Polynesian people became important within LDS beliefs because of a 'racial fable' central to the key LDS text 'The Book of Mormon'.<sup>107</sup> This 'racial fable' was that of Nephi and Laman, who fled Jerusalem with their father Lehi at the time of the Babylonian captivity, and settled on the American continent. First Nations North Americans were therefore considered by the LDS church as Lamanites. For Smith in those early days, that warranted an inclusive approach and North Americans were perceived to be simply in need of reconversion.<sup>108</sup> Consequently, a belief developed that there was a connection between North America and Polynesia, and that Polynesian people were also Lamanites. The Book of Mormon was seen as

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<sup>103</sup> Maia Jessop, "Unwrapping Gods: Encounters with Gods and Missionaries in Tahiti and the Austral Islands 1797–1830", (PhD diss., University of East Anglia, 2007), 242.

<sup>104</sup> Jessop, "Unwrapping Gods", 242–243.

<sup>105</sup> Jessop, "Unwrapping Gods", 242; Irving-Stonebraker, "Theology, Idolatry and Science", 355–356.

<sup>106</sup> Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945).

<sup>107</sup> Norman Douglas, "The Sons of Lehi and the Seed of Cain: Racial Myths in Mormon Scripture and their relevance to the Pacific Islands", *Journal of Religious History* 8, no. 1 (1974): 91.

<sup>108</sup> Douglas, "Sons of Lehi", 94

enough evidence for this. In October 1868, for example, after the LDS had established themselves in the Hawaiian Islands, an LDS journal posited that there was no need to speculate on Polynesian origins as it was understood that they were Lamanites based on similarities of customs, 'evidence' from Mormon scripture, fairness of skin, and the fact that many Hawaiians had accepted the gospel from LDS missionaries. Any ideas regarding migration from South East Asia were from 'uninspired men'.<sup>109</sup> Further evidence included a story in the Book of Mormon about a ship builder named Hagoth, who had disappeared around 54BC while transporting a group of Nephites from South to North America, and drifted to the Hawaiian Islands and onwards.<sup>110</sup>

Some credit Addison Pratt, who led the 1844 mission, with developing this idea, although Douglas has suggested it was more likely a theory developed after the fact, and not the impetus for the initial establishment of the mission. As Douglas pointed out, it was not an original idea in 1844 to suggest that Polynesian people had similarities to Hebrew people or had American ancestors.<sup>111</sup> These ideas existed in the work of Ellis, as well as that of John Dunmore Lang and others. Douglas argued that rather than LDS missionaries travelling to the Polynesian islands because of the Book of Mormon, the identification of Polynesians as Lamanites was precipitated by initial failures to gain converts among European descendants and First Nations North Americans.<sup>112</sup> Whatever the origin, this myth became rooted within LDS beliefs and illustrates another example of missionary theorisations of the past embedded in specific readings of the Bible.

### Looking west: George Turner's 'archaeology' from 1842

George Turner was one of the first Anglophone missionaries to live in the New Hebrides, albeit for only seven months. He and his wife Mary Anne (née Dunn), accompanied by Henry and Sarah Nisbet, attempted to establish an LMS mission at Port Resolution on Tanna from 30 June 1842.<sup>113</sup> They abandoned the station and relocated to 'Upolu, Samoa in February 1843 after failing to build relationships with local communities, predominantly due to existing local tensions and resistance to missionary presence. Turner was brought up in Ayrshire, Scotland, the youngest of 10 children. He graduated in Arts from University of Glasgow in 1837, prior to attending the Relief Divinity Hall in nearby Paisley, and the noted nonconformist Cheshunt College, Hertfordshire, England.<sup>114</sup> From

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<sup>109</sup> Douglas, "Sons of Lehi", 98.

<sup>110</sup> Douglas, "Sons of Lehi", 99.

<sup>111</sup> Douglas, "Sons of Lehi", 95.

<sup>112</sup> Douglas, "Sons of Lehi", 100.

<sup>113</sup> George Turner, *Nineteen years in Polynesia: Missionary Life, Travels, and Researches in the Islands of the Pacific* (London: J. Snow, 1861), 17–68.

<sup>114</sup> See, "George Turner", accessed 15 September 2019,



1736, the training for the Church of Scotland differed from approaches in England, with the Scottish system requiring four years of an Arts or Philosophy degree at university, followed by four years at a Hall of Divinity.<sup>115</sup> This remained the standard for members of seceding or independent churches as Scottish universities were open for dissenters, unlike institutions such as Oxford or Cambridge.<sup>116</sup> This is notable when considering the Scottish trained Presbyterian missionaries discussed in Chapter 3. Turner was was ordained on 23 July 1840, at the Hutcheson Town Relief Church in Glasgow.

During Turner's career as a missionary he was a prolific artefact collector and published two monographs: *Nineteen Years in Polynesia: Missionary Life, Travels and Researches in the Islands of the Pacific* (1861); and *Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago and Long before: Together with Notes on the Cults and Customs of Twenty-Three Other Islands in the Pacific* (1883).<sup>117</sup> Active in the Pacific before and after the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859), Charles Lyell's *The Antiquity of Man* (1863), and John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization* (1871), Turner's engagement with Pacific prehistory reflects mid 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholarly shifts as well as changes in missionary concepts of prehistory. His two monographs were also published 33 years apart, illustrating the modifications missionary texts could be subject to when published for different audiences. Turner's approach to Pacific prehistory is therefore exemplary of the intersection, and sometimes paradoxical relationship, of biblical approaches to history with emerging 'scientific' scholarship.

Turner's artefact collection, which includes the *nelcau* from the opening vignette, is now curated by the Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery in the University of Glasgow, UK.<sup>118</sup> Originally, however, the collection was split between the Hunterian, to which Turner gave 110 ethnographic and natural history items in 1860, and the Andersonian Museum at Anderson's University, also in Glasgow, which received a similarly sized collection in 1861. The latter was established in 1796 as Anderson's Institution, changing its name in 1828, and claims to have been the first technical college offering instruction with specific reference to practical application of scientific ideas. When the Andersonian Museum closed in 1889, shortly after Anderson's University amalgamated with the College of Science and the Arts, its zoological and ethnographic collections were transferred to the

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<https://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH17196&type=P>. Turner's son and grandson both became missionaries, with interests in artefact collecting and anthropology.

<sup>115</sup> Brian Stanley, "The Theology of the Scottish Protestant Missionary Movement", in *The History of Scottish Theology, Volume III: The Long Twentieth Century*, eds. David Fergusson and Mark Elliott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 57.

<sup>116</sup> Stanley, "Theology", 57.

<sup>117</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*; Turner, *Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago*.

<sup>118</sup> Jane Glaister, "The Turner Collection at the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow", *Newsletter (Museum Ethnographers Group)* 11 (1981): 12–15; Also, Haddow and Mills, "Idol Speculations".

Hunterian.<sup>119</sup> An original manuscript listing Turner's donation to the Hunterian survives.<sup>120</sup> However, very little documentation was preserved in relation to the Andersonian items, therefore the exact quantity and contents of the 1861 donation are unclear. The majority of Turner's collection is from Samoa, but some items from the New Hebrides have been misattributed in the years since acquisition and require further in-depth research beyond the scope of this research project.

Turner reported few specific details of his collecting activities, and his published accounts imply that in one sense at least he was motivated by a sense of missionary trophy-gathering. For example, in 1859, when he likely collected the *nelcau*, he described acquiring several sacred stones and 'other relics of heathenism' from Aneityum.<sup>121</sup> However, a number of countersigns suggest more nuanced collecting circumstances. First, in acquiring the *nelcau* from Aneityum, Turner recorded an important story of the island's past relating to the peopling of the island. Materially, this intersected with ethnological and broadly archaeological interests evident in his published accounts in the form of detailed oral traditions.<sup>122</sup> Although Turner does not appear to have published the specific story of the story of Aicharia and Nefatimpeke, if he had been solely motivated by trophy gathering it is unlikely he would have acquired such rich detail at all. Acts of exchange had also been a known a means of relating and relationship building for the LMS missionaries on Aneityum since at least the arrival of the first Samoan teachers there in 1841, when they brought valued greenstone and gave it to men of status on the island in exchange for pigs.<sup>123</sup> That Turner himself appreciated the significance of gift exchange is also suggested in one of his publications. Describing some of the practicalities of gift-giving in Samoa, he explained that '[a]n inferior never approaches a superior, particularly to ask a favour without a gift.'<sup>124</sup> Finally, the content of Turner's Hunterian collection and the presence of chapters in his publications devoted to the use and construction of functional material items such as fishing nets and hooks, tools, and canoes, indicates he was also engaged in the systematic acquisition of artefacts, aligned with mid to late 19<sup>th</sup>-century pursuits in gathering, classifying, and comparing items of manufacture.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Frank Willett, "The Hunterian Museum - Its founder and its ethnographic collection", *Newsletter (Museum Ethnographers Group)* 14 (1983): 10–15.

<sup>120</sup> List of 110 items from S. Pacific. [S.d.], GB 247 MR 50/56, University of Glasgow Archives and Special Collections, Glasgow, UK.

<sup>121</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 326.

<sup>122</sup> E.g. Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 244–255.

<sup>123</sup> Naseve [Nasivi], *An Address Delivered by Naseve, One of the High Chiefs of Aneityum, to a Number of Aneityumese, Assembled on the Shore, Looking at the Magnificent New Mission Barque "John Williams," as She Lay at Anchor in Anelcauhat Harbour, just Two Days After She got off the Reef*, trans. Hugh A. Robertson (Aneiteum: s.n., 1866), 2.

<sup>124</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 329.

<sup>125</sup> E.g. Turner, "Canoes", in *Nineteen Years*, 266–270; Turner, "Articles of manufacture", in *Nineteen Years*,

### Ethnological writing, biblical analogy and social evolutionism

The first of Turner's two monographs, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, was more stylistically aligned with standard missionary accounts. However, even in that work, the ethnological data was intended for a wider audience. As he asserted in the preface, Turner hoped the material 'respecting the manners, customs, and mythology of the native tribes of Polynesia' would be 'interesting to the friends of the missions, and at the same time contribute to the data, after which many, at the present day, are in search, in studying the comparative history of the human race.'<sup>126</sup> Turner was seemingly motivated by both of these aspects, summarised later in the text by the following passage:

The mythology of Samoa, like that of all heathen nations, whether savage or civilized, abounds in obscenities and absurdities. An hour, however, is not altogether lost in turning over the heap of rubbish. At one time, we fall in with something which throws light on the origin of the people; at another we have some curious coincidences with the tales of modern as well as ancient civilized nations; and often we pause in deep interest, as we recognize some fragment, or corroboration, of Scripture history.<sup>127</sup>

It is questionable whether Turner's 'heap of rubbish' was literal – a direct reference to 'kitchen middens' – or figurative, but either way, his palpable distaste was tempered by the belief that he could discover some aspect of prehistory, make comparisons with other 'civilised' nations, thereby presumably seeing some patterns in humanity, or perhaps learn something of biblical history.

One of those 'curious coincidences with [...] ancient civilized nations' observed by Turner was the style in which men from Tanna and nearby islands of the New Hebrides dressed their hair.<sup>128</sup> The hair was worn around 30–45cm long, and divided into 600–700 'little locks or tresses', with a thin leaf midrib wrapped around each section. The hairstyle was later discussed in numerous Presbyterian reports, and when a man cut his hair it was seen as a visual marker of conversion to Christianity. Missionary James Hay Lawrie, based on Aneityum from 1879–96, even collected examples of hair dressed in such a manner, which he deposited at Glasgow Museums and the Edinburgh Museum of Art and Science, now NMS. For Turner, the style was reminiscent of the Egyptian Gallery of the British Museum, and 'strikingly compare[d] with the illustrations in recent works on Nineveh.'<sup>129</sup> This latter reference was undoubtedly in reference to John Henry Augustus Layard's illustration in his

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271–278.

<sup>126</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, preface.

<sup>127</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 244.

<sup>128</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 77–79.

<sup>129</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 78; These illustrations of Ninevah were most likely those featured in

popular works on his research at Ninevah.<sup>130</sup> Accompanied by an illustration Turner added that Tannese men, 'especially among the priesthood at Kasurumene', had beards precisely matching those seen on engravings from Assyrian sculptures (Figures 1.5 and 1.6). Turner concluded by referencing Livingstone's observation of a similar style in Africa, which the latter also compared to the Ancient Egyptians. These observations indicate Turner's own interests in ancient history and archaeology, as displayed within institutions such as the British Museum. Comparisons with Egypt and Assyria also reoccur within 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century accounts by missionaries and others as they tried somehow to make sense of the deep past of the people they met in the Pacific.



**Figure 1.5: 'An Assyrian head'. Reproduced from, George Turner, *Nineteen years in Polynesia: missionary Life, Travels, and Researches in the Islands of the Pacific*, 1861, p.78**

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<sup>130</sup> See, John Henry Austin Layard, *Ninevah and its Remains: With an Account of a Visit to the Chaldæan Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, Or Devil-worshippers; and an Inquiry Into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians* 2 Vols (London: J. Murray, 1849); John Henry Austin Layard, *The Monuments Of Nineveh. From Drawings Made On The Spot By Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D.C.L. Illustrated In One Hundred Plates* (London: J. Murray, 1849); John Henry Austin Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon: a narrative of a second expedition to Assyria during the years 1849, 1850, & 1851* (London: J. Murray, 1882).



Figure 1.6. 'Natives of Tanna'. Reproduced from, George Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, 1861, facing p.76. Note the similarity of the positioning of the man's head and the depiction of his hair style compared with the framing of the Assyrian head in Figure 1.5.

Turner made further references to Egypt and the near east, for example in comparing the Egyptian method of embalming the dead to an embalming process practiced only by women in a particular family of Samoan chiefs.<sup>131</sup> In his later monograph, Turner observed that Samoan orators would stand up and place their 'fly flapper or badge of office' over the shoulder in a similar way to that seen on ancient Egyptian material.<sup>132</sup> Likewise, the Samoan adze, he wrote, reminded him of ancient Egypt.<sup>133</sup> Turner's attempts to learn something of Scripture history in Samoa are reflected in a chapter in *Nineteen Years* devoted to Biblical analogy, an approach found in other missionary scholarly work, including that of Presbyterian John Inglis (see Chapter 2).<sup>134</sup> He provided an alphabetised list of illustrations of bible narratives he had experienced '[i]n the course of inquiry into Polynesian manners, customs, and modes of thought.'<sup>135</sup> This subject was 'worthy of study, as it [was] pregnant with facts, alike interesting to the Scripture student and the ethnologist.'<sup>136</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 231.

<sup>132</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 288.

<sup>133</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 261.

<sup>134</sup> John Inglis, *Bible Illustrations from the New Hebrides: With Notice of the Progress of the Mission* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1890).

<sup>135</sup> Turner, *Nineteen years*, 310.

<sup>136</sup> Turner, *Nineteen years*, 310.

Based on the same earlier documented material, Turner's 1884 publication, *Samoa One Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*, was framed differently.<sup>137</sup> From the outset, the preface was written by British anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917). In explaining that the new publication expanded on the content of *Nineteen Years*, Tylor highlighted its focus was solely on the account of life in Samoa, rather than Turner's 'personal and missionary narrative.'<sup>138</sup> In the opening 'Advertisement', Turner himself proclaimed his aim to 'go back to other ages, and give the result of [his] archaeological researches for upwards of forty years.'<sup>139</sup> His deployment of the term 'archaeological' appears to be one of the first specific references regarding a contribution to archaeology by an Anglophone Pacific missionary. Turner's definition of the term is further elucidated by his subsequent remark in reference to Samoan people: 'I believe the more these archaeological fossils of men and mind are brought to light, the more apparent will become the affinities of these Polynesian tribes with other race of mankind'.<sup>140</sup> This approach built on his previous motivations for recording Samoan mythology, but was also explicitly Tylorian.

While Tylor firmly believed in 'the psychic unity of man', he was a key contributor to the social evolutionary paradigm emergent later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>141</sup> Following archaeologist John Lubbock's 1870 publication of *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man*, Tylor became particularly engaged with the development theory of prehistory, which posited that humans everywhere developed through the same stages, from a period of savagery, to barbarism, and ultimately to industrial civilisation.<sup>142</sup> As Tylor phrased it in his preface for Turner's publication: 'For scientific purposes [...] what is asked for is the minute record even of myths and superstitions, which may anywhere throw light on the culture of higher nations and on the general history of human thought.'<sup>143</sup> This shift in Turner's approach is exemplary of the ways in which missionaries could and did frame their research in relation to broader trends in scholarly thought. As reflected by a positive review in one of the missionary publications, Turner was to be congratulated for producing 'a book which commands for missionaries the respect and gratitude of men of science'.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Turner, *Samoa One Hundred Years Ago*.

<sup>138</sup> Turner, *Samoa One Hundred Years Ago*, x.

<sup>139</sup> Turner, *Samoa One Hundred Years Ago*, vii.

<sup>140</sup> Turner, *Samoa One Hundred Years Ago*, viii.

<sup>141</sup> See, George W. Stocking Jr., *Victorian Anthropology*, (New York: The Free Press, 1987).

<sup>142</sup> Laavanyan Ratnapalan, "E. B. Tylor and the Problem of Primitive Culture", *History and Anthropology* 19, no.2 (2008): 132.

<sup>143</sup> Turner, *Samoa One Hundred Years Ago*, x.

<sup>144</sup> A.M. Symington, "Samoa and George Turner", *United Presbyterian Missionary Record* (Jun. 1884): 176.

### J.B. Stair and his record of Samoan monuments, 1838–1845

John Bettridge Stair (1815–98), Turner's LMS contemporary in Samoa, also pursued an interest in archaeological subjects, which focused on monumental sites. Stair arrived in Apia on 'Upolu, Samoa, in November 1838, remaining for seven years. Shortly before his departure in 1845, he became the first European to visit and record the remains of an ancient temple at Magiagi, near Apia.<sup>145</sup> This inland site is known as "O le Fale o le Fe'e", meaning 'the house of the cuttlefish' or 'the house of the octopus'.<sup>146</sup> Stair translated 'o le Fe'e' as 'cuttlefish' in 1894, and 'octopus' in 1897, but more specifically associated the name with the 'war-god of A'ana'.<sup>147</sup> This was disputed by J.D. Freeman almost a century later, who conducted surveys and a small excavation at the site in 1941–43. Freeman connected it instead with the war-god Fe'e of the Vaimaunga area.

Stair did not publish details of his visit until 1894, in an article for the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.<sup>148</sup> He described the Samoan practice of building *faleaitu*, or 'spirit-houses', which he also termed 'temples'. These were commonly erected within a *marae*, consisting of a stone platform on which the house was built. According to Stair, these were created in the same shape as everyday dwellings, with the same type of materials. The only example he knew of that differed was 'O le Fale o le Fe'e, in which stone slabs were used as posts for supporting the roof instead of wood.<sup>149</sup> Stair's field trip to the site was precipitated by his own curiosity after hearing many stories about it. Upon meeting a man who could take him there, Stair hiked to the site with 'several influential natives' from his mission district and from Apia, accompanied also by J.C. Williams, the British Consul at Apia. Stair's 1894 account offers detailed measurements, describing the number of stones in certain positions around the site and where and how the stone was obtained. Stair had demonstrated to his companions that what they thought was coral at the site, brought there from the ocean by o le Fe'e, was in fact a 'calcareous formation' from the nearby stream.<sup>150</sup> With a sympathetic approach to local beliefs that may have shocked his mid-19<sup>th</sup> century colleagues if it had appeared in a mission periodical rather than a scientific journal, Stair wrote, '[i]t seemed hard to destroy such a long-

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<sup>145</sup> J.D. Freeman, "'O le Fale o le Fe'e", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 53 (1944): 121; Unasa L.F. Va'a, "Reinventing tradition Archaeology in Samoa", in *Pacific Island Heritage: Archaeology, Identity & Community*, eds. Jolie Liston, Geoffrey Clark, and Dwight Alexander, Terra Australis 35 (Canberra: ANU Press, 2011), 31; Helene Martinsson-Wallin, "Samoan Archaeology: A review of Research History", *Archaeology in Oceania* 42, supplement (2007): 12.

<sup>146</sup> Freeman, "'O le Fale o le Fe'e", 121; Martinsson-Wallin, "Samoan Archaeology", 12.

<sup>147</sup> John B. Stair, *Old Samoa; or, Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*, (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1897), 218, 228.

<sup>148</sup> John B. Stair, "'O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e": Or ruins of an old Samoan temple", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 3, no.4 (1894): 239.

<sup>149</sup> Stair, "'O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e'", 241; Stair, *Old Samoa*, 228.

<sup>150</sup> Stair, "'O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e'", 243.

cherished delusion, but so it was to be, and from that time forth the doings of the *Aitu* seemed to be sadly at a discount.<sup>151</sup> He also sketched the site, while his Samoan counterparts looked on 'apparently wondering what there could be in the scene to so deeply interest [him].'<sup>152</sup>

In 1894, Stair described the site as 'a relic of bygone ages', and in 1897, 'a mysterious building of the distant past [...] the ruins of which still remain as mute witnesses of a bygone worship of which the Samoans now have no knowledge or record whatever, save the name.'<sup>153</sup> He interpreted the site, in conjunction with the prominent place of the terms 'O le Fafā' and 'Sā-le Fe'e' in local mythology, as evidence that the name 'O le Fe'e' had 'a deep significance and meaning in the history of the past', either in connection to the ancestors of 'the present race of Samoans or, as many think, with the records of an earlier, but long since extinct, race.'<sup>154</sup> His reference to the 'many' who believed the latter is frustratingly vague. It may refer to other Europeans who learned of the site and the name in the decades between Stair's site visit and publication. However, it could equally refer to Stair's interlocutors, such as the unnamed 'old chief of Savaii', whom he references in the preceding paragraph of *Old Samoa*, or the 'several influential natives' from his district and Apia who accompanied him in 1845.<sup>155</sup> In Stair's final conclusions he remained circumspect, stating that the name itself remained 'mysterious'<sup>156</sup> and that the use of supporting slabs in the temple led to it becoming 'enshrouded with mystery and wonder.'<sup>157</sup>

In 1907, John Macmillan Brown referred to the Fale o le Fe'e as 'an ellipse of giant stone columns no mean rival to our stone henge', interpreting it as an integral part of 'a definite megalithic track across the old world from the Atlantic to the Pacific'.<sup>158</sup> When Freeman visited the site in 1941–43, he dismissed both Stair and Macmillan Brown's interpretations. He formulated calculations indicating it was unlikely to have been built the way Stair suggested. Comparing it with other large structures, Freeman argued that based on the footprint of the site, the number of pillars, and the dimensions of what was left of the central slab, such a building could not have existed there previously.<sup>159</sup> He also claimed local builders and others did not think the *faleaitu* had been constructed in the way Stair

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<sup>151</sup> Stair, "'O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e'", 243.

<sup>152</sup> Stair, "'O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e'", 242.

<sup>153</sup> Stair, "'O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e'", 242; Stair, *Old Samoa*, 218.

<sup>154</sup> Stair, *Old Samoa*, 218.

<sup>155</sup> Stair, "'O le Fale-o-le-Fe'e'", 239; Stair, *Old Samoa*, 217.

<sup>156</sup> Stair, *Old Samoa*, 218.

<sup>157</sup> Stair, *Old Samoa*, 228.

<sup>158</sup> John Macmillan Brown, *Maori and Polynesian: Their Origin, History, and Culture* (London: Hutchinson & Co, London, 1907), 4.

<sup>159</sup> J.D. Freeman, "'O le Fale o le Fe'e", 135.



suggested. Freeman's conclusion, which he supported with reference to oral tradition, was that the site had never been finished. However, both Stair and Freeman's interpretations are problematic as they compare an ancient site with contemporary Samoan structures: an ethnographic analogy. Freeman also drew his information from completely different people from different areas, not to mention a century later. Despite potential flaws in Stair's interpretation, he leaves the legacy of an early record of a significant Samoan site. In Stair's words, looking at the remains, he 'longed to know more of their history than it was possible to obtain.'

## Conclusion

This chapter has considered some of the Anglophone missionary interpretations of the Pacific past in the decades prior to the arrival of Melanesian Mission and Presbyterian church representatives in the Pacific, albeit Stair published his observations much later. The discussion has also introduced some of the data-collection methods employed at that time, as well as some of the dominant tropes such as that of isolation, the inferiority or 'degeneration' of Pacific people, and the comparisons with 'ancient civilisations' such as Ancient Egypt and Assyria. Additionally, this chapter has highlighted missionary engagement with particular scholarly paradigms, such as Jonesian philology, as well as biblical framings of the past, drawing attention to the interconnectedness of missionary ideas of prehistory with broader research as well as their own Christian beliefs. As with Turner's later shifting engagement with social evolutionary ideas, the following chapters illustrate the ever modifying and nuanced engagement of missionaries with archaeological ideas over time, while also highlighting the pervasiveness of, and the returns to, particular methods and ideas. The discussion now turns particularly to those members of the Presbyterian church, and to a petroglyph site on Aneityum island in Vanuatu.

## Chapter 2: Presbyterian Missionary Approaches to Pacific Archaeology from 1848

### Vignette: Petroglyphs, Aneityum



**Figure 2.1. Petroglyphs, Aname, Aneityum. Photograph by J.H. Lawrie, c.1890. State Library New South Wales, Sydney, M Q988.6/L SET vol 1. And below, details of designs photographed by the author, 2014.**

Located in the bush in the Aname area of northern Aneityum, Vanuatu, is a large rock carved with petroglyphs depicting anthropomorphic figures, animals, the sun, and the moon, as well as seemingly abstract shapes and patterns (Figure 2.1). In 2014, nearby residents from around Port

Patrick village told me the rock was carved a long time ago, by people who travelled to Aneityum from elsewhere. Arriving on the south-west of the island, they had initially set up a living area beyond the village of Anelcauhat. However, they were banished for making too much noise while local residents drank kava in the evenings. Coming to the north of the island, they carved the petroglyphs into the large stone that remains there today. In 1973, Winifred Mumford recorded the rock's name as *Nagesa*, meaning 'the sun', with a nearby smaller but uncarved rock as *Inmohoc*, meaning 'the moon'.<sup>1</sup>

The first written record of these petroglyphs is attributed to Presbyterian missionary Reverend Joseph Copeland, in 1860.<sup>2</sup> Sent to Tanna island in 1858 by the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Copeland transferred to Aneityum for one year in 1859, before settling on Futuna from 1866–76.<sup>3</sup> According to Copeland, it was the local opinion that 'superhuman agents' made the representations of fish and 'heavenly bodies'.<sup>4</sup> Scottish Presbyterian missionaries James Hay Lawrie (c.1839–1929) and William Gunn captured photographic images of the petroglyphs in the 1890s and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> In his 1892 article 'The New Hebrideans', Lawrie described a huge stone in the 'Ohul valley' on the north of Aneityum used in sun worship.<sup>6</sup> He was referring to *Nagesa*, and reported that the generation recently passed away were unsure of the origins of the artworks but attributed them to spirits. Lawrie provided another example of carvings locally attributed to the spirits, in a cave on 'Lilipa'. This must have been Feles cave on Lelepa, a small island off the west coast of Efate, or possibly a cave on the island's opposite coast named 'Markua' by José Garanger.<sup>7</sup> Lelepa is now part of the Chief Roi Mata Domain World Heritage Area. Lawrie interpreted the attribution of these drawings to spirits as directly indicating they were 'of considerable antiquity', equating spirits with people's ancestors.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew Spriggs and Winifred Mumford, "The Rock art sites of Aneityum", *Naika* 32 (Dec. 1989): 16–26.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Copeland, "Letter of March 26", *Reformed Presbyterian Magazine* (Oct. 1860): 346; Matthew Spriggs and Winifred Mumford, "Southern Vanuatu Rock Art", in *State of the Art: Regional Rock Art Studies in Australia and Melanesia* (Occasional AURA Publication 6), eds. J. Macdonald and I. Haskovec (Melbourne: Australian Rock Art Association, 1992), 128–143.

<sup>3</sup> Oscar Michelsen, *Cannibals won for Christ: A story of missionary perils and triumphs in Tongoa, New Hebrides* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1896), 175.

<sup>4</sup> Copeland, "Letter of March 26".

<sup>5</sup> E.g. William Gunn, "Rock Carvings or Petroglyphs Aneityum", n.d. photograph, *New Hebrides Magazine* 19 (Jan. 1906): 17; William Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna; with Chapters on the Islands of the New Hebrides* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914), frontispiece.

<sup>6</sup> James H. Lawrie, "The New Hebrideans", *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 8, no.6 (1892): 309. The Ohuul area is an upper branch of the Anetcho river.

<sup>7</sup> See, José Garanger, *Archéologie des Nouvelles Hébrides: contribution à la connaissance des îles du Centre*, (Paris: Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer, 1972).

<sup>8</sup> Lawrie, "New Hebrideans", 309.

In addition to the *Nagesa* site, Gunn recorded further rock art on south-east Aneityum, noting in 1913:

[a] number of volcanic blocks in one valley [...] carved with figures of various kinds. Some of these have evidently a religious meaning, but a number of them could have no connection with their religious observances. They are, however, interesting as remains of former generations and form a primitive "Ancient Picture Gallery".<sup>9</sup>

Gunn continued, 'These, and other carvings in a cave at Lilipa [sic], are the only rock carvings or "petroglyphs" known in the group. The ruin of the great stone church at Anelgauhaut [sic], where 1,000 natives worshipped, forms the chief modern remains.'<sup>10</sup> Gunn clearly did not have access to information regarding rock carvings found on Erromango, Malekula and other islands.<sup>11</sup> He illustrated his text with six images, captioned 'The "Picture Gallery", Aneityum'. Gunn associated the carvings with the area's prehistory, as Lawrie had, while simultaneously framing their significance in reference to mission structures, which for him were examples of recent archaeological sites. In doing so, Gunn was establishing a historical timeframe into which the arrival of the Presbyterian Church could be positioned. In 1909, Gunn recorded being told that the artworks' makers 'belonged to one tribe, devoted [...] solely to their art', their food provided by other people.<sup>12</sup>

Visiting this site in the Ehili area near Umej first in 1978, Matthew Spriggs noted that some engraved boulders had been moved or buried by landslips.<sup>13</sup> This was not uncommon – Gunn also noted further petroglyphs in west Aneityum being buried in a landslip in January 1911 before he could view them.<sup>14</sup> Chief David Yautaea, of Umej village, recounted to Spriggs that the Ehili people were a different group from those at Umej and made the carvings as a form of fishing magic.<sup>15</sup> In a narrative echoing that told to Gunn, the chief explained that the area had been overpopulated, with no space for gardens, so they became artists of rock carving. At night they danced and invited people to view their work, and in return people brought food. However, the noise from the regular dancing became

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<sup>9</sup> Gunn, *Gospel in Futuna*, 218.

<sup>10</sup> Gunn, *Gospel in Futuna*, 218.

<sup>11</sup> See, Stuart Bedford et al., *The Australian National University-National Museum of Vanuatu Archaeology Project: A Preliminary Report on the Establishment of Cultural Sequences and Rock Art Research*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998); Meredith Wilson, "Bringing the Art Inside: A Preliminary Analysis of Black Linear Rock-art from Limestone Caves in Erromango, Vanuatu", *Oceania* 70 (1999): 87–97.

<sup>12</sup> William Gunn, "The Picture Gallery of Aneityum", *New Hebrides Magazine* 31 (Apr. 1909): 10.

<sup>13</sup> Spriggs and Mumford, "Rock art sites", 19–20.

<sup>14</sup> Felix Speiser, *Ethnology of Vanuatu: An Early Twentieth Century Study*, trans. D.Q. Stephenson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 394.

<sup>15</sup> Spriggs and Mumford, "Rock art sites", 20.

so disturbing to others drinking kava that eventually the *natamarid* (high chief) of the area had the artists killed.

Gunn also connected *Nagesa* with ‘sun worship’, a practice that became significant for contemporaneous ideas of migrations to the Pacific.<sup>16</sup> For example, Daniel MacDonald, a Presbyterian Church of Victoria missionary to the New Hebrides from 1872–1905, linked it with his theory of the Semitic origins of Pacific people. Sun worship and sun motifs were also considered significant by early 20<sup>th</sup>-century proponents of diffusionist migration theories, particularly anatomist and Egyptologist Grafton Elliot Smith (1871–1937), who drew on the practice to illustrate prehistoric connections of island Melanesia to ancient Egypt (see Chapters 5 and 7). These early observations of Aneityum’s petroglyph sites therefore offer insights into Presbyterian missionary interpretations of Vanuatu’s prehistory, but also echo more widely observed scholarly theories emerging in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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### Presbyterians and archaeological enquiry

This chapter explores Presbyterian missionary engagement with themes relating to Pacific archaeology and ethnology from their arrival in the then New Hebrides in 1848. The chapter’s aims are twofold. First, it maps branches of a Presbyterian intellectual knowledge network existing prior to Bowie’s arrival in the area, outlining particular individual missionary interpretations of prehistory and material culture, which were influenced by local experts as well as metropolitan savants and learned societies. The chapter also responds to John Garrett’s argument that Reverend Wilfred Paton’s interest in anthropological and linguistic research was exceptional amongst Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides.<sup>17</sup> Paton was initiated by James Kaum of Ambrym, where he was based from 1933-48, learned *kastom* and language, and submitted a doctoral thesis entitled *The Language and Life of Ambrym* in 1954.<sup>18</sup> While Garrett’s broader discussion of Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides insightfully portrays their transplanting of the ‘kirk’ to Pacific locations, this chapter will show that his claim of exceptionality for Paton’s intellectual research is inaccurate. In fact, an overwhelming breadth of material reveals multi-site illustrations of Pacific prehistory, drawing on diverse evidence, from Presbyterian missionary perspectives. While not exhaustive, the case studies in this chapter highlight this, and illustrate that Bowie was embedded in a genealogy of missionaries

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<sup>16</sup> Gunn, *Gospel in Futuna*, 218.

<sup>17</sup> Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea*, 363.

<sup>18</sup> Wilfred F. Paton, *The language and life of Ambrym, an island in the New Hebrides group* (Litt.D diss., University of Melbourne, 1954).

engaged in archaeological and anthropological enquiries.

### Presbyterian arrival, 1848

In July 1848, Scottish born Nova Scotian Presbyterian John Geddie (1815–72) and his wife Charlotte (née MacDonald, 1822–1916) arrived on Aneityum to establish the Presbyterian Mission to the New Hebrides. Travelling from Canada with their two daughters via Hawai'i and Samoa, they were accompanied by Isaac Archibald, a lay assistant, and his wife.<sup>19</sup> They were also joined by LMS missionary and avid botanist Thomas Powell, and his wife Emma, seconded from Samoa. The new arrivals were met by Simeona and Pita, Samoan LMS teachers working on Aneityum to introduce Christianity since 1841. They also discovered a short-lived Roman Catholic mission in the course of construction, and a sandalwood station established by Captain James Paddon.<sup>20</sup> The Presbyterian mission spread northward from Aneityum to other islands in the archipelago in the following decades.

It appears John Geddie shared observations on the origins and prehistory of people he encountered with other scholars, notably William Dawson, a fellow Presbyterian who had been Geddie's groomsman in 1839.<sup>21</sup> Dawson became a geologist and the first Principal of McGill University in Montreal, later receiving a knighthood.<sup>22</sup> Responsible for the formative natural history collections of the Redpath Museum at McGill, Dawson was interested in prehistory and ethnology.<sup>23</sup> In 1857, he presented the paper 'On some ethnological specimens from the island of Aneiteum, New Hebrides' to the eleventh meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in Montreal at his invitation.<sup>24</sup> He attributed his data to his missionary friend Geddie.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, the published proceedings are partial, and the original paper unavailable, but secondary reports reveal aspects of their discussion. Geddie described Aneityumese people as a race somewhere between those of New Guinea and Polynesia, with some showing 'the negro type' in their

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<sup>19</sup> Name has not been traced in course of research.

<sup>20</sup> Spriggs, "A School in Every District", 25.

<sup>21</sup> R.S. Miller, ed., *Misi Gete: John Geddie, pioneer missionary to the New Hebrides* (Launceston, Tas.: Presbyterian Church of Tasmania, 1975), 12.

<sup>22</sup> H.M. Ami, "Sir John William Dawson: A Brief Biographical Sketch", *American Geologist* 26 (1900): 1–49; Howard Falcon-Lang and John H. Calder, "Sir William Dawson (1820–1899): A Very Modern Paleobotanist", *Atlantic Geology*, 41 (2005): 103–114.

<sup>23</sup> Barbara Lawson, "Exhibiting Agendas: Anthropology at the Redpath Museum (1882–99)", *Anthropologica* 41, no.1 (1999): 53–65.

<sup>24</sup> Joseph Lovering, ed. *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Eleventh Meeting, held at Montreal, Canada East, August 1857, Part II* (Cambridge: Allen and Farnham Printers), 159.

<sup>25</sup> Anon., "Ethnological Specimens from the Island of Aneiteum", *Canadian Naturalist and Geologist and Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Montreal* 2 (1857): 296–297; See also, Anon., "The American Association for the Advancement of Science", *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 10 (1857): 145.

physiognomy, and ‘others the Malayan, while others still [had] profiles characteristic of the Semitic race.’<sup>26</sup> This latter classification was later developed further by Daniel MacDonald, Geddie’s future son-in-law and subsequent missionary to the New Hebrides.

Geddie also offered observations of local religion, explaining that visitors to places like Aneityum often perceived an object of worship, such as a sacred stone, as the sum total of a person’s religious belief. However, he argued that people on Aneityum did not simply worship objects; their gods were spiritual beings worshipped through objects.<sup>27</sup> A group’s capacity for belief in a spiritual world was considered by many 19<sup>th</sup>-century missionaries and monogenists as supportive of an argument for the unity and common origin of the single human species.<sup>28</sup> The reports available on Dawson’s paper drew attention to the resemblance of the religious system on Aneityum to ‘the prevalent of mythologies of antiquity’, and the similarity of the gods worshipped through stones to ‘monolithic shrines found in the penetralia of Egyptian temples’.<sup>29</sup> This echoes the discussion of William Ellis’s work in Chapter 1, and the postdiluvian narratives of ancient history proposed by the likes of William Jones. These perceived similarities with ancient Egypt were later to find iterations in the diffusionist theories of Grafton Elliot Smith and William James Perry in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### [John Inglis: Taking the Scottish Reformed Presbyterian Church to the New Hebrides](#)

In 1851, as the Geddies adjusted to a new life far from home they attempted to convince others of the value of their foreign religion through a report published in the Australian and New Zealand press describing life in the New Hebrides.<sup>30</sup> The author, University of Glasgow graduate Reverend John Inglis (1808–91), subsequently settled in the Aname district of Aneityum in 1852 with his wife Jessie after seven years’ missionary service in New Zealand. They were the first missionaries representing the Scottish Reformed Presbyterian Church in the New Hebrides. Inglis’ report described a three-month tour around the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Solomon Islands, and

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<sup>26</sup> Anon., “American Association”.

<sup>27</sup> Anon., “Ethnological Specimens”; Anon., “American Association”.

<sup>28</sup> Gardner, “Faculty of Faith”; See also, Douglas, “Climate to Crania”, 44–58, on general question of monogeny-polygeny in science.

<sup>29</sup> Anon., “Ethnological Specimens”, 296; Anon., “American Association”.

<sup>30</sup> John Inglis, “Report of a Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides, &c, on Board H.M.S. “Havannah” ... [From the “Government Gazette”]”, *New Zealander* 7, 14 May 1851 p.530, 17 May 1851 p.531, 28 May 1851 p.534; John Inglis, “Missionary Tour (From the New Zealand Government Gazette, May 6)”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 May 1851; See also, John Inglis, “Extracts from Report of a Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides &c., on Board H.M.S. *Havannah*, in 1850”, *Scottish Presbyterian* 61–5 (1852): 425–432, 461–464, 486–491, 522–529, 556–563; John Inglis, “Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides”, *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* 3 (1854): 53–85.

Queen Charlotte's Islands (now Santa Cruz islands) from August to November 1850 on HMS *Havannah*, captained by John Elphinstone Erskine, a noted Evangelical supporter. Initially the article was published in New Zealand's government newspaper, the *Government Gazette*.<sup>31</sup> It was addressed to Sir George Grey, Governor in Chief of New Zealand, who facilitated the journey and supported the spread of Christianity in the Pacific. Grey held a lifelong interest in languages, as well as being a prolific book collector, and his library contained several publications from Geddie and Inglis, sent at his request.<sup>32</sup>

Inglis' report reveals his early interests in the culture and natural history of the New Hebrides. His observations suggest he sought to classify and categorise the people he encountered, offering comparisons with other geographical locations. In particular, he contrasted the 'Papuan or Negro race' he saw in the western Pacific with 'the Malay race in the Eastern Pacific'.<sup>33</sup> However, the idea of physically distinct races is a minor element in the report, reflecting general missionary emphasis on human unity rather than irreconcilable differences. Inglis' criteria for differentiating Papuans and Malays were limited to 'curly or woolly hair' and a comment on skin colour: 'They are darker than the New Zealanders or the Samoans, but not nearly so black as the Africans'.<sup>34</sup> Later in his paper, Inglis explained that, based on evidence from Aneityum, he had found oral traditions in the region to be much the same as those in the eastern Pacific.<sup>35</sup> There were the same stories of the creation, the deluge, 'and some other great facts of universal history'.

Inglis' observation reveals his own framing of history within a biblical timeframe. As discussed in Chapter 1, 'the deluge' was interpreted as a historical truth by many missionaries and savants before 1850, including geologists Buckland and Cuvier, and was a common trope in interpreting people's prehistoric origins in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and beyond.<sup>36</sup> For those who accepted the great flood as historical fact, it followed that long ago there was a dispersal of tribes, some of whom degenerated and no longer knew of the Christian God.<sup>37</sup> Some missionary ethnologists framed it differently, such as Ellis who, in discussing Polynesian origins, who circumspectly suggested that knowledge of 'the deluge' might indicate past contact with people who knew biblical stories rather than *direct* descent

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<sup>31</sup> From 1857 known as the *New Zealand Gazette*.

<sup>32</sup> Donald Kerr, "Sir George Grey and his Book Collecting Activities in New Zealand", in *A Book in the Hand: Essays on the History of the Book in New Zealand*, eds. Penny Griffith, Peter Hughes and Alan Loney (Wellington: Auckland University Press, 2000), 58–59.

<sup>33</sup> Inglis, "Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides", 55, 64.

<sup>34</sup> Inglis, "Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides", 55, 64.

<sup>35</sup> Inglis, "Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides", 61.

<sup>36</sup> Samson, "Ethnology and Theology", 116.

<sup>37</sup> Gardner, "Faculty of Faith", 267.



from a Hebrew nation.<sup>38</sup> Inglis' use of the term 'great facts of universal history' suggests his literal interpretation of the Bible, although it remains ambiguous whether at that time he considered people of Aneityum to be directly of Hebrew descent.

Inglis speculated on possible prehistoric connections between people he met. For example, observing pottery production in New Caledonia as 'similar, but inferior' to that in Fiji, he concluded it was 'one proof of relationship or common origin' between them. In other words, Fijians and New Caledonians were related, originating from the same place in the past.<sup>39</sup> Quoted in ethnologist James Cowles Prichard's *The Natural History of Man*, Inglis' observation of similar but inferior pottery manufacture was supportive of widely held assumptions that Fijians were racially Papuan but with elements of 'superior' Polynesian traits.<sup>40</sup> The role of pottery in interpreting the Melanesia/Polynesia divide and debate around how Fijians came to be Fijian and their position in that divide have continued into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>41</sup> Inglis also drew attention to the linguistic variety of the western Pacific compared with eastern areas, probably, he postulated, due to the Papuan race having migrated to the region much earlier in time than the Malay.<sup>42</sup>

Inglis' descriptions of people in the New Hebrides were reflective of the period, but also of his own Scottish Christian identity. In discussing people's attire, he wrote: '[T]he men everywhere, except in Fate [Efate, Vanuatu], wear only a narrow cincture and a wrapper of leaves or native cloth, after the manner of the Caffres about Delagoa Bay, or the natives of the Isthmus of Darien.' The latter, located in modern day Panama, was a particularly Scottish frame of reference, being the infamous location for Scotland's failed attempt to establish a new trading colony in the 1690s.<sup>43</sup> Delagoa Bay also had a strong colonial connection and the broadly defined 'Caffaria' area was heavily featured in Scottish church periodicals, to which Inglis had regular access. The Bay is known today as Maputo Bay in southern Mozambique. The term *cafre* appears in written Portuguese sources in 1505, with 1513 the

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<sup>38</sup> Ellis, *Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of Nearly Six Years*, vol.1., 42; Haddow, "Pacific Prehistory and Theories of Origins", 5.

<sup>39</sup> Inglis, "Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides", 57.

<sup>40</sup> James C. Prichard, *The Natural history of man: comprising inquiries into the modifying influence of physical and moral agencies on the different tribes of the human family*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. vol.2, ed. Edwin Norris, (London: H. Baillière, 1855), 270

<sup>41</sup> See, Geoffrey Clark, "Shards of Meaning: Archaeology and the Melanesia-Polynesia Divide", *Journal of Pacific History* 38, no.2 (Sep. 2003): 197–215; David V. Burley, "Fijian Polygenesis and the Melanesian/Polynesian Divide", *Current Anthropology* 54, no.4 (Aug. 2013): 436–462.

<sup>42</sup> Inglis, "Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides", 65.

<sup>43</sup> See, Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2007).

earliest usage in relation to Oceania, by Portuguese pilot Francisco Rodrigues.<sup>44</sup> Initially considered an elevated race with origins outside of Africa, ‘caffres’ were reclassified in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as ‘negroes’ under the influence of ethnologists Prichard and Robert Knox and lowered in scholarly racial classifications. These racial discussions would not have been lost on Inglis, whose report was also read to the Ethnological Society of London (ESL), an organisation heavily influenced by Prichardian ethnology.

### A scholarly audience: The Ethnological Society of London (ESL)

Inglis report was read to the ESL in 1851, and published in the Society’s journal in 1854, thus circulating the paper to a more academic and geographically broad audience. The wording matched that of the *Government Gazette* but included an appendix of comparative word lists from New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Tahiti, Australia New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga and Fiji.<sup>45</sup> The products of *missionary research* were commonly *made accessible for different audiences, often with non-existent or only minor content changes*. The ESL was an avowedly philanthropic offshoot of the Aborigines’ Protection Society, active from 1843 until it merged with the Anthropological Society of London in 1871 to form the Anthropological Institute (from 1907 Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, or RAI). The ESL was formed ‘for the purpose of inquiring into the distinguishing characteristics, physical and moral, of the varieties of Mankind which inhabit, or have inhabited, the Earth; and to establish the causes of such characteristics’.<sup>46</sup> It published articles on varied subjects including ancient migrations, folklore, phrenology, race, and archaeological sites, with an equally varied geographical focus, incorporating studies of areas of the United Kingdom, Africa, North America, the Middle East, and beyond. Inglis’ direct observations from the field were some of the few available in the 1850s and valued by the ESL. This is evident in Richard Cull’s 1856 ‘Sketch of the Recent Progress of Ethnology’.<sup>47</sup> Drawing attention to Erskine’s recently published voyage narrative, he praised its ‘valuable contribution to Ethnological Science’, additionally acknowledging Inglis’ earlier account of the same voyage and his ‘valuable contribution therein to the philology of the Papuan race.’<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Armando Cortesão, trans. and ed., *The Suma oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515; and, the book of Francisco Rodrigues, rutter of a voyage in the Red Sea, nautical rules, almanack and maps, written and drawn in the East before 1515*, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 208 n3; plate 27.

<sup>45</sup> Inglis, “Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides”, 73–85.

<sup>46</sup> Ethnological Society of London, “Regulations”, *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1848-1856)* 1 (1848): 3.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Cull, “Sketch of the Recent Progress of Ethnology”, *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* 4 (1856): 104–119.

<sup>48</sup> Cull, “Sketch of the Recent Progress”, 117.

As one of the most significant figures in the ESL's early years, Prichard was later described by E.B. Tylor as the 'founder of modern anthropology'.<sup>49</sup> He was an influential member of the committee that drew up the BAAS 1841 questionnaire to aid travellers in conducting research on ethnological matters, which included questions specifically pertaining to archaeological themes (see Chapter 7). As noted in the previous chapter, Prichard was a committed monogenist, and inspired by William Jones. Missionary theorists of the early and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century were drawn to his work, probably due to its evangelical underpinnings, but so were other scholars such as archaeologist Daniel Wilson, who coined the term 'prehistoric'.<sup>50</sup> Prichard's ideas of human difference were disseminated to the British public through museums at the time. In the ethnology section of the 1851 Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace, London, positioned in the natural history department beside geology, the term 'kelnonesian' was used to exhibit Papua New Guineans and Australians, the latter actually represented by two living men on display – 'Tom' and 'Dick', from Cape York.<sup>51</sup> Prichard's five-volume third edition of *Researches into the Physical History of Man* (1836–47) had brought the term to prominence, referring to the 'black races' of Kelænonesia, as differentiated from the 'Malayo-Polynesian tribes' amongst the races of Oceania.<sup>52</sup> Maintaining his monogenetic approach, Prichard argued climate and environment had led to the Malayo-Polynesian becoming more civilised and superior to the 'black races' of Kelænonesia.<sup>53</sup>

### Bible illustrations and ethnology

After joining the Geddies on Aneityum in 1852, Inglis published regular reports, largely in the *Reformed Presbyterian Magazine (RPM)*, offering reports of mission work and glimpses of life on the island. It was not until his retirement in 1876 that Inglis produced two lengthy works. The first, *In the New Hebrides: Reminiscences of Missionary Life and Work*, was published in 1887.<sup>54</sup> The *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, the journal of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, described it as 'of

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<sup>49</sup> George W. Stocking Jr, "From Chronology to Ethnology: James Cowles Prichard and British Anthropology, 1800–1850", in *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), x; For further discussions of Prichard and his work see, Douglas, "Climate to Crania", 41–44; Douglas, "'Novus Orbis Australis'", 131–133; Efram Sera-Shriar, "Founding the Sciences of Man: The Observational Practices of James Cowles Prichard and William Lawrence", in *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813–1871* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013), 21–52.

<sup>50</sup> Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 133.

<sup>51</sup> Robert Gordon Latham, *The Natural History Department of the Crystal Palace Described* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854).

<sup>52</sup> See, Douglas, "'Novus Orbis Australis'", 132–133.

<sup>53</sup> Douglas, "'Novus Orbis Australis'", 132.

<sup>54</sup> Inglis, *In the New Hebrides*.

much scientific value', with no other publication containing 'such accurate and experienced accounts of geography, meteorology, and ethnology of the New Hebrides group.'<sup>55</sup> The reviewer concluded by hoping that Inglis would publish the rest of his ethnographical material in a future volume. In his book, Inglis described the Aneityumese and most others in the New Hebrides as mainly 'unmixed Papuans' and 'of a distinctively African type, doubtless descendants of Ham.'<sup>56</sup> By the mid to late-19<sup>th</sup> century, the 'Hamitic hypothesis', popularly used in an African context, purported that the 'Hamites' were Caucasoid, originally from Africa north of the Sahara.<sup>57</sup> It became a widely held notion by Europeans that that the Hamites were responsible for aspects of higher civilisation in 'Black Africa' south of the Sahara, echoing aspects of William Jones' theories (see Chapter 1).<sup>58</sup>

This biblically framed origin was developed further in Inglis' 1890 publication, *Bible Illustrations from the New Hebrides: with notice of the Progress of the mission*, which utilised the technique of biblical analogy also seen in George Turner's writing (see Chapter 1). The text presented observations of cultural life on Aneityum, including theories of the origins of different Pacific peoples.<sup>59</sup> Directed at mission supporters and a Christian audience, Inglis adopted a biblically literalist argument, claiming that '[n]o treatise on ethnology is so clear and distinct as the tenth chapter of Genesis'.<sup>60</sup> In the chapter 'The curse on Canaan', Inglis opens with a version of the Hamitic hypothesis, emphasising that despite a curse placed by Noah on Ham's son Canaan, the descendants of Ham were the dominant races on earth for nearly 2000 years before they fell. According to the bible, Nimrod, grandson of Ham built Ninevah, and Inglis noted that local reactions to the excavation of a statue by Augustus Henry Layard in the 1840s confirmed the scriptural account of Ninevah's founder.<sup>61</sup> Inglis continued, identifying 'portions of the three races, Shemetic, Hametic, and Japhetic' in the South Seas.<sup>62</sup> Referencing the bible directly, he identified the 'Papuan race' (modern Melanesians) as descendants of Ham, the 'Malayan race' (modern Polynesians) as descendants of Shem, and his own race (white Europeans) as the descendants of Japheth. In the Pacific, Inglis observed, Noah's curse on Ham's son was 'fulfilled to the very letter', evidenced by the acceptance of Christianity by 'Malays' while 'Papuans' remained 'in heathen darkness', and purportedly acted as servants for the

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<sup>55</sup> T.M. Davidson, "New Books," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (Jan. 1887): 59.

<sup>56</sup> Inglis, *In the New Hebrides*, 29.

<sup>57</sup> See, Edith R. Sanders, "The Hamitic Hypothesis; Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective", *Journal of African History* 10, no. 4 (1969): 521–532.

<sup>58</sup> Sanders, "Hamitic Hypothesis", 532.

<sup>59</sup> Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*.

<sup>60</sup> Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, 218.

<sup>61</sup> Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, 7.

<sup>62</sup> Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, 9. Spelling as original.

former when living alongside each other.<sup>63</sup>

Drawing attention to the line: 'God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant', Inglis explained he had observed this in operation in the Pacific where his 'fellow countrymen' in New Zealand were living 'on the land long occupied by the Maories [sic], a tribe of the Malays', and in Sydney and Brisbane where descendants of Japheth were 'reviving the slave trade, kidnapping the poor Papuans, and carrying them into servitude.'<sup>64</sup> The last statement refers to the Pacific islands Labour Trade, which saw men and women, largely from the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, working as indentured labourers on plantations or mines in Queensland, Fiji, New Caledonia and elsewhere.<sup>65</sup> Inglis also differentiated neighbouring communities within the New Hebrides along these biblical lines, classifying the inhabitants of Futuna – today considered a Polynesian Outlier within Melanesia – as Malay and descendants of Shem, but those on Aneityum as descendants of Ham.<sup>66</sup> The absence of this explicitly biblical reasoning from Inglis' earlier 1851 and 1854 reports was likely due to the different audiences for the texts, as seen in the work of other missionaries.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* reviewer for the 1890 publication was clearly not so interested in the biblical analogies, promoting the text as 'a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the department of geographical inquiry which is concerned with man and animal', and 'a most readable and suggestive account of the ethnology' of Aneityum.<sup>67</sup> Attention was drawn to the chapters detailing natural history, marriage customs, disease, integration with foreigners, and the French attempts of annexation of the New Hebrides, as opposed to those focusing on the mission or biblical analogies. In an obituary for Inglis the following year, reference was made to a review of *Bible Illustrations* by renowned Assyriologist Professor Archibald Sayce, which demonstrates the respect Inglis' scholarship attracted and emphasises the convergence of two perhaps conflicting approaches. Thanking Inglis for his 'very interesting volume', Sayce added, '[i]t will be welcomed both by the anthropologist and by the Biblical student. I wish that [Inglis'] example would be more generally

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<sup>63</sup> Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, 10.

<sup>64</sup> Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, 10.

<sup>65</sup> See, Deryck Scarr, "Recruits and Recruiters: a Portrait of the Labour Trade", in *Pacific Islands Portraits*, eds. J.W. Davidson and Deryck Scarr (Canberra: ANU Press, 1970), 225–251; Dorothy Shineberg, *The People Trade: Pacific Island Laborers and New Caledonia, 1865–1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

<sup>66</sup> Inglis, *Bible Illustrations*, 55; Polynesian Outliers are groups considered culturally Polynesian but located outside the region of Polynesia, e.g., Richard Feinberg and Richard Scaglione, eds., *Polynesian Outliers: The State of the Art* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2012).

<sup>67</sup> Anon., "New Books", *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (May 1890): 270.

followed, and that others who have been in the same favourable position for studying the thoughts and manners of uncivilized tribes would make an equally good use of their opportunities.’<sup>68</sup>

### Inglis and artefact collecting

It appears Inglis did not engage in any systematic acquisition of material culture in the New Hebrides. He wrote of taking a powerful wooden *natmas*, or spirit, named Tuatau home with him, which remains untraced, in a seemingly opportunistic acquisition.<sup>69</sup> It is possible Inglis collected artefacts that arrived in institutions through other individuals and have not retained original collector attribution. However, to date I have positively identified only two items that he collected. These are a neck ornament of shells, and a polished basalt ‘axe’ head, which is more likely to have been an adze. Both are from Aneityum, listed in the 1894 catalogue of Dr Grierson’s Museum, in Thornhill, Scotland.<sup>70</sup> Thomas Boyle Grierson’s large private collection was dispersed in 1965–66, largely to Glasgow Museums, NMS, and Aberdeen Museum. The adze was displayed alongside numerous ‘celts, axes, arrowheads, flint flakes or knives’, to illustrate the paper ‘Notes on the Stone Age’, delivered to the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society on 9 January 1880.<sup>71</sup> The paper asserted that celts, a term used for long stone or bronze axe- or adze-like tools, could be rough or smoothly worked, with the most polished examples ‘indicating an advance in civilisation’, an argument reflective of the dominant social-evolutionary framework for archaeology and anthropology in that period.<sup>72</sup>

Two artefacts exhibited at the meeting were described in the Society’s *Transactions*. The first, from Scotland, was described as one of the finest examples, and the second, from Aneityum, one of the coarsest. The latter was supposedly created when Aneityumese people were ‘in a state of complete savageness’, and the *Transactions* highlighted how strange it was to think that a person now Christian had made such an item.<sup>73</sup> The age of the stones tools was therefore framed around contemporaneous social-evolutionary perceptions of time – humans developed from savage to civilised. The paper concluded that as celts were found worldwide, some made from unknown stone,

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<sup>68</sup> Rev. Dr. Goold, “Rev. John Inglis D.D.”, *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Oct. 1891): 310.

<sup>69</sup> Inglis, *In the New Hebrides*, 33.

<sup>70</sup> Joseph Bissett, *Catalogue of Dr Grierson’s Museum, Thornhill* (Glasgow: Courier and Herald Offices, 1894), 78 item 148, 115 item 152.

<sup>71</sup> Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, *The Transactions and Journal Proceedings of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society Sessions 1878–79 and 1879–80* (Dumfries and Galloway Courier Office, 1881), 13–14.

<sup>72</sup> Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, 13.

<sup>73</sup> Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, 14.

‘the discovery of this formation might lead to the discovery of the formation of the race’. In other words, a comparative analysis of the material form of such artefacts could reveal the development of human races. It was in this manner that missionary-acquired items lacking any contextual information regarding age, use, or maker, were used to illustrate a broad thesis of ‘the Stone Age’ to groups such as those gathered in a hall in Scotland one January evening in 1880. The current location of the adze is unknown, but the neck ornament was purchased by Glasgow Museums, where it remains today.<sup>74</sup>



**Figure 2.2. Group of Presbyterian missionaries, including the Annands, Gunns and Lawries, New Hebrides, 1891. Source, National Library Australia, PIC Album 625**

### Dr. Annand’s natural history and ethnographic collections

One missionary who was interested in collecting was Joseph Annand (1844–1932), whom the Bowies later joined on Tangoa island (Figure 2.2). Annand and his wife Alice (née Seville) initially arrived in the New Hebrides in 1873. Representing the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, they were posted on Iririki, a small island in Port Vila harbour, Efate adjacent to Polynesian-speaking Fila Island (now Ifira). In 1877 they moved to Aneityum, to what had been the Geddies station, and a decade later took up a post in south Santo. In 1894, Joseph Annand became the first principal of the TTI on

<sup>74</sup> ‘Neck ornament’, A.1965.33.ab. Glasgow Museums.

Tangoa.<sup>75</sup> Today, over 100 cultural artefacts Annand acquired are held by the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, Canada.<sup>76</sup> Arthur M. Smith's analyses of his collecting habits describe the missionary's initial interest in gathering natural history specimens, including mosses, ferns, and butterflies. Once on Aneityum, where the mission was already well established, the Annands took up this pursuit in earnest and husband and wife went on collecting trips together.<sup>77</sup> Smith frames these excursions as Victorian-era jaunts that combined antiquarian interests in natural science with a picnic. Prior to the New Hebrides, Annand likely accessed the natural history collections of Reverend Dr. Thomas McCulloch, the first principal of Dalhousie University, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, while studying there in the late 1860s.<sup>78</sup> The first zoological gardens in British North America were also located close to the University, and to the Halifax Presbyterian College where Annand also enrolled.<sup>79</sup> Further visits to the Edinburgh and London botanical gardens, and later to those in Sydney, Hobart, Dunedin and Christchurch are additionally cited by Smith as formative.<sup>80</sup>

Later, Annand's collecting encompassed ethnographic items, with 1875 the first mention of such activity in his diary.<sup>81</sup> By the late 1890s, he was acting as a collector for the Ontario Archaeological Museum, Toronto, which he visited in 1895.<sup>82</sup> Annand became a regular correspondent of the museum's archaeologist, David Boyle, who formed one of Canada's first ethnological museums.<sup>83</sup> This role is comparable with James H. Lawrie's relationships to museums (see below), and Bowie and Fox's collecting relationships with H.D. Skinner of the Otago Museum, New Zealand (see Chapters 3, 5, and 7). Annand provided Boyle with details of artefact functions but was less informed of the scientific names of materials, which Smith cited as evidence for Annand's limited scientific knowledge.<sup>84</sup> However, it is probably more reflective of his interests in finished products and the local information to which he had access.

Boyle's interest was in ethnological material that indicated evolution of humans from prehistory, and acquisitions from a 'primitive' culture by Annand offered Boyle evidence of human development.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Smith "Missionary as Collector".

<sup>76</sup> Smith, "Missionary as Collector"; Smith, "'Curios' from a Strange Land"; Flexner, *Archaeology of Early Christianity*, 141.

<sup>77</sup> Smith, "'Curios' from a Strange Land", 267.

<sup>78</sup> Smith, "Missionary as Collector", 100.

<sup>79</sup> Smith, "Missionary as Collector", 101.

<sup>80</sup> Smith, "'Curios' from a Strange Land", 266.

<sup>81</sup> Smith "'Curios' from a Strange Land", 268.

<sup>82</sup> Smith, "Missionary as Collector", 104.

<sup>83</sup> Smith, "'Curios' from a Strange Land", 262.

<sup>84</sup> Smith, "Missionary as Collector", 106.

<sup>85</sup> Smith, "Missionary as Collector", 111; Smith, "'Curios' from a Strange Land", 269.



Smith has implied Annand shared this view, which elicits a useful illustration for distinguishing social from biological evolution. Felix Speiser's 1913 publication *Two years with the natives in the Western Pacific* offers a trace of Annand's perspectives on *biological* evolution.<sup>86</sup> Early in his fieldwork in 1910, Speiser described visiting the 'Director' of the TTI on Tangoa, who at that time was Annand. According to Speiser, '[H]e seemed to think my endeavours extremely funny, asked if I was looking for the missing link, etc., so that I took a speedy leave.'<sup>87</sup> For Annand, the notion of a 'missing link' showing human evolution from another creature was laughable. However, even with a Judaeo-Christian perspective, missionaries could accept that human groups developed through successive social stages.

### James Hay Lawrie on Aneityum, 1879

In 1879, the lay preacher James Hay Lawrie and his wife Margaret Cairns Lawrie arrived on Aneityum as the Inglis' first permanent replacement. Representing the Free Church of Scotland, Lawrie was one of the most prolific artefact collectors of all Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides. They arrived on Aneityum with numerous articles considered useful for their work, namely 'unbleached calico, prints, blankets, shirts (regatta or striped), handkerchiefs, spectacles (age from forty-five to sixty), hatchets with handles, &c'.<sup>88</sup> These items were invaluable for facilitating the acquisition of material culture in exchange and relationship-building transactions. Lawrie also captured a large photographic record of life in the New Hebrides. In addition to Aneityum, the Lawries were responsible at various times for the mission fields on the nearby islands of Futuna and Aniwa, regularly travelling between these three locations. This would have offered opportunities to access a broad wealth of material culture and local knowledge, an argument I return to in discussing the broad mission fields of Bowie and Fox (see Chapters 3, 5 and 6).

As an individual, Lawrie is locally less well-known than other Presbyterian missionaries. On Aneityum in 2014 I encountered few stories about him. Even in the Port Patrick area, the location of his station for many years, Inglis and William Gunn were spoken of more. Lawrie may have a less prominent place in local history as he is not perceived to have brought the gospel to Aneityum in the same way as Inglis and Geddie. It is also possible that further stories may have emerged during a prolonged period of fieldwork. However, the landscape around Port Patrick does offer some narratives of his activities. In the bush near the village remain foundations and remnants of stonework from the

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<sup>86</sup> Felix Speiser, *Two Years with the Natives in the Western Pacific* (London: Mills & Boon, 1913).

<sup>87</sup> Speiser, *Two Years with the Natives*, 49.

<sup>88</sup> Anon., "New Hebrides, Appointment of lay evangelist", *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Jan 1879): 15.

Teachers' Institution Lawrie built in 1888, replacing one originally positioned there by Inglis. Still in place as a doorstep is a large sacred *tabu* stone named Rangitafu, 'a sea-god', which Inglis had laid so that all those entering would symbolically step on the god as they entered, 'a perpetual trophy to the power of the Gospel' Figure 2.3).<sup>89</sup>



**Figure 2.3. Rangitafu, Aneityum. Photograph by author, 2014.**

### Amassing an artefactual record

Lawrie appears to have been particularly intellectually engaged with manufacture and local arts, rather than grand theories of migration or aspects of language and oral tradition, although he did also believe that 'a systematic study of their legends' could reveal where people on Aneityum originated, an ethnological argument followed by many contemporaneous late-19<sup>th</sup> century scholars.<sup>90</sup> The majority of cultural materials from Vanuatu found in Scottish museum collections today are attributable to Lawrie.<sup>91</sup> In 1889 he gave a collection of 100 ethnographic items to the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, now NMS, depositing further items in 1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, and 1898. In total from Lawrie, NMS currently holds 255 ethnographic items, 82 zoological specimens, one geology specimen, and another four items in the Science and Technology collection. The latter includes arrowroot and kauri resin specimens, placed in what became the Science and

<sup>89</sup> Inglis, *In the New Hebrides*, 32–33; James H. Lawrie, "V-Aneityum", *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (May 1897): 107.

<sup>90</sup> Lawrie, "The New Hebrideans", 10.

<sup>91</sup> See, Eve Haddow ed., *Review of Pacific Collections in Scottish Museums*, November 2014, <https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/614956/review-of-pacific-collections-in-scottish-museums-full-text.pdf>

Technology section as they fell under the late 19<sup>th</sup> century classification of industrial products – ‘economic botany’. Lawrie also deposited two communion tokens from Aneityum, one of which was located in the numismatics collection in 2014.<sup>92</sup> Twenty-nine items from Lawrie’s collections at NMS were deaccessioned, including albums of 203 photographs, a Bible, three wooden clubs and 16 botanical specimens. The botanical specimens are listed as disposed of, and the three clubs were exchanged with other museums. The photographs were destroyed as part of a large disposal of photographic material in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century with a final large-scale removal in 1959.<sup>93</sup>

Glasgow Museums also hold 204 items purchased from Lawrie in 1897, 11 of which are now believed to have been disposed of. At the time of the sale, Lawrie haggled over the price, arguing that ‘in trying to make [the museum’s] collection as complete as possible, I have parted with many specimens which I had set aside for myself’.<sup>94</sup> Between 1892 and 1895, Lawrie sold several ethnographic items, 31 botanical specimens and 160 photographs to the Technological Museum (now Powerhouse Museum) branch of the Museum of Applied Art and Sciences (MAAS), Sydney. The Australian Museum in Sydney also holds over 200 items collected by Lawrie, which were not examined during this research. Lawrie’s interest in manufacture and the use of raw materials is evident in numerous collected artefacts. For example, Glasgow Museums hold a partly woven basket, a complete basket, and a piece of rolled pandanus leaf, described at acquisition in 1897 as ‘from a set illustrating basket making’.<sup>95</sup> Another unfinished basket is in the MAAS collection.<sup>96</sup> Lawrie also collected examples of women’s skirts, accompanied by pieces of cane and *neputimo* shells, used in processing pandanus leaves for skirt manufacture (Figure 2.4).<sup>97</sup> He published a complementary detailed description of the method for skirt manufacture on Aneityum in 1886.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Eve Haddow, “Communion tokens – Vanuatu”, in Jacobs, Knowles and Wingfield, *Trophies, Relics and Curios?*, 171–174.

<sup>93</sup> Chantal Knowles, “Negative Space: Tracing Absent Images in the National Museums Scotland’s Collections”, in *Uncertain Images: Museums and the Work of Photographs*, eds. Elizabeth Edwards and Sigrid Lien. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 89.

<sup>94</sup> J.H. Lawrie letter, 1897, Glasgow Museums curatorial archive, Glasgow.

<sup>95</sup> ‘Set illustrating basket making’, 1897.143.dc.1, ‘Basket example’ 1897.143.dc.2, and ‘Basket’ 1897.143.dc.3, Glasgow Museums.

<sup>96</sup> “2 Baskets, 1 finished & 1 in process of manufacture; Locality: New Hebrides (SB). No. 4275 D / BASKET. / Made of split leaves of *Pandanus odoratissimus*, Willd: (Pandaneae). / New Hebrides. No. 4275 D / BASKET. / Left in an unfinished state, to show the method of making from Pandanus Leaves / New Hebrides”, collection record, Museum of Applied Arts and Science, Sydney (hereinafter MAAS).

<sup>97</sup> A.1895.413.21, NMS. Local name of shells given during fieldwork on Aneityum, 2014.

<sup>98</sup> James H. Lawrie, “VIII – The Christian Women of Aneityum, New Hebrides”, *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (May 1886): 140.



**Figure 2.4.** *neptunimo* shells, used for preparing pandanus for weaving, Aneityum. Collected by J.H. Lawrie, 1895, A.1895.413.21. Copyright National Museums Scotland.



**Figure 2.5.** The ethnography gallery in the West Wing of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh, c.1895. Source, National Museums Scotland.

Further to this, botanist Joseph Henry Maiden of MAAS requested botanical specimens from Lawrie between 1892–95, offering advice on packaging them, to which Lawrie responded by sending breadfruit on salt, also adding grass skirts to the parcel.<sup>99</sup> At that time, botanic materials were commonly collected with ethnographic artefacts made from the same and this mirrors the presence

<sup>99</sup> J.H. Lawrie to J.H. Maiden, 7 December 1892, MRS 202 Inwards correspondence, 1892/1289, MAAS.

of kauri resin and arrowroot specimens in the NMS collection. In a later letter to Maiden explaining that he had just boxed up a set of photographs for him, Lawrie described their content as representing 'a full variety of subjects for Ethnological, Botanical and Industrial purposes.'<sup>100</sup> The images were evidently framed as informing scholarship in the period and this fusion of art with ethnographical, scientific, and technological themes reflects a popular approach for late-19<sup>th</sup> century museums in the United Kingdom and Australia. This was particularly the case for MAAS and the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art; the latter was established as an industrial museum following the Great Exhibition, expanding to also incorporate the University of Edinburgh's natural history specimens (Figure 2.5).<sup>101</sup>

### The intersection of Lawrie's interests with missionary identity

Two of the largest items Lawrie collected were Malakulan tree fern figures, which NMS acquired from him in 1896.<sup>102</sup> These large sculptures, inhabited by ancestral spirits during particular grade-taking ceremonies, are made from the aerial roots of trees, decorated with clay and pigment. In an account of a visit to Malakula in August 1887, Lawrie wrote of visiting 'village squares' near Pangkumu on the north-east of the island, where he saw many of the figures arranged.<sup>103</sup> Lawrie's description expresses awe and admiration, and little of the expected missionary derision for such important artefacts. He described each one as having a large human face 'artistically carved upon it', as well as other carved wooden drums of 'elaborate workmanship'.<sup>104</sup> Lawrie compared them with the sacred representations 'of common stones' found in the southern islands, hinting that he was more impressed by those in Malakula. Reading against the grain of the missionary language, he described the residents of Malakula in almost favourable terms, as 'an energetic race, judging from the elaborateness of their heathen system'.<sup>105</sup> Lawrie also photographed both the tree fern figures and carved drums.

The archives can reveal other intersections between Lawrie's interests and his missionary role. One of Lawrie's photographs depicts Lathella, a *natamarid* or High Chief of Anelcauhat.<sup>106</sup> In late 1886,

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<sup>100</sup> J.H. Lawrie to J.H. Maiden, 31 October 1895, MRS 202 Inwards correspondence 1895/1356, MAAS archive. Emphasis original.

<sup>101</sup> Geoffrey N. Swinney, "Furnishing a Museum: Nineteenth-century Exhibition Casing in the Royal Museum, Edinburgh", *Furniture History* 39 (2003): 123–126.

<sup>102</sup> A.1896.14 and A.1896.15, NMS.

<sup>103</sup> James H. Lawrie, "II – The New Hebrides", *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Dec. 1887): 364

<sup>104</sup> Lawrie, "II – The New Hebrides".

<sup>105</sup> Lawrie, "II – The New Hebrides".

<sup>106</sup> 'Chief and inhabitants, Anatom, ca.1890', Album compiled by Guthrie, Acc.7548/F/19, NLS.

Lawrie reported that Lathella was his 'right-hand supporter in trying to keep down evil.'<sup>107</sup> A group of around 100 people had recently met 'for a midnight 'sing-sing' on the plea of making native 'cenet' [...] they beat the husk of the cocoa-nut with a piece of hard wood on a log, keeping time to the howl and yell of a native song'.<sup>108</sup> Lawrie's 'cenet' is a strong braided twine, more commonly written 'sennit'. As the leaders of this activity were not church members, Lathella went to them as a Chief and insisted the manufacture of sennit must cease if it could not be done 'without heathen song and dress'.<sup>109</sup> The sennit was apparently burned. There is acute irony in the missionary with a keen interest in the products of manufacture failing to support a practice because it actively involved traditional ritual activity rejected by the church. In fact, examples of sennit even feature in Lawrie's collections (Figure 2.6).<sup>110</sup> It prompts the question of whether Lawrie himself was unable to stop the events because, as he said, the leaders 'were outside of Church discipline', and thus 'outside the control of the missionary', or whether his personal interest in the process of making 'cenet' also prevented him confronting the community. After all, missionary accounts generally imply they had little issue with telling people what they could and could not do. As a scholar Lawrie appreciated the process and product, but as a missionary he could not allow himself to see it actively practised if it involved 'heathen' beliefs.



**Figure 2.6. 'Sinnit', Glasgow Museums, 1897.143.cs. Photograph by author.**

Lawrie did also send two excavated items to Scotland, uncovered in June 1888 while building what he referred to as a school house (used as a Teachers' Institution) at Aname.<sup>111</sup> In building the 15m long structure, Lawrie was assisted by over 50 men and women. During the course of levelling the

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<sup>107</sup> James H. Lawrie, "IV-The New Hebrides", *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Jan. 1887): 17.

<sup>108</sup> Lawrie, "IV-The New Hebrides".

<sup>109</sup> Lawrie, "IV-The New Hebrides".

<sup>110</sup> 'Sinnit', 1897.143.cs, Glasgow Museums.

<sup>111</sup> James H. Lawrie, "The New Hebrides Islands", *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Dec. 1888): 368.

site, two 'stone *fish-gods* were unearthed', which Lawrie added he 'claimed as [his] prize.'<sup>112</sup> He observed that they bore some resemblance to a fish although without any carving, 'and were supposed to have the power of filling the fish-trap of the owner', being inhabited by a *natmas*.<sup>113</sup> These stone items are almost certainly those deposited by Lawrie at Glasgow Museums and NMS, described respectively as 'Sacred stone, fish god' and 'Natmassimai or stone god in the form of a fish'.<sup>114</sup> Ironically, however, the excavated items had probably only been buried 32 years earlier, as Lawrie was building on the site of Inglis' existing school house, and Inglis and Geddie are known to have buried *natmasses* in active disregard for heathenism.

### Lawrie's Photography: The objective and subjective record

Photographs were an integral aspect of Lawrie's life as a missionary. He captured images as well as showing public 'magic lantern exhibitions' to people on Aneityum.<sup>115</sup> His photographic record is extensive, and internationally dispersed: four albums containing a total of 395 photographs and two boxes of glass plate negatives at the State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW), Sydney; an album entitled 'New Hebridean Views' in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu; an album of 85 photographs in National Library of Scotland (NLS), Edinburgh; and a collection of 160 loose photographs at MAAS.<sup>116</sup> There is some duplication of material across these collections. Lawrie's images also appear in the photographic archive of the Presbyterian Archive Research Centre, Dunedin, although they are often not directly attributed to him. Several of his images were published by fellow missionaries William Gunn and William Gray, and he also provided W.T. Brigham, Director of the Bishop Museum with an image he used in *The Ancient Hawaiian House*, supplemented by local data and artefacts.<sup>117</sup> There is considerable duplication across the collections and each set is ordered and captioned differently. For example, the NLS album was compiled by Scottish Advocate Lord Charles J. Guthrie, who contributed financially towards Lawrie's photographic equipment, and contains letters from Lawrie to Guthrie and handwritten captions, apparently taken from the obverse of the photographs.<sup>118</sup> In contrast, the images at the Bishop Museum only have succinct typescript captions.

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<sup>112</sup> Lawrie, "The New Hebrides Islands", 368.

<sup>113</sup> Lawrie, "The New Hebrides Islands", 368.

<sup>114</sup> 1897.143.ah, Glasgow Museums; A.1889.527, NMS.

<sup>115</sup> James H. Lawrie, "6th May 1886", *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Sept 1886): 271.

<sup>116</sup> J. H. Lawrie "Photographs taken in the New Hebrides, 1891-94", Q988.6/L (SET) 4 vols, SLNSW; J.H. Lawrie "New Hebridean Views", c.160 photographs, 1897.017, Bishop Museum, Honolulu; "Missions in the New Hebrides' Islands" album compiled by C.J. Guthrie, Acc.7548/F/19, NLS; "Collection of 160 photographs illustrative of the economic vegetation, industries and customs of the natives of New Hebrides. Purchased from the Rev James Hay Lawrie, 1896", P1937-P2096, MAAS.

<sup>117</sup> Gunn, *Gospel in Futuna*, viii; W.T. Brigham, *The Ancient Hawaiian House* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press 1908), 6567.

<sup>118</sup> "Missions in the New Hebrides' Islands" album compiled by C.J. Guthrie, Acc.7548/F/19, NLS

A number of Lawrie's photographs explicitly tell the story of the Presbyterian mission, documenting activities such as arrowroot production, church building, and bible classes. His images were powerful propaganda, and Lawrie gave a set of photos to the John G. Paton mission fund in 1898 to be used in mission publications and lectures for that purpose.<sup>119</sup> However, the majority of Lawrie's photographs recorded social and ritual life outside the mission. As with his images of Malakulan tree fern figures and drums, many corresponded to his collecting and writing. Lawrie also staged images to showcase material culture. For example, several portraits are framed to show people wearing artefacts, now in NMS and Glasgow Museums (Figure 2.7). Lawrie also created and photographed displays of weapons, bowls, masks, and other artefacts arranged in the mission grounds on Aneityum (Figure 2.8). A series of 10 images of Aneityum's coral reef were even awarded a prize of £50 from Kodak for being the first ever photographs of a coral reef taken from the water.<sup>120</sup> These were displayed alongside coral specimens and 'native products' during a paper he gave on "Corals and Coral Islands" on 26 January 1898 to the Edinburgh Field Naturalists and Microscopical Society, of which he was an ordinary member.<sup>121</sup> Discussing Charles Darwin's theory of the subsidence of coral islands and subsequent building of coral polyps on the surface, he cited recent experiments in Funafuti by researchers from Sydney apparently proving Darwin's thesis. As a missionary he was clearly well-read and was in at least some agreement with the likes of Darwin.

Scholars have documented the parallel trajectories of photography and anthropology, arguing that photographs were not only signifiers of trends in anthropological interests, but were actively involved in the development of the discipline.<sup>122</sup> In circulating such a large body of photographic work including aspects of traditional life and material culture, Lawrie's images must have influenced the way that the southern New Hebrides were visually consumed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was particularly the case for the photographs deployed by Brigham at the Bishop Museum, and presumably those sent to MAAS covering 'a full variety of subjects for Ethnological, Botanical and Industrial purposes.'<sup>123</sup> Chantal Knowles has also hypothesized the likely 'curated'

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<sup>119</sup> A.K. Langridge, "Editorial Jottings", *Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides* (Jul.1898): 2.

<sup>120</sup> Ron Adams, *Framing the native: Rev. James Hay Lawrie's Vanuatu photographs, 1891-1894: National Museum of Vanuatu, 3 August 1998-11 September 1998* (Port Vila: The Museum, 1998)

<sup>121</sup> James H. Lawrie, "Corals and coral-islands, with special reference to the New Hebrides group", *Transactions of Edinburgh Field Naturalists' and Microscopical Society* 3 (1898): 391.

<sup>122</sup> E.g. Elizabeth Edwards, ed. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Anita Herle, "John Layard's Photographs on Malakula: From Observational to Participant Field Research", in *Moving Images: John Layard, Fieldwork and Photography in Malakula since 1914*, eds. Haidy Geismar and Anita Herle (Adelaide: Crawford House Press, 2008), 109-119.

<sup>123</sup> J.H. Lawrie to J.H. Maiden, 31 October 1895, MRS 202 Inwards correspondence, 1895/590, MAAS.



nature of the NMS photographs no longer in existence, with at least some of the images known to have been deployed in gallery displays alongside artefacts, forming and informing public perceptions of the people living in the New Hebrides.<sup>124</sup>



**Figure 2.7. Aneityum man, name unrecorded. Photograph by J.H. Lawrie c.1891. Feather head ornament and neck ornament of seaweed now in NMS (A.1895.413.77 and A.1895.413.74) and whale tooth neck ornament probably in Glasgow Museums (1897.143.cb). Source, State Library New South Wales, M Q988.6/L SET, Vol.3.**

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Underline in original.

<sup>124</sup> Knowles, "Negative Space", 89.

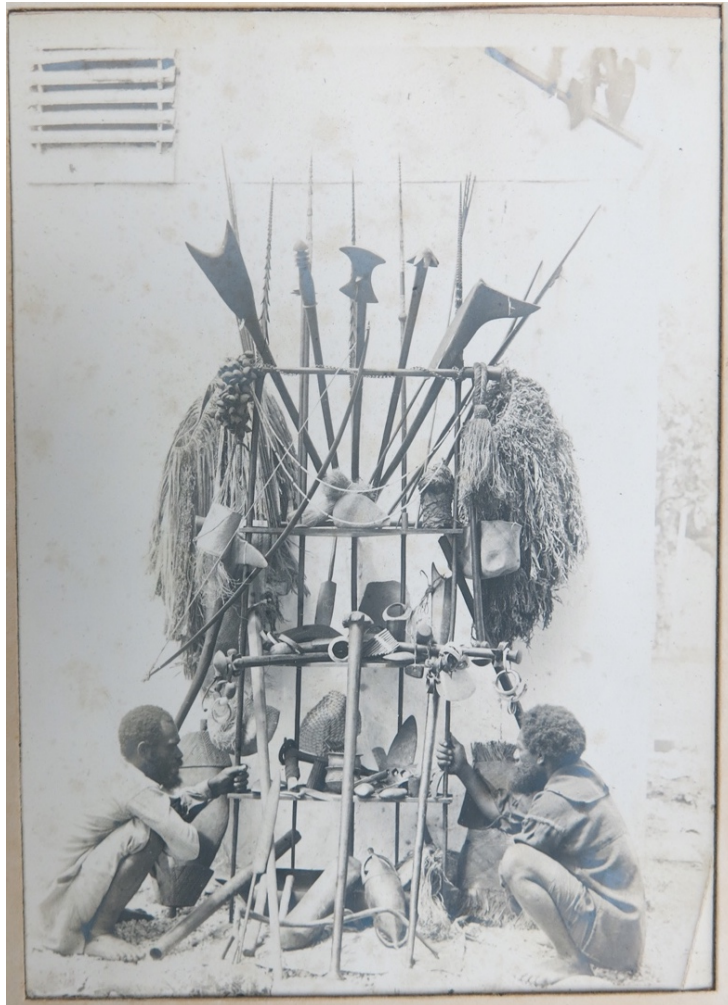


Figure 2.8. Display of artefacts outside mission station, Aneityum. Photograph by J.H. Lawrie. Source, State Library New South Wales, Sydney, M Q988.6/L SET Vol.2

### Lawrie's intellectual interests and engagement with scientific societies

In addition to the paper on corals referenced above, Lawrie gave a paper entitled 'Aneityum and its customs' in January 1892 to the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), at their meeting in Hobart, Tasmania.<sup>125</sup> He separated the paper into distinct sections, seemingly in response to queries set out by the AAAS (see Chapter 7). No reference was made to Aneityumese prehistory, nor was there any particular detail of makers or making as addressed in Lawrie's other outputs. However, Lawrie did attend to these topics two months later, in an illustrated two-part report entitled 'The New Hebrideans, an Ethnological Study', published in the *Sydney Mail*.<sup>126</sup> Included were his descriptions of the petroglyphs cited in the opening vignette. The paper was also

<sup>125</sup> James H. Lawrie, "Aneityum and its Customs", in *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, ed. A. Morton (Hobart: William Graham, 1893), 708–717.

<sup>126</sup> James H. Lawrie, "The New Hebrideans, an ethnological study I", *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 5 March 1892: 526; James H. Lawrie, "The New Hebrideans, an ethnological study II", *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 12 March 1892: 584.

published in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* in June 1892.<sup>127</sup> The first part opened with the question of the origins of the people living in the archipelago, something Lawrie asserted was asked by many due to the region's linguistic diversity. This question was, however, 'not easily, or satisfactorily answered' with current evidence.<sup>128</sup> He concluded that New Hebridean people were 'confessedly the children of Ham', and must have originally come from Africa, 'but thousands of years [had] elapsed since the first contingent came wandering across the ocean and landed on the great island of New Guinea, the head-quarters of the Papuan race.'<sup>129</sup>

Lawrie also postulated that people on the small islands of Futuna, Aniwa, Fila (now Ifira), Mele (now Hideaway), and part of Emai (now Emae) had lighter skin and spoke a Samoan-like language, so must have been influenced by a later addition of 'Malayan blood' through immigration. Lawrie added to this that he believed people had migrated to the New Hebrides in different waves over time, evident in the presence of distinct customs and beliefs across the islands, and the distinctly different languages. Noting the similarity of the style in which Tanna men corded their hair to that of ancient Persian sculptures, as Turner had before him, Lawrie suggested that this could indicate the 'earliest pioneers' had been brought as slaves from their homeland, and throughout the generations interacted and intermarried with other 'tribes' on their way out to the Pacific, so that the people he met in the New Hebrides had gradually formed their own group identities.<sup>130</sup>

The 1892 illustrated reports, created after Lawrie's photographs, contrast with a contemporaneous image accessible to the Australian public at the time. In November 1891, a painting entitled 'Cannibal feast on the Island of Tanna, New Hebrides', by Australian artist Charles E. Gordon Frazer, was displayed at the National Gallery in Melbourne, later shown at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, England in 1895.<sup>131</sup> While on display in Melbourne, it received considerable attention from exhibition-goers and the press; according to Melbourne publication *Table Talk*, the painting was 'one of the greatest attractions in the gallery'.<sup>132</sup> The *Herald* (Melbourne) published extracts of Frazer's notes taken while travelling in the New Hebrides, when he originally saw the scene that inspired the painting.<sup>133</sup> Frazer described people being carried into a crowded area on Tanna, some were already

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<sup>127</sup> Lawrie "The New Hebrideans", 302–311.

<sup>128</sup> Lawrie, "The New Hebrideans, an ethnological study I", 5.

<sup>129</sup> Lawrie, "The New Hebrideans, an ethnological study I", 5.

<sup>130</sup> Lawrie, "The New Hebrideans", 302.

<sup>131</sup> see Bonhams Travel and Topographical pictures, 2 November 2004, Lot 3, accessed 12 July 2018, <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/11408/lot/23/>

<sup>132</sup> Anon., "Art and Artists", *Table Talk* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1885-1939), 20 November 1891: 6.

<sup>133</sup> Anon., "A Cannibal Feast", *Herald* (Melbourne, Vic.: 1861-1954), 29 December 1891: 2.

dead, and others were struck on the head, before being placed on a fire. At this crucial moment, Frazer slipped away, but his imagination filled in the gaps and the painting was created later in Australia. In contrast to the sensationalised image of a South Seas cannibal feast, Lawrie's illustrated descriptions seem balanced and informative. He published images of converts, presumably attempting to show mission 'success', but overall his publications were humanising. Nineteenth-century missionaries were certainly guilty of exoticising and sensationalising the communities they worked with, but they also provided different and sometimes surprising public voices with potential to influence popular or scientific opinion of the time.

### Daniel MacDonald and his theory of Semitic origins

Another Presbyterian missionary who delivered a paper to the 1892 meeting of the AAAS was Reverend Daniel MacDonald, John and Charlotte Geddie's son-in-law. Originally from Alloa, Scotland, MacDonald became the first Australian-trained Presbyterian missionary in the New Hebrides and represented the Presbyterian Church of Victoria on Efate from 1872–1905. His intellectual interests were focused largely on linguistics, particularly the languages of Efate.<sup>134</sup> Jane Samson has described him as 'one of the most persistent supporters of Prichardian Semitic diffusionism'.<sup>135</sup> Building upon Samson's commentary, I consider some of the evidence that MacDonald drew upon in promulgating a theory of Pacific migration that was, even by missionary standards, already periphery to dominant theories by the time much of his work was published. He was especially interested in linguistic patterns and connections that he believed revealed the origins of the people he lived with on Efate. MacDonald developed the thesis that 'the Oceanic mother-tongue was a sister-tongue to the Arabic, Phœnician [Phoenician], Hebrew, Syriac, Assyrian, Himyaritic, and Ethiopic' languages.<sup>136</sup> Thus, the Oceanic languages, like these other examples, originated from an ancient Semitic language.

MacDonald delivered one of his first papers on the topic, titled 'The Oceanic Languages Shemitic: A discovery', to the Royal Society of Victoria in 1882.<sup>137</sup> He made the bold claim that 'this discovery clears up the hitherto impenetrable mystery surrounding the origin of Oceanians.'<sup>138</sup> He claimed four

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<sup>134</sup> Nick Thieberger and Chris Ballard, "Daniel Macdonald and the 'Compromise Literary Dialect' in Efate, Central Vanuatu", *Oceanic Linguistics* 47, no.2 (2008): 365–382.

<sup>135</sup> Samson, *Race and Redemption*, 96.

<sup>136</sup> Daniel MacDonald, "The Oceanic Family of Languages", in *Report of the Seventh Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Sydney 1898*, ed. A. Liversidge (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, 1898), 817.

<sup>137</sup> Daniel MacDonald, "The Oceanic Languages Shemitic: A discovery", *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* XIX (1883): 241–273.

<sup>138</sup> MacDonald "The Oceanic Languages Shemitic", 270.

categories of facts could prove this theory: ‘the philological, ethnological, geographical, and historical.’<sup>139</sup> For MacDonald the implications of his discovery were multifaceted and he called for a dutiful appreciation of the ‘ancient and noble ancestry’ of Oceanian people, suggesting that an understanding of Oceanic languages could aid the translation of ancient Assyrian or Euphratean inscriptions. He was presumably referring to recent archaeological excavations at Nimrud by Austen Henry Layard, and believed this archaeological work could benefit from his own research. Additionally, MacDonald believed that if he could prove that one of the ‘greatest bodies of savages [were] descended from the most renowned and civilised people of antiquity’, then it contradicted any argument that the existence of such people supported the notion humans were descended from ‘hairy quadrupeds’ [original in quotations].<sup>140</sup> Revealing his disagreements with evolutionary theory, he concluded with a call for others to add to this research, either a gentleman or a scientific group: ‘Let all who will[,] come and dig.’<sup>141</sup>

It should be noted that ‘Semitic’ was a recognised term for a language grouping at that time, with the Semitic family still a category used in linguistics today.<sup>142</sup> As linguist Alfred Capell tactfully put it in 1972, there was ‘nothing inherently impossible or foolish about [MacDonald’s argument], yet it missed the truth completely.’<sup>143</sup> Geddie had provided Dawson with observations of this Semitic origin for his 1857 paper, and there are examples of New Zealand-based Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries Samuel Marsden (d.1838) in 1819, and Richard Taylor (1805–73) in the 1840s, theorising connections between Māori and Semitic languages.<sup>144</sup> However, by 1867 the latter had moved on from the idea of ‘the Semitic Maori’, reframing his theory around Māori origins in India, and subscribing to the ‘the Sanskritocentric vision created by [William] Jones and extended by Max Müller’.<sup>145</sup> MacDonald’s theories were therefore neither consistent with many contemporaneous missionary ideas, nor with the popular ideology in scientific thought, as exemplified by a brief review of his work in *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* highlighting its discordance with ‘the principal authorities on the subject’.<sup>146</sup> He was, however, still doggedly presenting on the subject in 1909, when he told a meeting of the AAAS that speakers of ‘the Oceanic mother tongue’ did not bring

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<sup>139</sup> MacDonald “The Oceanic Languages Shemitic”, 271

<sup>140</sup> MacDonald “The Oceanic Languages Shemitic”, 272.

<sup>141</sup> MacDonald “The Oceanic Languages Shemitic”, 273.

<sup>142</sup> Aaron D. Rubin, “The Semitic Language Family”, in *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Typology*, eds. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R.M.W. Dixon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 854–886.

<sup>143</sup> A. Capell, “Semites in the Pacific,” *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1, no.5 (1972): 146.

<sup>144</sup> Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*, 58–66; See also, Samson, *Race and Redemption*, 90–91, 162–163.

<sup>145</sup> Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*, 66.

<sup>146</sup> Anon., “New Books”, *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (May 1890): 270.

languages from Africa, the Americas or Australia, as there was no resemblance between those languages.<sup>147</sup> He argued that Oceanic languages must have come from Early Arabia, and the only 'convincing' proof of this lay in the linguistic evidence that they were related to the Semitic family of languages.<sup>148</sup> MacDonald criticised the popular perspective that the 'Indo-Chinese' peninsula was the starting place for Oceanic people, and thought it 'not scientific' that proponents of this notion would not consider the Arabic possibility.<sup>149</sup> In 1913, he further extended his theory to encompass material he believed relevant from comparative mythology.<sup>150</sup>

### MacDonald's ethnological and historical evidence

In addition to extensive linguistic studies, MacDonald amassed ethnological material to supplement his arguments. In 1913, for example, he cited the occurrence of the sun as an artistic motif as evidence of Semitic origins for New Hebrideans.<sup>151</sup> Depictions of the sun and the moon were repeatedly analysed in the quest for Pacific origins throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, discussed by missionary and non-missionary scholars alike. As will be highlighted in later chapters, the association of the sun with migration theories became important in the work of diffusionists Grafton Elliot Smith, William Perry, and W.H.R. Rivers. MacDonald had earlier claimed that another ethnological fact indicating ancient migrations of people to southern New Hebrides was the manner that 'the Tannese and some others in the New Hebrides dress their hair in the very remarkable style of the ancient Assyrians, which obtained among no other Asiatic people'.<sup>152</sup> This echoed Turner's 1861 description of the hairstyle (see Chapter 1), and Turner noted that missionary David Livingstone found a similar style among the 'Banyai' people of Africa.<sup>153</sup> MacDonald later included an illustration from Layard's *Ninevah and Babylon* in his paper 'South Sea Island Mythology' (1913).<sup>154</sup> Fellow Presbyterian missionaries William Gray and William Gunn also observed the similarity to Assyrian figures and cultures in their writing in 1892 and 1914 respectively.<sup>155</sup> The repetition of these ideas, as

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<sup>147</sup> Daniel MacDonald, "Early Arabia and Oceania", in *Report of the Twelfth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, ed. John Shirley (Brisbane: Anthony James Cumming, 1910), 464.

<sup>148</sup> MacDonald, "Early Arabia and Oceania", 465; See also, Daniel MacDonald, "The Asiatic (Semitic) relationship of the Oceanic Family of Languages", *Science of Man: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Australasia* 5, no.7 (1902): 112–114.

<sup>149</sup> MacDonald, "Early Arabia and Oceania", 465.

<sup>150</sup> Daniel MacDonald, *South Sea Island Mythology: paper read before the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (Victoria) 1913* (Melbourne: Thos. Urquhart & Co., 1913).

<sup>151</sup> Macdonald "South Sea Island Mythology", 34–37.

<sup>152</sup> Macdonald, "The Oceanic Languages Shemitic", 272.

<sup>153</sup> Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, 78–80.

<sup>154</sup> Macdonald "South Sea Island Mythology", 36.

<sup>155</sup> William Gray, "Notes on the Tannese", in *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, ed. A. Morton, (Hobart: William Graham, 1893), 647; Gunn, *Gospel in*

well as illustrating the repetition of certain tropes in missionary scholarship, suggests they followed well-known biblical archaeological discoveries of the time. There is also some irony in the fascination with New Hebridean hairstyles, since Presbyterian missionaries in the southern New Hebrides actively sought to prevent people styling their hair that way.

### The sun, the moon, and William Gunn's petroglyphs

William Gunn, discussed in the opening vignette, also recorded New Hebridean narratives of the sun and the moon. Representing the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, he and his wife Margaret initially worked on Futuna from April 1883, relocating to Aneityum after Lawrie's 1896 departure. Gunn's 1914 monograph, *The Gospel in Futuna*, encompassed a memoir of his time in the New Hebrides alongside anthropological and archaeological details. He postulated that there were fewer traces of sun and moon worship in New Hebridean islands less influenced by Polynesians.<sup>156</sup> He gave the example of Aneityum, where the sun and his wife the moon (*Sina*), had the power of life and death. Gunn also described built structures on Futuna, which he termed 'altars', with 'the two tallest posts in the altar representing the sun and moon.'<sup>157</sup> These posts are probably of the same type that Gunn had removed from a 'marai' in 1887 along with sacred stones.<sup>158</sup> In a similar manner to Inglis with Rangitapu, Gunn moved these to the mission station as evidence of the old religion; a reminder that missionary research was often connected to proselytising activities.

Like Lawrie, Gunn was an avid photographer, and an album of 30 of his photographs is held in NLS in Edinburgh. Another album of around 60 photographs is at SLNSW, Sydney, originally gifted in 1899 to fellow Presbyterian missionary James Cosh.<sup>159</sup> Gunn's photographs of 'The "Picture Gallery", Aneityum' are significantly the first pictorial record of the petroglyphs in the Ehili area near Umej, Aneityum, and in capturing the images he made the petroglyphs accessible to an international audience. Spriggs and Mumford have also highlighted a publication by Gunn in 1906 as one of the first attempts at comparative analysis of Pacific rock art motifs, illustrating examples of Aneityum rock art alongside carvings from Pitcairn, 'ancient rock paintings' at Waikora, New Zealand, and a design carved on a box 'containing war god of American Indians'.<sup>160</sup> This ethnological method of comparing art styles was popular at the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century, with Anglophone proponents such as

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*Futuna*, 193.

<sup>156</sup> Gunn, *Gospel in Futuna*, 218.

<sup>157</sup> Gunn, *Gospel in Futuna*, 218.

<sup>158</sup> William Gunn, "2. Futuna", *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Sep. 1887): 272.

<sup>159</sup> William Gunn, "Photograph Album of the New Hebrides, 1889-1899", PX 1579, SLNSW.

<sup>160</sup> William Gunn, "Petroglyphs in Aneityum, Pitcairn Island and New Zealand compared", *New Hebrides Magazine* 20 (Apr. 1906): 16-17; Spriggs and Mumford, "Southern Vanuatu rock art".

Alfred C. Haddon (1855–1940) of the University of Cambridge arguing that it could be used to trace past migrations and ‘racial affinities’.<sup>161</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated some of the scholarly interests in broadly archaeological subjects held by members of the Presbyterian mission to the New Hebrides prior to Bowie’s arrival in the Pacific. There were others who explored the prehistory and material culture of the people they met, but the case studies discussed offer detailed insights into some of the emergent themes and interpretations from the arrival of the Geddies in 1848. As evidenced in Chapter 1, missionaries living in the Pacific were enquiring into and forming interpretations of the region’s prehistory using a multitude of sources. In the following chapter, I focus attention specifically on F.G. Bowie. Missionaries were not intellectually isolated, and by exploring the research activities and interpretations of prehistory offered by some of those who went before Bowie, this chapter has attempted to position him intellectually within his mission society, providing a foundation with which to discuss his own collecting, photography and writing.

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<sup>161</sup> A.C. Haddon, *The Decorative Art of British New Guinea; a study in Papuan ethnography* (Dubloine: The Academy House, 1894), 91.



## Chapter 3: Frederick Gatherer's Researches in the New Hebrides, 1896–1933

Vignette: pete levine, Santo



**Figure 3.1. Carved house post, near Lavusvo, Santo, Vanuatu. Photograph by author, 2017.**

In late May 2017, I walked southwards from Tasiriki village to Kerenavura in Santo's Cape Lisburn area, accompanied by Kiki Jimmy. Kiki's husband Thomas is the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta *filwoka* whom I worked with on Santo, May–June 2017. Kiki wanted me to meet her uncle, Dai Vijiolo, whose father sold land to Willie Bowie for his plantation at Kerenavura in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Kiki and Dai also showed me a site behind nearby Lavusvo village, where a carved wooden post stands anchored into the ground, marking the place where a men's house once stood (Figure 3.1). It was here that LMS missionaries, or so-called 'native teachers', named Vaitali and Lameka (from Rarotonga) and Taniela (from Erakor, a small island off Efate) were given somewhere to live while proselytising in the area in 1861.<sup>1</sup> The post stands around 250cm high, retaining traces of green pigment in places. An older

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<sup>1</sup> Dai Vijiolo and his older sister Velak explained the site; names of Rarotongan and Erakor missionaries in

woman in Tasiriki, who was originally from Lavusvo, explained that each carved section of the post represented different imagery or stories, although she did not know the details. Kiki had decided to visit the carved post in Lavusvo after discussing images of Fred Bowie's artefact collections with me at her house one evening. Several people in Tasiriki suggested that the Lavusvo carving resembled one Bowie gave to the Otago Museum (OM), in Dunedin, New Zealand, in 1922, and which was on display in the museum when I visited in 2016.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 3.2. *Pete levine* (carved house post), Santo, now in the collection of Otago Museum. Photograph by F.G. Bowie probably taken at mission station, Tangoa, c.1918. Courtesy University of Aberdeen Museums.**

On 31 May 1921, Bowie wrote to Henry Devenish Skinner (1886–1978), the Assistant Curator (ethnology) at Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, as OM was known at that time. Bowie explained he had 'an old post, about four feet or so long', asserting it was 'the best example of ornamentation' he had seen and advised that the museum could have it if they covered only the cost of transport. 'It has a history', wrote Bowie, which he had described to W.H.R. Rivers and thought the ethnologist might publish in his next book. Rivers did not publish anything about the

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J. Graham Miller, *Live: a history of church planting in the New Hebrides, to 1880* (Sydney: Committees on Christian Education and Overseas Missions, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, 1978), 64.

<sup>2</sup> 'Post, House', D22.692, Otago Museum, Dunedin (hereinafter OM).

carving, identified by Bowie as a *pete levine* (Tasmate area) or *peru keae* (Nogogu area), perhaps because he died just over a year later. An image of the post taken in the field is amongst Rivers' papers at the University of Cambridge, but without any accompanying notes (Figure 3.2).<sup>3</sup> It was Dora de Beer, a young female researcher from a wealthy Dunedin family, who later published the carving in 1924, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.<sup>4</sup> Skinner mentored de Beer at OM, and she undertook a month's training in June 1922 with ethnologist and anthropologist Alfred C. Haddon at the University of Cambridge Archaeology and Ethnology Museum (now the Archaeology and Anthropology Museum, hereinafter CUMAA).<sup>5</sup> De Beer related information from Bowie that a man named Wutimoli had been commissioned to make the post for the *kamali* (men's house) of Tarivakapitu, a powerful *supwentas* man, in Tasmate village.<sup>6</sup> The term *supwentas* was used by Bowie to refer to members of a graded society in west Santo. After Tarivakapitu's death, it was sold for a pig to Moli Wusania at nearby Paitore village, where posts were not carved in the same way. The *supwentas* men of Tasmate tied leaves to the carving, which was painted red and green, and danced it onto a canoe. At Paitore it was placed in the ground but it 'shook like a man'. The *supwentas* men were given taro, yam, pig, fowl and kava, staying overnight, and the next morning, the post had disappeared. It reappeared in Tasmate, believed to have been moved by a spirit. After being returned to Paitore, where Moli Wusania paid another pig, it stayed firmly in place. However, it became *tabu* for anyone to touch the carving.

De Beer presented a diffusionist interpretation for the cultural origins of the carving's style, supported by Bowie's assertion that the post was connected to the *supwentas*, whom he observed as substantially differentiated from other people on Santo. De Beer drew on the carving to illustrate the aesthetics and symbolism of artistic materials, making a comparison of the curvilinear designs supposedly typical in Melanesian work with rectilinear designs found in Polynesia. She noted contradictions to this trend but was of the view that at that time in the New Hebrides, material decorated with rectilinear designs at a superficial level, such as the decoration on clubs, was probably due to recent Tongan influence. There had supposedly been known 'Tongan invasions' in recent times and presumably de Beer was referring temporally to the centuries just before European expansion in Pacific regions. She contrasted these examples to those rectilinear designs which were

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<sup>3</sup> "Photographs Santo", Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039 Box 127, Haddon Papers, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge (hereinafter HPUC).

<sup>4</sup> Dora H. de Beer, "A Carved House Post from Espiritu Santo", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 33, no.132 (1924): 325–328.

<sup>5</sup> Dora de Beer Diary (1922), de Beer family: Papers, MS-1392/021, Hocken Heritage Collections, University of Otago, Dunedin (hereinafter Hocken).

<sup>6</sup> de Beer, "Carved House Post", 327.

'deeply-rooted', due 'to a permanent settlement or colony of the foreign element.'<sup>7</sup> This theory echoes Rivers' suggestion that 'immigrant people' influenced art styles.<sup>8</sup> Skinner and Haddon were also proponents of influential diffusionist ideas around the contrasting decorative art styles of Polynesia and Melanesia at that time, the former having been a student of the latter at the University of Cambridge. De Beer's diffusionist theories of the transmission of art styles contrasted short visits or transactions causing superficial influences on people's artwork against prolonged periods of contact, which created deeply ingrained styles. For de Beer, the *pete levine* demonstrated the latter. The carving's designs differed from Tongan style decoration, being bolder, with the design placed according to the shape of the surface space rather than exhibiting close repeating patterns. This art style was therefore, in de Beer's interpretation, brought about by extended or permanent external influence.

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### Frederick Gatherer: Collecting and interpreting Pacific prehistory

Frederick Gatherer Bowie's collection and interpretation of the *pete levine* offer some insight into his broader engagement with Pacific archaeology from 1896–1933. In this chapter, I will examine his early research interests, his methods for conducting broadly archaeologically themed investigations, and the observations and interpretations he presented. In discussing Bowie's research, I highlight some of his missionary connections in the field, although chapters six and seven will develop his island, inter-island, and intercontinental networks in more detail. Following the central themes interwoven throughout the thesis, in this chapter I consider Bowie's agency as his research developed over time, and the relationship of his work to emerging archaeological theories. A network of internationally distributed material reflects Bowie's interests, but he did not publish any scholarly works, and I reflect on this gap towards the close of the chapter. This lacuna creates ambiguity around Bowie's personal theoretical standpoint, but other tangible material is available for examination and interpretation, namely his artefact collections and photographs, some of which directly relate to one another.<sup>9</sup> Also available are two of Bowie's surviving field notebooks, a diary from 1896–97, and correspondence, as well as his wife Jeannie Bowie's diary from 1914–15.

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<sup>7</sup> de Beer, "Carved House Post", 326.

<sup>8</sup> W.H.R. Rivers, "The Disappearance of Useful Arts", in *Psychology and Ethnology*, ed. Grafton Elliot Smith (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1926), 191–210.

<sup>9</sup> F.G. Bowie, Photograph Album, University of Aberdeen Museums, Aberdeen (hereinafter UAM); F.G. Bowie, Collection of loose photographs, UAM.

## Bowie's early interests in the New Hebrides

Fred Bowie's engagement with the prehistory of the Pacific and his interests in collecting ethnological data are evident from his first months in the New Hebrides.<sup>10</sup> He and Jeannie initially lived on Aneityum, from May to December 1896, stationed with fellow Free Church of Scotland Missionaries William and Margaret Gunn. James Lawrie was in his final year as a missionary on the north of the island. The University of Aberdeen Museums (UAM) currently hold Bowie's diary covering that period, where, among other things, he recorded some titles of books he was reading.<sup>11</sup> One of these was *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland or the Traditional History of Cromarty* (1835) by Scottish geologist, folklorist, and Christian, Hugh Miller.<sup>12</sup> Miller was a widely respected scientist, but he wrestled personally with the intersection of his religious and scientific beliefs, and some claim this tension contributed to his suicide in 1856.<sup>13</sup> *Scenes and Legends* was Miller's critically acclaimed first book, focusing on the folklore and beliefs of his own community. He advocated for the value of traditional folkloric knowledge as opposed to being solely reliant on academic learning. In writing *Scenes and Legends*, Miller claimed that '[o]ld greyheaded men, and especially old women, became my books.'<sup>14</sup> He cautioned readers against the future loss of rich spoken narratives. Bowie did not directly reflect on *Scenes and Legends* within his diary, but regularly referenced his reading of it, suggesting it was a notable event of daily life. His choice of reading material likely indicates some of his intellectual interests in those first months in the New Hebrides, and Miller's approach possibly inspired his engagement with folklore.

In 1896 Bowie also recorded reading *Gems from the Coral Islands* (1855) by William Gill (1813–78), who arrived as an LMS missionary to Rarotonga, Cook Islands, in 1839.<sup>15</sup> While it does contain some other information, the content of this monograph largely reads like a history of mission efforts in the Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides and New Caledonia. The language is evangelical in its tone and the pages littered with stories of murdered missionaries, and an abundance of words such as 'wretched' and 'heathen'.<sup>16</sup> In his chapter about Futuna island, Gill observed, '[T]he inhabitants are evidently

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<sup>10</sup> For additional discussion of F.G. Bowie see also, Haddow, "Island Networks and Missionary Methods".

<sup>11</sup> F.G. Bowie Diary, 25 August 1896, UAM.

<sup>12</sup> Hugh Miller, *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland or the Traditional History of Cromarty* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1835).

<sup>13</sup> For a more nuanced view, see Lyndsey Lunan, "The Fiction of Identity: Hugh Miller and the Working Man's Search for Voice in Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literature" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2005).

<sup>14</sup> Miller, *Scenes and Legends*, 2.

<sup>15</sup> F.G. Bowie diary, 30 August 1896 and 20 September 1896, UAM. William Gill should not be confused with William Wyatt Gill, also an LMS missionary, whose publications had an ethnological vein.

<sup>16</sup> William Gill, *Gems from the Coral Islands, Western Polynesia: Comprising the New Hebrides Group, the Loyalty Group, New Caledonia Group*, vol.1 (London: Ward and Co., 1855).

descendants from natives of the eastern islands, and in physical constitution, custom, and language, unite the two distinct races of eastern and western Polynesia.<sup>17</sup> Regarding Aneityum, he wrote, '[T]he inhabitants of Aneiteum are totally different from those of the eastern islands: in physical appearance, in language, in colour, in manners and customs, they are marked out as having sprung from another race. They are small of stature, very dark, and slender; and in their heathen state were wanting that spirit and energy which characterise many of the neighbouring tribes even of their own group.'<sup>18</sup> Gill continued by describing people on Aneityum prior to any Christian conversion as having been in 'a lower state' than those in Tahiti, Rarotonga, or Samoa. Whether Bowie fully agreed with those observations is uncertain, but in his diary, he did comment on the potential inaccuracy of Gill's facts relating to the history of New Hebrides mission; Bowie's copy had corrections in the margin by the missionary Joseph Copeland which he evidently accepted.<sup>19</sup> This early reading again offers insight into the sources that potentially influenced Bowie's opinions of the prehistory and origins of the people he met, or indeed the notions he may have wished to discredit.

Bowie's first record of artefact collecting in his diary was on 24 August 1896. He wrote: 'Got some shells today, stone axes [and] shell fish hook for 1/6 [and] a stick from Joe. Got two axes from Noara, an Imatanga [Imtania district] man [and] got two pretty little ones from Mungan.'<sup>20</sup> The 'stick' undoubtedly refers to a stick of tobacco, a commonly traded item in the area at that time. The diary entry indicates the type of transaction taking place and the relative values placed on items by parties on either side of an exchange. The following day, while at the beach with William Gunn and his daughter Ruth, Bowie collected 'shells [and] stone axes (toki)', the context suggesting these were found lying on the shoreline.<sup>21</sup> *Toki* is not the Aneityum word for axe or adze, but comes from the languages of Futuna and Aniwa, as well as being present in other Polynesian languages. As well as shell collecting, Bowie engaged in collecting other natural history specimens and is known to have later given moss specimens from Tangoa to the National Herbaria of New South Wales and Victoria.<sup>22</sup>

As discussed in the previous chapter, Bowie's colleague Gunn recorded oral traditions and other *kastom* information which he published and shared with others, including linguist Arthur Capell.

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<sup>17</sup> Gill, *Gems from the Coral Islands*, 140.

<sup>18</sup> Gill, *Gems from the Coral Islands*, 151.

<sup>19</sup> F.G. Bowie diary, 2 September 1896, UAM.

<sup>20</sup> F.G. Bowie diary, 24 August 1896, UAM.

<sup>21</sup> F.G. Bowie diary, 24 August 1896, UAM.

<sup>22</sup> Forty-six specimens, The Australian Virtual Herbarium, accessed 20 December 2016, <http://avh.ala.org.au>.

Bowie's diary also records artefact collecting by Gunn. One evening, following a medical visit with Gunn to treat a woman's swollen foot, Bowie wrote that his fellow missionary showed a stone to three Aneityumese men: Nehioanijop, Numapon and Abel.<sup>23</sup> Acquired by Gunn 'from a Futunese wind maker', Bowie described the powerful artefact as an 'irregularly shaped stone with holes drilled, to make wind close up all the holes except one lying in direction in which want wind to blow. Can also make calm!'.<sup>24</sup> Numapon and Abel were familiar with the process, which they described to the missionaries, and afterwards 'Numapon went over names of winds'.<sup>25</sup> In 1891, James Lawrie captured portraits of Nehioanijop and his wife Ketherop, captioning the former 'Nehioanijop = "Storm of the Sea", a native teacher' (Figures 3.3 and 3.4).<sup>26</sup> Lawrie also photographed Numapon at Anelcauhaut Harbour in 1891, describing him as 'a sub chief', presumably what is called in Anejom language *natimi alupas* (Figure 3.5).<sup>27</sup> Like Lawrie, Gunn was a keen photographer, and he began training Bowie in field photography during their shared months on Aneityum. Bowie recorded nights spent assisting Gunn in developing images and learning how to produce glass lantern slides from negatives.<sup>28</sup> He used these skills throughout his time in the New Hebrides to capture sites, daily and *kastom* life, and stories of the Presbyterian mission. From a total of 129 photographs identified as attributable to Bowie over the course of this research, none of his images captured in 1896 have been identified. Some anonymously captured photographs from the late 1890s southern New Hebrides in Presbyterian archives may be his, however, most identified images are from Santo and Tangoa, the locations in which he lived and worked for the majority of his mission career.

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<sup>23</sup> F.G. Bowie diary, 25 June 1896, UAM

<sup>24</sup> F.G. Bowie diary, 25 June 1896, UAM

<sup>25</sup> F.G. Bowie diary, 25 June 1896, UAM

<sup>26</sup> J. H. Lawrie, "Photographs taken in the New Hebrides, 1891-94", Q988.6/L (SET) vol.3, SLNSW.

<sup>27</sup> J. H. Lawrie, "Photographs taken in the New Hebrides, 1891-94", Q988.6/L (SET) vol.2, SLNSW.

<sup>28</sup> F.G. Bowie diary, 4 August, 16–18 August, and 26 August 1896, UAM.



**Figure 3.3 and 3.4 Nehioanjop and Ketherop, Aneityum, c.1891. Photographs by J.H. Lawrie. Source, State Library New South Wales, Sydney.**



**Figure 3.5. Numapon (standing), Aneityum, c.1891. Photograph by J.H. Lawrie. Source, State Library New South Wales, Sydney.**



### Early photography and notebooks

Few of Bowie's photographs have specific dates, but his earliest known photograph is likely to be one taken on Ambrym in 1897. Mounted into an album, it has Bowie's handwritten caption, 'Ambrim chief making declaration under oath' (Figure 3.6). Depicted is a man with a wooden staff, holding leaves planted into the ground on a stake. Recorded on an unnumbered page, somewhat hidden towards the end of one of Bowie's two surviving notebooks at UAM, is an account titled 'Swearing-taking oath' which reveals the story of this blurred image and its somewhat cryptic caption. The account opens '[P]robably in 1897 I was with Mr Mansfield. We met a man whom he called Charlie. He had been in Queensland.'<sup>29</sup> Charlie was en route to the nearby village, having heard that a boy died in the night. He was anxious to join everyone 'to wail for him', explaining, 'if I do not cry, it may be said that I killed him'. On arrival at the village, Bowie and Mansfield found 'old Mal Mato (?) was standing beside a stick. It had been driven into the ground, [and] some cycad leaves were tied to it. He was declaring that he was not responsible for the death. Everyone in turn did the same.' Bowie found another man was trying to discover the murderer by stripping a fern leaf while saying a person's name. The person was innocent if all the leaves came off in one motion. Bowie added that this was the same as on Santo. James Mansfield went to Ambrym around 1893 as an assistant missionary to Dr Robert Lamb of the Northern Presbyterian Church mission from New Zealand. John T. Bowie replaced Lamb, and Fred was presumably visiting his brother when he observed the 'declaration under oath', with the Chief pictured being the man Fred named as Mal Mato.



**Figure 3.6 'Ambrim chief making declaration under oath', 1897. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**

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<sup>29</sup> F.G. Bowie, "swearing taking oath", Blue notebook, UAM. Punctuation as in original.

The next chronologically identifiable account in Bowie's notebooks is from 20 December 1905, recording the story of Maluchici or Tatupua who 'made the heaven and the earth, and all things great and small'.<sup>30</sup> Despite this explicitly Christian language, the story is written as if told in the first person by someone from the New Hebrides. They describe how Maluchici tried to pull up Erromango, Futuna and Tanna, with Tanna being pulled up by a rope that did not break, thus 'bringing it near to our isle'. The name Maluchici is likely a local variant of Mautikitiki, the trickster culture hero found in variations in Polynesian mythologies credited with fishing up a number of islands. Alongside the date, 'Vani' is underlined, almost certainly referring to Vani from Aniwa, to which Tanna is the closest island, who enrolled at the TTI on Tangoa in 1903. Vani's schooling would also explain his use of biblically framed language if Bowie wrote the account verbatim. Following this is another story from Aniwa of a yam known as 'ta toto o Matu' that grew from the blood of a man, of whom Vani concluded 'I suppose my "grandfather his father" saw that man'. Such comments potentially influenced Bowie's perceptions of the time depth of particular events in the region. The 1897 and 1905 entries in Bowie's notebook further support the assertion that he was interested in gathering cultural data from his early years in the New Hebrides, although his motivations for such activities remain unclear. Bowie's photographs, notebooks, and diaries all reveal aspects of his engagement with local material culture and 'folklore', as well as his connections with interlocutors, discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6. Drawing on this multitude of sources, the discussion now provides an overview of Bowie's artefact collecting from 1896–1933, before considering individual artefacts connected with the study of Santo's prehistory.

### Collecting for the University of Aberdeen Anthropological Museum

During a period of 37 years, Bowie acquired at least 200 cultural artefacts, the majority of which are in OM and UAM. The material is mainly attributed to the south and west of Santo or to Tangoa, with several items from Malakula, Nguna, Futuna and Aneityum islands. Bowie gave a total of 86 items throughout his lifetime to his old university in Aberdeen, and the earliest identifiable donation consisted of three strings of shell beads presented in 1900.<sup>31</sup> The accompanying information appears to have been provided by Bowie and explains that the shells were 'ground down in water', and the beads worn by males and females, but more often by the latter, around ankle, waist, neck and wrist.<sup>32</sup> Bowie's additional details of manufacture and use suggest a perceived value in recording and

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<sup>30</sup> F.G. Bowie, Blue notebook, UAM.

<sup>31</sup> Robert W. Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Anthropological Museum, Marischal College, University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1912), 289 item 49; ABDUA:3065, ABDUA:3066 and ABDUA:3067, UAM.

<sup>32</sup> Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue*, 289.

sharing such supporting data, rather than merely presenting his old university some decontextualized shell beads as a gift or curio. Chronologically, his next identifiable donation was a comb from Santo made of wood and incised with decoration, presented in 1901.<sup>33</sup> After Bowie's death in 1933, his daughter-in-law donated five artefacts to UAM, accompanied by a photograph album, diary, and Jeannie Bowie's diary. Of the five artefacts, two are strings of shell beads, one of which was worn by a Chief around the ankle, and another two are *tiokh* or wooden throwing sticks of which Bowie collected a considerable number.

The fifth item given to UAM in this donation was a large wooden platter, also depicted in one of Bowie's photographs (Figures 3.7a and 3.7b).<sup>34</sup> This large finely carved ovoid dish is 121cm by 29cm, featuring anthropomorphic figures at each end. One end is carved in the form of a head with a serrated stylised cross motif resembling arms crossed above the head or a fishtail, and the other is similar, but the face is damaged. The skilled carving exhibited by the platter implies it was valued, and sure enough the archival photograph is captioned 'Chief's pudding plate'. The fact it was retained in Bowie's personal collection until his death suggests it was of particular significance to him or Jeannie. In 2007, a small number of items were still in the ownership of Bowie's descendants. This included arm ornaments that the missionary recorded were given to him by Chief Socarae (Sokerai) on his deathbed. Sokerai was a man of chiefly status who staunchly opposed the Presbyterians during Bowie's early years on Tangoa, but with whom Bowie fostered a relationship over many years (see Chapter 6). Again, Bowie's decision to keep them in his possession suggests their personal significance. Between 1986–87, Fred's grandson gave UAM a bamboo nose flute, two carved 'anthropomorphic rain charms in chalk', a woven waist ornament, two pig tusk arm ornaments, two neck ornaments made of shell beads, four shells, and 'photographs and field notebooks'.<sup>35</sup> Some of these loose photographs are duplicates found in the album acquired earlier, but most are additional prints.

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<sup>33</sup> Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue*, 288 item 37.

<sup>34</sup> F.G. Bowie, Photograph Album, UAM. Also in, "Photographs Santo", Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039 Box 127, HPUC.

<sup>35</sup> "Acquisitions 1986–87", F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM.



**Figure 3.7a. Carved wooden platter, Santo. Collected by F.G. Bowie, ABDUA:3076. Courtesy and copyright University of Aberdeen Museums.**



**Figure 3.7b 'Chief's pudding plate.' Photographed by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**

Throughout his lifetime, Bowie negotiated to collect for Aberdeen through Anatomy Professor Robert Reid (1851–1939). As the curator of the Anatomy Museum, which included ethnology collections, Reid brought together disparate anatomical, archaeological and anthropological material within the University to form the Anthropological Museum of the University of Aberdeen in 1907. It is unclear whether Bowie made a prior arrangement to collect for the museum in Aberdeen before leaving Scotland in 1896, but certainly made an agreement at some stage; in 1921 he noted to Skinner at OM, 'I am under a kind of obligation to keep anything I can lay hands on for the Aberdeen University Museum.'<sup>36</sup> Reid was an evolutionist, believing that anatomical data, material assemblages, and institutional forms could be drawn together to create a typological sequence for humans, progressing from primitive to more advanced. The gallery layout of the Anthropological Museum in 1912 reflected these hierarchies, with different geographical locations arranged in order of a perceived evolutionary scale (see Chapter 7).<sup>37</sup>

### Bowie's collections at Otago Museum, Dunedin

In 1922, Bowie gave 75 artefacts to OM and a further shipment of ten pots from Wusi village in west Santo in 1924. Skinner later exchanged some items with other museums as part of his active pursuit to create a broad and diverse ethnological collection at OM. Bowie also sent Skinner a Canadian adze, originally given to Annand while in Canada, who then took it to the TTI where it remained for many years.<sup>38</sup> Skinner initiated correspondence with Bowie and although this letter remains unlocated, Bowie's response of 31 May 1921 offers an insight into their fledgling relationship as correspondents. The letter indicates that Fred's brother John Tait Bowie put the two in touch.<sup>39</sup> At that time, John was employed as a medical tutor and lecturer on parasitology at the University of Otago, having retired from his post in the New Hebrides after the hospital at Dip Point, Ambrym, was destroyed by a volcanic eruption in 1912.<sup>40</sup> In 1919, John gave OM 'an example of the extremely rare boomerang of Santo, New Hebrides', which likely came from Fred and prompted Skinner to ask about the possibility of acquiring more material as he sought to expand the collections.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> F.G. Bowie to H.D. Skinner, 31 May 1921, Otago Museum curatorial archives, Otago Museum, Dunedin (hereinafter OMC).

<sup>37</sup> Helen Southwood, "The History and Wonder of Marischal Museum's Catalogues, 1900-2000", *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, 15 (2003): 97, plate 2.

<sup>38</sup> Adze, D22.663, OM.

<sup>39</sup> F.G. Bowie to H.D. Skinner, 31 May 1921, OMC.

<sup>40</sup> F.G. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 June 1918, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039 Box 127, HPUC.

<sup>41</sup> Otago Museum, *Otago University Museum: Annual Report for the year 1919* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers co Ltd, 1920), 3.

In his first letter to Skinner, Fred Bowie tantalisingly revealed that he had acquired more artefacts during his time in the New Hebrides which he no longer had, and which probably no longer existed: '[I]n earlier days I used to have numerous specimens of many kinds, [and] foolishly gave them away to visitors or other private collectors, who perhaps appreciated them a little at first [and] soon cast them aside.'<sup>42</sup> He was always seeking to collect more, but by 1921 that had become difficult and he was obligated to keep anything he could for UAM. It was hard even to obtain 'an old bow, and more difficult still to pick up a spear except one made of iron or wire'.<sup>43</sup> Wooden clubs were also rarely seen. Bowie commented that he had not the courage to ask other Presbyterian missionaries for any specimens, although he did not elaborate why. He could, however, send Skinner two pots from Santo, and potentially a carved house post: the *pete levine* described in the opening of this chapter. The latter was destined for Aberdeen, but the freight was so expensive that Bowie was 'not sure it would be thought worth it'.<sup>44</sup> As an alternative, he offered it to Skinner, which 'itself would cost nothing', but the museum would have to cover transport to Dunedin. Bowie also had a chief's staff 'somewhere about the house', along with a club from Erromango and some other unspecified items which he could send. The chief's staff is probably item D22.651 in Otago Museum's collection.

From the tone and content of his letter, Bowie appeared genuinely disappointed not to be able to offer Skinner more. He exhibited a sense of what material would be appealing to a museum or ethnologist at that time, unsurprising considering the correspondence was initiated two decades after the first of Bowie's ongoing donations to UAM and seven years after working with W.H.R. Rivers on his 1914 New Hebrides fieldwork. The missionary had a backlog of letters from other men too, some asking for birds' eggs, butterflies, and stamps, one requesting 'detailed information about certain native beliefs', and another 'a specimen address on a particular subject by a native'.<sup>45</sup> Bowie was a node in an exchange network that Skinner joined and which, as will be elaborated upon in later chapters, extended from his mission out to neighbouring islands and beyond to scholars and others worldwide. Bowie expressed regret to Skinner at not visiting OM when lately in Dunedin, although he had viewed some private collections of New Hebrides material there. His comments further indicate his continuing interest in the material culture itself. His lamentations seemingly contradict the drive of early 19<sup>th</sup>-century missionaries to rid the region of 'heathen' practices, and his collecting appears less explicitly motivated by the collection of 'idols' and 'trophies' (see Chapter 1). Neither does Bowie appear motivated by personal financial gain. Conversely, he does not reflect on

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<sup>42</sup> F.G. Bowie to H.D. Skinner, 31 May 1921, OMC.

<sup>43</sup> F.G. Bowie to H.D. Skinner, 31 May 1921, OMC.

<sup>44</sup> F.G. Bowie to H.D. Skinner, 31 May 1921, OMC.

<sup>45</sup> F.G. Bowie to H.D. Skinner, 31 May 1921, OMC.

his own role in creating a scarcity of *kastom* material through the missionary and colonial project to 'civilise' people. His worldview is aligned with the 19<sup>th</sup>-century drive to record and preserve material from apparently dying races, a so-called 'salvage ethnography'.

### Artefactual indicators of prehistory and past migrations

Artefacts that Bowie associated with interpretations of the peopling of Santo attracted particular interest from those outside his local island and inter-island networks, such as academic scholars and museum curators. These objects included the *pete levine* and a curved wooden throwing stick known as a *tiokh*: the 'extremely rare boomerang of Santo' (see also Chapter 7).<sup>46</sup> It was during W.H.R. Rivers' 1914–15 fieldwork, when he and Bowie spent time working together in the south Santo area, that Bowie 'saw [his] first boomerang, at the extreme north end of Santo.'<sup>47</sup> Having left Rivers at Nogogu village, Bowie had travelled northwards to check on the remote areas of his mission district. At Valpei village he observed a boy using a *tiokh* and immediately recognised its uniqueness, enquiring what it was and where to obtain examples. Bowie independently collected specimens and supporting data before returning to Rivers several days later. The data Bowie collected 'satisfied Dr Rivers that it was a genuine Santo weapon.' The question on both men's minds was whether the familiar artefact form was related to the Australian boomerang. Bowie gave Rivers three *tiokh*, which the latter deposited at CUMAA.<sup>48</sup> Two of these were deposited in 1915, and the entry in the museum's published list of accessions for the year records 'one old example [...] and one of recent manufacture'.<sup>49</sup> Bowie also sent details of the *tiokh* to Reid in Aberdeen and two examples to Adelaide at the request of Sir Edward Stirling of the South Australian Museum.<sup>50</sup> The attention the *tiokh* attracted from those such as Rivers and Skinner echoed the enquiries of Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers in the 1860s–80s. His typological studies of throwing sticks from Australia, Egypt, and India are yet another story in the development of Pacific archaeology and will be elaborated upon in Chapter 7.

During research for this thesis, in addition to those at UAM, the South Australian Museum, and

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<sup>46</sup> See, W.H.R. Rivers, "The Boomerang in the New Hebrides", *Man* 15 (1915): 106–108; de Beer, "A Carved House Post", 325–358.

<sup>47</sup> F.G. Bowie typescript notes to Robert Reid, n.d., UAM.

<sup>48</sup> E 1915.28, Z 10883 A and Z10883 B, University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge (hereinafter CUMAA).

<sup>49</sup> University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Antiquarian Committee to the Senate with List of Accessions for the Year 1915* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Reporter, 1916), 10.

<sup>50</sup> A.12050 and A.12051, South Australian Museum.

CUMAA, examples of *tiokh* have been identified in OM (two items), and Museums Victoria (three items). All of these were acquired directly from Bowie or can be connected with him in some way. For example, one of the OM *tiokh* came through Fred's brother John T. Bowie. At Museums Victoria, one example was acquired in 1926 from Frank Paton, likely to be Presbyterian missionary Francis Hume Lyall Paton (1870–1938), who from 1907–25 was the Foreign Mission Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria.<sup>51</sup> The other two were acquired by Australian anthropologist Harry Rainy Balfour (1875–1962), seemingly a family friend of the Bowies; a photograph of Fred and Jeannie with Balfour located at UAM is annotated on the reverse, 'Dads great friend (Mr Harry Balfour).'<sup>52</sup>

### Potsherds and pottery making

As discussed in Chapter 2, in Presbyterian missionary John Inglis' report of his 1851 tour on HMS *Havannah* he compared New Caledonian with Fijian pottery, claiming the existence of both was 'proof of relationship or common origin' for inhabitants of the two places.<sup>53</sup> Unearthing pottery sherds while gardening or erecting buildings became commonplace as the Presbyterian mission to the New Hebrides expanded and Bowie and some of his missionary colleagues and predecessors shared an interest in pottery making. In 1903, for example, Fred J. Paton (1867–1941) forwarded potsherds to the Australian Museum in Sydney which had been dug up around his mission station on Malakula from 'yam gardens or old village rubbish heaps.'<sup>54</sup> This latter is clearly a reference to kitchen middens. It was not a contemporary practice in most localities where these fragments were found. However, in west Santo pottery was and still is being made, leading missionaries to question why. In May 1901, Reverend Thomas Watt Leggatt (1859–1944) published a call in the *New Hebrides Magazine (NHM)* asking on how many of the islands 'fragments of ancient pottery' had been found.<sup>55</sup> Drawing on his own missionary experiences on Malakula, he disagreed with the theory that pottery was introduced to Santo by the Spanish under Pedro Fernández de Quirós in 1606. One of the 'facts' with which he furnished his argument was the abundance of old pottery fragments dug up around Aulua, Malakula. He claimed the local community had no traditions about them: 'They call them "Stones of Bokor" (the demi-god or great ancestor of Malekulans), and until I showed them that they were manufactured had no idea but that they were stones'. For Leggatt, therefore, a lack

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<sup>51</sup> One of his sons, also named Frank (Francis James Clezy), was a missionary teacher with his wife Rita at the TTI under the Bowies from 1930–33.

<sup>52</sup> F.G Bowie, Loose photographs, UAM.

<sup>53</sup> Inglis, "Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides", 57.

<sup>54</sup> Robert Etheridge, "Additions to the Ethnological Collections, chiefly from the New Hebrides", *Records of the Australian Museum* 11, no.8 (1917): 197.

<sup>55</sup> T.W. Leggatt, "New Hebrides Pottery", *New Hebrides Magazine* 3 (May 1901): 27.



of continuing traditions signified the 'ancient'.

Five months later, James Noble Mackenzie (1865–1952) published his own observations in *NHM*.<sup>56</sup> As a missionary in northwest Santo, he noted that fragments of pottery had been found on other islands that were of a similar style to pots made in his area. Mackenzie considered this proof that the same type had previously been made on other islands, especially considering 'how little the New Hebrideans were given to inter island trading in the past.' In this he was completely incorrect; inter-island exchange had been prevalent in the past, and Santo pots were just one regularly and widely exchanged portable commodity.<sup>57</sup> Mackenzie's hypothesis exemplifies the continued influence of the trope of isolation within 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>- century archaeological and anthropological studies, highlighted in Chapter 1. There was a pervasive rhetoric that New Hebrideans, and 'Melanesians' generally, lacked complex exchange systems. The perception that 'Melanesians' were less skilled canoe builders than 'Polynesians' further compounded European disbelief at the possibility of long-distance trade.



Figure 3.8. Pot, Santo. Collected by F.G. Bowie, ABDUA:3038. Courtesy and copyright, University of Aberdeen Museums.

<sup>56</sup> J.N. Mackenzie, "New Hebrides Pottery", *New Hebrides Magazine* 4 (Oct 1901): 21–22.

<sup>57</sup> See, Mary E. Shutler, "Pottery Making in Espiritu Santo", *Asian Perspectives* 14 (1971): 81–83. Kirk W. Huffman, "Trading, Cultural Exchange and Copyright: Important Aspects of Vanuatu Art", in *Arts of Vanuatu*, eds. Joël Bonnemaïson et al. (Bathurst: Crawford House, 1996), 184 figure.

Bowie became Presbyterian missionary for southwest Santo in 1897, visiting Mackenzie in his district to the northwest, and took responsibility for the area after Mackenzie's departure around 1912. The first Santo pot given by Bowie to a museum was to UAM in 1911. Illustrated in Reid's 1912 catalogue, it is described as being for cooking (Figure 3.8).<sup>58</sup> This is the only example of pottery in Bowie's UAM collection, but he certainly acquired more and recorded manufacturing details. Jeannie noted one acquisition in her diary in January 1915 when the couple visited Wusi while travelling southwards along the west coast of Santo from Nogogu village. There they 'got a collection of pots and also the "old pot" from the Wus people'.<sup>59</sup> In March 1915, Fred wrote to Rivers to say that he had 'the old pot', implying Rivers' awareness of this artefact, perhaps having seen it on his recent field trip to the New Hebrides.<sup>60</sup> Rivers had earlier written of the value of pottery in telling stories about the past:

Fragments of pottery are found scattered about in Malikolo [Malakula] and Pentecost, in neither of which islands is pottery now used and in Malikolo the people have a myth to explain the presence of the fragments. Further, pottery has been found buried at considerable depths in two places, and promises through its indestructibility to become in these distant islands as important a guide to past history as in the older world.<sup>61</sup>

An analysis of Bowie's collections today reveals no record of 'the old pot', and none of the pots visually appear to be of a notably different style or composition that suggests they are of greater age relative to the others. It is significant, however, that the Bowies offered this chronological assessment, indicating an interest in observing comparative ages of similar materials. Fred recorded some of the protocols and processes of pottery making in his field-notes. Details of the former are attributed to an old woman named 'Kalon' from Tasmate village.<sup>62</sup> Dete, a mission teacher from Nogogu, is also named. Bowie took separate notes of the firing process, although in this case he did not record any specific names or villages. He sent three photographs of pottery making in Wusi to Rivers, and a duplicate of one of these is in Bowie's personal photograph album at UAM. Each photograph documents a different aspect of the manufacturing process (Figures 3.9 and 3.10).<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue*, 290.

<sup>59</sup> J. Bowie diary, 12 January 1915, UAM.

<sup>60</sup> F.G. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 March 1915, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039 Box 127, HPUC.

<sup>61</sup> W.H.R. Rivers, *The Disappearance of Useful Arts* (Helsingfors, 1912), 112–113.

<sup>62</sup> F.G. Bowie, "pots", Empire notebook, UAM.

<sup>63</sup> F.G. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 March 1915, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039 Box 127, HPUC.



**Figure 3.9. Woman making pottery, name unrecorded, Wusi, Santo c.1910. Photographed by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**



**Figure 3.10. Woman making pots, probably Wusi, Santo. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**

In Bowie's later correspondence with Skinner in 1921, he wrote of two pots that OM could have. Bowie either collected further examples or had more in his possession than first indicated, because in 1924 he sent Skinner ten red-slipped pots attributed to Wusi. Skinner had expressed a desire for any fragments of old pottery, explaining that pieces 'if they are decorated, often indicate in which direction the decorative art of an island was moving before European intercourse began.'<sup>64</sup> Bowie only provided contemporary pots from the period, but they were subsequently used to make analogies for the past. For example, R.R.C. MacLachlan used them in his 1939 publication, 'Native pottery of the New Hebrides'.<sup>65</sup> Bowie's pottery at OM formed half of MacLachlan's study sample. His name is not directly acknowledged, but the catalogue numbers match those of his donation. MacLachlan concluded that contemporary pottery of the New Hebrides differed so entirely from the style represented by older sherds that he studied as to suggest that it was the work of 'a new race of potters', perhaps of Fijian origin.<sup>66</sup> In making this assessment, he contributed to the two-population-strata model, which drew on evidence from pottery to illustrate the hierarchy of Polynesians over Melanesians.<sup>67</sup> In this way, the data Bowie gathered fed into dominant racially prescribed narratives about the origins of Pacific people. As Mackenzie's comments discussed above demonstrate, some missionaries not only contributed to those narratives, they also accepted, lived, and reproduced them.

Bowie created a valuable record of Wusi pottery designs and their local language terms when he gave the ten pots (in Wusi, *uro tano*) to OM. In 2017, I visited Wusi to speak with contemporary potters about this material, and the designs attracted particular attention as some are used today, but others have been forgotten over time. The stylistic form of the first pot Bowie deposited at UAM (Figure 3.8) is known as *uro panpan*. The design represents breakers or small waves, called *tahililin*, apparently previously also used as a tattoo pattern. Most contemporary pottery makers are women, although men are permitted to pot if they wish, and in Wusi I met one man working on the process of preparing the clay with his wife. Wusi residents said that not many other villages still make pottery, and certainly fewer than in the past. Yoko Nojima's detailed studies of pottery in Olpoi village in the 1990s and 2000s indicated few active makers outside of that village and Wusi.<sup>68</sup> Women

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<sup>64</sup> H.D. Skinner to F.G. Bowie, 9 July 1921, letter 54, OMC.

<sup>65</sup> R.R.C. MacLachlan, "Native pottery of the New Hebrides", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 48, no.1 (1939): 32–55.

<sup>66</sup> MacLachlan, "Native pottery of the New Hebrides", 55.

<sup>67</sup> Clark, "Shards of Meaning".

<sup>68</sup> Yoko Nojima, "Olpoi Village Pottery Making Today", in *Working together in Vanuatu: Research histories, collaborations, projects and reflections*, eds. John Taylor and Nick Thieberger (Canberra: ANU Press, 2011), 159–174.

in Wusi commonly now sell finished pots in Luganville, the largest town on Santo, with tourists a significant market. In testament to this, affixed to the wall in the women's house during my stay in the village was a list of upcoming arrival times of cruise ships into Luganville harbour. This information is crucial before making the long journey to town with pottery, first by boat for around three hours to Tasiriki, then by road for at least two hours along the coast before reaching Santo's capital. The stages of pottery manufacture are still subject to specific protocols, which were explained to me in 2017. For example, pottery firing must be done privately and under cover of darkness, and those going to do the firing must not talk about it in advance with anyone. Otherwise, it is said, the pots will break in the process.

### *Koroain sua* (pig-killing platforms) of Nogogu

Over Christmas 1914, just prior to acquiring 'the old pot' at Wusi, the Bowies were in Nogogu where Fred recorded another aspect of material culture corresponding with popular typological categories in the study of Pacific prehistory at that time: so-called megaliths. Mounted in Bowie's photograph album are two images of *korain sua*, which are large stone pig-killing platforms, with an additional loose photograph of the same subject also in the UAM collection. Writing to Rivers in March 1915, Bowie explained he had captured a general view of three platforms, which Rivers had seen in person.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, he had taken a photograph of the largest platform, 'showing the upright stones of another beside it with the *koroain* in the middle but no covering stone', and a further two of 'the special one with carved *koroain*.' (Figures 3.11 and 3.12)<sup>70</sup> In the process, two small mango trees were taken out from around the uncovered *koroain*, and Bowie observed that no one would be able to take another photo like his as one tree was replanted and would likely soon displace the stones. During these events, Bowie suggested to the Chief, for whom he did not provide a full name, that he might be given the carved *koroain*, and sure enough, it was sent to the launch on the day the Bowies left. This removal of course also prevented another person capturing the same images. In May 2017, I spoke with one of the previous Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta *filwocas* from Nogogu who told me that none of the structures are still in place.<sup>71</sup> He compared the *koroain* with the roots of a tree, planted into the earth in the centre of the stone structure and connecting with the ground beneath.

Bowie produced a hand-drawn diagram of the stone structures at Nogogu for Skinner, indicating the

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<sup>69</sup> F.G. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 March 1915, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039 Box 127, HPUC.

<sup>70</sup> F.G. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 June 1918, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039 Box 127, HPUC.

<sup>71</sup> Discussion with Watson Viran Clarence, 31 May 2017.

dimensions of the platforms.<sup>72</sup> Of the three *sua*, as they are labelled, number '3' is recorded as 'farthest Sua', implying the sketch accompanied the photograph of all three *koroain sua* in situ for reference. Bowie provided measurements in inches of each edge of 'Sua no. 1' and 'Sua no. 2' and their overall heights, as well as the length, breadth and height of the third. Scrawled on the edge of the paper is a note that the carved stone under 'sua no. 2' was given to OM by Bowie, which must be the same carved *koroain* he requested from the Nogogu chief in 1915 (see Figure 3.12). It is in the OM register as 'carved stone called "Koroain sua". To be described by Rivers. Connected with burial [and] with pig-killing in N.W. Santo.'<sup>73</sup> It was Skinner, not Rivers, who later published details of the stone structures from Bowie in his 'Dolmens in Espiritu Santo'.<sup>74</sup> According to Bowie, during important grade taking ceremonies a man would mount the platform and kill a pig using a special adze-shaped wooden club. Skinner made a comparison to the 'dolmens' of Makira described by Fox, of which he noted a component stone was also at OM. The presence and distribution of so-called megaliths continued to be a material marker for Bowie and Fox in thinking about the people with whom they lived. These structures were prominent in early 20th-century diffusionist theories of the migration of people in the past, as characterised by the work of Rivers and his colleagues.<sup>75</sup>



Figure 3.11. *Koroain Sua*, Nogogu, Santo, 1915. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums

<sup>72</sup> "Dolmens in the Pacific (1924)", Skinner, Henry Devenish: Papers, MS-1219/151, Hocken.

<sup>73</sup> D.22.659, OM Register.

<sup>74</sup> H.D. Skinner, "Dolmens in Espiritu Santo", *Journal of Polynesian Society* 35, no.3 (1926):235–238.

<sup>75</sup> E.g. W.H.R. Rivers, "The Distribution of Megalithic Civilization", in *Psychology and Ethnology*, ed. Grafton Elliot Smith (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1926), 167–172.



**Figure 3.12. *Koroain Sua*, Nogogu, Santo 1915. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums. The central carved stone under the platform is probably the one sent to OM.**

### Pig killing and mission perspectives

Pig exchange and pig killing featured in other areas of Bowie's collecting and photography. In 1905, he presented UAM with a pig mandible from Santo. His accompanying note, quoted in the 1912 catalogue of the museum, read:

A man's whole life at Santo depends upon the pig. Chieftainship is not hereditary in the north as in the south of the New Hebrides group. If a man kills eleven pigs with circular tusks he becomes a high chief, and takes his rank accordingly in the next world. Sows are only fit for females.<sup>76</sup>

In 1912, another pig mandible associated with chiefs, this time from Ambrym, came to UAM through Fred's brother John, with a note that the pig was killed aged 16 years and seven months in December 1910.<sup>77</sup> Fred depicted numerous such jaws in a photograph, hanging on a wooden frame with a large shell trumpet in the foreground. This impressive display of power and wealth is inscribed on the reverse: 'the jaws of the pigs that sokerai killed to become a chief' (see Chapter 6, Figure 6.10).<sup>78</sup> Another image mounted in Bowie's photograph album, captioned 'Pig cost £4', acknowledges the animal as a valuable commodity. His enquiries into the subject of pigs and pig killing are further evident in a letter from Willie Bowie to Rivers dated 27 July 1916. Fred apparently had 'the account

<sup>76</sup> Pig bone mandible, ABDUA: 3049, UAM; Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue*, 286.

<sup>77</sup> Pig bone mandible, ABDUA: 3050, UAM; Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue*, 287.

<sup>78</sup> Bowie, loose photos, UAM.

of pig killing on Malo' and was attempting to learn what he could about the Tangoan method. Willie declared that if the method were different, then he 'may do something in regard to it through the Tasiri'ians', adding '[b]etween us we ought to be able to get a little information.'<sup>79</sup> These artefacts and archival materials can be categorised similarly to the status items Bowie retained, referred to above, which signalled his relationships with significant individuals. That is, researching pigs in the New Hebrides meant engaging with chiefs and others holding specialist knowledge, forming close personal relationships in which that information could be accessed and shared.

There is a third photograph relating to pigs in Bowie's album at UAM, captioned '[v]iewing pigs offered for children' (Figures 3.13). Two men stand in the foreground, both with a child, and several pigs are on the ground around them, with the largest pig lying nearest the camera. In 1924, this somewhat ambiguously captioned image featured as mission propaganda on the cover of the *Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides*, the periodical published by the John G. Paton Mission Fund from 1895–1961.<sup>80</sup> The photograph was likely taken in March 1915, when Jeannie Bowie wrote of men coming from Malo 'hunting for girls', expecting their return the next day 'with pigs to try and make a deal.'<sup>81</sup> Seven days later, the Bowies were woken in the night by the squealing of pigs, and 'Fred went to the other side to see them [and] get a photograph of buyers, sellers [and] sold.'<sup>82</sup> On 23 March, Jeannie was relieved to hear the 'Malo boat only got one girl', adding 'so Fred's visit did good'.<sup>83</sup> The Bowies, or Jeannie at least, clearly drew the line at the exchange of young girls for pigs. The accompanying article in *Quarterly Jottings* opened, '[w]hen the devil of passion takes possession what monsters men can be – and especially the children of Ham'.<sup>84</sup> In strongly evangelical language, readers were invited to examine the photograph and 'allow imagination to work' when looking at the men in the foreground bargaining their children for pigs. The article claimed that the girl would be bought by an older man, naturally, as he would be the richest, and lead a life akin to a slave, being beaten if she did not act obediently. The colourful picture was intended to shock readers and convince them of the need for Christianity. Intriguingly, however, the published version of the image features another large crowd of people in the background, which is not in Bowie's original composition. The print quality is very poor, but the silhouettes of all four figures in the foreground

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<sup>79</sup> W. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 27 July 1916, 'Original notes on Ambrym (1914-1922)', Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12000 Box 123, HPUC. Punctuation as in original manuscript.

<sup>80</sup> Anon., "Bargaining Pigs for Girl Wives, on Santo, New Hebrides", *Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides* 124 (Apr 1924): 1–2.

<sup>81</sup> Jeannie Bowie diary, 11 Mar 1915, UAM.

<sup>82</sup> Jeannie Bowie diary, 18 Mar 1915, UAM.

<sup>83</sup> Jeannie Bowie diary, 23 Mar 1915, UAM.

<sup>84</sup> Anon., "Bargaining Pigs for Girl Wives", 1.



and those of the pigs seem identical to that in Bowie's personal collection, suggesting the 1924 version may have been doctored, or at least staged. Based on ethnographical studies of pig exchange, it is more plausible that the men in the foreground owned the pigs, remaining with them while the family of any prospective bride circled around to look. It is also intriguing that Bowie is not mentioned in the *Quarterly Jottings* article, nor are there any specific ethnographical details on the process depicted in the image. These omissions and additions warrant further reflection.



**Figure 3.13. 'Viewing pigs offered for children', Tongoa, c. 1914. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**

The use of the image in the 1924 publication exemplifies the way missionaries also employed select cultural data to garner support for their mission. In the same way that Ellis' illustrations exoticised (Chapter 1), and missionary museums displayed 'trophy' (Chapter 7), so too were Bowie's photographs activated as propaganda. Was Bowie's engagement with New Hebridean archaeology and ethnology ultimately motivated, therefore, by a desire to collect stories that helped his mission? The answer is unclear, but the doctored version of the photograph in 1924 and Bowie's lack of authorship in the accompanying article in *Quarterly Jottings* suggest his approach was not propagandistic enough for that particular periodical. In fact, few of Bowie's images were used in such a manner, and little from his field notebooks and artefact collections were represented in mission publications over his lifetime. As highlighted in the opening of this chapter, Bowie did not publish in non-mission forums

on broadly archaeological subjects either, despite his specific interests in gathering data and material culture. His writing differs from Fox, who published widely (Chapter 5), and from that of some of his predecessors in the Presbyterian Mission to the New Hebrides (Chapter 2). Bowie told Rivers he was disappointed Gunn had not included the best examples of oral traditions in his 1914 *Gospel in Futuna*, yet did not publish his own account in response; he lamented the loss of artefacts given to people who in his eyes were not interested enough; and he gave away significant artefacts at no cost, as in the case of the *pete levine*, not seeking wealth through artefact trade as some other missionaries did.<sup>85</sup> However, these aspects of Bowie's intellectual life were never really made public. It is possible he was influenced by the forums and audiences to which he did, and did not, have access, and this chapter concludes by considering how this might have impacted on Bowie's missionary archaeology.

### Not all mission publications are created equal

There were often discrepancies in the portrayal of missionary-collected cultural information in mission published periodicals or monographs, compared with examples of the same information disseminated elsewhere. George Stocking noted that Methodist missionary and anthropologist Lorimer Fison returned to a less relativist understanding of people on Fiji in his later writing.<sup>86</sup> Referencing Fison's language in *Tales of Old Fiji*, Stocking suggested this shift may have reflected the fact he was writing for a popular audience.<sup>87</sup> Missionary scholars could, and did, modify their authorial voices for different audiences. Editorially, mission periodicals and monographs also had their own approaches to material culture, local practices, and beliefs, further contributing to different content and voices across publications. For example, in the first edition of *NHM* from October 1900, it was proposed the magazine would feature: 'Physical Geography of the Islands; Ethnological Notes; Native customs, arts, and folk-lore; Progress of Missions in the Islands; Bible Illustrations (from Native customs); Native Teachers' Illustrations; Medical Notes; Home Notes; Correspondence'.<sup>88</sup> The magazine was open, 'at the discretion of the Editor', to those writing on related subjects 'or anything useful and interesting relating to the Islands'.<sup>89</sup> Published in the New

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<sup>85</sup> F.G. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 March 1915, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039(b), HPUC; F.G. Bowie to H.D. Skinner, 31 May 1921, OMC; Lay missionary Ewan G. McAfee, on Malakula c.1907–1919, is notable for his abundant artefact sales of over 300 items to CUMAA and around 100 items to Museums Victoria.

<sup>86</sup> George W. Stocking Jr, *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888–1951* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 33–34.

<sup>87</sup> Stocking, *After Tylor*, 33–34.

<sup>88</sup> Anon., "[introduction]", *New Hebrides Magazine* 1 (Oct. 1900): 2; The first editor of *NHM* was William Gunn, followed by Thomas Watt Leggatt, and finally Frank L. Paton.

<sup>89</sup> Anon., "[introduction]", 2.

Hebrides for the first three years, *NHM* moved to Sydney in 1903 until publication ceased in 1911.<sup>90</sup> It included a 'queries' section, titled 'Notes and Queries' in April 1906 with a piece by Leggatt about *mana*.<sup>91</sup> The first 'queries' from 1900 asked: 'Were wives purchased in all the Islands of the New Hebrides in heathen days?'; and 'Do natives admire scenery'? These were not quite the intellectual questions probed in the 'Notes and Queries' section of learned society journals, but the explicitly stated aim of *NHM* demonstrates an editorial desire to explore ethnological subjects, and an analysis of content over its 11 years indicates the magazine often included them.

The approach of *NHM* differed from *Quarterly Jottings*, one of the other leading Presbyterian mission periodicals of the period. Given Bowie's edited photograph discussed above, it is likely other images were treated similarly, although that would require a thorough archival investigation beyond the scope of this thesis. An example from 1915 demonstrates the overarching approach of *Quarterly Jottings* to research at that time. Discussing a publication on linguistics by retired missionary Daniel MacDonald, the Editors stated it was not a missionary's 'purpose or role to make learned and technical theories'.<sup>92</sup> Their reticence may have partly been due to MacDonald's Semitic theories of Pacific origins being less popular in dominant scholarly circles by that time. The Editors certainly did not challenge non-missionaries carrying out research but made it explicit they considered it exclusively the task of 'scientists', publishing excerpts of Felix Speiser's work and news of other scholars' activities in the New Hebrides.<sup>93</sup>

A further mission periodical active during Bowie's years in the New Hebrides was issued by his home mission society from 1901: *The Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland (MRUFCS)*. In a 1913 review of James Young Simpson's *The Spiritual Interpretation of Nature*, which looked at the meeting of religion and science, *MRUFCS* actively promoted the theoretical approach of the text.<sup>94</sup> The great-nephew and namesake of a pioneering Scottish medic, Simpson was a writer, zoologist, and theologian, and a lifelong proponent of the view that religion and science were not in opposition. This may offer a glimpse of the editorial viewpoint, although content from Bowie and Gunn published in *MRUFCS* generally took the format of an update on mission work. The voice was informative but focussed on their work. Any images accompanying Bowie's reports depicted mission

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<sup>90</sup> William Gunn, "The New Hebrides Magazine", *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* 36 (Dec. 1903): 546.

<sup>91</sup> Anon., "Notes and Queries", *New Hebrides Magazine* 20 (Apr. 1906): 23.

<sup>92</sup> A.K. Langridge, "Silent William, of Tanna", *Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides* 90 (Oct. 1915): 2.

<sup>93</sup> Langridge, "Silent William, of Tanna", 2.

<sup>94</sup> Anon., "A Scientific aid to Faith", *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* 145 (Jan. 1913): 5.

buildings or workers, rather than offering any ethnological insights. While taking a somewhat less evangelical tone than *Quarterly Jottings*, it was not, thereby, a forum for Bowie's archaeologically related research either.

Given the style of the latter two periodicals, and the shorter print run of the *NHM*, it may be that Bowie did not find an easily accessible forum for any of his research via missionary contacts. As the years passed, he and Jeannie became representative of an older generation of Presbyterian missionaries in the islands. His note to Skinner in 1921, which stated he did not like to ask other neighbouring missionaries for artefacts, potentially reflected an awareness that they would answer unfavourably or simply would not be interested. On the other hand, it may have reflected Bowie's awareness that there was not enough of the old material culture left in those areas to collect. As it appears Bowie was not actively encouraged to write on broadly archaeological matters for mission periodicals, it might be expected he would use other forums, but he did not. He did provide details for Rivers, Skinner, de Beer, and tangentially to MacLachlan; but in the latter case he was not named, in de Beer's paper he was identified as a planter, and Rivers died before writing about much of what Bowie hoped he would. Scholars looking at missionary engagement with anthropology in an African context have argued that photography offered a method for recording local customs and pre-Christian life, in a way that would not be frowned upon by mission societies or other missionaries holding different approaches to such subjects.<sup>95</sup> It is possible that Bowie was enacting this in his capturing of such images, which were not subsequently published any format under his name. Collecting artefacts could also be a means to record such data without meeting disapproval.

## Conclusion

Despite Bowie's lack of published written work on archaeological subjects and related data, there remains a multitude of sources that reveal his engagement with the field through artefact collecting, photography, and the collation of field notes. In this material there is a sense that as well as being interested in the cultural practices of those around him, he also examined the origins of people in the New Hebrides and the prehistory of the islands on which he lived. Some of his ideas echo the diffusionist theories of cultural migration of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which will be discussed in further detail in subsequent chapters. Within Bowie's collecting practices, there is also evidence of his interaction with chiefs, mission teachers, and others in local networks, which will also be explored

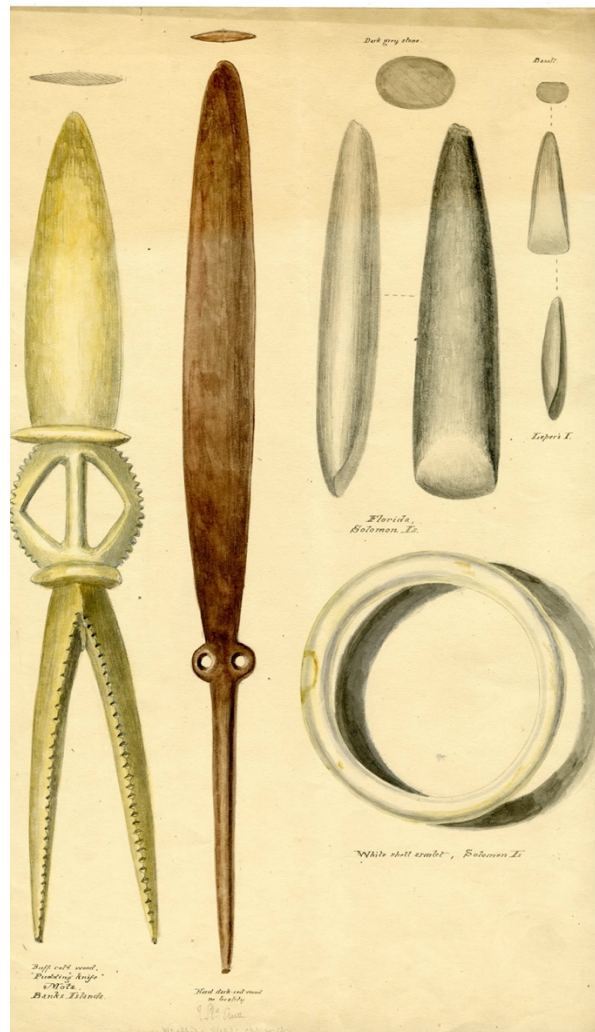
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<sup>95</sup> Paul Jenkins, "On using historical missionary photographs in modern discussion", *Le Fait Missionnaire* 10, no.1 (2001): 71–89; Also, David J. Maxwell, "The Missionary Movement in African and World History: Mission Sources and Religious Encounter", *Historical Journal* 58 (2015): 901–930.

later. Relationships at an island and inter-island level dictated the type of information to which he had access, and Bowie would have been influenced by those with whom he spoke and interacted on a daily basis. Fred Bowie may not have developed any grand theories that impacted the development of archaeological ideas in the Pacific, but examining his engagement with such topics offers an insight into the contribution of certain missionaries in small but significant ways to the understanding of the Pacific by a wider public in the early 20th century. Before focusing in detail on these local and global networks, chapter four turns to the Melanesian Mission, and to Reverend Charles Elliot Fox, whose intellectual work can be compared and contrasted with that of the Presbyterian mission to the New Hebrides and of Bowie.

## Chapter 4: The Melanesian Mission: A High Church Approach in the Western Pacific

Vignette: Stone tools, Nggela and Makira



**Figure 4.1. Drawing of artefacts collected by R.H. Codrington, late 1800s. British Museum, Oc2006,Drg.312**

In 1872, the Blackmore Museum in Salisbury, England, displayed a number of 'wedge-shaped stone hatchets' from the islands of Florida (now Nggela) and San Cristoval (now Makira), Solomon Islands. Discussed as part of a 'conversazione' held in the museum that year for the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, the stone tools had been sent to Blackmore Museum curator, and later Director, Edward Thomas Stevens in 1871 by Reverend Robert Henry Codrington (1830 – 1922) of the Melanesian Mission.<sup>1</sup> The 'hatchets' would have been similar to those from Makira in

<sup>1</sup> Anon., "Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute – Monday August 5", *Archaeological Journal* 29 (1872), 403.

figure 4.1, which is an illustration now held at the British Museum, London, depicting a selection of artefacts Codrington collected. During the *conversazione*, Stevens shared observations of ‘flint implements’, with reference to material from various geographical locations, and extensively drew on data provided by Codrington to discuss Western Pacific examples. Stevens also spoke of the periods of human history, characterised as what was often termed the Three Age system, which differentiated the eras of stone, iron and bronze ages. This system had been devised by Danish scholar Christian Jürgensen Thomsen in the 1810s as a method of chronology that did not require written sources, although his research was not published in English until 1848.<sup>2</sup>

Stevens highlighted anthropologist E.B. Tylor’s association of the stone period with ‘savagery’, bronze with ‘barbarianism’, and iron with a middle level of civilisation.<sup>3</sup> However, he also highlighted the issue, that Tylor himself had pointed out, of groups of people such as ‘the Swiss *pfahlbauten*’ who even in their stone period were cultivating crops, spinning and weaving.<sup>4</sup> In discussing the museum displays, Stevens explained to the audience that:

At one time, and that not long since, it was the practice to sneer at ethnographical collections; but now we begin to find that the clubs, the paddles, the shields, from any particular island or country differ considerably, as a group, from those obtained from any other country [...] I think, that speaking generally, each race or tribe worked out its own inventions and its own forms of implements, and did not receive them by transmission from any other people.<sup>5</sup>

Stevens’ framework was explicitly social evolutionary, with people bounded by their particular island or a social group, and artefacts perceived as independently developing within that specific spatial framework. By drawing comparisons between material from those groups still considered as associated with stone age savagery or bronze age barbarianism, scholars sought to understand human development over time. In the Blackmore Museum, this was translated curatorially into the displays with an ‘Illustrative series’, exhibiting comparative material from Solomon Islands, the

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<sup>2</sup> Bruce Trigger *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 121–165.

<sup>3</sup> Anon., “Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute”, 394.

<sup>4</sup> See, Urs Leuzinger, “Informing the Public: Bridging the Gap between Experts and Enthusiasts”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Wetland Archaeology*, eds. Francesco Menotti and Aidan O’Sullivan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 843–845. The existence of inhabitants of *Pfahlbauten*, prehistoric Swiss pile dwellings or lake villages, was first publicised by Ferdinand Keller in 1854, triggering ‘a veritable pile-dwelling craze among scholars and history enthusiasts alike’.

<sup>5</sup> Anon., “Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute”, 403.

‘Esquimaux’, Australia, British Guiana, the Society Islands, the Kingsmill Islands (now Kiribati), and other geographical locations.<sup>6</sup>

Amongst the information provided by Codrington was his observation that on one island, the art of sail-making was known by only one man, and would die out with him.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, on Mota, in the Banks Islands of Vanuatu, shell implements had become all but unobtainable with the introduction of iron through barter. This was, the audience were told, a case of ‘a distinct retrogression in the industrial arts’, with Mota islanders portrayed as more dependent on European civilisation for things.<sup>8</sup> The opposite of evolutionary *progress*, retrogression was another concept deployed by social evolutionary theorists such as Herbert Spencer.<sup>9</sup> The idea was that social groups could pass through regressive stages of development. Spencer particularly used it to explain social distances he between people he considered civilised or primitive.<sup>10</sup>

As a regular collector for the Blackmore Museum in the 1870s, Codrington’s data, supplied through notes and material culture collecting, was thus exhibited in the institution to convey very particular stories about human development over time and to understand the European past. In a letter to his brother, written from the *Southern Cross* mission ship while voyaging from Mota to Norfolk Island in October 1873, Codrington observed that he was ‘living in a modern stone age’, indicating he was aware of and engaged with the topics presented in the conversazione.<sup>11</sup> However, Codrington not only provided field data for interpretation, he also became one of the most influential missionary scholars in the Western Pacific, writing on topics intertwined with late-19<sup>th</sup> century scholarship exploring the Pacific past. It is also important to recognise, however, that Codrington’s research, and that carried out by a number of his colleagues, was firmly embedded in a very particular approach taken by the Melanesian Mission to working with Pacific island communities.

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<sup>6</sup> Edward T. Stevens, *Guide to the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury*, (London: Bell and Daldy, n.d. [c.1875]), 156–157.

<sup>7</sup> Anon., “Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute”, 402.

<sup>8</sup> Anon., “Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute”, 402.

<sup>9</sup> See, Thomas Gondermann, “Progression and Retrogression: Herbert Spencer’s Explanations of Social Inequality” *History of the Human Sciences* 20, no. 3 (2007): 21–40.

<sup>10</sup> Gondermann, “Progression and Retrogression”.

<sup>11</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 21 October 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.



## The Melanesian Mission and archaeological enquiries

As the Presbyterian Church established itself in the New Hebrides, Anglican ministers in New Zealand also turned their gaze to the Western Pacific. This discussion echoes that of Chapter 2, by examining the Melanesian Mission's early engagement with topics pertaining to Pacific archaeology. As with the Presbyterians, individuals in the Melanesian Mission exercised agency in interpreting the Pacific past, drawing on personal field experiences and networks, as well as connecting with scholars and savants elsewhere. Unlike the Presbyterians, however, the Melanesian Mission are generally considered as having been more accepting of customary life in the Pacific as well as having been better educated. As such there is greater availability of literature exploring their research and engagement activities. In 1994, historian Nick Stanley highlighted some of the differing individual Melanesian Mission approaches to artefact collecting.<sup>12</sup> He categorised Melanesian Mission collectors into 'the "heroic age"', 'the long serving', 'the scholars' and 'the popular evangelists'.<sup>13</sup> There were also those who transacted with well-known private collectors such as Harry G. Beasley, and the mission itself established its own museum in Auckland.<sup>14</sup> Stanley categorised Fox as one of 'the scholars', alongside Robert H. Codrington, Walter Ivens, and William O'Ferrall.<sup>15</sup>

The Melanesian Mission's particular organisational approach likely influenced the research activities of its employees. The chapter initially summarises this foundational ethos and approach, before turning to one of the most well-known and respected missionary scholars, Codrington, considering contributions he made that were relevant to late-19<sup>th</sup> century broadly archaeological themes. The discussion also considers Walter Ivens' research and concludes by examining Walter Durrad's activities. The former was one of Fox's predecessors, working in the eastern Solomon Islands just prior to Fox's arrival in the area, and the latter was Fox's close correspondent and friend, even after Durrad retired from his post in the Torres Islands, located in what is now northern Vanuatu.

## Establishment and ethos of the Melanesian Mission, 1840s–60s

The initial establishment of Anglicanism in the western Pacific is credited to the vision and energy of George Augustus Selwyn (1809–78), the first Bishop of New Zealand.<sup>16</sup> As early as 1841, Selwyn envisioned the creation of a central college in which students would be brought together from

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<sup>12</sup> Nick Stanley, "Recording Island Melanesia: The Significance of the Melanesian Mission in Museum Records", *Pacific Arts*, No. 9/10 (Jul. 1994): 25–41.

<sup>13</sup> Stanley, "Recording Island Melanesia", 27–32.

<sup>14</sup> Stanley, "Recording Island Melanesia", 33–35.

<sup>15</sup> It was Stanley's 1994 article that prompted my initial interest in examining Fox's research interests further.

<sup>16</sup> Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 1.

different parts of the Pacific.<sup>17</sup> He devised a scheme to bring students to Auckland in the summer months, to learn English, arithmetic, and writing while being instructed in the Christian faith. In doing so, the mission organisation could train 'native pastors' to be sent back to their home islands to spread Anglicanism. A select few English assistants were to teach at the Auckland school. As Selwyn put it, they were to be 'white corks upholding a black net'.<sup>18</sup> Importantly for the mission's approach, and for the subsequent perspective on cultural research embodied by many mission personnel in the decades to come, Selwyn perceived religion as the only real difference between the races of mankind.<sup>19</sup>

Selwyn embarked on his first trip to the western Pacific from New Zealand in 1849 on the *Undine*, accompanied by Captain Erskine's ship *Havannah*. Between 1849 and 1860, 152 young Melanesians were brought to the Auckland mission school for at least one season from the Loyalty Islands, Solomon Islands, and the New Hebrides, including the Banks Islands (Figure 4.2).<sup>20</sup> By the 1860s, a small proportion of female pupils also attended the school, given instruction in how to sew, cook, and wash. Initially, students from the Western Pacific, along with two Aboriginal Australians in 1851 only, joined British and Māori students at St. John's College, Auckland.<sup>21</sup> In 1859, the school was relocated to Kohimarama, today known as Mission Bay, in the east of Auckland (Figure 4.3). However, in 1867 it was relocated to Norfolk Island, considered to have a healthier climate for students.<sup>22</sup> Just prior to transferring to Norfolk Island, another significant step was taken by the Melanesian Mission – the Mota Island language from the Banks Islands was established as the school's main language instead of English.

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<sup>17</sup> Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 1.

<sup>18</sup> Sohmer, "Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology", 319. See also, Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 9–10.

<sup>19</sup> Douglas, "Foreign Bodies in Oceania", 10.

<sup>20</sup> Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 17–18.

<sup>21</sup> R.M. Ross, *Melanesians at Mission Bay: A History of the Melanesian Mission in Auckland* (New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1983), 8.

<sup>22</sup> Ross, *Melanesians at Mission Bay*, 41–2.



**Figure 4.2. Students of the Melanesian Mission school c.1865, Daguerreotype. Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, PH-1887-77.**



**Figure 4.3. Melanesian Mission buildings at Mission Bay, Auckland, restored in 1928 for use as a museum. Image taken by the author, 2016.**

Soon after the Melanesian Mission's establishment in 1855, Selwyn had been joined by John Coleridge Patteson (1827–71). A talented linguist, Patteson was also instrumental in shaping the theological and intellectual approach of the organisation.<sup>23</sup> According to historian David Hilliard, Patteson believed the ideal missionary recruit was like himself. In other words, 'a young English gentleman, public school (preferably Eton) and university-educated', able to learn a local language.<sup>24</sup> The ideal recruit was expected to make concerted efforts to understand 'heathenism', and to 'work honestly without prejudice and without an indiscriminating admiration for all their own national tastes and modes of thought'.<sup>25</sup> Archival traces reveal that at an organisational level, the Melanesian Mission certainly seemed to have had a more tolerant approach to local culture when compared with missions such as the Presbyterian Church in the New Hebrides. For example, Fox wrote that the Mission always encouraged 'native dances', recounting a story from his early years on Norfolk Island where he was painted all over and danced with students in the front row of a Christmas performance as a 'Gela [Nggela] warrior'.<sup>26</sup> The performance apparently involved many hours of preparation. That such dancing was openly encouraged, not simply reserved for Fox's private memoirs, is also illustrated in an anonymous account published in the Melanesian Mission's periodical, the *Southern Cross Log*, where a visitor to the school on Norfolk Island wrote a positive account of an evening dance performed by around 60 young men accompanied by the lighting of bonfires.<sup>27</sup>

Patteson's linguistic prowess was not only beneficial for mission work, he also shared his work with scholars outside the islands. Notably, he connected with University of Oxford Sanskrit scholar and linguist Friedrich Max Müller, who in 1865 encouraged Patteson in a systematic study of Melanesian languages, asserting that a study of 'savage' languages could demonstrate how far languages could change.<sup>28</sup> He thought that language, like geology, was stratified and by ascertaining the chronological sequence of languages, scholars could study the deep human past.<sup>29</sup> Müller also sent Patteson a copy of E.B. Tylor's newly published *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the*

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<sup>23</sup> See, Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 30–53, 190.

<sup>24</sup> Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 31.

<sup>25</sup> J.C. Patteson to Derwent Coleridge 8 August 1863, in *Life of John Coleridge Patteson, Missionary Bishop of Melanesia*, ed. Charlotte Yonge, vol.2, (London: Macmillan, 1874), 67; See also, Sohmer, "Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology", 319–320.

<sup>26</sup> Fox, *Kakamora*, 17.

<sup>27</sup> A Visitor, "A visit to St. Barnabas' Mission, Norfolk Island", *Southern Cross Log: Annual Report for 1902* (Mar. and Apr. 1903): 57–59.

<sup>28</sup> Allan K. Davidson, "The Legacy of Robert Henry Codrington", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 27, no.4 (2003), 174.

<sup>29</sup> Sohmer, "Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology", 325.

*Development of Civilization*, pointing out that the work demonstrated the value of recording accurate accounts of ‘the habits of savages’.<sup>30</sup> Like some of his Presbyterian counterparts, Patteson drew comparisons between Melanesian languages and modes of thought and those of the ancient Hebrews.<sup>31</sup> He concluded that both groups of people – contemporary Melanesians and ancient Hebrews – were in an early stage of cultural development. Patteson’s engagement with dominant Anglophone social evolutionary thought is evident, and like other missionaries, he was still a product of his own educational, social, and national perspectives. What is important to acknowledge is that his approach was in keeping with those social evolutionary theorists such as Tylor who emphasised a shared humanity and the concept of human unity.<sup>32</sup>

In comparison to their Presbyterian counterparts in the New Hebrides, those involved in the Melanesian Mission appear to have focussed less on the biblical story of Noah’s curse on Ham.<sup>33</sup> That is not to say that they completely avoided biblical language and theologically framed interpretations of Pacific people. For example, in Selwyn’s sermon at Bishop Patteson’s consecration, he asserted that Melanesians were ‘mingled races, who still show forth the curse of Babel’, referencing the biblical story of the destruction of the Tower of Babel and the global dispersal of languages.<sup>34</sup> However, the Mission was broadly more sympathetic to existing ways of life in the Western Pacific. This appears particularly in keeping with High Church values. In considering the Melanesian Mission’s role in Victorian-era anthropology, Sara Sohmer has drawn attention to other 19<sup>th</sup> century High Church missions that similarly approached social and customary life in the field, including the Universities Mission to Central Africa and the Anglican Mission to Papua.<sup>35</sup> All three organisations not only employed a comparatively higher number of university graduates, but also tended to avoid the equation of Christianity equalling civilisation.<sup>36</sup> It was into such a mission that Fox and those individuals considered in the rest of the chapter found themselves embedded.

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<sup>30</sup> Davidson, “Legacy of Robert Henry Codrington”, 174.

<sup>31</sup> Sohmer, “Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology”, 328.

<sup>32</sup> Sohmer, “Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology”, 329.

<sup>33</sup> Samson, “Ethnology and Theology”, 114.

<sup>34</sup> George Augustus Selwyn, “Sermon Preached at the Consecration of the Missionary Bishop”, in *Account of the Melanesian Mission and of the Wreck of the Mission Vessel* ed. Melanesian Mission (Melbourne: Samuel Mullen, 1861), 21.

<sup>35</sup> Sohmer, “The Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology”, 321.

<sup>36</sup> Sohmer, “The Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology”, 321.

## R.H. Codrington's research legacy

As Bishop of Melanesia, Patteson had little time to pursue research interests in earnest, but he did encourage another missionary in the work, namely Robert Henry Codrington.<sup>37</sup> In 1863, Codrington took the post of headmaster of St. Barnabas, the Melanesian Mission's school on Norfolk Island. Also educated at the University of Oxford, he was the epitome of Patteson's ideal recruit. More than most missionaries, he is associated with the development of anthropological studies in the Pacific islands, although elements of his research also relate to more archaeological themes. Codrington is particularly acknowledged for his theory of *mana*, a powerful spiritual force.<sup>38</sup> His 1891 publication *The Melanesians: studies in their anthropology and folk-lore* is considered particularly influential in the history of Pacific ethnography. Codrington asserted there was no truly false religion, and that 'heathen' beliefs should be approached respectfully, believing there was a shared human religious experience.<sup>39</sup> This perspective is echoed throughout his scholarly writings, and elements of this approach are seen in his work on other subjects.

In 1889, Codrington summarised his interpretations of past migrations of people to Melanesia in a report delivered to the Geographical Society of Scotland.<sup>40</sup> Codrington asserted that he considered observations of the Malay influence on the speech and race of people in Melanesia as anachronistic. In the report he did not fully expand on his justifications for this, but his reasoning is suggested in an 1864 letter to German ethnologist Georg Gerland, in which Codrington queried the use of the term Malay to refer to populations stretching from the Hawaiian Islands to Madagascar. He compared it 'to a Chinese scholar calling all western Europeans Franks'.<sup>41</sup> Instead, Codrington perceived two 'plainly traceable' influences on Melanesian people – the betel nut and the kava root.<sup>42</sup> The first of these was 'ancient, continual, broken in the direction of its course, from the Asiatic side' and the latter was 'comparatively modern and direct from the Polynesian islands of the Eastern Pacific.' He concluded his paper by recommending that the best course of study would be to look at the whole of the Pacific, but particularly to look west to Madagascar. This conclusion suggests that he had

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<sup>37</sup> Sohmer, "Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology", 325–326; Davidson, "Legacy of Robert Henry Codrington", 174.

<sup>38</sup> See, Thorgeir Kolshus, "Codrington, Keesing, and Central Melanesian mana: Two Historic Trajectories of Polynesian Cultural Dissemination", *Oceania* 83, no.3 (2013): 316–327; Matt Tomlinson and Ty P Kāwika Tengan ed., *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2016).

<sup>39</sup> Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 191; Sohmer, "Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology", 329–332;

<sup>40</sup> R.H. Codrington, "Islands of Melanesia", *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (Mar. 1889): 113.

<sup>41</sup> R.H. Codrington to Gerland, 31 Dec. 1864, quoted in Sara Sohmer "'A Selection of Fundamentals': The Intellectual Background of the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England, 1850-1914" (PhD diss., University of Hawaii, 1988), 238.

<sup>42</sup> Codrington, "Islands of Melanesia", 113.

perceived a strong case for possible connections with Madagascar, although in the paper Codrington only appears to give evidence of two similarities in language terms between Madagascar and Melanesia. The importance placed on betel and kava seems to be a precursor to W.H.R. Rivers' later theories of the 'kava-people' and the 'betel-people' whom Rivers thought formed the second and third waves of migrations to Melanesia.<sup>43</sup>

### Codrington in the field

Codrington placed great value on detailed field research and was critical of it being used selectively or haphazardly.<sup>44</sup> In the opening pages of *The Melanesians* he explained he had attempted as much as possible to give local people's own accounts 'by giving what I took down from their lips and translating what they wrote themselves'.<sup>45</sup> He not only brought his first-hand experiences to his writing, he also strove to gather as much detail as possible and wished to avoid researching fashionable subjects to fit a theory.<sup>46</sup> This approach will also be seen in Fox's research methods, although like Fox, Codrington was heavily reliant on males involved in the mission (see Chapter 6), particularly the first Melanesian Anglican priest George Sarawia and a Deacon named Edward Wogale.<sup>47</sup> Codrington's diligent approach inevitably saw him questioning generalised categories applied to humans, including those used by missionaries and non-missionaries, to make sense of the origins of Pacific people. Exemplary of this is his criticism of Gerland's use of the term 'Malay'.

Similarly, Codrington questioned other ideas relating to an original race of small people inhabiting particular islands. In a letter of August 1873 to his brother Tom, with whom he regularly corresponded, he described stories told by young men from Mae (Emae), Ambrym, Florida (Nggela), Savo and Guadacanan (Guadalcanal) on the *Southern Cross* mission vessel that indicated 'there are or were wild men in the hills, with long straight hair, some times, or almost always said to be smaller

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<sup>43</sup> See, W.H.R. Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, 2 vols (Cambridge: The University of Cambridge, 1914).

<sup>44</sup> Davidson, "Legacy of Robert Henry Codrington", 174; Samson, *Race and Redemption*, 78.

<sup>45</sup> R.H. Codrington, *The Melanesians: Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-lore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), vii.

<sup>46</sup> See, R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 21 October 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>47</sup> See, Jane Samson, "Christianity, Masculinity and Authority in the Life of George Sarawia", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 20, no.2 (2009): 60–84; Helen B. Gardner, "Defending friends: Robert Codrington, George Sarawia and Edward Wogale", in *Atlantic world in the Antipodes: Effects and Transformations since the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Kate Fullagar (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 146–165.

than the [other people]'.<sup>48</sup> There were slight variations on the stories, but all agreed that these small people carried baskets. This latter fact, Codrington claimed, was enough to discount a previous suggestion by two other missionaries that these small people were actually 'ourang outangs'.<sup>49</sup> Codrington clarified that he did not believe the stories were founded in fact, and questioned the veracity of similar stories 'of very low races in the Eastern Archipelago Borneo [and] other places', given as truth 'by scientific people', specifically Lubbock and, he thought possibly, Tylor.<sup>50</sup> If the stories were true, had those narratives present in the Western Pacific islands been brought somehow from there? Codrington was clearly not convinced by the latter as, referring to Lubbock, he proclaimed, 'the savages of the scientific men recede farther and farther from my experience, and my belief is that if you could get the evidence of people who really know [and] live with these savages who are considered the lowest you would find that [examples] of the very low type [do] not exist.'<sup>51</sup> He added, '[s]cientific men fit their evidence so to their preconceived ideas of how things ought to be, and travellers fit their accounts so to their preconceived ideas of what savages ought to be. That it seems to me the truth is very far from being known yet.'<sup>52</sup>

Historian of anthropology George W. Stocking has suggested that Codrington never really fully embraced evolutionism.<sup>53</sup> Comments such as those above certainly suggest his disagreement with particular aspects on methodological terms, as well as holding fundamentally different views on human universalism from evolutionist scholars like Lubbock.<sup>54</sup> However, other elements of his writing and artefact collecting indicate the influences of scholarly thought in the period. In *The Melanesians*, he observed that one point of difference between Melanesian and Polynesian people was the absence among the former 'of native history and tradition', claiming that aside from one exception, an 'enquirer seeks in vain for antiquity'.<sup>55</sup> Despite taking an approach that privileged local viewpoints and a focus on recording detailed data, Codrington can still be observed repeating tropes around Melanesian peoples' apparent lack of deep history.<sup>56</sup> His determination to record 'accurate'

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<sup>48</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 20 August 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>49</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 20 August 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>50</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 20 August 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>51</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 20 August 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>52</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 20 August 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>53</sup> Stocking, *After Tylor*, 39.

<sup>54</sup> See, Sohmer, "Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology", 329–332.

<sup>55</sup> Codrington, *Melanesians*, 47.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. Emilie Dotte-Sarout "How Dare our 'Prehistoric' have a Prehistory of their own?! The Interplay of



data perhaps at times obscured the true nature of silences in the oral records or the fact that his assumptions around what ‘antiquity’ looked like was connected with his own ontological viewpoint.

### Collecting networks

The vignette opening this chapter illustrates an aspect of Codrington’s artefact collecting network. He developed a relationship with the Blackmore Museum in Salisbury, UK, throughout the 1870s with Stevens sending him lists of items to acquire.<sup>57</sup> He was also provided with financial reimbursement.<sup>58</sup> Writing to his brother Tom in 1873, he asked for confirmation on whether the items he had sent for the Blackmore Museum had arrived and if they wanted more of the same, concerned that they had given him a large sum of money and not wanting to waste it by obtaining material they did not want.<sup>59</sup> Codrington lamented that whatever material there was, was ‘rapidly dying out’, and was of the opinion that ‘a man is in a higher state of civilisation who makes a serviceable and beautiful fish hook for himself, than one who uses an European one when he can get it [and] otherwise goes without’.<sup>60</sup> In this, he expressed the Melanesian Mission and High Church ethos, which rejected the idea that Christianity necessarily led to civilisation and was at odds with progressivist late 19<sup>th</sup> century arguments, while simultaneously expressing the contemporaneous humanitarian concerns of a people in decline and the potential ‘retrogression’ of a group of people.

In acquiring artefacts, Codrington was also known to have been engaging in material exchanges, with his brother sending him beads and presumably other items for trading.<sup>61</sup> This seems somewhat ironic given his concerns for the substitution of local materials with European goods. He also gave colleagues these goods, with a list of items to collect for Stevens.<sup>62</sup> In addition to the Blackmore collections, both the British Museum and the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, obtained major holdings of Codrington’s collections, holding 93 and 400 items respectively.<sup>63</sup> A number of his acquired items

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Historical and Biographical Contexts of French Archaeology in the Pacific”, *Journal of Pacific archaeology* 8, no.1 (2017): 25–34.

<sup>57</sup> Samson, *Race and Redemption*, 78.

<sup>58</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 17 September 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>59</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 17 September 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>60</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 17 September 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 11 March 1874, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>62</sup> Samson, *Race and Redemption*, 78.

<sup>63</sup> Nick Stanley, “Melanesian artefacts as cultural markers: A micro-anthropological study,” in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen H. Riggins (Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 176.

illustrate discussions of material culture in *The Melanesians*. Nick Stanley has noted that the ordering of the earlier acquisitions in the catalogue of the Pitt-Rivers Museum closely follows the artefact categories set out in the BAAS schedule *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, suggesting Codrington was either independently following the schedule or was being guided to do so by his museum curator contacts.<sup>64</sup>

In keeping with Codrington's determination to ground his theories in actual fieldwork, he used material culture as a means to gather demonstratable data to inform his interpretations. Writing to his brother from Mota island in September 1873, he explained he was very happy to have obtained specimens of Santo island pottery, writing: 'I have always heard of this pottery, but never could verify it, but here it is, [and] very large vessels are made of it.'<sup>65</sup> There was no question in his mind that people on Santo were the same as those on nearby islands, and he explained that they were not advanced in any other respect, a reference to the widely held belief that pottery-making equated to higher civilization. His theory then, shared with his brother after seeing the pottery for himself, was that the large island was not completely volcanic and that 'the original immigrants [to the] islands knowing the use of pottery found clay there and no where else, so that the art is elsewhere dead.' He added that was also his theory regarding a lack of clothing on Mota, presumably implying that it in some way connected to a lack of material resources. These ideas were not published, so Codrington may have felt he lacked supporting data.

It does appear that in his approaches to material, Codrington was equally keen to avoid leaping to and publishing conclusions with little evidence and was critical of others who did. For example, in correspondence with A.C. Haddon in 1894 regarding a manuscript the latter had sent for comment, Codrington told the Cambridge scholar that his ideas regarding the evolution of ornament were interesting, but he was not convinced he believed what was given in the illustrations, adding, 'You are quite without the guidance of dates in those parts.'<sup>66</sup> Codrington was a formidable and knowledgeable scholar and as evidenced by the fact that eminent individuals such as Haddon requested his opinions on their work, his expertise regarding Melanesian people was respected by his peers.

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<sup>64</sup> Stanley, "Melanesian artefacts as cultural markers", 176.

<sup>65</sup> R.H. Codrington to T. Codrington, 17 September 1873, Journals and Letters of Reverend Robert H. Codrington (as filmed by the AJCP), Letters of Robert Codrington, File 2, M993-M994, NLA.

<sup>66</sup> R.H. Codrington to A.C. Haddon, 7 August 1894, Papers of Alfred C. Haddon (as filmed by the AJCP), Mfm M 2728-2759, Series 5000-5999, Subseries 5109, NLA.

Sara Sohmer has astutely observed, after Stocking, that the methods employed by Codrington and others in the Melanesian Mission such as Patteson provided a prototype for intensive field methods in anthropology. Sohmer drew attention to Rivers in particular to suggest that he was likely influenced by his relationships with members of the Melanesian Mission, themselves embedded in the approaches of their predecessors, in his move towards intensive fieldwork incorporating an in-depth knowledge of language and sensitivity to the challenges of cultural translation and the complexity of indigenous life.<sup>67</sup>

### Ivens' linguistic and material culture collections

Another of those Melanesian Mission employees identified by Nick Stanley as one of 'the scholars' was Reverend Walter G. Ivens (1871–1940). Initially a missionary on Sa'a, Solomon Islands from 1895, in 1899 he married Eleanor Barrett, who joined him on Ulawa island in 1908–09. Ivens is predominantly acknowledged for his extensive linguistic work. He was a close correspondent of comparative linguist Sidney Herbert Ray, a member of the 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait who specialised in Melanesian languages and corresponded with numerous other missionaries to build comparative word lists. Ivens also published two books: *Melanesians of the Southeast Solomon Islands* and *The Island Builders of the Pacific*.<sup>68</sup> He undertook fieldwork for the former in 1924 as a Research Fellow at the University of Melbourne, just over a decade after retiring from the mission.<sup>69</sup> In 1931, he became a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, publishing a detailed illustrated review paper of flints from south-east Solomon Islands in the Institute's journal in the same year.<sup>70</sup>

Ivens' 1927 text, *Melanesians of the Southeast Solomon Islands*, reveals some aspects of his theories of the migrations and peopling of Solomon Islands in the past. These are reflective of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century period in which it was written, echoing tropes already discussed in this thesis and corresponding to some of the diffusionist arguments emerging in Fox and Rivers' work (see Chapter 5). In particular, Ivens deployed the oft-used notion of stronger outsiders arriving and replacing an

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<sup>67</sup> Sohmer, "Melanesian Mission and Victorian Anthropology", 332–333.

<sup>68</sup> Walter G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the Southeast Solomon Islands* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Company, 1927); Walter G. Ivens, *The Island Builders of the Pacific: How and Why the People of Mala Construct Their Artificial Islands, the Antiquity and Doubtful Origin of the Practice, with a Description of the Social Organization, Magic and Religion of Their Inhabitants* (London: Seeley, Service & Company limited, 1930).

<sup>69</sup> Anon., "Research Fellowship, University of Melbourne", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 33, no.131 (1924): 220–225; Nick Stanley, "Recording Island Melanesia", 31.

<sup>70</sup> Walter G. Ivens, "Flints in the South-East Solomon Islands", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 61 (Jul.-Dec. 1931): 421–424.

existing 'primitive' population. He postulated that on Mala (now Malaita) and Ulawa islands, a patrilineal system of kinship, which replaced existing matrilineal systems, must have been introduced by the arrival of people of a higher culture in the past from Indonesia.<sup>71</sup> Echoes of this cultural displacement are also observable in his assertion that the art styles of the Malaita people were so advanced when he spent time there, that they must have been acquired from abroad.<sup>72</sup>

Ivens was a prolific collector, supplying a large artefact collection of around 410 items to Otago Museum (OM) in 1923 and 1926, purchased with support from OM's Fels Fund, having initially given 40 items to the National Museum (now Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa), Wellington, in 1909.<sup>73</sup> On his behalf, Eleanor Ivens gave a further 21 items to the British Museum after Walter's death in 1940. Part of the OM collection was examined in the course of this research, and a large number of items are either fishhooks or shell body adornments. Despite being such a prolific collector, limited evidence has been found for his interpretations of these items, but as evidenced in the paper on flints cited above, Ivens' approach seems to have been largely ethnographic and descriptive, with the addition of useful linguistic details. Ivens did provide OM with some local names of artefacts, which are recorded in the museum register (Figure 4.4). Several items were also illustrated in his *Dictionary and Grammar of the Languages of Sa'a and Ulawa, Solomon Islands* (1918).<sup>74</sup> For example, a shell ear ornament (*eho*) from Ulawa, and a tridacna shell breast ornament (*La'o*) from Malaita.<sup>75</sup>



**Figure 4.4. 'Pair ear plugs (Wo'u wo'u), Sa'a', Solomon Islands, D26.574A+B. Collected by W.G. Ivens. Otago Museum.**

<sup>71</sup> Ivens, *Melanesians of the Southeast Solomon Islands*, 463.

<sup>72</sup> Ivens, *Island Builders of the Pacific*, 30.

<sup>73</sup> See, Stanley, "Recording Island Melanesia", 38.

<sup>74</sup> Walter G. Ivens, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Language of Sa'a and Ulawa, Solomon Islands* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1918).

<sup>75</sup> D.26.394 and D.26.406, OM; Ivens, *Dictionary and Grammar*, Plate 8.

Stanley has observed that as the Organising Secretary for the Mission in New Zealand from 1909–10, and for England in 1928–35, Ivens was likely involved with the many public missionary displays of the time, many of which incorporated material culture.<sup>76</sup> As such, he would have had some role in influencing the public perception of ‘Melanesia’ as exhibited in these forums, as well as in the displays at OM (see also Chapter 7). Ivens therefore had an important role in diverse aspects of missionary research and interpretations discussed throughout this thesis and appears to have followed the same fundamental guiding approach of the Melanesian Mission as Codrington. Less evidence has been found to connect him specifically with strong interests in archaeological themes, perhaps because of his focus on linguistic work and the fact that his more anthropological writing was completed in those decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the intertwined disciplines of anthropology, archaeology and ethnology in the Pacific had begun to go their separate ways.

### Walter Durrad in the Torres Islands and Tikopia

One of Fox’s closest friends within the Melanesian Mission was Reverend Walter John Durrad (1878–1954), a missionary on the Torres Islands and Tikopia between 1905 and 1919. Durrad also published on ethnology and linguistics, and collected artefacts for Otago Museum, depositing just over 300 items in the collection, with another collection of 121 items noted by Stanley as being at Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.<sup>77</sup> Like Fox, Durrad also shared a corresponding relationship with W.H.R. Rivers, meeting the scholar on the *Southern Cross* mission vessel in 1908. He joined Fox and Rivers in interviewing passengers and recording data, forging friendships around their shared interests in ethnology and anthropology. In the ‘Acknowledgements’ prefacing Rivers’ *A History of Melanesian Society* of 1914, Durrad was singled out of all of the members of the Melanesian Mission as the one to whom Rivers owed a great deal.<sup>78</sup> He had assisted Rivers in collecting material relating to the Banks Islands and Tikopia while on fieldwork in the region, and continued to collect more after Rivers’ departure. Durrad was also an intermediary between Rivers and John Patteson Pantutum, who worked with the Melanesian Mission on Mota, Banks Islands, who offered detailed accounts of Melanesian life for Rivers research.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Stanley “Recording Island Melanesia”, 31.

<sup>77</sup> See, Nick Stanley “Recording Island Melanesia”, 38.

<sup>78</sup> Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, viii; Thorgeir S. Kolshus, “Rivers, Mota and Tikopia: Survey Work Reconsidered”, in *The Ethnographic Experiment: A. M. Hocart and W. H. R. Rivers in Island Melanesia 1908*, eds. Edvard Hviding and Cato Berg, (Berghahn Books, 2014), 167–168.

<sup>79</sup> John Patteson Pantutum to W.H.R Rivers, 17 March 1909 and 10 January 1910, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Box 128 Envelope 12043, HPUC.

In keeping with Rivers' interests, Durrad's correspondence covered stone structures in the Banks Islands, taro cultivation, burial practices, so-called secret societies, and kinship terms. It appears Durrad was keen to carry out much more fieldwork but lamented that he did not have much time for 'pogging' – presumably a slang term for anthropological studies – with too many other commitments at the mission.<sup>80</sup> Although aspects of this material is in many ways more aligned with anthropologically framed enquires, it is important to remember that in Pacific research at that time anthropological subjects were heavily entwined with archaeological and ethnological material. The research was utilised by Rivers in forming his theories about past migrations and the origins of Pacific people, discussed in further detail in Chapters 5 and 7. Durrad also contributed to Rivers' collection of essays on depopulation in Melanesia, largely written by missionaries. This work was done in partnership, with Rivers attempting to improve missionary methods, and to encourage other parties to adopt social anthropological principles.<sup>81</sup> Anthropologist Raymond Firth was also indebted to Durrad, who let him borrow his field notes and photographs prior to Firth's Tikopia fieldwork.<sup>82</sup> That Durrad studied under Codrington in Chichester prior to departing for the mission field was likely not a coincidence with regards his intellectual interests.<sup>83</sup>

Durrad also offers an exemplary case study for exploring the Melanesian Mission's use of ethnological and anthropological enquiries to support the implementation of changes to aspects of cultural life that were seen as detrimental to the progress of the mission. According to Thorgeir Kolshus, Durrad was instrumental in determining the Melanesian Mission's ambiguity towards the *Suqe* (*Sukwē*), ceremonial cycles on the Banks Islands that Codrington described as 'secret societies', offering academic arguments for its active discouragement.<sup>84</sup> Although on one hand he could see some positive influences of the *Suqe*, and was critical of its outright condemnation by Bishop Wilson, Durrad ultimately perceived it as problematic for evangelical progress.<sup>85</sup> Some of Durrad's other writing also contains restricted information around particular performances in Torres Islands; his decision to publish them suggests he either lacked comprehension of the regulated nature of such

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<sup>80</sup> W.J. Durrad to W.H.R. Rivers, 24 March 1913. Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Box 127 Envelope 12039, HPUC.

<sup>81</sup> Walter J. Durrad, "The Depopulation of Melanesia", in *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, ed. W.H.R. Rivers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 3–24; Jonathon Lane, "Anchorage in Aboriginal affairs: A. P. Elkin on Religious Continuity and Civic Obligation" (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2007), 200.

<sup>82</sup> Kolshus, "Rivers, Mota and Tikopia", 167.

<sup>83</sup> Kolshus, "Rivers, Mota and Tikopia", 168.

<sup>84</sup> Kolshus, "Rivers, Mota and Tikopia", 168. See also, Walter J. Durrad, *The Attitude of the Church to the Suqe* (Norfolk Island: Melanesian Mission Press, 1920).

<sup>85</sup> Kolshus, "Rivers, Mota and Tikopia", 168.

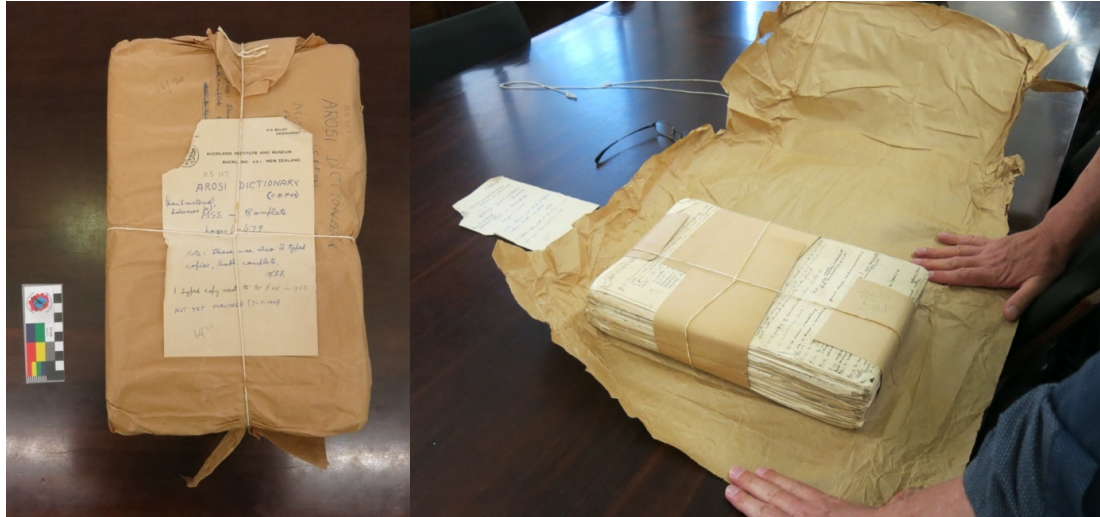
details, or lacked respect for those restrictions. Durrad's activities embody missionaries' sometimes-paradoxical approach to ethnological, anthropological or archaeological enquires. This should serve as a reminder that even the Melanesian Mission, generally perceived as having an accepting and understanding approach to people's beliefs and practices in the western Pacific, continuously sought ways to implement significant changes to support the spread of Christianity. Missionaries could employ their own interests and developing research skills to both record data and implement change.

## Conclusion

This chapter has offered glimpses of the research interests of members of the Melanesian Mission relating to broadly archaeological topics. It has not sought to trace a linear progression of Melanesian Mission 'archaeology', but rather has examined several examples of individual researchers within the mission for their own sake, while reflecting on any contextual genealogy of ideas or methods that may be relevant to Fox's research discussed in the following chapter. It should also be noted, however, that not all missionaries employed by the organisation followed the approaches discussed here. Much of the data collected by the individuals discussed in the chapter were drawn into emerging theories of the Pacific past. It is intriguing though that there is also a strong correlation of Melanesian Mission research interests with certain topics that have since come to be more associated with the discipline of social anthropology than with archaeology. I suggest this may be attributable to the greater acceptance of contemporaneous Pacific customary life at an organisational level. In comparison to Presbyterian counterparts, Melanesian Mission employees were generally permitted to be accepting of living practices, within reason. Specific approaches to religion, material culture, history, and other aspects of daily life were propagated by the Mission from its very inception. Local knowledge and local interlocutors were generally valued, and in the intersections of personal beliefs, theological approaches and scholarly interests, there appears to be a characteristic Melanesian Mission approach to research in the cases discussed. What can be observed, therefore, is that the Melanesian Mission, which Fox joined in 1902, was established from principles that favoured tolerance and thoughtful engagement with local community members, and that these pervaded the research of broadly archaeological themes, and related ethnological and anthropological topics, by its missionaries.

## Chapter 5: 'Yours Kakamora': Charles Fox's Researches

Vignette: Arosi dictionary manuscript, Makira



**Figure 5.1. Arosi dictionary manuscript, C.E. Fox. Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, MS-107. Photographs by author, February 2016.**

Tracing the material evidence of Charles Elliot Fox's ethnological interests led me in February 2016 to the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library (AWMML). Their catalogue lists original manuscripts of Fox's dictionaries of the Lau, Arosi and Nggela languages.<sup>1</sup> While the products of missionary linguistic work are not the central focus of this thesis, multiple individuals, missionaries included, mobilised linguistic evidence in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries to interpret Pacific prehistory. The field of linguistics, therefore, has a pivotal role in the story of missionary engagement with the Pacific past and the history of archaeology in the Pacific more broadly. These manuscripts potentially offered an insight into Fox's research processes and ideas, and the other people involved in their compilation. While awaiting delivery of the documents from storage, I busied myself in the reading room consulting other Melanesian Mission materials held at AWML. A staff member approached, introducing himself as one of the archivists. He explained that Fox's Arosi dictionary manuscript was in its original brown paper packaging, in the same condition it had been since received by the museum in the early 1950s (Figure 5.1). After consulting conservation staff, the archival team decided to carefully unwrap the package later that afternoon. The anticipation was palpable as we speculated what might have been enclosed inside the outer paper

<sup>1</sup> C.E. Fox, "Dictionaries" c.1950–1955, MS-107, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library Te Pātaka Mātāpuna, Auckland (hereinafter AWMML).



all those years. Perhaps a handwritten note, a pressed plant specimen, an illustration, or some photographs?

Untying the string and opening the brown paper around the manuscript revealed 679 sheets of aged paper, all covered in the black ink of Fox's handwriting. Unfortunately, between the pages were no hidden photographs, illustrations, or notes, but the extensive lists themselves tell a story of the meticulous nature of Fox's approach to research. His definitions were thorough, sometimes offering interesting ethnographical details or information relating to natural history. For example:

Mada 1. A club. The chief varieties are bwauata, hari, hira, darima, kiakia, rutu, supi, taroire clubs were also used as shields, held in the middle by the left hand well forward, to glance off spears. Many were heirlooms, with names [and] magical powers.<sup>2</sup>

They reflect the time Fox devoted to gathering the knowledge required to produce such a manuscript, not to mention his painstaking production of alphabetically ordered lists with no smudges and few mistakes in an era long before word processors.

In creating dictionaries, Fox collaborated closely with local colleagues. In 1950, Fox described the compilation of his third dictionary, of the Lau language from Malaita, to Fisher, his contact at the Auckland Museum. He added about 200 words daily and had Kiriau from the local clergy correcting glottal stops. Reverend H. Maabe was also due to assist with definitions, as he was 'extra good' with his language.<sup>3</sup> Fox's methods of producing dictionaries illustrate his general collaborative approach to working with community members. As will become evident over the next two chapters, he prioritised local knowledge, maintaining an open-minded approach to the beliefs, stories and information that people shared with him. Fox continued his interest in linguistics throughout his life and language featured in his observations of Pacific prehistory over time. As late as 1966, he wrote a short communication to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* about the recent official naming of Malaita, explaining its etymology. He requested information from others on whether there was anywhere named Kala in Indonesia, from which he believed 'Mala' likely originated.<sup>4</sup> Fox had earlier drawn on fascinating local stories, material culture, and site-specific evidence in his development of theories of Solomon Islands region prehistory. It is to this interwoven data that the thesis now turns.

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<sup>2</sup> C.E. Fox, "Item 2 – Arosi dictionary (San Cristobal, Solomon Islands)", in "Dictionaries" c.1950–1955, MS-107, AWMML. Emphasis original.

<sup>3</sup> C.E. Fox to Fisher, 18 August 1950, "Fox, Charles Elliot, Papers re a dictionary of the Nggela language", MS 93/153, AWMML.

<sup>4</sup> C.E. Fox, "Notes and News", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75, no.2 (Jun. 1966): 140.

## Charles Fox's researches

This chapter focuses on Reverend Charles Elliot Fox's archaeological and ethnological research. It echoes the analysis and discussion of Fred G. Bowie's similar activities in Chapter 3, which drew on a multitude of archival and material sources. Fox's developing interests in the prehistory and migrations of people to the Pacific region in the past can be mapped both temporally and spatially, initially while he worked as a teacher at the Melanesian Mission's St. Barnabas School on Norfolk Island from 1902–11, and later while based in Solomon Islands. Fox valued local knowledge, which will be highlighted over this chapter and developed in further detail in Chapter 6. Like Bowie, Fox made an artefact collection, containing traces of his engagement with Pacific archaeology. This discussion considers these assemblages, as well as Fox's records of material in situ. Unlike Bowie, however, Fox was also a prolific writer, publishing work in mission periodicals, scholarly journals, and in the form of several monographs. His writing explicitly demonstrates his interpretations of prehistory, revealing not only the nature of those ideas but also suggesting how he used material culture, oral traditions, and linguistic details to develop and illustrate theories. Fox's correspondence with a network of contacts offers further insights into his research interests, methods, and interpretations. Detailed analysis of his island, inter-island, and global knowledge networks can be found in Chapters 6 and 7. The discussion focusses on the years leading up to 1940. This is mainly due to the scope of the thesis, which is temporally constrained to examine the period before the so-called 'professionalisation' of Pacific archaeology. Fox's engagement with broadly archaeological subjects also appears to have waned by that time.

## A missionary in training: Fox's developing approach to ethnological material

In March 1902, Charles Fox arrived on Norfolk Island to take up a post as a teacher for the Melanesian Mission at their St. Barnabas School. He had recently graduated with a first-class MA in geology from The University of Auckland. As discussed in Chapter 4, Fox joined a mission with a comparatively tolerant approach to local cultural practices and amongst his colleagues and is categorised by Nick Stanley as one of 'the scholars'.<sup>5</sup> The early years of Fox's education indicate his enquiring mind and systematic approach. Fox's final year of university was devoted to a study of volcanic rock samples he collected on the Auckland peninsula. Examining them under polarised light to investigate their age, origin and type, Fox dated them to the Miocene period. He presented his geological research to the Auckland Institute on 24 February 1902 in a paper entitled 'The Volcanic Beds of the Waitemata Series'.<sup>6</sup> A missionary's knowledge of geological epochs may be somewhat

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<sup>5</sup> Stanley, "Recording Island Melanesia", 27–32.

<sup>6</sup> Charles E. Fox, "The Volcanic Beds of the Waitemata Series", in *Transactions and Proceedings of the*

surprising, considering that geology was very much at odds with biblical notions of time by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Fox later claimed his university professor, geologist and biologist Sir Algernon P. W. Thomas, inspired him and taught him a 'scientists [sic] viewpoint and method [...] to look always for truth, to reject anything that does not seem to be true, and never to indulge in wishful thinking'.<sup>7</sup> As will become evident throughout this and subsequent chapters, Fox consciously tried to maintain and acknowledge this approach in his ethnological and linguistic work.



**Figure 5.2. 'Mission Football Team, Norfolk Island, 1907.'** Reproduced from cover page of *Southern Cross Log [Australasian edition] XIII, no.154 (Mar. 1908)*.

### Early years: Norfolk Island, 1901–1911

On Norfolk Island, Fox lived in Bishop Patteson's old house, surrounded by the latter's books and his writing desk just as he left it.<sup>8</sup> Fox worked with students from different locales across Solomon Islands, central New Hebrides, Banks Islands, and Torres Islands. His first visit to Melanesia was between 17 September and 18 November 1903, on a voyage around the islands aboard the *Southern*

*New Zealand Institute 1901*, vol.34, ed. James Hector (Wellington: John Mackay Government Printing Office, 1902), 452–493.

<sup>7</sup> Charles E. Fox, *Autobiography MS*, chap.3, p.2, Papers relating to Charles Elliot Fox, in Papers of McEwan, Jock Malcolm, MS papers-6717-115, ATL.

<sup>8</sup> C.E. Fox, *Autobiography Ms.*, chap.4 p.4, Papers relating to Charles Elliot Fox, in Papers of McEwan, Jock Malcolm, MS-papers-6717-115, ATL.

Cross, the Melanesian Mission's vessel.<sup>9</sup> Fox quickly learned Mota, the lingua franca of the mission, which opened up a world of new experiences and opportunities. He believed it was important when learning Mota, or any Melanesian language, 'to find out the real meaning the word has *in the mind of the native*', rather than the English equivalent.<sup>10</sup> The young missionary embedded himself into the social fabric of St. Barnabas School in other ways, particularly into the male spaces. For example, Fox was a keen sportsman, regularly participating in football (soccer) and cricket matches, which were popular recreational activities for the male students (figure 5.2). During Fox's time at St. Barnabas the term *vanua* was given to the area encompassing the six houses in which male students and unmarried European men lived. It also encompassed the Chapel, kitchens and out-houses, a big hall, the Mission shop, the printing-house, and a carpenters' shop.<sup>11</sup> In the evenings '[t]he boys retire[d] to their *nat-imas* to smoke, and chat, and meditate', and 'the girls [went] to the sewing room for cakes and games.'<sup>12</sup> There was a *natimas*, a Mota word for a men's house, for different groups of young students, segregated by home island. Fox later described collecting stories, 'recorded over pipes in the *natimas*', suggesting his familiarity with spending time in this specifically male Melanesian space.<sup>13</sup>

### Publications from Norfolk Island

It was on Norfolk Island that Fox began publishing articles relating to archaeological and anthropological fields of enquiry in the Melanesian Mission's periodical the *Southern Cross Log*. The content resembled that of the Presbyterian mission's *New Hebrides Magazine*, in that it incorporated some ethnological accounts amongst what were predominantly reports of mission activities. Fox had already contributed to the latter, but his first specialist article in the *Southern Cross Log* in March 1908 was of a linguistic nature, entitled 'The Languages of Melanesia'.<sup>14</sup> He explained that although Mota and Māori languages did not appear alike, they were branches of a shared old Oceanic tongue, and in the same old family as languages from Madagascar, Java, and the East Indies.<sup>15</sup> He poetically compared Māori and Polynesian words to pebbles on a shingle beach made smoother and smaller by

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<sup>9</sup> Anon., "Norfolk Island notes", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian edition] IX, no.103 (Nov. 1903): 78; Anon., "Norfolk Island notes", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian edition] IX, no. 106 (Feb. 1904): 113.

<sup>10</sup> C.E. Fox, "Norfolk Island notes", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian edition] XIV, no.162 (Nov. 1908): 84. Emphasis original.

<sup>11</sup> Florence Coombe, *School-days in Norfolk Island* (London: Society for promoting Christian knowledge, 1901), 20.

<sup>12</sup> Anon., "Norfolk Island notes", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian edition] XI, no.137 (Oct. 1906): 51.

<sup>13</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 July 1909, "Totemism", Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12043, HPUC.

<sup>14</sup> C.E. Fox, "The Languages of Melanesia", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian edition] XIII, no. 154 (Mar. 1908): 155–156.

<sup>15</sup> Fox, "Languages of Melanesia", 155.

the rhythm of the waves over time. The analogy suggested that Māori and Polynesian words had changed more considerably, and Melanesia was therefore a more suitable place to uncover details of the 'original Oceanic tongue', and the type of people that spoke it, since languages there were closer in form to that old tongue.<sup>16</sup> Fox concluded with some comparative words, illustrating what he believed were the underlying connections. The editorial in the same issue proclaimed that aside from 'the expansive and Imperial work done by the Church', mission supporters amongst the British public were attracted by 'the value of contributions made by missionaries to science in many of its branches'.<sup>17</sup> Among the people with whom they worked, a missionary 'finds himself scrutinising, studying, and interpreting all the facts that make up their life and environment.'<sup>18</sup> The editorial claimed that in the 'science of languages' missionaries were particularly valuable, and concluded by highlighting Fox's article in the issue, comparing his 'skill, patience, and zeal' with that of Patteson, Codrington and Palmer before him.<sup>19</sup>

Fox published another article in the *Southern Cross Log* shortly after that also engaged with familiar topics from studies of Pacific prehistory at the time. Published in August 1908, 'Different Races in Melanesia' highlighted the unanswered question of the origin of Melanesian people.<sup>20</sup> Fox asserted that several races must have mixed in the islands, adding that in places like Tikopia Polynesian people were known to have intermarried with Melanesians: 'Tikopia is a Polynesian colony'.<sup>21</sup> He noted that Polynesians were understood to have come from India 'before the beginning of our era', and after spending some time in Indonesia, they passed through Melanesia heading eastwards.<sup>22</sup> Fox presented stories, which appeared again in later writing, of small, long-haired people who lived in the mountains of the largest islands in the Solomons. On Guadalcanar (now Guadalcanal) they were known as 'Tutulangi', in North Mwala (now Malaita) they were 'Dodore', and on Makira they were named 'Pwarango'.<sup>23</sup> The latter had a dancing ground several miles into the bush near Heuru, Makira, one of the villages in which Fox later resided.<sup>24</sup> The site had 'large squared stones, of which the Pwarango are said to be the makers, because the Melanesians do not know who made them'.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Fox, "Languages of Melanesia", 155.

<sup>17</sup> P.S.W., "Editorial", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian edition] XIII, no.154 (Mar. 1908): 141.

<sup>18</sup> P.S.W., "Editorial", 142.

<sup>19</sup> P.S.W., "Editorial", 142.

<sup>20</sup> C.E. Fox, "Different Races in Melanesia", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian edition] XIV, no.159 (Aug. 1908): 39–41.

<sup>21</sup> Fox, "Different Races in Melanesia", 39.

<sup>22</sup> Fox, "Different Races in Melanesia", 39.

<sup>23</sup> Fox, "Different Races in Melanesia", 40.

<sup>24</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 337. Includes illustration titled 'Dancing Ground of Kakamora'.

<sup>25</sup> Fox, "Different Races in Melanesia", 40.

Stone pillars and stone circles at other locations were believed to have been made by the little people, again due to the mystery of their construction. He questioned the existence of these little people, comparing them to fairies, but also knew many individuals who had seen them. Fox concluded the existence of the various stories, similarly to the existence of the stone pillars, 'may be based at least on the existence of another race than the Melanesians [...] now quite passed away'.<sup>26</sup>

Fox published further accounts of beliefs and stories told by his students in the *Southern Cross Log* in 1909 and 1910.<sup>27</sup> His ethnological writing was partly precipitated by meeting with ethnologist and psychologist W.H.R. Rivers in April and May 1908. Rivers came to Norfolk Island before travelling to the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands on the *Southern Cross*, accompanied by Fox for around six weeks of the journey.<sup>28</sup> They continued to correspond until Rivers' death in June 1922 and had a significant impact on each other's work. This is highlighted to some extent in this Chapter, with more detail in Chapter 7. In July 1909, Fox sent Rivers some traditions relating to rainbows, shared by some of the students from Makira and North Malaita. He explained that he recorded them in a notebook 'which I keep as the result of your visit, when I learnt how absolutely ignorant I was about Melanesians, and how vague in my ideas. So now I keep a book [and] write things down.'<sup>29</sup> These were the stories Fox learned while sitting with students in their respective *natima*. He also collected data from Banks Islands students, which he regularly referenced in his later writing to make comparisons and connections, drawing on his own research and that of fellow Melanesian Mission clergyman Robert H. Codrington.

In 1910, Fox's first book was released through the Melanesian Mission Press, entitled *An Introduction to the Study of the Oceanic Languages*.<sup>30</sup> As is evident from the title, it focussed on a broad linguistic

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<sup>26</sup> Fox, "Different Races in Melanesia", 41.

<sup>27</sup> C.E. Fox, "On Sharks", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian Edition] XV, no.173 (Oct. 1909): 74–77; C.E. Fox, "Some Banks Islands Games", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian Edition] XV, no.175 (Dec. 1909): 99–103; C.E. Fox, "Native Beliefs about Snakes", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian Edition] XV, no.177 (Feb. 1910): 137–140; C.E. Fox, "Appearances and Wraiths", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian Edition] XV, no.178 (Mar. 1910): 157–161; C.E. Fox, "Melanesian Fairies", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian Edition] XV, no.180 (May 1910): 191–193; C.E. Fox, "Olla Podrida", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian Edition] XVI, no.184 (Sep. 1910): 54–56.

<sup>28</sup> See, Anon., "Norfolk Island Notes", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian Edition] XIII, no.158 (May 1908): 179–180; Anon., "Norfolk Island Notes", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian Edition] XIV, no.156 (Jul. 1908): 17. These sources note that Rivers, Fox and others left Norfolk Island on 9 April and Fox returned 27 May, 1908.

<sup>29</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 July 1909, "Totemism", Papers of William Halse Rivers, Envelope 12043, HPUC. Emphasis original.

<sup>30</sup> C.E. Fox, *An Introduction to the Study of the Oceanic Languages* (Norfolk Island: Melanesian Mission Press, 1910).

topic. He drew on material from Codrington, his missionary predecessor, and from Cambridge-based linguist Sidney Ray, another of Fox's correspondents. On the opening page, Fox asserted that the origin of the Oceanic family of languages was unknown, despite many attempts to show 'affinities with Aryan, Semitic, American Indian, or Japanese.'<sup>31</sup> The ongoing uncertainty, according to Fox, was due to the prior use of 'wrong methods of comparison', and to comparisons being made before completion of a sufficient overall study of Oceanic languages.<sup>32</sup> Fox claimed that grammar provided 'the ground-work of comparison', but few studies were based in that grammar, leaving unanswered questions. He believed there was potential to trace the origins of the Oceanic family of languages, but it would require a comprehensive study into specific fundamental linguistic aspects. In 1911, shortly after this work was published, Fox was relocated to Makira island, at that time San Cristoval, at the eastern end of the Solomon Islands archipelago (see Introduction, Figures 0.2 and 0.11). Initially, he lived in Pamua village, in the Arosi region at the west end of the island, tasked with establishing a mission school. Fox continued to collate language terms and details of stories and beliefs from people he met there, and also began to gather material culture, to which the chapter now turns.

### Fox's collecting for New Zealand institutions

The material traces of Fox's collecting transactions currently available in international museums suggest he acquired most artefacts after relocating to Makira. If Fox did collect material culture while on Norfolk Island, he may have deposited it at a museum that he reported opening at St. Barnabas in 1909, at which he was made curator.<sup>33</sup> Fox certainly collected natural history specimens on Norfolk Island, as in 1907 he corresponded with botanist Thomas F. Cheeseman, the director of the Auckland Museum and Institute, offering to send him botanical material. Cheeseman replied that there were some plant specimens he would like and would write again, although the archival evidence in AWMML does not confirm whether this was followed up.<sup>34</sup> The two men initially met in 1899 when Fox was a geology student and a member of the New Zealand Institute.<sup>35</sup> In January 1919, by then on Makira, Fox wrote to Cheeseman again, his letter indicating the two had lost touch. He requested

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<sup>31</sup> Fox, *Introduction to the Study*, 1.

<sup>32</sup> Fox, *Introduction to the Study*, 1.

<sup>33</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 July 1909, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12043, HPUC.

<sup>34</sup> C.E. Fox to Thomas F. Cheeseman, 30 October 1907, "Auckland Institute and Museum Letter books - Outwards Correspondence 1876-1920", AR2-4-8 F 1901-25, AWMML; Thomas F. Cheeseman to C.E. Fox, 6 December 1907, "Auckland Institute and Museum Letter books - Outwards Correspondence 1876-1920", vol. 4, letter 822, AR2-4-8 F 1901-25, AWMML.

<sup>35</sup> C.E. Fox to Thomas F. Cheeseman, 31 January 1919, "Auckland Institute and Museum Letter books - Outwards Correspondence 1876-1920", AR2-4-8 F 1901-25, AWMML.

Cheeseman's advice on botanical names for his dictionary and ethnological work.<sup>36</sup> Fox arrived in New Zealand shortly after this re-connection. However, the two evidently did not meet because in November 1919 Fox wrote from Solomon Islands again to say, 'I took a number of botanical specimens, shells, curios etc to NZ but not having heard from you concluded perhaps rashly that you were no longer at the Museum or not able to help me'.<sup>37</sup> Having missed a letter from Cheeseman in transit, Fox had taken everything back with him to the islands. Given the effort involved in initially transporting the materials to New Zealand, Fox's decision not to leave the items behind or sell them elsewhere for financial gain, as was typical for other missionaries of the time whose wages were comparatively low, emphasises the non-monetary value he attributed to them.

Fox followed up his correspondence with Cheeseman again in 1920, sending the botanist plant leaves and two boxes of shell specimens, which were examples of those worn by widows in mourning.<sup>38</sup> He requested help with identification and apologised for not sending any axes as his 'small curios [were] in another part of the island'. In a postscript, Fox added that he was posting three 'very rare stone implements from Arosi'.<sup>39</sup> Fox offered the Auckland Museum his complete collection from Makira, adding 'it is not large but a few of the things are good [and] I could send a true account of each.' He had also planned for material to go to the University of Cambridge. Writing to Rivers in 1918, Fox explained, 'I am making as full a collection as possible of all San Cristoval utensils, weapons, etc., and getting duplicates where I can. If Baron von Hogel [Hügel] will let me know what he has already, I will send him other things, and I am going to add to my will, directing the whole to be sent to the Cambridge Museum in case of my death, if the museum will pay the carriage.'<sup>40</sup> Baron Anatole von Hügel was the curator of the museum at the University of Cambridge, now CUMAA. Neither agreement – with Cambridge nor with Auckland – came to fruition. Instead, it was Henry D. Skinner (1886–1978), at that time the Assistant Curator (ethnology) at Otago University Museum (OM), who negotiated a substantial acquisition for his institution.

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<sup>36</sup> C.E. Fox to Thomas F. Cheeseman, 31 January 1919, "Auckland Institute and Museum Letter books - Outwards Correspondence 1876-1920", AR2-4-8 F 1901-25, AWMML.

<sup>37</sup> C.E. Fox to Thomas F. Cheeseman, 2 November 1919, "Auckland Institute and Museum Letter books - Outwards Correspondence 1876-1920", AR2-4-8 F 1901-25, AWMML.

<sup>38</sup> C.E. Fox to Thomas F. Cheeseman, 9 July 1920, "Auckland Institute and Museum Letter books - Outwards Correspondence 1876-1920", AR2-4-8 F 1901-25, AWMML.

<sup>39</sup> C.E. Fox to Thomas F. Cheeseman, 9 July 1920, "Auckland Institute and Museum Letter books - Outwards Correspondence 1876-1920", AR2-4-8 F 1901-25, AWMML.

<sup>40</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 18 August 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, University College London Special Collections, London (hereinafter UCLSC).



Between 1922 and 1930, Fox deposited around 265 items with OM. The earliest correspondence between Fox and Skinner sourced in this research project dates from 14 March 1921, when the former responded to what was seemingly a request for artefacts for OM.<sup>41</sup> Fox explained he had collected little but had 'a few good things' and, referring to his stilted communications with Cheeseman, declared that he had sent '[a] few very rare stone axes [...] to Auck. Museum but never got any acknowledgement [and] this was not encouraging'.<sup>42</sup> He told Skinner, 'I would rather send them to you than to any one [sic] because you are really an expert in this branch of ethnology'.<sup>43</sup> Addressed from Heuru, on Makira, Fox indicated he would shortly be moving to the new Melanesian Mission technical college at Maravovo, on Guadalcanal.<sup>44</sup> The school aimed to teach and encourage 'native industries such as pearl-inlaying, mat [and] rope making [...] carpentry also', and the mission would do printing work there.<sup>45</sup> Fox was to direct the translation work for printing, and was pleased he would 'have much more time for both Melanesian philology and ethnology'. Later in the letter, he reiterated his hope that at Maravovo he would do much more 'language [and] anthropological work'.<sup>46</sup> He believed Guadalcanal would be a better collecting field than Makira as on the latter, said Fox, '[o]ld things are hard to get now. They used to wear shells in their ears with inlayed [sic] work when fasting,<sup>47</sup> different ornaments for different relatives, but they no longer do so, [and] that is just one example.'<sup>48</sup> Fox did not relocate to Marovovo, however, citing his connections with the local community on Makira as the reason: 'I find these roots too deep to uproot easily'.<sup>49</sup>

Fox's first donation to OM in 1922 included 'a splendid series of bowls, many of them of great age, and all named and described, adzes, floats etc.'<sup>50</sup> Some artefacts were displayed temporarily, and Fox became an honorary collector for the Ethnographic Department, one of ten such collectors, of whom four were missionaries.<sup>51</sup> Fred Bowie shared a similar relationship with Skinner, namely the clergyman in the field with pre-existing ethnological interests and awareness of the type of material an ethnological museum sought to acquire. Skinner also made specific requests to develop the scope

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<sup>41</sup> Charles E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 14 March 1921, photocopy, OMC; See also, White, "Your study of the things".

<sup>42</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 14 March 1921, photocopy, OMC; White, "Your study of the things", 47.

<sup>43</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 14 March 1921, photocopy, OMC.

<sup>44</sup> Fox wrote this Guadacananar.

<sup>45</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 14 March 1921, photocopy, OMC.

<sup>46</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 14 March 1921, photocopy, OMC.

<sup>47</sup> Written 'fasting' although may have meant 'feasting'.

<sup>48</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 14 March 1921, photocopy, OMC.

<sup>49</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 31 August 1921, photocopy, OMC.

<sup>50</sup> Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, *Annual Report for the Year 1922* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., 1923), 12.

<sup>51</sup> Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, *Annual Report for the Year 1922*, 8–9.

of University of Otago's ethnological collection. In 1923 Fox sent a second instalment of over 150 artefacts.<sup>52</sup> In the same year, he travelled to New Zealand with Ben Mononga'i from Heuru, who worked with the Melanesian Mission and was central to Fox's ethnological research (see Chapter 6). This was a rare event for the early 20<sup>th</sup> century: a visit to a museum collection by a member of a source community. Fox translated Mononga'i's artefact descriptions while Skinner transcribed them. The value placed on Mononga'i's knowledge indicates Fox's approach to local expertise. Fox also made donations of potsherds to OM in 1927 and 1930, discussed below.

### Model canoes and traces of other collecting encounters

In 1930, Fox sent four boat models to Alfred Cort Haddon at the University of Cambridge, recording three of the makers' names. It was uncommon to record artists of non-European material in museum catalogues or accompanying notes at the time. This addition, therefore, further demonstrates Fox's respect for Solomon Islanders' knowledge and skills. The models were accompanied by detailed data on voyaging technology, in preparation for Haddon and Hornell's seminal text, *Canoes of Oceania*.<sup>53</sup> The first model was 'very carefully made by James Mae, Santa Cruz', another was made by 'Tenai of Sikaiana', and a third 'very carefully made by Elias Sau of San Cristoval' (Figure 5.3). The latter artist Sau was installed as a teacher at Fagani, in the Bauro district of Makira in 1916.<sup>54</sup> In 1932 Sau became the first ordained Melanesian Mission priest from Makira.<sup>55</sup> He was also responsible for a great deal of the decoration for the interior of churches in Makira in the early 20th century. The fourth model was simply 'bought at Anuda'. Sikaiana and Anuda [Anuta] are Polynesian Outliers, being islands with characteristically Polynesian languages and social features, despite being located in geographical Melanesia. Material from the Outliers interested scholars like Haddon and Skinner who sought to classify cultures into the areas of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia, as per the dominant scholarly paradigm of the period. According to Fox, stories of the Makiran *etea*, or outrigger canoe, related to *ho'osia*, a ceremony he considered to be a combination of the ideas of

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<sup>52</sup> 'Thirty-nine spears of various types, 16 shell rings, 15 strings of "money", 13 clubs, 11 armllets, 8 shell armllets, 5 tridacna pendants, 3 pearl shell pendants, 3 shell discs, 3 dog's teeth, used for barter, 5 bunches ditto, fish-hook shank, 6 fish-hooks, 2 adzes, lime box, spatula, girl's trinket bag, coloured grass (areare), netted handbags, castanets, hank of twine, 2 widows' necklaces, fragments of pottery, 2 baskets, tapa, 2 cocoonut kava ladles, 7 wooden bowls, eel spear, and a number of stones carved into human heads, etc.', Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, *Annual Report for the Year 1923* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., 1924), 8.

<sup>53</sup> A.C. Haddon and James Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1936), 52–80.

<sup>54</sup> C.E. Fox, "San Cristoval", *Southern Cross Log* XXI, no. 246 (Mar. 1916), 672.

<sup>55</sup> C.E. Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles: Being the Story of the Anglican Mission in Melanesia 1849–1949* (Mowbray, 1958), 162.

the Atawa and the Araha<sup>56</sup> groups. These groups, as discussed below, were integral to Fox's interpretations of prehistory and migrations to Makira, with the *etea* just one example of material culture drawn into that narrative.



**Figure 5.3. Canoe model, 'very carefully made by Elias Sau of San Cristoval', 1931.797 A-C. Courtesy and copyright, University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.**

Other internationally dispersed artefacts collected by Fox were not studied in detail for this project but illustrate the prolific circulation of missionary collected items through multiple networks and to different audiences (see Chapter 7). In Skinner's quest to curate a representative ethnology collection he made a series of exchanges, with some of Fox's acquisitions sent to, among others, the Peabody Museum at Harvard University and the American Museum of Natural History, New York. Stanley noted one Fox item at the British Museum, and anthropologist Michael W. Scott, who has worked extensively in the Arosi area of Makira, recorded a shrine stone in the Auckland War Memorial Museum (AWM) sourced to Fox.<sup>57</sup> AWM holds the collection from the Melanesian Mission Museum in Auckland, dispersed after its closure in 1979, although the documentation is fragmented, making direct attributions to Fox as collector challenging. Finally, the Solomon Islands National Museum, Honiara also now houses material collected by Fox.

<sup>56</sup> See, Haddon, *Canoes of Oceania*, 85–86; Fox, *Threshold*, 324–334.

<sup>57</sup> Stanley, "Recording Island Melanesia", 38; Michael W. Scott, "Collecting Makira: Kakamora Stones, Shrine Stones and the Grounds for Things in Arosi", in *The Things We Value: Culture and History in the Solomon Islands*, eds. Ben Burt and Lissant Bolton (Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston Publishing, 2014), 67–79.

## Fox's theories of the prehistory of Makira and surrounding islands

Before examining any further artefacts collected by Fox that related to his interpretations of Solomon Islands prehistory, this section will summarise the key elements of his theories. Unlike Bowie, Fox authored several monographs and published articles in various overseas journals. His interpretations of Solomon Islands prehistory feature across these works, but most notably in papers from 1915 and 1919 published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, and in his 1924 monograph *The Threshold of the Pacific*.<sup>58</sup> The first five chapters of *Threshold* replicated Fox's 1919 paper with certain modifications and omissions, some of which resulted from editorial changes to the monograph.<sup>59</sup> Fox's theory centred around the development of social organisation over time, using contemporary observations to read the past: an ethnographic analogy. The 1924 text also detailed practices and beliefs relating to totemism, death, and spirits, incorporating and expanding upon the 1915 publications by Fox and Melanesian Mission colleague F.H. Drew.<sup>60</sup> The compilation aspect of Fox's work makes untangling his theories challenging and, at times, his writing seems contradictory. However, this characteristic also clearly demonstrates that his ideas developed and modified over just a few years. Using varied evidence across these different publications, Fox drew on linguistics, oral traditions, and material culture to present his interpretations of the past.

In the opening chapter of *Threshold*, Fox explained that inhabitants in the large central area of Makira had a system of dual organisation without totemism. He reasoned that since dual organisation was also present in the areas practising totemism, the people in the centre must have descended from an older population.<sup>61</sup> Fox argued that in the past, the Amwea people already inhabited the island, when another group, the Atawa, migrated there.<sup>62</sup> These immigrant Atawa came by sea, speaking what he termed an archaic form of Austronesian.<sup>63</sup> The Amwea and Atawa subsequently integrated to form a system of dual organisation, aspects of which Fox had observed on the island, although the Atawa took on a higher status. Fox characterised both the Atawa and Amwea as lacking totemism, modifying this to be a 'vague' form of totemism, different from

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<sup>58</sup> C.E. Fox and F.H. Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval (Solomon Islands)", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 45 (1915): 131–185; C.E. Fox and F.H. Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 45 (1915): 187–228; Fox, "Social Organization"; Fox, *Threshold*.

<sup>59</sup> See, Grafton Elliot Smith, "Preface", in Fox, *Threshold*, ix.

<sup>60</sup> Fox and Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval (Solomon Islands)"; Fox and Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval".

<sup>61</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 6.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Fox, *Threshold*, 34–46.

<sup>63</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 43.

other examples found on Makira.<sup>64</sup>

Echoing familiar racial tropes found in colonisation narratives, Fox explained that 'the invading Austronesian Atawa people were superior to the aboriginal Amwea', being cleverer, less violent, and fairer in skin tone.<sup>65</sup> He argued the Atawa would have been fewer in number, but they spoke the same language, making them more cohesive and united in the face of Amwea attacks.<sup>66</sup> Using ethnographic analogy, Fox explained how early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Atawa social practices would have been useful in their initial period of migration. Unconsciously or not, he mapped a trope of peaceful fair-skinned invaders of superior intelligence who inevitably took a dominant position amongst a violent and physically darker people. Fox was not completely unaware, observing that anyone familiar with Solomon Islands at that time would see the narrative 'is in many respects a sketch of the relation that exists between the English, the *Haka* (ship-men) as the native calls them, and the Melanesians (Blacks), as the English call the natives'.<sup>67</sup> Although not an exact parallel, he described it largely as a case of 'history repeating itself'.<sup>68</sup> Later, Fox was critical of British colonialism in Solomon Islands, but this particular comparison reads almost as an attempt to explain the inevitability of history. It portrayed a false picture of British colonial interests characterised by peace and intelligence in the face of hostility. Introducing this inevitability of history may have been a means of normalising colonial activity, or at least a dispensation for himself and his organisation's involvement.<sup>69</sup>

Fox attributed the practice of totemism by groups in the west and east of Makira, along the central coastlines, and on small neighbouring islands such as Uki, to the arrival of further waves of people in the island's deep past. Although there are vagaries around the sequence of arrival, Fox named the group arriving after the Atawa as the Abarihu, terms which he gathered from people initially while working in the Arosi area. They were also Austronesian speakers, and brought different practices and beliefs with them, including some who buried their dead in stone tombs.<sup>70</sup> He separated the Abarihu into clans including the Araha, 'the clan of the chiefs'.<sup>71</sup> According to Fox, the Araha were similar to the *suqe* of the Banks Islands. This echoed the Bowie brothers' notion that the *supwentas* of west Santo were related to the *suqe*, and part of an immigration there (see chapter 3). Drawing

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<sup>64</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 46.

<sup>65</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 43.

<sup>66</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 43.

<sup>67</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 43.

<sup>68</sup> Fox, "Social Organization", 129; Fox, *Threshold*, 44.

<sup>69</sup> See, McNiven and Russell, *Appropriated Pasts*.

<sup>70</sup> Fox, "Social Organization", 163.

<sup>71</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 14, 299.

on Rivers' framework set out in *The History of Melanesian Society*, Fox described the original Amwea as physically more like 'modern Papuans'.<sup>72</sup> The Atawa were comparable to Rivers' 'proto-Polynesians' and the Abarihu equivalent to Rivers' 'kava people'.<sup>73</sup>

By 1924, Fox had concluded that his findings in some way connected to Grafton Elliot Smith and William Perry's diffusionist theories of migrations of people from Ancient Egypt in the past, although not wholesale (see also Chapter 7). In particular, Fox associated the Abarihu with 'the immigrant people whom Mr. Perry describes as coming into Indonesia and Professor Elliot Smith traces in their long wanderings, the people of the archaic civilization.'<sup>74</sup> Elliot Smith's 'archaic civilisation' originated in Egypt, although it appears Fox was circumspect in specifically referencing Egypt. Despite the three main clans he connected with the Abarihu migration each claiming to be the oldest of the three, and that some Araha spoke of coming from the east, Fox concluded that the Abarihu people arrived together and must have come through Indonesia, arriving at India from the west before cremation existed there.<sup>75</sup> He described the Abarihu as having a civilization that was 'mainly Egyptian, with accretions from other places.'<sup>76</sup>

Fox did try to form a temporal framework for these migrations, albeit a rather vague one. In 1919, he observed attempts by *The Polynesian Society* to date the immigration of Polynesian people. These dates, he reasoned, were relevant to the movement of the Abarihu, but would not help 'forming any conclusion as to the very much more ancient arrival of the Atawa.'<sup>77</sup> In 1924, Fox suggested the Atawa must have come before 1000BC, arguing they had to predate any Abarihu by a considerable time period in order to have formed the dual system with the Amwea. He also suggested the Atawa came from western India before any Egyptian influences reached there.<sup>78</sup> Fox gave limited evidence to support his proposed timescales, basing them on little more than circumstantial observations, but it reveals his interest in such archaeological matters.

Another familiar trope in Fox's narrative of Makiran prehistory was that of an original, indigenous population of small people. Although Fox never used the term 'pygmy', he characterised these people as short in stature and lacking in certain material and behavioural traits, both of which are

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<sup>72</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 354.

<sup>73</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 44, 361.

<sup>74</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 299, see also 364.

<sup>75</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 360, 364.

<sup>76</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 364.

<sup>77</sup> Fox, "Social Organization", 174.

<sup>78</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 368.

key identifiers used in 'Pygmy mythology'.<sup>79</sup> Fox first wrote of these inhabitants in 1908, and then in more detail with Drew in 1915.<sup>80</sup> He most often referred to these people as *kakamora*, although listed alternative terms from Makira and other islands.<sup>81</sup> He argued the presence of vastly different terms added weight to the notion that these inhabitants were an earlier race, because knowledge of them must have existed since a time of far greater linguistic variation than the present.<sup>82</sup> As in 1908, Fox and Drew indicated uncertainty in 1915 as to whether they believed *kakamora* existed. This uncertainty appeared again in Chapter XI of Fox's *Threshold*, essentially a replication of the 1915 piece.<sup>83</sup> Fox postulated *kakamora* could have been the first inhabitants on Makira, perhaps driven by the Amwea people inland to the hills.<sup>84</sup> He questioned whether the Amwea could be those of 'the original inhabitants' whom the immigrant Atawa civilised and integrated with, 'while the rest remained uncivilised, the Kakamora of the present day?'<sup>85</sup> Fox's fascination with *kakamora* was both scholarly and playful. Sometimes they were 'fairies', at other times evidence of the first people on Makira. Later he began signing letters to his friend Durrad 'yours kakamora', apparently having gained the nickname for his own short stature, before using the name for the title of his autobiography.<sup>86</sup>

### Material evidence of Makiran prehistory: Stones in situ

Aspects of Fox's artefact collecting intersected with his developing ideas of Solomon Islands prehistory. These theoretical observations also drew on material culture recorded in situ. Some of this material was even retrieved and examined using some approximation of excavation work. The chapter now turns to these artefacts and sites, further demonstrating Fox's interests and considering his deployment of material culture to develop stories of the Pacific past. The materials have similarities to those Bowie collected and wrote about in relation to the past peoples of Island Melanesia. Initially, items made of stone are examined, both large structures and portable artefacts, before turning to pottery. Finally, the discussion explores one of the most prolific artefact types collected by Fox: wooden bowls.

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<sup>79</sup> Chris Ballard, "Strange Alliance: Pygmies in the Colonial Imaginary", *World Archaeology* 38, no.1, (Mar. 2006): 137; See also, Chris Ballard, "Collecting Pygmies: The 'Tapiro' and the British Ornithologists' Union Expedition to Dutch New Guinea, 1910–1911", in O'Hanlon and Welsch, *Hunting the Gatherers*, 127–154.

<sup>80</sup> Fox, "Different Races in Melanesia"; Fox and Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval", 187–194.

<sup>81</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 139; See also, Fox, "Different Races in Melanesia", 40.

<sup>82</sup> Fox and Drew, "Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval", 188; Fox, *Threshold*, 139.

<sup>83</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 139–147.

<sup>84</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 354.

<sup>85</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 354.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. C.E. Fox to Walter J. Durrad, 21 May 1952, "W.J. Durrad, letters from Charles Fox", photocopy of Ms papers-1171-01, ATL, KIN109/1/1, JKL; See also, Fox, *Kakamora*, 23.

While living and working in the Arosi district of Makira Fox recorded several types of stone structures, which became interwoven in his migration theory.<sup>87</sup> For example, he gathered details of *ariari*, which were stone walls found around parts of Arosi shore villages. Fox described an *ariari* as more of a platform composed of large stones, with a broad, flat upper surface (Figure 5.4).<sup>88</sup> The platforms could be up to 12 to 15 feet (365–457 cm) across and up to 4 or 5 feet (121–152 cm) tall.<sup>89</sup> Fox found the sacred trees *aihuri* and *niu bara* (a pale yellow coconut) planted on the platforms, and in some cases, houses were even built on top.<sup>90</sup> The structure had numerous entrances that were *tabu* for women, with an additional single entry accessible to all.<sup>91</sup> Fox differentiated between *ariari* and a common type of stone wall used for boundaries (*dua*). As well as being found in villages, one *ariari* was built around a *pirupiru*, a sacred Arosi place at the shore where shark worship was practised.<sup>92</sup> Other *ariari* were found at *hera*, or burial grounds. People told Fox *ariari* were for protecting villages from the surf. However, Fox postulated that the specialist construction, presence of *tabu* entranceways and trees, and location at *pirupiru* and *hera* suggested greater significance than people indicated.<sup>93</sup> If Fox did discover more about their usage, then he did not publish details. In a footnote to his 1919 and 1924 material on *ariari*, Fox observed that all known examples were on the northwest Makira coast, suggesting 'they may be a more or less recent importation from Malaita', where he had heard there were large stone walls and buildings inland.<sup>94</sup> This also reflects Fox's theories that the 'stone using immigrants' were part of later arrivals around the coastline of the island.

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<sup>87</sup> E.g. Fox, *Threshold*, 8–9; 218.

<sup>88</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 8.

<sup>89</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 8.

<sup>90</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 8.

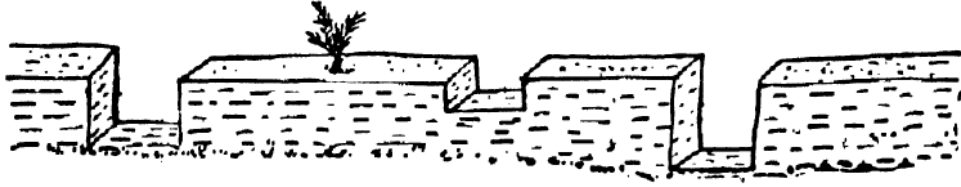
<sup>91</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 8.

<sup>92</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 8.

<sup>93</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 8–9.

<sup>94</sup> Fox, "Social Organization", 100 n1; Fox, *Threshold*, 9 n1.





*Ariari* at Ubuna in Arosi; 3 ft. broad, 5 ft. high at highest part, with openings of different heights, all taboo to women; a sacred tree, the light-coloured coco-nut, growing in the centre.  
The wall is overgrown with grass. The stones are not worked stones, and the making of this particular *ariari* is quite recent.

Figure 5.4. Illustration of *ariari*, from C.E. Fox *The Threshold of the Pacific*, 1924, p.8.

Another set of structures Fox recorded in situ were *heo*, or burial mounds of earth and stone, usually situated within *hera* and associated with the Arosi area.<sup>95</sup> Fox connected them with the burial of chiefly clan members, particularly those of the Araha group.<sup>96</sup> The *heo* became significant for Rivers' work (see Chapter 7), and the collaborative methods Fox used to record them are discussed in the vignette to Chapter 6. In 1919, Fox published a diagram of a *heo* at Ubuna village, drawn by a local Solomon Islander, in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.<sup>97</sup> It depicted a trapezoidal shaped mound, wider at the base, and topped with a stone container termed a *hau suru*, for holding bones of the dead.<sup>98</sup> Fox noted not all *heo* had these receptacles. At the time of publication, he had not personally seen the Ubuna example, and those he had seen were 'more or less rounded, with flat tops, oblong in shape, but hardly suggesting a pyramid, as the sketch does.'<sup>99</sup> In a letter to Rivers written across multiple dates from 14 April – 21 May 1918, Fox recorded his first sighting of a *heo*, describing the mounds as variously shaped.<sup>100</sup> Including simple line drawings of the profiles of *heo*, Fox explained he had not seen any pyramidal examples in person yet. He requested that any reference to pyramid shapes be removed from the manuscript accompanying his letter, which was a draft of his 1919 article 'Social Organization in San Cristoval, Solomon Islands'.<sup>101</sup> This potentially pyramid-shaped structure became prominent in the reception of Fox's work and his

<sup>95</sup> I use the term *heo* after Fox, but the term *hera*, referring to the burial ground, is used in Scott's work. See, Michael W. Scott, *The Severed Snake: Matrilineages, Making Place, and a Melanesian Christianity in Southeast Solomon Islands* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2007). Fox also acknowledged the word *hera* was sometimes used e.g. Fox, *Threshold*, 218.

<sup>96</sup> C.E. Fox, "The San Cristoval heo", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 28, no. 1(109) (Mar. 1919): 39.

<sup>97</sup> Fox, "San Cristoval heo", 39.

<sup>98</sup> Fox, "San Cristoval heo", 39.

<sup>99</sup> Fox, "San Cristoval heo", 40.

<sup>100</sup> Fox to Rivers, 14 April 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC. This letter covers the period 14 April – 21 May 1918.

<sup>101</sup> Fox, "Social Organization".

involvement with diffusionist scholars, highlighted at the end of this chapter and discussed in Chapter 7.

The multiple *heo* described by Fox differed slightly in their composition and form but were usually around fifteen by ten feet (457cm by 304 cm) at the base and two or three feet high (61–91 cm). The largest he had seen was about 40 by 60 feet (1219cm by 1828 cm) at the base and 15 feet (457cm) high.<sup>102</sup> He described slight variations in the burial processes used at particular *heo*. Generally, the body of the deceased was placed on or in the mound, and the flesh was periodically washed away as it decomposed. The bones were gathered and placed in the *hau suru* or the earth once clean.<sup>103</sup> Fox reported a copious amount of bones recently removed from two large *heo*, which had been levelled at Wango village at the request of a Government Magistrate while Fox had been on the other side of Makira.<sup>104</sup> All of the deceased at these sites were buried 'in the horizontal extended position.'<sup>105</sup> The Araha use of *heo* was, according to Fox, further evidence that they were the stone-using, Austronesian-speaking people who arrived in the migration of Abarihu to the area. An aspect of Fox's interpretation that never featured in his publications was an idea posited to Rivers in 1918 that *heo* had connections with Hawai'ian culture. In a version of the Ubuna *heo* diagram he sent to Rivers dated 21 May 1918, Fox labelled the burial structure itself as 'the mound. (cf. Hawaii heiau).'<sup>106</sup> Shortly after, he again commented on the similarities between people of Makira and Ulawa 'to Hawaiians rather than other Polynesians'.<sup>107</sup> Fox did not pursue this hypothesis, perhaps not encouraged by Rivers to whom he looked for expert advice and guidance, but it is possible he drew the parallel from reading Ellis' work, whom Fox referenced elsewhere.<sup>108</sup>

In 1924, Fox published a short note on rock art he had visited on the north coast of the Arosi area in the 'Notes and Queries' section of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.<sup>109</sup> He considered the sacred burial place, which he identified as 'Hau Siesie', to be the best example he knew of a 'rock print with hands'. Found amongst 'a number of curious ancient markings' was a lone handprint he believed to

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<sup>102</sup> C.E. Fox, "Further Notes on the San Cristoval heo of the Solomon Islands", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 28, no. 2(110) (Jun. 1919), 103.

<sup>103</sup> See, Fox, "Further notes on the San Cristoval heo", 103–105.

<sup>104</sup> C.E. Fox to Grafton E. Smith, 26 May 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>105</sup> Fox, "San Cristoval heo", 39.

<sup>106</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 14 April 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC. This letter covered the period 14 April – 21 May 1918.

<sup>107</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 10 June 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>108</sup> E.g. Fox, "Social Organization", 169, 179.

<sup>109</sup> C. E. Fox, "[370] Finger Mutilation and Rock Prints", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 33, no.131 (1924): 220–225.

be very old, made above head height in a red mineral paint that people still used. In other places where he had seen handprints, he had found drawings of birds, snakes and fish. His note was directly in response to an earlier one by H.D. Skinner suggesting hand stencilling was found in places where there was a cultural practice of amputating fingers – a suggestion Fox disputed, as he had seen no evidence of the practice of finger amputation on Makira.<sup>110</sup>

### Collecting the landscape: portable stone artefacts

Fox was unable to collect the examples from the landscape discussed above, but he did attempt the acquisition of some large stone items. Writing to Skinner in August 1921 he added a postscript that he hoped to ship a stone statue 'from a tomb' located 6 miles inland and around 4ft (121cm) high. In November 1921, Fox wrote that had been unable to procure it.<sup>111</sup> He did, however, gather other portable stone items and supporting data, sending a total of seven large stone artefacts and one of coral to OM in 1923, four of which are specifically associated with sacred significance or power. The largest example measures 59cm by 43cm by 30cm (Figure 5.5). Fox described it as 'set up on a hera several miles inland in the bush behind Hada [western Arosi district]. The human head faced east. Called Suan'.<sup>112</sup> Scott described some of these powerful items in a paper on another artefact type: *kakamora* stones.<sup>113</sup> The *kakamora* stones are neither material nor immaterial, being located in the armpit of a *kakamora* and the source of their power.<sup>114</sup> Scott interpreted them as intricately bound with Makira island itself, and compared their conceptualisation to that of other Arosi shrine stones, which are part of ancestral matrilineages, powerfully connected to people, ancestors, and the land.<sup>115</sup> Suan, now in OM, is just one example of such a shrine stone. Another example sent by Fox to OM in 1923 was described thus: 'Shark stone (like clam shell), from a birubiru (shark rock). Food eaten by man to be killed was put on it, [and] shark then killed him. The stone leapt when this happened.'<sup>116</sup> A *birubiru*, or *pirupiru* as Fox also wrote it, was a place at which ancestral sharks were given offerings.<sup>117</sup> Some were located just outside a village within an area of sacred trees, but in Arosi the term always referred to a place on the reef. In *Threshold*, Fox observed there were always shark stones, or *hau ni ba'ewa* (also *hau ba'ewa*), at a *birubiru*. Individual stones were closely

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<sup>110</sup> H.D. Skinner, "[336] Australian Cultural Influences in the New Hebrides.—The Imprint of the Hand", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 32, no.126 (1924): 96–100.

<sup>111</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 31 August 1921, OMC; C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 17 November 1921, OMC.

<sup>112</sup> D23.431, OM register. Approximate measurements made by author at OM, February 2016.

<sup>113</sup> Scott, "Collecting Makira".

<sup>114</sup> Scott, "Collecting Makira", 67.

<sup>115</sup> Scott, "Collecting Makira", 71.

<sup>116</sup> D23.435, OM Register.

<sup>117</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 115; Scott, *Severed Snake*, 187–189.

associated with a particular spirit shark. Whenever that shark seized a victim, even if some distance away, the stone would jump, sometimes toppling off.<sup>118</sup> In his 2007 monograph, Scott observed that even Arosi *birubiru* no longer considered dangerous are approached cautiously, as people would not wish to call a spirit-shark mistakenly.<sup>119</sup>



Figure 5.5. Large carved stone associated with a *hera*. Collected by C.E. Fox on Makira, c.1920. Otago Museum. Photograph by author, 2016.



Figure 5.6. 'Red stone. Part of pillar from the ranks of men drowned in the flood, who were turned into stone.' Collected by C.E. Fox. Otago Museum, D.23.434. Photograph by author, 2016.

<sup>118</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 286.

<sup>119</sup> Scott, *Severed Snake*, 188–189.

The acquisition of sacred stones by missionaries was often an act of removing what they saw as powerful signifiers of 'heathenism'. However, for others involved in the transaction, the decision to part with a powerful stone may have been differently motivated. For Fox the missionary, stonework was simultaneously relevant to his growing theories of the Makiran past, influenced partly by Rivers' diffusionist interests in stone use. The OM register entry for one of those portable stones directly drawn upon in Fox's interpretation of Makiran prehistory reads: 'Red stone. Part of pillar from the ranks of men drowned in the flood, who were turned into stone' (Figure 5.6).<sup>120</sup> Despite being mobilised in many other biblical interpretations of prehistory, this reference to 'the flood' was not directly to the Deluge of the Bible. Instead, it connected with an Arosi story of *ruarua*, a massive flood that some told Fox covered the whole of Makira.<sup>121</sup> At the time of the *ruarua*, a large canoe arrived carrying the first people to settle on the island. It was said that the canoe, carrying men, women, pigs and dogs, came from Mwara (Malaita), but originally came from another country far in the northwest. Fox did not know the name of this place, having never met anyone directly who could tell him, but was always informed there were others who could relay it to him.<sup>122</sup> The location at which the canoe landed remained a sacred place.<sup>123</sup> At Mwata village on the west coast Fox had seen 'the "men of Mwara" [...] a number of brown pillars under the cliff, very regular, about three feet high, standing rank on rank.'<sup>124</sup> These were the men who drowned at the time of the flood, washed ashore when the canoe arrived from Mwara. The piece of red coloured rock now in Otago Museum must have come from this cliff face. The resonance with biblical imagery was not lost on Fox either, who made a note when he published the information in 1919 that he believed some parts of the story could have been 'coloured by Christian influences.'<sup>125</sup>

Fox's writing and collecting activities suggest his particular interest in traces of historical narratives on the landscape. For example, on Santa Ana island (also known as owaraha) he recorded a story of the Garohai, or turtle clan, which told how the turtle's two children fished up the island of Santa Ana with a rope from the ocean.<sup>126</sup> The children had failed at first as the rock onto which they initially attached the rope had broken free. '[A]s for the truth of this story,' concluded Fox, 'you have only to go to the east side of the island and there before your face is the broken rock where the

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<sup>120</sup> D23.434, OM Register.

<sup>121</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 9.

<sup>122</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 9.

<sup>123</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 18 August 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>124</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 9.

<sup>125</sup> Fox, "Social Organization", 100 n2.

<sup>126</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 72.

hook failed at the first attempt'.<sup>127</sup> This observation is characteristic of Fox's research, leaving ambiguity for the audience as to whether he considered a broken rock, like a stone structure believed to be built by *kakamora*, as material evidence for historical events. What it does indicate, once again, is Fox's respect for local knowledge and his ability to open-mindedly record a story of the fishing up of an island by a turtle's children.

A stone artefact recovered from the ground on Makira also made its way to OM. Identified as a stone tool in the museum register, it was described as '[d]ug up in a garden at depth of 4 feet. Nothing like it at present day, [and] people much interested: Etemwarore, near Wano'.<sup>128</sup> Wano, or rather Wango, is in the Arosi region on the north coast of Makira, and 'Etemwarore' is likely an alternative spelling of Etamarorai, a short distance west of Wango. This stone artefact was not the only item Fox found in the earth; he also uncovered pottery in several different locations.

### Pottery and pot sherds

Like Bowie and his counterparts in the Presbyterian mission to the New Hebrides, Fox and his Melanesian Mission colleagues questioned the making and origins of pottery they encountered in daily mission life. For Fox, pottery offered further material evidence for his theory of waves of migration to Makira. In a letter to Skinner in February 1922, Fox wrote of pottery unearthed on Uki island. It was found in what he called 'an old Masi village'.<sup>129</sup> Fox did not offer any further description and, unfortunately, the pottery had been broken by a child. However, he intended to spend a week on Uki accompanied by two unnamed traders on 'a little archaeological stint' to see if they could find more.<sup>130</sup> He speculated that *masi* people were a prehistoric group, contemporaneous with *kakamora* on Makira. Fox asserted that if he were correct, then old *masi* villages would be the best places to search for pottery, which was no longer made in the region.<sup>131</sup> No surviving material evidence relating to this 'stint' has been identified, although apparently when Swiss traveller Eugen Paravicini visited Solomon Islands he saw sherds from Uki in Fox's personal collection.<sup>132</sup>

A 2002 paper by Moira White, the curator responsible for Fox's collection at OM for many years, provides a useful summary of over 50 pottery sherds collected elsewhere that Fox deposited at the

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<sup>127</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 72.

<sup>128</sup> D22.684, OM Register.

<sup>129</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 15 February 1922, photocopy, OMC.

<sup>130</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 15 February 1922, photocopy, OMC.

<sup>131</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 15 February 1922, photocopy, OMC.

<sup>132</sup> Alphonse Riesenfeld, *The Megalithic Cultures of Melanesia* (Leiden: Brill, 1951), 139.

in 1923, 1927 and 1930.<sup>133</sup> White intended to clarify some mis-recorded information, which had confused researchers interested in the sherds' provenance for the over the years. Both the 1923 and 1927 acquisitions were found in Pamua, Makira. Another larger sherd acquired by OM in 1930 is attributed to 'Ugi' in the museum register. However, it is recorded in Fox's correspondence as dug up at some depth near the site where other material was found at Pamua.<sup>134</sup> White clarified that the 1927 material was found by Reverend Nind, who gave it to Fox. Hubert James Nind (1877–1947) initially represented the Melanesian Mission in the Santa Cruz islands from 1899. In 1907, Nind became the head of the *vanua*, the name used to refer to the living and working areas of St. Barnabas' College on Norfolk Island. He returned to Santa Cruz briefly before taking a post at Pamua school from 1915 until 1931. Fox claimed that he and Nind uncovered potsherds together in 1912, while planting kumara at Pamua, but it is unclear whether those specific examples were among those sent to Dunedin.<sup>135</sup> Skinner described the pottery acquired in 1923 as 'coarse red pottery found in road-making [...] coarse-grained, undecorated, and of poor quality, [...] appears to have been made by the coil method.'<sup>136</sup>

The 1927 examples differ in that they have a green glaze. Fox compared the glaze to Fijian examples, suggesting that *kauri* resin used to make Fijian glaze could also have been used in Solomon Islands.<sup>137</sup> He was resistant to a suggestion by both Skinner and A.C. Haddon that the sherds could be of Spanish origin.<sup>138</sup> For Fox, the proposal was laughable: 'you red hot diffusionists (really) think whenever you find anything anywhere that it must have come from somewhere else!'<sup>139</sup> Demonstrating Fox's reticence toward some diffusionist arguments, especially without clear evidence, the comment also likely reflects his positive opinions of local skills. That he found the sherds in Solomon Islands was enough to persuade Fox of a probable origin there, unless proven otherwise. It later emerged that the potsherds were indeed from outside the region. In 1970, New Zealand-based archaeologist Roger Green revisited the pottery deposited with OM, as part of his research of Álvaro de Mendaña y Neira's two voyages to Solomon Islands in 1567–68 and 1596.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Moira White, "The Spanish Sherds from San Cristobal", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 111, no.3 (2002): 249–254; D27.26 – D.27.41, and D30.385, OM museum register.

<sup>134</sup> White, "Spanish Sherds", 251.

<sup>135</sup> Fox, *Autobiography*, ms., chap.6 p.9, Papers relating to Charles Elliot Fox, in *Papers of McEwan, Jock Malcolm*, MS-papers-6717-115, ATL.

<sup>136</sup> H.D. Skinner, "Pottery in the Solomon Islands", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 32, no. 3 (127) (Sep. 1923): 184.

<sup>137</sup> C.E. Fox, to H.D. Skinner, 15 February 1922, OMC.

<sup>138</sup> White, "Spanish Sherds", 252–253.

<sup>139</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 28 March 1930, OMC.

<sup>140</sup> R. C. Green, "The Conquest of the Conquistadors", *World Archaeology* 5, no. 1, (Jun. 1973): 14–31.

Studying a selection of the sherds in 1970, Green found they were wheel-made, and probably Spanish, identical to other pottery found by Jim Allen at the Mendaña site, which at that time had not yet been excavated.<sup>141</sup> Green further suggested the large sherd acquired in 1930 was Chinese made, of Martaban type.<sup>142</sup>

### Carved Wooden Bowls

Most artefact types collected by Fox feature in his ideas of the deep history of Makira and nearby islands. He even drew items not generally classified as 'archaeological' into his narrative, including wooden bowls. Otago Museum acquired a total of 43 bowls, making it the most prolific artefact type Fox sent Skinner. Some had their Arosi language name, a brief English translation, and a description of their use. Further details were offered in 1923, when Fox and Mononga'i travelled to Dunedin. Acquiring differently styled examples of the same artefact to create a typological collection was directly relevant to Skinner's research on diffusion and the typological development of art styles.<sup>143</sup> Fox used sacred food bowls (*dara manu*) to illustrate his observations of the Arosi clan system and connections with particular birds and other totem animals. The bowls were used for sacrifices specific to a clan group, with carvings reflecting their use and ownership.<sup>144</sup> Other types of bowls carved with birds were used for sacrifices relating to fishermen and to warriors.<sup>145</sup>

Food bowls (*dara*) were featured in Fox's examination of burial practices on Makira. He described a man who had been buried in a bowl named *Waruhiga*, which measured 5ft 6 inches long, 4ft broad and 3 ft high (167cm by 121cm by 91cm).<sup>146</sup> The bowl was positioned in a cave, where it took on a sacred quality, and was later brought into the village if the villagers wanted rain. Generally, however, adults were buried in an extended position in larger *hohoto*, a long shallow trough.<sup>147</sup> In 1919, Fox also explicitly associated this type of burial with Abarihu, the Austronesian-speaking group of immigrant people whom he connected with forming the *suqe*.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Green, "Conquest of the Conquistadors", 18; See also, Jim Allen, and R.C. Green, "Mendaña 1595 and the Fate of the Lost 'Almiranta': An Archaeological Investigation", *Journal of Pacific History* 7 (1972): 73–91.

<sup>142</sup> Green, "Conquest of the Conquistadors", 25.

<sup>143</sup> See, H.D. Skinner, "A Type of Maori Carved Wooden Bowl", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 31, no.124 (1922): 182–184; H.D. Skinner, *Comparatively Speaking: Studies in Pacific Material Culture 1921–1972*, (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1974). For examples of Skinner's typological approach to art and artefacts.

<sup>144</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 10–12.

<sup>145</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 11.

<sup>146</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 225.

<sup>147</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 225.

<sup>148</sup> Fox, "Social Organization", 162–163.



### Debating the 'Egyptian hypothesis': Fox's perspective

After their initial meeting in 1908, Fox and Rivers developed a close friendship. The fragmentary archival evidence of their years of correspondence reveals elements of this scholarly and personal relationship. For example, in March 1918, Fox wrote to Rivers asking him to critique a paper, 'the more severe the better', adding 'I don't suppose you have any idea of the respect, admiration and feeling of personal affection I have for you.'<sup>149</sup> As Fox's primary contact for texts and research advice for many years, Rivers' deepening engagement with diffusionist ideas of past human development undoubtedly encouraged and informed Fox's interest in the paradigm's key concepts. This is observable in his characteristically diffusionist arguments of the peopling of Makira, and the reflection of Rivers' scheme of Melanesian history in his conceptualisations of the island's deep past. Fox did not always agree with Rivers, but the two shared a general consensus. By the time *Threshold* was published in 1924, however, proponents of the diffusionist paradigm were increasingly being critiqued, in particular Grafton Elliot Smith, who edited *Threshold* for publication after Rivers' death, and his colleague Perry. One idea in *Threshold* particularly drew the reviewers' attention and criticism, namely the theory of a past global diffusion of characteristics of Ancient Egyptian civilisation. This criticism was unfortunate in some respects, as *Threshold* and the earlier papers compiled in its production contain surprisingly little reference to Egypt. Fox's relationship with these diffusionist scholars and the controversy around the Egyptian hypothesis is discussed further in Chapter 7. However, the latter is briefly elucidated here to consider what it reveals of Fox's approach.

Writing to Skinner in March 1921, Fox claimed he had 'no doubt of traces of early Egyptian influence' on Makira.<sup>150</sup> He later explained he could not resist 'a general form' of Elliot Smith's conclusion, although disagreed with much of the detail.<sup>151</sup> Before *Threshold* was published, therefore, Fox was aware of disagreements around the hypothesis of Egyptian influences, but subscribed to the idea to an extent. As he sat down on Makira and read the few theoretical texts mailed to him by Rivers, and later Skinner, it may have seemed one of the most appealing theoretical options as he was personally dissatisfied with other ethnological approaches of the time, particularly the older evolutionary approach to cultural development. Fox proclaimed that 'the orthodox facts collecting ethnologist often writes the greatest nonsense,' and gave an example of Pitt Rivers' error in interpreting a 'w' pattern found on Makiran clubs as a fish mouth, 'whereas everyone here knows [and] will tell you at once it is the (very common) emblem of the snake god.'<sup>152</sup> He was clearly criticising those who did

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<sup>149</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 14 March 1918, Perry Papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>150</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 14 March 1921, OMC.

<sup>151</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 31 August 1921, OMC.

<sup>152</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 31 August 1921, OMC.

not seek local knowledge or take it seriously. Fox also scoffed that these scholars 'say when anything puzzles them that it has been "evolved" from something which doesn't puzzle them', the added emphasis probably indicating Fox's rejection of any social evolutionary approaches.

Later, in a letter to Haddon from Uki island in December 1930, Fox lamented the reception of his 1924 monograph.<sup>153</sup> He expressed disappointment with the reviewers' responses, of whom Haddon had been one. 'It was a pity', wrote Fox, 'it was used to support a particular theory, the origin of everything in Egypt, which I dont [sic] believe in.' These feelings are understandable in view of the relatively limited mention of Egypt in *Threshold*. However, Fox was particularly upset that part of his manuscript, which he considered 'the best third', remained unpublished, 'lost probably I was told by Dr. Rivers. For all that Haununu stuff, got from the old chief, can never be got again.'<sup>154</sup> Fox continued, revealing his lack of conviction in Elliot Smith and Perry's arguments, 'I never could believe either that everything came from Egypt (The Children of the Sun antagonised me somehow) or that everything was invented independently. I liked what Sir James Fraser [sic] said about it in an address on the Flood (I think).'<sup>155</sup> Frazer's 'Ancient Stories of a Great Flood' was delivered as the Royal Anthropological Institute's annual Huxley Memorial Lecture in 1916.<sup>156</sup> He theorised that the study of flood myths from different groups of people could inform scholarly enquiry into the reasons for similarities 'between the beliefs and customs of races inhabiting distant parts of the world.'<sup>157</sup> The key question was whether transmission through direct or indirect contact had caused such similarities or, conversely, they were independent inventions due to some specific aspect of human cognition. Frazer believed the two concepts were not exclusive of one another and should not be considered as such. '[E]ach case must be judged on its own merits after an impartial scrutiny of the facts', and either independent invention or transmission or both could be 'true and valid within certain limits'.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> C.E. Fox to A.C. Haddon, 19 December 1930, Material for Canoes of Oceania written with Hornell. Vol. 2., Papers of Alfred C. Haddon (as filmed by the AJCP), M2728-2759, Series 3000-3999, Subseries 3046, NLA.

<sup>154</sup> C.E. Fox to A.C. Haddon, 19 December 1930, Material for Canoes of Oceania written with Hornell. Vol. 2., Papers of Alfred C. Haddon (as filmed by the AJCP), M2728-2759, Series 3000-3999, Subseries 3046, NLA.

<sup>155</sup> C.E. Fox to A.C. Haddon, 19 December 1930, Material for Canoes of Oceania written with Hornell. Vol. 2., Papers of Alfred C. Haddon (as filmed by the AJCP), M2728-2759, Series 3000-3999, Subseries 3046, NLA.

<sup>156</sup> James George Frazer, "Ancient Stories of a Great Flood", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 46 (1916): 231–283.

<sup>157</sup> Frazer, "Ancient Stories", 232.

<sup>158</sup> Frazer, "Ancient Stories", 233.

Fox's attraction to a work on flood narratives may have been encouraged by his own encounters with flood stories, as well as the clear Judaeo-Christian implications of the mythology. Frazer's balancing of two opposing arguments, incorporating aspects of each in ways that appear almost contradictory, somehow seems representative of Fox's scholarly approach as well as the way he lived his own life. It was an approach reflective of the meeting of dichotomous ideas and beliefs, of concurrent arguments that were not always easily reconciled with one another, and of science with religion.

## Conclusion

Charles Elliot Fox was a linguist, a collector, and an ethnologist. Recording stories in the *natimas*, conducting 'little archaeological stints', and getting into '*the mind of the native*', became regular practice in his work as a missionary.<sup>159</sup> This chapter has offered an overview of Fox's key ideas relating to the peopling of the eastern Solomon Islands and to Pacific prehistory more broadly. These ideas developed and were modified over time, influenced by an array of actors, artefacts, and intangible aspects. As was the case with certain others in the Melanesian Mission, Fox's work was respected by missionaries and those in the scientific community. He expressed an overwhelming dedication to 'facts' and what he considered a scientific approach, even though it might not be considered as such today. However, he also aligned himself, through his close relationship with W.H.R. Rivers, with a strand of anthropology that was to become increasingly unpopular over time. This ultimately influenced the theoretical content and reception of his work. Aside from the theoretical threads of his research, which are at times contradictory and unrefined, there is also an overwhelming sense that he prioritised local knowledge. Fox and Bowie would never have been able to acquire the artefacts and knowledge that they did in the field without their local networks. The next chapter explores these local networks in greater detail, and the ways that particular knowledge was produced and reproduced within them.

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<sup>159</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 15 February 1922, photocopy, OMC; Fox, "Norfolk Island notes", 84. Emphasis original.

## Chapter 6: Presence and Presents: Local Networks of knowledge Exchange

Vignette: Illustrations, Makira



**Figure 6.1. Diagram of heo, after a drawing made for C.E. Fox by a resident of Makira. Recorded at 'Ubuna, a coastal village on the northwest of the island. Reproduced from Perry papers, UCL Special Collections, MS ADD 279/B2.**

This diagram of a *heo*, or burial mound, was produced from an illustration by one of Charles Fox's interlocutors on Makira, Solomon Islands.<sup>1</sup> For W.H.R. Rivers and other early 20<sup>th</sup> century diffusionist scholars, it gained importance in their theories of past Pacific migration. The simple line drawing was recorded at 'Ubuna, a coastal village on the northwest of Makira. It shows the structure's profile, indicating a *hau suru*, or stone receptacle, placed on top, and illustrates the structure's positioning on a *hera*, or burial ground. On 21 May 1918, Fox included the drawing as a postscript to a lengthier piece of correspondence begun on 30 April, and finally mailed to Rivers at the end of May. Fox had not seen the 'Ubuna *heo* in person, but his enquiries were prompted after hearing of 'remarkable burial customs' in 'roughly pyramidal' mounds in the Arosi area of the island.<sup>2</sup> He was excited by his 'discovery', and his interpretations meandered as the letter containing the illustrations was added to over six weeks. Although he subsequently observed several examples of mounds in situ, Fox's knowledge of the majority of these burial places was drawn from the descriptions offered by others locally. Early in the correspondence, Fox offered diagrammatic line drawings representing cross-sections of other burial mounds in the Arosi district 'drawn on paper for [Fox] by natives'.<sup>3</sup> People shared details of examples from different parts of Makira, varying in composition and size, some manufactured by humans and others naturally formed.

<sup>1</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 21 May 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>2</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 14 April 1918, Perry Papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>3</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 30 April 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

Fox's eagerness to record details of *heo* appears partly motivated by his desire to demonstrate for his diffusionist correspondent that these burial places were characterised by a pyramidal shape, reflected in the 'Ubuna *heo* diagram's short caption: 'Pyramidal mounds all right.'<sup>4</sup> The 'Ubuna illustration was published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)* in the first of two papers by Fox on *heo* in 1919.<sup>5</sup> The content of his second paper suggests that in the interim period following the first submission, Fox developed greater knowledge of three particular *heo*, located at Tawaniora, Tawatana, and Mwanunu.<sup>6</sup> Recorded were types of stone used, dimensions, and details of associated practices. Although Fox is the identified author of the papers, the line drawings and content of his correspondence emphasise the central role of others in collating and producing that data.

Other illustrations by Solomon Islands artists appear in Fox's work, informing his knowledge and interpretations of sites, which offer glimpses of the identity of his interlocutors. One of these, captioned '[s]ketch from native drawing', and sent to Rivers in 1919, shows a platform, *Take Araha* or *Take ni Malaohu*, used in the initiation of young males becoming Araha.<sup>7</sup> Fox explained it was a simpler version of a detailed drawing, and in practice the lower part of the platform was not physically represented. A more elaborate version was published in *Threshold of the Pacific*, presumably incorporating the details omitted from the 1919 letter.<sup>8</sup> Another site illustration appearing in Fox's publications has an artist attribution: 'Koko', of Guadalcanal.<sup>9</sup> Depicted is a sacred place, or *poli*, at Malegete village, Guadalcanal. Having never visited this site, Fox relied solely on Koko's detailed account drawn from his childhood memories. Koko is almost certainly Ellison Koko, a teacher with the Melanesian Mission from Marovovo village, Guadalcanal.<sup>10</sup> Baptised and confirmed at the Melanesian Mission's Bunana Central School in 1913, Koko took a position on Makira, and in 1915 became head of a brotherhood of church representatives established by Fox at Pamua.<sup>11</sup> He and Fox worked closely with one another on Makira.

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<sup>4</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 21 May 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC. This entry is in a long letter initially dated 30 April 1918.

<sup>5</sup> Fox, "San Cristoval Heo", 39–41; Also featured with no artist attribution in, Fox, "Social Organization", 176.

<sup>6</sup> Fox, "Further Notes on the San Cristoval Heo", 103–105.

<sup>7</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 29 January 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC. Mis-transcribed as 'Take Araha'.

<sup>8</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 348.

<sup>9</sup> Fox, "Social Organization", 177.

<sup>10</sup> Sometimes written Kokoe or Kokou. Fox notes he is from Marovovo in, C.E. Fox, *Autobiography Ms.*, Chapter 7 p.1, "Papers relating to Charles Elliot Fox", Papers of McEwan, Jock Malcolm, MS-papers-6717-115, ATL.

<sup>11</sup> R.P. Wilson, "Bunana Central School", in *Annual Report of the Melanesian Mission for 1914* ed.



RAKERAKEMANU.

*Ataro ni matawa, Wango.*

(Drawn by Oroaniia, Wango.)

**Figure 6.2. ‘Rakerakemanu. Ataro ni matawa, Wango. (Drawn by Oroaniia, Wango.)’, from C.E. Fox and F.H. Drew, ‘Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval’, JRAI 45 (Jan-Jun 1915), 177.**

Other people on Makira illustrated aspects of life for Fox that he was unable to see. Fox and Drew’s 1915 article in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, features a series of four such authored drawings of *ataro* or *adaro*, which the authors describe as ghosts and spirits.<sup>12</sup> The depictions included Kareimanua, an *adaro* related to the worship of sharks. Captioned, ‘[D]rawn by Maekasia, a native of Fagani, San Cristoval’, accompanying it were the illustrator’s accounts of shark worship and those who embodied the role of priestly shark men.<sup>13</sup> Of the four *adaro*, the artist of one captioned ‘Rakerakemanu. Ataro ni matawa, Wango. (Drawn by Oroaniia, Wango.)’, can be definitively identified.<sup>14</sup> He is undoubtedly Melanesian Mission teacher Matthew Oroaniia of Wango, who also appears in Fox’s published list of 18 ‘principal’ informants.<sup>15</sup> The other two artists’ names bear similarities to Melanesian Mission teachers on Makira at the time, and may have been incorrectly transcribed, but for now their identity remains obscured. Identification of Koko and

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Melanesian Mission (Auckland: Brett Printing Company, 1915), 19; Charles E. Fox, “San Cristoval and Ugi, 1916”, *Southern Cross Log* XXII, no.2 (Apr. 1917): 21–22; Macdonald-Milne, *The True Way of Service*, 31.

<sup>12</sup> Fox and Drew, “Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval”, 160–185.

<sup>13</sup> Fox and Drew, “Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval”, 168–169, 177; Also, Fox, *Threshold*, 116–117; Illustration without artist’s name appears in, Sidney H Ray, “San Cristoval and the Scriptures”, *Bible in the World* (Oct. 1921): 154.

<sup>14</sup> Fox and Drew, “Beliefs and Tales of San Cristoval”, 177; Also, Fox, *Threshold*, 128.

<sup>15</sup> Fox, “Social Organization”, 97–98 n1. Informants is term used by Fox in text.

Oroaniia suggests the important role of males embedded in the Melanesian Mission within Fox's broadly archaeological and anthropological research, although this requires further investigation. The scant details of individuals sharing their knowledge with Fox exemplify the traces of local networks found throughout missionary Pacific writing, collecting and illustrations. Details such as an artist's name or village offer opportunities for piecing together the networks that facilitated and informed missionary research of Pacific prehistory. Mapping those networks potentially reveals broader trends in the types of people missionaries relied on for data, bringing to light any implications of those trends on the production and reproduction of archaeological and anthropological knowledge.

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### Tracing local networks

Missionary archaeology depended on local access to specific sites, artefacts, and knowledgeable individuals, who brought their own agency to transactions within those local networks. This chapter explores the local frameworks facilitating Fox and Bowie's research, considering how and why particular island and inter-island networks influenced their archaeological and ethnological activities. The focus is on the knowledge networks themselves, rather than on connecting individuals with specifically archaeological data or adding further details regarding Fox and Bowie's archaeological arguments. Initially, the discussion considers Fox and Bowie's geographical and spatial circumstances at mission schools and within large mission fields, and the access those spaces provided to specific interlocutors, artefacts, and sites. The chapter then examines particular key individuals within those spaces, interconnected with the development of knowledge about Pacific prehistory. The stories of these individuals also indicate broader emergent trends regarding the types of people interwoven into missionary knowledge networks. For example, both male ritual specialists and young men connected with the mission regularly contributed data to Fox and Bowie's research. The chapter concludes by considering particular circumstances, other than simply being physically present in the lives of interlocutors, which could have influenced the relationships being formed and provided missionaries with access to sites, material culture, and narratives of the past.

### Mission schools as meeting places

The spaces that Fox and Bowie inhabited during their missionary careers provided access to individuals, sites and material culture that informed their interpretations of the Pacific past. One such locale was the large mission schools in which both men were stationed during their missionary careers. As discussed in Chapter 5, Fox began working with the Melanesian Mission at St. Barnabas'

College on Norfolk Island in 1902. Young students and missionaries lived and worked together in the *vanua*, a Mota word for village, creating and inhabiting a space removed from their home communities (Figure 6.3). Relationships were characterised by some similar social hierarchies but, in the absence of familiar elders and chiefs, they were mediated on new terms with European missionaries and other Melanesians trained in the mission system and inhabiting leadership roles. The *vanua* had gendered spaces, such as the sewing room where Melanesian and European women gathered after dinner (Figure 6.4). Meanwhile, male students gathered in what Fox referred to as a *natima*, Mota for small men's house, of which there were multiple examples separated according to the islands from which people originally came (Figures 6.5 and 6.6).<sup>16</sup> As Fox put it, 'there [was] no cosier place to spend an evening', and there the young men gathered to tell stories and smoke pipes.<sup>17</sup> These spaces at St. Barnabas were also referred to in some sources as *gamal*, another Mota word for a communal men's house, usually associated with male graded society.



**Figure 6.3. 'The vanua at St. Barnabas viewed from the west, Norfolk Island, 1906'. Photograph by John Watt Beattie. National Library Australia, Canberra. <https://nla.gov.au:443/tarkine/nla.obj-141086805>**

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<sup>16</sup> Fox, "On Sharks", 75.

<sup>17</sup> Fox, "On Sharks", 75.



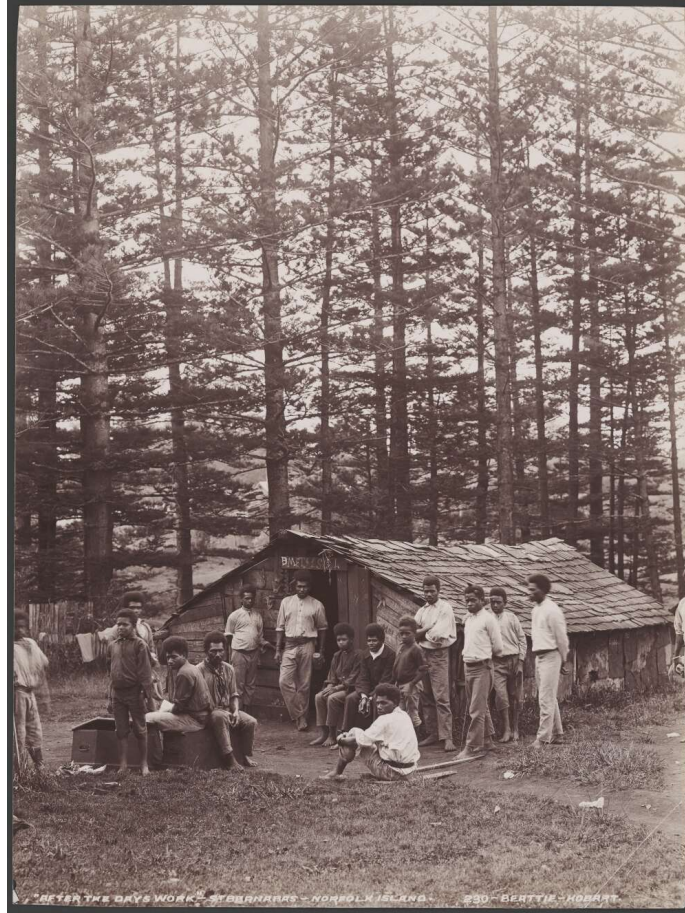


Figure 6.4. 'Women and girls in the sewing room at St. Barnabas, Norfolk Island, 1906'. Photograph by John Watt Beattie. National Library Australia, Canberra. <https://nla.gov.au:443/tarkine/nla.obj-141088311>



Figure 6.5. 'Men at Gela House, a boys gamal at St. Barnabas, Norfolk Island, 1906'. Photograph by John Watt Beattie. National Library Australia, Canberra. <https://nla.gov.au:443/tarkine/nla.obj-141088311>

141088513



**Figure 6.6. 'Melanesian men resting outside a gamal, St. Barnabas, Norfolk Island, 1906'. Photograph by John Watt Beattie. National Library Australia, Canberra. <https://nla.gov.au:443/tarkine/nla.obj-141088615>**

As illustrated in Chapter 5, Fox accessed a wealth of cultural data at St. Barnabas, and his predecessors had similarly drawn on opportunities at the school for cross-cultural exchange of ideas and material culture. Codrington recorded a great deal of data there (see Chapter 4), and another Melanesian Mission colleague, William H. Edgell (1873–1960), acquired artefacts on Norfolk Island from Solomon Islands and Torres Islands in 1897–98. He sent those to CUMAA.<sup>18</sup> Edgell's handwritten list from 1898, entitled 'Curios from Norfolk Island', suggests at least some items were brought from home by students, rather than being made at the school.<sup>19</sup> For example, a forehead ornament decorated with a frigate bird design was described as 'an heirloom [and] probably over 150 years old'.<sup>20</sup> Edgell claimed a wooden carving of a bonito inlaid with shell, from Ulawa, Solomon

<sup>18</sup> E.g. Z31638, Z31631A-C, Z31634, CUMAA.

<sup>19</sup> William Edgell, "List of curios collected from boys at Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island. c1898. Covering letter from HAR Edgell", OA2/1/2, CUMAA.

<sup>20</sup> William Edgell, "List of curios collected from boys at Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island. c1898.

Islands, would soon be valuable as only one man still alive knew how to make them. It was purchased for five shillings 'to help Clement Marau Church on Ulawa'.<sup>21</sup> There are complexities to this transaction, which reveals Pacific Islander missionaries were selling material culture to audiences outside of the islands to support their work financially. Clement Marau was from Meralava, in the Banks Islands, but had trained in Ulawan style carving and shell inlay, and made and sold wooden bowls for several years to raise the bride price for his Ulawan wife Susie.<sup>22</sup> Marau was, therefore, selling a material culture style that was not his own on behalf of his congregation. This is not the only record of Islanders making money for the church with manufactured goods and raises questions around the impact of Melanesian Mission activities on the cultural authenticity of such material items, a discussion returned to in Chapter 7.

At the Presbyterian Church's Teachers Training Institute (TTI), Bowie had similar access to a network of young scholars living away from their families and communities. Located on Tangoa, a small island off the south coast of Santo, the TTI incorporated accommodation for male students in a series of lime-washed buildings and females lived in dormitories (Figure 6.7). When the Bowies arrived on Tangoa in 1898, the TTI was under the principalship of Joseph Annand from Canada (see Chapter 3). The Scots oversaw missionary work on the area of Tangoa not inhabited by the TTI, on nearby Araki island, and in south Santo, along the west coast up to Wusi village. The Bowies interacted with the TTI on a daily basis, with students supporting Fred's work around the Santo mainland. Fred Bowie became Annand's assistant at the TTI in 1909, remaining also a missionary for 'the central district of Santo', and took over as Principal in 1912 until his death in 1933.<sup>23</sup> During Fred's principalship, Jeannie Bowie taught many of the classes and was responsible for females living there. When Bowie took up his post in 1909, attending the TTI were 73 men and 19 women with 11 children, and at least 17 different languages were spoken.<sup>24</sup> The first TTI pupils in 1895 were from Malo and east Malakula, with many students from Nguna, Tongoa, Aneityum and the Efate area in the earlier years.<sup>25</sup> In a comment also reflective of Bowie's paternal approach, in 1924 he reported '[w]e have a

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Covering letter from HAR Edgell", OA2/1/2, CUMAA; Object is probably 'forehead ornament', Z 31642, CUMAA.

<sup>21</sup> William Edgell, "List of curios collected from boys at Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island. c1898.

Covering letter from HAR Edgell", OA2/1/2, CUMAA.

<sup>22</sup> Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles*, 163.

<sup>23</sup> Anon., "The Rev. F.G. Bowie, M.A.", *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* 106 (Oct. 1909): 449.

<sup>24</sup> Joseph Annand, "The Training Institute at Tangoa", *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* 106 (Oct. 1909): 455.

<sup>25</sup> See, Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides, *Tangoa Training Institution 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebrations* (Port Vila: General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides, 1972).

big family at present, 54 men, 17 women, [and] 19 children.<sup>26</sup> Women and children could live at the TTI, but female students were not formally admitted until later. As at St. Barnabas, the TTI employed European missionaries and experienced Melanesian ‘teachers’ acting as elders.



**Figure 6.7. Lime washed dormitory buildings, TTI, Tangoa. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy University of Aberdeen Museums.**

There is evidence Bowie conducted research of Pacific people and their prehistory at the TTI. In 1901, he sent an English letter written by an unnamed TTI student to *NHM*, which opened: ‘you asked me to write of our traditions’.<sup>27</sup> It was explicitly published to demonstrate the student’s English language skills and to ‘tell some of the beliefs of the natives.’ The letter suggests Bowie actively sought traditions and related information from the students in his early years. His surviving notebooks at UAM contain interview notes on cultural details including origin myths and other traditions.<sup>28</sup> Sporadic notes of dates, names, and islands indicate these were gathered from multiple

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<sup>26</sup> F.G. Bowie to Dr Barton, 25 January 1924, Foreign Mission Committee - Mission secretary’s papers, inwards correspondence - New Hebrides 1923-1928, 1984/0018, Knox Presbyterian Research Centre, Dunedin (hereinafter Knox).

<sup>27</sup> Anon., “A Native Student’s Letter”, *New Hebrides Magazine* 2 (Jan. 1901), 17.

<sup>28</sup> F.G. Bowie, Blue notebook, UAM; F.G. Bowie, Empire notebook, UAM.

contributors over a period of years. Cross-referencing the notes with the enrolment details of the TTI, around 14 of 24 different identifiable names match those of TTI students, with several other names corresponding to young men working at the mission discussed in Bowie's 1896–97 diary.<sup>29</sup> The Royal Ontario Museum in Canada also houses a collection deposited by Bowie's predecessor, Joseph Annand, who had collected the artefacts from TTI students of various island backgrounds.<sup>30</sup>

Once Fox was relocated to Solomon Islands, he was initially tasked with establishing a new school – St. Michael's School at Pamua – where he was headmaster from 1911 until he became missionary for the 'San Cristoval District' in 1915. In addition to a European assistant, Fred Crawshaw, Fox was supported by Simon Qalges,<sup>31</sup> a Deacon from Ureparapara, Banks Islands, working on Makira since 1906.<sup>32</sup> Joe Gilivelte, another experienced teacher from the Banks Islands, from Mota Lava, assisted at the school. Lessons were taught in Mota, as at Norfolk Island, and all pupils were male. Within a year, 47 resident students were recorded at the school.<sup>33</sup> As well as teachers from farther afield, pupils came from multiple nearby islands and villages, offering Fox the chance to meet males with different backgrounds, but converse in a *lingua franca*, as he had done at St. Barnabas. As the years progressed, the school widened its geographical net. In 1917, for example, Fox submitted details of relationship terms and betel use from Taumako island to the 'Notes and Queries' section of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.<sup>34</sup> Taumako is a remote Polynesian outlier, northeast of the Santa Cruz group in the eastern Solomon Islands. By that time Fox was in charge of the larger District but had spoken with two boys from Taumako island while spending the day at Pamua School, where Nind was based. Fox must have made quick work of asking questions relevant to his research interests.

As well as the students and teachers, mission schools offered opportunities to network with nearby chiefs. At St. Michael's, Fox had the role of protector and teacher, and in the early years, he and Qalges would sit up all night with a gun to protect the school boys from people camped a mile away looking to take some of the pupils.<sup>34</sup> The nearby chief, Wakeremwara, also abbreviated to Wakere,

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<sup>29</sup> F.G. Bowie, Blue notebook, UAM; F.G. Bowie, Empire notebook, UAM; F.G. Bowie, Diary 1896–97, UAM; Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides, *Tangoa Training Institution*.

<sup>30</sup> Smith, "'Curios' from a Strange Land".

<sup>31</sup> Sometimes written Kwalges.

<sup>32</sup> See, Cecil Wilson, "My Last Voyage", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian edition] XVII, no.198 (Nov. 1911): 255.

<sup>33</sup> Anon., "Summary of Island Reports", in *Annual Report of the Melanesian Mission for 1912*, ed. Melanesian Mission (Auckland: Clark and Matheson, 1913), 30.

<sup>34</sup> Fox, *Kakamora*, 35; C.E. Fox, Autobiography Ms., Chapter 6 p.3, "Papers relating to Charles Elliot Fox", Papers of McEwan, Jock Malcolm, MS-papers-6717-115, ATL.

was one of those repeatedly threatening to kill Fox and the school residents.<sup>35</sup> However, Wakere was later listed as another of Fox's 18 key informants, described as 'the fighting chief of Pounamu'.<sup>37</sup> Evidently Wakere eventually decided to trust and talk with Fox. Establishing a school therefore not only enhanced one's networks with those who already accepted the church. It also gave Fox a position in the community and a physical presence in the area, whether or not that was initially desired by all local chiefs. Arriving on an island and building a large residential school would be akin to settling in a particular locale and forming a village, therefore it seems logical that wary chiefs may have wanted to frighten them away. If it could be established that a missionary offered potential material and political benefits to his 'friends', the temptation to make peace was surely a lot greater.

### Geographical position: Tramping a broad field

Beyond the mission schools, Bowie and Fox both oversaw extensive mission districts during their respective careers. This offered opportunities to access material in situ, including archaeological sites and accompanying narratives, and to contact communities further afield, many of whom had not yet accepted Christianity. By the time Bowie and Fox arrived in the western Pacific, the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands had seen widespread proselytization; however, they are credited with 'pioneering' work since both Santo and Makira had extensive non-Christian areas on their arrival, particularly inland. Missionary activities, whaling, the labour trade, and a French and British naval presence in the region had contributed, among other factors, to changes in community life. Nonetheless, in their daily employment they regularly accessed areas with sites and stories not yet irrevocably changed by Christianity. Work in their large districts also enabled the missionaries to continue developing networks with mission teachers, some of whom they had met as students.

After taking responsibility for the San Cristoval District in 1915, Fox travelled extensively on foot and by boat. The district encapsulated the smaller islands of Santa Ana, Uki, and Ulawa. In his first year he circumnavigated the whole of Makira, a distance he claimed was some 200 miles, and spent time at Uki and Ulawa islands.<sup>36</sup> This was not his only such trip, as he wrote to Rivers in April 1916 that he hoped 'to go right round the island in a boat, taking about three weeks, going leisurely and calling at such places as Haununu, Santa Anna, and Funarite'.<sup>37</sup> In November that year, Fox claimed 'I walked across to Haununu 40 miles, had 10 days there and then the boat arrived and took me to Anuda [Yanuta island], and then walked across to Maru Bay, 20 miles, and then home by boat.'<sup>38</sup> In early

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<sup>35</sup> Fox, *Kakamora*, 36–38.

<sup>36</sup> C.E. Fox, "San Cristoval and Ugi, 1916", *Southern Cross Log* XXII, no.2 (Apr. 1917): 20.

<sup>37</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 April 1916, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>38</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 16 March 1916, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

1918, Fox listed for Rivers some of the subjects about which he had been learning during his travels, including polyandry, masks, stonework, and 'the wonderful fortification in the bush (one trench over 60 yards long and 30ft. odd deep)'.<sup>39</sup> On these journeys Fox produced a form of site survey within the landscape, recording stone circles, rock art forms, and the *heo* burial sites. He also gained extensive access to artefacts, offering tangible evidence of those sites to feed into knowledge networks beyond Solomon Islands. For example, on Ulawa he saw remains of stone circles and 'got the round stone in the centre', about which he wrote to Skinner at OM.<sup>40</sup> Importantly, Fox was not travelling alone. On 29 January 1919, in another letter about his travels to his old friend Rivers, Fox added, 'Two Melanesians travel with me and it is the finest life imaginable.'<sup>41</sup> Fox was, as he put it, living 'a purely Melanesian life, [taking] nothing but what a bag holds, and trust[ing] to natives entirely for food.'<sup>42</sup> The names of his Melanesian companions are not included although other contextual information suggests he was traveling with two mission teachers, especially as the purpose of his travels was foremost to spread the gospel in his district. These companions were present and contributing to the surveys Fox carried out.

Bowie tramped a similarly large mission field. When the Bowies established themselves on Tangoa in 1897, their mission district was the largest of any of the Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides at that time. The boundaries remained changeable, with Bowie reporting in 1900 that the eastern extent of his district had not been officially prescribed.<sup>43</sup> He travelled regularly, particularly inland on Santo, preaching to non-Christian 'bush men'. Like Fox, Bowie was accompanied by trained male mission workers. In 1902, he established an outstation at Tasiriki, or Tasiri'i as he referred to it in correspondence. He purchased land for a house and church in 1900 and soon after negotiated land sales so that his brother William could establish nearby coconut plantations. The ancestors of many of the families now living in the village came from the surrounding area but moved down to the coastal location of Tasiriki as the mission developed. Bowie regularly travelled back and forth from Tangoa to Tasiriki by boat. Today, Tasiriki residents talk of how a shell was blown by someone living at the edge of the village whenever the oncoming mission ship was seen. On hearing the noise, people went to the beach to meet Bowie. He dressed completely in white, down to his white socks and white shoes, and so some of the gathered crowd would carry him in over the shallow water so that he would not get wet. The research access that travel and the TTI afforded Bowie is summed up

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<sup>39</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 7 February 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>40</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 10 June 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC. Additional note on letter dated 15 June 1918.

<sup>41</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, Rivers 29 January 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>42</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 29 January 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>43</sup> F.G. Bowie to G. Smith, 28 August 1900, New Hebrides Mission Papers, Acc7548/D31a, NLS.

by a note from Willie Bowie to W.H.R Rivers written in 1915: 'I have asked Fred to get you information about irrigation [and] terrace cultivation [...] He has seen far more of the different islands in the New Hebrides than I [and] has a much better chance of getting information from the boys at Tangoa.'<sup>44</sup>

### The formation of the *pulpul*: Developing research skills of 'itinerant teachers'

Fox was not the only Melanesian Mission employee to travel his island home widely. In his first year as missionary for Makira, he also set up a brotherhood at Raubero, situated in the west end of Pamua bay in the Arosi region. A precursor of the *retitasiu*, or Melanesian Brotherhood, Fox described it as 'an experiment' whereby six mission teachers would travel in pairs, 'attacking the bush problem'.<sup>45</sup> They would spend a month travelling, before returning to Raubero, where houses had been established, to spend a month studying, working on translations, and teaching. They also did several hours gardening a day, although three additional young men were employed to care for the gardens and a coconut plantation. A boat's crew of seven men also lived at Raubero, the boat regularly in use by Fox, Gilvelte, or another senior teacher named Ben Mononga'i. A Chapel had been moved to Raubero, where five 'native houses' already stood, and a guesthouse was built at which any teacher was welcome and 'anybody else, Christian or heathen, for a nights [sic] lodging and food.'<sup>46</sup> Fox added that it was 'seldom empty.' He identified the six teachers as Wilson Warite and Clement Parako of San Cristoval, Ben Ipo of Ugi, Arthur Wogara of Mota, Banks Islands, and Ellison Koko and Ben Baulo of Guadalcanal.<sup>47</sup> Warite appeared on Fox's list of 18 principal informants.<sup>48</sup> The son of a chief of Rafurafu village, he first appeared on the list of students at Norfolk Island in 1907.<sup>49</sup> Koko, who provided the drawings and details of the *poli* on Guadalcanal, was identified by Fox in a later *Southern Cross Log* article as having been the head of 'the Brotherhood of St. Stephen.'<sup>50</sup> In Fox's 1916 report he described the 'native houses' as being at St. Stephens, Raubero, suggesting the name had some connection to a pre-existing mission area. Mission historian Brian Macdonald-Milne has highlighted confusion around this name, as in 1978 David Hilliard identified it as 'the

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<sup>44</sup> W. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 23 November 1915, "Original notes on Ambrym (1914-1922)", Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Box 123, Envelope 12000, HPUC.

<sup>45</sup> Fox, "San Cristobal and Ugi", 21–22.

<sup>46</sup> Fox, "San Cristobal and Ugi", 22.

<sup>47</sup> Fox, "San Cristobal and Ugi", 22.

<sup>48</sup> Fox, "Social Organization", 97–98 n1.

<sup>49</sup> R.P.W, "Siota News", *Southern Cross Log* [Australasian edition] (Oct. 1922): 6; Anon., "List of Places and Persons who kindly Support Scholars at Norfolk Island, or Teachers in the Islands", in *Annual Report of the Melanesian Mission for 1907*, ed. Melanesian Mission (Sydney: D.S. Ford, 1908), 66.

<sup>50</sup> C.E. Fox, "Ina Kopuria", *Southern Cross Log* (Jun. 1946): 21.



Brotherhood of St. Aiden'.<sup>51</sup> A more appropriate collective name is probably that given by Fox in 1916 when he identified the six teachers, seven boat's crew, three garden workers, and Joe Gilvelte as 'the Raubero Pulpul, as the boys call the brotherhood.'<sup>52</sup> *Pulpul* is a Mota word meaning 'to combine, to be friends together'.<sup>53</sup>

In early 1918, as the *pulpul* continued their work, Fox observed to Rivers, '[t]he Arosi bush is becoming Christian'. He reassured the ethnologist that eight teachers were stationed there and 'we shall save some of the folk lore.'<sup>54</sup> Aside from the irony that they were salvaging folklore while systematically dismantling significant existing aspects of cultural life, the comment notably indicates that the mission teachers themselves were to be those 'saving' folklore. Fox was largely absent in the Haununu bay area of the island at that time, and so it was the role of newly trained young teachers to gather those important data. In another letter, addressed from Raubero, Fox noted that Gilvelte was busy writing a book of Mota Lava (Banks Islands) customs, including the *suqe*.<sup>55</sup> It was, according to Fox, commonplace for the teachers to record notes and drawings; he claimed it was instigated by his explaining 'what a splendid foundation the old ideas of the people are on which to build our new ones, e.g. the identity of men and animals after death and even in life, and similar Christian teachings as to God; the heathen baptisms and ours; the marauhu seclusions and our schools.'<sup>56</sup> The teachers' motivations remain unclear, although learning and teaching through sharing stories and oral traditions were not unfamiliar techniques for Solomon Islanders, in the same way that sharing stories in the *natimas* at Norfolk Island was not an extraordinary pastime. However, keeping a notebook was a distinctly European method. This research offered Fox an even greater wealth of information from which to select relevant data for his scholarly interpretations.

### Ben Mononga'i of Heuru: Teacher and cultural researcher

The chapter now considers some of those key individuals within Fox and Bowie's local networks, encountered within these spaces of mission school and mission district. The first of these, Ben Mononga'i of Heuru, embodied an important role as a teacher with the Melanesian Mission, as one of Fox's key interlocutors, and as a researcher in his own right.<sup>57</sup> According to anthropologist Michael

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<sup>51</sup> Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 267; Macdonald-Milne, *The True Way of Service*, 31 n7.

<sup>52</sup> Fox, "San Cristobal and Ugi", 22.

<sup>53</sup> R.H. Codrington and J. Palmer, *A dictionary of the language of Mota, Sugarloaf Island, Banks' Islands, with a short grammar and index* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1896), 122.

<sup>54</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 7 February 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>55</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 30 April 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>56</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 24 May 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC. Underline in original.

<sup>57</sup> Often written as 'Monoñai' or 'Mononai' in Melanesian Mission records.

Scott, a photograph by John Watt Beattie from 1906 has been identified as a portrait of Mononga'i by one of his descendants (Figure 6.8).<sup>58</sup> Mononga'i met Fox on Norfolk Island when the former attended St. Barnabas school in 1904. They developed a close working, scholarly, and personal relationship, and Fox was reliant on Mononga'i's missionary skills as well as his local expertise. For example, in 1920 Mononga'i completely disproved one of Fox's speculative linguistically-based theories of connections between people in the past by correcting a missing glottal stop.<sup>59</sup> In May 1918, Fox told Rivers he was trying to arrange for Mononga'i to live on Bellona, a small Polynesian Outlier in central Solomon Islands. Fox wrote, 'he will find out a lot there as he is now as keen as I am and keeps a notebook and draws all sorts of things and talks to all the old men'.<sup>60</sup> That Mononga'i's research contributed to Fox's interpretations shared with networks outside the islands is suggested by the latter writing to Rivers that he would at a later date tell him about the Arosi boys' three-year initiation. Fox explained he had some notes, 'and Ben has lately got much more.'<sup>61</sup>



**Figure 6.8. 'San Cristoval Man. 404.'** Identified by descendants as Ben Mononga'i and recorded in anthropologist Michael W. Scott's work. Photograph by John Watt Beattie.

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<sup>58</sup> Scott, "Collecting Makira", 72–73.

<sup>59</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 13 January 1920, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>60</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 24 May 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>61</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 29 January 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

It was Mononga'i who travelled to Dunedin, New Zealand with Fox in 1923. Together they visited Skinner at OM and worked through Fox's collection deposited in 1922–23. Reporting the museum visit, the *Otago Daily Times* wrote:

Dr Fox has brought with him a native of San Cristoval who has an exceptional knowledge of these matters, and at his dictation a great deal of information has been taken down regarding all the items from that island now in the Museum collection.<sup>62</sup>

The document containing Mononga'i's comments survives in the Hocken Library at University of Otago.<sup>63</sup> The first page describes Mononga'i as belonging to the *mwara* clan, and aged 36 years. Translated by Fox and transcribed by Skinner, it is a unique archival record of these conversations, offering a rare snapshot of an early 20<sup>th</sup>-century visit by a member of a source community to the museum store.<sup>60</sup> Such a visit was unusual for the period, and the details provided include local names, materials, and uses. There were also additional notes such as one titled 'Craftsmanship and Guilds', describing the inheritance of craftsmanship, handed down to the sister's son, and the method of passing on ownership of particular designs of bowls.

For both Skinner and the *Otago Daily Times*, Mononga'i was an expert in traditional knowledge, dictating information for 'experts' at the museum, but for Fox he was a fellow researcher, a colleague and equal. A note inside the book recording Mononga'i's visit reads: 'Ben states that Manu-katau (the name given to Broughton by the Moriori) is the name of a large seabird in Anuda. Rock drawings at Ulawa.' Skinner was particularly interested in tracing the prehistory of the Moriori and Mononga'i's commentary suggests he too was engaging in discussions around the origins of people elsewhere in the Pacific.

### Chief Sokerai: Before and After

As well as those interlocutors from inside the mission system, several notable non-Christian individuals of status became part of Fox and Bowie's local knowledge networks. As discussed above, Chief Wakere, 'the fighting chief', initially opposed Fox's presence at St. Michael's school, but was later credited as one of Fox's principal informants. Bowie had a similar relationship with Chief Sokerai, also known as Chief Moli Tora, on Tangoa island, who like Wakere initially opposed the new church and their work, sometimes with threats of violence. On Tangoa in March 1897, Bowie named Sokerai 'the Tangoan who has all along given so much trouble to Dr Annand', and in late December

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<sup>62</sup> Anon., [no title], *Otago Daily Times*, 19 July 1923, 6.

<sup>63</sup> "Material Culture of San Cristoval, notes on articles at museum of university of Otago collected and presented by CE Fox, notes dictated by Monongai a native of Heuru", 1923, MS-0891A, Hocken.

referred to him as ‘the source of nearly all trouble here, and round about here, in the bush [and] on Araki’.<sup>64</sup> By June 1900, however, Sokerai began attending school on Tangoa.<sup>65</sup> He is also one of only three named New Hebridean individuals in Bowie’s photograph archive. The photograph is in two parts: ‘Moli’Tora (Sokerai)’ and ‘As he was later’, a story of ‘before’ and ‘after’ (Figures 6.9a and 6.9b).



**Figure 6.9a and 6.9b. L-R ‘Moli’Tora (Sokerai)’, and ‘as he was later’. Photographs by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**

As discussed with reference to Ellis’ drawings in Chapter 1, images (in this case photographic ones) offered a method for developing relationships, particularly when capturing portraits, as a photographer and a sitter would have to spend time together to create the composition. Photographs also have potential for showing aspects of the relationship between the two. The images of Sokerai are consciously posed. Despite the suggestion of the captions, they were captured beside the same tree and, based on a comparison of Sokerai’s hair and other features, likely taken

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<sup>64</sup> F.G. Bowie to G. Smith, Tangoa, 20 March 1897, Acc 7548 D31, NLS; F.G. Bowie to G. Smith, Tangoa, 22 December 1897. Acc 7548 D31, NLS.

<sup>65</sup> F.G. Bowie, “VI-The New Hebrides”, *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Oct 1900): 237.

around the same time if not the same day. As 'Moli'Tora (Sokarai)', he wears *kastom* dress, standing stoically with a stern look. Around his wrists are pig tusks and other arm ornaments. In the image 'As he was later', Sokarai is posed in a seated position, in a more relaxed pose, wearing a long-sleeved shirt. Most notably, he is smiling, likely requested by Bowie to convey his happiness at his changed life. There is no specific reference to becoming Christian, but the wearing of European style clothes was considered by missionaries a prominent marker that a person was no longer 'heathen'.

As well as pictorially representing Sokarai's increased alliance with the mission, the presence of the named photograph amongst a collection in which very few other people are named emphasises his importance from Bowie's perspective. Bowie also witnessed Sokarai's grade ceremony in which he became Moli Tora, photographing the pig jaws displayed as part of the ceremony (Figure 6.10). This event is likely to be that reported by Annand in 1899 as 'a great day in the Tangoa village' with '[o]ne of the persistent heathen [...] elevated to the highest social and political rank.'<sup>66</sup> Annand explained that around a thousand pigs had to be killed, with one hundred of those having tusks forming a complete or almost complete circle, which were then displayed outside the man's house.



**Figure 6.10. 'the jaws of the pigs that sokarai killed to become a chief'. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**

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<sup>66</sup> Joseph Annand, "About the Teachers' Training Institute, Tangoa", *Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides* 26 (Oct. 1899): 24.

Sokerai additionally gave Bowie two arm ornaments, apparently on his deathbed, which remained in the Bowie family's possession until at least 2003.<sup>67</sup> Bowie's decision to keep them with his own effects suggests their personal significance. As with other aspects of Bowie's research, a lack of more characteristically scientific publications challenges any assumption that Sokerai was a significant source of data, but his presence in Bowie's photographic and artefactual archives suggests a strong relationship between the two. Given that Bowie was reportedly collecting details of pig killing ceremonies for W.H.R. Rivers, it seems highly probable that Sokerai was one of his sources for that specialist information. In responding to a letter from Rivers in March 1915, Bowie wrote from Tangoa that he had an idea of some of the questions Rivers had sent him, but that he would 'enquire of the old man'.<sup>68</sup>

### The old snake priest of Haununu

The expansion of Fox's mission work beyond the Arosi region of Makira exposed him to interactions with 'the old snake priest-chief'.<sup>69</sup> Although Fox was less vocally evangelical than Bowie and some other missionaries in his writing, his primary purpose for being in Solomon Islands was to spread the word of his god across an assigned geographical field. To achieve this, he had to connect with non-Christians, and it was particularly pertinent to build relationships with non-Christians in powerful positions, such as chiefs or ritual specialists who already had influence over villages and other social groups. In February 1918, Fox expressed his delight to Rivers to be embarking on work in Haununu, a non-Christian area, as he could also conduct anthropological work there.<sup>70</sup> This perfectly illustrates the conflicting motivations within 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century missionary archaeology and anthropology. Missionaries were exposed to the richest details of past and present non-Christian life through access to those areas where they worked to irrevocably change the fabric of future daily life. It was 'the old snake priest-chief' who had opened the Haununu area to Fox.<sup>71</sup> Named Haganihinua, he was described in Fox's list of 18 informants as 'an old man who probably knows more San Cristoval folklore than anyone else now living'.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Bowie family correspondence, F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM.

<sup>68</sup> F.G. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 March 1915, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Box 127 Envelope 12039(b), HPUC.

<sup>69</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 7 February 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>70</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 7 February 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>71</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 7 February 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>72</sup> Fox, "Social Organization", 97–88 n1.

In early 1918, according to Fox, there were numerous bush villages situated around the Haununu Bay area, with a population of around 3000 people, and 'not one Christian among them'.<sup>73</sup> He planned to spend six months or a year there. Fox had already travelled to the region several times and observed the people as culturally distinct from those in Arosi. To his delight, Haununu residents were still practicing rituals centred around the worship of snakes, and Haganihinua was one of three old priests associated with the practices.<sup>74</sup> According to Fox, Haganihinua, of Naona village, was the most powerful of the three. Haganihinua contributed significant data that challenged Fox's interpretations, and which the missionary never seems to have reconciled into his writing. As he put it to Rivers: 'My little theories as to two "snake" cultures were demolished by Haganihinua'.<sup>75</sup> The priest had given Fox restricted information, secret to other people of Haununu, and 'of the highest religious teaching' Fox had encountered in Melanesia.<sup>76</sup> Fox demonstrated to Rivers how it had changed the Melanesian Mission's previous understandings of local beliefs. Haganihinua had also informed Fox that the Araha group came to Makira shortly after the Atawa and 'were the same people'.<sup>77</sup> Fox did not present this theory in *Threshold*, but it is unclear whether he disregarded the details that did not correspond with his existing theories and data, or perhaps simply did not comprehend the information he was being given. It is also possible that Fox was not able to include Haganihinua's narratives due to restrictions, which seems plausible considering the respectful relationship Fox had with people on Makira. Particularly intriguing is Haganihinua's decision to share such secret information. It appears to have coincided with Fox's own changing status within the community, which will be discussed further in the final sections of this chapter.

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<sup>73</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 7 February 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

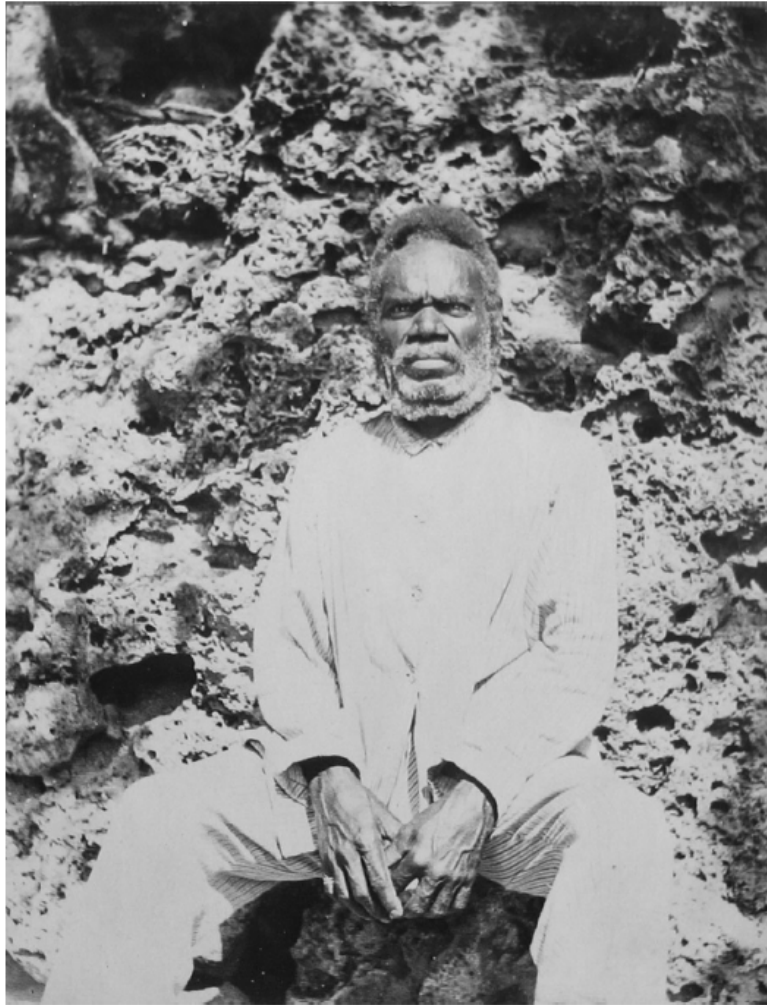
<sup>74</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 14 December 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>75</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 28 May 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC. Written from Ulawa.

<sup>76</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 28 May 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>77</sup> C.E. Fox to Grafton Elliot Smith, 26 May 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC; C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 28 May 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

## A Portrait of Lulu Varkiki



**Figure 6.11. ‘Lulu Tasiriki’, Lulu Varkiki. Photograph by F.G. Bowie. Courtesy, University of Aberdeen Museums.**

Bowie met the second named sitter amongst his photographs while based on Tangoa in late 1897. Captioned ‘Lulu, Tasiriki’, the photograph depicts a grey-haired man, sitting in front of a rock face (Figure 6.11).<sup>78</sup> He wears a light-coloured striped button-down shirt, with matching trousers. His seated stance is casual and confident, as he stares directly into the camera. This man, Lulu Varkiki, worked as a representative for the mission in Tasiriki, and is credited there today by local Presbyterians as the person who brought the church to the village.<sup>79</sup> He assisted Bowie with translation work for church texts and hymn books. Lulu was also one of Bowie’s significant interlocutors, providing the lengthiest attributable primary account of anthropological data in Bowie’s field notebooks. He is identified as the son of Tarini and younger brother of Malomaloi, and

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<sup>78</sup> See also, Haddow, “Island Networks and Missionary Methods”.

<sup>79</sup> Stories of Lulu Varkiki recorded in Tasiriki village, May 2017, with Chief Molsaranoso of Tasiriki, Thomas Jimmy (Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta *filwoka*), and Presbyterian Church Elders.



although it is unclear exactly where they lived, nearby locations named correspond with existing southwest Santo villages. The account describes Lulu's experience as a young boy in the process of *virombu*, interpreted by Bowie as becoming 'initiated', with *virombu anta* denoting 'not initiated', *virombu 'ani ra'au* meaning 'to be initiated', and *virombu 'ani avotsi* as 'already [initiated]'.<sup>80</sup> Included are specific references to people involved, the plants used, and local names for other materials, as well as a diagram of the initiation space. Discussing the account in Tasiriki in May 2017, some of the terms were familiar, including *mata* meaning 'snake', but other language was unfamiliar.<sup>81</sup> This is probably due to the connection of the terms with male initiation no longer practiced, and the fact Lulu's language is associated with a different locality.

In July 1898, Bowie wrote to the Chair of the Foreign Missions Committee for the Church of Scotland with reference to meeting Lulu:

We still have the man that came up to us after Christmas. He (Lulu) has been of great service to us in the boat, in clearing land, cutting timber, helping to build &c. He is at school with the others – two Tangoans from the village [...] every morning and is making fairly good progress.<sup>82</sup>

In October 1898, Bowie described Lulu as 'the Marino man' assisting in building the new church.<sup>83</sup> While recording stories of Lulu in 2017, it was emphasised Lulu was not a TTI student, but rather he found refuge at Bowie's mission. At the time in 1897, people had been dying in the area inland from what is now Tasiriki and the local community wished to find out who was responsible. One of the dead women was laid out in a *kastom* house, and pieces of bamboo with *nakovara* seeds were pushed into the exterior walls. Several people stood outside and asked the dead woman names of people who may have killed her. At the mention of Lulu's name, the seeds began to rattle furiously, signalling his involvement. Lulu was invited to a feast, where he would be poisoned. However, Lulu received a warning, with one account stating he cut into a piece of taro to find it was red, and another that a family member warned him. Lulu fled to Chief Moli Arari's village near Navaka, and from there he followed Bowie and some of the TTI students to Tangoa, asking for refuge.

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<sup>80</sup> F.G. Bowie, Empire notebook, UAM.

<sup>81</sup> Discussions of May 2017 with Thomas Jimmy (VKS *filwoka*), Chief Molsaranoso of Tasiriki, and other individuals from Tasiriki village.

<sup>82</sup> F.G. Bowie to G. Smith, 4 July 1898, New Hebrides Mission Papers, Acc7548/D31, NLS.

<sup>83</sup> F.G. Bowie, "IV-The New Hebrides", *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (March 1899): 64; 'Marino' is generally a term referring to south Espiritu Santo, see, Arthur Capell, "Santo and Neighbourhood", PARADISEC, Series VES, accessed 21 November 2017, <http://paradisec.org.au/fieldnotes/VES.htm>, item AC2-VES3018.

In August 1901, Bowie reported Lulu as one of three of 'our first men' baptised, adding that he had 'never seen a native who looked so 'wild' as [Lulu] did when I first saw him.'<sup>84</sup> Lulu had already been teaching in Bowie's mission school, and he was to be sent to Tasiriki 'as a regular teacher'.<sup>85</sup>

According to oral tradition, upon arrival in Tasiriki, Lulu slept in a small cave on the beach just below the site of the current Presbyterian church. A spring coming from a rock at the shoreline is still known as 'Lulu's spring'. While still living at Tangoa, Lulu asked for Bowie's help as he was afflicted by *nakaimas*, a term referring to sickness caused by sorcery.<sup>86</sup> Bowie claimed he could cure Lulu if he carefully followed instructions. Circling two white stones around Lulu's head seven times, Bowie instructed Lulu to throw them behind him into the sea. He was firm that after doing so Lulu must not look back. Lulu followed the instructions and was not sick again.

### Healing and the materialisation of supernatural power

Bowie's use of stones to 'cure' Lulu Varkiki points to an aspect of Fox and Bowie's local status that potentially influenced their relationships with interlocutors; namely their capacity to heal. As early as the 1830s, missionaries considered medical and humanitarian work as part of their most important role in the Pacific.<sup>87</sup> John Hunt, with the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary society in Fiji from 1838-48, noted that a major benefit to providing medical aid was that it led people to believe that God was healing them when they were sick.<sup>88</sup> A similar belief can be seen reflected in Fox's 1916 annual report for his District. Describing a newly built school that 'bushmen' intended to attend in the Arosi area, he explained that the chief was 'trying "school" as a last resource, heathen charms failing to cure his sickness.'<sup>89</sup> It appears that both Fox and Bowie were perceived as connected with some capacity to heal that apparently transcended the medical kits they brought with them to the field. In seeking to disrupt local beliefs more broadly, missionaries regularly mapped Christianity onto existing ideas and practices, hoping to make their religion more accessible and acceptable. This is evident in the way Fox drew comparisons between *marauhu* initiation and mission schools, and 'heathen baptisms' and Christian ones. In this process of intertwining their religion with existing beliefs, there was also potential for the missionary themselves to assume roles similar to those of existing ritual

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<sup>84</sup> F.G. Bowie, "Tangoa: First Baptisms", *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* 12 (Dec. 1901): 565.

<sup>85</sup> Bowie, "Tangoa: First Baptisms".

<sup>86</sup> Recorded in Tasiriki village, May 2017, with Chief Molsaranoso of Tasiriki, Thomas Jimmy (VKS *filwoka*), and Presbyterian Church Elders.

<sup>87</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 252.

<sup>88</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 254.

<sup>89</sup> Fox, "San Cristobal and Ugi", 23.

specialists, imbued with aspects of spiritual power including healing.<sup>90</sup> Fox in particular has been recorded as possessing *mana*.<sup>91</sup>

Beyond those transactions offering opportunities for material wealth, or those motivated by a desire to form alliances, there were also cases where material culture associated with the mission became imbued with the spiritual powers associated with missionaries themselves. One such story was told to me on several occasions in Tasiriki, in 2017. The Bowikiki Presbyterian church houses a large bible that Bowie brought to the church, which previously used to be able to move of its own accord back and forth to the church on Tangoa (Figure 6.12). According to the frontispiece, the bible was presented to the Reverend William Goold, Edinburgh, in 1835, 'by the ladies of his congregation as a testimony of their esteem'. The *pete levine* discussed previously in this thesis was imbued with the same agency, moving between villages. The products of the unfamiliar technology of photography had a similar capacity to inspire awe and reverence. On relocating his family to their new outstation at Tasiriki for three months in August 1902, Bowie reported taking a magic lantern, sent from Tanna by fellow missionary William Watt.<sup>92</sup> The device was used to project illustrations or images, usually on glass plates, onto a surface and was commonly used by missionaries working in the Pacific and elsewhere.<sup>93</sup> While at Tasiriki, Bowie showed some slides he had picked up from Malo, presumably at the mission station, depicting biblical subjects. These were often scenes posed in real-life. Bowie selected those for display that he considered 'not such caricatures as the others.'<sup>94</sup> On showing the first image, a woman in the audience ran to the beach, refusing to return. Several days later a man arrived at the mission asking to see 'the dead men', which according to the woman who had fled, Bowie had 'in the box'.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> See, Helen B. Gardner, "Practising Christianity, Writing Anthropology: Missionary Anthropologists and their Informants", in *Missionaries, Indigenous People and Cultural Exchange*, eds. Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 110.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries*, 214–217; Scott, "Collecting Makira"; Also, as recorded by Matthew Spriggs from his father-in-law, Chief Richard Leona of North Pentecost, who was a former pupil of Fox.

<sup>92</sup> F.G. Bowie, "III. New Hebrides Pioneering in West Santo", *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* 25 (Jan. 1903): 21–22.

<sup>93</sup> E.g. T. Jack Thompson, "David Livingstone's Magic Lantern, United Kingdom", in Jacobs, Knowles, and Wingfield, *Trophies, Relics and Curios?*, 95–97.

<sup>94</sup> Bowie, "III. New Hebrides", 21.

<sup>95</sup> Bowie, "III. New Hebrides", 21.



Figure 6.12. Bible in Boikiki church, Tasiriki, Santo. Photograph by author, 2017.

#### *Haimarahuda: Fox's name exchange*

Beyond the narratives of *mana* and spiritual power, Fox connected with Solomon Islanders in another particularly unique way, which in his view positively impacted his relationships. In 1916, he undertook a name exchange with Waiau Gafuafuro, a man from Rafurafu village (also named Funariki in Fox's publications). This was more than simply exchanging names with Waiau. As Fox explained, taking someone's name also meant taking on their 'social status [...] I am fully accepted as having Waiau's status, what he calls people I call them, etc.'<sup>96</sup> Fox was not permitted to use his adopted brothers' and cousins' names, but could use their baptismal names, suggesting those identifiers did not have the same weight of meaning. He described to Rivers how he had walked some forty miles to Haununu and had been called Waiau all the way.<sup>97</sup> These exchanges signalled, at least in Fox's mind, a step towards becoming 'Melanesian'.

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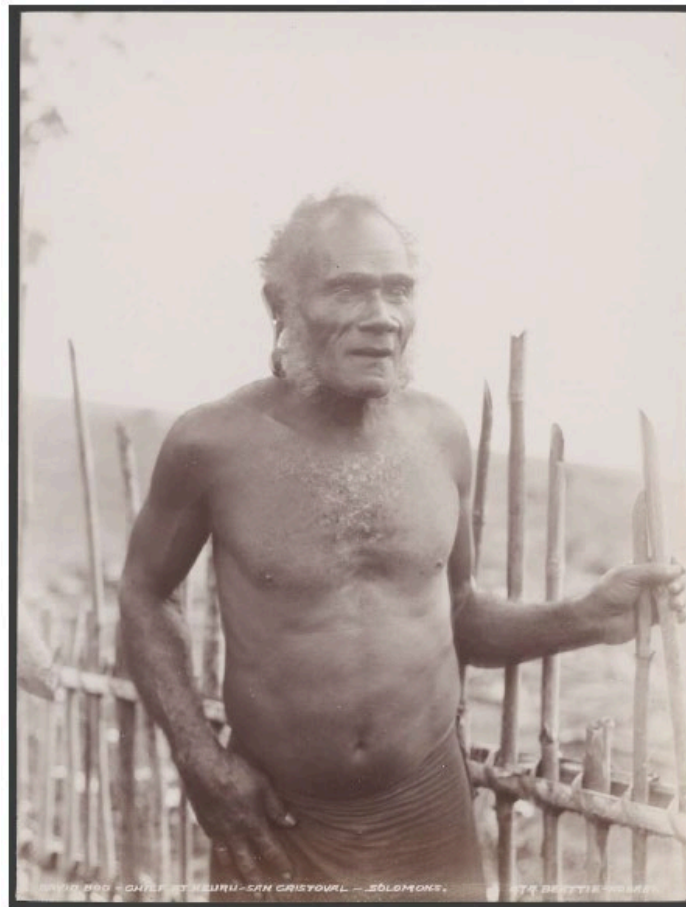
<sup>96</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 16 November 1916, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>97</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 16 November 1916, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

Fox's second name exchange took place several years later. In May 1918, Fox asked Rivers:

Did I tell you that Takibaina the son of the late chief at Heuru wrote me a note asking me to exchange name, so I am a member of the Araha clan now when I am in Arosi, and who knows but what I might be in the running for the chieftainship, as being Araha I am ipso facto a possible chief.<sup>98</sup>

Takibaina held status in the mission as a teacher, as well as social status as an *araha* man, and a 1906 photograph by John Watt Beattie shows his father, named in written sources as Chief Bo or David Boo (Figure 6.13).<sup>99</sup>



**Figure 6.13 'David Boo, the chief of Heuru, Solomon Islands, 1906'. Chief Bo, photographed by John Watt Beattie. National Library of Australia <https://nla.gov.au:443/tarkine/nla.obj-141120500>**

In describing the exchange with Takibaina to Durrad, Fox framed its significance slightly differently, explaining he had 'performed *haimarahuda* with Martin Taki[baina]', which he defined as

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<sup>98</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 23 May 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC. Underline in original.

<sup>99</sup> Fox names the chief 'Bo' in *Threshold*, 130. Beattie's photograph is captioned "David Boo - chief at Heuru - Solomon Islands, 1906", <https://nla.gov.au:443/tarkine/nla.obj-141120500>, NLA.

exchanging possessions.<sup>100</sup> Each man went into the other's house and Fox said he kept only 'a few private mementos', giving away 'pipes, hat, shoes, clothes, European food, cooking utensils, tobacco, gun, money (including that in bank £40) etc'. In return he gained a razor plus 'sufficient clothes, 2/6, a clay pipe, a yam garden, various coconut trees and property in land'.<sup>101</sup> Fox took on Takibaina's debts, including one owing for 25 years of 400 fish teeth and 4 fathoms of shell money.<sup>102</sup> It had in fact been Takibaina's father's debt. Fox was 'told to ask for help from clansmen', who each contributed a small amount to be paid back at a later date.<sup>103</sup> Fox also found himself to be owed pigs in numerous villages all the way to Santa Ana. Interestingly, in Fox's later Arosi dictionary he defined *haimarahuda* as 'a man and his marahu', and *marahu* as an initiate.<sup>104</sup> This suggests that in 1916 and 1918 Fox did not necessarily understand what he was participating in, and begs the question of what else he misunderstood at the time of his prolific writing about Makira. Nonetheless, Fox observed that he was treated 'entirely differently' after this *haimarahuda* with Takibaina.<sup>105</sup> Both of Fox's name exchanges were arranged with sons of chiefs, and Hagahihunia's decision to invite Fox to live at Haununu around the time of the second ceremony is likely more than coincidental.

### Scholars, chiefs and the spaces in between

In tracing Fox and Bowie's networks in the Pacific, it is impossible to ignore the overwhelming presence of male names and voices in their research. Most of these males were mission teachers or students, as well as numerous chiefs and initiated men. Investigations into the role of intermediaries and collaborators in cultural research, particularly in African contexts, have increasingly emphasised the influence of interlocutors' agency and the renegotiation of power relationships on missionary research.<sup>106</sup> For missionary and ethnologist William F.P. Burton, who was active in the southeast Belgian Congo from 1915, young male converts were often those embracing the individualistic

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<sup>100</sup> C.E. Fox to W.J. Durrad, 8 July 1920, "A Missionary in Melanesia by Fox and introduction by WJ Durrad, Priest of the Melanesian Mission 1905–1919", KIN 109/1/3, JKL.

<sup>101</sup> C.E. Fox to W.J. Durrad, 8 July 1920, "A Missionary in Melanesia by Fox and introduction by WJ Durrad, Priest of the Melanesian mission 1905–1919", KIN 109/1/3, JKL.

<sup>102</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 301.

<sup>103</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 301.

<sup>104</sup> C.E. Fox, *Arosi Dictionary. Revised Edition with English-Arosi Index prepared by Mary Craft*. Pacific Linguistics C-57 (Canberra: Linguistic Circle of Canberra, 1978), 133, 245.

<sup>105</sup> C.E. Fox to W.J. Durrad, 8 July 1920, "A Missionary in Melanesia by Fox and introduction by WJ Durrad, Priest of the Melanesian mission 1905–1919", KIN 109/1/3, JKL.

<sup>106</sup> See, Maxwell, "The Missionary Movement"; For discussions of agency of Indigenous collaborators see, Benjamin N. Lawrence, Emily Lynn Osborn, and Richard L. Roberts, eds., *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006); Shino Konishi, Maria Nugent, and Tiffany Shellam, eds., *Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on Exploration Archives* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015).

culture of Christianity, and most likely to share restricted knowledge as an act of defiance against the power of their male elders.<sup>107</sup> The same might be observed for Fox and Bowie's named interlocutors, many of whom were young or potentially marginalized men, or both, working with the mission. Lulu Varkiki is exemplary of the latter category, finding refuge at the mission after being chased from his area, and later finding a new position of status within the Presbyterian mission as a prominent teacher in Tasiriki. It is also noteworthy many of the young male students were associated with chiefly lineages, such as Martin Takibaina, discussed above, or the evangelist teacher, Supatalo of Pele island of the Shepherd Group in the New Hebrides, who worked with Bowie. The missionary described Supatalo as the son of a man next in line to be high chief and married to the daughter of a high chief.<sup>108</sup> As existing frameworks were shifted through colonialism, missionisation, and depopulation, it seems plausible those young men sought a position in this new social framework – even more so if the white missionary was perceived to have power or some form of *mana*. Comparable historical research on Pohnpei, in the Federated States of Micronesia, has similarly suggested that the church there offered an alternative route to status and influence for individuals whose access through more 'traditional' avenues was limited.<sup>109</sup>

Similarly, for those older more established chiefs and initiated men such as Haganihinua and Sokerai, such shifts in the social and spiritual stratigraphy could herald a potential loss or realignment of their status and building relationships with local missionaries could have been a strategic decision in ensuring their continued relevance. Fox and Bowie's material wealth and ability to heal were just some aspects of missionary identity that potentially intrigued chiefly men. By cementing relationships with the missionaries, chiefs could also have an influence over what they were not privy to. The sharing of both tangible and intangible traces of the past can therefore be considered intricately bound up with the realignments taking place in these Pacific locales at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the individual responses to those changes.

One implication of the prominence of young males as interlocutors is the potential that they did not hold the knowledge that researchers of archaeological and anthropological matters sought. Supatalo

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<sup>107</sup> Maxwell, "The Missionary Movement", 25–27; Also, John Peel, *Religious Encounter in the Making of Yoruba* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000).

<sup>108</sup> F.G. Bowie, "V.-The New Hebrides", *Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Dec.1898): 288–289.

<sup>109</sup> See, Paul Ehrlich, "Henry Nanpei: pre-eminently a Ponapean", in *More Pacific Islands portraits*, ed. Deryck Scarr (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978), 131–154; Paul Ehrlich, "'The clothes of men': Ponape Island and German colonial rule 1899–1914" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1978); Glenn Petersen, "Hambruch's Colonial Narrative: Pohnpei, German Culture Theory, and the Hamburg Expedition Ethnography of 1908–10", *Journal of Pacific History* 42, no.3 (2007): 317–330.

would have been an exception, being already 33 when he converted to Christianity, but many of the younger individuals joined the mission schools when they were teenagers. Durrad alluded to this in a letter to Rivers in 1909, commenting that he had only just broken down some of the barriers with young men from the Torres Islands, and explaining that now '[t]hey seem to tell me anything they know, but their knowledge is not accurate [and] full. They are too young. They seemed rather excited to learn that everything they told me would go eventually to you probably.'<sup>110</sup> The comment also raises questions around the motivations for these Torres Island men to engage with Durrad, and the clear implication that they were sharing partial or incorrect narratives. Perhaps most concerning, they may have been unaware of any specific protocols around the knowledge or been tempted to ignore them if seeking to impress or to elevate their status in some way within the power structures of the mission.

Another implication from this research is the gendered quality of any data acquired. Intentionally or not, male missionaries sidelined female knowledge, learning from male counterparts in gendered spaces such as the *natimas*, the boys' school, or the chief's house. After Fox's name exchange with Martin Taki, he observed he had finally been able to connect with women, who previously shied away from talking to him, although there is little specific evidence of this in his research products.<sup>111</sup> Jeannie Bowie did have the opportunity to learn of women's business, and her record of collecting pots at Wusi in her diary of 1915 suggests that she may have helped Fred access female knowledge. There is, after all, one record in Fred's field notebook of 'Kalon – an old woman [and] a maker of pots at Tasmate', who gave details of the protocols around pottery making.<sup>112</sup> However, as this chapter has tried to make clear, those long trips in the bush where missionaries learned about the new world around them, and those years spent in schools, were not spent surrounded by females; they were conducted collaboratively with male colleagues.

## Conclusion

This chapter has sought to unravel the traces of Fox and Bowie's local networks, to consider the place of their interlocutors in the history of Pacific archaeology and anthropology. Although it is difficult to clarify individual motivations for interacting and sharing knowledge with missionaries, it is possible to unpack elements of agency observable in moments of collaboration and resistance. The

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<sup>110</sup> W.J. Durrad to W.H.R. Rivers, 14 April 1909, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12043, HPUC.

<sup>111</sup> C.E. Fox to W.J. Durrad, 8 July 1920, "W.J. Durrad, letters from Charles Fox", photocopy of Ms papers-1171-01 ATL, KIN109/1/1, JKL.

<sup>112</sup> F.G. Bowie, Empire notebook, UAM.



discussion has raised possible biases or omissions from missionary research, as well as questions around authenticity and authorship. The data, images and artefacts generated by interlocutors attracted attention from outside Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides including individuals like Rivers and his associates, as well as other institutions and groups, such as museums and scholarly societies, which relied upon a wealth of missionary collected data to form a public perception of the Pacific past. The following chapter considers those networks outside of the Pacific Islands, as well as focussing attention on Fox and Bowie's relationships with Rivers. In discussing these networks in other locales, I will first turn to an artefact introduced in Chapter 3, which warrants further discussion: the *tiokh*.

## Chapter 7: Knowledge Networks in other Locales

### Vignette: Tiokh, Santo



**Figure 7.1. *Tiokh*, Santo, Vanuatu. Collected by F.G. Bowie c.1914. Collection of University of Aberdeen Museums.**

Encountered amongst other items in a museum store, the wooden artefacts in Figure 7.1 could initially be mistaken for the iconic Australian ‘boomerang’.<sup>1</sup> Ubiquitously depicted as carved V-shaped throwing sticks, ‘boomerangs’ were drawn into theories of human prehistory as 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century visitors to Australia attempted to classify people they encountered there and elsewhere in the world. However, despite being identified as ‘boomerang’ in the UAM catalogue, each throwing stick above is provenanced to northwest Santo, Vanuatu. UAM holds five examples, measuring between 37 and 45cm long. Acquired by F.G. Bowie in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, his accompanying typescript notes to Professor Robert Reid, who is discussed further below, gave their local name as *tiokh*, *tiokhi*, *tiok* or *tioki*.<sup>2</sup> In 2017, I showed photographs of *tiokh* to a Nogogu village resident,

<sup>1</sup> I acknowledge that ‘boomerang’ is an anglicised corruption of a word understood to be from the Dharug language group and is now used as a general term to apply to a multitude of weapons. Thought to first appear in English language sources in the 1820s, the name itself continues to captivate researchers, e.g. <http://www.paradisec.org.au/blog/2008/10/an-unsaleable-bent-stick-boomerangs-and-yardsticks/>

<sup>2</sup> F.G. Bowie typescript notes to R. Reid, n.d., F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM. The former two Bowie associated with ‘Venua Lava’ and the latter two with Nogogu.

previously involved with the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta *filwoka* programme. He had learned to make and throw *tiokh* as a child at school in the late 1970s, and they continue to be produced around the Venlav area in far northwest Santo. Made and thrown only by men, *tiokh* have a recreational use. Today, *tiokh* are commonly made from the root of the *nandao* tree, a Bislama language term for a tropical hardwood sometimes referred to as the Pacific Lychee (*Pometia pinnata*). Men meet in a flat area within the *nasara*, the village's public meeting space, to throw them as far and as high as they can. They have been made for many generations and are considered locally as completely unrelated to Australian throwing sticks.

Bowie's first encounter with the *tiokh* was in 1914, while travelling up the west coast of Santo with Rivers. Leaving Rivers in Nogogu, Bowie continued northwards with Dete, the head teacher of the Nogogu school.<sup>3</sup> They met a boy playing with the wooden artefact in Valpei village and on further enquiry were told they could likely obtain as many as they wanted in 'Veroi, in the Venua Lava district'.<sup>4</sup> Bowie clarified to Reid at UAM that Venua Lava, today known as Venlav, was 'not to be confused with Vanua Lava on Banks [Islands]'.<sup>5</sup> At Veroi, Bowie was told *tiokh* were used 'for amusement'.<sup>6</sup> Upon suggesting they could be connected with Australia, Bowie was told:

[I]t was their very own [...] the oldest men replied that it was in use before the advent of the white man. The oldest of all claimed that he was the first of their people to go to Queensland, having been kidnapped on the beach as a very young boy; he had seen the boomerang in use in Australia, and recognized that in some respects it differed from his own.<sup>7</sup>

Slipping into comparative philology, Bowie argued that if the artefact had come from Australia then it probably would be termed 'boomerang', 'or some corruption of that word'.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Bowie does not name Dete in his account sent to Reid but other sources indicate Dete was headteacher of the Nogogu school at that time, see Frank H.L. Paton, "A Thousand Miles on a Motor Boat", *Quarterly Jottings from the New Hebrides* 88 (1915): 19. Information gathered about use of *tiokh* in Nogogu was also attributed to Dete.

<sup>4</sup> F.G. Bowie typescript notes to R. Reid, n.d., F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM.

<sup>5</sup> F.G. Bowie typescript notes to R. Reid, n.d., F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM; In Rivers, "The Boomerang in the New Hebrides", Rivers confuses the geographical naming by recording it as 'the village of Venua Lava' (p.107). Residents from Nogogu with whom I discussed Bowie's collections in 2017 used the name Venlav.

<sup>6</sup> F.G. Bowie typescript notes to R. Reid, n.d., F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM.

<sup>7</sup> Bowie typescript notes to R. Reid, n.d., F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM. Bowie is referring to the practice of taking people from the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands and other places in the Western Pacific to work in Queensland sugar plantations, often referred to as 'blackbirding'.

<sup>8</sup> F.G. Bowie typescript notes to R. Reid, n.d., F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM.

Returning to Nogogu, Rivers was pleased with Bowie and Dete's findings, which included several specimens, not least because it was seemingly the first European 'discovery' of such an artefact in the New Hebrides. Dete had previously recounted an origin story to Rivers for the local *Taliu* people, in which an arrow had turned into a woman; the ancestor of the *Taliu*. However, Dete now understood 'arrow' was the incorrect English translation for what was specifically a *tiokh*.<sup>9</sup> He also connected *tiokh* with particular ceremonies, being thrown by young men while older men drank kava. In Dete and Bowie's absence, Rivers had collected similar stories at Nogogu, of ceremonies where old men drank kava while young men played. Initially neglecting to enquire what kind of play, Bowie and Dete's research now answered some unknowns.<sup>10</sup> In 1915, Rivers published 'The Boomerang in the New Hebrides', asserting that in addition to recreational use, *tiokh* were 'thrown especially in connection with the ceremony called *wós*, in which kava is drunk at intervals of five days for a year or more, the young men throwing boomerangs while the old men drink.'<sup>11</sup> He elaborated that '[t]he ceremony of *wós* is closely connected with the *Supwe*, an organisation of the same order as the *Sukwe* (*Supkwe*) of the Banks Islands.'<sup>12</sup> This was particularly relevant to Rivers, who had been developing a migration theory in which 'kava people' and 'betel people' colonised the Western Pacific in waves. For Rivers, the association with kava, the *Suqe* – as it is more often recorded – and the belief that the Nogogu dead went to 'Venua Lava', suggested 'this special home of the boomerang was the point of entrance of migrants, and probably of the kava-people.'<sup>13</sup>

Rivers did agree *tiokh* were different from Australian throwing sticks, accepting they were not a recent import, but could not abandon the similarity of shapes, suggesting it might indicate past connections elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> In Rivers' opinion people should be 'on [their] guard concerning the supposed antiquity of the Australian boomerang, for in spite of their difference in form, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Australian and Melanesian instruments are but divergent manifestations of the handiwork of one people.'<sup>15</sup> Data to support this idea were lacking, but similarities in shape and the convenient correlation with his migration theories were enough to convince Rivers the form had diffused from a single source in the ancient past. This was not the first time throwing sticks had been used to illustrate theories of prehistory. Influential University of Oxford based archaeologist and curator Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers avidly collected and researched

<sup>9</sup> F.G. Bowie typescript notes to R. Reid, n.d., F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM.

<sup>10</sup> F.G. Bowie typescript notes to R. Reid, n.d., F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM.

<sup>11</sup> Rivers, "Boomerang in the New Hebrides", 108.

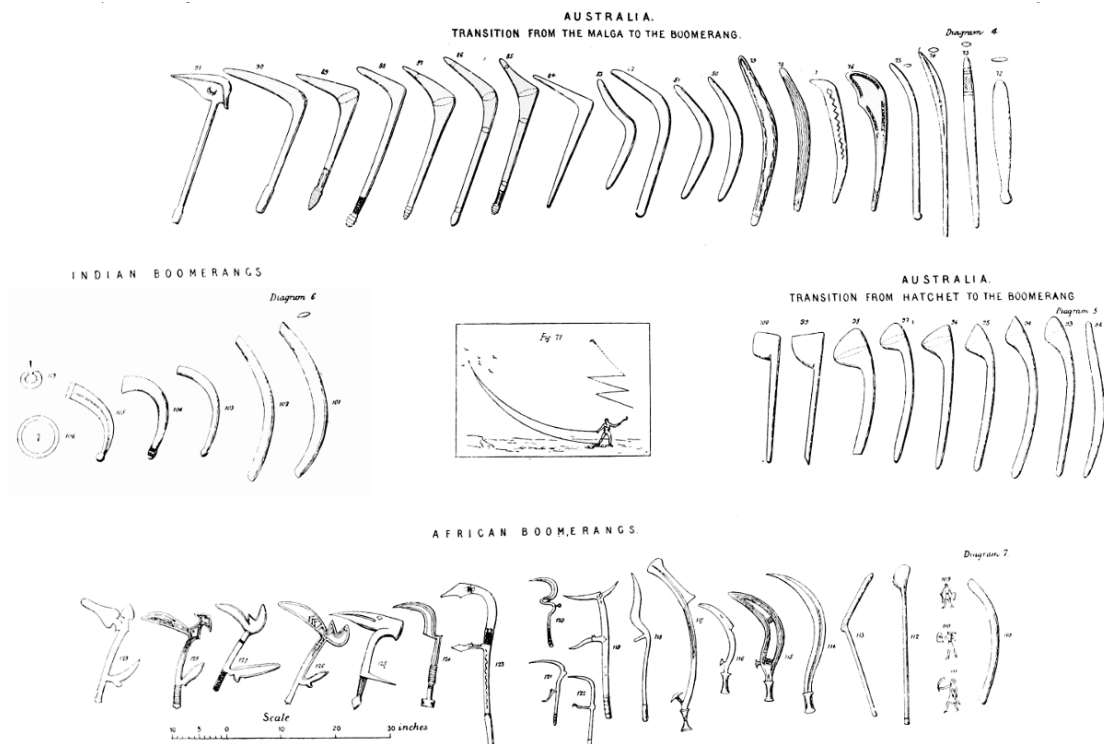
<sup>12</sup> Rivers, "Boomerang in the New Hebrides", 108.

<sup>13</sup> Rivers, "Boomerang in the New Hebrides", 108.

<sup>14</sup> Rivers, "Boomerang in the New Hebrides", 108.

<sup>15</sup> Rivers, "Boomerang in the New Hebrides", 108.

'boomerangs' in the 1860s–80s. For Pitt-Rivers the artefact type revealed human development on an evolutionary scale, reflecting dominant scholarship of the period. His first public discussion on the subject was part of his 'Primitive Warfare' paper delivered to the Royal United Service Institution in 1868.<sup>16</sup> Referencing the tripartite stages of pre-history, namely Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages, Pitt Rivers explained he was examining the form rather than material of weapons.<sup>17</sup> He theorised that the 'boomerang' developed by instinct, not by invention, and placed examples from Australia, Egypt, and the 'hill tribes of India' on an evolutionary scale of development.<sup>18</sup> Numerous illustrations showing comparative development were deployed to elaborate his theories (figure 7.2).<sup>19</sup>



**Figure 7.2. Plate XX of Pitt-Rivers, Primitive Warfare II, 1868. Sourced, Project Gutenberg [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/44844/44844-h/images/zill\\_t142g\\_plate15h.png](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/44844/44844-h/images/zill_t142g_plate15h.png)**

<sup>16</sup> A.H. Lane Fox [Pitt Rivers], "Primitive Warfare, Section II. On the Resemblance of the Weapons of Early Races; their Variations, Continuity, and Development of Form", *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 12 (1868): 399–439.

<sup>17</sup> [Pitt Rivers], "Primitive Warfare", 403.

<sup>18</sup> [Pitt Rivers], "Primitive Warfare"; See also, A.H. Lane Fox [Pitt Rivers], *Catalogue of the Anthropological Collection lent by Colonel Lane Fox for exhibition in the Bethnal Green branch of the South Kensington Museum June 1874* Parts I and II (London: Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education HMSO, 1874); A.H. Lane Fox [Pitt-Rivers], "Section D, sub-section anthropology, Opening Address by the President, Colonel A. Lane Fox", *Nature* 6, no.146 (Aug. 1872): 324.

<sup>19</sup> [Pitt Rivers], "Primitive Warfare", Plate XX; A.H. Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, "On the Egyptian Boomerang and its Affinities", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 12 (1883): Plate XIV; A.H. Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, "On the Evolution of Culture", in *On the Evolution of Culture and Other Essays*, ed. J. L. Myres (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906 [1875]), Plate III.

In 1883, Pitt-Rivers detailed the boomerang's stages of development, asserting that '[a]mongst the existing weapons of the Australians, viewed as survivals, the whole history of the boomerang may be traced.'<sup>20</sup> This was possible only if one accepted the view held by Pitt-Rivers and many of his contemporaneous colleagues that '[t]he Australians [...] are without doubt the most primitive people in existence in regard to their arts.'<sup>21</sup> Although they followed different theories, both Rivers and Pitt-Rivers deployed the artefactual form to illustrate entrenched European ideas about the human past. Rivers' ideas incorporated greater locally specific detail through fieldwork and interaction with Bowie, Dete and other local networks, but both scholars mobilised material things acquired through intermediaries in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries to support their existing work. The *tiokh* may be a unique aspect of northwest Santo *kastom*, relating locally to oral traditions and men's activities, but its form could be reinterpreted into unrelated narratives about the past imposed by outsiders.

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### Tracing networks in other locales

In the narrative of their 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century engagement with Pacific archaeology, missionaries were embedded in global as well as local networks of knowledge, in which people, things, and ideas circulated. Expanding on previous references to those connections, this chapter explores features of those global networks in relation to Fox, Bowie, and other missionaries. Data flow was non-linear in networks that incorporated learned societies, savants, academics, and museums. Pacific prehistory was collected and interpreted in the field, shared and modified within these forums, and disseminated to wider audiences. Missionary interpretations of the Pacific past could therefore be integrated into broader scholarly paradigms. However, these forums also influenced missionary interpretations and methods. This chapter reflects on both the impact of scholarly paradigms on missionary interpretations of prehistory and, conversely, the impact of missionary research on academic and public thought. The chapter reveals that individuals like Fox and Bowie circulated in the different ontological spaces of island, mission and academy, facilitating a uniquely missionary engagement with the human past.

### Scholarly societies

From the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Anglophone missionaries to the Pacific engaged with increasingly abundant scholarly societies, contributing to archaeological, geographical, linguistic and ethnological

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<sup>20</sup> Pitt Rivers, "On the Egyptian Boomerang", 460.

<sup>21</sup> Pitt Rivers "On the Egyptian Boomerang", 459.

enquiries.<sup>22</sup> Antiquarian societies are particularly acknowledged for their position in the development of archaeological thought – although, as discussed throughout the thesis, other areas of enquiry are entwined in the history of archaeology in the Pacific.<sup>23</sup> At these societies, so-called ‘armchair’ scholars met to share research ideas, drawing upon first-hand accounts from countless missionaries. In defining ‘armchair anthropology’, Efram Sera-Shriar has asserted that it was neither a passive pursuit, an act of synthesizing the data of others, nor was it a practice removed from those actually in the field collecting material.<sup>24</sup> The same applies to those ‘antiquarians’, interested in ethnology and archaeology, who have often been written of dismissively in the history of archaeology. As Tim Murray has argued, a history of archaeology should move beyond the dichotomies of antiquarianism/archaeology and amateur/professional, warning ‘it is ill informed to interpret antiquarianism as a wrong-turning on the pathway to archaeological enlightenment.’<sup>25</sup>

It is unsurprising that early LMS missionaries involved themselves in ‘scientific’ pursuits, since those attending Reverend David Bogue’s classes at the Missionary Seminary in Gosport were encouraged to foster an interest in ‘scientific’ enquiries.<sup>26</sup> Classes included astronomy and the history of philosophy, and on completion of their training missionaries were encouraged to continue extensively studying languages and sciences.<sup>27</sup> From the field, early LMS representatives used different methods to share information with learned societies. For example, George Bennet, appointed on an LMS deputation Reverend Daniel Tyerman to China, India, and the South Seas between 1821–29, sent artefacts and specimens through contacts in England to the Literary and Philosophical Societies of Sheffield and Leeds. In 1832, Bennet was granted honorary membership to both groups, and later directed material to the Saffron Waldon Museum.<sup>28</sup> Others from the LMS, such as John Williams, corresponded with the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) in London, presenting a copy of his 1837 account to the RGS and others (see Chapter 1).<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> For a summary of Protestant missionaries’ contributions to science see, Gunson, “British Missionaries and their Contribution”; Also, Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*.

<sup>23</sup> Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 80–120; Tim Murray, “Rethinking Antiquarianism”, *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 17, no.2 (2007): 14–22.

<sup>24</sup> Efram Sera-Shriar, “What is Armchair Anthropology? Observational Practices in 19<sup>th</sup>-century British Human Sciences” *History of the Human Sciences* 27, no. 2 (Dec. 2013): 26–40.

<sup>25</sup> Murray, “Rethinking Antiquarianism”, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire*, 75–77.

<sup>27</sup> Gunson, “British Missionaries and their Contribution”, 284.

<sup>28</sup> Barbara Woronzow, ‘George Bennet: 1775 – 1841’, *Newsletter (Museum Ethnographers Group)*, 12 (Oct. 1981).

<sup>29</sup> Prout, *Memoirs of the Life*, 316, 448.



**Figure 7.3. Williamu, Aneityum. Callotype associated with John Inglis, 1861, and published in his *Bible Illustrations* facing p.304. British Museum Oc,B96.1.**

In Chapter 2, I discussed John Inglis' 1851 paper read to the Ethnological Society of London (ESL), acknowledged for its 'valuable contribution therein to the philology of the Papuan race'.<sup>30</sup> Built on Prichard's diffusionist monogenist social theories, the ESL's initial incarnation likely appealed to missionaries, whose Judaeo-Christian worldviews placed them staunchly in the monogenist camp. However, it did not always follow that a missionary's concepts of deep time and human origins were shared by their contacts in their intellectual networks. For example, in 1860, Inglis brought Aneityumese man Williamu with him to Britain (Figure 7.3). One of few New Hebrideans of the period to have visited, Williamu was likely the first to spend a prolonged period in Scotland.<sup>31</sup> Primarily assisting in publishing the New Testament in the Aneityum language, Williamu's presence offered an opportunity to publicise the mission and for the British public to learn about Pacific people.<sup>32</sup> Through Inglis, Williamu was included in 'Skulls of the Caroline Islanders' (1866), published

<sup>30</sup> Cull, "Sketch of the Recent Progress", 117.

<sup>31</sup> For the first recorded person to visit Britain from what is now Vanuatu see, Lamont Lindstrom, "Sophia Elau, Ungka the Gibbon, and the Pearly Nautilus", *Journal of Pacific History* 33, no.1 (1998): 5–27.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Williamu addressed the Reformed Presbyterian synod directly, with Inglis translating, see, Anon., "General News: Reformed Presbyterian Synod", *Dundee Courier*, 9 May, 1861; Williamu's correspondence was published in the Aneityum Language and English e.g. Williamu, "Letter from



in *The Anthropological Review* by craniologist, staunch polygenist, and critic of speciation, Joseph Barnard Davis. In a detailed footnote regarding Papuan hair, Davis referred to '[t]he beautiful calotype portrait of "Williamu" a native of Aneiteum', and designated by Inglis as Papuan, whom Davis described as having 'short, crisp, curly, thick, not discrete hair'.<sup>33</sup> Inglis had also sent Davis a sample of Williamu's hair, described by the craniologist as 'like No. 41 on Broca's table', a reference to French physician and anthropologist Paul Broca's comparative charts for quantifying human difference.<sup>34</sup> Earlier in the paper, Davis also repeated George Turner's observation that the long braided hairstyle of men on Tanna and Aneityum resembled 'one form of wig worn by the ancient Egyptians.'<sup>35</sup> This is exemplary of the repackaging of missionary-collected data for discussions of human origins, even when the author's theory opposed that missionary's Judaeo-Christian worldview.

Personal connections could equally encourage strong ties between missionaries and learned societies. In 1892, four Presbyterian missionaries from the New Hebrides, Lawrie, Leggatt, Gray, and MacDonald, presented in the Anthropology Section at the annual meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). The section President, Lorimer Fison, had represented the Methodist Mission in Fiji in the 1860s–70s, later becoming influential in anthropological enquiries in Australia.<sup>36</sup> In his presidential address, Fison claimed effective anthropological research, under which he explicitly incorporated studies of 'Ancient Society', could be achieved 'without any special training'.<sup>37</sup> He warned against seeing 'the facts in savagery from our own viewpoint', suggesting living with people for a period of time as an effective way to avoid that.<sup>38</sup> Missionaries of other denominations also delivered papers in the session, including Samuel Ella (LMS), who replaced Fison as section President in 1893. Fison's career trajectory and methods may account for the abundance of missionary papers presented in Hobart, although the occurrence was not unique to the 1892 meeting. In fact, examining the history of the Anthropology Section of the

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Williamu", *Reformed Presbyterian Magazine* (Aug. 1893): 315; Williamu and John Inglis "What Williamu thought of Wick and "The Great Exhibition"", *Reformed Presbyterian Magazine* (Aug. 1863): 296–299.

<sup>33</sup> J.B.D[avis], "The Skulls of the Inhabitants of the Caroline Islands", *Anthropological Review* 4, no.12 (1866): 60.

<sup>34</sup> Paul Broca, *Instructions générales pour les recherches et observations anthropologiques (anatomie et physiologie)* (Paris: V. Masson et fils, 1865).

<sup>35</sup> J.B.D., "Skulls of the Inhabitants", 59.

<sup>36</sup> Helen Gardner and Patrick McConvell, *Southern Anthropology: A History of Fison and Howitt's Kamilaroi and Kurnai* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

<sup>37</sup> Lorimer Fison, "Address of the President to Section G. Anthropology, The Rev. Lorimer Fison, M.A.", in *Report of the fourth meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, ed. A. Morton, (Hobart: William Graham, 1893), 145.

<sup>38</sup> Fison, "Address", 151.

AAAS, later the Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS), John Mulvaney observed that missionaries working in Oceania delivered three of eight papers given at the inaugural 1888 AAAS meeting.<sup>39</sup> Further to this, 51 of 94 papers presented in the congresses up to 1900 were given by members of the clergy, largely missionaries.<sup>40</sup> Niel Gunson has suggested the numerous missionary contributors were in fact correspondents of lay Presbyterian and ethnologist John Fraser, a founding member of AAAS.<sup>41</sup> Those involved with Fraser, in contrast to missionaries connected to specific universities, were, according to Gunson, more likely to promote 'exotic and bizarre' theories, specifically pointing to Daniel MacDonald's work (see Chapter 2).<sup>42</sup>

In New Zealand, a similarly high representation of missionary research can be found in the records of the Polynesian Society, of which Fox was an active corresponding member. Its foundation in 1892 was largely driven by ethnologist Stephenson Percy Smith (1840–1922), supported by Edward Tregear, and the society aimed to promote 'study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology and Antiquities of the Polynesian Race'.<sup>43</sup> Smith's proposal for the establishment of a society along the lines of the Asiatic Society was motivated by a desire to record details of 'Oceanic races' as the opportunities to do so were 'slipping away'.<sup>44</sup> As well as this focus on salvage, he indicated the broad application of the term Polynesian, and the Society would also cover Melanesia, Micronesia, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand. Debates around the origins of Pacific people were prevalent in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* from its first issue in 1892, with discussions around past connections to India, Ancient Egypt, and to Aryan or Semitic people continuing to feature into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>45</sup> A survey of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* from 1892 until 1940 reveals multiple contributions from Presbyterian missionaries MacDonald, William Watt, William Grey, and

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<sup>39</sup> D.J. Mulvaney, "Australian Anthropology and ANZAAS: Strictly Scientific and Critical", in *The Commonwealth of Science: ANZAAS and the Scientific Enterprise in Australia*, ed. Roy M. MacLeod (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), 200.

<sup>40</sup> Mulvaney, "Australian Anthropology", 200 fig. 8.1.

<sup>41</sup> Gunson, "British Missionaries and their Contribution", 303–304.

<sup>42</sup> Gunson, "British Missionaries and their Contribution", 304.

<sup>43</sup> M.P.K. Sorrenson, ed., *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society over 100 Years* (Auckland: The Polynesian Society, 1992).

<sup>44</sup> S. Percy Smith, "Circular proposing the formation of the Polynesian Society", 1891, Polynesian Society: Records. Ref: MS-Papers-1187-125-1, ATL.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. E. Tregear, "Asiatic Gods in the Pacific", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 2, no.3 (1893): 129–146; S. Percy Smith, "Aryan and Polynesian Points of Contact: The Story of Te Niniko", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 19, no.2 (1910): 84–88; S. Percy Smith, "Polynesian and Aryan Points of Contact No 2: The Scandinavian Version of the Story of Maui", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 20, no.1 (1911): 37–38; H.D. Skinner, "Mummification among the Maoris", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 26, no.4 (1917): 188–189; S. Percy Smith, "The Polynesians in Indonesia", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 30, no.117 (1921): 19–27; See also, Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*; Graeme Whimp, "Polynesian Origins and Destinations: Reading the Pacific with S. Percy Smith" (PhD diss., The Australian National University, 2014).

T.E. Riddle, Melanesian Mission representatives Fox, Ivens, and Durrad, and others including Stair and William Wyatt Gill of the LMS. An indepth analysis of missionary connections to the Polynesian Society is outwith the scope of this thesis, but it seems likely that the correlation between the Society's approach to migrations in the past with more theologically framed arguments contributed to the high number of missionary members.

### Development of formal questionnaires

Over the 19<sup>th</sup> century, learned societies and individuals began producing and circulating questionnaires to elicit particular data from missionaries and others in the field, to be integrated into global knowledge networks.<sup>46</sup> The format of schedules illustrates the type of qualitative and quantitative data being actively sought at particular times and by particular scholarly communities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. One of the earliest English language questionnaires incorporating archaeological questions was formulated by a committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) in 1841.<sup>47</sup> The committee included influential scientists James Cowles Prichard, Thomas Hodgkin, later of the ESL, and Charles Darwin (see Chapter 2).<sup>48</sup> The resource's development was prompted by Prichard's 'On the Extinction of some Varieties of the Human Race', read to the BAAS Natural History section in 1839.<sup>49</sup> £5 was assigned for 'printing a set of queries to be addressed to those who may travel or reside in parts of the globe inhabited by the threatened races.'<sup>50</sup> Many questions echo a similar schedule produced by French counterparts at the *Société Ethnologique*.<sup>51</sup> Amongst 89 individually numbered items aimed at 'travellers and others', including missionaries, the sections titled 'Buildings and Monuments' (items 50–52) and 'Works of Art' (items 53–54) particularly resonate with archaeological enquiries.<sup>52</sup> In studying monuments, item 51 instructed the researcher:

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<sup>46</sup> Although surveys and instructions such as these had been produced since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw the extent to which they were developed and circulated increase exponentially, see James Urry, "'Notes and Queries on Anthropology" and the Development of Field Methods in British Anthropology, 1870-1920", *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1972* (1973): 45–57.

<sup>47</sup> Charles Darwin et al., "Queries Respecting the Human Race, to be Addressed to Travellers and Others", in *Report of the Tenth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, ed. Anon (London: John Murray, 1841), 447–458; See also, Urry, "'Notes and Queries on Anthropology"'.  
<sup>48</sup> Darwin et al., "Queries Respecting the Human Race". A revised version of the questionnaire was issued the following year in, Anon. ed., *Report of the Eleventh Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: John Murray, 1842), 332–339.

<sup>49</sup> Darwin et al., "Queries Respecting the Human Race", 447.  
<sup>50</sup> Darwin et al., "Queries Respecting the Human Race", 448.

<sup>51</sup> Urry, "'Notes and Queries on Anthropology"', 46.

<sup>52</sup> Darwin et al., "Queries Respecting the Human Race", 454–455.

If these monuments are no longer in use, collect, as far as possible, the ideas and traditions of the natives regarding them, and, if possible, have them examined by excavation or otherwise, taking care to deface and disturb them as little as possible.<sup>53</sup>

Item 52 advised looking for any human or animal bones ‘and, if discovered, let them be preserved for comparison with those still in existence.’<sup>54</sup>

The category ‘Works of Art’ requested such works be ‘sought and preserved’, noting comparisons to ‘implements at present in use amongst the people of the district, or elsewhere’.<sup>55</sup> The reasoning for recording specific details on the manufacture of ‘works of art’ was twofold: to ‘throw light on the character and origin of the people’; and potentially to guide ‘commercial decisions’ in the process of colonisation.<sup>56</sup> A reworked 1854 version of the queries by Hodgkin and Richard Cull also contained those items relating to buildings and monuments.<sup>57</sup>

Examining British anthropology in the 1870s and 80s, Sera-Shriar has advocated disciplinary changes be framed less as a disruption, in which evolutionary notions replaced diffusionary views, but ‘part of the continuing attempt by researchers within the sciences of Man to transform their theories and methodologies.’<sup>58</sup> It was during that period, in 1874, that *Notes and Queries in Anthropology* was first published, with updated editions produced until 1951.<sup>59</sup> The original 1874 edition contained a section explicitly devoted to archaeology, which remained until 1912.<sup>60</sup> In addition to instructing missionaries and others in the field in the collection of empirical data to be synthesised in the writings of well-known scholars like E.B. Tylor, some missionaries used *Notes and Queries* to guide their own writing. For example, George Brown (1835–1917), Methodist missionary in Samoa (1860–74) and then New Britain (1875–81), used surveys to publish *Melanesians and Polynesians* (1910).<sup>61</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Darwin, et al., “Queries Respecting the Human Race”, 455.

<sup>54</sup> Darwin, et al., “Queries Respecting the Human Race”, 455.

<sup>55</sup> Darwin, et al., “Queries Respecting the Human Race”, 455.

<sup>56</sup> Darwin, et al., “Queries Respecting the Human Race”, 455.

<sup>57</sup> British Association for the Advancement of Science, “A Manual of Ethnological Inquiry”, *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* 3 (1854): 193–208.

<sup>58</sup> Sera-Shriar, *Making of British Anthropology*, 176.

<sup>59</sup> British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology: For the Use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands* (London: Edward Stanford, 1874); See also, Urry, ““Notes and Queries on Anthropology””, 45–57; Sera-Shriar, *Making of British Anthropology*; Michelle Richards, Hilary Howes and Elena Govor, “Origins of Archaeology in the Pacific: The Emergence and Application of Archaeological Field Techniques”, *Journal of Pacific History* 54, no.3 (2019): 307–329.

<sup>60</sup> British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 28; Urry, ““Notes and Queries on Anthropology””, 51. Urry expresses surprise at this omission given the continuing interest in archaeology in anthropological circles at the time, although suggests the concern to formulate a tighter anthropological method stemmed from similar work in archaeological work, p.55 n17.

<sup>61</sup> Gardner, *Gathering for God*, 119; George Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians: Their Life-Histories Described and Compared* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1910).

Helen Gardner has elaborated on Brown's selected use of particular aspects of the schedule and avoidance of those questions, especially in Part One, dealing with physical anthropology, which were incompatible with his evangelical worldview.<sup>62</sup>

While *Notes and Queries* is the best known and most extensively researched of the English language questionnaires, it was just one of many produced in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. These emerged when anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology were undergoing rapid methodological and theoretical changes. The AAAS, for example, produced its own guidelines, acknowledged by Samuel Ella at the 1892 meeting as John Fraser's call to gather details of 'the Australasian, Papuan and Polynesian Races'.<sup>63</sup> As Secretary to the AAAS's Committee No. 11, Fraser led the establishment of guidelines in 1890.<sup>64</sup> Also on the committee were Ella, fellow LMS missionary William Wyatt Gill, and Joseph Copeland, a Presbyterian missionary to the New Hebrides. The structure of Ella, Leggatt, and Lawrie's 1892 papers followed Committee No. 11's guide directly, with other presenters responding to particular aspects. Although the suggested topics lacked specific enquiries around sites, monuments, material culture or prehistory, Fison's presidential address declared devotion to studying 'the structure of the most Ancient Society'.<sup>65</sup> He believed that detailed examination of particular living groups of people would reveal details of ancient history.<sup>66</sup> In this, the AAAS approach appears to follow the notions of E.B. Tylor, Pitt-Rivers, and other social evolutionists that studying living cultures in places like Australia could reveal aspects of human prehistory.<sup>67</sup> This is perhaps unsurprising as Fison maintained a close corresponding relationship with E.B. Tylor.<sup>68</sup>

Missionaries also responded to the emergence of extensive surveys and field guides by adapting their own. Examining Uganda-based Church Missionary Society representative John Roscoe's scientific collaboration with James G. Frazer between 1896-1932, Maud Michaud has argued that a

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<sup>62</sup> Gardner, "Faculty of Faith", 273.

<sup>63</sup> Samuel Ella, "Samoa, &c.", in *Report of Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, ed. A. Morton (Tasmania: William Grahame, 1893), 620.

<sup>64</sup> J. Agnew et al., "Report of Committee No. 11, The bibliography of the Australasian, Papuan and Polynesian Races", *Report of Second Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, ed. W. Baldwin Spencer (Melbourne: Ford and son, 1890), 293–295.

<sup>65</sup> Fison, "Address", 145.

<sup>66</sup> Fison, "Address", 146–147.

<sup>67</sup> E.B. Tylor, "The Condition of Prehistoric Races, as inferred from Observations of Modern Tribes", *Transactions of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology. Third session. 1868* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1869), 11–26.

<sup>68</sup> George Stocking Jr., "Before the Falling Out: W.H.R. Rivers on the Relation between Anthropology and Mission Work", *History of Anthropology Newsletter* 15, no.2 (1988): 3; See also, Jason Gibson and Alison Petch, "'The Ablest Australian Anthropologists': Two Early Anthropologists and Oxford", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 5 no.3 (2013): 60–85.

questionnaire on non-Christian religion produced by Commission IV of the 1910 Edinburgh Conference of Missions mirrored Frazer's own 'Questions on the Manners, Customs, Religion, Superstitions, &c., of Uncivilised or Semi-Civilised Peoples'.<sup>69</sup> Despite retaining an overtly Christian angle, Michaud sees this as symptomatic of increasing interaction of 'mission and science' in the period.<sup>70</sup> In the Pacific, the Melanesian Mission's Walter Ivens produced his *Hints to Missionaries in Melanesia* in 1907, which Nick Stanley described as an attempt 'to unite anthropological and missionary concerns in a religious version of *Notes and Queries*'.<sup>71</sup> Close reading of the succinct text reveals limited specific research guidance aside from a brief method in learning languages supplied by linguist Sidney H. Ray<sup>72</sup> and the following revealing recommendation:

Anyone living amongst the native should have a copy of the Anthropological Society's Manual, "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," 5s [shillings]; and all Melanesian Missionaries should have Codrington's two books "Melanesian Anthropology and Folk-Lore," and "Melanesian Languages"[...] The first will make it possible to understand the natives, and the second will open the way to, and will help in the study of any Melanesian language.<sup>73</sup>

Presbyterian William Gunn also formulated his own questionnaire while based on Aneityum. His inspiration is unclear, but responses found amongst the papers of linguist Arthur Capell, primarily from fellow missionaries in the New Hebrides, reveal some of his questions.<sup>74</sup> As well as asking for localized details of dreams, games, people's 'idols', and the place where people go after they die, a response from James Lawrie includes a list of people's height, weight and chest measurements.<sup>75</sup> Other queries evidently ask for stories of the origins of the islands and the origins of death. One response of October 1893 from Thomas Smaill, who was based at Nikaura on Epi island, New Hebrides, responds to a question about 'traces of mixed population'. Smaill pointed out that there may be such traces if he 'had the eye to see it', but he does not. He rather astutely concluded:

How comes it that so many of the Caithness [and] shetlanders are dark tho' they belong

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<sup>69</sup> Maud Michaud, "The Missionary and the Anthropologist: The Intellectual Friendship and Scientific Collaboration of the Reverend John Roscoe (CMS) and James G. Frazer, 1896–1932", *Studies in World Christianity* 22. no.1 (2016): 70–71.

<sup>70</sup> Michaud, "Missionary and the Anthropologist", 71.

<sup>71</sup> Walter G. Ivens, *Hints to Missionaries in Melanesia* (London: Melanesian Mission, 1907); Stanley, "Recording Island Melanesia", 31.

<sup>72</sup> Ivens, *Hints to Missionaries in Melanesia*, 19–23.

<sup>73</sup> Ivens, *Hints to Missionaries in Melanesia*, 17.

<sup>74</sup> Papers of Arthur Capell, MS Acc07.169, NLA.

<sup>75</sup> J.H. Lawrie to W. Gunn, n.d., "Ethnography anthropology", Papers of Arthur Capell, MS Acc07.169/File AC2\_VETHN1 item 4, NLA.

to the fair norse-men while so many of the highlanders are fair tho' they are Celt like the French [and] are supposed to spring from a dark race? I am afraid dark [and] fair count for very little in distinguishing races.<sup>76</sup>

According to Capell, most of the manuscripts took the form of letters composed in the 1890s 'in answer to anthropological questions put by [Gunn] to various other workers'.<sup>77</sup> The letters received by Gunn were written by Joseph Annand, John Watt Leggatt, and Daniel MacDonald. There is also correspondence with someone familiar with Gaua, in Banks Islands. While there are no complete copies of the questionnaires Gunn circulated to his fellow missionaries within Capell's papers, the responses he collected illustrate the type of information he sought. In addition to linguistic terms, he was looking for details of burial customs, population change, cannibalism, origin stories, and the spirit world. Gunn circulated another questionnaire relating more particularly to medical matters and New Hebridean physical attributes. The respondents' names are unidentifiable, but they apparently had some experience working in plantations or the labour trade, as opposed to working for the mission. Gunn evidently used some of these materials to elaborate comparative details within his publications. The creation of these questionnaires is significant, indicating a Presbyterian missionary conducting and guiding their own research, rather than just completing questionnaires on behalf of an outside researcher. Capell also drew on Gunn's research in his *Anthropology and Linguistics of Futuna-Aniwa, New Hebrides* (1958).<sup>78</sup> Gunn is also known to have provided instructions to local people for collecting natural history specimens for the New South Wales Herbarium and coordinated Annand and Bowie to do the same.<sup>79</sup>

### Learning field methods: Rivers, Fox, and Bowie

Fox and Bowie's interpretations of the Pacific past were particularly influenced by one scholar: W.H.R. Rivers. The relationships were characterised by a mutual reciprocity in that Rivers' methods and approaches stimulated Fox and Bowie intellectually, and conversely, their data and discussions informed Rivers' developing diffusionist theories. Longstanding corresponding relationships between

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<sup>76</sup> T. Smail to W. Gunn, 4 October 1893, "Epi I., Central Vanuatu", Papers of Arthur Capell MS Acc07.169/File AC2-VEPI-1, NLA.

<sup>77</sup> A. Capell, "The stratification of Afterworld Beliefs in the New Hebrides", *Folklore* 4, no.1 (1939): 51.

<sup>78</sup> A. Capell, *Anthropology and Linguistics of Futuna-Aniwa, New Hebrides*, Oceania Linguistic Monograph no. 5 (Sydney, University of Sydney, 1958).

<sup>79</sup> V. F. Brotherus and W. Walter Watts, "The Mosses of the New Hebrides", *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 49 (1915), 127–128; See also, Helen P. Ramsay et al., "Register of type specimens of mosses in Australian herbaria General introduction and Part I. Special collections at NSW: Lord Howe Island, Vanuatu (New Hebrides)", *Telopea Journal of Plant Systematics* 3, no.4 (1990), 571–592.

missionaries and savants outside the field were not new to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. John Dunmore Lang, for example, regularly communicated with Orsmond and Davies of the LMS (see Chapter 1).<sup>80</sup> Nineteenth-century scientists also visited Pacific missionaries in the field.<sup>81</sup> However, Rivers was one of the first to conduct extensive fieldwork of a broadly archaeological and anthropological nature *with* missionaries, and in doing so he provided practical training in research methods. As a contributor to the 1912 edition of *Notes & Queries*, it is unclear if Rivers also informed Fox and Bowie's methods by sending them the text, although it is likely as he provided one for Fox's close friend and colleague Durrad on Banks Islands.<sup>82</sup>

Despite Rivers' attempts to improve the scientific approach to ethnology and related disciplines, recommending for example that the emerging discipline of anthropology distinguish between 'survey work' and 'intensive work', he did rely heavily on missionaries throughout his career, a relationship not without its paradoxes.<sup>83</sup> As a member of Alfred Cort Haddon's 1898 Torres Strait Expedition, he was part of a vanguard of researchers attempting to take the laboratory to the field, seeking to strengthen the methods of anthropology and related fields.<sup>84</sup> However, they did not escape a reliance on other Europeans as intermediaries, with the Torres Strait Expedition drawing heavily on support from traders and missionaries, particularly Robert and John 'Jack' Bruce, Scottish brothers employed by the LMS.<sup>85</sup> Rivers continued to utilise missionary networks in subsequent research and, speaking at the Melanesian Mission annual meeting in 1910, he even presented on the value of the science of anthropology to the missionary, and of anthropology's debt to missionaries.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, 211

<sup>81</sup> Gunson, "British Missionaries and their Contribution"; Bowie hosted J.R. Baker on geographical field work, see John R. Baker, *Espiritu Santo, New Hebrides*, (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1935); and Fox hosted naturalist W.S. Mann, see C.E. Fox, *Autobiography Ms.*, chap.6 p.8–9, Papers relating to Charles Elliot Fox, in Papers of McEwan, Jock Malcolm, MS-papers-6717-115, ATL.

<sup>82</sup> W.J. Durrad to W.H.R. Rivers, 24 March 1913, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Box 127 Envelope 12039, HPUC.

<sup>83</sup> Adam Kuper, *Anthropology and Anthropologists: The Modern British School* (London: Routledge, 1983), 7. See also, George W. Stocking Jr., ed., *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 32–36.

<sup>84</sup> Henrika Kuklick, "The Colour Blue: From Research in the Torres Strait to an Ecology of Human Behaviour", in McLeod and Rehbock, *Darwin's Laboratory*, 339–367; James Urry "'Notes and Queries on Anthropology'", 50–52.

<sup>85</sup> Stocking, *The Ethnographer's Magic*, 21–24.

<sup>86</sup> W.H.R. Rivers, "Speech by Dr. Rivers F.R.S", *Southern Cross Log* (Feb. 1910): 140–144.



Rivers initially met Fox on Norfolk Island in 1908, while on his Percy Sladen Trust funded expedition to Solomon Islands with Arthur Maurice Hocart and Gerald Camden Wheeler.<sup>87</sup> As discussed in Chapter 5, Fox and Rivers voyaged through the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands on the *Southern Cross*, accompanied by other missionaries and young men and women returning home from St. Barnabas school. During the voyage, Fox and Rivers interviewed fellow passengers, gathering cultural information. When Durrad came aboard, he joined their work. Fox acted as interpreter, while Rivers introduced him to ‘the scientific nature of ethnological work’ and inspired him to keep a field notebook (see also Chapter 5).<sup>88</sup> Continuing a close corresponding relationship until Rivers’ death in 1922, Fox’s methods and ideas developed concurrently to Rivers’. Writing in May 1919, Fox claimed, ‘I’m working out history is the only solid rock to build upon. Ivens never made enquiries; I should have done no better but for you.’<sup>89</sup> This refers to a turn that Langham has termed Rivers’ “‘ethnological’ period’, after he intellectually embraced ethnology and history on returning from his 1908 fieldwork.<sup>90</sup> Adam Kuper’s analysis of this shift draws attention to the significance of Rivers’ decision to reject evolutionary explanations and follow the German view ‘that all history was local, and that cultural change was normally a consequence of a mixture of peoples.’<sup>91</sup> He was inspired by the work of Robert Fritz Graebner, of the Berlin Museum, considered a ‘founding father’ of the *Kulturkreis* (culture circle) school of ethnology. Graebner argued for the significance of migration in forming Melanesian culture, although Rivers did not agree quite as strongly with his view that introduced material culture could cause those changes.<sup>92</sup> Rivers’ ‘conversion’ to diffusionist approaches, argued Kuper, came partly through his 1908 fieldwork, but most fully in the later stages of writing *The History of Melanesian Society*.<sup>93</sup> The 1914 two volume publication epitomised his ethnological approach.

Rivers met Bowie while following up on his Percy Sladen Trust fieldwork in 1914–15, residing with the Bowies at the TTI from October–December 1914. Jeannie offered brief accounts of Rivers’ activities in her diary.<sup>94</sup> After arriving from Malakula on 15 October 1914, he and Fred Bowie visited

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<sup>87</sup> See, Knut M. Rio and Annelin Eriksen, “Rivers and the Study of Kinship on Ambrym: Mother Right and Father Right Revisited”, in *The Ethnographic Experiment: A.M. Hocart and W.H.R. Rivers in Island Melanesia, 1908*, eds. Edvard Hviding and Cato Berg (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014), 132–154.

<sup>88</sup> Smith, “Preface”, vi.

<sup>89</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 28 May 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>90</sup> Ian Langham, *The Building of British Social Anthropology: W.H.R. Rivers and his Cambridge Disciples in the development of Kinship Studies, 1898-1931*, (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1981), 118.

<sup>91</sup> Adam Kuper, *The Reinvention of Primitive Society: Transformation of an Illusion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 2005), 142.

<sup>92</sup> Kuper, *Reinvention of Primitive Society*, 142.

<sup>93</sup> Kuper, *Reinvention of Primitive Society*, 143.

<sup>94</sup> Jeannie Bowie, Diary, 15 October – 17 December 1914, UAM.

Wailapa village on mainland Santo, Jeannie noting merely, ‘Dr R had a good day’.<sup>95</sup> In the following weeks, she reported Rivers was at the TTI ‘busy at work with the boys’, and noted further travel around south Santo with Fred.<sup>96</sup> Willie Bowie also visited the TTI periodically during Rivers’ stay, and took the scholar to his plantation at Kerenavura. Jeannie wrote, ‘Dr R [and] W hard at it day after day’, possibly referring to Fred’s younger brother but potentially also to a man named William from Ambrym.<sup>97</sup> Fred and Willie Bowie, the latter in particular, facilitated Rivers’ access to Ambrym men, in some cases translating. Willie preferred to bring over Ambrym men and employ them on his Santo plantation, instructing them not to interact with people in nearby villages, and returning them home after a few years.<sup>98</sup> These interviews formed the basis of Rivers’ theory of Ambrym kinship, with Rivers particularly reliant on William.<sup>99</sup>

That Rivers provided Fred Bowie with field training is confirmed in a letter to the former from Cambridge-educated anthropologist John Layard, who had recommended a new contact on Aore island consult Bowie for research advice. In response to the contact ‘complaining about the difficulty of getting reliable information’, Layard had ‘suggested the main lines to go on and told him, tentatively, how Bowie had interpreted for you & knew your methods [...] you might tell Bowie to keep him up to the mark [and] possibly instruct him if they do happen to be friends.’<sup>100</sup>

The Bowie brothers maintained contact with Rivers, collating further information after his departure.<sup>101</sup> In March 1915, Fred sent details of pottery making and the Nogogu *koroain sua*, accompanied by photographs of women making pots and weaving pandanus mats.<sup>102</sup> He also shared details of pig-killing on different islands, and offered details of taro irrigation practices, published by

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<sup>95</sup> Jeannie Bowie, Diary, 18 October 1914, UAM.

<sup>96</sup> Jeannie Bowie, Diary, 18 October – 17 December 1914, UAM.

<sup>97</sup> Jeannie Bowie, Diary, 14 December 1914, UAM.

<sup>98</sup> Interview with Dai Vijiolo (Dai Lewis), June 2017, Santo, Vanuatu.

<sup>99</sup> William’s name is recorded in some sources including a letter in his own hand as ‘William Ambrim’, see William Ambrim to Rivers, 11 March 1915, Rivers Papers, Envelope 12039(b), HPUC. There has previously been confusion in other accounts of these events, which name William as ‘William Tamar’, and confuse the identify of each of the Bowie brothers, e.g. T.T. Barnard, “The Social Organization of Ambrim”, *Man* 28 (1928): 135; Knut M. Rio, *The Power of Perspective: Social Ontology and Agency on Ambrym, Vanuatu* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), 39; Rio and Eriksen, “Rivers and the Study of Kinship”, 135. ‘Tamar’ or ‘Temär’ are pen names used by William Bowie when writing to Rivers, who he called ‘Yafa’, e.g. W. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 25 November 1915, “Original notes on Ambrym (1914–1922)”, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12000 Box 123, HPUC.

<sup>100</sup> J.W. Layard to W.H.R. Rivers, 29 February, year unknown (post-1915 fieldwork, but pre-1922 Rivers death), Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039, HPUC.

<sup>101</sup> See letters in, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelopes 12039(a), 12039(b), and 12000, HPUC.

<sup>102</sup> F.G. Bowie to W.H.R. Rivers, 3 March 1915, Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers, Envelope 12039(a), HPUC.

Rivers.<sup>103</sup> Willie Bowie also suggested major edits to River's Ambrym Kinship manuscript, initially offering changes from William (Ambrim), and expanding on these after William's death from dysentery in 1916 with substantial suggestions from Lau and Talipu, two Ambrym men also connected with the mission and the Kerenauvura plantation.<sup>104</sup> Rivers never fully incorporated these changes, perhaps partly because, as Martin Nakata has charged in relation to Rivers' earlier work on the Torres Strait Islands, it became 'all important to explain away results which did not point in the desired direction.'<sup>105</sup> However, a more recent investigation of the Ambrym case has suggested Rivers may not have been so far off the mark.<sup>106</sup>

### Heo and hieroglyphs

Fox's 1918–22 reports of Makiran burials within pyramidal shaped mounds, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, particularly captured Rivers' interest. I return to this subject again here as it also reveals aspects of missionary networks outside of the Pacific – in other locales. The information from the Makiran bush was timely as Rivers was increasingly engaging with the diffusionist theories influencing archaeology and anthropology in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>107</sup> Stocking has described this resurgence of diffusionism as 'a neo-ethnological phase'.<sup>108</sup> Significantly, Rivers collaborated with Elliot Smith and Perry, who sought to globally map material elements including megaliths and polished stone axes, and practices such as mummification and worship of the sun, which they traced back to Ancient Egypt.<sup>109</sup> Rivers and Elliot Smith's intellectual relationship began in 1896, when the latter enrolled at St Johns College, University of Cambridge, but as Elliot Smith later put it, 1918 – the year Fox sent Rivers details of *heo* – was the year Rivers 'went the whole way with me in recognizing the initiative of Egypt in the creation of civilization'.<sup>110</sup>

According to Adam Kuper, the interest in diffusionism in Britain was partly stimulated by discoveries in Egyptian archaeology and the emergent theory of the 'fertile crescent' as the cradle of

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<sup>103</sup> W.H.R. Rivers, "Irrigation and the Cultivation of Taro", in *Psychology and Ethnology*, ed. Grafton Elliot Smith (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1926.), 262–287.

<sup>104</sup> See various correspondence in, "Original notes on Ambrym (1914-1922)", Papers of William Halse Rivers Rivers Papers, Box 123 Envelope 12000, HPUC.

<sup>105</sup> Martin Nakata, *Disciplining the savages: savaging the disciplines* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2007), especially pp. 43–75 for critical summary of Rivers work on TSI.

<sup>106</sup> Rio and Eriksen, "Rivers and the Study of Kinship"; See also, Langham, *Building of British Social Anthropology*, 101–117.

<sup>107</sup> Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 318–319; Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 119–181.

<sup>108</sup> Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 287–289.

<sup>109</sup> See, Langham, *Building of British Social Anthropology*, 118–159; McNiven and Russell, *Appropriated Pasts*, 165.

<sup>110</sup> Langham, *Building of British Social Anthropology*, 141.

civilisation.<sup>111</sup> Of course, as indicated throughout this thesis, Ancient Egypt had found relevance to interpretations of the past for missionaries and others throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Late 19<sup>th</sup> and early diffusionists thought their social evolutionist forebears were incorrect in attributing cultural similarities to independent invention, arguing instead that such similarities were explained by diffusion. It was still a developmental model; as Henrika Kuklick has put it, ‘the developments of Western civilisation constituted progress. And the basis of all innovations associated with progress was a culture complex [...] termed the “Archaic Civilization.”’<sup>112</sup> The notion of degeneration and that in human history all societies were at risk of regression was central to the theory of the Archaic Civilization.<sup>113</sup> Degeneration was also at the heart of the Christian notion of the dispersal of ‘tribes’ after the Deluge, likely making diffusionism in archaeology and anthropology an appealing area of scholarship to missionaries.

Even prior to Rivers’ apparent full conversion to Elliot Smith’s particular diffusionist approach, the theory of Egyptian origins attracted a growing number of critics. As Skinner put it in his review of Rivers’ paper on the distribution of taro – which included data provided by Bowie – presented at the meeting of the British Association held in Newcastle in 1916:

Rivers' paper [...] was interesting as a contribution to the great controversy which only the war has been able to some extent to subdue on the question of the origin, nature, and distribution of the megalithic culture. The pugnacious attitude of Dr. Elliot Smith, the great protagonist of the theory of Egyptian origin, has aroused the fiercest storm that has ever swept the peaceful fields of Anthropology. Dr. Rivers pointed out that the distribution and methods of cultivation of taro yielded strong evidence in support of Elliot Smith's theory.<sup>114</sup>

Fox’s characteristically diffusionist arguments of the peopling of Makira reflect the influence of Rivers’ theoretical approach (see Chapter 5). Initially, however, Fox remained cautious regarding the connection to Ancient Egypt. As highlighted in Chapter 5, he asked Rivers in 1918 that any references to pyramidal shaped *heo* be removed from a manuscript in preparation, as he had not yet seen any in person.<sup>115</sup> A later note to Rivers in February 1919 is telling. Fox wrote, ‘I have also been

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<sup>111</sup> Adam Kuper, *Anthropology and Anthropologists: The Modern British School*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3.

<sup>112</sup> Kuklick, *Savage Within*, 125.

<sup>113</sup> Kuklick, *Savage Within*, 127.

<sup>114</sup> H.D. Skinner, “Meeting of the British Association at Newcastle, England, August, 1916”, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 26, no.1 (1917): 32.

<sup>115</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 14 April 1918, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

getting some very interesting magic lately, but that not being Egyptian (??) will hardly interest anthropologists now I am afraid.'<sup>116</sup> The implication being that Fox knew of Rivers' interests and was filtering data for him that could support the Egyptian connection. Fox seemingly had subscribed to the theory, as he added, '[b]ut of course it must be Egyptian really.'<sup>117</sup> By the time Fox presented a lecture to the Archaeological branch of the Otago Institute in Dunedin July 1923, his arguments were considered supportive of Elliot Smith's thesis, a report of the lecture in the *Otago Daily Times* asserting:

Dr C E Fox [...] has on his present visit to Dunedin brought another invaluable collection of exhibits. These include replicas of stone figures and many objects that tend to support the views of Professor Elliot Smith regarding the spread of Egyptian influence along the coast of South Asia in ancient times. Some of these will be shown during the course of Dr Fox's lecture to the Otago Institute this evening.<sup>118</sup>

The 'stone figures' presumably included those discussed in Chapter 5, such as the large carved human image from a *hera* in the Arosi region of Makiria (see Figure 5.5).

That Fox subscribed to the notion of connections of Makira with Ancient Egypt to some extent is further evident in correspondence with Skinner in March 1921; Fox claimed he had 'no doubt of traces of early Egyptian influence'.<sup>119</sup> Skinner must have replied with cautionary words, as Fox responded in August 1921 expressing gratitude for his advice, explaining: '[i]t is all the more needed as I cannot resist trying to explain facts [...] Rivers never will criticise enough. Elliot Smith is better but unfortunately agrees with me'.<sup>120</sup> At the time, Fox had read a paper indirectly attacking 'the Elliot Smith theory' but remained unconvinced of the arguments, adding that he could not resist Elliot Smith's conclusion 'in a general form [...] while disagreeing with much detail.'<sup>121</sup> Fox found it particularly difficult to reject the Egyptian theory as it was corroborated by evidence he had collected, which he knew 'was not faked or chosen to fit the hypothesis'.<sup>122</sup> He added, 'I don't imagine Egyptians ever came here', but found it 'impossible to resist the belief that the "heliolithic" people somehow affected Arosi. I know this damns me.'<sup>123</sup> Nonetheless, Fox must have continued

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<sup>116</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 13 February 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>117</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 13 February 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

<sup>118</sup> Anon., [no title], *Otago Daily Times*, 19 July 1923, 6; Also, Anon., "The Solomon Islands. Native Life and History", *Otago Daily Times*, 21 July 1923, 4.

<sup>119</sup> Fox to Skinner, 14 March 1921, OMC.

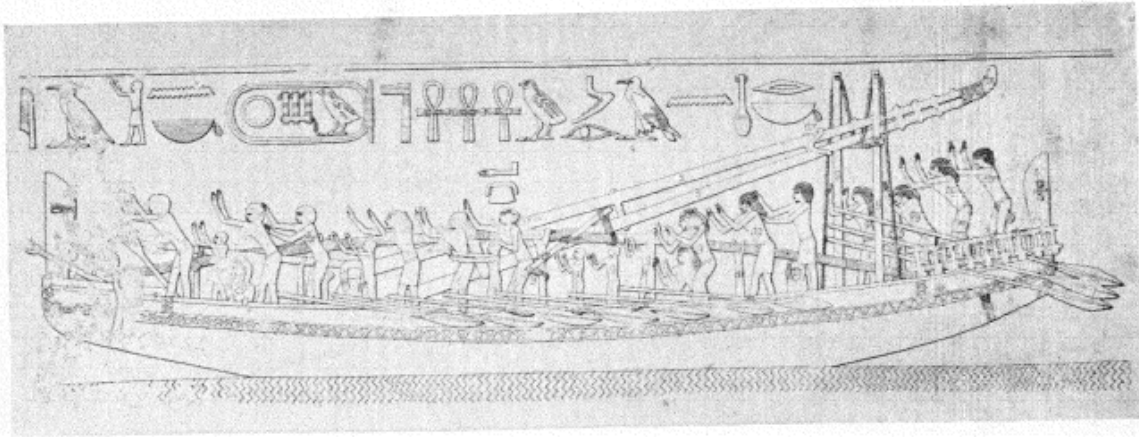
<sup>120</sup> Fox to Skinner, 31 August 1921, OMC.

<sup>121</sup> Fox to Skinner, 31 August 1921, OMC.

<sup>122</sup> Fox to Skinner, 31 August 1921, OMC.

<sup>123</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 31 August 1921, OMC.

questioning his own hypotheses, admitting to Skinner in February 1922, 'We must do a tremendous lot of dull spade work before we can build theories. I get more [and] more cautious in that direction [and] think I was much too reckless once.'<sup>124</sup>



**Figure 7.4. 'Egyptian sea-going ship of pyramid age'. Illustration from C.E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific*, 1924, p.122 plate 4a**

Edited by Elliot Smith and Perry after Rivers' death, Fox's *Threshold of the Pacific* (1924) was particularly criticised for promoting the theory of a past global diffusion of aspects of Ancient Egyptian civilisation.<sup>125</sup> Intriguingly, as noted in Chapter 5, close reading of the text reveals scant mention of Egyptian cultural complexes by Fox. Aside from Elliot Smith's Preface, the first mention of Egypt is in an illustration of an 'Egyptian sea-going ship of pyramid age' (Figure 7.4).<sup>126</sup> There is no direct reference to the figure in the text, but it corresponds to a photograph of a San Cristoval canoe.<sup>127</sup> The implication is presumably that skills such as canoe building and voyaging diffused from Ancient Egyptian people. The lack of in-text reference suggests the figure may have been added after Fox finished authoring the text and supports in part one reviewers' critique that the inclusion of the Egyptian hypothesis was due to the editors.<sup>128</sup> This reviewer was later identified as anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski.<sup>129</sup> It is not until page 364 of the 370 pages of *Threshold* that Fox expressly associates the group of people he termed the Araha with 'the archaic civilization of Indonesia and elsewhere', and that 'their civilization is mainly Egyptian'.<sup>130</sup> On reaching Makira, they

<sup>124</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 15 February 1922, OMC.

<sup>125</sup> Langham, *Building of British Social Anthropology*, 167–171.

<sup>126</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 122 pl. 4a.

<sup>127</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 118 pl. 4.

<sup>128</sup> Anon., "The Anthropology of San Cristoval", *Times Literary Supplement* no.1221, 11 June 1925, 394.

<sup>129</sup> Langham, *Building of British Social Anthropology*, 171.

<sup>130</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 364.

met ‘the dual people’, whom Fox classified as the Atawa and Amwea groups.<sup>131</sup> In response to the criticism, Fox later noted that the association in *Threshold* of the word ‘mastaba’, a term for an Egyptian burial mound, with a diagram of a *heo*, was not something he remembered writing although he did write to Rivers of the term *mastawa*: ‘the similarity to *mastaba* is sure to be accidental’.<sup>132</sup>

When Fox wrote to Haddon from Uki in December 1930 unhappy with the reviews of *Threshold*, he asserted that he could not blame his late friend Rivers for the controversy, as he believed him ‘incapable of altering evidence to prove a point’.<sup>133</sup> Long-distance correspondence between missionaries and influential, knowledgeable savants could therefore be intellectually stimulating, often leading to respect within scholarly circles, but could also be limiting. Fox’s experiences with these diffusionist scholars demonstrates the great impact that personal relationships within knowledge networks in locales outside their mission field had on the way missionaries formulated and developed their own theories, and on the way missionary-collected material could be interpreted, reinterpreted, and framed for wider audiences.

### Curatorial connections: Fox and Bowie’s museum networks

Museums were equally integral to global missionary knowledge networks, both in informing missionary engagement with archaeology, and as spaces for interpretation and public consumption of narratives of the past informed by acquisitions from missionary collecting. The period just prior to Fox and Bowie’s arrival in the Pacific saw a proliferation of organised displays of scientific and ethnographical subjects. Drawing attention to this in his 1890 presidential address to the Anthropology section of the BAAS, archaeologist John Evans described ‘the vastly improved means of comparison and study that the ethnologists of to-day possess as compared with those of twenty years ago.’<sup>134</sup> He highlighted a growing number of museums created to record ethnological details, such the University of Oxford’s Pitt-Rivers Museum, arranged to show the development of material culture over time. According to Evans:

[T]he skilful [sic] application of the doctrine of evolution to the forms and characters of these products of human art gives to this collection a peculiar charm, and brings out the

<sup>131</sup> Fox, *Threshold*, 364.

<sup>132</sup> Langham, *Building of British Social Anthropology*, 170–171.

<sup>133</sup> C.E. Fox to A.C. Haddon, 19 December 1930, Material for Canoes of Oceania written with Hornell vol.2, Papers of Alfred C. Haddon (as filmed by the AJCP), M2728-2759, Series 3000-3999, Subseries 3046, NLA.

<sup>134</sup> John Evans, “Section H – Anthropology, Address by John Evans D.C.L., L.L.D., D.Sc., Treas.R.S., Pres.S.A., F.L.S, President of the section”, in *The Report of the 60<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, ed. BAAS, (London: John Murray, 1891), 967.

value of applying scientific methods to the study of all that is connected with human culture, even though at first sight the objects brought under consideration may appear to be of the most trivial character.<sup>135</sup>

It was therefore not a new or unusual practice for missionaries such as Fox and Bowie to engage in material transactions for a museum in that period. Their distributed collections reveal aspects of their archaeological networks, also offering broader insights into global missionary collecting networks.

Bowie likely accessed non-European material culture prior to the New Hebrides while studying at the University of Aberdeen in 1891, in the Marischal College Anatomy Museum, which incorporated ethnographic items.<sup>136</sup> His initial acquisitions in the New Hebrides were also sent to the Anatomy Museum under the curatorship of anatomist Robert W. Reid. In 1907, Reid founded the Anthropological Museum of the University of Aberdeen, formed from the King's College Archaeological collection, Marischal College's classical and antiquities collection, and the ethnographic material in Marischal College's Anatomy Department.<sup>137</sup> With Reid as the Museum's inaugural curator, the displays continued to reflect his scholarly approach, incorporating anatomy, archaeology and anthropology. Using archival documents, images, and oral histories, Helen Southwood reconstructed a floorplan of the exhibition space as it would have looked around 1912, demonstrating that artefacts were arranged according to perceived 'different races of man.'<sup>138</sup> Visitors were led clockwise around the exhibits, beginning with Scottish historical and archaeological material, and ending with central and south African material. The display purposely classified groups of people along a racial hierarchy, with the first display cases supposedly representing the most 'civilised'. It was within this distinctly evolutionary framework that Bowie's acquisitions were publicly displayed, with 'Melanesia' coming after North and South America and before Australia, and 'Polynesia' positioned before the Americas.

Bowie corresponded sporadically with Reid until the former's death in December 1933, the tone and content of surviving letters suggesting an intellectually stimulating relationship.<sup>139</sup> As well as artefact collecting, Bowie delivered at least two papers to the Aberdeen University Anatomical and Anthropological Society while home on furlough in 1911. A summary of Bowie's paper given on 15

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<sup>135</sup> Evans, "Section H – Anthropology", 967.

<sup>136</sup> Although Bowie did also attend lectures by visiting missionaries who travelled with magic lantern lectures, and often artefacts.

<sup>137</sup> Southwood, "History and Wonder".

<sup>138</sup> Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue*, iii; Southwood, "History and Wonder", 97.

<sup>139</sup> E.g. F.G. Bowie to R. Reid, 22 November 1933, F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM.



May indicates that he spoke about the importance of pigs, and some New Hebridean myths, and described people there as ‘Melanesian with a Polynesian admixture’, various facts pointing to various immigrations of people ‘probably within comparatively recent times’.<sup>140</sup> *The Lancet* reported that on 16 June Bowie spoke on ‘the problem of caste’ and particularly on New Hebridean methods of treating disease, a topic he also wrote to Rivers on, evidently sharing an interest with the latter in treatments such as blood-letting.<sup>141</sup> In addition to the display of photographs and artefacts, the May presentation opened with a description by the Society’s Vice President, Dr Alexander Low, of a skull presented by Bowie to the museum.<sup>142</sup> This was likely the skull of a Santo man seemingly involved in the murder of ‘the Misses Greig’, who were killed with their plantation owner father Peter Greig on Santo in October 1908.<sup>143</sup> One of four examples of human remains Bowie acquired, he also sent Reid three Malakulan over-modelled human skulls, about which he simply stated ‘I do not know anything about them’.<sup>144</sup> Reid was actively seeking anatomical specimens from alumni, and Bowie’s limited contextual data suggest these acquisitions were likely responding to Reid’s requests rather than reflecting Bowie’s specific collecting interests.<sup>145</sup> However, his 1911 public presentations suggest he engaged to some extent with medical and anatomical research, which at the University of Aberdeen at that time were intricately bound with anthropological and archaeological enquiries.

Fox also formed early museum connections at university, meeting Thomas F. Cheeseman, botanist and Director of the Auckland Museum and Institute, in 1899.<sup>146</sup> As discussed in Chapter 5, Fox gave little directly to Auckland Museum, and the greatest impact on his collecting from outside Solomon Islands was the relationship he later fostered with Skinner at OM.<sup>147</sup> They shared a connection with

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<sup>140</sup> Anon., “Ordinary Meeting”, in *Proceedings of the Aberdeen University Anatomical and Anthropological Society, 1908–14*, ed. Robert Reid (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen Press, 1915), 19–20.

<sup>141</sup> Anon., “Aberdeen University Anthropological Society”, *Lancet* 178, no. 4583 (Dec. 1911): 54–55.

<sup>142</sup> Anon., “Ordinary Meeting”.

<sup>143</sup> Skull, ABDUA: 38965, UAM. The printed 1923 catalogue entry for the remains was mistranscribed, reading ‘Of Native of New Hebrides who murdered the Misses Greig near Tungoa, Santa, New Hebrides in 1903. Presented by the Rev. F.G. Bowie, Santa, New Hebrides.’; See also, Anon., “A Shocking Murder in Santo Island”, *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* 97 (Jan. 1909): 21; Anon., “The Greig Massacre”, *Sunday Times (Sydney, NSW)*, 8 November 1908, 12. Retrieved 7 January 2019, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article126750534>.

<sup>144</sup> F.G. Bowie to R. Reid, n.d., F.G. Bowie supplementary file, UAM; ABDUA:3052; ABDUA:3053; ABDUA:3079.

<sup>145</sup> See, Elizabeth Hallam, *Anatomy Museum: Death and the Body Displayed* (Reaktion Books, 2016).

<sup>146</sup> C.E. Fox to Cheeseman, 31 January 1919, “Auckland Institute and Museum Letter books - Outwards Correspondence 1876–1920”, AR2-4-8 F 1901-25, AWMML.

<sup>147</sup> For a biography of H.D. Skinner see, J.D. Freeman, “Henry Devenish Skinner: A Memoir,” in *Anthropology in the South Seas: Essays presented to H. D. Skinner*, eds. J.D. Freeman and W.R. Geddes (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery, 1959), 9–27; Peter Gathercole, “Introduction”, in *Comparatively Speaking: Studies in Pacific Material Culture 1921 – 1972*, Skinner, H.D. (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1974 [1958]), 11–18.

Rivers, who had been an early scholarly influence on Skinner's work, second only to Haddon, his supervisor at University of Cambridge in 1916–18.<sup>148</sup> Skinner and Fox were both also members of the Polynesian Society and contributors to its Journal. In the earliest available correspondence between the two from March 1921, Fox responds to Skinner's requests for artefacts, happy to send him material, 'because you are really an expert in this branch of ethnology'.<sup>149</sup> In this manner, Skinner developed and curated the OM collection by selecting and commissioning collectors in the field and requesting particular items.<sup>150</sup> Fox subsequently became one of ten honorary collectors for OM's Ethnographic Department, four of whom were missionaries, including Bowie.<sup>151</sup>

As noted in chapter 5, Skinner began sending books and advice to Fox, including those criticisms regarding Elliot Smith's work, and by association the work of Rivers and Perry. Fox was open to suggestions made by individuals he believed had a more thorough grounding in disciplinary scholarship than he did, telling Skinner: 'I really am very ignorant in ethnology [...] I really have a low opinion of the value of my own work [and] freely acknowledge on all ethnological matters your opinion is far more likely to be right than my own'.<sup>152</sup> Later he told Skinner of his 'abysmal ignorance', except for knowing about the tiny area of Arosi.<sup>153</sup> Fox felt his broader knowledge was restricted by lack of regular access to scholarly work and, aware of his shortcomings, was happy to admit that he changed his interpretations as he increased his knowledge. Bowie's correspondence with Skinner was instigated by his brother John Bowie giving the Otago Museum a *tiokh* in 1919.<sup>154</sup> Like Fox, Bowie responded to Skinner's requests and queries, although he struggled to respond regularly. In a letter from Tangoa of 12 March 1924, Bowie opened with an explanation that he had not forgotten to reply but had been busy with his own work and dealing with the murder of a trader.<sup>155</sup>

Trained in the Cambridge ethnological school, Skinner followed Rivers' diffusionist lines of enquiry, and also increasingly engaged with the work of 'the American Historical school'. Drawing on Clark Wissler's scheme, he proposed culture areas, visualising New Zealand and other Pacific islands 'as a

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<sup>148</sup> Gathercole, "Introduction", 12–13.

<sup>149</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 14 March 1921, photocopy OMC; See also, White, "'Your study of the things would be valuable'".

<sup>150</sup> White, "'Your study of the things would be valuable'".

<sup>151</sup> Otago University Museum and Hocken Library, *Annual Report for the Year 1922*, 9.

<sup>152</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 31 August 1921, OMC.

<sup>153</sup> C.E. Fox to H.D. Skinner, 15 February 1922, OMC.

<sup>154</sup> Otago University Museum, *Annual Report for the Year 1919*, 3.

<sup>155</sup> "Dolmens in the Pacific", Skinner, Henry Devenish: Papers (1848-1978), MS-1219/151, Hocken.

historically organised and geographical space with a series of distinctive subcultures'.<sup>156</sup> Examining Fox and Bowie's OM collections, there are elements that clearly appealed to Skinner's research on diffusion and typological development of material culture. Notable is Fox's collection of 43 wooden bowls of different sizes and styles, clearly relevant to Skinner's own research of bowls.<sup>157</sup> Fox was an ideal collector as even prior to corresponding with Skinner he had been gathering rich details of the bowls. One such example, named *Horohenua*, 'is the head and shoulders and upraised arms of a man and is a sacrificial bowl, the sacrifice being placed where his brains ought to be' (Figure 7.5).<sup>158</sup> Bowie similarly provided detailed contextual data where possible, as in the case of the *pete levine* (see Chapter 3), an account of which was authored by Skinner's protégé Dora de Beer and framed very much as a narrative of comparative art styles and culture areas. In these relationships with individual curators it is possible to see the reciprocal nature of knowledge and things, with the research interests of both missionary and curator co-determining the type of artefacts collected and the interpretations to which they were subject.



**Figure 7.5. Carved wooden bowl named *Horohenua*, with inlaid shell eyes, Makira. Otago Museum, D22.385. Photograph by author, 2016.**

<sup>156</sup> Fiona Cameron and Conal McCarthy, "Producing "The Maori as He Was": New Zealand Museums, Anthropological Governance, and Indigenous Agency", in *Collecting, Ordering, Governing: Anthropology, Museums, and Liberal Government*, eds. Tony Bennett et al. (London, Duke University Press, 2017), 175–216.

<sup>157</sup> See, Skinner, "Type of Maori Carved Wooden Bowl".

<sup>158</sup> C.E. Fox to W.H.R. Rivers, 29 January 1919, Perry papers, MS ADD 279/B2, UCLSC.

### Authorship and authenticity in global knowledge networks

Issues around authorship and authenticity pervade the complex networks of people and things involved in missionary archaeology and collecting. Data, material culture, and photographs offering narratives of Pacific prehistory were subject to multiple interpretations for different audiences. This can be observed, for example, in the succinct typewritten captions accompanying James Lawrie's photographs of the New Hebrides in the Bishop Museum archives when compared with the same images captioned with handwritten personal details in his private album at NLS (see Chapter 2). Interpretations were influenced by local interlocutors, by dominant paradigms, as was the case for the *tiokh*, and by requests from outside the islands, such as Skinner's specific artefact requests sent to Fox and Bowie.

Mission societies also had authorship over publicly accessible interpretations of the Pacific past. In addition to mission periodicals and monographs, they curated their own museums and temporary exhibitions. Intended for raising awareness and funds for mission work, visitors were simultaneously exposed to Pacific material culture. Chris Wingfield has argued for the role of the LMS museum, opened in London in 1815, as a significant place until at least the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century for the British public to visually engage with other parts of the world.<sup>159</sup> A 1916 report describing The Church Museum, located inside the United Free Church of Scotland offices in Edinburgh, suggests that the exhibitionary approach there lacked any specific rationale, displaying items of dress, weapons, 'fetishes', 'odd objects' from China, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India and Africa.<sup>160</sup> Included in the display was a 'wooden idol from the New Hebrides [...] brought home by the famous Captain Cook', the illustration of which is incomparable with any material culture from the region. Clearly the contextual information around the use, significance, and the people from whom it was acquired was irrelevant in comparison with the associations with heathenism and the 'famous' Cook. By directly exhibiting Pacific material culture during the 1797–1940 period, mission societies contributed to narratives of the Pacific past in the broad public imagination through different forms of public exhibition in the same way that they packaged 'knowledge' in different types of publication.

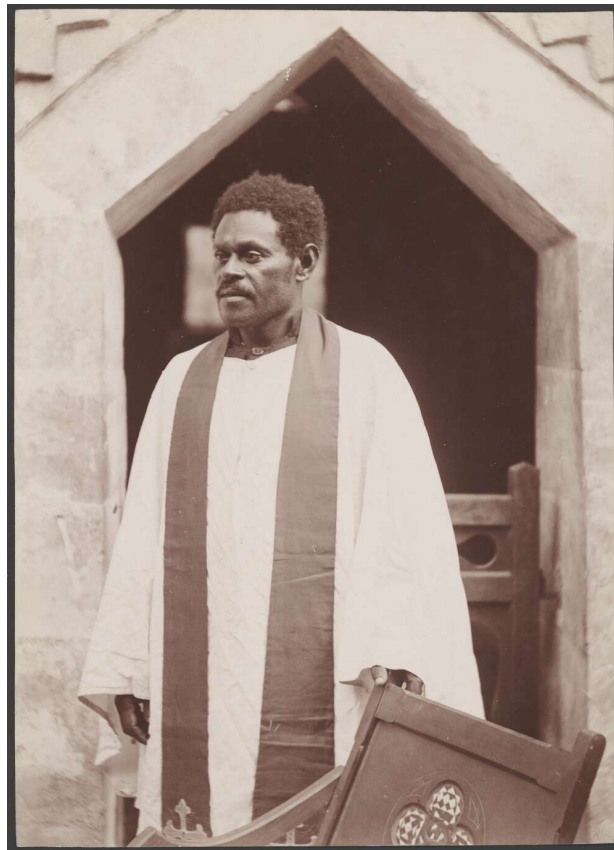
For the Melanesian Mission, visual representations of the Pacific were circulated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century through a set of images captured by Hobart-based photographer John Watt Beattie in 1906. Beattie was invited to travel on the *Southern Cross* as it voyaged among the New Hebrides and

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<sup>159</sup> Wingfield, "'Scarcely More'", 125–126.

<sup>160</sup> Anon., "The Kingdom of Youth – In the Church Museum", *Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the United Free Church of Scotland* 186 (Jun 1916): 173.

Solomon Islands, and the images were made into postcards and sold to raise funds for the mission. These photographs have become ubiquitous, produced and reproduced in mission periodicals, lectures, and books, but also found in a wealth of other publications relating to the Western Pacific.<sup>161</sup> As Nick Stanley has argued, Beattie's photographs were 'visual evidence of strange customs, magnificent specimens of prowess, and the civilizing effect of the mission'.<sup>162</sup> Further to this, missionaries and their societies actively influenced the actual artefacts available for consumption by encouraging congregations in the Pacific to make particular things.<sup>163</sup> In Chapter 6, I discussed a wooden carving of a bonito inlaid with shell, bought by William Edgell of the Melanesian Mission to support building work on Clement Marau's Church on Ulawa (Figure 7.6).<sup>164</sup> I return to those events here to consider their possible implications for the 'authenticity' of Pacific items.



**Figure 7.6. 'Reverend Clement Marou [Marau] of Ulawa, Solomon Islands, 1906'. Photograph by John Watt Beattie. National Library Australia, <https://nla.gov.au:443/tarkine/nla.obj-141082403>**

<sup>161</sup> Stanley, "Melanesian Artefacts", 186–191.

<sup>162</sup> Stanley, "Melanesian artefacts", 188.

<sup>163</sup> See, Stanley, "Melanesian artefacts", 174–199.

<sup>164</sup> William Edgell, "List of curios collected from boys at Melanesian Mission on Norfolk Island. c1898. Covering letter from HAR Edgell", OA2/1/2, CUMAA.

In addition to the carved bonito, Marau sold an artefact for greater profit to support the church fund, namely a bonito-fishing canoe from Madoa, on Ulawa.<sup>165</sup> It was purchased by Auckland Museum (now AWMM) for £12 through Archdeacon R.B. Comins of the Melanesian Mission in 1897, accompanied by two paddles and supplementary details handwritten by Walter Ivens.<sup>166</sup> The canoe was made ‘by the church people’ under Marau’s supervision, and Ivens later told Auckland Museum that he had initially suggested its manufacture to support the church building.<sup>167</sup> The canoe is smaller than contemporaneous examples of Ulawan bonito canoes, made specifically for trade, although Ivens claimed the paddles were used.<sup>168</sup> Aware of Marau’s own carving skills, Roger Neich has astutely questioned how many inlaid carvings from Ulawa acquired by museums in that period might actually have been made by this artist from the Banks Islands.<sup>169</sup> Even in the case of items not made solely by Marau’s hand, if he supervised the making of artefacts such as the canoe now at AWMM, then to what extent were the styles influenced by his own artistic practice. Can the canoe and Marau’s bowls be considered ‘authentic’ Ulawan artefacts? The Melanesian Mission’s role in popularising the iconic Eastern Solomon Islands aesthetic of pearl shell inlaid into dark stained wood should not be underestimated.<sup>170</sup> Consequently, this also has implications for the scholarship of those such as Skinner, who drew comparative analysis of ethnographic material into theories of culture areas, or earlier scholars such as Tylor who drew on the material to propose social evolutionary trajectories. Deployed to formulate archaeologically framed theories of past culture contact, the Melanesian Mission and its employees such as Marau and Ivens influenced those frameworks and ideas, not only by collecting, transacting, and interpreting such items, but also by promoting their very manufacture in the first place.

## Conclusion

This chapter has sought to unravel some of the networks in which missionaries were entangled in other locales, away from their Pacific mission districts and schools. These locales included lecture halls and museums, and saw the non-linear circulation of multiple people, things, and ideas. As well as impacting on missionary research methods and interpretations, missionaries also presented their findings in these spaces and consequently influenced public perceptions of the Pacific past in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, with some themes resonating even today. Exploring the relationships

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<sup>165</sup> Roger Neich, “From canoe to church on late nineteenth century Ulawa, Solomon Islands”, *Records of the Auckland Museum*, 37/38 (2001): 5–43.

<sup>166</sup> Neich, “From canoe to church”, 10–14.

<sup>167</sup> Neich, “From canoe to church”, 13–14.

<sup>168</sup> Neich, “From canoe to church”, 12.

<sup>169</sup> Neich, “From canoe to church”, 37–38.

<sup>170</sup> Neich, “From canoe to church”, 38

between different aspects in these global networks elicits questions of authenticity and of authorship – who wrote and displayed the stories of the Pacific past? How were those stories then re-purposed or re-presented in different forums? Which, if any, were ‘true’ representations of archaeology in the Pacific? As with those networks discussed in Chapter 6, missionary researchers like Fox and Bowie were not acting in isolation and were influenced by intellectual shifts in concepts of time over time, and by the agency of people and things circulating in these multiple locales.

## Conclusion

Throughout the preceding chapters, I have sought to illustrate the engagement of Anglophone Christian missionaries with broadly archaeological subjects in the Pacific from 1797. These missionaries were embedded in multiple knowledge networks of people and things – nodes connected across varied locales in a non-linear network, each enacting agency in transactions of stories, material culture, language terms, illustrations, and other tangible traces of the past. Missionary interpretations of prehistory also changed over time, against a broader backdrop of shifts in perceptions of deep time within scholarly and public arenas. For many missionaries discussed within this thesis, the biblical framework for history was unfaltering, but there was also potential for it to be mapped onto other scientific ideas of the Pacific past as they emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Summarising the conclusions presented in previous chapters and returning to the themes of time, networks, and agency, this chapter reflects on changing perceptions of missionary engagement with archaeological topics and the decline of their research involvement into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It also brings Fox and Bowie’s narratives to a close and highlights key areas for future research.

### Waxing and waning approaches to missionary research over time

In 1911, Wilhelm Schmidt published a brief discussion piece in the journal *Anthropos* regarding the value of ethnological data collected by missionaries.<sup>1</sup> Schmidt was responding to a review of James Frazer’s work *Totemism and Exogamy*, published in an earlier issue of the same journal, and specifically to Frazer’s decision to omit material on the totemism of the Aranda (now Arrernte) people, from Central Australia, because the data had been provided by Carl Strehlow, ‘an active and zealous [sic] missionary’.<sup>2</sup> Schmidt was pleased to note that the reviewer of Frazer’s text in the *RAI*’s journal *Man* had utterly disapproved of the decision. The reviewer had argued that a large proportion of data came from missionaries at that time, and noted the debt which Frazer in particular owed to them.<sup>3</sup> Schmidt also wanted to demonstrate to *Anthropos* readers that Frazer was not completely hostile to missionary research, and took pains to list all missionary references within the two-volume *Totemism and Exogamy*. From the Pacific, the list included the Reverends Codrington and Turner, as well as Lorimer Fison, and the Methodist missionaries George Brown and

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<sup>1</sup> F.W. Schmidt, “Is Ethnological Information Coming from Missionaries Sufficiently Reliable?”, *Anthropos* 6, no.2 (1911): 430–431.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, “Is Ethnological Information”, 430.

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt, “Is Ethnological Information”, 431; Hartland, E. Sidney. "6.", *Man* 11 (1911): 15.



Benjamin Danks.<sup>4</sup> Schmidt concluded by expressing confidence that in future, authors would not question the reliability of ethnological testimonies by missionaries if they wanted to be taken seriously.

Schmidt, a German-born priest of the Society of the Divine Word, established *Anthropos* in 1906 as an academic journal specifically intended for Catholic missionaries with specialist interests to share details of language and culture. It is therefore unsurprising that such support of missionary work would be espoused in its pages by its founder, but at the time Schmidt was not completely unique in his sentiment. Nor was it novel for missionary research to be debated and scrutinised. Although Schmidt's discussion was directly tied to 'ethnology', this thesis has demonstrated that the field was intertwined with archaeological enquiries, and his commentary highlights the sometimes-conflicting perceptions of missionary-collected data. For example, theologian John M. Hitchen has described how in 1865, the newly established Anthropological Society of London debated and attacked the 'Efforts of Missionaries Among Savages'. Yet none of those in attendance at the debates challenged the words of an Honorary Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, when he told the room that '[b]ut for the missionaries, there would be no Anthropological Society.'<sup>5</sup>

It is difficult to specify an exact point of rupture in the involvement of missionaries in archaeologically framed research. This is in part due to the sparse histories of Pacific archaeology available.<sup>6</sup> It is also partly due to a lack of research specifically focussed on missionary engagement with Pacific archaeology, something that this thesis has gone some way to address.<sup>7</sup> Further scholarship exploring the archaeologically related research activities of missionaries from the late-1930s onwards is required the better to understand the scientific landscape. Caution should be exercised in attempting to offer a neat narrative of changing involvement and relevance of missionary interpretations of prehistory, since the development of archaeology in the Pacific and elsewhere did not follow a simple linear evolution from amateur to professional.<sup>8</sup> At the risk of oversimplifying the historical narrative, Fox's publication of *Threshold* in 1924 could be perceived as

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<sup>4</sup> Schmidt, "Is Ethnological Information", 431;

<sup>5</sup> Hitchen, "Relations Between Missiology and Anthropology", 470.

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Spriggs, "The Hidden History of a Third of the World: The Collective Biography of Australian and International Archaeology in the Pacific (CBAP) Project", *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2017): 1–11; Hilary Howes and Matthew Spriggs, "Writing the History of Archaeology in the Pacific: Voices and Perspectives", *Journal of Pacific History* 54, no.3 (2019): 295–306.

<sup>7</sup> Haddow, "Pacific Prehistory and Theories of Origins"; Haddow, "Island Networks and Missionary Methods".

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Brian Taylor, "Amateurs, Professionals and the Knowledge of Archaeology", *British Journal of Sociology* 46, no. 3 (1995): 499–508.

being on the cusp of a changing disciplinary tide, coinciding with the emergence of specific training and techniques in archaeology and anthropology that pushed missionary contributions to science further to the periphery.<sup>9</sup> Archaeology in the Pacific in the 1930s continued to be characterised by small scale excavations and those typological approaches employed by scholars such as Skinner. But disciplinary shifts were afoot with the increased adherence to more scientific stratigraphic techniques and the development of radiocarbon dating from the 1940s onwards.<sup>10</sup>

From the Anglophone missionary perspective, there were concurrent shifts in their Pacific work, particularly from the 1930s onwards. Work was further impacted by the Pacific War from 1941–1945. Significant for Bowie’s mission society was the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of the New Hebrides in 1948, which saw a steady growth of indigenous clergy taking on senior roles.<sup>11</sup> Even before this, however, there was a sense that the educational background and training of non-indigenous mission personnel was changing, with an increase in Australian-born, non-university educated recruits and a focus on teaching and medical work. The Presbyterian mission had always been characterised by a strong medical provision, but this notably increased in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, something the Melanesian Mission also implemented despite having had little medical focus previously.<sup>12</sup>

Historian David Hilliard has offered an insightful discussion of the changes afoot in the Melanesian Mission around that time, particularly following the appointment of Walter Baddeley as the seventh Bishop of Melanesia in 1932, a position initially offered to Fox.<sup>13</sup> In 1931, Mota was replaced by English as the teaching language of the Melanesian Mission, and an increase in the number of local pastors meant that non-Melanesian missionaries were most often associated with larger central schools, with Norfolk Island no longer in use as one of them.<sup>14</sup> In addition, Hilliard illustrated that the Melanesian Mission actually moved away from their doctrine of racial equality, and mission stations became more exclusive, further removed from villages and occupied by married couples assisted by house-girls, instead of the lone itinerant figure living inclusively in a village setting as exemplified by

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<sup>9</sup> Gosden, *Archaeology and Anthropology*, 33–61; Stocking, *After Tylor*.

<sup>10</sup> See, Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 314–385; Patrick Vinton Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds an Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European Contact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 12–41.

<sup>11</sup> See, Helen Gardner “Praying for Independence: The Presbyterian Church in the Decolonisation of Vanuatu”, *Journal of Pacific History* 48, no.2 (2013): 122–143,

<sup>12</sup> Hilliard, *God’s Gentlemen*, 312–316.

<sup>13</sup> Hilliard, *God’s Gentlemen*, 304–306.

<sup>14</sup> Hilliard, *God’s Gentlemen*, 317.

Fox.<sup>15</sup> Also significant was the fact that only four mission staff with university degrees joined between 1929–42, with many recruits being New Zealanders who were trained quite differently to the English-born ‘Old Melanesians’.<sup>16</sup>

Changing scientific disciplines, changing churches, and changing global interaction following WWII were all factors in a broader move away from missionary involvement in archaeological research. Recently, while researching another potential missionary-archaeologist, Reverend A.H. Voyce of the New Zealand Methodist Mission, it became evident that he excavated pottery and bone material from under a monumental stone site in the 1930s, as well as excavating kitchen middens.<sup>17</sup> Discussing the material with a Pacific archaeologist who was on the forefront of the emergent discipline in the 1960s, they pointed out the potential arrogance of dismissing the missionary’s archaeological material during research at that time. However, this was commonplace for the period. As Bronwen Douglas demonstrated in 2001, many professional anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians maintained a deep mistrust and misunderstanding of Christianity, at least until the 1990s.<sup>18</sup> It is only in more recent decades that missionary research material has come to be accepted as potentially valuable, particularly if historical traces can be read ‘against the grain’, and that a critical eye has been turned to more nuanced historical narratives.

### Changing perspectives about time

Shifts in the value placed on missionary research over time can be viewed in parallel to shifts in both missionary and non-missionary perspectives *about* deep time. Late 18<sup>th</sup> century Jonesian philology and Prichard’s philological ethnology, promoted in Anglophone circles in the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were appealing for those who subscribed to a literal reading of the Bible (see particularly Chapters 1 and 2). Many missionaries discussed in this thesis continued to retain such a biblically embedded framework; influential scholars such as William Ellis made direct comparisons to Mosaic history in 1829 and, subsequently, Presbyterians such as James H. Lawrie in 1892 were still framing people’s origins with language referencing Noah’s son Ham. However, these interpretations were not absolute. Jane Samson has observed that scholarly missionary approaches to race from the

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<sup>15</sup> Hilliard, *God’s Gentlemen*, 318.

<sup>16</sup> Hilliard, *God’s Gentlemen*, 319–320.

<sup>17</sup> Eve Haddow, Emilie Dotte-Sarout and Jim Specht, “Reverend Voyce and Père O’Reilly’s ‘excavated’ Collection from Bougainville: A Case Study in Transnational Histories of Archaeology in the Pacific”, *Historical Records of Australian Science* (in review).

<sup>18</sup> Douglas, “Encounters with the Enemy?”; Also, Bronwen Douglas, “From Invisible Christians to Gothic Theatre: The Romance of the Millennial in Melanesian Anthropology”, *Current Anthropology* 42, no. 5 (Dec. 2001): 615–650;

mid- to late-19<sup>th</sup> century involved at least some engagement with aspects of popular social evolutionary theory.<sup>19</sup> The same can be observed in relation to archaeology and in the work of Turner, Codrington and others (see Chapters 1, 2 and 4). The monogenesis/polygenesis dichotomy was significant in the way missionary researchers incorporated dominant theories, with the scholarship of monogenist social evolutionists such as E.B. Tylor having greater appeal for missionaries trying to understand the human past. This work was acceptable as it did not fundamentally reject a central tenet of Judeo-Christian beliefs – that all humans descended from one source.

Samson has also asserted that in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century some missionary researchers continued to follow philological diffusionism, long after it had been put to one side by linguists. Daniel MacDonald's theories of Semitic connections is the obvious example here. In Samson's words, there was a 'consistent [...] radical universalism of their theological anthropology', and the same observation can be applied to those engaged with more archaeological subjects.<sup>20</sup> It is important to note, however, that it was not only missionaries who adhered to dated approaches to the past. As George Stocking demonstrated, there is evidence that in the peak period of classical evolutionism's popularity, people continued to pursue interests in issues associated with 'diffusionary philological ethnology', characterised in the earlier work of scholars such as Prichard.<sup>21</sup> Even Fox, who appears to have had a more scientifically minded approach, took a literal view of Judeo-Christian history. In the manuscript for his autobiography, he wrote that he had studied the words of the four gospels and translated them to such an extent, that he perceived them 'not to be myths, or near mythical, but to be true accounts of what had been seen and heard by those who wrote [them]'.<sup>22</sup>

It is also relevant for an understanding of the history of Pacific archaeology to observe how certain tropes held sway and were contributed to by missionary research activities. For example, by offering observations and analyses of pottery sherds, and depositing collections in various museums, individuals such as Voyce, Otto Meyer, Fox and Bowie contributed to the emergent two-strata model of Pacific ceramics.<sup>23</sup> Ideas around the isolation of Pacific islands and more specific comparisons of the capacity of Western and Eastern Pacific people for maritime voyages also found repeated iterations in the interpretations of the Pacific past discussed throughout this thesis.

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<sup>19</sup> Samson, *Race and Redemption*, 75.

<sup>20</sup> Samson, *Race and Redemption*, 75.

<sup>21</sup> Stocking, *After Tylor*, 30

<sup>22</sup> C.E. Fox "Autobiography", chap.3 p.3, Papers relating to Charles Elliot Fox, Papers of McEwan, Jock Malcolm, MS-papers- 6717-115, ATL.

<sup>23</sup> See, Clark, "Shards of Meaning".

## Networks and agency

Throughout this thesis, I have sought to present the interwoven networks in which missionary archaeology was embedded. People as well as material culture and specific sites were connected in global webs that arguably defy attempts to identify a centre or periphery of archaeological knowledge. By attempting to map out some of these networks, it is possible to trace the circulation of different ideas and to understand that missionaries did not form ideas about prehistory in isolation – they took inspiration from varied locales. These were complex non-linear networks, however, and different interpretations of the past may have been witnessed in these locales depending on individual agency and the particular relationships between people and/or things. The mutable meanings of artefacts circulating in these networks particularly invites questions around authenticity and authorship – who said what about the Pacific past, what sites, artefacts or narratives were ‘true’ markers of the past, and what made one interpretation more valid than another.

In Bruno Latour’s work on the construction of European science, he observed the ‘great divide’, in which Europeans gained scientific knowledge worldwide, concurrently becoming convinced that there was a divide between themselves and the indigenous people they met.<sup>24</sup> Latour’s observation was made specifically in relation to anthropologists who would be returning home after a short period. However, many missionaries, including Fox and Bowie, never returned home or remained in the Pacific for decades. On the contrary, many of them crossed Latour’s ‘great divide’. For missionaries, the expansion of ‘scientific’ knowledge relating to archaeological topics was often concurrent to an acknowledgement of a shared humanity, bringing people closer together while simultaneously discussing differences. This was imperative for their mission work, a process that Jane Samson has termed ‘othering and brothering’.<sup>25</sup> In acknowledging similarities, missionaries could begin to understand and empathise with people in their local networks, while still using difference to justify attempts to position their own worldview into Pacific people’s beliefs and practices. Archaeological enquiries were therefore entangled in these ongoing local processes.

The focus of Chapter 6 was not so much on archaeological interpretations, as on highlighting the significant role of local networks in facilitating missionary understandings of the Pacific past. One of the notable aspects that emerged from the research was the centrality of male voices in Fox and

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<sup>24</sup> Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 210–213.

<sup>25</sup> Samson, *Race and Redemption*, 70–94.

Bowie's research, and particularly the prevalence of young males connected with the mission. This correlates with examples from African case studies, and it would be a valuable line of enquiry to explore whether this was the case in other geographical settings and for other Pacific missionaries. Positioned within a broader history of archaeology, this is a reminder of the potentially gendered nature of interpretations of the past formed in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In considering the future of the discipline and reflecting on long held interpretations of the Pacific past, it would be enlightening to probe this gender bias further and reflect on how it has influenced the field as it is today.

### Against categorising the approaches of missionary archaeology

This research has demonstrated that there was no monolithic approach to 'missionary archaeology' in the period from 1797 to 1940. While certain ideas and tropes pervaded perceptions of the Pacific past, and missionaries in particular largely maintained a biblical flavour in their writing, individuals modified their personal interpretations over time, and approaches changed across generations of missionaries. This can be observed, for example, in both Fox and Bowie's writing and collecting, and in comparing their interpretations with those of early LMS personnel. Localised individual experiences in the islands affected these changes, as did engagement within other locales (see Chapters 6 and 7). Conversations in mission stations and schools, attendance at scholarly society meetings, access to published proceedings in the field, and correspondence with learned individuals provided exposure to varied archaeological paradigms.

The influences of various networks and individual agency over time make any attempt to classify specific missionary-approaches to archaeology surprisingly challenging. In discussing 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> missionary approaches to Pacific anthropology, Hitchen suggested four categories for their responses, which mirror responses to archaeological or ethnological subjects.<sup>26</sup> The first category includes those who had minimal interests in cultural study, giving little or no time to finding out about local cultures in which they lived.<sup>27</sup> The second category are those who studied culture 'in [o]rder to [p]resent Christ as Lord of the [c]ulture', but avoided offering any specific anthropological theories around their descriptions.<sup>28</sup> Hitchen placed George Turner in this category, citing Turner's explicit comment in 1884 that he was presenting purely facts.<sup>29</sup> This is problematic, as although

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<sup>26</sup> Hitchen, "Relations Between Missiology and Anthropology", 455–478.

<sup>27</sup> Hitchen, "Relations Between Missiology and Anthropology", 464–466.

<sup>28</sup> Hitchen, "Relations Between Missiology and Anthropology", 466.

<sup>29</sup> Turner, *Samoa One Hundred Years Ago*, ii; Hitchen, "Relations Between Missiology and Anthropology", 466.

Turner may have attempted to lay out ‘facts’ without interpretation, the content of his publications suggest otherwise, and he appears to have been influenced by his own beliefs and a Tylorian approach to prehistory (see Chapter 1). It is likely that further research of Turner’s unpublished papers would also reveal that he did offer some very clear interpretations, albeit just not in print, but unfortunately that analysis has been beyond the scope of this project. Turner would perhaps better be placed into Hitchen’s third category, which included those who explored the implications of anthropology for the mission and who contributed to anthropology from a missiological perspective.<sup>30</sup> Hitchen specifically references Robert Codrington and Lorimer Fison as examples from this group. Finally, Hitchen suggested a category of missionaries who were part of a separate Christian fraternity offering reflections on fields like anthropology. He highlighted particularly the members of the Victoria Institute and the contributors to the journal *Practical Anthropology*, established in 1953.<sup>31</sup>

While Hitchen asserted that these categorical boundaries overlapped and used them to argue usefully for avoiding ‘generalizations about “the nineteenth-century missionary’s” attitude to culture’, I question what value such categories can have for the present study, aside from offering a point of departure for discussion. The same might also be observed for Stanley’s Melanesian Mission categories discussed in Chapter 4 and 5. Segregating and classifying missionaries into categories within the history of Pacific archaeology risks obscuring intellectual parallels between their theories and ideas with those held by contemporaneous non-missionary scholars. There is potential still for presenting the missionary-scholar as somewhat of an anomaly or peripheral figure when this was far from the case (see particularly Chapter 7). Suggesting clearly defined categories may actually serve to maintain monolithic ideas of a ‘missionary-archaeologist’, obscuring the multiple voices an individual could have across different forums, as was the case in the traces of Bowie’s research. Further to this, there is a risk of generalising and obscuring the personal and nuanced relationships that missionaries had with indigenous interlocutors, without whom archaeologically framed research would have been impossible.

### Fox and Bowie: An epilogue

Fox continued his career with the Melanesian Mission well after the publication of *Threshold*, retiring in 1973, just a few years before his death in 1977. He is often acknowledged for his scholarly work and there is a clear connection between his research and the diffusionist interpretations of the

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<sup>30</sup> Hitchen, “Relations Between Missiology and Anthropology”, 467–468

<sup>31</sup> Hitchen, “Relations Between Missiology and Anthropology”, 468.

peopling of the Pacific in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, Fox was disillusioned with the reviews of his book, but he had also lost Rivers, his confidante and correspondent. With the changes implemented in the Melanesian Mission in the 1930s, Fox also keenly felt the loss of inclusivity, and in a letter to his friend Walter Durrad in 1938 he wrote:

I am rather the ghost of a past generation [...] There was a great break – a new Bishop, a new ship, a new Captain all at once. And Norfolk Island gone, and then Mota gone from the schools. Only the Melanesians are the same. Still that is something after all.<sup>32</sup>

Although Fox did not completely halt his interests in Solomon Islands culture, after publishing his 1924 monograph it seems he devoted much less time to archaeologically, ethnologically or anthropologically framed research. A short 1966 communication to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, relating to the etymology of the island name Malaita and a possible relation to Indonesia (highlighted in Chapter 5), suggests Fox continued to ponder on the Pacific past and the origins of Solomon Islanders to at least some extent.<sup>33</sup> Predominantly, though, Fox dedicated himself instead to the compilation of Arosi, Lau and Nggela language dictionaries, the manuscripts of which are at AWMML (see Chapter 5).<sup>34</sup> He also continued an interest in collecting shells, which he sold to the Natural History Museum, Washington, USA in 1950, later indicating he did so to support the school he was based at.<sup>35</sup> Fox's later publications *Lord of the Southern Isles* (1958) and *Kakamora* (1962) were framed as a mission history and an autobiography respectively.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, Fox brought to these works the same measured intellectual approach previously applied to other research interests. This is evidenced in a letter to Durrad in 1957, in reference to 'the history' he had been asked to write, presumably that of the Melanesian Mission. Fox exclaimed:

I can't write the sort of History everyone wants, thoroughly suitable for Sunday School reading in which the missionary is the hero, the trader ([and] perhaps the Govt) the evil genius. It would have to be an honest effort to see the last 50 years in the islands as a conflict of all sorts of forces, good [and] bad.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> C.E. Fox to W.J. Durrad, 17 August 1938, quoted in Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, 320.

<sup>33</sup> C.E. Fox, "Notes and News", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75, no.2 (Jun. 1966): 140.

<sup>34</sup> C. E. Fox, "Dictionaries" c.1950–1955, MS-107, AWMML.

<sup>35</sup> C.E. Fox to W.J. Durrad, 13 November 1950, and 1 October 1953, "W.J. Durrad, letters from Charles Fox", photocopy of Ms-papers-1171-01 ATL, KIN109/1/1, JKL.

<sup>36</sup> Charles E Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles, being the story of the Anglican Mission in Melanesia 1849-1949* (London: Mowbray, 1958); Fox, *Kakamora*; See also, Charles E. Fox, *The story of the Solomons*, (Sydney: Pacific Publications, 1975)

<sup>37</sup> C.E. Fox to W.J. Durrad, 12 October 1957, "W.J. Durrad, letters from Charles Fox", photocopy of Ms-papers-1171-01 ATL, KIN109/1/1, JKL.



Fred Bowie died in 1933 and is buried on Tangoa island alongside Jeannie, whose death came suddenly in early 1931 (see Introduction, Figure 0.7). On hearing news of his brother's death, John T. Bowie wrote to W.H. Mawson of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand: '[m]y Brother, I know, had no desire to return to civilisation and I am of the opinion he died as he would have wished in the midst of his work. He was devoted to the natives and right gladly gave them his best.'<sup>38</sup> Fred clearly had a different theological and missiological approach to Fox, but this comment suggests Bowie similarly felt connected to Melanesia – perhaps unsurprising as he had lived in the New Hebrides for almost 38 years. Bowie's legacy as a collector is evident in the material deposited in UAM and OM, and at the former an exhibit in Marischal Museum was devoted to his collection until the Museum's closure in 2008. The archives tell other stories of Bowie's activities which there has not been space to discuss in this thesis. In particular, in 1925 and 1928, Bowie accused Wells, a trader on Malo, of illegally recruiting female workers for his plantation and fathering a child with a local woman.<sup>39</sup> Wells, who launched a vitriolic attack and accused Bowie of acting like an 'excitable, hysterical old woman', pressed charges against Bowie for libel and in 1931 the missionary was found guilty in Vila.<sup>40</sup>

In Vanuatu today, Fred and Willie Bowie are remembered, particularly around the Tasiriki area and on Tangoa. John T. Bowie is likewise remembered on Ambrym – in 2017, an elder of the Presbyterian Church in Luganville, Santo, who was from Ambrym, indicated there were many stories of John Bowie in his home area. If asked the question of whether Fred Bowie individually had any great impact on the trajectory of archaeology, the simple answer would probably be 'no', not if the enquirer was looking for a grand narrative of discovery. However, Bowie is exemplary of many of those missionaries who contributed to archaeological ideas in understated but significant ways. Not only can we connect him with scholars such as Rivers, Skinner, and Reid, but he also provided material, interpretations of past and contemporary Pacific life, and access to local interlocutors, which contributed to the way that many scholars and the public perceived Santo and the New Hebrides. As Oscar Moro Abadía has highlighted, until the 1970s – and arguably even longer – disciplinary history of archaeology has 'primarily focused on the story of those pioneers, discoveries and scientific techniques that [...] contributed to the establishment of modern archaeology.'<sup>41</sup> This

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<sup>38</sup> John T. Bowie to W.H. Mawson, 13 January 1934, "Foreign Mission's committee – mission secretary's papers, inwards correspondence – New Hebrides 1923 to 1929", AA 11/8/2, Knox.

<sup>39</sup> J.H. Proctor, "Missionaries and the Governance of the New Hebrides", *Journal of Church and State* 41, no.2 (Spring 1999): 349–372; See also, Correspondence, New Hebrides Mission Papers, Acc7548 D32, NLS.

<sup>40</sup> Wells to F.G. Bowie, 20 March 1928, New Hebrides Mission Papers, Acc7548 D32, NLS.

<sup>41</sup> Oscar Moro Abadía, "Beyond Externalism: Exploring New Directions in the History of Archaeology",

tendency risks overlooking contributions by those such as Bowie to wider disciplinary histories of science as well as potentially obscuring the rich narratives that accompany such contributions, including those of local interlocutors and museum collections.

In a serendipitous connection to archaeological science, it emerged while researching Fred Bowie's family tree that his nephew was Professor Stanley Hay Umphray Bowie (1917–2008), an eminent geochemist known for his work with uranium. Stanley was the son of Fred's oldest brother James Cameron Bowie, and is credited with providing crucial evidence in the 1950s that the Piltdown Skull was a forgery,<sup>42</sup> using measurements of gamma activity from mammalian teeth found in Villafranchian deposits to show that the Piltdown material was not from an English deposit.<sup>43</sup> Coincidentally, Stanley Bowie was also involved in the development of Inductively-Coupled Mass Spectrometers, which have since been used to characterise Lapita pottery found at Teouma, Vanuatu and to source obsidian from the site.<sup>44</sup>

Over the course of this research project, one of the questions I have asked, and have been asked by others, is whether Fox and Bowie ever met. The answer is that there is no clear evidence for this. I have often wondered whether Fox's intelligence would have impressed the old Orcadian, or whether their denominational and cultural differences would have led to misunderstandings. Fox's friend Walter Durrad and his wife are known to have visited the Bowies at the TTI in January 1917, and in 1912, the *Southern Cross Log* reported that 'Dr. Bowie and his brother of the New Hebrides Scotch Presbyterian Mission, accompanied by two representatives of the Melanesian Mission, visited the Colonial Office in London' to draw the authorities' attention to the problems of 'the drink traffic' and kidnapping.<sup>45</sup> The brother was almost certainly Fred, given he was home on furlough at that time. Given Fox and Bowie's multiple mutual connections, and the relative tolerance and

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*Archaeological Dialogues* 17, no. 2 (2010): 218.

<sup>42</sup> Phil Davison, "Stanley Bowie: Geochemist", *Scotsman*, 20 Oct. 2008, accessed 1 April 2019, <https://www.scotsman.com/news/obituaries/stanley-bowie-geochemist-2469554>

<sup>43</sup> See, Anon., "The Piltdown bones and 'implements'", *Nature* 174 (Jul. 1954): 61–62; S.H.U. Bowie and C.F. Davidson, "The radioactivity of the Piltdown fossils", *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History), Geology* 2, no.6 (Further contributions to the solution of the Piltdown problem) (1955): 276–282.

<sup>44</sup> See, Mathieu Leclerc et al., "Assessment of the technological variability in decorated Lapita pottery from Teouma, Vanuatu, by petrography and LA-ICP-MS: implications for Lapita social organisation", *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 11(2019): 5257–5273; Mathieu Leclerc, "Lapita to Post-Lapita Transition: Insights from the Chemical Analysis of Pottery from the Sites of Teouma, Mangaasi, Vao and Chachara, Vanuatu", in *Debating Lapita: Distribution, Chronology, Society and Subsistence*, eds. Stuart Bedford and Matthew Spriggs (Australia: ANU Press, 2019), 349–376; Christian Reepmeyer et al. "Provenance and Technology of Lithic Artifacts from the Teouma Lapita Site, Vanuatu", *Asian Perspectives* 49, no. 1 (2010): 205–225.

<sup>45</sup> Anon., "Subjects of Intercession", *Southern Cross Log* 17, no.201 (Feb. 1912): 296.

goodwill espoused by their mission societies towards one another, it seems likely they at least knew of each other.

### Materialising the Pacific Past: Future Directions

The strategy of focussing on Fox and Bowie at the micro-level, and devoting Chapters 2 and 4 to their mission societies against a backdrop of the early work of the LMS, should not be understood to indicate that these were the only missionary groups interested in archaeological subjects. On the contrary, further investigation would untangle the stories around individuals such as Voyce, highlighted above, Samuel Ella, and others of different denominations who contributed to broader understandings of the Pacific past between 1797 and 1940. It was not possible within this project to focus on each and every one of those groups and individuals, but further research could indicate similarities or differences in denominational approaches, as well as offer a chance to consider the question raised above of the involvement of young male mission students and workers in shaping disciplinary ideas. This thesis would also be usefully supplemented by fieldwork on Makira, to investigate further Solomon Islander histories in relation to this research. Another line of enquiry could be investigation of successive generations of the Turner family. George Turner's son William (1851–c.1908) was briefly a medical missionary with the LMS in Papua, and his grandson Robert Lister (1875–1949) worked with the LMS in their Papua Mission from 1900–40. Both were collectors and researchers, although initial investigation suggests their work was more aligned with anthropological rather than explicitly archaeological topics.<sup>46</sup>

An intriguing aspect of missionary engagement with archaeology highlighted in this study relates to potential denominational approaches to the past and the question of whether that definitively impacted on their disciplinary lines of enquiry. There certainly appear to be variations in Melanesian Mission and Presbyterian approaches (see Chapters 2 to 5). It is notable that while exploring the writing and collecting of individuals from the Melanesian Mission, their engagement with mainstream anthropology often appeared more prominent than their interest in more archaeological themes. One potential explanation for this is the mission's High Church approach, and generally more tolerant approach to indigenous cultural life, at least until the 1930s. It was likely more acceptable for Melanesian Mission personnel to contribute to studies of contemporary Pacific life (anthropological themes) because their beliefs and church allowed it. In comparison, those in the

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<sup>46</sup> E.g. Robert Lister Turner, "Notes for four lectures", Papers of the Reverend Robert Lister Turner (1875-1949), a missionary in Papua, MS.9770, NLS.

Presbyterian Mission in the New Hebrides were actively encouraged to sideline or eradicate contemporaneous cultural practices that were incompatible with their Church. Contributing to mainstream anthropological research may therefore have been frowned upon, as it could be seen as celebrating those practices. In contrast, researching past narratives (more aligned with archaeology or ethnology) kept their findings and interpretations at a temporally safe distance. Archaeologically themed research also facilitated the construction of shared Judaeo-Christian origins. Further detailed individual case studies from these two missions, and research across other mission societies, could offer greater insight into these nuances.

### [Networks, agency, time: A century and a half of missionary archaeology](#)

It is apparent that missionaries engaged with and made interpretations of deep time in the Pacific, which changed *over* time. They were embedded in knowledge and collecting networks, which existed in varied and yet interconnected locales incorporating people and things. Within these networks, individuals enacted their own agency, with material culture items also embodying roles as active agents, shaping narratives of the Pacific past from 1797–1940 and beyond. By drawing together different threads from micro-histories, rather than forming a grand narrative, it is possible to explore some of these themes and begin to map out these networks. This is not a narrative of pioneers or individual heroes in Pacific archaeology, but a multi-vocal, multi-local study that seeks to place missionary research and all of its related networks and nuances into the broader disciplinary history of archaeology.

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