New Ireland, Old Objects: Negotiating Colonial Relations Through Collections from 1875 to 1885

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Abstract

In this thesis I study collections of material culture made in the early colonial period in New Ireland. I look at the collections made by three men who collected in New Ireland at various times and in different ways between 1875 and 1885: the missionary Reverend George Brown, the trader Thomas Farrell, and Hugh Romilly, a British government official. I use these collections, in conjunction with historical records, to examine the nature of change in New Ireland society, focusing particularly on the period 1875-1885.

Studying the collections reveals that New Irelanders were keen to experiment and to trade during this period. For the most part, they remained in control of trade, not only of what was being traded in and out, but also of where this trade took place. Ritual art production on New Ireland was rich and varied during these years. Life changed more considerably after 1900, with a sharp decline in population probably causing the most profound changes. There was less variety in artistic output and a number of traditions died out. Ritual life remained strong, however, and New Irelanders continued to produce many ritual art works.

In the 1870s and 1880s, many men, and a few women, travelled away from New Ireland to work on plantations. Others engaged with their visitors in different ways, independently exploiting the opportunities supplied by trading stations, mission stations and recruiters. Whilst the colonial encounter in New Ireland disrupted the lives of many New Irelanders, for the most part people successfully embraced change without diminishing what had long been a strong, dynamic and adaptive ritual life.

Acknowledgements and Copyright

I would like to thank all the staff that assisted my research at the British Museum, the National Museum of Ethnology of Japan, the Australian Museum, the Auckland War Memorial Museum, the Queensland Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum, the Sainsbury Centre at the University of East Anglia, and the Mitchell Library in Sydney.

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A Note On Vocabulary

There are various spellings of the word *malagan, malanggan, malangan*. I use *malagan*, unless I quote directly from another source.

I follow the convention on the mainland of New Ireland of discussing north and south for the ends of the island when in fact northeast and southwest is geographically more accurate.

There are many different spellings of place names in New Ireland. I have tried to use the most modern spelling of particular places, or the most common use in published works where that is not possible.

Abbreviations

NGC - Deutsche Neuguinea-Kompagnie, the New Guinea Company. This German Chartered Company was founded in Berlin and was in charge of German New Guinea from 1885 to 1899.

DHPG - Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen Gesellschaft der Südsee-Inseln zu Hamburg, or the German Trade and Plantation Company of the South Sea Islands of Hamburg. This company took over the activities and interests of the Godeffroy & Sohn trading company after its bankruptcy in 1878.

DME - Deutsche Marine-Expedition, an expedition to New Ireland supervised by the German Navy and organised by the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin. The expedition, led first by Emil Stephan and then Augustin Krämer, was in New Ireland from November 1907 to May 1909.

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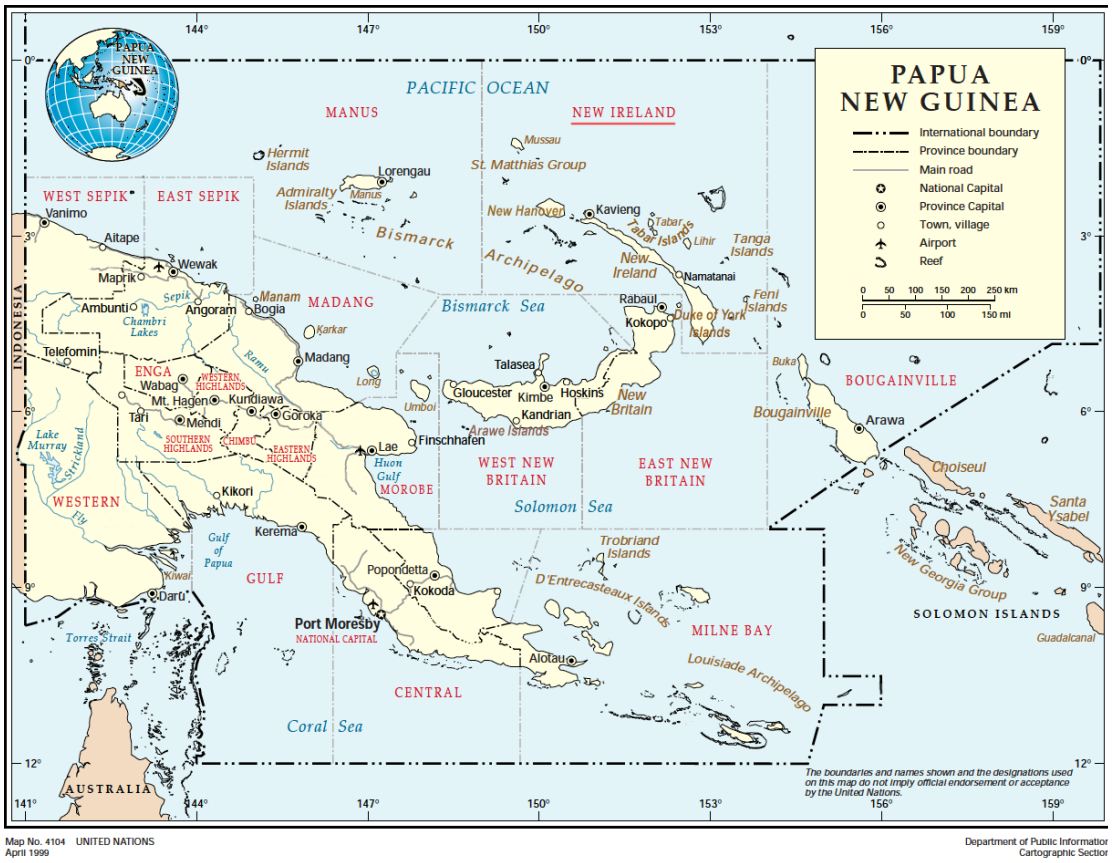
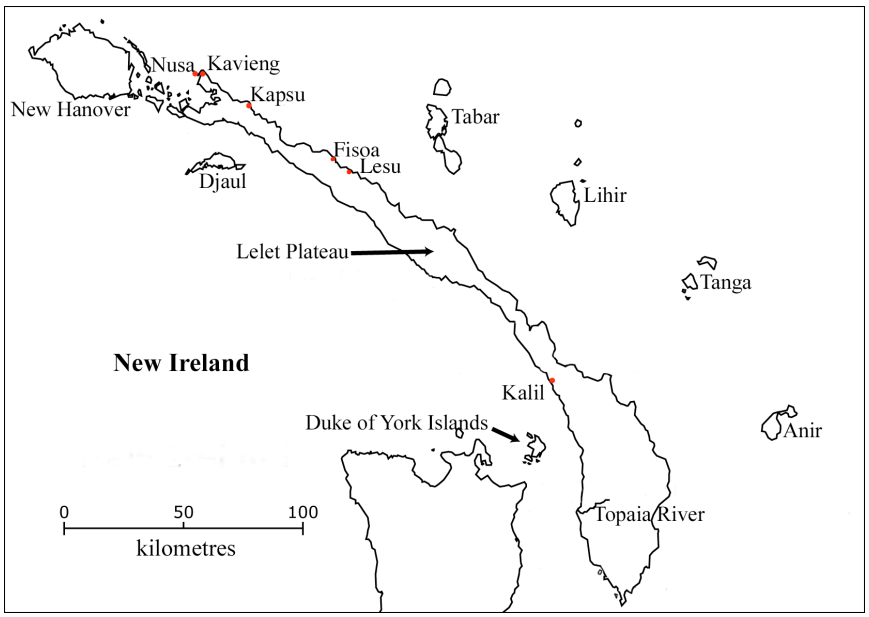
Chapter One: Introduction and Context



Map 1. Papua New Guinea. Amended from United Nations Cartographic Map 1999.



Map 2. New Ireland, including places mentioned in Chapter One.

In this thesis I explore the colonial encounter in New Ireland, between 1875 and 1885, focusing on the exchange of material culture. I examine the collections made by three Europeans active in New Ireland during this period: missionary George Brown, trader Thomas Farrell, and British colonial official Hugh Romilly. Between them, they collected at least 812 artefacts from New Ireland, which is today a province of the nation-state of Papua New Guinea in the South Pacific. During this period, New Ireland was on the cusp of change in its relations with outsiders, transitioning between shore-based contact and a more invasive early colonial engagement.

I use these three collections to reveal how objects and their exchange mediated relations between New Irelanders and their many and varied visitors during both the contact and early colonial periods. A focus on collections highlights the small-scale, micro-level encounters between individuals at sea, on the shore and in villages. Hailing from Europe, Australasia, Asia and other Pacific Islands, the visitors' origins were as diverse as their reasons for visiting. These foreigners were explorers, adventurers, local and long-distance traders, missionaries, recruiters, colonial representatives, and also their employees and the crew-members of the ships that transported them. Examining the colonial encounter in the microscopic detail of its material interactions not only increases our understanding of the social and economic history of New Ireland but also raises questions of a larger scale, including the perspectives of New Irelanders on these events.

Methodological Approach

My interest in New Ireland's material culture began in 1995 when I assisted on archaeological excavations on the Anir Islands in southern New Ireland,[1] and participated in community education there and on the mainland. The excavations, which aimed to explore the role of Anir in the Lapita era around 3000 years ago, yielded significant deposits of pottery and obsidian. We also observed a number of *singsing* dance performances and a series of celebrations at local Catholic churches. In 1998, during a second season of fieldwork there, I became increasingly interested in New Ireland's material culture and its potential for exploring the province's history, from the Lapita period to the present day. My time in New Ireland allowed me to appreciate objects in their current milieu, to experience and observe the use of material culture in the present day even as we investigated archaeological remains. The rigour and robust techniques of the archaeological excavations and materials processing encouraged me to take a scientific approach to the evaluation of material culture. I was interested to see what insights could be gained from an archaeological approach to more recent collections.

For my MPhil thesis (Barnecutt, 2000), I looked at the collections made by two anthropologists during their periods of fieldwork in Papua New Guinea in the 1930s. Comparing the collections made by Francis Bell on Tanga Island in New Ireland, and Camilla Wedgwood on Manam Island near Madang, fuelled my interest in the role of material culture in understanding history. While both anthropologists wrote in the ethnographic present and highlighted the simplicity of these 'untouched'

[1] I undertook two seasons of archaeological research in New Ireland with Glenn Summerhayes, then at the ANU, now at Otago University, in July-August 1995 and April-June 1998. On both trips, we undertook excavations and surveys on the Anir Islands, and we spent time there and on the New Ireland mainland presenting results to high schools and provincial representatives.

communities, the records of their collections hinted at much more complicated histories and interactions. I enjoyed the experience of digging through archives and museum collections.

For my DPhil research, I decided to look at New Ireland during the period just before German colonial rule began in 1884. I researched the collections of that period and focussed on three figures prominent in the region in different ways, all of whom made interesting collections. I started to investigate the locations of their collections and related archival material and to plan how I needed to go about this research.

In 2001, I accompanied Michael Gunn and Philippe Peltier on a trip to New Ireland to research artefacts that they planned to include in an exhibition of New Ireland art in 2006.[2] We visited many villages on the east coast of New Ireland, a few villages on the west coast, including Kalil, the site of the first church on New Ireland. We also spent time on the Tabar Islands where we documented the preparations for, as well as the performance and theatre of, a major *malagan* event. The *malagan* cultural complex involves commemorative mortuary rituals that include the display of art works as well as dancing, singing and feasting. This trip reinforced my interest in New Ireland's diverse material culture and rich history, and highlighted the methodological importance of researching the history behind each object. I gained a good sense of how this research works in the field, in particular the importance of the visual record. Generally, New Irelanders were much more interested in seeing the objects in photographs, than in hearing about them. People were quick to identify which specific artefacts and associated traditions were local to them and would not

[2] The exhibition 'New Ireland: Art of the South Pacific' travelled to the Saint Louis Art Museum, the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, and the Ethnologisches Museum of Berlin from October 2006 to November 2007.

comment on objects if they were not. I wrote a chapter of the exhibition catalogue on early collections (Barnecutt 2006) and assisted in some of the exhibition planning. Subsequent to this, I have contributed a number of articles, catalogue entries and research pieces on New Ireland objects (Barnecutt 2007, 2010, 2013, 2014, 2015).

My aim for this thesis was to gather as much information as possible about the New Ireland objects collected by George Brown, Thomas Farrell and Hugh Romilly, and to explore their lives, focussing on their time in the region and their interactions with New Irelanders. The objects and associated archival records are located in a wide variety of institutions. In order to view and document as many objects and records as possible, between 2001 and 2003 I visited the British Museum in London, Japan's National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, the Australian Museum in Sydney, the Queensland Museum in Brisbane, the Sainsbury Centre at the University of East Anglia in Norwich, and the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. I contacted curators at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery in Hobart, the Auckland Museum, the Hancock Museum in Newcastle,[3] the Bowes Museum in Barnard Castle and the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery for information on objects and collections. I also undertook archival research in the Mitchell Library and the Uniting Church Archives in Sydney, the Queensland State Archives, the National Archives in Canberra, Woburn Abbey, Kew Gardens, and the British Library.

To ensure that I recorded the same details for all of the objects, I constructed my own FileMaker Pro database.

[3] Now the Great North Museum: Hancock.

Reg. Nr.	Oc 1884. 7-28. 24	Sort Reg. Nr.	HR 800
Owner	UK, London, British Museum		
All Owners	UK, London, British Museum (formerly Museum of Mankind), ex Duke of Bedford,		
Description	Malagan mask - tatanua; LHS head covering lime with spikes; RHS is possibly barkcloth		
Reg. Description	Mask, the face carved in wood and coloured red, black and white; elongated ear		
Field Collector	Hugh H. Romilly		
Date	Collected Sept-Oct 1883; acquired by British		
Complete Origin	New Ireland, northern region, Kapsu village		
Short Origin	New Ireland		
Local Name			
Acquisition Data	Presented by the Duke of Bedford 1884		
Height cm	37	Weight grams	
Diam. cm		Length cm	
Width cm		Depth cm	
Published Photo			
VLB Photo	BM 48		
Materials			
Analysis			
Notes	Tatanua-type mask, operculum eyes. Helmet/scalp divided in two by a crest. RHS is wispy, LHS white with twig spikes and a shiny brown patch (?resin) above the ear.		
Label data	'Malanggang mask. H. 14" '		
European Materials?	No	Seen by VLB?	Yes
Category	Ritual and magic	Gendered?	Primarily male
Image			

Example of an entry in VLB FileMaker Pro database.

I include a list of all the entries in the database in Appendix 1 and enclose a CD-ROM of the entire database for reference.[4] The database of 812 objects from New Ireland includes all those collected by Brown, Farrell and Romilly, as far as the sources indicate. Many but not all of these objects can be identified in collections today. The database comprises various categories of information: the current location of the object, its register number and register description, previous owners, who it was collected by and when, who it was acquired from and when, its dimensions, and any references in publications. I recorded my own description and noted whether I had seen and photographed it and whether it included any European materials. Once I had compiled this information, I introduced a Category classification based on the object's use, such as Warfare or Ornaments and Clothes. I also judged whether the objects

[4] The CD-ROM contains a PDF of the FileMaker Pro database for ease of access.

were used primarily or exclusively by men or women. I discuss the reasons for and uses of these categories, as well as the complex histories of the various collections, in greater detail in Chapter Six and Appendix 2.

The first collection that I investigated, in 2001, was that of George Brown at the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan. Brown bequeathed his collection together with its accompanying catalogue to the Bowes Museum in Barnard Castle, UK, where he was born. The University of Newcastle acquired it in 1954 and eventually sold it, through Sotheby's, to the National Museum of Ethnology in 1986. Nineteen objects were valued at £16,000, above the threshold for an export licence. Eleven of these were separated off from the main body of the collection and purchased by UK institutions.

I took a holistic approach to the research, aiming to document every object collected by Brown. This meant that I created an entry in my FileMaker Pro database for all New Ireland objects described in Brown's Catalogue and the records of the Hancock Museum, even when they could not be found or identified in the National Museum of Ethnology storerooms. Where possible, I photographed, measured and described each object. As the collection had changed hands and moved institutions many times, the objects had a variety of accession numbers and the documentation didn't always tally up neatly. With my time in the collections stores of the National Museum of Ethnology limited, I decided not to view and photograph each individual spear and club, especially as the provenance for many of these objects was unclear.

After I had finished work in Japan, I spent some time with New Ireland collections in Brisbane and Canberra, before researching the objects collected by Thomas Farrell and Richard Parkinson in the Australian Museum, Sydney. Along with many objects of ritual art, they also collected more than one hundred spears and around sixty clubs from New Ireland. Most of these are not identifiable in the collections today because their provenance was not recorded due to labelling issues. I also looked at objects relating to both Farrell and Romilly in the Queensland Museum and pursued archival research in Sydney, Brisbane and Canberra. On returning to the UK, I looked at the objects from the Brown collection in the British Museum and the Sainsbury Centre at the University of East Anglia. These had been sold in the UK when the rest of the collection was transferred to Osaka. I discovered that the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford had received objects from Brown's collection in 1924 from the Bowes Museum. I also investigated collections made by Brown that were shipped to various museums during and very shortly after his time in the Duke of York Islands. I decided to divide the objects collected by Brown into two groups: the early collections, which include objects distributed to museums and individuals from 1875 to 1885 or shortly after, and the main collection that he left at his death.

Brown's collections have particularly complicated histories and I discovered after my return to the UK that there were further objects probably collected by Brown in other Australian museums, notably in the Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston and the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart. I was not able to see these objects but I gathered as much detail as possible about them. My aim was always to document each object as carefully as possible, even when I could not see it, either because it had been lost or

destroyed, or because I could not physically gain access to it. I also aimed to record as much of the history of each object as possible.

As reference for wider New Ireland collections from the 1800s to the 1980s, I was able to use Michael Gunn's database of New Ireland objects in collections around the world. This contains records of around 6000 objects that Gunn researched, many with photographs, in more than 125 public museums and 65 private museums and collections across the world. Gunn's objective was to understand the immense variety of ritual art from New Ireland and so carvings and other ritual art objects dominate his database. Gunn estimates that the museum collections he has visited or researched may hold twice as many New Ireland objects as those recorded in his database, and there are many objects in other private collections and museums that Gunn has not yet visited. Much of Gunn's research was conducted with Philippe Peltier of the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris in the ten years leading up to the 2006 exhibition of New Ireland art. The database has immense potential as a research tool as it is a unique resource in the study of New Ireland material culture. It is broad in its coverage, and rich in information about objects, collections and institutions. No other province in Papua New Guinea has a comparable resource.

Whilst Gunn's database has been an invaluable resource in my research, our areas of interest in New Ireland collections differs significantly. Gunn's focus is on artistic styles and ritual meaning, whereas my approach is historical and holistic, looking at objects as dynamic parts of social relationships and agents of change. He has attempted to document as many pieces of New Ireland ritual art as possible, throughout the history of contact with Europeans, but he did not try to document all of

the objects of material culture in collections. I have attempted to document every object in each of the collections that I look at, however mundane or homogeneous these might be, specifically aiming to record these three collections in their entirety. Although the collections do not neatly dovetail with the written records, I examine the broader pictures behind their collecting by looking at the objects in great detail and by synthesising this information with published and archival details into a complex whole.

Whilst I aim for my database to be holistic, databases are by their nature biased and carrying an argument of their own. My own prejudices inform my database, in particular that I focussed so much on trying to identify any European trade goods used in the objects, and also in the Categories section where I used my own knowledge of New Ireland ethnographic evidence to make a 'best guess' on the original function of each object, and whether it was used primarily by men or women.

In addition to researching New Ireland's material culture, I also looked at historical research on the contact and colonial eras in New Ireland, from 1616 to 1900. My specific focus was contact between New Ireland and outsiders from 1875 to 1885, and in doing so I document a period of New Ireland's history that has not had much attention paid to it. In this period, several Europeans and other foreigners established permanent residence on or near New Ireland, and began to engage frequently with people in some of the communities there. I also researched the period after 1886, when Germany took possession of New Ireland as part of what became known as Deutsch Neu-Guinea. More formal colonial structures were imposed across New Ireland after 1900 when Boluminski founded a government station at Kavieng. On the

basis of this research, I divided the history of contact and colonialism in New Ireland into four periods: Sporadic Contact between 1616 and 1766; Sustained Contact from 1767 to 1874; the Early Colonial period from 1875 to 1899; and Colonial Order from 1900 onwards.

A Review of the Archaeological and Historical Literature

My research on New Ireland's prehistory and history, the focus of Chapters Two, Three and Four, involved documentation from a multiplicity of sources, which I review here. There are many publications that shed light on prehistory in the Bismarck Archipelago, including work by Wal Ambrose (1988), Peter Bellwood (1997), Patrick Kirch (2000), Matthew Spriggs (1997), Robin Torrence (1993) and Skoglund et al (2016). Research by archaeologists such as Glenn Summerhayes (2007, 2010, 2014), J. Peter White (White et al 1991), Jack Golson (1991), Chris Gosden (Gosden 1995, Gosden and Robertson 1991) and Matthew Leavesley (Leavesley et al 2002) has created a significant body of evidence on life in New Ireland up until 2000 years ago; a number of Pacific archaeologists incorporate contact history and ethnographic research in their studies. We know less about the period between 2000 years ago and New Ireland's first contact with Europeans in 1616. Pamela Swadling (1996) correlated the decline of Lapita to New Guinea's engagement with southeast Asian trade spheres from around 0AD to 300AD but there is no evidence that these traders visited New Ireland.

There are primary sources for much of the contact period after 1616 as most of the European explorers kept logs and journals. These have been translated and republished numerous times. The first European expedition to make contact with New

Ireland was the Dutch team led by Willem Schouten and Jacob Le Maire, who both published accounts of the voyage soon after they returned; I used J.A.J. De Villiers' translation of Le Maire's account published in 1906. My main source for details of Abel Tasman's expedition is the historian Andrew Sharp's 1968 publication that includes a translation of Tasman's journal. For William Dampier's voyage, I relied on the account published by the maritime historian James Williamson in 1939. For Philip Carteret's voyage I used the version published by Helen Wallis, map curator at the British Museum, in 1965. For the French explorers Louis Duperrey and Jules Dumont d'Urville, I used the translation of Dumont d'Urville's accounts published by Helen Rosenman in 1987, as well as the original account of the naturalist who accompanied the voyage, René Lesson (1839).

The most important gathering of primary sources for the early history of the Bismarck Archipelago is the compendium *Documents and Readings in New Guinea History* edited by J.L. Whittaker, N.G. Gash, J.F. Hookey and R.J. Lacey, and published in 1975. This includes information from diverse sources, from government reports to travel journals and personal correspondence. The historian John Dunmore's list of important figures in Pacific navigation (1991) and the list of visitors to New Guinea published by the German geologist Arthur Wichmann (1910) are both valuable resources also. Wichmann led the Dutch North New Guinea expedition of 1903, and although the expedition did not visit the Bismarck Archipelago, he published an extensive contact history of the region in his scientific report. Anthropologist Jurg Wassmann's *Historical Atlas of Ethnic and Linguistic Groups in Papua New Guinea* (1995) is also a useful list of European visitors to New Ireland. The multiple publications of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and *The Pacific Islands: An*

Encyclopedia edited by historians Brij Lal and Kate Fortune (2000) are very useful reference guides.

The volume of primary sources on Pacific history increases significantly after the founding of the British colony at Port Jackson in 1788 due to the increase in shipping traffic. These include the journals of the British Naval officer Captain John Hunter, second captain of the First Fleet, who visited the Duke of York Islands in 1791. His journals were edited by the historian John Bach and published in 1968 (Hunter 1968). The hydrographer James Horsburgh published a series of maps and sailing directions from 1809 detailing places to stop on voyages to and from Australia (Horsburgh 1809). A number of journals written by and studies of individuals involved in whaling and trading have been published (Beale 1839, Coulter 1847, Forster 1991, Maude 1966, Morrell 1832, Statham and Erickson 1998, Villiers 1974), and Alistair Gray analysed the records of fifty-four whaling ships in the Bismarck Archipelago in the 19th century (Gray 1999, 2000). Newspapers, particularly those published in Australia and New Zealand, are also rich sources of information for this period.

From 1875 onwards, there is a vast increase in the historical literature, particularly primary sources, which reflects increased European contact with New Ireland. A number of visitors to New Ireland and New Britain kept extensive notes and journals from their time there, and some published their thoughts and recollections, including the European mission staff such as George Brown (1877, 1881, 1887, 1908, 1910), William Cox (1913), Benjamin Danks (1888, 1914, 1933), Richard Rickard (1892) and Isaac Rooney (Mather 1984), traders such as Eduard Hernsheim (Sack and Clark 1983) and Wilfred Powell (1881, 1883), and settlers such as Octave Mouton (Biskup

1974). Brown's extensive writings are also found in the archives at the Mitchell Library in Australia, and there are a number of secondary sources studying his life and work, including publications by Prue Ahrens (2007), Helen Gardner (1999, 2000, 2006), Margaret Reeson (2013), Jim Specht (1980, 1987) and Paula Rubel and Abraham Rosman (1996, 1998). There are fewer detailed records from recruiters or the officials who accompanied them, with the exception of Alexander Duffield (1886), William Wawn (1893) and Douglas Rannie (1888, 1912). Newspapers in Australia and New Zealand reported events relating to recruiting, shipping and mission activities in New Guinea in the 19th century (eg *The Brisbane Courier*, *The Wellington Independent*). There are numerous archival references on colonial activity in and around New Guinea, and on the recruiting trade in Queensland in the Mitchell Library, the National Archives of Australia and the Queensland State Archives.

There are also official records, reports and memoirs, like those written by the British Commissioner Hugh Romilly (1882, 1886, 1887, 1893) and by a number of German colonial figures including Deutsche Neuguinea-Kompagnie (NGC) employees Hans Blum (1900) and Joachim von Pfeil (1899), administrator Franz Boluminski (1904), ornithologist, ethnologist, explorer and Imperial Commissioner Otto Finsch (1914), the Governor of German New Guinea Albert Hahl (1907), planter and long-term resident Richard Parkinson (1999) and Deputy Governor Heinrich Schnee (1904). The German administration also compiled the Annual Reports of German New Guinea (Sack and Clark 1979). Some European records do not specify the dates that they refer to. For example, Parkinson was resident in the region from 1882 to 1909 and he included detailed descriptions of New Ireland life in his book, first published in 1907, but there is no indication of the date to which his observations refer.

There are also a number of secondary sources of information on the period from 1875 to 1914. The historians Peter Biskup (1968, 1970, 1971, 1974), Stewart Firth (1972, 1977, 1982), Peter Hempenstall (1973, 1978), Clive Moore (2003), Hans-Jurgen Ohff (2008), Peter Sack (1973, 1977, 1985, 2001), Marshall Sahlins (1963, 1985) and Deryck Scarr (1967, 1973) have all written extensively on the history of New Guinea and the wider Pacific. The anthropologist Peter Lomas investigated the early colonial history of northern New Ireland as part of his wider research (Lomas 1981). Heinz Schütte (1989, 1991) and Klaus Neumann (1992) have looked at how historical events in the region, particularly among the Tolai of the Gazelle Peninsula, were remembered and understood many years later; Neumann's 'montage' approach, mixing conceptual frameworks and research methods, highlights and explores history's subjectivity. Peter Corris (1968, 1973), Edward Docker (1970), Michel Panoff (1979), Charles Price and Elizabeth Baker (1976), and Ralph Shlomowitz (1989) included New Ireland and the Bismarck Archipelago in their research on the recruiting trade and its ramifications. Neville Threlfall (1975) wrote a history of the Methodist mission in New Guinea. Josephine Niau (1936) and Anne-Gabrielle Thompson (1974) both focussed on the Marquis de Rays' settlement attempt. Robert Robson (1965) wrote a book about the Samoan-American 'Queen' Emma Forsayth, T.D. Salesa (2014) studied Emma and her sister, Phebe, who was married to Richard Parkinson, and Karl Baumann (2003) wrote about the whole Parkinson family.

New Ireland's Ethnographic History

Many ethnologists, ethnographers and anthropologists have worked in New Ireland since 1875. I have looked at the wider New Ireland ethnography to extend my

knowledge of both the history and the material culture output of the region. As I attempt to understand the collections that I focus on largely from contemporary records I try to avoid making too many assumptions about both material culture and wider social life from ethnographic information that was recorded later, particularly after 1914. Part of the challenge of researching the early colonial era is assessing social change based on limited and one-sided information, and evaluating to what extent research undertaken later in the 20th century is relevant to these early years. In general, my research highlights how much life in New Ireland changed between 1875 and 1914.

I aim here to include the most relevant researchers and their publications, but the list is not exhaustive. The discipline of anthropology has changed markedly since 1875, but I have tried to include all research on New Ireland that is anthropologically informed. I have focussed on works published in the English language, although I have looked at early German writings, and some French publications.

A few of the Europeans who spent time in New Ireland after 1875 had some anthropological training and understanding of ethnological literature. From 1872, the Berlin Anthropological Society provided officers of the German Navy with a pamphlet of guidance on anthropological methods and collecting (Zimmerman 2000:70). George Brown noted that he used ideas gleaned from the British Association for the Advancement of Science's *Anthropological Notes and Queries* when in New Britain after 1875 (1910:vi), and Danks wrote an article published by the Royal Anthropological Institute (1888). Richard Parkinson was a keen collector and ethnologist, corresponding with the curators and other staff at the Australian

Museum (Parkinson 1999; Specht 1999, 2000). From the 1890s, most German colonial officials received training in anthropological research and collecting methods from the ethnology museum in Berlin before their departure (Zimmerman 2000:72), and almost all collected. The German missionaries Carl Paul (1907), Karl Neuhaus (1962) and Gerhard Peekel (1910) also made ethnological observations. Lajos Biró, a Hungarian entomologist and collector, visited New Ireland in 1900; his observations were translated and published by Tibor Bodrogi (1967).

In the early 1900s a number of German expeditions visited New Ireland, surveying and collecting, with staff trained in ethnology. Emil Stephan, a naval physician, conducted a survey and some fieldwork in southern New Ireland in 1904 on the SMS *Möwe* (Schindlbeck 2006:33). He published a monograph on art production in the region (Stephan 1907) and went on to co-author a survey of New Ireland material culture with Fritz Graebner, an ethnologist who researched the Pacific collections of Berlin's ethnological museum (Stephan and Graebner 1907). Stephan initially led the Deutsche Marine-Expedition (DME) that was in New Ireland from 1907 to 1909, along with the ethnologist Edgar Walden, the Swiss physical anthropologist Otto Schlaginhaufen, and the photographer Richard Schilling. Schlaginhaufen's work was published in 1959. The ethnologist Augustin Krämer took over as leader in 1908 following Stephan's death, spending seven months in New Ireland with his wife, Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow; both published their research (Krämer 1925, Krämer-Bannow 2009, original publication 1916). Edgar Walden died in the First World War; the ethnologist Hans Nevermann later wrote up and published his field-notes (Nevermann 1940).

The German Geographical Commission's expedition also visited New Ireland in 1908. Karl Sapper led the expedition, assisted by Georg Friederici, who was also responsible for collecting (Buschmann 2009:76). Georg Thilenius, director of the Hamburg museum, organised the Hamburg Südsee Expedition of 1908-1910; Friedrich Fülleborn led the Melanesia leg (Buschmann 2009:79). A number of researchers have recently written about German ethnological activities in the Pacific, including Sven Monter (2010), Rainer Buschmann (1996, 2000a and b, 2009) and Andrew Zimmerman (2000). Bruce Knauft has written about the history of anthropology in Melanesia (Knauft 1999).

The disruption of the First World War and the establishment of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea under Australian administration that followed meant that there was a gap in anthropological investigations in New Ireland. E.W. Chinnery (1925, 1931) was appointed the Territory's government anthropologist in 1924, and he supported a number of students who undertook fieldwork in New Ireland in the late 1920s and early 1930s: Francis Bell on Tanga (1934, 1935, 1937, 1950); William Groves at Fisoa and on Tabar (1933, 1934c, 1935a) and Hortense Powdermaker in Lesu (1931, 1933). Beatrice Blackwood conducted her fieldwork nearby, on Buka (1935). The Swiss ethnologist Alfred Bühler travelled to New Ireland and the Admiralty Islands in 1931-32 on a field research and collecting mission (Ohnemus 1999:17).

From the 1950s onwards, anthropologists from a number of different countries and with a variety of research interests have worked in New Ireland. The following list is not exhaustive but I have tried to include researchers who completed fieldwork in

New Ireland or who published articles specifically about the province. Phillip Lewis, curator at the Chicago Field Museum, made a number of research trips to investigate *malagan* production in northern New Ireland in the 1950s and 1970s (Lewis 1969, 1973); Nick Wilkinson also researched *malagan* production in the early 1970s (1978). In northern New Ireland in the 1960s, Peter Lomas researched politics and economy (1973, 1979, 1981), and both Dieter Heintze (1987) and Dorothy Billings (1967, 2007) included *malagan* production in their research there.[5] The linguistic anthropologist Arthur Capell undertook a case study of southern New Ireland languages (1967). Philip Gifford studied historical accounts of *uli* ritual and analysed a significant number of figures for his PhD (1974).

In the 1970s, Roy Wagner (1986) and Owen Jessep (1977) did fieldwork in the Barok area of central New Ireland. Brenda Clay (1977, 1992, 2005), and her husband R.B. Clay (1972) looked at kinship and social structure, including settlement patterns, in northern New Ireland. Elizabeth Brouwer researched New Ireland collections in the Australian Museum for her doctoral thesis (1980). Deane Fergie (1985) conducted her PhD research among women in the Tabar islands in 1979-1980. In the 1980s, both Susanne Küchler (1985, 1988, 1992, 1997, 1999) and Brigitte Derlon (1991, 2008) focussed on *malagan* on mainland New Ireland for their doctoral research, and Michael Gunn studied *malagan* on the Tabar islands for his thesis (1992). Robert Foster (1990a, 1990b, 1995) looked at mortuary ritual and social reproduction on the Tanga islands for his PhD, and Steven Albert (1987) undertook research among the Lak language region in southern New Ireland, focussing on the *tubuan* society; he also comments on imagery in *malagan* (Albert 1986).

[5] The documentary film-maker Chris Owen has produced two documentaries on New Ireland, *Malagan Labadama: A Tribute to Buk-Buk* (1980) and *Shark Callers of Kontu* (1982).

In the 1990s, Karen Sykes undertook fieldwork looking at education in New Ireland, and Richard Eves studied ritual life and beliefs in the Lelet Plateau in central New Ireland. They have both published extensively on New Ireland since (Eves 1994, 1998, 2004; Sykes 2001, 2005, 2006). Alexander Bolyanatz's fieldwork focused on mortuary ritual in southern New Ireland (Bolyanatz 1994, 2000). In the late 1990s, Eva Lindstrom (2002), a linguistic anthropologist, studied the Kuot language of northern New Ireland for her PhD and Graeme Were (2001, 2003) undertook research for his PhD on *kapkap* ornaments. Sean Kingston worked in the Lak language area, in southern New Ireland, looking at *tubuan* (1998). In the early 2000s, the ethnomusicologist and producer Paul Wolffram also did his fieldwork in Lak, studying music and dance (2007), and Antje Denner (2006, 2010) looked at ritual life and art production on the Anir Islands for her doctoral thesis. A number of anthropologists have worked on Lihir since the opening of the gold mine in 1995. Martha McIntyre (2003) researched there, and three researchers undertook fieldwork for their doctoral theses: Nicholas Bainton (2010) looked at the impact of the mine on local life, Susan Hemer (2013) studied the concept of personhood in Lihir, and Alana Burley (2010) looked at ecology. Paige West is currently undertaking a number of research projects in New Ireland (2014, 2106).

Many of these researchers have continued to study and write about New Ireland, and most studied the publications of the anthropologists who came before them. Robert Foster looked extensively at the work of Bell for his analysis of mortuary ritual and history on Tanga. Goran Aijmer did fieldwork on the Duke of York islands and has subsequently written extensively about northern New Ireland, including the

production of *malagan*, by analysing the ethnographies written by Powdermaker and others (Aijmer 2004).

Some of the anthropologists mentioned above have also studied the collection of artefacts by Europeans in New Ireland; the most prolific is Michael Gunn (1997, 2014; Gunn and Peltier 2006). Helen Gardner has written extensively about the collections of George Brown as well as his life as a missionary (1999, 2000, 2006). Jonathan Benthall (1986), Richard Eves (1998, 2000), Steven Hooper (1987) and Jim Specht (1987) have also written about George Brown and his collections. Abraham Rosman and Paula Rubel wrote an article about Brown (Rubel and Rosman 1996), and another looking at collecting in New Ireland between 1875 and 1914 (Rosman and Rubel 1998). Rainer Buschmann (1996, 2000a, 2000b, 2009), Glenn Penny (2000) and Markus Schindlbeck (1993, 2001, 2006) have written about European collectors, particularly in the German colonial period. I look more closely at the history of collecting in New Ireland in Chapter Five.

There is an extensive wider literature on collecting in the colonial era. Nicholas Thomas's *Entangled Objects* (1991) was one of the first works to focus on the role of objects in the colonial history of the Pacific. This was part of renewed anthropological interest in materiality and things, including both collectors and museum collections and their roles in history. There have been a number of works focussing on collectors and collections from the Pacific, including edited volumes by Michael O'Hanlon and Robert Welsch (2000), Susan Cochrane and Max Quanchi (2007), and Lissant Bolton and others (Bolton et al 2013). There have been studies of other provinces or demarcated areas: Torrence took an archaeological approach to analysing obsidian-

tipped spears from the Admiralty Islands in museum collections (1993, 2000) and turtle-bone artefacts from Wuvulu Island (2012), and Gosden and Knowles (2001) researched and compared a number of collections from the Arawe region on New Britain's south coast. There has also been a project looking at early collections from Upper Sepik and central New Guinea.[6] However, there are no comparable studies that look at the colonial encounter through collections across a whole province.

New Ireland's Collecting History

There is a long history of collecting in New Ireland that I describe in greater detail in Chapter Five. It is not always clear who collected the artefacts that ended up in museum collections or exactly when they did so. In Brown's journals, for example, there is evidence of the theft, sale and exchange of artefacts between collectors even while they were in New Ireland. The first record of transactions involving material culture in New Ireland comes from 1803, when the wife of the captain of a trading ship described purchasing spears and other 'curiositys' from men who visited from Tanga (Whittaker et al. 1975:292). There are mentions of trading that involved material culture from whaling and trading ships throughout the 19th century. Collecting increased in the 1870s when Europeans visited in greater numbers and for longer periods of time; many of the traders, missionaries and colonial officials who visited obtained artefacts to send back home.

Collecting continued with enthusiasm in the early colonial years and into the 20th century. The years between 1900 and 1914 may have been the most intense collecting period as a large number of colonial officials visited New Ireland at this time,

[6] Upper Sepik-Central New Guinea project http://uscngp.com - accessed September 2017.

including members of scientific expeditions sent out with collecting high on their agenda. There were lulls in collecting during the First and Second World Wars, but in the period between the wars and also from 1945 onwards, visitors to New Ireland continued to collect with enthusiasm.

Theoretical Background

I aim to integrate this detailed study of material culture exchanges in an early period in New Ireland's history with the larger-scale historical, cultural, and politico-economic processes in which it is embedded (Knauft 1999:155). I have taken an interdisciplinary approach to multiple sources of evidence, involving archaeology, history and anthropology. I focus first on New Ireland's long history of contact with the world beyond its shores, highlighting that the 'colonial frontier' in New Guinea was not a fixed, uniform boundary but a place of hybridity, formed through many differing cross-cultural encounters (Moore 2003:167). I analyse New Ireland's colonial history as a local case study that sheds light on broader forces; Wallerstein's core/periphery theory makes more sense of the historical relationships than a restricted focus on the local (Gosden and Knowles 2001:xix). On a local scale within New Ireland, the cores and peripheries of contact and colonialism shifted over time to different effects.

I look at the objects from New Ireland in all the collections that George Brown made during his lifetime, and in the collections made by both Hugh Romilly and Thomas Farrell. The full complexities of Brown's collecting activities in New Ireland have not been studied, neither have the collections made by Farrell and Romilly. O'Hanlon noted three 'ideal types' of collectors, primary, secondary and concomitant (2000:12-

13). Brown, Farrell and Romilly were all secondary collectors; they aimed to collect, but this goal was subordinate to their primary purposes. Brown's collecting was an integral part of, but secondary to, his mission work (Eves 1998:59). Farrell's main goal was trade, and he aimed to make money from the objects that he obtained, purchasing artefacts alongside copra and other trade products. Romilly's primary reason for visiting New Ireland was to investigate the situation regarding the labour trade; he collected for his own curiosity and personal gain. All three collectors were mobile (O'Hanlon 2000:15), although Brown also acquired objects that were brought to him at the mission headquarters.

The fact that the three collectors I focus on had such different and distinctive professional identities has implications for their collections. Put most simply, Brown collected objects for many reasons, whereas Farrell and Romilly each had a single aim. Brown's collecting had multiple agendas (Gardner 2000:45) with his most immediate concerns being to smooth the way for the mission to enter New Ireland, to create good relationships to further his mission work, and to ensure the safety of the mission workers. He was also aware of the expectations of the objects' recipients in Australia and New Zealand; he wanted to collect interesting and impressive objects for this audience. He wanted the collection to help him achieve what he saw as the 'civilising' aims of the mission, and so he was keen to highlight the 'primitive' nature of the people he worked among.

Farrell was a trader first and foremost. There is no evidence to suggest that he had any other motive in collecting than making money from selling the objects to a metropolitan audience. Romilly was not motivated by money at all. His collecting was

largely opportunistic, in that he was offered the contents of a *malagan* display for a price he could easily afford. He offered the collection to a relative, and it is likely that he saw the objects as symbols of the 'otherness' of Pacific Islanders and the exoticism of his foreign travels.

My study here differs from that of Helen Gardner in its regional, rather than individual, focus. Gardner's work on George Brown (Gardner 1999, 2000, 2006, Gardner and Philp 2006) focuses on Brown's life as a missionary. She looks at the time he spent in Samoa, New Britain and New Ireland, and his life after these periods overseas, and whilst she researched his collections and collecting activities, it is only one aspect of her work. In contrast, my research on Brown is limited to the geographic area of New Ireland, on Brown's collecting and other activities there and on the New Ireland objects in his collections. Additionally, I look at Brown's activities and collections in tandem with, and contrast to, those of Romilly and Farrell; this comparative angle is vital to my efforts to understand the period from 1875 to 1885 in New Ireland.

Practical Challenges

My research in museum archives and on the collections was constrained by practical concerns including complicated and inconsistent data-recording techniques, and by the multiple challenges of accessing objects in storage facilities. My own personal interests and priorities, and those of the museum staff who assisted me also affected my work. Increased computerisation of records has improved accessibility to collections but progress is often slow and erratic.

My Focus

I use archival information as well as publications both by and about these men to examine how Brown, Farrell and Romilly interacted with other foreign visitors and New Irelanders during their time in the region. I then go on to examine New Ireland's material culture and the complex history of collecting in the region. I situate their collections within this history and analyse their collections in depth. Finally I move on to the results, conclusions and questions that can be drawn from these analyses.

A focus on objects, collections and collecting sheds light on the time-depth, complexity and variability of the colonial encounter. As mediums through which peoples connected in the past, and through which we can connect with past peoples, objects are important historical documents. They mediated relations between individuals and groups within New Ireland, and between New Irelanders and their visitors. I follow the argument made by Gosden and Knowles that the relations between Europeans and Melanesians in the contact and colonial era were constructed through the movement of goods, gifts and ideas, and that these flows of information and objects caused change but also helped maintain difference (2001:6). Like all historical documents, objects and collections require contextualisation. That said, they provide a rich source of information about many facets of the colonial encounter, reflecting and embodying a multitude of negotiations. I draw on Greg Dening's definition of an artefact being 'a manifold text of values, of systems, of perceptions and relations' within any culture (1988:8). Objects meant different things to different people, and whilst these meanings were rarely made explicit, they were powerful tools in helping people understand their worlds.

I have made a constant effort to balance the motivations of the collectors with the motivations and agency of the source communities in my study of collections of artefacts. I made sure I considered each step of every object's biography, from its manufacture and use to its subsequent history, as well as how objects might be related to each other, both within and between collections. I also considered what was being traded *into* New Ireland, because the acquisition, use and internal trading of trade goods such as guns, iron, cloth, beads and glass bottles arguably had a greater impact on New Ireland society than the departure of the artefacts and foodstuffs traded out. I investigated whether the 'cargo' that the Europeans and other foreigners brought with them accreted cosmological and symbolic values within New Ireland beyond their practical, aesthetic and economic roles. In addition, I looked closely at the inclusion of European materials on and in ritual art objects.

I have attempted to explore New Irelanders' perspectives on the contact and colonial encounters. Records of New Irelanders' accounts of these years are practically non-existent and most of the surviving historical records from the contact and early colonial periods come from, and largely focus on, a small number of European men. Local and other foreign men were mentioned in passing while women and children were rarely mentioned. So these other perspectives must be perceived obliquely, from within the European male discourses that make up the historical records (Clay 2005:20). Although examining what happened to women is particularly challenging given the biased historical sources, it is possible to speculate based on the limited information at hand. Of course, these speculations are in turn informed by my own intellectual, cultural and personal biases. With those caveats in mind, I have included the primary data wherever possible so that readers can form their own judgements.

Why New Ireland?

New Ireland is an excellent area to study the nature of the colonial encounter through early collections for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is geographically discrete, with the main island being distinctive in shape and topography. Its associated island groups have maintained strong links to the mainland and each other, and most visitors and observers after 1767 were able to identify the New Ireland region. I take New Ireland to refer to the whole of what is today New Ireland Province. Many of the names used to refer to places have changed over time and differ between local dialects, as well as outsiders' languages, but to most visitors New Ireland was a recognisable entity.

New Ireland is geographically diverse, from the mountainous south with few beaches, to the low-lying north with its many islands. The main island is relatively narrow, which probably contributed to the particular nature of its contact and colonial history, making it easier for contact to spread across the province rather than concentrating at the shores. On islands like New Britain and Bougainville, inhabitants of the mountainous interiors had less contact with European and other visitors who did not venture far inland until the 20th century.

New Ireland has had links of varying strength to its neighbouring island groups going back thousands of years. It has close ties with New Britain and Bougainville, which in turn have links with the New Guinea mainland and the rest of the Solomon Islands. Connections with the Admiralty Islands, today's Manus Province, are evident in the archaeological record, but do not seem to have been maintained continuously.

Due to their positions on early European shipping routes, New Ireland, New Britain and Buka/Bougainville have the longest histories of contact and colonialism in Papua New Guinea, with more than 300 years separating the first European contact with New Irelanders in 1616 and European exploration of the Highlands in the 1930s. New Ireland's small size and distinct identity make it possible to achieve a very fine-grained analysis of the grass-roots encounters and negotiations of contact and colonialism within the whole island group. There is good documentation of contact with New Ireland from records kept by many of its visitors, particularly whaling and other ships' logs, as well as from the notes and diaries of missionaries like George Brown, and some traders and recruiters.

New Ireland has long been known for its rich cultural life. Richard Parkinson noted 'Dancing and singing are not fostered on any islands in the archipelago as much as by the people of New Ireland' (1999:124). Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow titled her 1916 monograph on New Ireland *Among Art-Loving Cannibals* (2009). New Ireland Province today has a strong identity that belies its relatively small population of around 120,000. Its distinctive material culture has meant that it is relatively easy to identify New Ireland objects, and most New Irelanders are proud of their contemporary and historic artistic traditions. Traditional ways of life are respected and maintained, in a peaceful province with a low crime rate that is welcoming to visitors. This combination of factors has attracted researchers, including archaeologists and anthropologists who have recorded extensive information about its prehistory, history and current way of life.

Central Thesis

There are no contemporary indigenous accounts of the encounters of the contact and early colonial years. The study of collections adds to the historical record, offering a different perspective and a depth that at least hints at the New Ireland perspective. The evidence suggests that New Irelanders were keen and eager to trade from very early on and that they were active agents of, and skilled negotiators in, these early colonial encounters. The majority of encounters were peaceful, with only isolated incidents of theft and violence on both sides. New Irelanders were very keen to obtain the 'cargo' of their visitors, exchanging a variety of artefacts and food items, but they retained control by facilitating the trade of some types of objects and restricting the trade of others.

The collections reveal that New Irelanders were highly dynamic and innovative artists. They were quick to experiment with new materials, which they used in addition to traditional items, and with new tools. For example, metal-carving implements largely replaced traditional ones. New Irelanders must have been both fascinated and worried by the power of white people and their cargo, which may explain why European material was so quickly experimented with and incorporated. New Ireland's art-producing traditions had probably always been dynamic and versatile. The creation and production of an almost bewildering variety of art has long been an intrinsic part of northern New Ireland's strong, diverse and dynamic ritual life. This is a distinctive, perhaps unique, feature of the island group.

Following this introduction, I start in Chapter Two by looking at the history of New Ireland up to 1875, in Chapter Three I focus on the decade between 1875 and 1885,

and in Chapter Four I look at the history of New Ireland after 1885. In Chapter Five I look at the history of collecting in New Ireland, and then present the details of the collections of objects made there by George Brown, Thomas Farrell and Hugh Romilly in Chapter Six. I analyse the collections in greater detail in Chapter Seven, and look at their significance in broader contexts in Chapter Eight. I conclude in Chapter Nine by looking specifically at what a focus on collections, in conjunction with historical documentation, can tell us about life in New Ireland between 1875 and 1885.



Map 3. New Ireland. Places of contact before 1875.



Map 4. Southern tip of New Ireland. Place names used by Europeans before 1875.

The Bismarck Archipelago is a group of more than two hundred islands scattered to the north and northeast of the island of New Guinea, in the south Pacific. Its biggest islands are New Britain, New Ireland, New Hanover and Manus; they were colonised by Germany in 1884, administered by Australia from 1914, and became part of the nation-state of Papua New Guinea on independence in 1975. The main island of New Ireland is 320 kilometres long, and lies northeast to southwest between 1 and 5 degrees south of the equator. I use 'New Ireland' to refer to both the main island and the outlying islands and island groups that form New Ireland Province today. New Hanover is the second largest island and is surrounded by many smaller islands; the St Matthias Group is the most northerly of the outlying island groups. Djaul is the only significant island on the west coast until Lamassa and Lambon near the southern tip. Four main island groups lie off the east coast; Tabar is the most northerly, then Lihir, then Tanga and finally Anir, which is also known as Feni. The Green Islands including Nissan lie between Anir and Buka; today they are part of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville. Archaeologists, linguists and geneticists continue to piece together the complex prehistory of the Bismarck Archipelago and the wider Pacific.

Prehistory

Currently, the earliest evidence for human occupation dates to 45,000-35,000 BP, from two cave sites in southern New Ireland (Summerhayes 2007:11, Summerhayes and Ford 2014:216). Other sites in New Ireland, New Britain, Manus and Buka suggest sporadic occupation prior to 20,000 BP, when changes in the archaeological record indicate that people began to move resources across longer distances. This is exemplified in New Ireland by the appearance of the bones of the grey cuscus (*Phalanger orientalis*), a non-indigenous arboreal marsupial, and obsidian from the

Mopir and Talasea sources in New Britain, several hundred kilometres away (Kirch 2000:78; Spriggs 1997:58). Obsidian is a volcanic glass that was fractured to provide sharp blades. By the early- to mid-Holocene, 10,000 to 6000 years ago, there is evidence of advances in shell tool technology, with adzes and fishhooks appearing in deposits, as well as some evidence of arboriculture, at sites in the Bismarck Archipelago. Despite these improvements in resource exploitation, population densities before 3500 BP remained low in the region, probably due to a non-sedentary lifestyle combined with endemic malaria (Kirch 2000:83).

Around 3500 BP massive cultural changes took place in the Bismarck Archipelago, and new kinds of sites appear in the archaeological record from New Britain to Buka. The occupants of these relatively large village sites made, used, and traded large quantities of earthenware ceramics. This pottery, known as Lapita, is characterised by dentate-designed iconography, and it defines the whole cultural complex. Most of the pottery was made locally, with only a small amount moving, indicating close social ties between villages. Lapita sites were situated on beach terraces, by lagoons or on small offshore islands, suggesting that the inhabitants were sea-faring people. There was a new economic base, with the spread of previously domesticated tree crops and newly domesticated pigs, dogs and chickens, and more sophisticated fishing strategies employing a variety of fishhooks. Lapita sites exhibit a greater range of tools, implements and ornaments in their material culture, a number of ceramic utensil styles suggesting new cooking methods, and evidence of substantial quantities of pottery, obsidian, chert, oven stones and other materials being moved between communities. Radiocarbon dating indicates that Lapita sites appeared across the Bismarcks and into the Solomons within a short space of time, perhaps as little as one

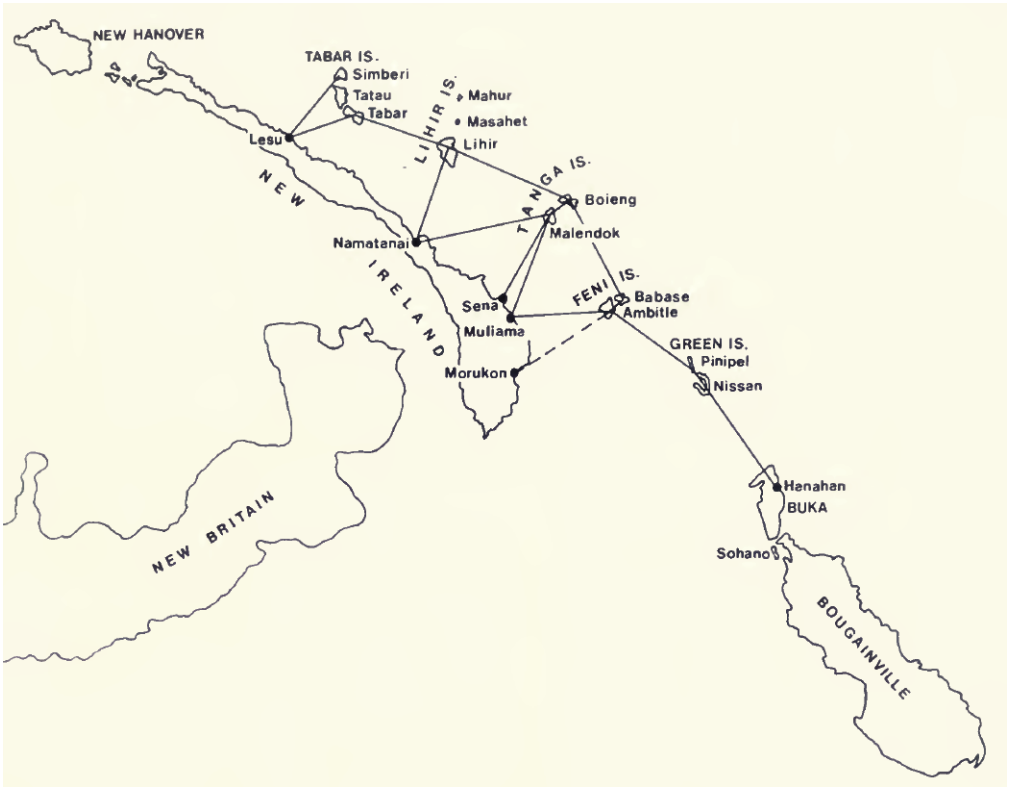
hundred years, somewhere between 3500 and 3100 BP (Kirch 2000:91, Summerhayes 2010:34).

The debate continues as to whether the Lapita expansion was an indigenous development or an intrusive one. The evidence seems to weigh on the side of intrusion, that the cultural complex was brought into the Bismarck Archipelago from an origin in southeast Asia (Kirch 2000, Summerhayes 2007, Spriggs 1997). Linguistic and genetic evidence contributes to the debate, and many archaeologists concur with Bellwood's (1997) argument that the Lapita development was part of a larger expansion of Austronesian-speaking, ceramic-using horticultural peoples from Taiwan. The Taiwanese link has been confirmed in recent efforts to sequence DNA from ancient Pacific populations (Skoglund et al, 2016). These peoples would have encountered and interacted with the indigenous, Papuan-speaking, inhabitants of the Bismarcks, and though the nature of this interaction is not clear, a definable cultural complex emerged here to become the Lapita phenomenon that dispersed from here around 3200 BP. Jolly and Tcherkezoff describe this as the region's 'first contact' (2009:1). This wave of rapid exploration and colonization took the Lapita cultural complex from the Bismarck Archipelago out to the Solomon Islands and on to Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa, the first time humans had inhabited land east of the Solomon Islands. The Lapita peoples' success in expansion lay in their sea-faring technology and navigational skills; their success in colonizing lay in their diversification, taking along domestic animals, crop plants and ceramic pots, and their ability to exploit marine resources.

In the Bismarck Archipelago, changes evidenced in the archaeological record around 2000 BP mark the end of the Lapita culture complex. These changes were the re-arrangement of long-distance exchange networks, shifts in settlement patterns, loss of pottery - in New Ireland pottery production ceased from 1500-1000 BP - and other changes in material culture, as well as changed subsistence strategies and landscape use. There was much continuity over this period but the focus shifted from widespread and complex exchange networks to more local cultural spheres, which eventually led to increased cultural and linguistic diversity. Swadling (1996:270) notes that the Lapita tradition ended just after the arrival of specialist Asian traders on the shores of New Guinea. She suggests that the impressive new technology and different world-view of the bronze-using traders 'may have brought about cultural despondency' and ended the Lapita cultural complex, comparing the nature of the ensuing cultural shock to that which took place at the time of initial European contact. It is not clear how much contact these traders, in search of bird of paradise feathers, had with the Bismarck Archipelago; one bronze artefact was found on Lou Island in Manus Province from a context of around 2000 BP (Ambrose 1988:489). It is also possible that other early explorers, like the Chinese mariner Zheng He in the 15th century, may have reached New Ireland, but there is no evidence for this.

Spriggs concluded that the cultural diversity of Island Melanesia today is largely a product 'of the last 2000 years of contingent history and cultural drift' (1997:186). Trade and exchange continued within the Bismarck Archipelago after the end of the Lapita era, but contact with the rest of the Pacific declined. Polynesia underwent its own cultural developments, and eventually Polynesians formed colonizing expeditions of their own, east and north to Hawaii, south to New Zealand, and west to

Melanesia. Some areas within Melanesia show a significant Polynesian influence, although the only evidence of this in the Bismarck Archipelago is on the outlying atoll of Nuguria.[7] The archaeological record for the past 2,000 years in the Bismarck Archipelago is not as detailed as for the Lapita era (Summerhayes 2007:29), but there is evidence that obsidian was still traded between west New Britain and New Ireland. From the later ethnographic records of Blackwood, Bell, Groves, Powdermaker and other observers, Kaplan charted an inter-island trade network linking the offshore islands of Tabar, Lihir, Tanga and Anir to one another, to the New Ireland mainland, and to Nissan and Buka in the northern Solomon Islands over the past 1500 years, involving direct reciprocal exchange rather than long-distance trading (Kaplan 1976:80, Hughes 1974:54).



Map 5. 'Reconstructed trade connections between New Ireland and Buka from information in ethnographic reports' Kaplan 1976:83.

[7] Officially part of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville.

There is evidence of Tolai migrations from southern New Ireland into the Gazelle Peninsula 750 years ago (Summerhayes 2007:29), Buka pottery was traded between Buka and southern New Ireland from 700 years ago (Specht 1974, Kaplan 1976), and trade networks between the western tip of New Britain and New Guinea were established by 300 years ago, with sporadic interactions prior to that.

The archaeological record of the Bismarck Archipelago is rich and fascinating, but far from complete. It is likely to be extended back in time as well as in volume and complexity. Europeans did not happen upon isolated and ahistorical societies when they encountered these islands, despite their frequent observations to the contrary. New Guinea and its adjacent islands saw constant change over tens of thousands of years as different language groups replaced each other, intermingled, or engaged in regular contact prior to European visits. Moore argues that Melanesia's small-scale societies possessed cultural mechanisms that enabled them to cope with change and diversity, migrations and intrusions (2003:41).

Gosden and Knowles discuss 'varieties of colonialism' within New Guinea, highlighting both superficial and deep variability, based partly on prehistoric differences (2001:189). New Guinea's Highlands experienced colonialism much later, but there was a spectrum of responses and changes across the Highlands based, among other things, on differences in the prehistories of the communities there (Feil 1982:303, 1987:5, 271). Weissner's and Tumu's focus on Engan oral history and the relationship between warfare and competition over the past 400 years highlights that there is no one single cause of the different development trajectories (1998:376).

Gosden and Knowles highlight Melanesia's marked regional diversity over the past 10,000 years, commenting that it is 'diversity all the way down', with no single originary state of affairs (2001:197). Most New Guinea societies had some emphasis on exchange in prehistoric times; this had a range of implications when Europeans and other foreigners first arrived. I argue that the coastal inhabitants of New Ireland were uniquely prepared for and adjusted to interactions with outsiders due to their prehistory of trade and exchange, and their long history of contact before the imposition of colonial rule.

Historiography of the Contact Period

The historiography of the contact period is complicated, and it is impossible to ascertain exactly what New Ireland society was like at the point of first contact with Europeans. Archaeological research on the period immediately before first contact in 1616 is limited, and historical accounts of early European visits have to be combined with evidence from ethnographic studies conducted much later in New Ireland's contact history. In the late 19th and very early 20th centuries, a number of European residents, including George Brown and Richard Parkinson, and German colonial officials such as Heinrich Schnee and Albert Hahl, wrote ethnographically informed accounts of the region, but the first professional ethnographic studies were conducted from 1904.

Between 1904 and 1912, the German-trained researchers Emil Stephan (1907), Otto Schlaginhaufen (1959), Augustin Krämer (1925), Elizabeth Krämer-Bannow (2009), Edgar Walden (Walden and Nevermann 1941), Georg Friederici and Karl Sapper (Buschmann 2009:76), among others, visited and studied various communities on

New Ireland. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Francis Bell, William Groves and Hortense Powdermaker conducted ethnographic studies in the north of New Ireland and on the Tanga and Tabar island groups (Bell 1934, 1935a, 1935b, 1935c, 1937, 1950; Groves 1933, 1934c; Powdermaker 1931, 1933) and Beatrice Blackwood worked nearby on Buka (Blackwood 1935). The information gathered in these various studies is relevant to understanding New Ireland's history, but it is difficult to extrapolate with any degree of certainty what life was like between 1616 and 1875 because there are very few oral historical accounts that relate to the periods before the imposition of German colonial rule in 1900. The profound changes to New Ireland life brought by the last decades of the 19th century and particularly the first decades of the 20th century challenged researchers' knowledge and understanding of what went before.

Many European visitors to New Ireland from the point of first contact up to the imposition of colonial rule recorded information about their time there. Writing the history of the early colonial years involves looking at a patchwork of information from myriad sources, from ships' logs to missionaries' diaries, from government dispatches to biographies and autobiographies. There are no sources of information directly from New Irelanders' perspectives, although their actions and reactions were sometimes recorded in other texts.

I divide the history of New Ireland since contact with Europe into four distinct periods. The first is the period of sporadic contact between 1616 and 1767, when exploring voyages spent short periods of time in the region and made relatively brief contact with some communities at various different locations. The period between

1767 and 1875 is characterised by sustained contact, with many more ships in the region, with varying aims and levels of contact. 1875 marks the start of the early colonial period, which lasts until the imposition of a more permanent and widespread colonial order in 1900.

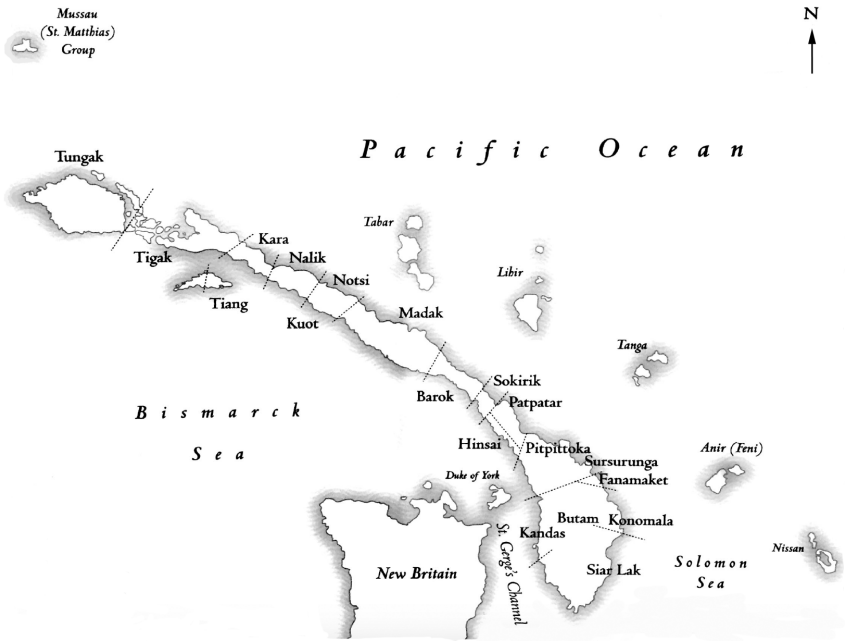
These periods differ historiographically as the sources of information change. For the early periods, a fair degree of supposition and speculation is necessary to draw conclusions about the perspectives of New Irelanders, whose opinions and accounts are almost never recorded. Europeans and other visitors often noted obtaining objects, but rarely recorded their source, or commented on their indigenous manufacture, meaning or use. Looking closely at exchange and adding an object-focussed narrative to the contact and early colonial period highlights the agency of New Irelanders and the complexities of these colonial encounters.

New Ireland at the Point of First Contact

Archaeological information and ethnographic evidence from the early 20th century indicate that, at the point of first contact, there were a number of ethnolinguistic groups linked by social and economic ties in New Ireland and neighbouring island groups that were hundreds if not thousands of years old. Networks like Kaplan described were in operation for trade goods, ritual exchange and the transfer of people throughout the contact and early colonial times. Many observers, including Parkinson (1999), Blackwood (1935), Bell (1950) and Foster (1995:32) indicate that at the time of European contact, inter-island trade networks involving pigs, different kinds of shell valuables, pigment, canoes and other goods connected particular populations of different villages, with clan links being paramount. The offshore islands of the east

coast maintained links with each other and the mainland, and down to Nissan, which was also linked to Buka; communities on the west coast had contact with the Duke of York Islands and thus to the Gazelle Peninsula on New Britain; and the islands off the north coast connected New Hanover and the mainland (Parkinson 1999:117).

Moore noted that the political units of Melanesia were constructed from 'a thousand' ethnolinguistic areas linked by trade systems, and marriage and raiding networks, with close relationships between descent, language and territory, and the 'roads' or 'passages' of reciprocal exchange networks (2003:11). However, these were probably shifting, dynamic groupings with their own internal histories of expansion and contraction. New Irelanders may have employed more mobile, flexible living strategies in the centuries before the imposition of colonial rule; group identities came from clan relationships, not just village ties. Research indicates that nineteen languages are spoken in New Ireland province today, and it is likely that linguistic diversity was greater in earlier times.



Map 6. The language groups of New Ireland. From Gunn and Peltier 2006:25.

Many people probably spoke neighbouring languages but it is unlikely that anyone spoke or understood all of the languages and dialects of the region. Relatively distinct boundaries can be identified between New Hanover and its immediate offshore islands; northern mainland New Ireland including the islands off the north coast, Djaul and the Tabar group; central New Ireland incorporating the Barok and Patpatar language areas and Lihir; eastern southern New Ireland, Anir and Tanga island groups, and western southern New Ireland.

Most of New Ireland probably shared the acephalous Melanesian political order based on the 'big man' model as discussed by Sahlins (1963) and Strathern (1971), with leadership of clans, and to some extent villages, gained through action and competition, rather than inheritance. Lineage and clan chiefs are known today in New Ireland as *maimai*. The matrilineal clan system in place by the late 19th century, as described by Parkinson, Hahl and others, probably had centuries of development. Most places in New Ireland had two main clans, or totems, in a moiety system, and a number of other sub-clans. There is some argument that in the years before contact, people inhabiting the interior of New Ireland had a different social structure involving hereditary chieftainship (Capell 1967:503).

A number of sources from the late 19th and early 20th century noted a division between coastal and inland people in New Ireland. Brown noted that the village of Matakan was continually at war with inland tribes, and local people told him that there was enmity between bush and coastal tribes everywhere in New Ireland (journal 28th October 1875, 1877:141). Reverend Rooney described 'mountaineers' who came down to the coast at the southern end of New Ireland to capture coastal people in 1881

(Mather 1984:196). Rannie noted that there was a large population of 'bushmen' in the mountainous interior of southern New Ireland. He claimed that the coastal people were afraid of them due to their warlike nature and greater numbers, but noted regular trade between the two populations, with bushmen bartering weapons, trinkets, charms, 'carved wooden combs and ornaments, woven mats, and belts and dilly-bags, as well as game in the shape of flying-foxes, opossums, pigeons, parrots and cockatoos' for fresh and dried fish, and shell money (1888:76; 1912:262). His description of 'bushmen's passages' indicates that these inland people had access to the coast at certain defined places (Rannie 1888:76, 1912:261).

Other observers recorded both trading relations, and suspicion and hostility, between coastal and inland people. Romilly noted that the principal trade in New Ireland was that between the 'coast natives' who exchanged salt for the food cultivated by the 'bush natives' at 'certain well-known market-places where they constantly meet', with negotiations often ending in a fight (1887:14). Parkinson noted of southern New Ireland that 'Inland, in the valleys and on the mountain slopes, dwells a population which is usually on a war-footing with the shore dwellers' (1999:115).

These inland people were referred to by various different names. Mouton, one of the Marquis de Rays settlers, described a tribe of Gololon 'bush natives',[8] noting that they came from about 60 kilometres away from the southern tip of New Ireland, and that they hunted opossums. When he was waiting to leave Port Breton in February 1882, a Gololon hunting party came down to the coast; villagers from Lambon helped to protect him (Biskup 1974:58, 64). Schnee said that coastal people talked of hostile

[8] Elsewhere in the text, Mouton also referred to the bush tribes as Kulolon and Golon (Biskup 1974:64).

mountain people who spoke a different language (1904:41), Hahl noted that the mountain tribes were known as Butam (1907:310), and others, including Schlaginhaufen and Krämer-Bannow, referred to bush people as the Laget.

Evidence suggests that a substantial population lived in the interior of New Ireland in the 19th century. These people seem to have formed discrete ethnolinguistic groups, but they may in some places have been the inland populations of ethnolinguistic groups whose territories spread from the coast to the mountains. Later population dispersals made it impossible to understand precisely the situation at the point of contact, but evidence suggests some division between coastal and inland peoples in southern and central New Ireland. Today, some communities on both coasts of the northern part of southern New Ireland identify themselves as Pitpittoka people of bush ancestry (Gunn 2006:90), and the Lak people of the south-east coast told the anthropologist Albert that they had previously lived in the interior, resettling at the coast around 1900 (1987:20).

Sporadic Contact with Europeans 1616-1767

The European age of exploration began in the late 1400s and in 1497 Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese explorer, rounded the Cape of Good Hope to link Europe directly with India. The Spanish and Portuguese soon reached the Malay peninsula and the Moluccas further east. European discovery of the Pacific Ocean dates to 1520-1521 when Ferdinand Magellan crossed the Pacific from the southern tip of South America to what is now the Philippines. In 1526-1527, Jorge de Menezes, a Portuguese official in the Moluccas, discovered western New Guinea when his ship was blown off course. The earliest recorded encounter between Europeans and local people in the

Bismarck Archipelago occurred in 1528-29 when the Spanish Álvaro de Saavedra Céron attempted to find a southern passage from the Moluccas to America. Men from Manus or an outlying island came about 12 kilometres out to sea to attack his ship with arrows; three of them were captured, and on the return voyage a year later, two escaped and the third was killed by local people when he was returned (Spriggs 1997:225). In 1545, a Spanish-led expedition headed by Ortiz de Retes had contact with the coast of New Guinea as far east as Astrolabe Bay. It is possible that these Spanish explorers had contact with New Ireland, although there is no firm evidence for this. Later Spanish expeditions, for example Mendaña (1568 and 1595) and Quiros (1606), encountered local people in the Solomons and northern Vanuatu in meetings that were often hostile and sometimes deadly. During Mendaña's first expedition in 1568, more than 100 local people and 12 Spaniards were killed in bloody encounters (Spriggs 1997:227).

The next wave of expeditions came from the Netherlands. In 1615, the Dutch team Willem Schouten and Jacob Le Maire left for a voyage across the Pacific. Le Maire's father was determined to find a legal way into the Pacific from the east to break the Dutch East India Company's powerful monopoly on trade and exploration. Almost identical accounts of the voyage were published in 1618 and 1622, the first attributed to Schouten, the second to Le Maire. I quote from Le Maire's account as published by De Villiers in 1906. Le Maire also published a vocabulary of what he called 'Moyses Island', probably Tabar, which was the first written record of a Melanesian language. These accounts are one-sided and there may be errors in their recording and subsequent translations, with some details lost or changed, but they are immensely informative and interesting historical documents that raise many questions about the

nature of the first contact between Europeans and New Irelanders. Le Maire's account makes it clear that these early encounters were characterised on both sides by confusion, suspicion, fear and aggression, and turned easily to violence. Europeans were able to inflict much more damage on New Irelanders than vice versa, and they did so without hesitation when they felt threatened.

Schouten's and Le Maire's voyage is the first recorded contact between Europeans and New Irelanders. They spent about ten days in the vicinity of New Ireland, recording contact on five of those days. The expedition's two ships were well armed, with iron guns mounted on the decks, and plenty of muskets, mortars and other ammunition. They arrived in the area on the 25th June 1616, sighting the coast of what they thought was New Guinea but was in fact southern New Ireland. It was not identified as such for another 150 years. First they saw Nissan, and then Ambitle in the Anir Islands. They made contact on the east coast of the New Ireland mainland, and then made their way up to the north along this coastline (De Villiers 1906:214).

Contact was first made when their rowing boat was taking soundings along the shore of the east coast. Le Maire recorded that 'two or three prows filled with very black people' approached and 'pelted at our men very fiercely with slings', fleeing as soon as the crew started to fire at them (De Villiers 1906:215). Le Maire's record of their voyage highlights the difficulties of communication that they faced, and the readiness with which both sides resorted to violence. The motives of the expedition's crew were clear; safety was paramount, but they needed fresh water and wanted to explore and obtain food if possible. When they felt their safety was threatened, they embarked on

punitive measures to demonstrate the full effects of their firepower and deter further attacks.

Their second encounter, further north, was even more violent. Having anchored in a bay beyond a headland, probably Hiruan Bay, just north of Muliama (Bolyanatz 1998:326), they attempted to initiate trade with people who canoed out to the ship. The crew 'threw a few beads' and 'other trifles' to the local people, and 'showed them every kindness'. They attempted to sign, without any success, that they wanted foodstuffs including coconuts and other fruits, pigs and chickens. The following day, eight canoes carrying around fifty men armed with wooden spears and swords, stones, clubs, and slings came out. Le Maire recorded that they ignored the crew's efforts to trade, but it seems more likely that they did not understand the crew's behaviour, and felt threatened. They started pelting the ships with slings and wooden spears; the crew retaliated with the deck guns and musket fire, killing 'some ten or twelve' men. The New Irelanders abandoned their canoes and swam towards the shore; the Dutch crew launched their rowing boat to pursue, 'killing a few more'. Three badly wounded prisoners and four canoes were taken; one man died on board, and the canoes were broken up. The crew took the two survivors to shore and instructed them to call out to the locals to bring 'pigs, bananas and coker-nuts'. They received a small pig and a bunch of bananas; the following day they obtained a second pig and took on fresh water (De Villiers 1906:216-217). It is not clear what the eventual fate of the captured New Ireland men was.

A few days later, a number of canoes came out, probably from the Tabar Islands. The Dutch were frustrated that they did not bring anything to trade, although 'they wanted

everything'. Le Maire commented that they appeared 'better and more civilised folk' as they covered their 'privy parts' with small leaves and had a 'handsomer kind of canoe, adorned fore and aft with a little carved work'. This was probably the first sighting of the distinctive northern New Ireland style of carving, typical of most *malagan*, by Europeans. The following day, twenty-five canoes came out from the island, 'well-equipped and with big crews' (De Villiers 1906:217), and attacked the ship using their slings and spears. With one crew member wounded, the Dutch retaliated strongly, using the deck guns and muskets to kill twelve or thirteen and wound many others. Again they pursued the fleeing New Irelanders, and this time captured a canoe, taking one 'young man of eighteen' captive. They named him Moyses, and he was apparently taken to Jakarta (De Villiers 1906:218). This was their last interaction with New Irelanders; they headed northwest past New Hanover, then west along the northern coast of New Britain and New Guinea. They did not manage to trade until the central New Guinea coast, when they at last received some fresh food in exchange for beads, old nails and rusty knives.

In 1643, Abel Tasman led a voyage to the Bismarck Archipelago. Tasman had proved himself to be a highly experienced and resourceful captain for the Dutch East India Company, and he was keen to explore the Pacific. Sharp (1968:19) pointed out that Tasman and his associates had a broad knowledge of the results of previous explorations of the south Pacific, though they had difficulty establishing longitude. Tasman spent about ten days around New Ireland; he recorded four incidents of contact with, and one sighting of, local people. Tasman's journal of the voyage exists in two main editions and has been quoted in many publications. I quote from Sharp's 1968 edition.

Like Schouten and Le Maire, Tasman saw the Green Islands first. Two canoes carrying nine people came out from one of the islands, and when 'still about 2 ships lengths from our ship', one man 'broke one of his arrows through the middle, stuck the one half in his hair, and held the other in the hand'. Tasman took this to be a gesture of friendship. The Islanders had only brought with them arrows, bows and spears, and one very old coconut, which they exchanged for 'two chains of beads and 2 large nails with an old Napkin' (1968:201).

Three days later Tasman reached the New Ireland mainland, at what he called Cape Santa Maria, after the Spaniards. Wichmann (1910, vol. 1) considered that the name originated from Ortiz de Retes' expedition of 1545, where it referred to the furthest part of New Guinea then reached; this name was probably mistakenly applied to New Ireland by later explorers. They travelled north up the east coast of New Ireland, and at one stage a canoe with curved ends came off from the shore of the mainland, taking care to keep out of reach of the Dutch ships' guns. This suggests that the people in this boat knew of the gunfire power of the ships from Schouten's and Le Maire's earlier voyage. Further up, six canoes from Tabar came out to them, three paddling close enough that the crew 'let drift to them 2 to 3 pieces of old sailcloth 2 small chains of beads and 2 old nails' (1968:210). They showed little interest in any of these items, 'but pointed to the head'. Tasman noted that they seemed to be shy and 'to have fear of shooting', but he could not see whether they had weapons with them (1968:211). The following day, more canoes came off from Tabar, with one being enticed alongside by the quartermaster holding up his belt. The canoe's occupants were given the belt and a small bead chain, and gave in return a piece of sago, the

only thing they had brought with them. The other canoes then came alongside and the crew shouted words from Le Maire's vocabulary to them. Despite the fact that they had no weapons visible, Tasman remained very suspicious of them.

Tasman described their canoes as being 'cut out aft and before in form of images' (1968:212); there is also an illustration of a canoe in Tasman's log, drawn by Gilsemans, one of the merchants who accompanied Tasman (reproduced in Chapter Five). This drawing is the earliest known representation of an artefact from New Ireland, and it shows the artistic design of the carved end pieces of the canoe. The following day, twenty canoes came cruising around the ships, keeping out of range. After being beckoned several times, some came alongside, but they had not brought anything to trade. Tasman's men obtained a coconut for 3 strings of beads, and paid the same price for a shark, and got a dolphin in return for 'an old cap' (1968:218). They eventually persuaded three or four men to come on board the ship, where they looked 'with great astonishment' and acted as if drunk; Tasman was surprised at their apparent motion sickness as he felt their canoes must have moved as much. He noted that they brought with them 'no or few weapons' (1968:218), apart from wooden eel-spears that he assumed they used for fishing. This was his last contact with New Irelanders; the expedition headed northwest and rounded New Hanover soon after.

The next recorded European visit to the Bismarck Archipelago occurred more than fifty years later, in 1700. This was an expedition led by William Dampier, an English naval officer and ex-buccaneer. Dampier's account of his previous circumnavigation of the world had attracted much attention, and his journal for this trip, published in 1729, was well received. I quote from a version published in 1939, edited by

Williamson. Dampier's ship arrived from the north, passing Mussau before reaching the east coast of the New Ireland mainland, still considered to be part of the island of New Guinea.

Dampier 'was desirous to have some Commerce with the Inhabitants' of this coast, and eventually, forty-six canoes came out from adjacent bays. They would not come close enough to the ship to receive the 'Beads, Knives and Glasses' Dampier showed them, so he threw out a knife fastened to a piece of board and a glass-bottle corked up with some beads in it, which they seemed to be pleased with. 'They often struck their left Breast with their right Hand, and as often held up a black Truncheon over their Heads' which the sailors thought was 'a Token of Friendship' and thus did the same (Williamson 1939:196-197). There were about two hundred men in canoes around them, and three to four hundred more on the shore. As the ship prepared to leave, the men in canoes 'began to fling stones at us as fast as they could'. Dampier's men fired at them, at which 'they were all amaz'd' and stopped throwing stones. They stayed still in their boats 'though some of them were killed or wounded'; Dampier's crew did not pursue them any further.

The next day he passed Tabar, and when a single canoe came off, the sailors allowed the three men to come aboard. They brought five coconuts, for which Dampier gave each of them 'a Knife and a String of Beads', to encourage them to come back the next day – although by then, the ships had left for Lihir. Dampier described the people of this island in depth, and also their canoes, which were 'very ingeniously built', painted or carved into 'many Devices, *viz*. some Fowl, Fish, or Man's Head' at each

end. He noted that they seemed to be 'utterly ignorant of Iron', and that they carried weapons, but did not note any incidents of trade or violence here (1939:200).

Their next stop was at Tanga where canoes came out immediately and 'made Signs for us to come ashore', as 'all the rest' of the Islanders had done. They could not find anywhere to anchor, but allowed three men aboard. Each received a knife, looking glass and string of beads, and Dampier signalled for them to bring pumpkin and coconuts - he soon had three coconuts. Dampier also showed them nutmeg and gold dust, both of which he felt they knew, and they pointed towards the land when he showed them the gold dust. He noted that the men from Boang 'seem'd displeas'd' when men from Malendok gestured to Dampier that he should land there (1939:202). They went on to Anir, where three canoes came off but the men would not come aboard; Dampier recorded that they spoke the same language, made the same signs of peace, and had the same canoes, as at Tanga. Dampier wanted to get wood and water but as he couldn't anchor near the shore, he felt it too dangerous to send a boat. They crossed to the mainland, again encountering men in canoes at sea, but could not find safe anchorage. They continued along the southern coast, and Dampier acquired an axe and a limestone slingshot from New Britain, which ended up in the Sedgwick Museum at the University of Cambridge.[9]

Analysis of the reports from the first three European explorers' trips to New Ireland shows that violence occurred easily, but was not a feature of all of the instances of contact. Schouten's and Le Maire's boats were attacked three times, and each time the Europeans retaliated with firepower, causing loss of life and multiple injuries. As a

[9] Mulvaney, D.J., 1978. 'William Dampier, ethnography and elf-stones'. *The Artefact* 3(3): 151-156.

result of these skirmishes, one crew member from the European side was injured, but around 30 New Ireland men were killed and many more injured. Tasman reported no violence on his trip. Dampier's ship was attacked in northern New Ireland, and a number of New Ireland men were killed and others injured. Most of the attacks occurred when the Europeans were close to the shore. Although some very limited trading occurred, there was still confusion over what each side wanted or needed from the encounter. Tasman noted that the canoes kept out of reach of his ship's guns, and Dampier had more success than the two earlier expeditions at obtaining coconuts through trade. These facts suggest that New Irelanders knew details of previous encounters, even though the contact was not necessarily with the same groups of people and there were long gaps between visits.

After Dampier's 1700 trip, it was just twenty-two years before another expedition visited New Ireland, this time led by Jacob Roggeveen, head of a Dutch exploratory expedition with commercial objectives. He sighted Manus, New Ireland and Tabar in July 1722, and landed briefly on New Hanover (Dunmore 1991:210). The next well-documented visit was by the Englishman Philip Carteret, who arrived in New Ireland on the *Swallow* in August 1767. By the time that Carteret reached the coast of southern New Ireland, all of his men were weak, with thirty suffering very badly from scurvy. They anchored at what he called Gower's Harbour, next to Lambon, just to the west of Cape St George, having arrived from the east; this became known to Europeans as Port Praslin. Carteret was desperate to obtain some fruit for the sick, and they also needed to carry out repairs to the ship. They sent a boat ashore with 'a guard of Armed men' (Wallis 1965:182), and obtained 150 coconuts, plus some of the tops of the coconut trees, which were made into a soup. They moved on to what they

named English Cove, to the north of Lambon, where they obtained wood, water and some shingle for ballast, and then north again to what they called Carteret's harbour at Lamassa Bay. They spent a few days here and procured well over one thousand coconuts and many more tops. Obtaining the tops meant cutting down the entire tree, and as they knew that the area was inhabited, they guarded the landing party well in case the 'Natives should find out…& revenge themselves' (1965:183) on those who had destroyed their trees. Despite this destruction, there was no violence from the New Irelanders.

From here, Carteret headed north, thus discovering St George's Channel. Here, he noted that 'a Ship may easly get many refreshments from the natives for Iron tools, Beads, Ribbens, looking glasses, pieces of Cloth linens, and Showy things all which they seemed to be very found off' (1965:190). He mentioned trading with men who came off from mainland New Ireland near Djaul; they would not come aboard, so things were handed to and fro on a long stick. It seemed from their behaviour, being very wary of guns, that they 'apprehended danger' (1965:192) from the firearms. Their willingness to trade and fear of guns suggests that another European ship had passed by this coast previously, or that accounts of passing ships had been passed along from the east coast of New Ireland to the west. Carteret was annoyed that he had not brought more trading goods with him on the voyage. Having passed New Hanover, they headed on to the Admiralty Islands.

Sustained Contact 1767-1875

Carteret's 1767 voyage to the Bismarck Archipelago ushered in a phase of what Spriggs described as near-continuous contact (1997:244). After this year, contact

occurred much more frequently, although there were few repeat visits by the same ships or individuals. The range of visitors increased enormously, with explorers being joined by trading ships, government boats, and whalers. The shipping trade in the Pacific grew very rapidly in the years after 1767, and voyages to the Bismarck Archipelago became more common. The post-1767 picture of contact is substantially more complex and detailed than in the previous two centuries. Long-distance traders and government shipping appeared by 1791, and whalers were active in the region from 1799. Almost all contact was made either at sea or on the coast; the offshore islands and southern and eastern coasts of the mainland saw most, but not all, of the European visitors.

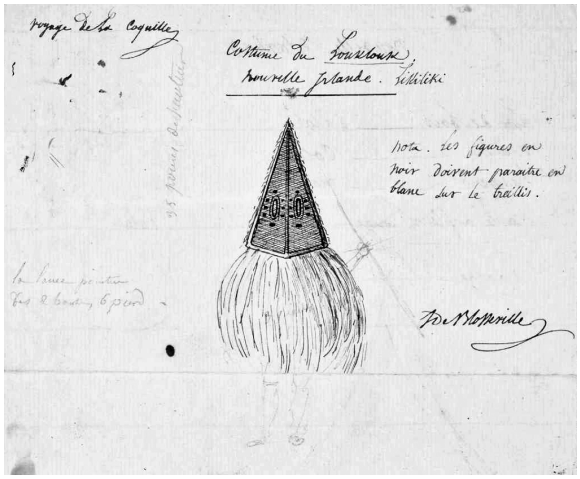
The ships that visited after 1767 came from many different places, and they had a variety of aims and needs in being there, as well as varied recording procedures. The explorers tended to make more detailed and extensive notes than either whalers or traders, but important snippets of information can be found in the logs and diaries of all kinds of ships and visitors. Putting together all of the historical sources that I could find reveals that New Ireland was visited at least every 3-5 years after 1823, and probably also before that. Here, I analyse the contact after 1767 by looking at the different types of visitors.

The Last of the Explorers

A number of French explorers and expeditions visited New Ireland between 1768 and 1827. In 1768 Louis de Bougainville, en route from the Solomon Islands, anchored at Port Praslin near Lambon at the southern end of New Ireland for 18 days, where he found the remains of Carteret's camp (Dunmore 1991:36). He skirted the east coast of

New Ireland, New Hanover and Manus without landing again. In 1792 Antoine Bruni d'Entrecasteaux undertook a voyage throughout the western Pacific searching for his compatriot La Perouse, who had disappeared in 1788. He travelled up through the St George's Channel, but did not spend time on shore. The Spanish warship *Princesa*, under Captain Mourelle, sailed along the east coast of New Ireland in 1781, sighting Tench Island in the St Matthias Group (Forster 1991:9, Dunmore 1991:176).

The French sent out the first scientific expedition to explore this area of the Pacific. Louis Duperrey in the corvette *Coquille* passed by New Britain and New Ireland in 1823 on an expedition to circumnavigate the world. The ship spent around 10 days at Port Praslin where Lesson, the expedition's naturalist, made scientific observations (Dunmore 1991:92). He also produced a number of sketches and paintings of various aspects of life in southern New Ireland, depicting paddles, spears, musical instruments, bracelets, a mask worn in the *dukduk* men's secret society, effigies, a temple, and the village at Likiliki, as well as a well-drawn plan of the area (Dumont D'Urville 1987:143). This indicates that they spent time on land and had sustained contact with local people at both Port Praslin and Metlik, also known as Likiliki, which is just to the east of Cape St George. He noted that canoes came out from the mainland to the ships with fruits, vegetables, live chickens, pigs, dogs and cuscus, which they traded for hoop iron (Rubel and Rosman 1991:338). Blosseville, an officer on the ship, also made some illustrations, including one of a *dukduk* costume. A second expedition in the *Astrolabe* in 1827, under d'Urville, also visited southern New Ireland.



'Costume de Louklouk, Nouvelle Irlande. Likiliki.' 1826.
Drawing by Jules Alphonse Rene Poret, Baron de Blosseville, 1802-1833.
Ref: C-082-052. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Long-distance Trade and Government Shipping

A major new source of contact in the Bismarck Archipelago came from the opening up of shipping routes to and from Australia. In 1788 the British founded a colony at Port Jackson and started settlements in what became New South Wales. This led to a massive expansion of government and commercial shipping between Australia and East Asia. Canton, Java, Bengal and other East Asian locations served as bases for the last leg of the voyage to and from Europe, and also as trade centres for the new colony's requirements. Smaller ships on the Asia-Australia route passed through the Bismarck Archipelago, whereas larger, faster ships kept to the open sea (Gray 1999:24). For these smaller ships, a good routing was via the St George's Channel between New Britain and New Ireland; as they were smaller and slower, they were keen to obtain refreshments - water, food and other provisions - from the islands.

In 1791 Captain John Hunter left Port Jackson to return to England via Jakarta, and stopped en route at the Duke of York Islands to take on water. After a warm welcome, there was a violent confrontation between the watering party and local men. Trading

still took place, and Hunter noted that the Islanders were very keen on white, red and coloured cloth and less interested in beads, mirrors and nails (Hunter 1968:157). In 1803, HMS *Buffalo*, sailing from Australia to Calcutta to purchase livestock and stores for the colony of New South Wales, made contact with men from Tanga as they sailed past. Eliza, wife of the captain, William Kent, recorded in her journal that twenty men in four canoes approached their ship, and although they did not bring any trade goods initially, she noted that 'among the curiositys… collected' were two human bones, one of which was fixed as a handle to a spear, with rows of human teeth around it (Whittaker et al. 1975: 292). This is the earliest reference to trade in artefacts, but it is likely that other visitors were also acquiring artefacts in trade.

From 1800 onwards, the Dutch East India Company's monopoly on Asian trade decreased dramatically, allowing merchants and sailors from most European nations to exploit the long-distance trade opportunities of the southern seas. From 1809 onwards, Gower's Harbour and Carteret's Harbour in southern New Ireland were mentioned in Horsburgh's *Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies* as places to anchor and obtain wood and water on the routes to and from Australia (1809:471-472). Various editions were published between 1809 and 1820.

The route from Australia to Asia via the Bismarck Archipelago remained popular for decades. In 1826, the trading ship *St Patrick*, en route from New Zealand to Calcutta, spent a number of days at Gower's Harbour, where it took on water and the crew traded for food and 'curiousities' (Statham and Erickson 1998:69). In 1840, *HMS Sulphur* and HMS *Starling* visited Port Carteret and Gower's Harbour whilst crossing the Pacific, and took on water, wood and some food supplies. A local man who spoke

some English explained that British vessels based in Sydney visited frequently, obtaining wild hogs, fruit and vegetables from villagers from the eastern side of the southern tip of New Ireland (account of Captain Belcher, in Whittaker et al. 1975:294).

In 1842, the schooner *Lady of St Kilda* sailing from Port Phillip to Macao watered at English Cove, following Horsburgh's directions. They met the Sydney whaling ship *Genii*, and found local people friendly. They traded coconuts with men in canoes that came off the northwest coast of New Ireland (Whittaker et al. 1975:327). In 1849, *HMS Maeander* visited Port Carteret, en route to Sydney from the trading post of Seram. Captain Keppel knew he could obtain water there, and he also stocked up on food supplies. With a small party from the ship, he went ashore and visited both the village and gardens a little way inland. He noted that some of the local men could speak a little English, with one man asking them 'What ship that?' and whether they had rum or tobacco (Whittaker et al. 1975:297).

Whaling

Commercial whaling in the south Pacific started in the 1790s, and ships from Britain and America visited the seas around the Bismarck Archipelago. Forster estimates that British ships made more than one thousand journeys to the Pacific Ocean, and that by the early 1830s 'British ships were regularly cruising for whales in New Ireland waters and in the northern part of the Solomon Archipelago' (1991:xiii). At this time British whaling was beginning to decline, and by the 1850s American and Australian ships had taken over. Maude noted that the records from many British whaling ships have not been preserved (1966:193), but a number of the ships carried a surgeon on

board, and their journals are a rich source of information. Gray analysed the records left by fifty-four, mostly American, whaling ships who visited the New Guinea whaling grounds between 1799 and 1884, and noted that, whilst the log keepers generally showed little interest in the islands or their inhabitants, their records contain a wealth of information (2000:109). His detailed analysis is of immense significance in understanding the nature of contact of these ships with local people and other ships. He identified more than 360 instances of contact between whaling ships and the Islanders of New Ireland, Buka and the Duke of York Islands, 260 of which involved trading.

Whaling ships needed contact with Islanders to facilitate their work on voyages that often lasted three years or more. The captains needed wood, water and fresh food to keep their crews healthy and to process their catches. Gray noted that the New Guinea grounds were not fished seasonally, but most ships spent months cruising the waters adjacent to the Bismarck Archipelago, making sporadic contact with each other and the Islanders (Gray 1999:25). Port Hunter in the Duke of York Islands was probably the most frequented spot, but Gray also identified Gower's Harbour at the southern end of New Ireland as a popular place that received relatively constant visits, particularly from 1820 to 1840. After 1840, more contacts were made with the east coast and its offshore islands; from 1860 to 1880, there were dense concentrations of contact on the east coast and at the southern tip.

Gray highlighted that contact was not uniform throughout New Ireland, and trade varied by area and through time, with different foodstuffs and artefacts being made available to the whalers at different places. The whalers introduced hoop iron as a

trade good; it was abundant and cheap for the whalers, and versatile for local people who could fashion the lengths of iron into different kinds of tools. In 1829, the whaling ship *Lusitania* stopped at Gower's Harbour and noted that men travelled a great distance overland to bring them a hog, which they exchanged for a whaling lance (1999:27). In 1832, Thomas Beale, surgeon on the *Kent*, recorded trading hoop iron for basketfuls of yams with men who waded out from the Anir Islands; he described their body decoration in some detail, and noted that they painted their faces and coloured their hair using red and white contrasts (1839:320-322). The same year, Captain Tregurtha of the Australian whaling ship *Caroline* called at Gower's Harbour, where the *Lady Blackwood* was already at anchor (Villiers 1974:221). The whaling surgeon John Coulter was in New Ireland in 1835 on the *Hound*, which anchored in a large bay off its east coast. He described visiting a village and trading there under the care of a resident English beachcomber (1847:244); whilst his accounts were embellished, parts were probably factual (Moore 2003:160). Wichmann (1910) noted that the *Kingsdown*, a British whaling ship under captain Robert L. Hunter, called at the east coast of New Ireland and its northern end in 1836 and 1839. The British whaler *Coronet* spent several days between Tabar and New Ireland in 1838, trading with canoes that came off each day. They exchanged coconuts, yams, turtle shell, calabashes, arrows, spears, clubs and shells and 'many other articles' for hoop iron, balls of cotton and strips of red shirt (Gray 1999:31; Lincoln 1987:41, fn 4).

In 1840, the whaler *Gypsy* spent time trading off both northern and southern New Ireland and Lihir, and Wilson, the surgeon on board, recorded the journey. He described a settlement of runaway sailors near Gower's Harbour, and noted meeting two other British ships, the *Kitty* and *Onyx*, off the east coast. The third mate, Mr

White, went ashore to trade near Cape St Mary, receiving an abundance of taro, yams, bananas, plantains and mangoes, and one pig. White was permitted to 'cohabit' with a local woman, for 'the cost of a common clasp knife' (Forster 1991:130). According to Wilson, the people of New Ireland and Buka were very keen to acquire iron, especially axes and knives. He noted that men who came out from New Hanover were happy to sell the carvings and embellishments attached to their canoes for a bit of iron (Forster 1991:118-119).

Wilson's note is the earliest reference to the offer of sexual favours in New Ireland, and there are few other examples. Beale noted that on Anir in 1832 it was exclusively men who traded with the ship; the women remained concealed behind trees on the beach. The log of the whaler *Avola* mentioned that in 1869 local people came off from Cape Mimias bringing 'yams and ladies' (Gray 1999:33). This casual reference suggests that by this date, in certain areas, it was not an unusual occurrence, but it is difficult to determine more from these two references.

Whaling contact continued throughout the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s. Notable details from the ships' logs include desertions at Gower's Harbour; three men from the *Clarice* deserted at Gower's Harbour in 1844 and one man from the *Young Hector* in 1854 (Gray 1999:39 and 35). The *Young Hector*'s log also records trading for yams on the beach on Tanga in 1859. By the early 1870s whaling activity in the area was petering out. Gray's last recorded contact was the captain of the *A. R. Tucker* trading for bracelets, beads, spears, bows and arrows, miniature canoes and other ornaments off New Hanover in 1872 (Gray 1999:31).

Gray concluded from his analysis of the whaling logs that relations between Islanders and whalers were 'overwhelmingly peaceful and co-operative', with only a few isolated incidents of violence. As all trade took place at the beach, the whalers' impact on island life was limited, although the trade itself and the arrival of metal were undoubtedly significant (1999:35). He noted that some places, including Tabar and Lihir, supplied the whalers with a variety of produce and artefacts throughout the contact period, whereas others supplied certain items, with Anir only trading in root crops and fruit. Trade goods varied over time and from place to place, but there was a great deal of trade going on. New Irelanders' desires for certain types of objects varied widely and changed over time.

Beachcombers

There are a number of references to beachcombers in New Ireland, men who either deserted from or were abandoned by their ships, to fend for themselves on the beaches of these islands. Although we do not know much about them individually, it is evident from the records that there were temporary European residents in New Ireland, mostly around Gower's Harbour, from the 1830s. The earliest reference for New Ireland is from the log of Captain Tregurtha of the *Caroline*, who recorded rescuing a sailor by the name of Black from a beach on the east coast of New Ireland in 1832 (Villiers 1974:221). Coulter, on the *Hound*, described meeting a man called Thomas Manners, 'a white man who had turned native and had resided many years' at a village on New Ireland's east coast (Coulter 1847:244).

In a report dated February 1839 to the Government of New South Wales, accounts of Europeans who lived on Ascension Island[10] spoke of European and American seamen living in New Ireland and the Admiralty Islands (Whittaker et al., 1971:630). The report states that these were deserted or wrecked seamen, sailors who had chosen to leave whaling or trading vessels, or runaway convicts from the penal settlements in Australia.

In 1840, Wilson, on board the *Gypsy*, reported a number of beachcombers in New Ireland. A 'West Indian black' lived happily in a village on the east coast, and at another village he met a European who chose to stay on when three others had joined a passing ship. At Gower's Harbour, he described 'a regular European settlement', with 18 deserters from Sydney ships living by themselves. He later discovered from the captain of the *Kitty* that the men had deserted from the *Caroline* and another ship, and were probably runaway convicts (Forster 1991:132). There are also the four deserters noted in Gray's analysis (1999:35 and 39) who jumped ship at Gower's Harbour in 1844 and 1854; they seem to have survived temporarily, and then probably left on another ship.

Island Trade

There were a variety of commercial ventures in the western Pacific Islands throughout the 19th century, including trade in bêche-de-mer, sandalwood, and shell from the hawksbill sea turtle, and whaling and sealing vessels (Maude 1966:138). Turtle shell, almost always referred to as tortoiseshell, and bêche-de-mer were obtained in the Bismarck Archipelago, mostly by ships that operated from the east coast of Australia,

[10] An early name for Pohnpei in Micronesia.

Fiji or Samoa. In 1830, Benjamin Morrell, an American sealing captain, explorer and trader, described stopping a number of times whilst travelling up the west coast of New Ireland to purchase foodstuffs from canoes that came off the coast, using small pieces of hoop iron and China beads (1832:454). Wilson noted in 1840 that the men from Lihir brought some turtle shell to trade, commenting, 'there used to be a great deal, before trading vessels visited these Islands' (Forster 1991:133). The same year, Captain Belcher from *HMS Sulphur* mentioned that all of the canoes that came off from Port Carteret to trade brought several pieces of turtle shell with them (Whittaker et al. 1975:295). Long-distance traders stopping in the region to take on water, wood and food probably purchased turtle shell and bêche-de-mer to resell at their destinations.

Trading companies based in Australia, Fiji and Samoa established plantations and started recruiting from other Melanesian islands in the 1860s, although most recruiters did not target the Bismarck Archipelago until the late 1870s. The Fijian ship *Carl* visited New Ireland in 1871 and recruited an unknown number of men. It was notorious for its questionable recruiting methods which bordered on enslavement, and *HMS Dido* returned the surviving recruits to their villages on the west coast and on a small island to the north of the mainland in 1873 (*Wellington Independent*, 22nd December 1873). The German trading firm J. C. Godeffroy & Sohn established an outpost in Apia in 1860 to trade in coconut oil, pearls, bêche-de-mer and turtle shell, and its traders visited the Bismarck Archipelago from 1872, but did not recruit from here until later. Godeffroys tried to establish two trading stations on New Britain in 1873; one trader, William Wawn, was immediately chased away and joined the other, Englishman John Nash, on Matupi, where they lasted a few weeks before escaping to

Port Hunter in the Duke of York Islands (Wawn 1893:286, Threlfall 1875:24). Nash remained in the area and worked for Hernsheim a few years later, and Wawn continued as a trader and eventually recruiter in the western Pacific.[11] Godeffroys continued to trade in New Ireland and New Britain, establishing a permanent base on the Duke of York Islands soon after Brown arrived, and then moving over to the Gazelle Peninsula. The company went bankrupt in 1878, but traders and managers continued to work for its replacement, the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen Gesellschaft or DHPG (Firth 1982:11).

Trading firms operating out of Sydney were active in the Bismarck Archipelago in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Captain Ferguson, of the *Captain Cook*, attempted to set up a trading station at Port Hunter in the Duke of York Islands in 1872, on behalf of the Sydney trading firm O'Dowd & Co (Whittaker et al. 1975:251). George Brown mentioned another Sydney-based trading captain, Captain Brodie of the *Lavinia* (Brown 1908:99), whose ship was captured and burnt at either Port Praslin or Likiliki in 1873 (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 15th Sept 1873). The Sydney-based trading firms of Mason Bros., and Campbell and Co., were operational in the islands during this period but there is little information available on their specific activities (Sack and Clark 1983:142). George Brown noted that Captain Levison of the *Iserbrook* had been trading in the Duke of York Islands 'for years' by 1874 (Threlfall 1975:25); the ship was owned by the German trading firm Godeffroys and operated out of Samoa and Sydney (Wawn 1893:286). Many other ships travelling between Samoa or Fiji and Australia probably visited the New Ireland area intermittently in the 1860s and 1870s to trade, but little has been published about them.

[11] *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1976, vol. 6.

Government control

Both the British and German navies increased their presence in the southern Pacific Ocean due to the expansion of the British settlements in Australia and the general increase in shipping activity. In 1859, the British Navy founded its Australia Station and increased patrols in the seas around Australia and the southwestern Pacific. In 1872, *HMS Blanche* under Captain Simpson travelled to New Ireland and New Britain to visit as many islands, pearling stations and bêche-de-mer fisheries as possible, and report on the activities of British subjects there (Whittaker et al. 1975:250). Simpson noted that in northern New Hanover, both men and women came alongside the ship in canoes, and carried only spears. He suspected that they had not encountered Europeans before as they preferred to receive pieces of paper rather than standard trade goods.

The German SMS *Gazelle*, under von Schleinitz, visited the area on a surveying mission in 1875, as did the British HMS *Challenger* on its oceanographic expedition. Strauch, a lieutenant on board the *Gazelle*, recorded keen trading with men in canoes on the west side of New Hanover, and while bottles, mirrors and trinkets were accepted, there was a clear preference for pieces of light red cloth, steel axes and knives. The red colour of the cloth was key; Strauch recorded that they would not take other colours of cloth when they could get the red, and that it was always their first demand. He noted that other observers had seen a large number of women wearing this red cloth as a covering for the genital region (Whittaker et al. 1975:232). Strauch also noted that 'the woman seems to have large authority', with their approval needed in the bartering negotiations (Whittaker et al. 1975:233). The German Navy's

presence was partly to secure and police the substantial German interests in Samoa and other islands, but also to demonstrate their interests to the British.

Early Colonial Period 1875-1900

I refer to the years 1875 to 1900 as the early colonial period. Europeans and other foreigners first started to reside permanently on New Ireland from 1875, and there was increasing contact with naval ships and government officials. Germany formally proclaimed the protectorate of German New Guinea in 1884, which included Neu Mecklenburg, as New Ireland was then known. This was largely a commercial move, and both organisational responsibility and financial management were handed to the chartered company Deutsche Neuguinea-Kompagnie, founded in Berlin by von Hansemann and a syndicate of bankers. The company became known in New Guinea as the NGC; it struggled to impose and maintain order. The late 1880s and 1890s were chaotic times on New Ireland. Recruitment to German plantations on mainland New Guinea and New Britain continued apace, but the failure of earlier recruits to return from Samoa and other areas caused considerable anger (Hempenstall 1978:139). There was friction between traders and local populations, with only four traders remaining on the east coast by 1891. The German Colonial Office installed an imperial administration in 1899 and established a government station at Kavieng in 1900, headed by Boluminski. From this point on, a more permanent, effective and widespread colonial order started to be imposed across the whole region (Firth 1982:68). I discuss this period further in Chapter Four.

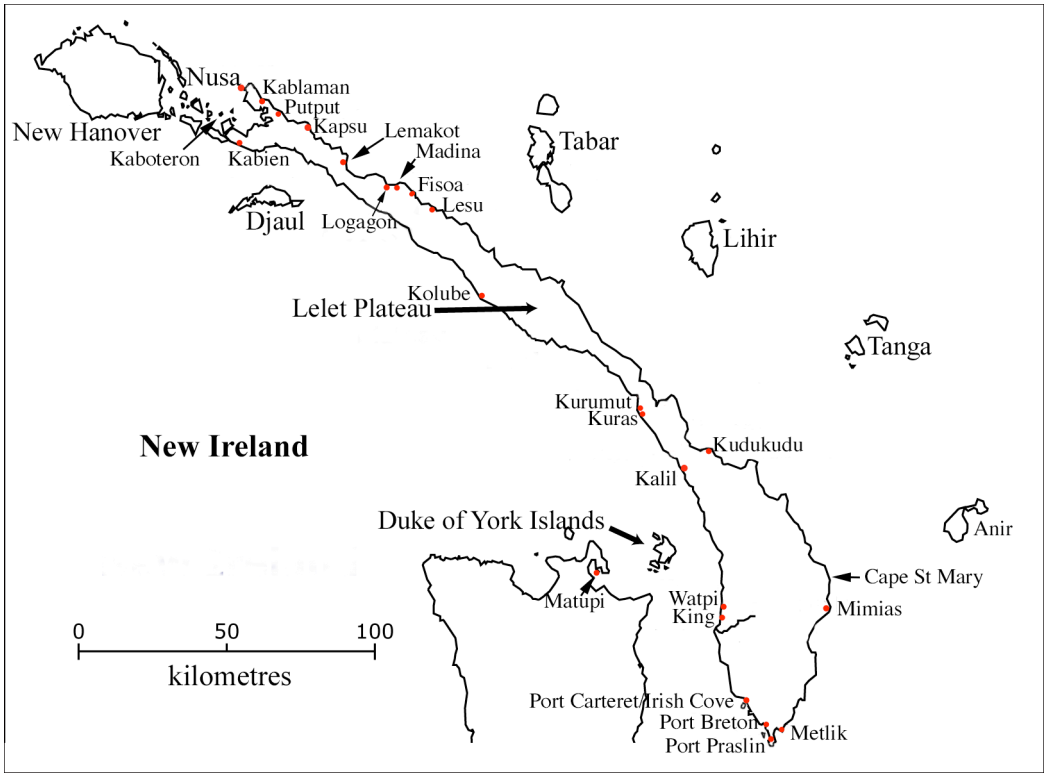
Summary

New Ireland played an important role in the prehistoric trading networks of the Bismarck Archipelago, and although little is known of the period immediately before European contact, it is clear that New Irelanders had long experience of establishing and maintaining trading networks on a local and regional scale. European contact with New Ireland started sporadically, and from 1616 to 1767 encounters were infrequent and often confusing for both sides. However, the communities of the east coast quickly grew accustomed to these foreign visitors visiting their seas, and stories of encounters were shared between villages and across language groups. After Carteret's visit of 1767, contact was much more frequent, and most meetings were peaceful and involved trading. There must have been significant cultural misunderstandings, but the history of contact meant that the New Irelanders had a fairly good idea about the nature of the relationships they were entering into. Until 1875, almost all trade occurred at sea, so New Irelanders remained in control of their land and their possessions. The nature of contact changed after 1875 when Europeans and other outsiders started to come ashore on a regular basis and for more prolonged periods.

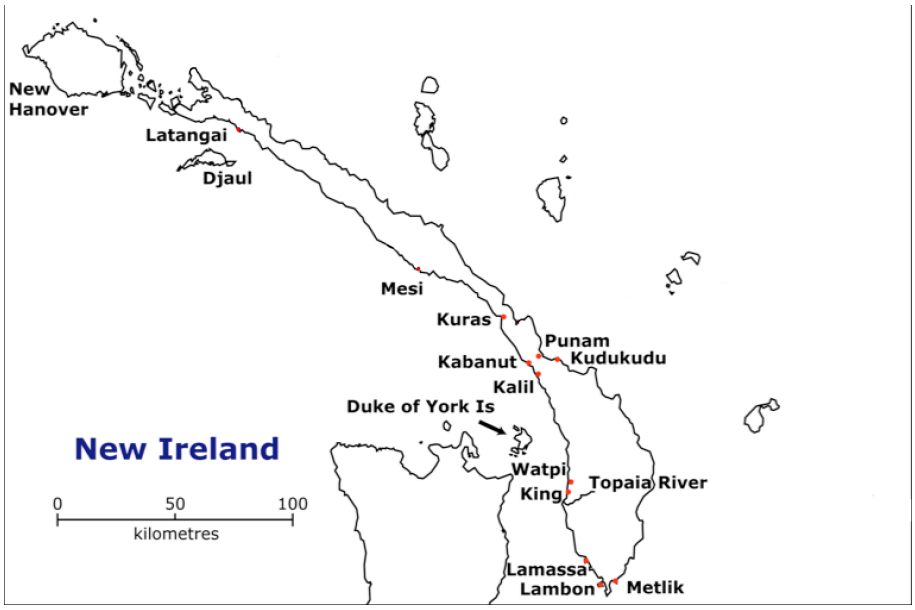
We do not know what the New Irelanders thought about the foreigners who visited from 1616, how their cosmological understandings of the world were affected, and how existing social mechanisms were disrupted. Whilst most contact was peaceful, and fairly quickly came to incorporate trade, Europeans and other foreign visitors were clearly very different to New Irelanders. Their power and their artefacts, from the large ships they arrived in, the firearms they owned and used, the clothes they wore and food they ate, to the trade goods they distributed, were novel and confusing. New Irelanders were probably both fascinated and worried by the power and material

culture of their new visitors; trade offered them a way of establishing relationships and obtaining some of these new goods. It is likely that they wanted the trade goods as much for cosmological reasons, to access the power of the foreigners, as for their practical uses. However, only evidence of the practical uses remain in the material culture record today, leaving us to make educated guesses regarding cosmological and symbolic values attributed to European materials.

Chapter Three: The History of New Ireland 1875-1885



Map 7. Places of European contact 1875-1885.



Map 8. Places of contact with George Brown and the Mission 1875-1885.

Methods and Problems

The aim of this chapter is to understand the nature of New Ireland's contact with Europeans and other foreigners from 1875 to the start of 1886, when formal colonial structures started to be put in place. Following Germany's declaration of a Protectorate in 1884, the Deutsche Neuguinea-Kompagnie (NGC) sent administrators and staff to the region, and to New Ireland by 1886. I classify the years from 1875 to 1900 as the early colonial period, when the colonial ambitions of Britain and Germany played an active role in certain areas of New Ireland but there was no uniform imposition of a permanent colonial order. A variety of historical documents covering this period in New Ireland's history provides a rich, though biased and incomplete, account of these years. Among the most useful are Brown's prodigious output in journals, letters and publications, the trader Eduard Hernsheim's diaries, the works of Richard Parkinson, and various government archives that document both official visits and reports from traders and recruiters.

The most glaring bias in the historical record is the lack of indigenous perspectives, as records of contemporary New Irelanders' accounts of these years are practically non-existent. Oral histories were not recorded until much later on, when more formal anthropological research was conducted on New Ireland. Very little oral history was recorded by the German researchers of the Deutsche Marine-Expedition of 1907-1909 (DME) or other early researchers.

In the 1930s, a number of ethnologists and anthropologists visited, including Alfred Bühler in Madina and other places in northern New Ireland, Hortense Powdermaker in Lesu, William Groves at Fisoa and Tabar, and Francis Bell on Tanga. These

researchers used a variety of ethnological and ethnographical approaches and recorded some oral histories, although history and change were not the main focus of their work. Oral histories recorded from the 20th century tended to reflect on later colonial history, with the rapid social change of the late 19th and very early 20th centuries eclipsing earlier events. During Lomas' fieldwork in the 1960s, he was not able to gather any information on early German times; a few older men recalled employment histories on German ships, probably from the early 1910s (1981:3). However, it is possible to tease out information from snippets of oral history and other occasions where indigenous actions or reactions were recorded to form a partial picture of indigenous perspectives on some events of the 1870s and 1880s.

A small number of European men furnish most of the surviving historical records from this early colonial period. Missionaries were prolific in documenting their work, and a few of the traders kept good records, but local people and other foreigners were either not mentioned at all or only in passing. For example, the Fijian, Samoan and Tongan mission teachers brought over to assist with the establishment of the Methodist Church in the region were not given any primacy in the missionaries' records. Most sailors and labourers, whether from Europe, East Asia, or other Pacific islands, were largely ignored. Some of the increasing numbers of mixed-race individuals were mentioned in passing, but not afforded much importance. Women of all nationalities were also largely ignored in the written records, although traders' and missionaries' wives and children were sometimes included. The one notable

exception to these omissions was the Samoan-American 'Queen' Emma[12] of New Britain, who was frequently mentioned in accounts of the time.

Despite these biases in the historical documentation, it is possible to use the records, complete with inferences and casual asides, to work at reconstructing a history of New Ireland that analyses the roles of many of the foreigners involved and their relationships with local people. With a critical analysis of the information available, we can begin to make judgments and develop ideas on how New Irelanders mediated their relations with outsiders and all that they brought with them. The colonial encounter wasn't a straightforward meeting of two uniform sides, New Irelander and European; the records provide evidence of the complexities of identities on both sides.

Background

The Bismarck Archipelago had a long and complex history of contact with foreigners before 1875. Most contact was brief, but trade was vigorous, and evidence suggests that a small number of Europeans may have stayed for short periods on New Ireland. The knowledge and experience of the inter-island traders active in the early 1870s, such as Captain Ferguson and Captain Simpson, was vital for the first European residents. A significant number of coastal villages had either seen foreign ships passing or had some contact with foreigners before 1875, and details about these encounters had been widely dispersed through local networks. Whilst most contact with Europeans prior to 1875 took place either on board ships or at the beach, this started to change from 1875.

[12] Emma Eliza Coe was born in Samoa in 1850, and during her life she acquired the surnames Forsayth and Kolbe. She was also known as Mrs Farrell, although she never married Thomas Farrell, and spent a number of years as the partner of Agostino Stalio. For simplicity and clarity, I refer to her throughout as Emma. In New Britain today, she is generally referred to as 'Queen Emma'.

Local and regional trade and political networks adapted to contact with foreigners between 1700 and 1875. Early European contact may have reinforced the status of some village chiefs, as it was easier for foreigners to deal with one specific individual each time they visited a particular village, but others may have lost control over introduced trade goods as some villages had more contact with outsiders than others, altering relations and trade networks within and between villages and clans. A more intensive period of change began in 1875.

Coastal villages guarded their economic and social ties with inland groups closely and the concentration of trade with outsiders on the coast probably disrupted these relations (Hempenstall 1978:120). Many accounts from before and after 1875 note endemic warfare within and between clans and language groups (Bell 1935c:254; Brown 1908:125; Parkinson 1999:115), but this did not preclude trading and other relations; instead, it reflects a fluid and malleable set of relations between neighbouring villages and language groups in this early period. Whittaker noted that most accounts of warfare indicated that very little blood was shed; most time was taken up preparing ceremonially for battle (1971:638). There were various levels of groupings within New Ireland societies at this time, from clans within a village, to the village, to the larger clan connections and language groups. We do not know how local people understood these groupings at the time of contact. The linguistic diversity of the region meant that many people who had contact with Europeans and other foreigners quickly adopted a pidgin language, initially based on English. This provided an imperfect, but vital, medium of communication between New Irelanders

and their visitors. By 1875, a number of New Irelanders knew some words of this pidgin.

The Establishment of the Mission

In 1875, the Reverend George Brown of the Wesleyan Mission in Sydney arrived in the Duke of York Islands to establish a new mission. Although he was often keen to stress how little contact people in the area had with Europeans, he used a number of sources of information on the region in his planning. In a letter to the Methodist Mission Board requesting permission to start work in New Britain and New Ireland, he mentioned that Captain Levison of the *Iserbrook* had 'been trading there for years' (Threlfall 1975:25). He also noted that several small trading vessels occasionally called at the Duke of Yorks, Port Carteret, by Lamassa Island, and Port Praslin, by Lambon, on New Ireland to buy turtle shell and other produce, including the *Ripple* under Captain Ferguson. Ferguson advised Brown extensively, and allowed him to employ Teem, a young man from Port Hunter who had travelled to Sydney on the *Ripple*. Teem accompanied Brown's party on their first voyage to the region. There were reasons to be cautious, as in 1873, the traders John Nash and William Wawn were chased away from Matupi, and the trading ship *Lavinia* was captured and burnt near Cape St George.

Brown arrived in Port Hunter on 15th August 1875 on board the *John Wesley* mission ship. His party consisted of ten teachers, seven teachers' wives, and two young male assistants, all from Fiji and Samoa, the ship's captain Jack Holmes from Australia,

James Cockerell,[13] a naturalist whom Brown engaged in Fiji, and the crew of the ship whose nationalities were not recorded. Brown wanted Port Hunter to be the base of the new mission as it was central to the larger islands of New Britain and New Ireland. The trading ships *Sydney* under Captain Woodhouse and *Ripple* under Captain Ferguson were in the area when Brown arrived, and a number of other trading and whaling ships called in at Port Hunter during his first few weeks. Captain Ferguson was a source of advice, practical support and supplies to the mission in its early days. Teem was killed in a village quarrel soon after his return, but other Port Hunter men recommended by Ferguson furnished Brown with a network of friendly men who, while operating with their own agendas, welcomed the mission party and ensured their safety. Brown used these contacts, and their networks, as he and his party explored the region, including on his trips to New Ireland. Brown soon decided to establish the mission station nearby at Kinavanua.

Brown made contact with a number of villages on New Britain and New Ireland in his first few weeks, visiting the west coast of New Ireland twice in October 1875. At first he visited Watpi and Kait on the coast opposite the Duke of Yorks, and then explored the more densely populated coast around Kalil and Kabanut (Threlfall 1975:36). At Matakan, near Kabanut, Brown noted that one of the chiefs spoke some English, presumably as a result of contact with trading and whaling ships (Brown's journal, 28th October 1875). The first mission station on New Ireland was established on 20th November 1875, when Brown installed two Fijian teachers, Elimotama Ravono and Pauliasi Bunoa, as well as Pauliasi's wife Sieni, at Kalil, following a request from Le

[13] James F. Cockerell was mentioned as a professional natural history collector in Whittell, H. M. 1954. *The Literature of Australian Birds: a History and a Bibliography of Australian Ornithology.* Perth, Western Australia: Paterson Brokensha, and in *The Brisbane Courier*, 16th December 1876 He made further collecting trips to the Pacific, including the Solomon Islands in 1879.

Bera, the village chief. The village acted as Brown's base for exploring the surrounding area, and in March 1876, a church was opened. The Christian church was known as *lotu*, a Tongan word that was adopted in Fiji and Samoa as well as in what became Melanesian pidgin (Threlfall 1975:41 fn 2, Mosel 1980, Lal and Fortune 2000:184).

Shortly after Brown's arrival, a number of other Europeans also settled in the Duke of York Islands. Eduard Hernsheim, a young German captain who operated independently from Hong Kong, trading sea cucumber and copra in the Caroline Islands, arrived in October 1875. His trader Blohm agreed to settle on Makada, a small island opposite Port Hunter, with his Samoan wife (Sack and Clark 1983:31). Brown, Hernsheim and Blohm made a number of journeys together in October 1875 and February 1876. Brown did not want the Mission to be seen as a commercial enterprise so he limited trading activities to the supply of essentials, focussing on exploration and good relations with locals rather than commerce. In November, the *Susanne*, a trading brig under Captain Milne, established a trader at Nodup on New Britain. Brown described this trader, William Hicks, as 'a half-caste young man from Fiji' (Brown 1877:141).[14] Hicks kept in close contact with Brown, Blohm and the mission teachers.

Brown, Hernsheim, Blohm and a number of the Samoan and Fijian teachers made the first recorded explorations of the interior of New Ireland by foreigners, accompanied by three Duke of York chiefs, Liblib and Dukduk from Waira, and Waruwarum from

[14] William Hicks' father John was from Kent in England; he arrived in Fiji in 1845, presumably to work as a trader; William's mother was Fijian. It is not known when William arrived in New Britain but he is said to have worked previously for Bully Hayes (Ally Hicks, pers. comm., 29th September 2012).

Port Hunter. Brown trod a precarious path through local social and trade networks, and there was a continual struggle to balance the various needs and demands of the different parties. On their first visit to New Ireland in October 1875, Brown noted that the chiefs wanted to stop at a number of villages for 'some little peddling transactions of their own' (Brown 1908:110), but he refused, following advice from Topulu of Port Hunter to visit Tomum, chief of Kait village. Topulu, or King Dick, had known Captain Ferguson for a number of years. Whilst Brown needed the Duke of York chiefs for his endeavours to expand the mission, relying on them for their contacts, ability to translate, and guarantee of safe passage, he was also aware that they had their own incentives and agendas, wanting to control his movements, maintain their own trading networks and manage their own political positions (1908:93).

In December 1875, Brown visited the southern end of New Ireland with a number of Duke of York chiefs. He recorded that there were 'not many people living at Port Carteret and I was not at all favourably impressed with those who came on board. They could all speak a little English & were very forward & the greatest beggars I have ever met' (Brown journal 20th December 1875). Brown wrote that before the attack on the *Lavinia* in 1873, King Tom, the Metlik chief, was considered 'the best man on the Islands', and Port Praslin 'the best and safest anchorage' (1908:141). By the end of 1875, Port Praslin was apparently uninhabited, but people from Metlik visited whenever a ship called (Brown journal 21st December 1875). King Tom told Brown that he had always been good to white men, that some had lived there with him, and that he had cared for and buried sick men left there by whaling ships. He and Brown exchanged a number of gifts, including a pig and other foodstuffs for the mission. On their return to Kalil, they found the village 'full of Bushmen & Men from

the other side of the Island. They have brought some Pigs and are on a friendly visit but both Hosts & Visitors are well armed every hour of the day and are evidently very suspicious indeed of each other' (Brown journal 24th December 1875). He recorded exchanging gifts with the three 'principal chiefs' from villages to the east of Kalil, including Kudukudu on the east coast.

The variety of languages spoken on New Ireland was a major impediment to Brown's mission ambitions. In Metlik, Brown noted that the language was 'totally different from that spoken at Kalil & the other places in New Ireland' (Brown journal 22nd December 1875). Metlik is in the Siar-Lak language area; Kalil and Kabanut, in the church district named Lauru, are in the Hinsal language area, and Watpi, King and Kait, in the church district of Topaia, probably spoke the Kandas language. To complicate matters further, the villages on the east coast opposite Kalil and Kabanut probably spoke the Patpatar language. As Brown discovered New Ireland's linguistic diversity, he became 'more & more confirmed in the belief that if any real good is to be effected here it must be effected by Native Agents as we could never supply Missionaries enough for these different languages' (Brown journal 22nd December 1875). New Ireland's linguistic diversity also meant he relied more on his Duke of York contacts as he was unable to communicate without their assistance in most of New Ireland.

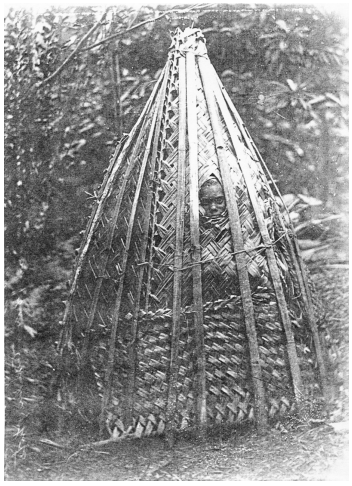
When Brown conducted the island's first formal Christian service at Kalil in December 1875, on his fifth visit to the island, he preached in pidgin. Kaplen, Topulu's nephew, translated this into the Duke of York language, which was then translated into the language of Kalil, presumably Hinsal, by Le Bera, the local chief.

By May 1876, Elimotama was able to preach in the local language and had travelled overland from Kalil to Kudukudu on the coast opposite; he made this journey again at the end of May, with Brown, William Hicks, four men from Kalil, and the crews from Brown's and Hicks' boats.

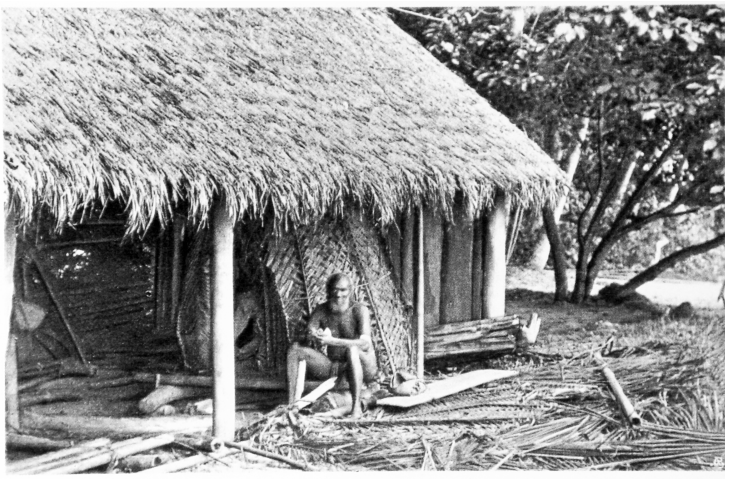
During this trip across New Ireland in May 1876, Brown noted that his party was 'often accompanied by a long train of women and children' (1908:169). He also observed the ritual seclusion of young girls. In the village of Kudukudu, the chief Sagina took him to a house within an enclosure. Three conical structures inside the house, each around two metres tall and just wider than a metre at the base, contained a girl who apparently had to stay in there until the end of puberty. Sagina allowed him to give the girls some beads 'even though it was tabu' (Brown journal 31st May 1876; 1877:142-3).

This practice of seclusion was part of the female initiation process in many parts of New Ireland. Hernsheim observed a similar practice on Nusa in 1880, and the Reverend Rickard recorded it on the west coast of New Ireland in 1892, calling it *kihal* and noting that it no longer occurred in areas where the mission was present (Brown 1910:107-8). Parkinson noted that seclusion only occurred in southern New Ireland, where they practised marriage purchase; he recorded that it lasted between 12 and 20 months, and made the girls plump and pale before their marriage (1999:122). Krämer-Bannow recorded a girls' seclusion house at the mountain village of Bua, to the north of the Lelet Plateau; the associated feast was called *agonin* (2009:216). Bell recorded female seclusion rituals, known as *dafal* on Tanga, in the 1930s (Bell

1936:87, Foster 1995:47), and Groves commented that *dzafunfun*, the practice of secluding children, had ceased on Tabar by 1933 (Groves 1933:349-350).



Photograph of a New Ireland girl in an enclosure by Reverend Rickard c.1880 (Rickard 1892).



Photograph of a female seclusion enclosure by Richard Parkinson, southern New Ireland, date unknown (Parkinson 1907:Pl 18, 1999:123).

There is little information about the first foreigners to settle in New Ireland. Brown did not mention the naturalist James Cockerell very often, although he noted that Cockerell visited the Fijians at Kalil and Kabanut fairly frequently. Brown was horrified by Cockerell's behaviour, noting that he drank, and that he was involved in sexual relations with young women from the Duke of York Islands and New Ireland (Brown journal entry 27th December 1875). Brown attempted to disassociate Cockerell from the mission's work, although they carried on working together on natural history collections, with Brown occasionally helping Cockerell with skinning and other activities. They fell out in August 1876, when Brown suspected that Cockerell had stolen some trade goods and 'stone clubs' from him, and had read Brown's private journal and relayed details from it to various parties (Brown journal entry 21st August 1876). Brown left the Duke of Yorks on 31st August to return to Sydney; Cockerell presumably left on the same ship although Brown does not

mention him again. Macleay's journals note that Cockerell was in Sydney in October 1876;[15] Cockerell noted that he 'was collecting on New Ireland for five months', and that the local people were very friendly to him (*The Argus*, 30th October 1876, pg 7).

Brown mentioned Elimotama Ravono, and Pauliasi and Sieni Bunoa in his journals and letters, although we know little about their daily lives on New Ireland. On moving to Kalil, they were placed under the protection of Le Bera, the chief of Kalil, and given trade goods to exchange for food. The main items that the mission staff used for trade were beads, axes, hoop iron, fabric and tobacco (Gardner 2006:134). At the Quarterly Meeting in April 1876, Elimotama reported that the people of Kalil ignored them at first, but as they worked hard to learn the local language to explain their work, both the Church and school were well attended. He noted that villagers were impressed with the house that Pauliasi had built himself; Brown confirmed that the teachers should instruct local people to build similar 'respectable' homes (Brown journal, entry for 5th April 1876). He noted later that 'some of the natives built houses for themselves after the model of our teacher's house' at Kalil (1908:200).

At some point in 1876, Elimotama moved up to Kabanut at the request of the people there. Threlfall recorded oral history from Kabanut village elders about this transfer. They recalled that their fight-leader Malowa went to Kalil and offered Kiap, the big man there, two fathoms of shell money to buy one of the teachers to eat. Kiap refused and told Malowa of the work they were doing teaching this new message called *lotu*, so Malowa wanted it for his own village. He took the shell money to Brown and asked him to send a missionary to Kabanut, so Elimotama was transferred there

[15] Journal of William John Macleay, page 56, entry for 16th October 1976, Mitchell Library, State Library NSW, transcribed by DS Horning, Macleay Museum, University of Sydney from original located at MLMSS 2009 Linnean Society of New South Wales records, 1826-1970.

(1975:39). Other oral histories record 'buying the *lotu*'; Neumann noted that the spread of the *lotu* among Tolai communities had to be accompanied by transactions of wealth to be ratified (1992:82).

In November 1879, Elimotama became the first teacher to marry a local woman, Mere (Mary) from Kabanut. This trend was often followed in later years, according to Brown (1908:393). Topilike and Turane, two men from Kalil, were baptised into the Church in 1878; they were New Ireland's first official converts to Christianity, and went on to become preachers (Brown 1908:289)

Pauliasi later described the early days as 'hard and trying' to the Reverend Benjamin Danks, who arrived in Port Hunter in 1878, noting that the teachers suffered emotional and physical privations, including ill-health, in their first months and years at Kalil (Danks 1933:214-215). When Brown returned to the region in 1877, a new station was established at Topaia, and more teachers were sent both to Kalil and Kabanut, and Topaia. At the end of March 1880, one of the teachers from Topaia arrived in Port Hunter with three European men from the Marquis de Rays expedition who had made their way there from the southern end of the island (Brown 1908:353). The three stations of the Topaia district, King, Kait and Batigoro, a stretch of coast north of Watpi, were abandoned by 1883 due to the teachers' ill-health, with at least two of their wives' dying (Danks 1933:217; Mather 1984:196), but the Lauru district stations of Kalil, Kabanut and Kudukudu were maintained. Pauliasi was still at Kalil in 1881 (Mather 1984:203), and Elimotama stayed at Kabanut until 1883.

The teachers stationed on New Ireland managed to keep in contact with each other, and seem to have been confident moving around the island. In 1881, three teachers from the Topaia district travelled south, around Cape St George 'and up the eastern side of N. Ireland to purchase Mons or native boats' for their stations (Rooney, quoted in Mather 1984:204).[16] The people they met had heard of the missionaries and teachers, but hadn't seen them; they welcomed them, gave them food and apparently begged them to return there to live and work.

These Fijian and Samoan teachers and their wives were the first foreigners to set up permanent homes on New Ireland. Although they could not return home at will, they were able to travel around the region, and they socialised, fairly sporadically, with each other and with the traders who were starting to spend more time on New Ireland. No European clergymen based themselves on New Ireland during this early period, and Brown took long furloughs back to Australia during his residence, partly due to ill health.[17]

Brown was frustrated at times when he perceived that the teachers did not take care of themselves properly when ill, for instance failing to take the medicine he gave them, and refusing to raise their beds from the ground. But all of the teachers based on New Ireland seem to have stayed at their posts and got on with their jobs, as far as their health allowed. When Brown left the region for a year after August 1876, a number of the teachers based on New Britain and the Duke of York Islands abandoned their

[16] A *Mon* was a large, plank-built canoe used for long/open-water voyages; a *wang* was a smaller dug-out canoe (Bell 1949:206; Blackwood 1931:205).
[17] Brown was based in Port Hunter from August 1875 to August 1876, August 1877 to May 1879 and March 1880 to 4th January 1881, a total of about 44 months. The rest of the time he was in, or travelling to, Australia or New Zealand.

posts to return to the mission headquarters at Kinavanua (Brown 1908:225), and later on, some of these teachers left the mission to work as assistants or agents for traders.

Brown was able to travel to northern New Ireland for the first time at the end of August 1878 on HMS *Sandfly* under Captain Holmes. In his journal he noted that when they went ashore on the central part of the west coast, women were 'soliciting' them indecently and made a 'most disgusting exhibition' when they left. He had apparently witnessed similar behaviour at other places and the local men encouraged it, so he considered it a New Ireland custom (Brown journal 1st September 1878). He noted separately that they 'very seldom' saw New Ireland women at sea when exploring by ship (1908:151). Most of Brown's contact in the region was with men, and he rarely mentioned women, apart from the odd comment about their clothing or behaviour.

Brown's wife Lydia and their younger children had joined Brown in August 1877. They were not able to return with him to New Zealand when he left in May 1879 due to his own ill health; by the time he returned in March 1880, two of his children, Wallis and Mabel, had died, from what seems to have been malaria. Danks' wife Emma accompanied him for most of his time in the region, and also suffered from symptoms consistent with malaria. More Fijian, Samoan and Tongan teachers, their wives, and ancillary staff arrived in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Reverend Rooney arrived in 1881, and Reverend Rickard in 1882.[18] Most members of the mission suffered from ill health; the European missionaries and their wives tended not to stay for longer than two years at a time. It is not clear whether the Fijians and Samoans

[18] There is no evidence that Danks or Rooney made collections of their own. Rev. Rickard donated a small number of New Ireland artefacts to the Queensland Museum in 1887 (Barnecutt 2011:118).

were given the option to return home, but most seem to have stayed, with a fairly high mortality rate. Whilst other stations in the south of New Ireland were opened in the late 1880s, the mission did not expand to the northern half of New Ireland until the late 1890s (Danks 1914:520).

The Impact of the Mission

The presence of the mission had a number of practical effects, with teachers supplying trade goods as well as introducing new styles of clothing and housing. Brown installed a number of teachers on New Ireland and New Britain in January 1876 and left each one with 'Clothing Medicines &c… (and) 200 strings of Beads to buy Food with in case they should require it' (Brown journal 5th January 1876). The teachers encouraged people connected to the church to dress in manufactured cloth. Brown described giving out pieces of 'gaudy print' to women and girls in the village of Kait, near Topaia, on his first visit to New Ireland in 1875 (1908:111). A few months later, during the first church service at Kalil, he recorded that the chief, Le Bera, wore a shirt and waist cloth, and his wives and daughter wore a leaf or piece of cloth (Brown journal 5th December 1975). He noted that by 1877 most people in the areas in contact with the missions were 'ashamed to go without clothes' (1908:228). The teachers' rations included bars of soap and balls of washing blue for laundry, and they encouraged those attending church services to wash beforehand (Brown journal 10th October 1877; Firth 1982:140).

The teachers introduced new techniques in food preparation and cooking, gained from their own experiences growing up in Fiji and probably also training from the church in Samoa before departure. The villagers must have observed their use of metal

knives, pots and pans, and imported ingredients such as tea, coffee, yeast, flour, sugar, 'cabin biscuit' crackers, and salt beef. Brown noted that people in Kalil asked his advice, as they were 'anxious to get healthier'; he recommended that they plant nut trees on a large scale (Brown journal 18th March 1876). He also encouraged the New Ireland chiefs to build 'respectable houses' in place of the 'miserable huts' they lived in; Kalil villagers apparently asked for help in building mission-style houses for themselves (Brown journal 5th April 1876, Brown 1908:156).

The mission would not provide firearms to locals but the teachers were armed with muskets; Powell noted that Brown's teacher on New Ireland had a musket and 'showed fight' with it when threatened by a local chief in 1878 (1883:125). This must have been a significant factor for New Irelanders as the presence of firearms affected the dynamics of inter-village relationships; this was probably one reason why so many villages asked for a teacher. Brown carried a pocket revolver at times (Brown journal 27th October 1875), as did Cockerell and Jack, the mission ship's captain. Brown's interpreter Kaplen had a rifle and helped shoot birds for Brown; on a trip to Kuras in New Ireland Kaplen fired into the sky just to let villagers know he was armed when he discovered human flesh being cooked (Brown journal 1st December 1875). [19]Brown claimed that on his arrival in 1875 all men were armed with spears and tomahawks but just a few years later he 'rarely' saw anyone armed (1908:228).

The mission's official historian Threlfall noted that the Fijian and Samoan teachers were often successful in villages where traders were not welcomed. He quoted oral histories that this was due to the teachers' gentle approach, and that local people were

impressed by the Fijian, Samoan and English hymns (Threlfall 1975:39). His argument is strengthened by the region's long history of importing songs, dances and religious beliefs or cult practices, but it is also evident that New Irelanders valued the mission teachers as sources of trade goods and as links to the Europeans.

It is more difficult to assess the intangible effects of the early years of mission activity on New Ireland. Whilst accounts suggest that many New Irelanders wanted a mission teacher in or near their village, the teachers had to work extremely hard to gain any converts, and for a long time most people maintained their traditional beliefs alongside an interest in the teachings of the church. The missionaries attempted to impose a completely novel and foreign belief system on the New Irelanders that they had contact with; this must have had some psychological and cosmological effects on the local population, but these were part of the greater changes introduced by increased contact with foreigners, their goods and their behaviours. Whilst mission activities were restricted to the two small areas of the west coast of southern New Ireland around Kalil and King throughout the late 1870s and 1880s, it is likely that both the tangible and intangible effects of the mission's activities spread rapidly across southern and central New Ireland.

Traders in the region

From 1875 to 1878, there were only a few other foreigners living in the region. Captain Levison established a station for Godeffroys at Mioko in the Duke of York Islands in July 1876, trading and recruiting, probably from Bougainville, for Samoa. Hernsheim and Blohm attempted to expand their enterprise, but illness drove their new recruits away (Sack and Clark 1975:36-39). In May 1878, Brown listed 12

traders who were resident in the Duke of Yorks: Blohm and Charles E. Young, traders for Hernsheim; Wilfred Powell, master of the ketch *Star of the East*, his mate Wood and 'Collector' George Turner, a botanist from Sydney; William Hicks, William Petherick and John Knowles, traders for Godeffroys; James McGrath, a 'Resident', and Brunow, Southwell and Woodward, who lived on the north coast of New Britain. John Knowles, also known as Jonny Meoko, was of mixed Tongan-European parentage. He killed a Portuguese trader in a drunken brawl in June 1878 (Brown journal 8th June 1878), and in August 1879 he shot and killed Levison at Kuras on the west coast of New Ireland (Scarr 1967:118; Danks 1933:53). He was transported to Fiji and prosecuted for murder (*Fiji Times*, 15th November 1879). McGrath was an Irish carpenter from Australia who came to New Britain with Brown in 1877.

At the end of 1878, Captain Thomas Farrell and Emma Forsayth arrived in Mioko from Samoa to work for the Godeffroy Company. Farrell was an Irish-Australian who had worked as a trader and saloonkeeper in Apia; he was a domineering character who had a number of critics, including George Brown (journal, 18th April 1880, 24th May 1880). Emma was born in Samoa in 1850 to an American father, Jonas Coe, and his first wife, a Samoan from a chiefly family. She married in 1869, but her husband, Captain James Forsayth, was reportedly lost at sea in the mid-1870s (Robson 1965:91). Farrell and Emma became business partners in Samoa in the mid-1870s. Farrell ran a schooner and trade-store whilst Emma took care of a hotel. Farrell began to work for the Godeffroy firm around 1877, undertaking trading expeditions for them in the Marshall Islands, and exploring, trading and recruiting in the Duke of York Islands and New Britain. Emma accompanied him to the area on at least one occasion prior to their relocation there at the end of 1878.

When Farrell and Emma arrived in Mioko, they presented themselves as Mr and Mrs Farrell, although they were not legally married. Emma's brother John Coe and three Samoan staff accompanied them. Godeffroys arranged for a German brig to supply them with the equipment necessary to set up a trade store, build a house and run a small cutter, the *Lelea*. Emma took charge of the trading station at Mioko whilst Farrell continued to travel, trading and recruiting. Farrell delivered a shipload of 'natives' to the Godeffroy plantations in Samoa some time in 1879 (Robson 1965:98); these early recruits were probably from Buka/Bougainville. Initially Farrell and Emma worked for Godeffroys and its successor after 1879, the DHPG, (Biskup 1974:2), but they also traded and acquired land on their own accounts. By mid-1881, they were completely independent, trading through Mason Brothers of Sydney (Biskup 1974:23). Emma's sister Phebe and her husband Richard Parkinson arrived in Mioko late in 1882 and initially focussed their efforts on establishing the plantation at Ralum, on New Britain near Herbertshöhe. Phebe was a key figure in the development of Ralum and also in Parkinson's research and collecting work (Mead 1960:183). She was fluent in Pidgin and communicated on Parkinson's behalf in New Britain and later in New Ireland (Salesa 2014:156).

From 1878 onwards, the numbers of foreign residents, both traders and mission workers, increased, and their presence became more permanent. Brown's journals recorded that the traders travelled to visit each other and the mission stations quite frequently, and a sense of community seems to have developed. Some foreign residents took local wives, and most traders employed local people to assist in the production of copra. Farrell brought significant numbers of men from Buka and

Bougainville to New Ireland and New Britain. Most of his ships' crews, as well as trading and recruiting assistants, were from Buka and Bougainville, and in 1882 he employed 150 men to work on the establishment of the Ralum plantation, and also provided a personal guard of twelve men for the Parkinsons (Specht 2000:24). Other traders employed Pacific Islanders from elsewhere, but Samoa and Buka/Bougainville were particularly popular.

The emerging sense of community can also be seen in the punitive missions undertaken by Europeans and other foreigners in 1878 and 1881. George Brown led the first, following the murder of four Fijian mission teachers on the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain. Thomas Farrell led the second after the German naturalist Theodore Kleinschmidt and two European assistants were killed on Utuan in the Duke of Yorks Islands. On both occasions, most of the Europeans in the area, traders and missionaries alike, agreed that action was necessary and assisted in carrying out punitive attacks on the local villagers and villages that they held responsible. In 1878, the Fijian and Samoan teachers supported Brown, and some of the village bigmen that he was friendly with provided both men and logistical assistance (Brown 1908:254-7). In 1881, Farrell had the support of many of his neighbours; Danks conceded that action was necessary but refused mission assistance.

In each case, local men and other resident Pacific Islanders supported the Europeans, either because they were paid to assist, or because they chose to, or felt they had to. Farrell engaged about fifty men from New Britain to assist in the Utuan fight, as well as his Buka employees. Both actions were considered to be a success by the Europeans who led them. Whilst the reported death toll varied widely, Schütte, who

looked at a variety of contemporary accounts, estimated that around 50-100 people died in each case (Schütte 1989 and 1991). These punitive missions, with their high degree of violence, probably intensified local power struggles.

In the early 1880s, European life in the area focussed on the Gazelle Peninsula. Hernsheim moved his headquarters to Matupi Island in Blanche Bay in 1879, and Danks moved to Kabakada in May 1880. Emma Forsayth started buying land for plantations on New Britain in 1881, and the Parkinsons moved to Ralum in 1882. It is difficult to estimate how many traders operated in the region, and in particular how long they stayed there, but the accounts kept by Hernsheim, and records written by Brown, Danks and the trader/explorer Wilfred Powell, suggest that a few individuals stayed long-term, whilst many others passed through relatively briefly. Illness, in particular fever, probably caused by malaria, was the main reason for leaving the region.

Traders based on the Duke of York Islands and the Gazelle Peninsula, including Petherick, Hicks and Knowles, visited southern New Ireland in the late 1870s (Brown journal entry 30th May 1878), and a number of trading ships from further afield, including Samoa, continued to call. In June 1879 John Knowles went to Kuras to trade for Godeffroys; in August 1879 he was removed after killing his boss Levison (Scarr 1967:118). Another trader, Captain Glasson, had moved there by June 1880 (Brown journal entry 22nd June 1880), and he requested that a mission teacher be sent to Kuras, as he considered their presence and influence to be a safeguard (Brown 1908:391). The traders based on New Britain and the Duke of York Islands visited the

southern New Ireland coast on a fairly regular basis, so many communities had experience of interactions with both traders and missionaries.

Southern New Ireland and the Marquis de Rays Expeditions

In the 1870s, a French aristocrat known as the Marquis de Rays devised a scheme to establish his own colony in the Pacific, 'La Nouvelle France'. Having read the journals of Bougainville and Duperrey, he decided on southern New Ireland, found investors, and by the end of 1879 was ready to send peasant farmers and small landowners to settle and cultivate the land around Port Praslin. The project was impractical and under-researched, many settlers lost their lives, the investors lost all their money, and de Rays was imprisoned for fraud in 1882 (Biskup 1974:8). The mountainous coastline, with high rainfall and endemic malaria, presented too many challenges to the would-be settlers.

On the 20th January 1880, the first ship, the *Chandernagor,* arrived at Port Praslin with about seventy European settlers on board. After ten days they moved east to Metlik assisted by local men who lent them canoes, and helped them to build houses and fetch water (Thompson 1974, ch.4, quoting one of the survivors, Wilhelm Schmitz). Hernsheim called in on his way to northern New Ireland on 2nd February 1880 and noted that the colonists appeared content with their lot (Sack and Clark 1983:55). The ship left for Sydney to fetch supplies on 20th February, and when the Godeffroy trader Lund visited at the end of February, having been told about the camp by New Irelanders, he found the Europeans 'sick and hungry' (Robson

1965:115).[20] Farrell did not believe Lund's account and it was not until the end of March, when one of the mission teachers from Topaia arrived in Port Hunter with three colonists who had made their way to his station desperate for help, that the resident Europeans became aware of the colony and its fate (Brown 1908:354). Brown and other mission workers went to the colony in April 1880 and took many of the ill to be cared for at Port Hunter; traders employed at least ten of the settlers locally (Brown 1908:358). During this trip, Brown took a photograph of the colony at Port Breton. The Metlik camp was abandoned at the end of August when a ship took the remaining colonists to Sydney.



'Men of colony of Marquis de Rays, Port Breton, New Ireland 1880'
V6381 George Brown photograph collection, Australian Museum (Reeson 2013:152).

Two further ships, the *Genil* and the *India*, arrived in August and October 1880, making camp at Port Praslin. Despite being better equipped than the first group, by the end of November the 340 colonists were sick, demoralised and running out of

[20] Brown noted that the trader Charlie Lund died on 20th April 1880 on Makada, one of the Duke of York islands (Brown journal 20th April 1880).

supplies. The settlement was abandoned in February 1881, with all surviving colonists leaving for Sydney. The fourth and final group of colonists arrived in July and August 1881 on the *Nouvelle Bretagne* and the *Marquis de Rays*, carrying about 150 colonists; this attempt fared better than the previous ones, but all the colonists had abandoned the settlements at Port Breton and Irish Cove by February 1882. At least three individuals remained in the area to work as traders: Octave Mouton and his father who reluctantly went to work for Farrell (Biskup 1974:5); and Dupré who was engaged by Schülle, Hernsheim's trader (Biskup 1974:67).

Accounts from the later Marquis de Rays expeditions indicate that Lambon Island was inhabited in 1881, perhaps as a result of the settlements at Port Praslin and Metlik. Octave Mouton arrived on the *Nouvelle Bretagne* in 1881 as a teenager and recorded regular and friendly contact with local men during the six months he spent at Irish Cove, which he called Baie Marie. He joined them on fishing trips whenever he could spare the time, and canoed to Port Breton with his 'friend Massun' twice a week to collect the rations for their settlement (Biskup 1974:53-54). He travelled to Metlik and Mimias on the southeast coast in the *Genil* with Captain Rabardy with men from Lambon to procure yams, taro and pigs. Mouton also recorded that the ship's crew and Lambon men had sexual encounters with women from Mimias, noting that they made 'good use' of the women's 'lacking morals' (Biskup 1974:56). According to Mouton, Rabardy was trading and recruiting for Farrell whilst claiming to prepare for the arrival of the next expedition. The expedition's surgeon, Dr Baudouin, reported that Rabardy said he had purchased the entire southern part of New Ireland, for a pound of tobacco, twenty-five pipes and some handkerchiefs, from the Lambon chief

'King' Maragano, a man who had apparently been chased away from his mainland village for adultery (Baudouin 1885:110, quoted in Biskup 1974:62, fn 36).

Mouton spent his last night at Irish Cove alone with the remaining cargo, waiting for the boat to return to fetch him. Five or six Lambon men accompanied him, and they were surprised in the night by a 'Gololon hunting party' of about 30 men, armed with sticks, spears and clubs. Mouton armed his men, and after a sleepless but peaceful night, the boats returned to fetch him in the morning. Mouton described the Gololon as a tribe of bushmen from the mountains inland from Port Breton; he noted that they traded the teeth of possums that they hunted with the coastal tribes (Biskup 1974:58).

The accounts that we have of the Marquis de Rays expeditions indicate that local people were helpful and friendly. There were no reports of violence or theft, despite the settlers' appropriation of land and produce and their vulnerability through illness and malnutrition. King Tom must have sanctioned the move by the *Chandernagor* colonists from Port Praslin to Metlik in January 1880, and Metlik locals gave a canoe, and directions, to the three colonists who travelled to Topaia to find the mission teacher in March 1880. Brown's photograph of April 1880 shows at least six New Ireland or New Britain men among the settlers. Mouton's records from 1881 indicate that local people were keen to preserve relations with the Europeans, and went out of their way to assist the settlers. This may have been helped by the long history of contact with outsiders in that stretch of coast, and their experience following the sacking of the *Lavinia*, after which ships avoided the area.

Trading Stations in Northern New Ireland

Whalers, long-distance traders, and itinerant island traders visited various places on New Ireland's coasts throughout the 19th century. More permanent trading and recruiting relations began in 1880, with the first trading stations established in northern New Ireland. In 1879, Hernsheim investigated northern New Ireland in his new, smaller, ship the *Alice*. He discovered that many of the islands in the Steffen Straits between New Hanover and the northern tip of New Ireland had coconut groves, and their inhabitants were willing to trade coconuts for hoop iron. He wanted to set up stations there to process the nuts into copra, to make trading more profitable. In February 1880, Hernsheim visited again and installed John Nash and his Samoan wife at a new station on Nusa Island where 'the inhabitants appeared to be particularly friendly' (Sack and Clark 1983:56).

During this trip, Hernsheim was taken to an enclosure on Nusa where a young girl was held in seclusion. He recorded that he was offered both the carved and painted inner wall panels, and the girl, as a gift, for which he made a return gift of two empty glass bottles (Sack and Clark 1983:56-57). This suggests that the people from Nusa wanted to establish longer-term relations with Hernsheim, and that they knew that Europeans liked ritual art. It seems extraordinary that Hernsheim was taken to the enclosure, usually taboo to all outsiders, and for it to be broken up to show him the girl, but it is possible that his visit coincided with the end of her confinement, or that the taboos surrounding her confinement had already been broken. Hernsheim took the girl back to Matupi but she remained terrified so she was returned to Nusa. On her return, a number of men announced that they were prepared to make the same trip, which established a pattern of recruiting from Nusa and the surrounding area in which

men spent three months working for Hernsheim in Matupi, before being paid in trade goods and taken home.

Hernsheim was keen to expand and within a few months, his firm had established eleven other stations in the Steffen Straits and on the northeast coast of New Ireland (Biskup 1974:63, fn 38). The stations were at Kaboteron Island in the Steffen Straits, and Putput, Navangai near Kapsu, Kablaman, Kapsu, Lagunbanje (also spelt Lagunabange[21]) and Lamorotte (Lemakot), on the east coast within 42 miles of the northern tip of New Ireland, and also probably at Kabien on the west coast of the northern tip of New Ireland. We do not know the location of the other three stations. Friedrich Schülle, a German national engaged by Hernsheim in Sydney, managed the transport arrangements, a Chinese carpenter based in Nusa helped with construction, and both Europeans and Solomon Islanders ran the stations. Among the traders were at least four survivors from the first Marquis de Rays expedition: Nassau, Gasser, Brandt and Lemesle. Nash left Nusa after a few months and returned to the area with a new partner from Sydney, Beaver, but both men died within a year.

Hernsheim noted that after some initial misunderstandings, when locals brought human flesh to trade, relations with New Irelanders remained good for a long time and business was 'very brisk' from the beginning. Locals quickly learnt the traders' 'ways and requirements', including preparing ready-cut coconut kernels, rather than whole nuts, for trade. Crucially, Hernsheim's traders had little or no competition until rival companies started to move in from 1884, and trading was very profitable in these early years. Hernsheim recorded in February 1880 that hoop iron, glass bottles and

[21] Lagunabanje does not exist anymore but was probably on the site of today's Katu plantation, just south of Kapsu (Michael Gunn, pers. comm.).

axes were the best trade goods for the area; by June, beads, tobacco, 'turkey red' cloth, and ironware were the staples. It is clear from his diaries that New Irelanders quickly acquired more sophisticated tastes in trade goods, and were able to make their demands known. Tobacco had previously been unknown in the region but the traders quickly introduced it, with labourers returning from Matupi bringing back pipes and tobacco, and smoking schools were set up to promote it, 'with the traders as instructors' (Sack and Clark 1983:60).

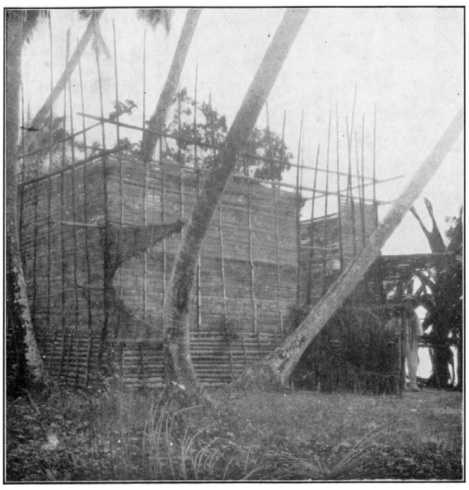
Hernsheim's employees suffered numerous problems and setbacks in the first few years. According to Hernsheim's diaries, many of the problems were either caused or exacerbated by the traders' behaviour. In August 1880, Hernsheim's trader Sandbergen, at Navangai near Kapsu, shot a man who jumped over his fence; the trader Gasser and the Chinese carpenter from Nusa were visiting and all three were injured in subsequent fighting. The Nusa men fought for the traders, and took them back to Nusa by canoe; the trade goods left at Navangai near Kapsu were stolen and Sandbergen's boat was destroyed. When he returned from Nusa, he killed four men and burnt some homes down; the Nusa men apparently consumed the bodies of the slain men. Hernsheim noted initially that the inhabitants of both Nusa and Putput, then also called Butbut, were friendly towards the traders and could be relied upon to assist them in disagreements and fights (Sack and Clark 1983:135). A few months later, the trader Schülle shot a local man when he arrived to find the Putput station abandoned, but it transpired that the Solomon Islander traders had fled due to fighting with villagers from other places. Schülle paid compensation and made peace with the Putput people.

By May 1881 there was growing unrest among the local population in New Ireland and a number of stations closed. The station at Kaboteron, an island in the Steffen Straits, was abandoned in September 1880 and again in June 1881. In May 1881, the Hungarian trader Sztudinka at Putput was shot dead by Tom, one of his Solomon Islander assistants. Tom fled and was sheltered by the Tubtub people who refused to give him up even when threatened by Zembsch, the German consul-general for Samoa who visited the area shortly after. Zembsch's marines shelled and torched the village, but it had already been abandoned; New Irelanders knew that they could hide inland without much fear of retribution (Sack 2001:488). It is not clear today where the village of Tubtub was, although these references indicate it was on the north-east coast. Later, Hernsheim heard reports that Tom was living with one of the Fijian missionaries on the west coast of New Ireland but it is not known what eventually happened to him. The stations at Nusa, Kapsu and Kablaman were the most enduring; all three were still operating at the end of 1884, although the Nusa station shut temporarily at the end of 1883 when it was burnt down (Biskup 1974:63, fn 38). In 1883, the situation was complicated by the arrival of recruiting ships, then traders from rival companies.

The trading station at Kapsu provides an example of the kinds of changes occurring in New Ireland villages at this time. Hugh Romilly, Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific High Commission in Fiji, visited Nusa in October 1883 with Hernsheim's employees. Brandt, the trader at Nusa, recommended that he visit the trading station at Kapsu whose 'young chief' Nanati was in close contact with Nusa. Nanati had already spent two months at Matupi, and was 'amassing a large fortune' trading Kapsu shell money at Nusa, and vice versa (Romilly 1886:41). At Kapsu,

Romilly witnessed a battle between a large war party that arrived by newly built war canoes from a village down the coast. The Kapsu men won the battle, killing and eating at least two men. The defeated survivors fled by canoe and also overland. Romilly's description is probably exaggerated as he suggested that the battle involved 2000-3000 men, but it is evident that communities in the area were prepared for war.

Nanati showed Romilly the contents of a closed *malagan* display house, against the wishes of the old men of the village (Romilly 1886:44-46), and later sold the carvings it contained to Romilly, for 'a gigantic pig' (Romilly 1893:187). It is not clear whether the carvings had been formally displayed yet. Nanati was operating independently in trading shell valuables in Kapsu and Nusa, but he would not have been able to exploit the Nusa market so effectively without the protection afforded by the trading station. Before the arrival of traders, there were probably fewer opportunities for young men to amass wealth without the support of their elders; Nanati's scant regard for the approval of the old men indicates a diminishing of respect for age, and inter-generational conflict as an indirect result of the presence of the traders and trading stations.



Photograph of a *malagan* enclosure on Tabar in 1935 (Groves 1936: Plate I).

Thomas Farrell made a concerted effort to establish trading stations and purchase land on the north and east coasts of New Ireland when he returned to the region from San Francisco and Samoa in September 1884, with 14 stations operating by May 1885. Farrell stationed two traders at Nusa, on land he claimed to have bought from Hernsheim's disgruntled ex-employee Brandt, and the other 13 were, according to Hernsheim, between Kapsu and Laguk, near Hernsheim's own stations (Sack and Clark 1983:175). Laguk may have been an old name for the village of Losuk, now called Lesu; all of Farrell's stations were probably in the northern third of the east coast. However, most of these stations did not last long. In May 1885, men from Kabien attacked Farrell's trader Carlson with axes, tomahawks and rifle-butts at Kaboteron Island, apparently incited by a competing trader (Firth 1982:48). Soon after, his trader Campbell, probably at Lesu, and another at Biroa, were killed and their stations looted, and in December 1885 his trader Carr was killed at Kaboteron. Biroa was probably the hamlet of Bure, near Fisoa. New Irelanders plundered and burnt all of Farrell's stations by the end of 1885, including those at Lesu, Matinsula and Tenisoa (Hempenstall 1978:129, Sack 2001:505). The place names Matinsula and Tenisoa are not known in New Ireland today, but it is likely that they were on the same stretch of coast as Lesu.

The other trading companies on New Ireland also experienced increased violence and aggression from late 1883 onwards. In February 1884, Hernsheim accompanied the German warship *Hyane* to investigate after the Nusa station was robbed and torched late in 1883; the trader Brandt and his men had fled to join the trader Nassau at Kapsu (Sack and Clark 1983:85). Hernsheim's traders in Kablaman and Putput were attacked in 1885; they escaped but local employees were killed. Men from other villages were

often held responsible for the violence, indicating that local people were comfortable travelling fair distances to fight, and that they were not particularly fearful of European punishment. Kapsu people cut down several hundred of Hernsheim's coconut palms, and Djaul Islanders speared another European to death late in 1885.

On the eastern offshore island groups, relations between local people and traders were more fragile, highlighting the fact that opinions towards traders varied considerably within the region. Hernsheim attempted to station a trader on Lihir in 1880, but the trader was not successful in obtaining copra, so after purchasing yams, he returned to the mainland (Sack and Clark 1983:128). Traders continued to call at the southern end of New Ireland, as evidenced by the Godeffroy trader Lund making contact with the Marquis de Rays' settlers in 1880. The German schooner *Mioko* was sacked at Metlik early in 1884, with all the crew losing their lives (Sack 2001:505); the *Mioko* was probably both recruiting and trading in the area.

The Impact of Traders and Settlers

The traders who visited New Ireland's coast after 1875 introduced larger quantities and more varieties of trade goods than previous visitors, as they were keen to acquire substantial amounts of copra and other island produce. The itinerant traders based in the Duke of York Islands and the Gazelle Peninsula visited the coasts of southern New Ireland but longer-distance traders and other shipping probably continued to call at villages in northern New Ireland. From 1880, the impact of traders increased significantly with the arrival of permanent trading stations on the north and east coasts; access to trade goods opened up along the coast around the trading stations and also inland, as permanent stations made it easier for people to travel to the traders.

For the first time, villagers on the north and east coasts were able to observe the visitors and their trade goods and firearms more closely. At the southern end of New Ireland, some of the Marquis de Rays settlers forged friendships with locals, who protected them from the threat of attack by other groups.

In a similar way to the mission stations, traders would have had material effects on New Ireland life through their trade goods, although their need for security within their compounds probably meant that they had less impact on local lifestyles. The traders had no social agenda, they didn't want to improve life for the people around them, unless it involved trade goods that they could sell. Introducing tobacco products had a significant long-term effect on New Irelanders' health, and increased their economic dependency on the traders. Traders may have tried to encourage the wearing of clothes to encourage more trade. There is no evidence that they supplied medicines at this stage.

The villages that housed trading stations, and their allies, gained significant access to trade goods and control over trading networks, presumably at the expense of their neighbours. Records suggest a complex, and constantly shifting, series of alliances between traders and local people. There was little outright hostility to the traders on the east coast up until late 1883, but relations between villages were evidently affected by their presence. In the event of trouble, local people had to make quick decisions about who to support in the emerging power struggles, and chiefs, who were not guaranteed the support of their people, had to strategise based on the information at hand to ensure they retained local influence. Allegiances within and between villages and language groups were never fixed, but the arrival of foreigners with their

weapons and trading goods, added a new, unknown and unpredictable element to local political and trading networks. Nusa had good connections with the villages of Putput and Kapsu, but was apparently in a state of conflict with its neighbours on the mainland coast opposite. Romilly described violence between Kapsu and its neighbours. He observed that muskets and Snider rifles were much in demand among New Irelanders, and reported that 'since the introduction of breech-loading rifles the natives fight more among themselves and murder each other more often than was their habit when spears, and clubs, and slings were their only weapons' (Romilly Reports 1883). The fact that the villagers of Tubtub protected Tom, the Putput trader's assistant and killer, suggests that they placed a high value on the firearms and ammunition he brought with him, and his skill in using them. All the evidence suggests that local conflicts were exacerbated by the presence of the trading stations, a situation that was made worse again by the arrival of the recruiting ships.

Recruiting

The recruitment of labour for plantations in Fiji, Samoa and Queensland started in New Ireland in 1882, but there was a complex history of the transfer of people for labour in the region that began eleven years earlier. In 1871 the *Carl* recruited an unknown number of men from the west coast of New Ireland for plantations in Fiji; the survivors were returned to their villagers in 1873. In 1872 the *Franz*, a pearl-fishing schooner operating out of Sydney, recruited around twenty men from the Duke of York Islands, who were all killed in a massacre in 1873 in west New Guinea (Sack and Clark 1983:20, Mullins 2004:279). Because of this, Topulu, a chief at Port Hunter, refused to allow the captain of a trading schooner to employ a local man to travel to the Hermit Islands to act as a translator in 1874. Teem from Port Hunter

travelled to Sydney with Captain Ferguson around this time, and returned with George Brown in August 1875 (Brown 1908:106).

Other Pacific Islanders came to work in the region. Solomon Islanders, principally men but also some women, were employed by many of the Europeans who first visited and settled in New Britain and the Duke of York Islands after 1875 and northern New Ireland from 1880. These men and women, mostly from Buka and Bougainville, were employed to protect the Europeans and their assets, to assist with trading, and as domestic help. The mission brought Fijians and Samoans to staff their stations on New Britain and New Ireland, and some of the traders also brought Samoans to the region, either as assistants or wives. Pacific Islanders were also represented in the crews of many of the ships that visited the region in the 1870s and 1880s. There were a number of mixed-race individuals employed as traders, for example the part-Tongan John Knowles, and William Hicks, whose mother was Fijian and father English.

Labour recruiting for the cotton and sugar plantations of Fiji, Samoa and Queensland started elsewhere in the Pacific in the early 1860s (Corris 1968:85) but there was little recruiting in New Britain before the late 1870s. Farrell made recruiting trips to Buka, the Duke of York Islands and New Britain from 1878 for plantations in Samoa,[22] and may have recruited from southern New Ireland from 1881 when Captain Rabardy in the *Genil* started trading for him. Other traders in New Britain and the Duke of York Islands, including Blohm, were also involved with recruiting labour for Samoa. In 1880, Rev. Danks grew impatient with the disruption to mission work caused by

[22] In 1884, Douglas Rannie, the Government Agent on the *Heron*, encountered men from Nissan who spoke some English as a result of working in Samoa, and men on Buka who had been recruited by Farrell to Samoa (Rannie 1912:44-45).

villagers from New Britain leaving for Samoa, so he instructed all the teachers to explain to local people the length and terms of service expected of recruits to Samoa, which led to far fewer volunteers, and a cooling of the relations between missionaries and traders (Danks 1933:79, 155). It is not clear how many people were recruited from New Britain between 1878 and 1880.

Recruiting in northern New Ireland began in 1880, when Hernsheim started to take small groups of men from Nusa and the surrounding area to Matupi for a three-month period of work. News of this pattern of working away from home for short periods, in return for payment in trade goods, probably spread along much of the north and east coasts of New Ireland, setting the scene for confusion when, late in 1882, this same area started to be visited by recruiters working for plantations in Fiji, Queensland and Samoa.

The first ship to visit was the *Lord of the Isles* from Fiji whose crew quickly engaged 39 men from northern New Ireland in late 1882. Early in 1883, three recruiting ships from northern Queensland also filled their ships quickly and cheaply in New Ireland and New Britain. Word spread quickly about their success, and recruiters were excited about the prospect of a vast recruiting area so close to home. Eight more ships from Queensland visited the Bismarck Archipelago in the second half of 1883 (Corris 1968:86). Recruiters from Fiji and Samoa were also active at the same time; Romilly reported that more than thirty shiploads of men from New Ireland and New Britain were recruited in the first nine months of 1883 (Romilly, 'Report' 15th September 1883); each ship carried between 70 and 150 recruits. Blum later suggested that 700 men were recruited from New Britain and New Ireland in 1883 alone (Blum 1900:6).

In 1884, around 20 recruiting trips were made from Queensland to the Bismarck Archipelago. Ships bound for Fiji recruited 548 men from New Ireland between 1882 and 1884 (Siegel 1985:50). Recruiting for Fiji and Queensland stopped in May 1885 when the Godeffroy's successor the DHPG gained exclusive recruiting rights in New Ireland and New Britain for their plantations in Samoa, but illegal and sometimes violent abduction continued, from New Ireland and elsewhere (Paul 1907:31). Recruiting for Samoa by the DHPG continued throughout the rest of the 19th century but at a slightly slower pace.

The rush of recruiting in New Ireland and New Britain from 1883 to 1885 garnered attention outside the industry, with the government and media in Queensland publicising and criticising both the methods of recruiting, with stories of kidnapping rife, and the results, with a high mortality rate among these Islanders evident early on (Corris 1968:88). Romilly was sent out to investigate the situation in New Britain and New Ireland in October 1883, the Queensland government passed a series of laws to tighten up regulation of the industry, and a number of trials took place, of both ships' captains and the government agents who accompanied the ships and were charged with ensuring that all recruiting was legal. A Royal Commission was established in December 1884 to investigate eight of the voyages to the New Guinea islands.

The conclusion of the Royal Commission and the trials of other ships shows that the recruiting methods used in New Ireland and New Britain in 1883-1884 ranged from simple deceit and trickery, to outright kidnapping and murder, with little legal, fair and informed recruiting taking place. The recruiting agent and a crew member of the *Hopeful* were found guilty of murder, the captain and government agent guilty of

kidnapping. The government agent of the *Stanley* was found guilty of destroying traders' property. The *Heath*, which returned to Mackay in May 1884 with 89 recruits from New Ireland, was found to have nobody on board who could communicate with the men, who had been forcibly recruited by the well-armed crew. One man died and two men requested to stay on in Australia, but the other 86 were returned home. The Commission concluded that in the vast majority of investigated cases the recruits were either taken by force or, if they had come willingly, were not informed of the length or terms of service expected. There were no allegations of kidnapping from the other recruiting voyages but many of the recruits probably had an imperfect understanding of the terms of their service, which contributed to high levels of desertion.

Although the labour trade to Fiji received less publicity, records suggest that these ships operated in a similar manner to the Queensland ships. Brandt, Hernsheim's trader at Nusa, reported to Romilly in October 1883 that the crew of the Fijian schooner the *Mary* had fired on a party of about fifty men who had deserted the ship after discovering its destination, and sent a war party to the island in pursuit. Crew on the *Lord of the Isles*, who recruited for both Fiji and Queensland, shot at deserters off the coast of New Britain at the end of 1882, leading to the sacking of the government agent. The recruiters for Samoa probably also had a mixture of the unscrupulous and desperate in their ranks.

Hernsheim's policy of recruiting men from northern New Ireland to work in Matupi inadvertently assisted the recruiters and confused the situation, with many of the men recruited to Fiji, Samoa and Queensland going willingly under the impression that they would be returned in three months' time, receiving their trade goods as pay on

completion of their service, not before they signed up. This meant that the recruiting ships favoured the areas around Hernsheim's stations. Romilly commented that the first Queensland recruiters made no effort to correct the misconception, and the New Britain men who volunteered as interpreters for the New Ireland coast were paid handsomely despite little or no understanding of New Ireland languages (Romilly 'Report' 15th September 1883).

Rannie commented that recruiters were able to capitalise on the enmity between bush and coastal people as they recruited men and women captured in battle, or escaping captivity. The recruiters used the bushmen's passages, where inland tribes had access to the coast, to recruit from these populations. He described returning two bushmen to such a point near Cape St Mary in 1887 (1912:262). He also noted that young women from New Ireland were keen to join the recruiting ships (1912:50), and that village chiefs often tried to control who was allowed to leave (1912:45-46).

Some recruiters firmly defended their actions. William T. Wawn of the *Fanny* had recruited in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu for many years. He visited the west coast of New Ireland, between Kurumut and Kolube, in April 1883 and enjoyed his 'quickest success… ever' in recruiting, with men apparently desperate to get away (Wawn 1893:295). However, his interpreter was not from that language group or an adjacent one, and his account suggests that the men thought they were going to Matupi for a short period of service. They did not negotiate pay or length of service before they boarded, and a few days later, before being paid, 17 men jumped overboard off the coast of southern New Ireland, indicating that they were desperate to return home once they had learnt the true nature of the trip. The *Fanny,* the *Jessie*

Kelly, the *Stanley*, and the *Lord of the Isles* visited this stretch of coastline in the space of a few weeks, recruiting 528 New Irelanders between them (Docker 1970:178).

The Ramifications of the Recruiting Boom

The visits of the recruiting ships further complicated relations between traders and local people on New Ireland, as well as between local people, villages and language groups. Up until the end of 1882, most traders enjoyed a local monopoly, with Hernsheim's traders stationed on the northern and eastern coast, and Farrell and other traders visiting the south coast. The missionaries and traders co-existed relatively peacefully, despite personality clashes and a fundamental difference in their aims, as their numbers were so few, and they shared the common goal of staying safe and healthy. The recruiters had no long-term interest in maintaining good relations and no need to go ashore. They were keen to use traders or mission workers to assist them, but were not concerned about their own impact on local relations.

Hernsheim complained that the labour ships supplying trade goods and arms to village chiefs ruined his business, and that his traders were too friendly with the labour ships. He noted that his trader Lemesle or one of the Solomon Islander assistants helped the *Stanley* forcibly recruit six or seven men from Nusa in June 1883, and that Brandt accepted gifts of, and made orders for, trade goods from the Fiji ships (Sack and Clark 1983:150). Trading at Kapsu was 'ruined by labour ships' by September 1883; locals only wanted red beads, so large quantities of other coloured beads were left unsold, and Hernsheim had to ship them back to Matupi (Sack and Clark 1983:155). Recruiters paid handsomely for recruits and interpreters, and this flood of trade goods undermined the traders' monopoly and fundamentally changed trading relationships.

Some of the recruiting ships supplied muskets and rifles to pay for recruits, causing problems for the resident traders and their employees, who lost control of access to firearms on New Ireland. In May 1883, Hernsheim noted that 'Slavery is an ancient institution of these islands, and a chief, desirous of procuring arms, will sell his own people… Fire-arms and ammunition, at the rate of three muskets to two labourers, are the usual means of payment' (Ohff 2008:48). Hernsheim's traders did not supply people on New Ireland with guns or ammunition in trade, but men who worked for the company on Matupi could opt to earn them. Romilly commented that men would work 'for a year or more' to obtain a Snider rifle (Romilly 'Report' 1883); firearms became fairly widespread in New Ireland in 1883. The *Ariel*, a Queensland labour ship, supplied sixteen muskets to men on the New Ireland mainland opposite Nusa in October 1883 (Corris 1968:92). Violence broke out between this group of men and the Nusa Islanders; some people were killed on a small island nearby, and shots were fired at the trading station and at Romilly's ship. A few weeks later, local men ransacked the trading station at Nusa and stole the trade goods and firearms (Sack and Clark 1983:84).

Records indicate that the introduction of firearms increased hostilities between villages, although references focus on the impact of firearms on traders and missionaries. Local political relations were affected by the ability of certain villages or groups of men to acquire arms, altering the balance of power and increasing insecurity. Although the sale of firearms largely ceased at the end of 1884, with British subjects prohibited from trading in arms with local people in July, and most resident Europeans stopping their supply (Sack and Clark 1983:209), the presence of

firearms changed the nature of warfare in a significant way. Rifles in particular had a longer range than spears, clubs and even slingshots; their operation was unpredictable, but they were highly valued. Romilly noted that the muskets left by the labour ships quickly became obsolete with rust and neglect, leaving their owners in a worse predicament than before as the village had lost its best men as recruits, and had no way of defending themselves (Romilly 1886:40). Increased insecurity and warfare led to more recruits, offering an escape for defeated men, and a profitable way of disposing of people captured in war (Sack 1973:249). Parkinson noted that many of the early incidents of violence were motivated by a desperation to obtain firearms, 'mainly to wrest any advantage from the less favourably placed neighbouring tribes by having superior weapons' (1999:126-127); this desperation must also have motivated recruits to sign up.

The biggest impact of the recruiting boom in New Ireland in 1883-1885 was on demography. Romilly estimated that 'around two thousand of the best men' were taken (Romilly 1886:39); some were returned after a few months, but many stayed away for three years or more of service. Records show that of the 19 ships that returned recruits to Queensland between May 1883 and June 1884, at least 1,164 recruits were from New Ireland (QVP 1884, vol. 2, 770), of whom 649 were from Lihir, 370 from Tanga and 37 from Anir. The records under-reported recruits from New Ireland, with at least two ships, the *Stanley* and the *Fanny*, recording all recruits as from New Britain when more detailed accounts of their voyages show that a substantial proportion came from New Ireland; 'New Britain' was often used as an umbrella term for New Britain and New Ireland. Women accounted for around 10% of the total number of recruits to Queensland. Recruiting continued during 1884, and

recruits for Fiji and Samoa pushed the total for the 1883-1884 period to more than 2000 men and around 200 women (Blum 1900:6).

It is difficult to ascertain the total population of New Ireland in these years. Romilly noted that it was around 50,000 in the early 1880s, but as there was no systematic exploration of most of the island group at this time, this was presumably very much guesswork. Rannie estimated that the four islands of the Lihir group had a population of around 20,000 (1888:85); this seems exaggerated[23], but indicates that the offshore island groups may have supported greater densities of population than the mainland. The first attempt at a census was conducted by the German administration in 1901-2, when 5118 people were recorded in villages along 55 miles of the east coast between Kavieng and Logagon (Chinnery 1931:11). This north-east stretch of coast has a denser concentration of villages than the south or west coasts, but suggests a total population greater than 50,000 when the west coast, central and southern regions, and the northern and eastern island groups are taken into account. Parkinson noted that both coasts of southern New Ireland were 'quite heavily populated' (1999:115). A total population of around 150,000 in the early 1880s seems likely from the statistics, with the biggest variable being the unknown population of the offshore islands. Thomas notes that estimates for the population of the Hawaiian archipelago at the date of first contact range widely, from 120,000 to 1 million people; it is very difficult to predict early population numbers with any degree of confidence (2012:23).

A large proportion of the recruits from New Ireland died whilst overseas. The death rate among New Guinea islands recruits was around 15% for 1884 (Corris 1968:93).

[23] Bainton estimated that the population of Lihir in the 1880s was less than 3000 people (Bainton 2010:44).

The high mortality rate was one of the main reasons that the Queensland government banned recruiting from New Ireland and New Britain. The main killers of Pacific Islanders in the labour trade were 'bacillary dysentery, pulmonary tuberculosis, and influenza-pneumonia' (Shlomowitz 1989:594). New Irelanders had little acquired immunity to measles or influenza, and poor living conditions – overcrowding, poor sanitation and poor nutrition- on both the ships and the plantations increased the spread of illnesses such as dysentery (Scarr 1973:228, Davies 2002:4).

Groves noted comments made in 1932 from two men of Fisoa, Sali and Marlak (1933:345). They were around 70 years old and told stories of being black-birded in the 1880s by an 'English' boat and taken to Samoa to work for five or sixyears. They described being treated badly during the voyage but well on the plantation. Groves also noted that 'practically every adult male in Tatau' in 1933 had at one time worked away from their island (1935b:151) and 'almost every pedigree' he recorded on Tabar in 1933 'disclosed one or more male natives who had died while working away from the village' (1935b:152).

The region's linguistic diversity meant that there were small numbers of recruits from each language area and little hope of adequate translators available, making it difficult to access early help for medical problems. Travel by sea was hazardous aside from the health conditions on board; 150 recruits from New Ireland died on their journey home when the schooner *Young Dick* was wrecked at sea in 1886 (Firth 1982:52).

The recruits who made it home brought diseases to which the local population had no resistance. Rooney noted that contagious and epidemic diseases brought back by

returned recruits in 1886 and 1887 killed large numbers on New Ireland and New Britain, with dysentery a particularly 'frightful scourge' (Firth 1982:51). Other missionaries noted similar effects (Threllfall 1975:64). Six New Irelanders who underwent medical checks before leaving Queensland in 1887 were found to have contracted sexually transmitted infections (STIs) during their time away (Corris 1968:104). Firth noted that sterility caused by untreated STIs brought back by returned recruits contributed to population decline in the early 1900s (1982:124). Schnee mentioned that STIs were widespread by 1900 (1904:45, 133). Davies suggests that returned recruits may have imported other malarial types back to their homelands, which may have impacted demography (2002:181).

The removal of large numbers of mostly young adult men from certain areas must have had severe repercussions on their home villages, including skewing the gender balance for the duration of their absence, and changing the fighting capacity of their home villages.[24] These young men and women were exposed to people from many other places during the journeys and whilst on the plantation, giving them experiences and knowledge that the people who stayed behind could not access. They were encouraged to smoke and probably also exposed to alcohol consumption. Recruits learned the pidgin languages of the plantations, giving them a linguistic advantage in communication with outsiders when they returned. They also brought back their wages in the form of trade goods, often including firearms. All these factors must have affected village life considerably.

[24] The majority of recruits were men between the ages of 15 and 30 (Shlomowitz 1989:591).

Annexation and the Scramble for Land

Germany proclaimed their annexation of northern New Guinea, New Britain and New Ireland in November 1884, offering state protection to German interests there in preparation for its administration by a chartered company. In May 1885, the Neuguinea-Kompagnie (NGC) was awarded the charter, securing exclusive rights over land claims, labour and trade (Hempenstall 1978:19; Ohff 2008:35). The NGC could levy taxes on other companies operating there, and approve all new land acquisitions. Von Oertzen, an imperial commissioner from the German Consulate-General in Samoa, was sent to New Britain in June 1884 to oversee recruiting by German vessels, and to protect German interests; he remained there until the NGC's first administrator arrived in June 1886 (Sack 2001:496).

Germany's declaration initiated a scramble for land in northern New Ireland. Farrell wanted to establish trading stations in northern New Ireland in 1885 as much to establish land claims as for commerce. Imperial Commissioner Otto Finsch bought the whole of Djaul and the trader Dentzelmann purchased New Hanover and Kaboteron on behalf of the NGC (Sack and Clark 1983:175). The traders Brandt and Schülle bought land for themselves and on behalf of others. Many of these land claims were contested on the basis of pre-existing claims, or their validity questioned by the nationality of the purchaser; Europeans who didn't have any claim to German nationality struggled to have their claims recognised. This land-buying spree established the principle of land alienation on New Ireland. Northern New Ireland in particular, with its long stretches of flat, fertile land near the coast, was ideal for plantations, and the purchases of 1885 marked the start of land acquisition by outsiders.

Conclusion

This decade brought considerable change to New Ireland, on a scale unprecedented in previous years of contact with Europeans and other foreigners. These changes were not uniform as some areas had far greater contact with Europeans than others, and most land away from the coasts remained unvisited; the pattern of 'hotspots' of contact evident throughout the 1800s continued to develop, with the northern and southern ends of New Ireland and a small part of the west coast receiving the most visitors in this period. Contacts with Europeans and other foreigners were not exclusively positive or negative; there were varying elements of both in most of the interactions. Although a number of traders were killed or injured by local people, and some of the recruiting ships used very questionable methods, violence was not a regular feature of New Irelanders' interactions with outsiders in these years. There are many examples of New Irelanders offering both friendship and assistance to the Europeans and other foreigners who visited, sometimes when it was evident that little material benefit could result, such as helping the survivors of the Marquis de Rays' ships.

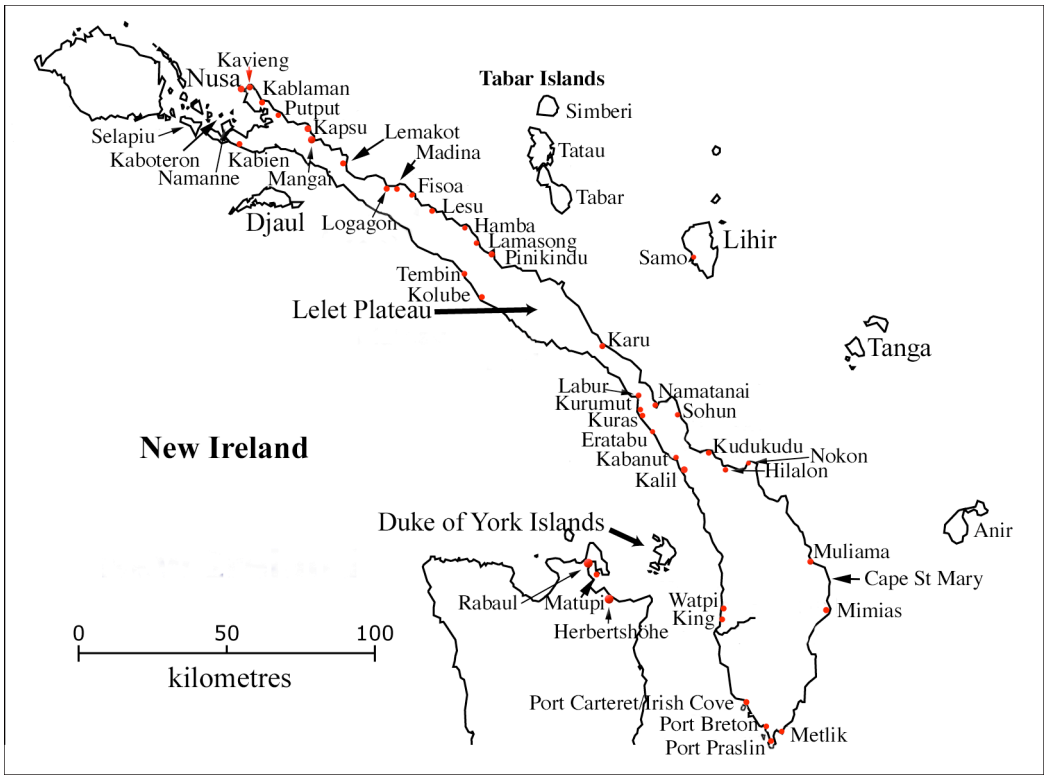
There were a number of tangible effects of this increased contact, which would have been greatest in the villages where contact took place, but knowledge of the foreigners and their goods probably spread across most of the island through traditional networks. The introduction of manufactured goods, from standard trade goods such as cloth, beads and hoop iron, to bars of soap and balls of washing blue, to guns, axes and tools, must have had significant impacts on daily life. Some of these goods probably assumed significance beyond their practical value. They were symbols of

contact with foreigners, markers of social difference between those with access to trade goods and those without, and loci of power, from the basic level of being able to shoot someone, to the greater issues of channelling the power and wealth of the Europeans into villagers' hands.

Contact with outsiders through the mission, traders, recruiters and others must have complicated traditional alliances and conflicts between villages, clan and language groups on New Ireland, and also within the societies, where established social mores were challenged by new behaviours and experiences. The recruiting boom that started late in 1882 probably caused the most significant immediate disruption of village life, both to the villages who lost large numbers of men, and to their neighbours, as having such a sudden and large gap in the young male population, alongside an influx of trade goods, must have affected relations between villages on many levels. Issues involving generational conflict, where the traditional authority of the village elders was usurped, are revealed in Romilly's account of Nanati's behaviour in Kapsu, and in accounts of older men attempting to control who left on the recruiting ships. Gender relations must also have changed, with some young women leaving to work on plantations, and others remaining in villages where large numbers of young men had left. There are a few references to the offering of sexual favours; it is unlikely that this was a traditional practice in the region, but it is possible that women sought out, or were forced to accept, such temporary liaisons partly as a means of gaining trade goods, or for broader cosmological reasons (Tcherkézoff 2009:147). Powdermaker noted in Lesu in 1929 that extra-marital sexual relations always involved the 'payment' of shell money as part of 'the traditional code of reciprocity' (1933:244).

The bigger questions of the psychological and cultural impact of New Irelanders' increasing engagement with the outside world, through the visitors who came to their shores as well as recruits who left to go and work on plantations, is more difficult to evaluate. In the next chapters I look at the material exchanges that took place from 1875 to 1885, and in Chapter Nine I analyse what we can learn about New Ireland's engagement with outsiders when we add the material culture record as historical documentation.

Chapter Four: The History of New Ireland After 1885



Map 9. Villages with European contact after 1885.

In this chapter I examine the history of New Ireland after 1885, focussing on the encounters between Europeans and New Irelanders and the continued and increasing impact of European activity on local people. I look in more depth at the history of New Ireland's engagement with professional anthropologists and also at Europeans' relationships with New Ireland's material culture, including their collecting practices.

1885-1899: Punitive Missions, Company Rule and Colonial Order

From 1885 to 1899, New Ireland, known then to Europeans as Neu Mecklenburg, was under Company rule, with the Deutsche Neuguinea-Kompagnie (NGC) running the protectorate of German New Guinea. The Company's motivations were financial and commercial, and it was not equipped to impose colonial order beyond its trading

interests. Even here, it struggled to maintain peace. Records indicate that there were thirteen major assaults on trading posts in northern New Ireland between 1881 and 1895 (Schnee 1904:80).[25]

The German imperial commissioner Von Oertzen asked SMS *Albatross* for assistance due to the volume of raids on trading stations in 1884 and 1885 (Firth 1982:48). The *Albatross*, commanded by von Baudissin, visited New Ireland in March 1886 (Sack 2001:508, 512). Its first stop was Kablaman, but Lowery, Hernsheim's trader there, was attacked and killed shortly before their arrival. The Germans visited Kaboteron to search for the chief responsible for the trader Carr's death, but found that many of the Islanders had moved to Namanne and other islands on the outer reef. Kapsu villagers greeted the landing party submissively. The Germans, assisted by some New Ireland men, went on to search the villages of Mangai, Libidor, Lesu and Lamerotte (Lemakot), whose villagers were said to terrorise the whole region, for a chief called Nanqui, the prime suspect in the murder of Farrell's trader Campbell. Libidor is no longer a village name, but the accounts indicate it was between Mangai and Lesu. They killed nine Mangai men, but did not find Nanqui. The last stop was the village of Kabien, whose men were blamed for the death of Farrell's trader Carlson at Kaboteron; two men were killed here (Sack 2001:523). The trip was considered a success in establishing peace, but another trader Hermann, who worked for Hernsheim, was killed at Kapsu in September 1886, apparently because his predecessor had burnt down villagers' huts in a drunken rage (Hempenstall 1978:138).

[25] Heinrich Schnee was Imperial Judge and Deputy Governor at Herberstshöhe from 1898 to 1990.

The imperial judge Georg Schmiele arrived in November 1886[26] and visited northern New Ireland on SMS *Adler* to investigate complaints that Hernsheim's agent Schülle mistreated his Chinese employees. The complaints were found to be justified but no action was taken as Schülle was needed to lead a punitive mission against the Kapsu chief Angate, prime suspect for the murder of Herrmann and the destruction of his station. Schülle used men from Nusa, under their chief Metango, to attack Kapsu, with the Nusa warriors allowed to keep any canoes captured. Kapsu was shelled, but the inhabitants had already fled. A man called Wobau, from Avelus, was captured near Putput; witnesses said he had taken part in the murder of Herrmann. He was found guilty of espionage, having apparently reported the landing of the punitive mission, and became the first New Irelander to be executed by the German regime, hung by gallows erected in Kapsu on 11th December 1886 (Sack 2001:524).

There was no concerted effort to impose peace in New Ireland in the late 1880s and 1890s, and no resident colonial officials or police force. The NGC called for the German Navy to impose order, but the navy and the colonial department argued that it was a Company responsibility. It was very difficult for the NGC to police the region beyond a few villages on the coast. The inland areas and many of the outlying islands lay outside of their control. Disorder was endemic in northern New Ireland in the late 1880s and 1890s (Firth 1982:53, Hempenstall 1978:139). A large number of trading stations were attacked, and traders and their employees killed and injured. Rannie recounted the story of a trader, probably from Nusa, who visited Lihir in 1887 aiming to set up a station (1912:271). He was chased away when two of the mainland New Irelanders who accompanied him were killed and eaten. In 1888, Hernsheim's trader

[26] Schmiele went on to become Governor of the NGC in October 1893, but died in 1895.

in Kapsu, Robert Hoppe, was killed, probably by a Solomon Islander employee, and in July 1889 the trader Frank Bradley was killed in Tubtub, on the north-east coast, shortly after marrying a local woman.

A naval patrol was in the area from November 1889 to February 1890; shortly after, a man from Avelus near Kapsu killed trader Joseph Haas and then the trading station at Kaselok, near Kablaman, was attacked. Two traders were killed in separate incidents at Bosso, probably on the north-east coast, in 1891, and two more traders were killed at Kabien in 1894. Lihir Islanders attacked a ship recruiting for the New Guinea Company in March 1894 (Firth 1972:374). Krämer recounted a story that he heard in 1908, that men from Panagundu, now known as Pinikindu, attacked a trading vessel from Kapsu, killing ten 'Buka boys'; the SMS *Möwe* arrived to 'discipline' them in August 1897 (Krämer, in Krämer-Bannow 2009:xiii). Hempenstall concluded that these violent incidents had three main causes, which sometimes combined: anger at the non-return of recruits, a desire for firearms and ammunition, and violent and excessive behaviour on the part of the traders or their employees (Hempenstall 1978:139).

The German Colonial Department had enacted a zoning law in 1891 to demarcate the operations of the Wesleyans, who were supposed to stay in the north, and the Catholics who were supposed to stay in the south; this policy was abandoned in 1899 (Hempenstall 1975:53). Wesleyan Fijian and Samoan teachers continued their work on the west coast of New Ireland and also in Kudukudu and neighbouring villages on the east coast; European missionaries visited them from the mission headquarters on the Duke of York Islands. In central New Ireland, returned recruits from mission

plantations had started to introduce Catholicism in the 1890s. The Catholic MSC (Missionaries of the Sacred Heart) mission sent out catechists to southern New Ireland from its base on the Gazelle Peninsula and established a mission station led by two European missionaries at Namatanai in 1902 (Firth 1982:144). Catholicism spread from here to the east coast and out to the island groups of Tabar, Lihir and Tanga, reaching as far north as New Hanover by 1912 (Firth 1982:145).

The three big trading companies were headquartered nearby in the 1880s and 1890s. Queen Emma's firm E.E. Forsayth was based in Ralum on the Gazelle Peninsula, with Hernsheim & Co. nearby on the small island of Matupi, and the DHPG based in Mioko in the Duke of York Islands. Albert Hahl was appointed Imperial Judge in Herbertshöhe in 1895. His approach to pacification was robust, requiring 'a show of force' (Biskup 1968:348). In 1896 he conducted an expedition against the people of Selapiu, an island between New Ireland and New Hanover; when they didn't capitulate, Hahl ordered his men to shoot and ten villagers were killed before they finally surrendered.

In September 1896, a sentry from Madina, on New Ireland's east coast, broke into the armoury at Herbertshöhe with 14 fellow villagers. They stole five rifles and 500 cartridges, and escaped back home to New Ireland (Rosman and Rubel 1999:72). By October, their 'extensive raids of pillage and vengeance' had brought recruitment, trade and communications to a halt in the surrounding area (Hahl 1980:18), so Hahl launched a punitive mission with his small police force and villagers from two villages that were traditional enemies of the Madina people. After bitter fighting, the Madina men fled south. Hahl's men managed to recover some of the ammunition but

not the guns. The following year, the people of Bom, near Eratabu on the west coast, newly converted to Christianity, asked Hahl for assistance with their enemies at Sohun on the east coast. During the mission, Bom men managed to kill seven people from Sohun; the traditional manner of their warfare was in contrast to their new supposedly Christian beliefs (Rosman and Rubel 1999:74).

In 1896 on the Gazelle Peninsula, Hahl instituted the system of indirect rule through the appointment of village chiefs, men of influence who were the official representatives of the colonial regime in a village. These appointed leaders became known as *luluai*, a title based on the Tolai name for a district's war leader, and they were assisted by *tultul* (Hempenstall 1978:135). Local people apparently coveted the signs of government, particularly the hats and sticks that were given to these chiefs (Biskup 1968:349-350). In Tanga in the 1980s, older men told Foster that when the early *luluai* and *tultul* from Tanga went to Namatanai to get 'the law', probably around 1906, they 'got hats' as symbols of their new roles (Foster 1987:62, 64).

The labour trade continued, although it was more closely controlled. Imperial Commissioner Von Oertzen closed northern New Ireland to recruiters for more than a year from March 1886 to assist with the implementation of local copra plantations and trade (Sack 2001:496). The DHPG (Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen Gesellschaft) recruited large numbers of New Irelanders for their plantations in Samoa throughout the 1890s. Some of these deserted in Samoa and may have decided to spend the rest of their lives there (Firth 1982:52). New Irelanders also went to work on plantations on mainland New Guinea and in New Britain; 9,448 contract labourers from New

Ireland were registered at Kokopo between 1887-1903;[27] approximately 2,000 of these New Irelanders died whilst away from home (Firth 1982: appendix II and III; Ohff, 2008:184). A significant number of women were recruited from New Ireland in the 1890s.

Social discord and violence were probably exacerbated by returned recruits bringing back increasing amounts of guns and ammunition, and the skills to use and care for them. Rosman and Rubel concluded that the evidence shows an increase in warfare between 1880 and 1900; they argue that this was due to 'the imbalance caused by Europeans being drawn into the relations between traditional enemies' (1999:75).

The returned recruits may also have triggered the smallpox and influenza outbreaks on mainland New Ireland in 1893 and 1894 that had a high mortality rate (Firth 1982:38), and brought back sexually transmitted infections. New Ireland's population decline was compounded by reduced fertility, perhaps as a result of untreated STIs, and exacerbated by a famine in 1914 and another flu epidemic in 1918 (Firth 1982:125, Chinnery 1931:37).

Firth described the foreigners in New Ireland and New Britain in the 1880s and 1890s as a 'polyglot community' (1982:48). The violence in northern New Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s evidently did not deter traders. By 1899, there were sixteen trading stations on the mainland of New Ireland and in the Steffen Straits, employing thirteen Europeans, seven Chinese, two Indians and one Malay, three stations in and around

[27] 5177 were from northern New Ireland and the Nusa Straits, 2555 were from southern New Ireland, and 1716 from the islands east of New Ireland.

New Hanover employing one European and three Chinese, and three stations on Tabar employing two Europeans and three Chinese (Sack and Clark 1979:176).

1885-1899: Collecting

Many of the European visitors to New Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s collected artefacts. The best known was Richard Parkinson, who lived in the region from 1882 until his death in 1909. He was widely acknowledged as an expert on material culture, and he collected throughout this period, particularly after 1887 when the plantations that he set up were more established. He corresponded with and supplied curators of a number of museums in Germany, Australia and the USA. The employees and officials of the NGC and the other trading companies active in the area probably all collected to some degree, and there was fierce competition amongst the German museums to receive their collections.

The traders Eduard Hernsheim and his brother Franz sold artefacts to a number of German museums through their uncle, R. J. Robertson, who was a major backer for their enterprise. Robertson probably never went to the Bismarck Archipelago but he was able to act as a middleman in these transactions. A number of other dealers, particularly in Hamburg, Germany's main port, dealt extensively in artefacts as well as natural history specimens from the region. One of the best known was the firm of J. F. G. Umlauff, which supplied both museums and private collectors. Captain C. A. Pöhl, a Hamburg-based commercial ship captain, also sold a significant quantity of artefacts from New Ireland to German, Danish and Swiss museums in the 1880s and 1890s. He held regular auctions in Hamburg, and also sent lists of artefacts for sale to Dresden Museum.

There were other European travellers who visited New Ireland and collected there. Lord and Lady Brassey visited New Ireland on their yacht the *Sunbeam* on either one or two of their voyages around the world between 1876 and 1887; they later donated a number of objects from New Ireland to the Hastings Museum and Art Gallery.

1900-1914: Imperial Governance

The Imperial Government assumed power over German New Guinea in 1899, with Rudolf von Bennigsen as governor from 1899 to 1901. Albert Hahl became acting governor in June 1901, and was appointed governor in 1902 (Biskup 1968:342). He governed until the First World War. Efforts to pacify the Gazelle Peninsula and northern New Ireland were stepped up. Franz Boluminski arrived in 1900 to establish the first government station on New Ireland at Kavieng. He made considerable efforts to implement the *pax Germanica*, to bring the coastal areas under colonial control and forced New Irelanders to help build the east coast road known today as the Boluminski Highway. Boluminski's road, initially called Kaiser-Wilhelm-Strässe, reached to Fisoa, 62 miles from Kavieng by 1902-3, Pinikindu at 96.5 miles by 1903-4, and Karu by the 1920s (Chinnery 1931:11).

The German microbiologist Robert Koch stayed with Boluminski and his wife in 1900, and from this time on, Boluminski advocated for the use of quinine in malaria treatment. He also pressed for a hospital to be built in Kavieng. Around this time, Koch and other medical researchers recognised malaria's significant effect on reproductive rates, due to increased incidences of miscarriages and infant mortality, but until 1912 many German colonial figures continued to blame birth control, blood

feuds and racial degeneration for population decline (Davies 2002:158). Parkinson noted that there were far fewer women than men on New Ireland; he put this down to the fact that abortion was common and shortened women's lives (1999:120). The German administration recognised that depopulation was a problem in New Ireland and were keen to rectify the situation; the Annual Report for 1907-8 pointed out that 'the native population… is decreasing in parts so rapidly that the fact is recognisable without exact statistical reports' (Chinnery 1931:46).

Wilhelm Wöstrack established the Namatanai station in 1904, and within two years, the coastal villages of central and southern New Ireland were brought under control, with these villagers appealing to the colonial authorities for help against their enemies inland. Both Boluminski and Wöstrack implemented Hahl's scheme of appointing local *luluai* and *tultul*. There is some evidence that men who had previously worked on plantations abroad were more likely to become *luluai*, perhaps because of an increased status that such work and its payments brought, or because these men were more adept at dealing with Europeans, including being able to communicate with them in pidgin. Groves noted that an old man from Fisoa named Marlak had became one of the first *luluai* in the early 1900s; he had worked in Samoa for 5-6 years in the 1880s (1933:345).

In 1932-3, some New Irelanders' recollections of working on the road were still vivid. The people of Fisoa remembered the hardship of being forced to build the road in the early 1900s as striking a 'terrible blow' to the area. As *luluai*, Marlak helped organise the transfer of people who lived inland to the coast so that they could work on the road (Groves 1933:344-345). People on Tabar remembered that a lot of men 'were

rounded up and taken away' to the mainland as forced labour; this 'seriously denuded' the islands of man-power for that period (Groves 1935b:151). The road's construction was evidently a major factor in moving people around New Ireland, and marked the start of a concerted effort by the German regime to relocate bush villages to the coast (Groves 1933:343).

Chinnery noted that there were still some inland villages in the 1910s (1931:11), but many inland villages had been relocated by the 1920s, with the exception of those on the Lelet Plateau. A coastal population facilitated the establishment of the colonial regime and gave the Germans better access to New Irelanders as labour supply (Derlon 2008:107). The Germans also encouraged large villages with a central nucleus; it was far easier for them to manage New Irelanders through their identification with one officially named, cohesive, stable village (Clay 2005:50).

Boluminski made a point of collecting firearms and ammunition from 1900 as part of his campaign to pacify New Ireland (Lomas 1981:8). Hahl reported that Boluminski had succeeded in pacifying the north of mainland New Ireland and much of the south to beyond Namatanai by 1904 (Hahl 1937:105). Hahl thought that this was because of the long association between villagers and the expatriate enclaves of traders and mission workers. In 1906, northern New Ireland was the first place in German New Guinea to implement Hahl's head tax (Hempenstall 1978:152).[28] From around 1900 onwards, a system of bonuses encouraged *luluai* and other influential village elders to induce young men to sign on (Foster 1995:45); *luluai* were also exempt from head tax. In 1984, older men from Tanga recounted to Foster that the promise of steel axes

[28] In 1902 the administration banned European traders from using shell money in their interactions with New Irelanders (Lomas 1981:7), presumably to draw New Irelanders more closely into the trading economy.

encouraged young men into recruiting, and that the steel axes obtained were loaned out on a daily basis for work in the gardens (Foster 1995:39).

Boluminski oversaw the continued establishment of plantations on New Ireland, particularly in the north. Planted areas in northern New Ireland increased tenfold between 1902 and 1914, and there were also seven plantations in southern New Ireland by 1911 (Hempenstall 1978:152). 3725 acres of land were under palm by 1905 in the Kavieng area, employing 551 labourers; 11,000 acres had been purchased and were ready to be cleared and planted (Reynolds 1972:850). New Irelanders preferred to work locally, and in 1913 75% of all recruits from northern New Ireland worked on local plantations (Hempenstall 1978:160). Workers were also recruited from elsewhere in New Guinea and the Pacific, and it is possible that these workers introduced new types of illnesses, for example flu and dysentery, that may have spread to villages and hamlets nearby (Davies 2002:4).

Recruitment to other areas of German New Guinea also continued throughout the first decade of the 20th century, including an unusually high proportion of women. Nearly all of the women in the German New Guinea work force were from New Ireland, and between 1905 and 1907, 475 women went from New Ireland to work in Madang and on the Gazelle Peninsula (Firth 1976:60). Around one third of adult males were living and working away from home in 1910 (Lomas 1981:13). German New Guinea's Annual Report for 1912/1913 records 2446 new recruits from New Ireland and New Hanover.

Hahl wanted to ban the recruitment of single women from New Ireland in order to avert serious population decline; this was eventually passed, with some caveats, in 1910 (Firth 1982:124). Firth noted that gonorrhoea made the 'crucial difference' to populations in New Ireland; he saw that this was caused by women returning from service on plantations in the early 1900s (1982:125), but other sources indicate that STIs were already spreading across New Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s from returned recruits, most of whom were male. Outbreaks of these infections probably affected fertility for years. The censuses of 1907 and 1909 indicated a marked population imbalance, with fewer women than men in almost all villages, much smaller families than before, and some uninhabited villages, especially in central New Ireland.

Traders also increased in number in the early 1900s. There were 17 Chinese in New Ireland recorded in the Annual Reports of 1902-3, and this number increased rapidly, particularly after 1905 when Chinese immigrants were allowed to take up agricultural leases (Biskup 1970:98). A number of visitors noted numerous Chinese traders on the west coast of New Ireland around 1908 (Stephan and Schlaginhaufen quoted in Zimmerman 2010:233, Krämer-Bannow 2009:162); Krämer-Bannow also noted that there were many missionaries on this stretch of coast.

The offshore island groups of Lihir, Tanga and Anir were apparently pacified relatively easily. The Japanese trader Isokide Komine went to Tanga around 1905 to persuade the people there to relinquish their weapons and accept the law of the Germans (Foster 1987:58); interestingly, oral history accounts note that the spears that the Tangans gave up were put inside Komine's ship (ibid:62). Twelve *luluai* were

appointed on Tanga by the end of 1906. The Annual Report for 1911-12 stated that all three island groups were 'entirely peaceful and have for a long time been more or less in contact with the Namatanai station' (Sack and Clark 1979:337-8), although communications were poor due to a lack of government shipping.

The Wesleyan mission, through Pacific Islander teachers and local converts, continued to be active on the west coast of New Ireland. George Pearson was the first European missionary to be stationed in New Ireland, arriving in Eratabu in 1901. The following year William Cox went to Kudukudu (Threlfall 1975:78). In 1905, Ernest Sprott developed a head station at Omo, one mile from Kavieng, and in 1908 a station was built at Pinikindu. In 1916 a station was established on Simberi and the following year at Tatau, both in the Tabar group. In 1919, a teacher was installed at Samo village on Lihir (Threlfall 1975:96). Increasing numbers of New Irelanders converted to Christianity during the early 1900s. However, staff of both the Wesleyan and Catholic missions, particularly the Europeans, suffered from illnesses, especially malaria, leading to high rates of staff turnover.

Pacification was not without its hiccoughs. In southern New Ireland in December 1913, a German government expedition led by Head Forester Deininger was attacked at Poronzuan, an inland village near Hilalon (Bolyanatz 2000:22, Krämer 2007:xiii). Five police soldiers and four porters, all from New Ireland, were captured and killed; punitive action the next day resulted in eight villagers killed. The inland chiefs did not want the Europeans on their land; there are indications that German relations with inland people remained 'strained and violent' during this period (Bolyanatz 2000:23).

1900-1914: Expeditions and Collecting

Lajos Biró, an entomologist and collector from the Ethnographical Museum in Budapest, accompanied Von Benningsen on a voyage around northern New Ireland and the off-shore islands in May 1900 (Billings 2007:263). Biró wanted to acquire *malagan* and other New Ireland art but did not find any in use. Instead he purchased some carvings from a trader on Nusa who remembered purchasing them from the villages of Lemakot and nearby Louan, on the east coast in the Kara language area. When Biró was in Madang, he encountered workers from those villages and got 'further information' from these 'native interpreters' (Bodrogi 1967:63).

Most of the individuals who operated the machinery of German administration in New Ireland collected. In 1908, George Dorsey of the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago wrote that in German New Guinea, 'practically every German… is a collector', that every traveller and every missionary collected (Buschmann 2000:94). Dorsey himself purchased many artefacts from Richard Parkinson. Buschmann notes that 'chest pains', the desire for the decorations awarded by the German states, were endemic among German colonial officials (1996:190). Boluminski and Wostrack were both keen collectors; Boluminski sent artefacts to the ethnological museums of Stuttgart, Leipzig and Berlin (Buschmann 1996:198). Most of the artefacts collected by Wöstrack went to Stuttgart. Luschan from the Berlin Museum sent out the professional ethnographic collector Richard Thurnwald in 1906 to collect.[29] The competition between collectors was acute; Edgar Walden of the DME complained to Berlin that Boluminski, as district officer, had better access to artefacts than anyone else. He wrote that Boluminski made an effort to impress visitors to Kavieng with

[29] See Helfrich 1973 for a comprehensive review of the New Ireland material in Berlin.

pomp and ceremony: an orchestra playing German marches, a parade and flag-raising for the soldiers, locals performing speeches and dances, and an exchange of artefacts for money (Buschmann 2009:134).

It wasn't just colonial officials, museum staff and expedition members who collected artefacts; many of the traders and other Europeans continued to collect. Eduard Hernsheim's nephew, Max Thiel, realised the financial potential of the ethnographica trade and employed Franz Hellwig to collect in the Bismarck Archipelago from 1902 to 1904, selling the resulting collection for 20,000 marks to Hamburg (Buschmann 1996:202). Hellwig had originally been a trader in the islands and he went on to take part in the Hamburg Südsee expedition in 1907 (Specht 1999:xviii).

The ships' captains Nauer and Voogdt also collected prodigiously, as did the Japanese trader Komine. Nauer started out working on the German government steamer the *Seestern* in 1903, and then captained the Norddeutscher Lloyd steamship *Sumatra* which ran between Rabaul, Nusa and Buka (Buschmann 2000:94). So he had plenty of opportunity to collect, and ample means to store artefacts on his journeys. Voogdt captained the *Siar*, the NGC recruiting ship. Komine traded in the Admiralty Islands and on New Ireland, including the east coast island groups; he spent a lot of time in Tanga, and was very active between 1906 and 1909 (Buschmann 1996:203-204, Foster 1987).

After 1900 there was a marked increase in the price paid for artefacts. In 1902 Boluminski bought a large *malagan* canoe, complete with ten large figures, at Paruai,

just south of Mangai, on the east coast for 120 marks.[30] Six years later he was able to sell four small single *malagan* figures to the Hamburg Südsee expedition for 600 marks. The introduction of the head tax probably contributed to this price increase as New Irelanders needed to pay the tax to avoid compulsory duty working on government projects such as road building. However, the sheer volume of collectors passing through between 1900 and 1914 must also have affected the prices New Irelanders could ask.

As discussed previously, a number of German expeditions, with staff trained in ethnology, visited New Ireland in the first decade of the 20th century, surveying and collecting artefacts. The first was Emil Stephan, a naval physician, on SMS *Möwe*. He conducted a survey and some fieldwork in southern New Ireland in 1904 (Schindlbeck 2006:33). Stephan went on to lead the Deutsche Marine-Expedition (DME) in New Ireland from 1907 to 1909, along with the ethnologist Edgar Walden, the Swiss physical anthropologist Otto Schlaginhaufen, and the photographer Richard Schilling. The expedition members split up and undertook research in villages in northern, central and southern New Ireland. Walden spent time in the Fisoa-Madina area and Tabar (Lomas 1981:2). Schlaginhaufen visited southern New Ireland, Lihir, Tanga and Anir. Stephan and Schilling were based in Muliama and spent most of their time in southern New Ireland.

Stephan died of black water fever, a complication of malaria, in Namatanai in May 1908; Augustin Krämer was sent out, with his wife Elizabeth Krämer-Bannow, to lead the expedition in its second and final year. The Krämers arrived in Muliama in

[30] This *malagan* canoe is accession number 30158 Linden Museum, Stuttgart.

November 1908. They stayed there with Richard Schilling for six weeks and then travelled north to Lamasong on foot; Schilling stayed in the camp to wait for the ship that was overdue to pick them up. They spent four months based in Lamasong, taking trips to the Lelet Plateau and a voyage with Hahl to Rabaul. On their return from Rabaul they landed on the west coast near Labur, walked up the coast to Tembin, and crossed New Ireland there to return to Lamasong. The Krämers left New Ireland on 2nd June 1909 (Krämer-Bannow 2009:258).

The expedition hosted at least one market in Muliama where expedition members, local people and visiting Chinese traders all traded with each other. On another occasion, men from a village a few miles up the coast sailed to their camp to sell artefacts, and the expedition began to feel overwhelmed by the sheer volume of artefacts, recordings and observations they had amassed (Zimmerman 2000:78). During the rest of their travels they were able to collect extensively, including *uli* figures, *malagan* carvings and many other examples of New Ireland material culture. One perennial problem was the procurement of packing cases and other packaging materials, especially for the large and often irregular shaped carvings of the *uli* and *malagan* traditions (Krämer-Bannow 2009:50).

Krämer-Bannow was the first researcher to focus on the role of women in New Ireland society, and the first female European researcher there. Krämer noted that she 'was needed to study the women's lives, for this is a very difficult task for male researchers in Melanesia' (2009:xi). Krämer-Bannow was a skilled artist, and her illustrations are among the first visual records of many aspects of New Ireland life. She studied taro production and the work undertaken by women in food procurement

and preparation in many of the places that they visited, and also discussed birth control and abortion with women in both Muliama and Lamasong (2009:36, 111). Her book also gives an insight into the practical concerns of the last seven months of the DME as she commented on many of the domestic elements of the expedition.

The German Geographical Commission (Landeskundliche Komission) put together an expedition that was led by Karl Sapper, with Georg Friederici as assistant and collector; they visited New Ireland from April to September 1908 (Ohff 2008:156, Buschmann 2009:76). Georg Thilenius, director of the Hamburg museum, organised the Hamburg Südsee-Expedition of 1908-1910. This expedition aimed to make an extensive survey of all of German New Guinea; Friedrich Fülleborn led the first leg exploring Melanesia. They visited Edgar Walden of the DME in northern New Ireland; Walden highlighted the benefits of his intensive survey of village life to the Hamburg expedition member Wilhelm Müller (Buschmann 2009:111). After his departure from New Ireland in June 1909, Krämer went on to lead the Hamburg expedition in Micronesia (Buschmann 2009:79).

German ethnologists were obsessed with collecting artefacts. German anthropologists first advocated stationary fieldwork such as that undertaken by the DME as it allowed for more complete and better-documented collections than the early, hasty, collection trips (Zimmerman 2010:219). The anthropologist Felix von Luschan who worked at the ethnological museum in Berlin was the most vocal advocate of fieldwork.

There were also American and British collectors in New Ireland in these years. A. B. Lewis from Chicago's Field Museum spent four years, from 1909 to 1913, travelling

and collecting artefacts in Melanesia (Lewis 1929:9). He bought a large collection of objects from New Ireland and the Admiralty Islands from the Japanese trader Komine, and also purchased some things himself.

It is evident that most of the collectors active in this period preferred not to purchase artefacts that incorporated European materials. Parkinson commented that the *tedak* masks he saw on Tanga in 1903 were 'sloppily made, decorated with bright scraps of material' as the younger people no longer knew how to make them (Parkinson 1999:283). In a letter to the Field Museum in 1909, Parkinson explained that he was hoping to acquire through a trader around 200 good *malagan* specimens 'without much European material' from a ceremony at Lagunabange (Specht 1999:xvii).[31] Nauer offered 14 *uli* figures to the museum in Leipzig in 1912, some of which incorporated washing blue. Museum staff noted their recent manufacture and doubted whether they had served a ritual purpose but purchased them anyway as they did not want the carvings to go to a rival museum (Buschmann 2009:132, 2000b:100). To most museum officials, European materials made the artefacts seem inauthentic and adulterated.

New Ireland from 1914 to 1939

The Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force landed in New Britain on 11th September 1914, and the whole of German New Guinea surrendered on 17th September. At first, the German civil servants stayed in post, but they all resigned in protest in October 1914 after some German men received a public beating as punishment for the drunken assault of the missionary Rev. Cox in Namatanai

[31] Lagunabanje does not exist anymore but was probably on the site of today's Katu plantation, just south of Kapsu (Michael Gunn, pers. comm.).

(Threlfall 1975:95). The Australian military administration closed New Ireland to recruiting at the end of 1914 (Rowley 1958:110). After the war ended, the League of Nations authorised Australia to administer what was called the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. The Australian administration continued the policy of appointing *luluai* and *tultul* leaders at a village level, and recruiting also resumed.

The disruption of the First World War and the years that followed meant that there was a gap in anthropological investigations in New Ireland, and there also seems to have been a lull in collecting activity during this period. E.W. Chinnery (1925, 1931) was appointed the Territory's government anthropologist in 1924, and he supported a number of students who undertook fieldwork in New Ireland in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Francis Bell (1934) arrived on Tanga in May 1933 and stayed for six months. William Groves (1933, 1934c) spent from May 1932 to June 1933 at Fisoa on the east coast and from June to December 1933 on the Tabar Islands and Hortense Powdermaker (1930, 1933) was in Lesu, also on the east coast, from April 1929 to February 1930. Beatrice Blackwood (1935) conducted her fieldwork from September 1929 on Buka and Bougainville.

Whilst Bell, Groves and Powdermaker were all trained in functional anthropology, they did mention history. They were the first Europeans to record, often incidentally, some oral historical accounts from earlier times. Groves noted that there had previously been more contact between the offshore island groups, and between them and the mainland, recording that in the past, Tabar Islanders made 'regular passages' to the mainland to take part in ceremonies and exchange sell pigs, armlets, *malagan* rites and dances; they were paid in *mis* shell money. In 1933, there were still 'strong

and regular' connections between Tabar and Lihir, with Lihir visitors bringing pigs, tobacco and new dances, and taking away *mis* and certain foods (Groves 1935a:359-360); the connection between Tabar and the mainland was through the *lotu* and missionary work.

Powdermaker declared of New Ireland that 'it is difficult to apply an historical point of view, because there is so very little real historical information' (1933:21), but she included oral history comments concerning the origins and transfers of *malagan* and other aspects of ritual life. She often mentioned the changes that occurred after the imposition of colonial order, noting that Lesu villagers were 'until brought under government control, very warlike and… also cannibals' (1930:357). She noted that in 1929 Lesu villagers were 'profoundly affected' by the problems of contact with Europeans and Chinese, and that these problems were 'increasing rapidly' (1930:365). Villagers came into contact with different categories of European – the government official, the planter, the trader and the missionary, and also Chinese labourers at the edges of European centres.

Powdermaker focussed her studies on all aspects of life in Lesu, but her work includes far more detail about women and their roles than that of Bell or Groves. She did not find that the women of Lesu were treated badly by the men, noting there was 'a strong line of demarcation between the two sexes… a very clear dividing line in much of the ritual and social life', but no hostility between them (1930:358). She recorded that the women were relatively free to pursue extra-marital affairs, and also that they knew how to procure abortions by taking certain medicines (1933:242-247).

Bell changed his line on Tanga's history and connections depending on his argument. He noted that communication between villagers on Tanga and 'their fellow clansmen on Feni and at Muliama… has been, and still is, regular and constant' (1934:297), that Tanga, Anir and Muliama were a single 'linguistic and cultural unit' (1935c:256). He recorded trade between Tanga, Lihir and Anir and beyond, noting that red shell discs from Tabar were 'highly valued' and clay pipes from Buka via Nissan were 'very valuable' on Tanga (1950:96). He also noted that four *mon* canoes were being made for export, to Lihir, Anir and a village south of Namatanai during his time on Tanga (1950:95). However in other publications he highlighted Tanga's isolation, claiming that the 'people of Tanga comprise a self-contained homogeneous cultural unit' and that before 1933 they had 'little or no contact with other Melanesian cultural groups' (1946:139), and finally that 'existing evidence proves that there was little contact between Tanga and the mainland' (1936b:83, fn 2).

Groves, Bell and Powdermaker also commented about artefacts and rituals that had fallen out of use. Bell recorded that the secret society *Sokapana* had been established on Tanga sometime around 1914. An influential big man called Misikiliman from Nokon initiated two Tangan men, Kiapsel and Imbaul, into a *tamberan* secret society whilst working together in mainland New Ireland before 1914. On their return to Tanga, they established this society as *Sokapana*, referring to the name of a ghost, (Bell 1935b:312). Capell noted that Nokon was a colony of Tanga, so the men may have been related in some way (Capell 1967:499). This secret society was known on Anir as *kenis* (Chinnery 1925:63) or *kenit* (Denner 2010:258); according to Bell, *kinit* was a general term for ghosts of the dead in Tangan, whilst *Sokapana* was the name of a particularly fearsome ghost of the dead (1935b:315, fn 1). Foster noted that

Sokapana did not operate in Tanga in the 1980s, but that it had been 'an important method for acquiring numerous shell valuables' (1987:59). Denner recorded that the last time the society met on Anir was in 1994 (2003:26, fn 22).

Bell, Grove and Powdermaker made extensive collections that focussed largely on everyday objects. Powdermaker noted that 'At least one sample of each object of material culture was obtained' for the Australian National Research Council, who had funded her trip (1930:356). She also noted that the most useful trade goods were tobacco, 'knives, calico, pipes, fishhooks and tinsel trimming' (1930:355). The Australian Museum houses the collections made by both Powdermaker (Were 2003:161) and Bell (Barnecutt 2000). Bell claimed to have 'obtained at least one example of everything made or used by the natives' of Tanga (1934:291), but he mentioned a number of objects that were not in his collection. He did not focus much on women's lives, but he described and collected some objects used by women including a ceremonial fibre headdress worn by widows (1935d:197).

The Swiss ethnologist Alfred Bühler travelled to New Ireland and the Admiralty Islands in 1931-32 on a field research and collecting mission for the Basel museum (Ohnemus 1999:17); he spent time in Madina and other places in northern New Ireland. His collection is wide-ranging, with a focus on utilitarian objects, and reflects a particular interest in shell money and its manufacture. He collected a number of objects that incorporated European material, and also some *uli* figures; he may have benefitted from a decade or more of reduced collecting activity in New Ireland following the end of German rule in 1914.

European concern with New Ireland's population levels continued. Groves reported that Chinnery's survey of northern New Ireland in 1929 had revealed that 'depopulation was fairly advanced, and cultural change and social disintegration fairly general' (Groves 1933:331). He noted that there had been many changes in Fisoa as a result of culture contact: *malagan* had 'almost disappeared', the 'old custom of *dzafunfun*' seclusion, known elsewhere as *dafal* or *kihal*, was no longer practised (1933:349), and the young men of Fisoa had an attitude of 'complete inertia and fatalism' (1933:347). He noted that Tabar was also suffering from depopulation (1935:360).

New Ireland from 1939

The Second World War had a much more direct and devastating impact on New Ireland and the rest of the Bismarck Archipelago than the First World War. In January 1942 Japanese troops took over New Ireland and remained there until the end of the war. The mainland was particularly affected, with the Japanese regime moving people around for work and food production. Mission and church activity was suppressed and in some cases banned under the Japanese, and ceremonial life was greatly curtailed. Billings and Peterson noted that there was a big *malagan* in Mangai after the Second World War to finish the dead of the war period (1967:27).

After the war, the Australian administration resumed until the 16th September 1975 when Papua New Guinea gained its independence. Anthropologists continued to visit throughout this period and beyond independence, although collecting abated after 1945. Research still focussed on New Ireland's rich ritual life, although this evidently changed considerably over time.

New Ireland Ethnography

As discussed in Chapter One and earlier in this chapter, many anthropologists and other academic researchers have visited New Ireland since 1900. Here, I aim to give an overview of research on New Ireland's material culture through the work of anthropologists and ethnographers.

Ritual Life

New Ireland has long been famed for its rich ritual life as well as its widespread and varied art traditions. Boluminski noted that '*singsing*… are the nightmare of every European employer, whether planter, recruiter or trader', that mortuary and other ceremonies were very important, with large numbers of participants and that villagers used every opportunity as an excuse for such activities (1904:130). Parkinson wrote that 'Dancing and singing are not fostered on any island in the archipelago as much as by the people of New Ireland', and that it had the widest variety of dances with very varied figures (1999:124).

The distinctive northern New Ireland art style used in the production of carvings associated with the *malagan* cultural complex is probably the best known, and the most widely discussed by anthropologists and ethnographers. Parkinson was one of the first to write about these ceremonies, which he said consisted of 'great feasts and dancing… performed using head masks', and the display of carvings that had been made 'in the greatest secrecy in isolated places… rigidly forbidden' to women and children' (1999:277).

Krämer and other members of the DME recorded *malagan* ceremonies and carvings in 1909. Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow recorded visiting a 'sacred site' where *malagan* carvings were kept; she noted that these 'elaborate creations' were found in the north of New Ireland as far south as the village of Hamba, near Lesu (2009:143). However, after the First World War, a number of visitors predicted the imminent collapse of the *malagan* tradition. Chinnery wrote that *malagans* had 'scarcely a hope of surviving the present generation' (1931:6). Groves reported that the ceremonies were 'doomed to certain and early extinction' (1933:351).

Malagan ceremonies survived in many areas, and Billings and Peterson noted that 'malanggans flourish today' in Mangai (1967:240). Billings and Peterson argued that *malagan* functioned to recruit leaders to an institutionalised position of leadership known as *memai*, and also to stimulate and regularise relations between communities within New Ireland and its adjacent island groups. They predicted that the traditions would not cease altogether but would gradually change (1967:32). Billings used Biró's account to argue that some *malagan* carvings represent the bodies of the dead as they were displayed according to reported burial customs (2007:267).

Lewis noted that there were very few *malagan* carvers left in northern New Ireland in 1970 due to 'the complexities of transmission of skills from older to younger men' (1973:143). He recorded the growth in the occurrence of *smel*, cement grave markers, in the 1960s. These were used in the cemeteries attached to mission stations, and by 1970 making *smel* had been pushed back so that it was staged as part of, or a substitute for, *malagan*. Unlike *malagan* carvings, everybody, even infants, had a *smel*, and any male could make them (Lewis 1973:145-147).

Wagner noted that there was no *malagan* tradition among the Barok in the 1980s, but he argued that 'their culture is very much a matter of thinking and feeling in images', meaning that the conception and motivation behind *malagan* and other New Ireland art styles manifests something very basic in the island groups' cultures (1987:56).

I agree with Billings that there will never be 'unblemished consensus' on the meaning of *malagan* due to researchers working in different places, at different times, and from different theoretical perspectives (2007:257).

The next female European researcher to follow Krämer-Bannow in New Ireland was Hortense Powdermaker who worked in Lesu from April 1929 to February 1930. Her work focussed on 'the social and sexual life of the women' as well as the general social organization, the economic structure including many ritual feasts, mortuary rites, and magic (1930:356). In the 1970s, Fergie focused on the role of women in Tabar's ritual life. Clay looked at the role of male power in *tatanua*, noting that gender contrasts are part of major cultural distinctions throughout New Ireland (1987:66).

Many other researchers noted in passing practices that affected women. As discussed in Chapter Two, a number of early observers recorded the practices of secluding pubescent girls, and sometimes boys, that occurred in many places across New Ireland before 1900. Boluminski and Walden noted a practice whereby a wife, or her child, was sometimes killed, or encouraged to commit suicide, on the death of her husband in order for her clan relations to claim rights over his land (Walden 1940:13,

Boluminski quoted in Derlon 2008:109). Biró also recorded this occurring among the Kara (Bodrogi 1967:26). In the 1970s Jessep recorded oral histories of this practice from earlier times in the Barok region (Jessep 1977:203). Groves noted that this happened previously on Tabar (1935a:352), and Billings and Peterson recorded this custom, known as *kiut*, at Mangai on the east coast; there was no evidence of it in the 1960s, although two elderly ladies were said to have earned the rights to the land they worked through *kiut* (1967:26).

More recent anthropological fieldwork has also focussed on ritual life. The anthropologist Albert looked at the role of the *tubuan* secret society among the Lak people of the east coast of southern New Ireland in the 1990s; he was told that Lak men were not involved in *tubuan* when they lived in the interior and only adopted it when they resettled at the coast around 1900 (1987:20). Kingston also studied the role and significance of *tubuan* in Lak, southern New Ireland, and described the practice of *dal* female seclusion and *malerra* love magic rituals (1998:699). Eves describes the *tubuan* ceremonies and rituals recently taken up by men on the Lelet Plateau and the related 'shamanic and magical practices' of the *Buai* secret society, both 'saturated with magical power' (2009:182-183). Lelet men adopted *Buai* when they were working away after the Second World War, from men from southern New Ireland, Lihir, the Duke of York Islands and the Gazelle Peninsula. Wolffram studied music and dance in Lak (2007) and Denner looks at the mortuary ritual and its accompanying art production on the Anir Islands (2010).

My Use of Ethnography

There is a vast amount of ethnographic literature on New Ireland from the past 140 years, from George Brown's first observations in 1875. This ethnographic information has been vital in informing my understanding of New Ireland's material culture in the 1870s and 1880s. It is difficult to judge exactly how material culture traditions changed over time, but it is clear from the ethnographic history that there was a great deal of movement of these traditions within and between New Ireland populations since 1900. The same is probably true of the period before 1900, and of the period before contact in 1616. Few anthropologists before the 1980s focussed on the movement of these cultural traditions, but even though many of the relevant ethnographic observations were made as asides or even in footnotes, the early ethnographies are particularly rich sources of information about many aspects of New Ireland life, and have also helped inform the later anthropological researchers.

Conclusion

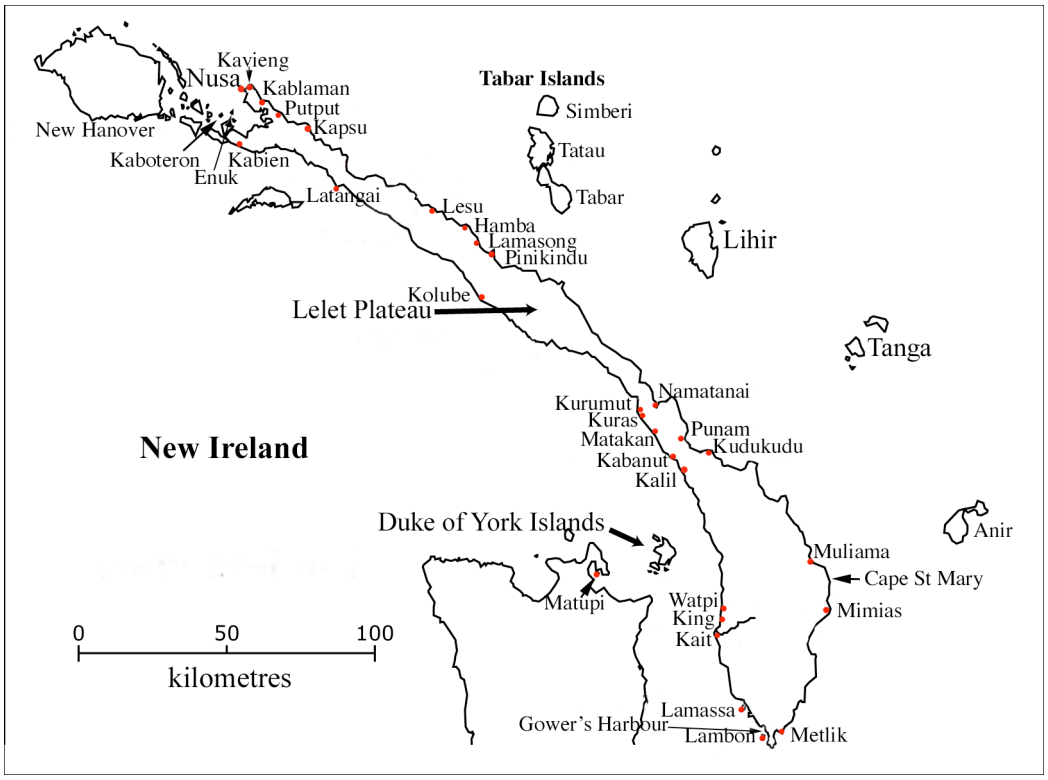
The events detailed in this chapter, particularly the pacification of New Ireland by the German colonial authorities after 1900, had much more profound impacts on New Irelanders' lives than the changes which came before, with almost all New Irelanders forced into some kind of participation with the colonial regime. The degree of this participation varied, but 1900 was very much the start of the 'white man's rule'. Almost all New Irelanders relocated to the coast where they had to work for, and live in settlements regulated by, the colonial authorities. They were also much closer to trading stations and the influence of the missions. Land was appropriated for plantations, and recruiting continued on a large scale, both for local plantations, and for work in other parts of German New Guinea. The colonial regime impacted all

areas of New Irelanders' lives, but ritual life would have been especially affected by the new demands on their time and also the increasing efforts by the Methodist and Catholic missions to ensure complete conversion to Christianity.

Many, perhaps most, of the Europeans involved in the implementation of colonialism collected ethnographic artefacts, as did all of the early anthropologists, who were inextricably bound with the colonial regime. This collecting was a fundamental part of the interactions between Europeans and New Irelanders, and remained a key part of negotiations throughout most of New Ireland's colonial history. European fascination with New Ireland's colourful and complex ritual life has continued.

Having examined the colonial and ethnographic history of New Ireland, I now turn to look at New Ireland's material culture and the history of collecting in more detail.

Chapter Five: The History of Collecting in New Ireland



Map 10. Places mentioned in collecting histories.

In this chapter I reconstruct the history of collecting in New Ireland by European and other foreign visitors up until 1886 in order to understand the nature of material culture exchange and to contextualise the collecting activities of George Brown, Thomas Farrell and Hugh Romilly. I start with an overview of New Ireland material culture and ritual art in the 19th century, and then discuss the history of collecting and the collecting activities of Brown, Farrell and Romilly.

Methodology

The history of collecting is fragmentary and partial, especially in the early contact period. The main sources of information for this chapter are historical documentation from visitors to New Ireland before 1886, notes and observations on material culture

made by Europeans in the colonial era, and the registration and accession data of New Ireland objects in museums and private collections. The most valuable resource is the database of New Ireland artefacts put together by Gunn and his analysis of the types of artefacts produced and collected. It is challenging to combine these disparate and incomplete streams of data but the results are informative and interesting. Documentary records surrounding collecting activities in the early contact years are slim, with ships' logs infrequently mentioning the acquisition of material culture in passing. Some information can be gleaned from other documentary sources such as the personal journals of individuals on board the ships. Documentary evidence associated with early museum collections is often lacking in key data, and it can be a matter of informed guesswork to ascertain when pieces were collected. Research undertaken from the 1970s onwards has aimed to find out more about early collections; Brouwer's work among the Mandak people in 1979 and Gunn's on Tabar in 1982 included asking questions about photographs of objects in museum collections (Brouwer 1980; Gunn 1992).

New Ireland's Material Culture in Collections

New Ireland has a rich ecology and its inhabitants have had plenty of materials to make things with, including a wide variety of trees and plants, animals, birds and insects, a rich marine life, and supplies of rocks, stones, shells and ores. Obsidian flakes and stone tools are among the oldest artefacts to be found on New Ireland, followed later by Lapita pottery, but organic materials would have been used in the material culture repertoires of all its human inhabitants. By the time of first contact with Europeans in the 17th century, New Irelanders had a rich and diverse material culture, including ritual art production that may have had centuries of history. At first

contact, the ships that visited were desperate for food, wood and water, but items of material culture very quickly found their way into these exchanges. It is possible to document, to some degree, what was being given to the New Irelanders in payment for their goods.

The first objects that Europeans collected in significant numbers were weapons, particularly spears, clubs and slingshots, and fishing paraphernalia, including fishing spears, nets and hooks. These objects, some of which were relatively easy to replace, were probably often to hand in the early encounters between New Irelanders and their visitors, most of which were at sea. Some of the clubs and adzes had stone heads, some of the spears incorporated a length of bone in the handle, and many of the clubs and spears were carved with fine, detailed imagery and patterns. Weapons were collected throughout the contact period, but they largely disappear from the collecting record after the early 1900s when the German regime made a concerted effort to pacify New Ireland.

Other everyday items such as tools and other equipment involved in craft production, objects such as containers and baskets used in food production, and hats, coverings and clothing, dance paraphernalia and body decorations are fairly poorly represented in collections, with a few exceptions. There are a small number of shell and stone adzes, most from Tabar, Lihir and Tanga, and a large number of combs and armbands in museum collections. There are a few war charms, bundles of shredded bark or other fibre, often dyed red with ochre, that were gripped in the mouth to resemble a false beard that accentuates the wearer's movement. These 'fighting charms' were known

on Tanga as *tung tung* and operated as a form of protective magic (Bell 1935:266); when a warrior died, one of these charms was placed in his jaws (1937:321).



Photograph of a warrior demonstrating the use of the war charms, spear and axe. Taken by Otto Schlaginhaufen in Muliama, southern New Ireland in 1908.

There are very few objects relating to women or children in museum collections. A few collectors acquired items of women's dress, including pubic coverings and the woven pandanus leaf hood known as a *gogo* worn in New Hanover and some areas of New Ireland by married women (Parkinson 1999:121). There are almost no toys although small models of canoes were traded to Europeans as early as 1872; these may have been children's toys (Bell 1937:56).

A number of musical instruments were noted from across New Ireland, including *garamut* slit drums, *lunet* rub drums, conch shell trumpets, bamboo bullroarers and nose flutes, and various kinds of rattles. *Kundu* hand drums were introduced in the early colonial period by labourers returning from plantations in New Guinea and the

Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain (Parkinson 1999:126) and are now found in many places in New Ireland.

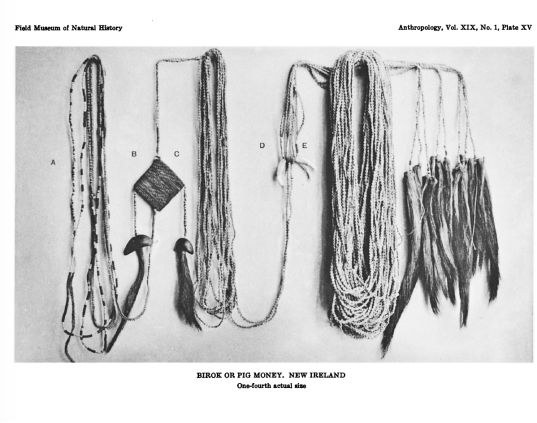
Various forms of valuables, including shell money, were found across the region, as well as other decorative items. There are local variations and overlaps in the production and use of shell valuables. Lewis noted at least 16 classes of shell money from New Ireland in the collections of the Field Museum in Chicago, with variation within each class (1929). Long strings of thin beads of shell money are found across New Ireland, with colour variants from red *tapsoka* from New Hanover (Parkinson 1999:134, Firth 1982:47) to pink *kemetas* on Tanga, traded in from Lihir, (Bell 1950:95) to brownish red *arangit* and dark brown strings in central and southern New Ireland (Lewis 1929:22). Finsch noted the use of a shell currency called *kokonon* in bride price payments, and a reddish shell called *ledara* which was scarce and highly valued (Einzig 1966:76). Traders in northern New Ireland used strings of shell money to pay for copra in the 1880s and 1890s; this practice was banned in 1902 (Lomas 1981:7).

The most highly valued exchange valuable was probably the composite known as pig money, *birok* in southern New Ireland and *nulpap* in central New Ireland (Lewis 1929:26), consisting of several strings of shell money, small squares of rattan, pig's tusks and tails, and dog's teeth. These were used to acquire pigs for important ceremonies and feasts, their value being the equivalent of one large pig (Danks 1888:305); Pfeil commented that a pig's tail was added to mark each transaction (Einzig 1966:76). Various sources note that their use died out in the early 1900s, but

some examples were collected as late as the 1950s.[32] There were other kinds of valuable shell necklaces; Bell described, but did not collect, a ceremonial necklace of thousands of dog's teeth, small red shell discs and a very rare white shell worn as a 'badge of rank' (1936:318). Shell money belts were probably used in bride price payments and may have been worn as marriage symbols (Gunn 2014:72). Proportionally, there are relatively small numbers of shell valuables in collections.



'Pig money, birok, in bark cloth wrapper. Southern New Ireland' (Lewis 1929:Plate XIV).



'Pig money, birok, spread out to show the different sections. Southern New Ireland' (Lewis 1929:Plate XV).

There are a variety of shell armbands from New Ireland in museum collections, all made from polished shell, usually white in colour. Parkinson noted that they were 'far more common earlier than today' (1999:131). Some are thin bands made from *trochus* shell that could either be worn singly or stacked up to look like one wide cuff; these were called *lai* in New Ireland and *mapa* in New Hanover, according to Parkinson (1999:131). More rare are long curves of thin, finely polished *tridacna* shell that fit over the upper arm and are striated on the outside to look like a stack of thin bands. On Tabar, these were known as *bio*, and worn in groups of ten on the upper arm as the

[32] Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, 68994.

sign of a senior *malagan* man. They are fragile and would have taken skill and time to make. In southern New Ireland, Tanga and Anir, shell discs known as *am fat* were used in marriage, mortuary and other ritual exchanges, either on their own or to acquire pigs (Bell 1935a:99; Foster 1995:171); they are thick, with a groove on the outside edge, and made from the *tridacna* shell. Foster noted that *am fat* were still in circulation on Tanga in the early 1990s when they were very scarce, and valued as heirlooms; they are still in use on both Tanga and Anir today. Armbands made from wood, rattan and pigs' tusks also feature in collections. Parkinson noted that armbands made from plaited cord dyed red were still popular in the early 20th century.

Kapkap ornaments are found in New Ireland and across the Bismarck Archipelago; many in collections came from northern New Ireland and the offshore islands. They are white discs of polished clamshell, overlaid with an intricately carved disc of turtle shell. In New Ireland, clan leaders wore large *kapkap* around the neck as a symbol of strength, and some women and girls also wore small *kapkap* (Parkinson 1999:131 and plate 17). Were notes that missionaries in New Ireland did not like *kapkap*, regarding them variously as symbols of war and superstition (Were: 2003:266) There are around 205 *kapkap* from New Ireland known in collections (Were 2003:329).

Art Production

New Ireland is rich in dynamic and evolving sculptural and masking traditions, but many of the art works that were produced and collected in the late 19th century are no longer made today. The transmission of the rights to reproduce art is complex, and both the designs and accompanying rights have changed over time. It is difficult to provenance artefacts from traditions that have changed or died out. The descriptions

below use information from present-day informants, and historical documentation from descriptive accounts and photographs, but there is a degree of guesswork involved. For northern New Irelanders, names relate to the lineage that transfers ownership of the copyright of a ritual object, whereas Europeans have tended to assign names to objects, without regard to the milieu in which the object was created. Different names can be used for the same art tradition and related objects, depending on language and cultural groups, and the name of a cultural tradition that enables the creation of art objects may have a completely different meaning elsewhere. There are marked regional variations and specific histories in all of New Ireland's ritual art traditions.

Most of the ritual ceremonies in New Ireland involve songs and dances with important performative qualities. Dancers' faces and bodies are usually highly decorated, often with leaves, feathers, bamboo and body paints. Denner points out that these performances combine elements that stimulate 'the audiovisual, olfactory, and kinetic senses' of all of the participants, both performers and their audiences (2006a:83). There is no evidence to suggest whether or how these performances have changed over time, but it is likely that they have been an important part of New Ireland ritual life for many generations.

Pan-New Ireland Art Forms

A number of objects were made all over New Ireland, with some variation, including overmodelled skulls. Overmodelled skulls were collected mostly from central and northern New Ireland, but there are also examples from southern New Ireland and the offshore islands; they were used as part of funerary and commemorative rituals.

One distinctive feature of many of New Ireland's varied sculptural traditions is the use of the operculum of the marine gastropod *Turbo petholatus* to represent eyes. Although the *Turbo petholatus* is found across the Pacific, the use of the operculum in art is most common in New Ireland.

Northern Traditions

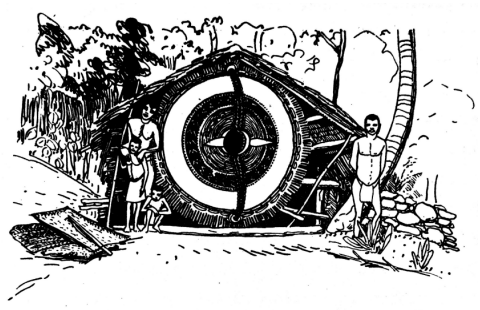
The north of New Ireland has widespread and varied art traditions, most of which use a distinctive northern art style. The best known is the large and complex cultural system and art tradition of *malagan*. Important ceremonies are organised primarily as commemorative mortuary rites, involving the ritual display of art works produced specifically for that ceremony. These rites take years to prepare for and have a ritual and social significance beyond commemorating the death of relations. *Malagan* traditions and sub-traditions vary widely across northern New Ireland, and there is a long history of ownership and use-rights to artefact production, as well as songs and dances, being traded and shared between places. The rights of transmission and reproduction governing true *malagan* objects are complicated and strictly regulated. The carvings were made 'in the greatest secrecy in isolated places… rigidly forbidden' to women and children (Parkinson 1999:277); their production is still carefully controlled today. Whilst carvings are kept separate from women, the ceremonies and feasts associated with their display celebrated the lives of both men and women (Powdermaker 1931:357). Crucially for collectors, once the *malagan* carvings were displayed, their ritual significance evaporated, and traditionally they were discarded or burnt after use.

Malagan art production is not uniform across northern New Ireland and has probably never been static, with some traditions expanding whilst others contract, over the long and short term. It is generally acknowledged that *malagan* originated in Tabar, and followed marriage links to the mainland, particularly to Notsi and Nalik language areas, eventually spreading south to the Madak region. Walden's published field data from 1907 to 1909 from northern New Ireland and Tabar recorded instances of the creation of new *malagan* art works, and mentioned art works that had shifted across villages and language groups (Gunn 1997:48). New Irelanders from the mainland repeatedly told Groves in 1932 that Tabar was the 'authentic source' of *malagan* (1934c:225). Over time, it has been recorded from ten different language groups in northern New Ireland (Gunn 1992:1). *Malagan* does not seem to have reached New Hanover, but the northern art tradition is used there for a variety of other cultural traditions. *Malagan* ceremonies are performed on Tabar today, and also in some mainland villages; at Libba village near Lesu, *malagan* carvers will demonstrate their skills for visitors.[33] A wide variety of objects are created within the *malagan* traditions, and these objects depict a range of images, including humans, birds, fish, pigs and other creatures, plants, and geometric designs. Gunn notes that 'most malagan sculptures today are recognized as having either a bush or a salt water origin', with pigs denoting bush connections, fish indicating beach or salt water origins (1987: 77).

The most common single type of *malagan* object in museums today is the *marumarua*, an image based on the human figure and life force, which forms the 'basic unit' of *malagan* sculpture (Gunn 2006:222). The figures can take many forms

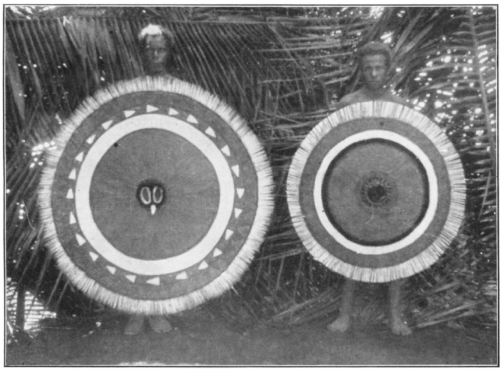
[33] http://www.papuanewguinea.travel/newireland - accessed on 10th March 2017.

and are often combined with images of other creatures; flying fish are particularly common. There are many kinds of masks and heads, and a wide range of architectural carvings such as horizontal and vertical sculptures and friezes, woven disc-like objects known as *vavara*, and wall panels. On Tabar, the bisymmetrical horizontal carvings known as *kobokobor* are the most significant *malagan* within a sub-clan's ritual property, and the central form around which *malagan* is publicly displayed and understood (Gunn 2006:204). The tall vertical carvings known generically as *eikuar* on Tabar are also important; these consist of a series of figures standing on top of each other. They form a strong visual image, appearing to support the entire display house, but there are not many of these fragile objects in museum collections (Gunn 1997:114).



110. Sun *málanggan*. H.P.

Drawing of a *vavara* 'sun' malagan in Lamasong village by Hedwig Pfizenmayer of the DME, 1909 (Krämer-Bannow 2009:208).



B. *Wawara malagan not yet placed in shrine.*

Photograph of a *Wawara* or *vavara* malagan from Tabar Island, by William Groves, 1935 (Groves 1936:Plate II).

Masks are used in *malagan* ceremonies for a variety of functions. Dances performed before, during and after *malagan* ceremonies use masks that may not strictly belong to

malagan traditions. Some static masks or head sculptures are made for the main *malagan* display. Large elaborately carved masks such as those known as *matua* on mainland New Ireland (Parkinson 1999:278) and *vanis* on Tabar were probably used to remove taboos from the village, graveyard or ritual site in preparation for the ceremonies, or to 'clean' the village of the influence of the dead. Other masks would have been used to raise awareness of the forthcoming *malagan* activities, to obtain funds and food, or to 'close the door' of the ritual house (Gunn 1997:58). Masks in the *marada* sub-tradition were associated with rainmaking magic; these were heirloom objects, passed down through the generations.

Malagan ceremonies incorporate a variety of ephemeral art such as body decorations and armbands for dancers and other participants. Mouthpieces, often shaped like a hornbill, were used in dances and also placed in the mouth of masks or carvings. The songs and dances associated with the ceremonies use musical instruments and voices, including the *lunet* friction block rub drums that were only used in certain types of *malagan* rituals, also called *livika*, *nunut*, *lunuat* and *lapka*. These instruments are solid pieces of wood with three 'teeth' that vibrate when rubbed, and are unique to New Ireland (Gunn 2006:192). Krämer recorded that each one had its own name and that they were heirloom objects passed down through the generations. They originated from the mountain villages of Levinko, Bungmalum and Atlemau near the Lelet Plateau (Krämer 1925:56). These rub drums, along with *marada* masks, are the only heirloom objects within *malagan*. Some *lunet* rub drums were made more recently in the 20th century.

Other cultural traditions such as *tatanua* and *kipong* share the same distinctive northern art style as *malagan* but are not necessarily related, with regional variations further complicating matters. It should be noted that the word *malagan* was used in southern New Ireland and Tolai areas of New Britain to describe certain masks and dances that are not part of what is known today as the *malagan* art style. *Tatanua* masks are often worn for two-line dances that occur during or after *malagan* ceremonies. On the Tabar Islands *tatanua* masks are not considered true *malagan* objects, but at a number of places on the mainland they are regarded as part of *malagan*. Clay noted that in Pinikindu, *tatanua* dances are said to 'speak for' and honour *malagan* ceremonies (1977:65). Parkinson wrote that the masks express, to some extent, 'the classical form of male beauty in the eyes of the local natives' (1999:279), with the gigantic crest of hair imitating the mourning hairstyle of former times. Parkinson also noted that once the *tatanua* masks had been exhibited, there was no secrecy surrounding them, which may account for the large numbers in museum collections. There are no restrictions on who can make or own them. One of the earliest masks to reach a museum was an owl mask in 1830;[34] these are also danced in pairs and were sometimes related to *malagan*. Powdermaker observed an owl dance in 1929 and noted that it was imported to Lesu from New Hanover (1933:126); Bühler recorded it nearby in 1931.

Kipong is a singsing that originated on New Hanover relating to myths featuring a white-skinned trickster figure known as Kepang; it was brought to mainland New Ireland and Tabar at some point in the recent past. There were no restrictions on the reproduction of the masks and other objects used in the dances, so masks and figures

[34] 98.1101.275 Nantucket Historical Association, Massachusetts.

known as *kipong* are found in different local art styles. Throughout New Ireland there are accounts of wild men or bush spirits, with their names varying by language group. They are known as *ges* or *gesges* in Notsi and Madak language areas, a word which has also been used to describe certain masks. In some parts of southern New Ireland, *kipong* masks are linked to the activities of the *dukduk* secret society, and there can be strong links between *kipong* and *lor* masks here (Gunn 2014:70). Historically, Europeans tended to refer to white-faced, slanted-eyed masks as *kipong*.

Central New Ireland

Central New Ireland was home to a variety of sculptural forms, all of which relate in some way to traditions that memorialise the dead, including *vovo* stone sculptures, large wooden *uli* figures and the *lunet* rub drums used in *malagan*. It is also home to the ritual tradition of *kabai*, although the only artefacts associated with *kabai* are the tables made from branches of trees known as *kaba* (Gunn 2014:68). Further south, *kulap* limestone figures were made and used. The production of *kulap* figures ceased in the early 20th century and there is no evidence of *uli* ceremonies after 1930. Pieces of barkcloth painted in the northern New Ireland style were used in marriage ceremonies in the Barok region in the early 20th century; these are rare (Gunn 2006:48).

The large wooden *uli* figures display strong masculine features and high pointed breasts; they were probably ancestral images representing the power and strength of a clan leader (Gunn 2006:172). They originated from the Madak area north of the Lelet Plateau, inland from the present-day village of Konos, which is between Lamasong and Pinkindu (Gunn 2014:67). *Uli* figures were heirloom objects, passed down

through generations, unlike most other more ephemeral masking and sculptural traditions. Most *uli* figures in museum collections were collected in the 1890s and early 1900s. Early ethnographic information on them and the associated cult comes from Krämer in 1908-1909, whose informant Lákam described a ceremony in Lamasong village on the east coast in 1905, and Gerhard Peekel, a German missionary in New Ireland who witnessed a ceremony in the same village in 1927 (Gifford 1974:40, 50). The figures were used in the funeral observances of village chiefs, in ceremonies that included fertility rites. Krämer noted that Lákam was the sixth carver in a direct line from Lavanggé of Kánagot, who created the first *uli* figure, according to tradition (1925:59). It was probably from this suggestion of six generations that Krämer concluded that the *uli* tradition was at least 150 years old in 1907 (Gifford 1974:119).

Kulap limestone figures were made in the inland area south of the narrow isthmus of central New Ireland, and used on both the east and west coasts nearby (Gunn 2014:71). Also called *kutpuo* and *papawa*, these small figures made of soft chalk limestone depicted men, women and children. Parkinson called them 'ancestor figures', and a number of sources indicate that they were memorial portraits created for funerary ceremonies that were destroyed after a period of display (Parkinson 1999:284). Neuhaus also noted that they could be used in betrothal ceremonies (Neuhaus 1962:402). Most sources agree that women and children were forbidden from seeing the figures.

There are more than 200 *kulap* figures known in collections, many of which were collected from the area around the old village of Punam, considered the home of

kulap.[35] Gunn and Peltier identified two different kinds of figures, a smaller group that feature a notched shape disc around the neck, which may have depicted ruffles of fern leaves worn around the neck at dance feasts (Parkinson 1999:130), and a larger group with no neck disc but a clearly defined eyebrow ridge (Gunn and Peltier 2006:122). The traditions that these figures were made for had died out by the late 1880s or early 1890s when production of the neck disc type ceased. The eyebrow ridge type seem to have been made for sale up until the 1930s.

Various kinds of white-faced masks originate in central and southern New Ireland, some belonging to little-known traditions that have died out. *Lor*, *lorr* and *alor* are used to describe a variety of masks from New Ireland and east New Britain; most of them have white faces. *Lor* masks with long white faces, a large smile and a fibre head covering with a central crest are said to have originated around the Lelet Plateau in central New Ireland, although they were also found in other places across the province. There are a wide variety of white-faced masks from New Ireland in collections that we know very little about; most were collected before 1900 (Gunn 2014:68).

Southern New Ireland

Southern New Ireland ritual art is poorly represented in museum collections when compared to the large numbers of artefacts from northern and central New Ireland. The most common forms of ritual art are masking traditions, with some similarities to the masking traditions of the islands to the south and west. The best known is the *tubuan* secret society, also known as *dukduk*, with its distinctive costumes called

[35] The village of Punam was moved from the hills to the coast by the German authorities, probably around 1910.

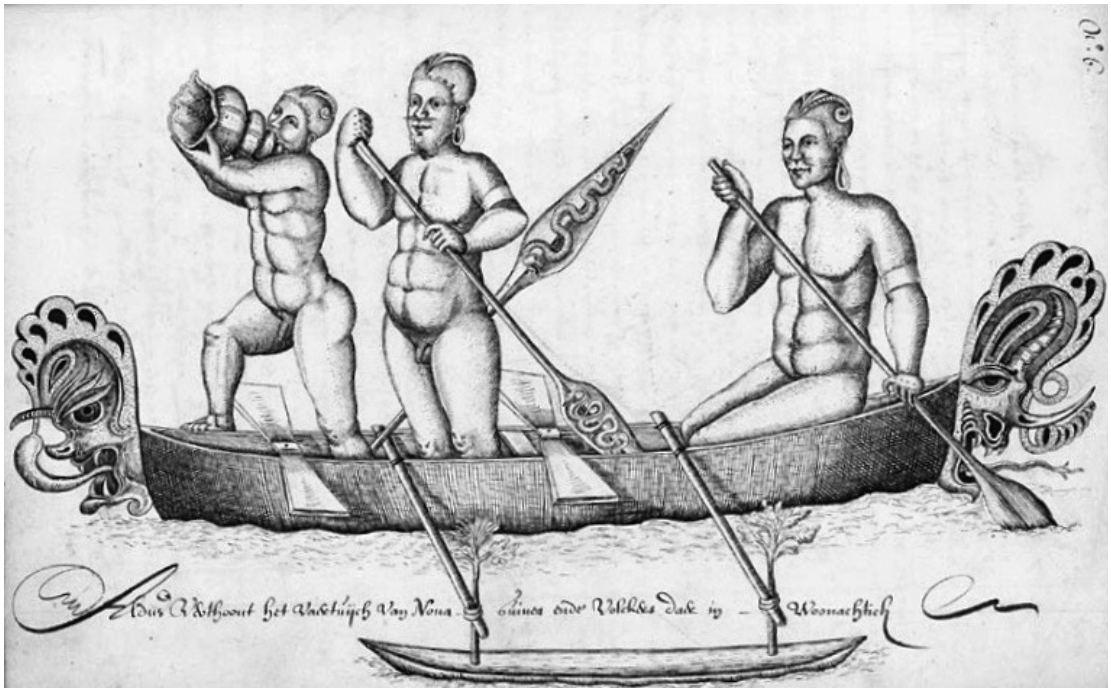
nantoi and *dukduk* (Albert 1987; Kingston 2006). A number of different barkcloth masks are found in southern New Ireland, and on the island groups of Lihir, Tanga and Anir. Parkinson called the distinctive barkcloth masks from Tanga *tedak* and noted that they were no longer made in 1903 (1999:283); he also noted that 'eye-glass' face masks were made on Anir from coconut shells. Some of the masks from the eastern offshore islands are stylistically similar to masks from Buka and Bougainville (Gunn 1997:40). Men's house architecture, including carved house posts, is also a particular feature of central and southern New Ireland and the offshore islands.

There are a variety of reasons why southern New Ireland is so poorly represented in collections. The secret societies that thrive there involve ritual art production, but these artefacts have very rarely, if ever, been traded out. Bell described 'magnificent' painted barkcloth masks from Tanga in the 1930s that were made and performed as part of the initiation of young males in ceremonies associated with *malera*, love magic (Bell 1957:144). These masks were 'completely destroyed' by fire after the ceremonies so that nobody could find them and learn how to make them (1957:146). Krämer also recorded a *malerra* men's feast at Tam village near Muliama in 1908 (Krämer-Bannow 2009:51).

Other art traditions such as carved wooden house posts produced artefacts that are not easily traded. It may also be that some southern New Ireland art traditions did not survive the upheavals of the colonial years; northern New Ireland seems to have had more robust means of transmitting art and cultural traditions between generations. I

discuss this, and the absence of certain types of ritual art and other artefacts, further in Chapters Eight and Nine.

History of Artefact Collecting



Men and carved canoe from Tabar.
Engraving after a drawing made by Gilsemans in 1643.

The earliest known representation of New Ireland material culture is this drawing of a canoe from Tabar in Abel Tasman's log of his visit in 1643. The original drawing was probably made by Isaac Gilsemans, a merchant and artist, and was later converted to an engraving. It depicts a shark-hunting trip, showing three men in an outrigger canoe decorated with openwork carvings in the northern art style at the bow and stern. Two of the men wield carved paddles and wear white armbands just above the elbow, and all three have similar, distinctive, hairstyles, and ear and nose ornaments. The early expeditions traded with the New Irelanders for food, but the first records of material culture transactions date to 1803.

In 1803, HMS *Buffalo* sailed from Port Jackson to Bengal to purchase stores and livestock for the new settlements in New South Wales, captained by William Kent. His wife Eliza wrote a letter home to her mother in which she described purchasing 'curiositys', including a spear with a human bone handle and six rows of human teeth, from men who visited the ship in canoes from Tanga (Whittaker et al. 1975:292). It is not known what happened to these objects. Other ships travelling similar routes probably also collected objects at this time. In 1826, the *St Patrick*, a trading ship en route from New Zealand to Calcutta, stopped to take on water at Gower's Harbour, by Lambon Island. George Bayly, a sailor on board, noted that several canoes came alongside to trade, offering 'tortoise shell fish hooks and a variety of other curiosities' as well as produce (Statham and Erickson 1998:69). The logbook of the New England whaler the *Coronet* recorded trading with canoes from the coast of northern New Ireland in 1838, and 'spears, clubs, shells, tortise shell, nets, calabashes, and various other articles' were traded alongside coconuts, yams, and other foodstuffs (Lincoln 1987:41, fn 4).

The earliest known collection date of a New Ireland object in a museum relates to a spear in Salem's Peabody Essex Museum (Rosman and Rubel 1998:37, fn 6). It was donated between 1821 and 1831 by J.A. Cleveland, and had probably been acquired by his father, merchant navigator Captain Richard Cleveland, in the early 19th century. There are other spears from New Ireland in whaling museums on the New England coast, such as New Bedford and Nantucket, that may also have early collection dates, but the documentary evidence is not clear.

By the middle of the 19th century, artefacts other than weapons and fishing equipment were being traded out of New Ireland[36]. Three northern New Ireland style masks in the Museum of the Nantucket Historical Association were probably collected around 1830.[37] In 1857, the Australian Museum in Sydney recorded that Captain Spurling of the whaling ship *Vernon* had donated 'a richly ornamented and coloured mask from the natives of New Ireland' (Specht 1980:10, fn 7);[38] the mask has not survived. In 1859, a *malagan* mask was donated to the Chichester Museum in southern England by 'Miss Newman of Midhurst'; who Miss Newman was, and how she obtained the mask are unknown, but presumably it came from a trading or whaling ship that called at one of the many nearby ports.[39] Joseph Mayer, a local goldsmith and antiquarian who made an extensive collection of artefacts, donated a pair of *malagan* figures, one male one female, to the Liverpool Museum in 1867.[40] These figures were presumably purchased from one of the many trading ships that used the port of Liverpool in the 19th century.

Whaling logs from the 1860s and 1870s mention masks and carvings being brought out by New Irelanders eager to trade. Captain Smith of the *Java II* from New Bedford noted in 1869 that several canoes came off from northern New Ireland bringing a great variety of foodstuffs and seven masks (Rosman and Rubel 1998:37). In 1872, the wife of the captain of the *A.R. Tucker* recorded that her husband, whilst off New Hanover, traded for bracelets, beads, spears, bows and arrows, miniature canoes, and other ornaments, as well as foodstuffs (Gray 1999:31). Most contact with the whalers

[36] There is a possibility that the female *malagan* figure MH 03.46.1 in the Musee du Quai Branly in Paris was collected by Admiral Dupetit-Thouars in 1838, but the documentation is ambiguous.
[37] Museum of the Nantucket Historical Society 98.1101.275, 2000.1101.032, 2000.1005.001.
[38] The Empire, Sydney, 10th March 1857, pg 4.
[39] Now at the Field Museum, Chicago 276499.
[40] Liverpool World Museum M5020 A and B.

still took place at sea; the only places the Europeans regularly landed were the watering holes at Lambon and Lamassa, where contact with New Irelanders was relatively infrequent.

In the 1870s, the waters around New Ireland were busy, with whalers, government shipping and trading ships in the area. John Brazier, a shell-collector who travelled to New Hanover and the west coast of New Ireland on HMS *Blanche* in 1872, probably collected material culture artefacts as well as objects of natural history. Strauch, an officer on SMS *Gazelle*, under Captain von Schleinitz, collected thirteen objects from New Ireland and New Hanover during 1875, including two *tatanua* masks, one *ges*-type mask, a stone adze blade and a turtle-shell knife from New Hanover, and eight masks, four *malagan*-style, and four white-faced masks,[41] from two anchorages on the west coast of the mainland (Gunn and Peltier 2006:33).

Professional Collectors

Cockerell and Brown were the first collectors to spend time on New Ireland, and they collected both material culture and natural history objects from the outset. Some of the objects that Cockerell collected, including *kulap* figures and an *uli* figure, went to the Macleay Museum in Sydney.[42] The picture of collecting in New Ireland between 1875 and 1882 is obscured by the Australian Museum's loss of all of its Pacific ethnographic collections in a fire in the Garden Palace in September 1882 (Thomsett 1993:13). Travellers with links to Australia would have sent objects there, but unfortunately even the surviving documentary evidence is fragmentary.

[41] Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde VI 1490, VI 1259, VI 1227, VI 1268, VI 1265, VI 1217, VI 1255, VI 1220, VI 1225, VI 1261, British Museum Oc.+1144, Oc.+140, Oc.+1134.
[42] Macleay Museum 1577 (*uli* figure), 1573, 1574 (*kulap* figures) collected donated by Cockerell's family.



Uli figure, probably collected by James Cockerell between September 1875 and August 1876
(1577 Sydney, Macleay Museum)

Many of the traders who took up residency in the region from 1875 were keen to collect. Representatives of the two big German companies active in the area from 1875 to 1880, Hernsheims and Godeffroys, collected on New Ireland during this time. Eduard Hernsheim had his own museum of Pacific weapons and other curios in Hong Kong (Sack and Clark 1983:42) and also made substantial donations to museums in Germany, particularly Berlin and Leipzig.[43] Some of these donations were made before and during 1880, and included objects in the northern art style, probably from exploratory trips made by Hernsheim or one of his agents in the Steffen Straits area in 1879, prior to the establishment of a trading station at Nusa in 1880. That same year, Hernsheim described purchasing the carved ornamental walls of a girl's confinement house at Nusa (Sack and Clark 1983:56). His collecting from New Ireland increased substantially after the establishment of trading stations in the north, and more objects were donated to Hamburg, Leipzig and Berlin in the 1880s and 1890s.

[43] Some were in the name of his brother Franz, others in the name of his uncle, Robertson.

Collecting on behalf of the Godeffroy Company is more difficult to understand. Godeffroy encouraged the captains of his ships to collect from the 1860s, and it is likely that Godeffroy ships visited New Ireland in the late 1860s and early 1870s. In the 1870s the company employed professional collectors as well. All these artefacts went into the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg, the contents of which were put on the market in 1879. However, protracted negotiations meant that the sale, to Leipzig, was not completed until 1885 (Penny 2000:15), with some objects being sold off in the interim. The New Ireland objects were probably collected by a variety of Godeffroy employees, including Captain Levison, who was based in the Duke of York Islands from 1876 to 1879, and they may also have sold to or exchanged objects with other individuals or institutions for their own benefit. The firm encouraged the purchase of duplicates so that they could be sold on. Kleinschmidt, an experienced, professional collector employed by Godeffroys, arrived in the Duke of York Islands in March 1879 and stayed until his death in 1881 (Schutte 1991) and would have visited New Ireland or had access to people who did. Theodore Weber, then the German consul in Samoa, and manager of the Godeffroy Company, made an extensive diplomatic tour of New Britain, New Ireland and the Duke of Yorks in 1878-1879 on the German warship SMS *Ariadne* (Sack 2001:487). Unfortunately, the documentary evidence surrounding the Godeffroy collections is scarce and it is only possible to guess at the sources and dates of most of the New Ireland material.

There are at least 55 objects from New Ireland in museum collections today known to have come from the Godeffroy Museum;[44] the bulk are from northern New Ireland and New Hanover, with 38 *malagan*-related objects, including six masks from New

[44] 30 objects in Hamburg, 18 in Leipzig, 6 in Dresden, 5 in Leiden, 1 in the British Museum and 1 in Munich. A museum in Hildesheim may also have some New Ireland objects from Godeffroys.

Hanover. There are three *kulap* figures and one *uli* carving from central New Ireland. One spear is registered as being from the Anir Islands. The other objects, including nine white-faced masks and a fishing net, cannot be attributed to a particular area of New Ireland.

Representatives of other trading companies also collected artefacts from New Ireland. Otto Finsch made a significant collection of artefacts, mostly from northern New Ireland, whilst exploring in the region on the Humboldt-funded expedition of 1879-1882. He returned to the Bismarck Archipelago in October 1884 on the *Samoa* as Imperial Commissioner and collected extensively over the following year, sending many artefacts to museums in Berlin and Vienna. He probably established trading relations on behalf of the NGC with villages at the northern end of New Ireland. Other employees of the NGC also collected objects from New Ireland, most of which were donated to German museums.

The recruiting ships that visited the north of New Ireland in the early 1880s also collected artefacts. Some of the government agents employed on the Queensland recruiting ships donated objects to the Queensland Museum, probably because Sir Arthur Palmer, the Colonial Secretary to Queensland, was a Museum trustee. He was responsible for the government agents on the Queensland recruiting ships, and he also donated two masks to the Queensland Museum in October 1886.[45] The *Hopeful* visited New Britain, New Ireland and the Duke of Yorks early in 1883, and the government agent, Mr H. G. Chater, donated three *malagan* objects to the Queensland

[45] QM - masks E 4515 and E 4519.

Museum in June.[46] Another agent, C. Mills, donated two New Ireland masks the same year,[47] and W. F. Cheeke, the government agent on board the *Lochiel*, which recruited on New Britain and Lihir in mid 1883, donated three carvings from New Ireland later that year.[48] Stylistic similarities between a post donated by Cheeke in 1883 and the masks donated by Palmer in 1886 suggest the same carver made them, presumably for the same *malagan* ceremony. Cheeke probably collected them all and gave or sold the masks to Palmer.

The objects donated to the Queensland Museum comprise a small proportion of the collecting activity carried out by recruiting ships as the Government Agents may have sold other objects elsewhere, and the other members of the ships' crews almost certainly collected objects too. Other recruiting ships from Queensland, as well as British and German ships recruiting in New Ireland for Fijian and Samoan plantations, also collected objects of material culture. There was a thriving trade in these artefacts in the trade stores of Queensland, New South Wales, Hong Kong, Fiji and Samoa, and so collecting enabled sailors and crew to supplement their income.

The rush for recruits had turned into a scramble for artefacts by 1883. In August 1883, New Ireland men reported to Hernsheim that the mate of the recruiting ship '*Ninfoo*' caused 'disgraceful havoc' by killing two men on the island of Enuk in the Steffen Straits and stealing the 'temple ornaments' (Sack and Clark 1983:153); it was presumably the Godeffroy's *Niaufou* that Hernsheim planned to report to the Consulate General in Samoa. Men working on recruiting ships evidently saw objects of New Ireland material culture as desirable commodities worth stealing. The

[46] Queensland Museum - long panel carving E 4522 and two figures E 4516, E 4520.
[47] QM - two barkcloth masks E 5682 and E5683.
[48] QM - two masks E 2453 and E 10112, and a post E 4521.

ornaments stolen at Enuk must have been *malagan* carvings, and it seems likely that the recruiters stole them to sell on for a profit. It is not clear whether it was a pre-meditated or opportunistic theft, but the fact that the crew were willing to go ashore to procure the objects shows their eagerness, as it was still unusual at that point for recruiters to go inland. However, Enuk is a small, low island so perhaps they felt safe as they were armed. This incident also suggests that people in northern New Ireland were keeping *malagan* carvings back after their display for sale to traders and other visitors, at this time.

Museum accession books supply further information about collectors from New Ireland. In 1883 the Australian Museum was supplied with New Ireland objects by the captains of two trading ships. Captain Francis Lawry or Lowry, of the schooner *Annie C. Lynn*, sold five *malagan* carvings, four masks and a figure, to the Australian Museum in Sydney in March 1883.[49] Captain Leeman, a trading captain, donated three *tatanua* masks and three bird carvings in the same month.[50] J. Weisser, paymaster for the German warship SS *Hyane* that visited New Ireland and New Britain periodically from 1882, sold ethnographic objects to the Australian Museum in Sydney in September 1883, and made donations to the Dresden Museum in 1883 and 1886. He became the manager of the NGC around 1885. Douglas Rannie, government agent on a number of recruiting trips, described buying two carvings of what he said were called 'devil-devils' from Tabar and some *kulap* figures from the west coast in 1887 (Rannie 1888:86). He donated these, along with other objects, to the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow (Rannie 1912:288).

[49] Australian Museum A 14318, A 14320-14323. For information on the Annie C. Lynn, see *Queanbeyan Age,* 24th November 1882.
[50] Australian Museum masks A 14211, A 14212, A 16446; bird carvings A 14220-2.

Evidence from both historical records and museum accession lists confirm that ethnographic objects were traded throughout the 1800s with most transactions taking place either at sea or on the beach. Some ritual art objects such as masks and figures were collected from around 1830, and in increasing numbers from the 1860s. A wide variety of people were collecting in New Ireland by the 1870s, and some long-standing relationships were established; some of the traders and recruiters returned to the same places on each voyage and purchased objects of material culture, as well as other goods. Recruiters, long-distance traders and government shipping visited the same villages and areas that were hotspots of trading activity. Hundreds of objects from New Ireland arrived in metropolitan museums before 1885, particularly in Europe and Australia, and these were just a part of the total number of objects collected. Many others must have entered private collections, or been lost, destroyed or left to rot.

Motivations for collecting varied. For some, like Mrs Kent, these objects were curiosities – spears tipped with human bone represented how different the local people were, and highlighted the dangers she faced on her journey. Whalers may have used the baskets and other objects that they collected on board the ship, and probably sold the artefacts when back in a port to supplement their wages or donated them to local museums. Traders realised the financial potential of these artefacts and, in general, sold them on to trading stores or museums. Buschmann argues that the primary motivation for most German collectors in the 1870s and beyond was to gain benefits for themselves, both financial and prestigious; the common term for material culture in the Pacific among Europeans was apparently ‘firewood’ (2000a:4). The exception to this was Richard Parkinson, who was genuinely interested in the

indigenous societies that he worked with, and described and collected their material culture to document as much as possible before it disappeared, which he felt was inevitable. Parkinson rarely dated his ethnological observations, but he travelled more frequently in New Ireland after 1887.

George Brown, Thomas Farrell and Hugh Romilly

Brown, Farrell and Romilly had very different levels of contact with New Ireland and New Irelanders, and their collecting aims, strategies and achievements all need careful examination in order to understand their collections. Brown and Farrell had long-term links with New Ireland, with Brown's contact being mainly with the southwest coast and Farrell's on the east coast. Brown may have spent more time on the island as he slept there on a number of occasions whereas Farrell had shorter but more frequent visits to villages where he traded either through local people or his own agent, but probably slept on his boat. We know a great deal about Brown's contacts on New Ireland, but very little about Farrell's time in the region. Romilly visited for a short period of time, but left a great deal of information about his experience and views of New Ireland, and his collecting. Romilly recorded so much detail on his short visit to New Ireland that we know most about the specifics of his collection. Ironically, given that he spent the shortest time there and made the smallest collection, this level of detail makes his the most interesting from a historical perspective.

Brown's Motivations for Collecting

Brown began collecting examples of both natural history and material culture whilst stationed in Samoa from 1860 to 1874. During this time he saw the material culture of his congregations 'primarily as curios and gifts for family and colleagues' (Gardner

1999:204). On his return to Australia prior to establishing the New Britain region missions he started to become interested in collecting for scientific reasons, and by the time he left for the Duke of York Islands, he viewed artefacts 'primarily as evidence to be used in metropolitan discussions about race and development' (Gardner 2000:35). Before he left, he travelled extensively in southeast Australia and New Zealand garnering support for his new project, and visited libraries, museums and botanical gardens. He established relationships that he maintained through correspondence with the Australian Museum in Sydney, the Auckland Museum, and the Tasmanian Royal Society. He met Baron von Hügel, who later became an important collector for Cambridge University, and at one stage von Hügel, with his small scientific party, planned to accompany Brown to the Bismarck Archipelago. Von Hügel's party sailed from Australia on the mission ship, but decided to stay in Fiji. Lorimer Fison also accompanied Brown to Fiji; he was a fellow missionary returning from furlough in Melbourne gathering data for *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, one of the earliest ethnologies of Australian aborigines (Gardner 2006:55).

Brown evidently intended to collect during his time in the Bismarck Archipelago, and in Fiji he employed James F. Cockerell, a keen young natural history collector who had been part of Von Hügel's team.[51] During the voyage, Brown and Cockerell agreed the terms of his employment, that Cockerell should 'have one third of all Birds, Fishes, Insects and Shells which we collect', with Brown keeping anything he collected himself (Brown journal 27th June 1875). Their relationship started to sour early on, but they continued collecting until their departure around a year later.

[51] 'A Naturalist in the South Seas', *The Brisbane Courier*, 16th December 1876, pg 3.

Brown rarely recorded his collecting activities in either his published works or in his personal papers. When he did mention his collecting, it was to illustrate another point – his own common sense or bravery, the dangers he was in, or the savagery of the Islanders he lived among. Gardner comments that the few records of the gathering of artefacts and natural history specimens in his published texts were 'purely incidental and largely anecdotal' (Gardner 1999:199). It is possible to reconstruct something of his collecting activities from his published and private writings, and anecdotal references to hunting, trading, and associated activities such as skinning birds or building packing cases show that at times he spent a great deal of time and effort in this pursuit. The sheer volume of the collections that he was sending out to museums, family and friends highlights his prolific collecting activities.

Brown had complex and multiple motives for collecting. He was keen to maintain contact with the 'men of science' he had met and he sent artefacts to museum curators and academics involved in debates on race and evolution, but he also collected for himself, and for his family, friends, and contacts related to the Church. The letter that accompanied the collections made during his first month in the Duke of York Islands specified that the spears, clubs and 'curiousities' were intended for the Secretary General of the Church Circuit, 'and any member of the committee and friends' (Gardner 2006:134). He collected to establish and maintain contacts with indigenous people in the Bismarck Archipelago, and to exemplify a particular aspect of indigenous life – collecting spears to celebrate the imposition of peace, for example. Gardner concludes that it is not possible to simplify his motivation as that of scientific vision (Rubel and Rosman 1996), or merely to promote mission work (Eves 1998). His collecting 'encompassed myriad objectives, successes and failures' (Gardner

1999:200), and whilst it was sometimes specific and directed, it was also opportunistic and dependent on Islanders' choices. In the early years of the mission, Gardner argues, his collection was shaped by his efforts to establish himself in local political networks, and his ready exchange of European goods for all objects offered to him reassured his hosts that he was not there to exploit them. It is clear from the literature that he was very keen to trade, and that his motivations weren't economic.

Brown felt that he should acquire whatever goods people offered to him in order to create and maintain social relationships with the people he lived among and visited. He had limited opportunities to establish social relations with people outside the Duke of York islands, and so whenever he went on trips to explore new areas or check on the progress of mission stations staffed by the Samoan and Fijian teachers, he was keen to establish and cement relations as quickly as possible. The easiest way for him to do this, given the language barriers he faced, was to distribute European goods and accept whatever was offered in return. He refused to trade in firearms, or on Sundays, and would not purchase commonly accepted trade goods like turtle shell, copra and bêche-de-mer, as he 'wished both natives and traders to understand' that they were not there to trade (Brown 1908:118).

Brown in New Ireland

Brown's first encounter with people from New Ireland took place on the 14th August 1875 as the mission ship approached the Duke of York Islands. Canoes from southern New Ireland came off to investigate their arrival, and the ship's crew persuaded them to come aboard. The New Irelanders sold them a small pig, and 'by a few little presents' the ship's crew made friends with them (Brown 1908:88). The next day was

a Sunday, and when more canoes came off from New Ireland, the crew refused to trade.

The mission ship *John Wesley* spent three weeks in Port Hunter before returning to Sydney, and during this time trading activity was quite frenzied. On a visit to Nodup on New Britain, the ship's crew displayed 'much anxiety to procure curios' (Brown 1908:94); both the crew and the Nodup people were clearly familiar with these kinds of exchanges, which took place on board the ship. Brown had already remonstrated with the captain of the *John Wesley* over the crew's 'undue prominence to trading' (Brown journal 31st August 1875), although he was himself 'buying many specimens' (Brown journal 28th August 1875). He sent a number of spears, clubs and 'curiousities' to his wife in Auckland and the mission's general secretary Chapman in Australia, and some botanical specimens to the Australian Museum when the *John Wesley* returned to Sydney in September 1875 (Gardner 2006:134).

When Brown travelled, one or more of the Duke of York chiefs always accompanied him to assist in explaining the mission's purpose and easing his passage. The most influential of these were Topulu, Waruwarum and Neragua. Brown made his first trip to New Ireland early in October 1875, with Liblib and Dukduk from Waira, and Waruwarum from Port Hunter, who were apparently well known in southern New Ireland. Brown felt that it was very beneficial to visit 'under their protection' and with their assistance (1908:109). They landed at Batigoro, south of the point where the Duke of York Islands lie closest to the New Ireland coast. The chief Taporapora had already visited Brown in Port Hunter, although Brown did not know this in advance. The Duke of York chiefs then wanted to go on to other villages, but Brown felt that

this was motivated by their desire to conduct 'some little peddling transactions of their own' (1908:110); Brown was determined to follow Topulu's instructions to go straight to visit Tomum at Kait, and then to Watpi. This tension between the desire of the Duke of York chiefs to control where and whom he visited and what he did, and Brown's determination to follow his own path without causing offence, or jeopardising the safety of mission personnel, is a continual theme of his journal. He noted that there was 'great jealousy' between people of different villages (Brown journal 15th October 1875), but it is clear that men from southern New Ireland were in close contact with men from the Duke of York Islands. Later in October, Brown recorded that King Tom of Metlik had visited Liblib on the Duke of York Islands and sent a message to Brown asking why Brown did not visit him (Brown journal 15th October 1875). These details in his journals counter the image he promoted in his mission work of the villages being almost completely isolated.

At the end of October, Brown returned to New Ireland accompanied by his new neighbour, the trader Blohm. This time they headed north from the Duke of York Islands, stopping at Kalil, and then Matakan. The crew refused to go any further as they said it was unsafe. They stopped at a watering hole near Matakan to take on water for the steamer, where an incident occurred that provides a rare example of Brown describing his acquisition of artefacts. Blohm and Brown took a walk inland, and when they returned to the beach they discovered that 'many natives had assembled, heavily armed, with spare bundles of spears'. Brown did not like their appearance, but walked straight into the midst of the crowd and immediately began bartering with them 'for spears etc.', most of which had a human arm- or leg-bone on one end. He recorded that he bought a lot of these bone-tipped spears, but they were

lost overboard when the steamer rolled in the night (1908:125). Gardner describes this as ‘a particularly happy meeting of opportunity with multiple agendas’ (1999:199, 2000:45), as it turned the meeting from one of potential hostility to one of co-operation and interaction. It concluded with Brown acquiring artefacts, and reflected him in a favourable light, highlighting his bravery and his ability to defuse dangerous situations.

On their return to Kalil, they were shown a house where large chalk images, presumably *kulap* figures, were displayed. Brown described the *kulap* house and its images, noting that women and children were not allowed near it (Brown journal 28th October 1975). He purchased some of the figures, carrying them out of the enclosure under cover of darkness and in some secrecy. However, as he was assisted by some of the villagers, the secrecy was probably more to prevent women and children seeing the objects, rather than a prohibition on their sale. Brown noted that New Irelanders viewed the ‘gaudily painted’ figures with ‘some superstitious dread’ (1908:127); for Brown and his metropolitan audience, the figures served as a reminder of the uncivilised state of the people of New Ireland when the mission arrived. He recorded that the figures he collected made it safely back to Sydney but were destroyed when the Garden Palace burnt down.

The two examples above, of collecting spears and *kulap* figures, are the only mentions Brown makes of collecting artefacts from New Ireland in his publications, and both occurred in the first few months of his residence in the region. His natural history collecting is just as briefly glossed over. His journals reveal that during his first year at Port Hunter, Brown spent considerable amounts of time shooting, skinning and

packing birds, often with Cockerell but also by himself. Shortly before Brown departed for Sydney in August 1876, he discovered that Cockerell had stolen 'some Stone clubs' from his cabin on the *Wesley*. Brown also suspected that Cockerell had purchased 'Cuscus, Masks, Kangaroo &c &c' on New Ireland with beads he had stolen from Brown (Brown journal 21st August 1876). From these entries it is clear that both men were acquiring artefacts as well as natural history specimens.

Brown also procured artefacts from other Europeans in the area. In December 1875, Brown mentioned that the whaling ship *Stamboul* visited the Duke of York Islands and Captain Montrose came aboard to see Brown. Brown noted that the two men 'exchanged a few Curiousities &c' (Brown journal 17th December 1875). Brown probably exchanged artefacts with many of the whaling and trading captains that called in at Port Hunter. In 1878, Brown spent 10 days travelling up the west coast of New Ireland on HMS *Sandfly*. During the trip, he noted that some of the people who came off in canoes were 'eager to trade' (Brown journal 28th August 1878), and two days after their return to Port Hunter, he visited the *Sandfly* to get 'a share of the Curios we bought on New Ireland' (Brown journal 7th September 1878). On his second trip to northern New Ireland, this time on HMS *Beagle* in 1880, he did not make any records in his journal. However, in a paper that he presented to the Royal Geographic Society he described this voyage and noted that people who came off in canoes from the central west coast were very keen to trade. Further north, when they were near Latangai or Attack Island, near Djaul, people brought off 'great numbers of most grotesque-looking wooden masks and also some rather elaborate wood-carvings, some of them being representatives of the hornbill (*Buceros ruficollis*), and others

representing iguanas eating snakes, &c' which they 'sold readily for iron hoop' (Brown 1881:217).

Brown described other examples of New Ireland material culture, especially houses, as he was keen for New Irelanders to sleep on raised bedsteads in Fijian-style huts, for their health. He often noted what people were wearing, in particular whether the women covered up, and commented on the men's dress if they were wearing European clothes. He noted that on New Ireland 'women wore a tuft of dyed flax both front and behind' (1910:310). On his first visit to the east coast of New Ireland, to the village of Kudukudu, he described the seclusion houses that young women lived in as part of a puberty rite, and also noted the 'human skull(s) painted red & blue' that were displayed outside two men's houses (Brown journal 31st May 1876), but not whether he purchased them. He mentioned buying the skull of a man who had been killed and eaten at Kuras on the west coast of New Ireland 'for two strings of Beads' (Brown journal 2nd June 1876), but he did not record what he did with it.

Brown's Collections

Anecdotal mentions in his journals and *Autobiography* confirm that Brown collected both artefacts and natural history specimens on his journeys around the New Britain region. It is likely that he was almost constantly collecting, acquiring objects and specimens from local people that he met, and also purchasing or trading with other foreigners, including traders, whaling captains, and government officials, in the area. Duke of York men with contacts on New Ireland may also have supplied him with New Ireland objects.

As well as collecting for his own personal collection, Brown made a number of donations of artefacts to colonial museums, which included objects from New Ireland, between 1876 and 1881. The Auckland Museum received a fairly substantial donation in or around December 1876, the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart received at least three sets of donations between 1877 and 1881, and the Australian Museum in Sydney also received a number of consignments from 1876 to 1883. The first donation, in 1876, included the three large *kulap* figures that he had purchased at Kalil at the end of October 1875 which were destroyed in the Garden Palace fire of 1882. The Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston, the Queensland Museum in Brisbane and the South Australian Museum in Adelaide also received small numbers of objects from Brown.

Brown's collecting was the subject of discussion by other Europeans in the region and back in Australia, and this probably explains why he recorded so little of his collecting activity. In January 1880, Kleinschmidt, the Godeffroy collector stationed in the Duke of Yorks, returned from a trip to Australia claiming to Danks that Brown and the mission had a very bad name there, 'it being generally believed that we trade and use our teachers for the purpose of securing the best curios' (Danks 1933:76). Kleinschmidt also claimed that it was commonly asserted that Brown cared more for his collection than for the souls of those he was trying to convert. Kleinschmidt was jealous of Brown with his steam launch and 'his man Kaplen… an excellent hunter'. On 15th July 1880 he complained to the custodian of the Godeffroy Museum that Brown 'who has plenty of people, teachers & black boys, has the opportunity to have the area thoroughly searched (which no white man is able to do like blacks)' (Schutte 1991:77), whilst Kleinschmidt had difficulties employing any local labour. Before his murder in 1881, Kleinschmidt had fallen out with Danks and the mission over his

attempts to recruit teachers to trade for him. He succeeded in luring one teacher away from the mission, and was furious with Danks for interfering in his work.

Kleinschmidt's comments in 1880 clearly rattled Brown, and in August 1880 he wrote to his superior Chapman that he had hardly collected anything in the few months since his return, despite the fact that he had recently sent 149 bird skins and 116 artefacts to Sydney (Gardner 2000:46). He mentioned that on a recent trip to New Ireland he had only purchased 'a few curios not worth a shilling' (Brown letterbook 23rd August 1880); he must have been referring either to a ten-day trip that he made to the area around Kalil and Kabanut in June, or a trip to Likiliki in July 1880. Brown was careful not to mention collecting again after this. He did not record whether the teachers collected artefacts and natural history specimens for him, but it is possible as they knew of his interests. He noted in 1876 that Le Bera, the chief at Kalil, often gave the teacher presents and would not take a return present; it is not clear what these gifts were (1908:234).

Brown was also given artefacts when he left the region. During the celebrations prior to his departure from Port Hunter at the end of 1880, people from the Duke of Yorks, New Britain and New Ireland brought him gifts as a way of giving thanks and to show their appreciation of his work. Danks noted that '400 to 500 people assembled from all parts of the group…bringing pigs, fowls, spears, clubs and other things which they count valuable', which presumably included carvings and other artefacts, to lay at Brown's feet (quoted in Brown 1908:399).

As General Secretary of Missions from 1887, Brown visited New Britain in 1891, 1897, 1899 and 1905 when he visited the mission's headquarters and also old friends such as Emma Forsayth and Eduard Hernsheim. He only mentioned visiting New Ireland on one of these trips, in 1897, when he attended services at Kabanut (1908:504). He did not record collecting in his journals and letters at this time, but other sources contain the odd mention of curios, and it seems likely that he was given, or purchased, artefacts, when visiting New Britain and New Ireland (Gardner 2006:143).

Brown also continued to receive objects from New Ireland when he was back in Australia. Gardner notes 'as General Secretary of the Australasian Mission many artefacts were presented to Brown by Pacific members of Methodist congregations as well as by traders, scientists, teachers and other missionaries' (1999:200-201). There is not much evidence of what was sent, or by whom, but references in Brown's book *Melanesians and Polynesians*, published in 1910, suggest that the European missionaries stationed in the region knew of Brown's interest in material culture and occasionally sent him objects of interest. In response to an inquiry about surgical operations, Reverend John Crump, a friend and colleague, sent Brown a long letter detailing the process of trephination on the Duke of York Islands and New Ireland, and gave him two skulls, apparently from New Ireland, showing evidence of bone regrowth after trephination (Brown 1910:184). These skulls are detailed in Brown's original catalogue of his collection. Crump arrived in the Duke of York Islands in 1894, and must have visited the missions on the west coast of New Ireland fairly frequently. He visited the northern coast of New Ireland in 1902, shortly before

returning to New Zealand for his furlough (Threlfall 1975:79). He may have given Brown the skulls directly, as he probably passed through Sydney on his way home.

Other European missionaries and Pacific Islands teachers who visited New Ireland after 1881 probably gave items to Brown, but there are almost no records of these transactions, presumably because many of them took place in person when Brown visited the region or when they visited Sydney. Brown also mentioned in *Melanesians and Polynesians* that he had 'lately received from New Ireland a form of drum which was quite new' to him, the rub drum known on New Ireland as *lunet* or *livika* (1910:420). It is also possible that objects were posted to Brown or sent via intermediaries without any accompanying documentation. Recording additions to his collection was clearly not a priority for Brown, but these brief mentions of the skulls sent by Crump and the rub drum suggest that the George Brown collection contains some objects collected by others, and confirms that objects from the Bismarck Archipelago were not necessarily collected during Brown's period of residence.

In my analysis, I divide Brown's collection into two parts: objects that we know were collected during his period of residence in the region; and objects from the collection he owned when he died, collection date unknown. The early collections are easier to date as we know when the various institutions received the objects. When Brown died in 1917 he left a collection of some 3,166 objects, most of which are now in the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, Japan. Most of the objects were itemised in a list that noted their geographical provenance but not when or how they were obtained.

I was unable to analyse what might have been large numbers of artefacts George Brown sent to his friends and family as gifts, as we do not know what these objects were or what happened to them. The artefacts sent to his immediate family probably went back into his collection, but artefacts that went to other family members and other individuals are impossible to trace. For reasons of time and relevance, I have ignored the vast and varied natural history collections that Brown made in the Bismarck Archipelago; these were sent to a variety of institutions, but the primary benefactors were the Australian Museum in Sydney and the Botanical Gardens at Kew. The fact that he made these collections indicates that he felt it important to contribute to the pool of knowledge on scientific matters. He evidently felt a responsibility to share his knowledge, even though it took quite a lot of time and effort away from his mission work.

Farrell's Collecting

There is little archival information concerning Thomas Farrell, but it is possible to garner some information on his collecting from mentions in a variety of written sources. Farrell travelled extensively in the region after his arrival in 1878, trading with the Duke of York Islands, New Britain, southern New Ireland, Buka and Bougainville, and also recruiting from Buka and Bougainville. Evidence suggests that he collected artefacts and natural history specimens from the outset.

Farrell's partner Emma, as 'Mrs Farrell', sold a collection of natural history specimens and artefacts from Bougainville and New Britain to the Australian Museum in 1880, and a further 73 artefacts in 1881, through Mason Brothers of Sydney. The second transaction included six rounded stone club heads from New

Ireland, and other items from the Admiralty Islands and Bougainville (Jim Specht, pers comm. 18th March 2005). These acquisitions were recorded in the Museum's register, but none of the objects survived the 1882 Garden Palace fire. Stone club heads are fairly rare in museum collections, and their inclusion suggests more contact than just fleeting encounters at the beach. Emma did not often go out trading and recruiting with Farrell as she concentrated on running the business and trade store at Mioko, but as an astute businesswoman it may well have been her idea to send natural history objects and artefacts to sell to the Australian Museum.

Richard Parkinson and his wife Phebe, Emma's sister, came out to Mioko late in 1882 to help establish a plantation on New Britain. Parkinson had worked for Godeffroys in Samoa as a manager and surveyor; he was a keen collector and spent a great deal of time and effort studying the people of the areas in which he worked. In 1884, the Australian Museum received a letter from Farrell, in Parkinson's handwriting, offering a collection of natural history specimens and artefacts from Buka, New Britain, New Ireland and the Admiralty Islands. The letter, dated 14th January 1884, requested that the Australian Museum treat all further consignments from either Farrell or Parkinson as coming from them both, and noted that the enclosed collection 'is all that is on hand at present; ethnographical Things begin to get rather scarce on account of new things getting introduced and the original arms and implements taken away by labour vessels and trading vessels to various places'. They offered to try to find 'anything in particular' that the Museum requested.[52] The only objects from New Ireland in the accompanying consignment were three *kulap* figures. In 1886, just months after Farrell began to establish trading posts on the east coast of northern New

[52] Australian Museum, incoming correspondence, 55/84. Submitted to the Trustees 4th March 1884.

Ireland, he made another two large sales to the Australian Museum, which included a large number of *malagan* carvings.[53]

Farrell probably collected these artefacts from New Ireland as he travelled to trade and recruit whilst Emma and Parkinson concentrated on establishing the plantation. In these early years, Parkinson did not have time to take long trips with Farrell. According to Emma's biographer, Farrell and Emma were good friends with Topulu, known as King Dick, also an ally of George Brown (Robson 1965:104), whose main New Ireland contacts were in the south. Farrell probably used Topulu and his relations to facilitate his work in southern New Ireland. He also employed other traders, and these men may have collected for him. Captain Rabardy of the *Genil*, who arrived at the southern end of New Ireland in August 1880 as part of the Marquis de Rays expeditions, worked part-time trading and recruiting for Farrell by August 1881, and knew the big-men of Mimias and Lambon well (Biskup 1974:61).

Farrell focussed his attention on northern New Ireland at the end of 1884, eventually establishing 14 stations. Farrell was not renowned for looking after his employees, and most of the stations did not last long; some of the traders were killed, some died from illness and disease, and others deserted. By this stage, trade in artefacts was brisk and some New Irelanders were keeping *malagan* carvings after their ritual display for sale to Europeans. Farrell visited his stations fairly frequently, and even before he had traders stationed there, he probably traded through specific men in each village. Farrell left the region at the end of 1885, ill with what was later diagnosed as tuberculosis, and he died in Australia in May 1887.

[53] Australian Museum, Purchase Schedules 8 and 35, 1886.

The Queensland Museum archives provide further information on Farrell's collecting activities. In November 1887, the Wesleyan missionary Reverend R. Heath Rickard sent the Museum a small collection of artefacts. There were eleven objects from New Ireland; three *malagan* masks,[54] three wooden clubs from northern New Ireland, three stone adze blades and an adze handle from New Hanover. In a letter to the Museum Director Mr De Vis, dated 3rd September 1887, Rickard wrote 'Some of the things I bought from a trader who, with his small steamer trading in the various groups, has exceptional opportunities for getting these things. His bill I enclose merely as a voucher'. The undated handwritten bill noted that he purchased the three masks from Farrell for a total of 12 shillings.

This letter confirms that Farrell collected artefacts as a commercial activity, and that he was willing to sell to other Europeans in the region. It also confirms that Farrell's ability to travel around the region in his small steamboat enabled his extensive collecting. Farrell had fallen out with the Wesleyan missionaries on numerous occasions, having a particular clash with Rickard's predecessor, Benjamin Danks, and was not a good friend of Rickard, who arrived in the region in 1882. Farrell would probably have received a better price for the masks in Sydney, but it is likely that he valued an immediate cash payment in the early years of the plantation's establishment. Specht (2000:35) noted that Emma's family made far more sales of artefacts in these early years than in subsequent years when the plantations were doing well and cash flow was not such a problem. He suggested that the artefacts were a kind of 'temporary cash crop' (2000:29) for Emma and Farrell.

[54] Queensland Museum E 2454, E 5684, E 5685.

As far as I am aware, the only institution that Farrell supplied directly was the Australian Museum, although he probably sold objects to other individuals as with Reverend Rickard (Barnecutt 2011:118). Farrell may have collected at least some of the many New Ireland objects that Parkinson sent to other museums and institutions in the 1890s, but I have not included these in my analysis, as it is impossible to know for certain who collected them (Specht 1999: xvii). I have included the 367 objects from New Ireland sold directly to the Australian Museum in my analysis of his collection; some of these were subsequently exchanged with or donated to other institutions.

Romilly's Collecting

Romilly's collection is the most simple to describe and understand, as all the objects were collected from the village of Kapsu in October 1883. As Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Romilly arrived in New Britain on 1st August 1883 on board a labour recruiting ship, the *Meg Merrilies* from Fiji. According to Hernsheim, he 'brought only one servant with him and planned to live in a native house' (Sack and Clark 1983:90), but soon accepted Hernsheim's offer of hospitality at Matupi, the island in Blanche Bay where his company had its headquarters. He spent August and September at Matupi; Hernsheim recorded that he spent a couple of days with the 'Farrells and Parkinsons on Pigeon Island'. Although Romilly and Hernsheim were friends, and maintained their friendship for some years to come, Romilly evidently tested Hernsheim's patience during his stay. Hernsheim noted in his diary at the end of September, 'That fellow is beginning to bore me to death, but sticks like a burr and I can't get rid of him' (Sack and Clark 1983:154).

Romilly chartered Hernsheim's schooner the *Montiara* for a month, 'to investigate everything' in northern New Ireland regarding the recruiting ships and to explain to local people what would be expected of them if they signed up (Sack and Clarl 1983:155). Romilly was 'most anxious to see New Ireland, and to observe some of the habits of the natives', and aimed to procure interpreters and assistance from Hernsheim's trader Brandt at Nusa. Brandt recommended that they visit Kapsu, some forty miles down the coast, telling Romilly that 'Nanati, the young chief of Kapsu, was in frequent communication with Neusa…It appeared that the Kapsu shell money was considered very valuable at Neusa, and vice versa, and that this young chief took advantage of the fact, and was rapidly amassing a large fortune' (Romilly 1886:41).

Romilly travelled to Kapsu in a whaleboat with a crew of six men from Bougainville, the *Montiara*'s Captain Scherrl, a sixteen-year-old interpreter whom the Europeans called Bill, and provisions for a fortnight. En route they sighted the three islands of Tabar where Romilly noted that 'the most fantastic and extraordinary of the idols which occasionally find their way over to New Ireland' were carved (Romilly 1886:42). On arrival at Kapsu, a large, friendly crowd welcomed them, and Romilly gave Nanati some shell money from Nusa. Romilly described the town, situated about half a mile from the beach, as being very clean and well kept, with a large open space about 100 metres wide in its centre. In one corner of this open space was 'a very complicated labyrinth, which surrounded a house containing some most grotesque carvings' (Romilly 1886:44).

At some point, Nanati allowed Romilly inside this 'sacred joss house'; he 'simply cut his way through everything' with a 'native axe' to let Romilly in. Romilly was not allowed to look at the house for very long as the old men who had followed them in 'seemed to think that no good would result from the shrine being exposed to sacrilegious eyes', shaking their heads solemnly (Romilly 1886:44). Women were apparently not allowed to see inside. Romilly wrote that the temple contained 'some six or seven hideous painted figures, between three and four feet high, and innumerable small carvings of birds and fishes; besides these, on a shelf were some half-dozen of the curious helmets, which in shape and appearance so much resemble the helmets of the ancient Greeks' (Romilly 1886:45). He had to leave the temple, as the old men were getting impatient; Nanati 'apologised for their fears with a most sarcastic smile, but seemed to think it as well to give in to them.' As soon as they were back in the village, the holes in the passages were built up again. Romilly then witnessed a large battle followed by a cannibal feast at Kapsu, and he was told that the thigh and shin bones of the slain enemies were kept intact to make spear handles for ornamental, not fighting purposes. Such spears were apparently 'usually kept in the houses devoted to their carved images' (Romilly 1886:57).

In a letter home to his family, which he wrote on 12th October 1883 from Nusa, he described his six-day trip down coast to Kapsu. After describing the battle and cannibal feast, he wrote,

> my young chief sold me a most extraordinary temple for a gigantic pig. I think he was sorry afterwards, as he had an *embarrass de richesses* in the way of fresh meat. I have had an awful lot of trouble with it, as there are about fifty large atrociously ugly figures in it, but splendidly carved and painted. Our boat was a large one, but we must either have parted with the temple or sunk it if we had had any bad weather. As I devoted my oilskins on several occasions to keeping the

> figures dry instead of myself and generally made everybody in the boat miserable, now that it is safe in the ship I am rather fond of it. If you know anyone in England who is in want to a temple, I will send it home; if not, I shall give it away in Sydney, where many people would like to have it. It is quite unique. (Romilly 1893:187-188).

In a footnote, his brother Samuel H. Romilly who edited the volume added 'These carved figures were afterwards bought by the then Duke of Bedford, and presented by him to the British Museum.'[55]

It is not clear why Nanati sold the contents of the *malagan* display house to Romilly. His description suggests that the objects were still in their display positions inside the house, which indicates that the *malagan* ceremony had only just finished. It is possible that Romilly was fortunate in his timing and that the carvings were waiting to be removed and burnt, but it is also possible that they were being kept for sale to traders visiting the trading post in the village which had been established by Hernsheim sometime in 1880. There is evidence suggesting that New Irelanders were beginning to hold back carvings for trade by this date, as the earlier example of the theft of carvings from Enuk indicates. It is interesting that Nanati encountered, and overrode, objections from older men to the sale of these carvings, but as we do not know exactly who owned them, it is possible that he had the right to dispose of them as he wished.

Romilly returned to Matupi on the *Montiara* and then went on to Brisbane via New Guinea. He may have packed up the objects in Matupi and sent them as freight to Hong Kong on Hernsheim's ships, and then on to London. His collection ended up with the Duke of Bedford, a cousin of Romilly's by marriage, who decided that it was

[55] One of the figures is featured in King 2000:88; both Brown and Romilly masks are featured in Mack 1994:57, 74, 77).

not suitable for display in his residence, and presented it to the British Museum sometime before July 1884. Romilly wrote to the Duke on the 8th May 1884, saying, 'I am afraid it is difficult to describe how the figures were arranged. The helmets were on a rough shelf above them and the birds were hung up so as to give the appearance of towing a small canoe which I was unable to carry and in which the figures were standing. Round the house itself was a labyrinth of passages through which we had to crawl…' (Yoshida and Mack 1997:313). This is the only mention of the canoe, and indicates that Romilly did not manage to collect all of the objects in the 'temple', being constrained by practicalities.

Romilly had been interested in collecting since his arrival in Fiji in 1879. He mentioned collecting curios and 'native curiousities' in Fiji and Tonga late in 1879 and early 1880 (Romilly 1893:6, 27, 70, 88). In 1881 he visited New Britain, partly to investigate the murder of the naturalist Kleinschmidt, and also travelled up to the Admiralty Islands. When anchored off the island of Jesus Maria,[56] people in canoes bringing wooden bowls and obsidian-tipped spears to trade for bottles and hoop iron surrounded his schooner. Romilly commented that 'trading was carried out with intense eagerness… we were all wild about curios' (1886:113). In June 1886, Romilly and Anthony Musgrave supervised the New Guinea exhibits at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London; many of these objects ended up in the British Museum, and others in the Queensland Museum in Brisbane. A few of these objects are from New Ireland but it is not clear when, where or who acquired them.[57] It is possible that Romilly or Musgrave obtained them in Port Moresby or the Queensland ports where they spent time at the end of 1884 and 1885. None of the objects seems to relate to the

[56] Now known as Rambutyo Island.
[57] Two *malagan* masks E8563 and E2451 and a male figure E4517 in the Queensland Museum.

objects Romilly acquired in Kapsu, and I have not included them in my analysis of his collection.

Collecting After 1885

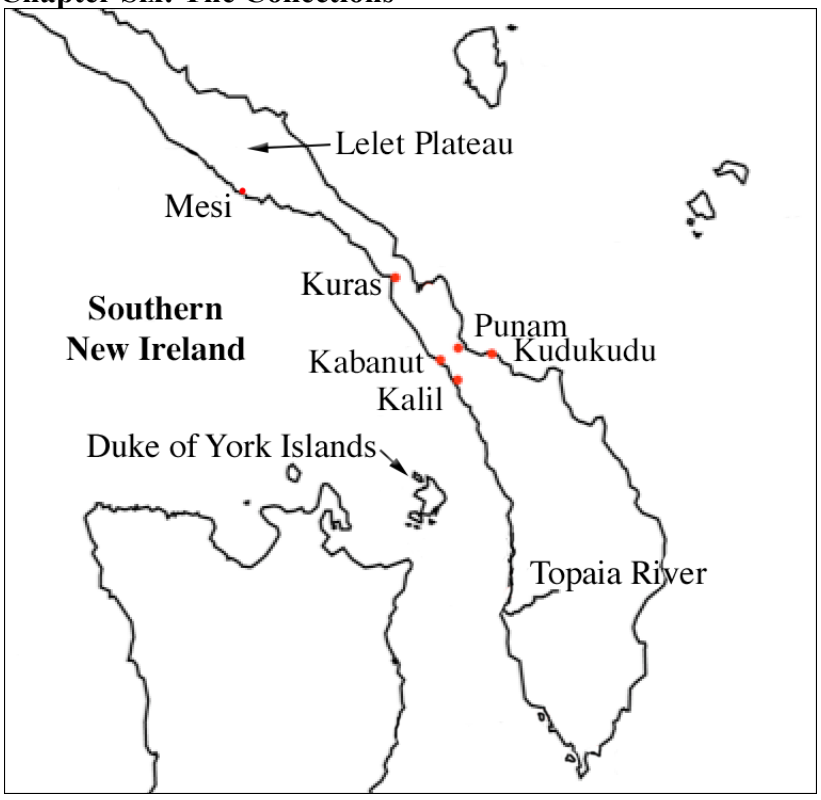
Collecting continued with enthusiasm throughout the early colonial years and into the 20th century with the imposition of colonial order. After Australian forces took over the territories of New Guinea in 1914 there was a lull in collecting activity from New Ireland, but visitors continued to obtain artefacts throughout the 20th century, both contemporary carvings and, in the case of Bühler in 1931, older pieces. A number of objects have been found in caves, for example the Panamecho *malagan*-style carvings found in a cave on the east coast of New Ireland in 1973 (Wilson 1976). Panamecho is a village on the west coast, a few miles south of Latangai. Some people have assumed that these cave finds were very old objects, but there is no evidence of particular antiquity or that they were carved with stone tools.

Summary

During the period of sustained contact after 1767, most encounters between New Irelanders and foreign visitors were peaceful, and the majority involved trading. From 1800 onwards, objects of material culture were often included in these transactions. Ritual art was being traded by the 1830s, and was a common feature of transactions from the 1860s. By the early 1880s, northern New Irelanders understood the commodity value of their carvings and routinely kept objects back for sale to Europeans and other visitors, and started to take visitors to see their ritual art. The collecting record indicates that New Irelanders were keen to engage with their

visitors, but does not indicate why; we do not know what local people thought of these material culture exchanges, or the trade goods that they received.

Chapter Six: The Collections



Map 11. Places mentioned in discussions on provenance.

In this chapter I present the basic data of my thesis and detailed analyses of the collections. I assess what the data reveals about each collector, their methods of collecting, and their motivations and opportunities. I examine relationships between objects in the collections, and look at what was not included. I look at the objects in detail, describing probable provenance, manufacture, function and rarity. I also discuss the timing of the collections and the implications this has for understanding how the collectors operated. The focus here is on the objects; additional information on the collections' biographies and their museum histories is included in Appendix 2.

Methodology

I analysed the physical collections in conjunction with original catalogue lists and registration documentation, and other catalogue and archival information, as well as present-day registers and catalogues. I looked at sources in museums, archives and

published documents to understand the collections. The written data does not always match neatly with the physical. I created a FileMaker Pro database that includes all of the objects that each individual collected, as far as I understand it. Each entry in this database contains all of the information that I could gather on that object, and it is searchable by museum accession number, my assigned number, and all other data fields. Most of the objects in the George Brown collection have a number of accession numbers, reflecting their complicated history, all of which are recorded in the database. I have also noted in the database whether objects have been destroyed, lost or are no longer identifiable in the collections, and recorded which objects I was able to see.

In order to facilitate discussion of the 812 objects in my database, I gave each object a number based on my own numbering system, with the George Brown objects assigned numbers 001-425, Thomas Farrell objects 430-774, Hugh Romilly objects 780-821, with the collector's initials preceding the number. Appendix 1 lists these numbers and gives a brief description of the objects as well as their current, or last-known, institution and accession number, the date they were collected by, and their provenance. This list is organised first by institution and then by category. I assigned seventeen other objects of interest an identification number with the prefix IN. All these objects were either probably or definitely collected by one of the collectors I look at but were not necessarily from New Ireland.

As a framework for analysis, I assigned each object one of nine functional categories. The nine categories of artefact type are Warfare, Ritual and Magic, Valuables, Ornaments and Clothes, Hunting and Fishing, Miscellaneous, Music Production,

Containers and Craft Production.[58] These categories are of course heuristic devices, and it is impossible to be sure what the primary function, or purpose, of an object was at the time of its creation. Categorisation also obscures the fact that many objects have more than one purpose and meaning, and fit into more than one category. However, it is a necessary exercise in order to analyse the collections in a meaningful way. The categories do not necessarily correlate with indigenous ideas on the differences between objects, although I tried to give primacy to the indigenous function of the object in my analysis. It is not ideal to have Ritual objects in the same category as Magic, as they are considered very different types of object in New Ireland. Ritual objects are only created for and used in specific ritual contexts, whereas the various types of magic and sorcery involve a multiplicity of objects and object types, often used on demand, and may be created anew or have a long history of use. Their geographic distributions also vary. However, for my purposes, the Ritual and Magic category is useful in differentiating these kinds of objects from the rest of the wide range of material culture.

I look at each collection in the order above, which reflects the proportions of objects in the categories when looking at the whole database, not the individual collections. For the purpose of comparison, I kept the same order for each collection.

[58] From Gosden and Knowles 2001:171.

	Early Brown		Main Brown		Farrell		Romilly		Total	
Warfare	123	74%	141	54%	186	54%	0		**450**	**55%**
Ritual & Magic	19	11%	44	17%	144	42%	32	76%	**239**	**29%**
Valuables	11	7%	44	17%	1	.5%	0		**56**	**7%**
Ornaments & Clothes	11	7%	7	3%	7	2%	6	14%	**31**	**4%**
Hunting & Fishing	0		15	6%	1	.5%	3	7%	**19**	**2%**
Miscellaneous	0		2	.5%	6	2%	1	2.5%	**9**	**1%**
Music production	2	1%	2	.5%	0		0		**4**	**.5%**
Containers	0		2	.5%	0		0		**2**	**.25%**
Craft production	0		2	.5%	0		0		**2**	**.25%**
Total	**166**		**259**		**345**		**42**		**812**	

Table of analysis of the collections

Brown's Collecting

As discussed in the previous chapter, Brown made donations to a number of institutions during his lifetime, and left a very large collection in his own name at his death. I treat the two sets of collections separately. First I look at the early Brown collections, the 166 objects from New Ireland that he donated to museums during the period of his residency in the region, from 1875 to 1880, or shortly thereafter, from the Auckland Museum, the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart, the Australian Museum in Sydney, the Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston and the Queensland Museum in

Brisbane. He probably donated many more objects than this but both records and objects have been lost over time. The South Australian Museum in Adelaide received a diverse collection of objects from Brown in 1876, some of which may have been from New Ireland, but they cannot be identified in the collection today, and the records are lost (Gardner 1999:249). He sent objects to various family members, colleagues, friends and benefactors, and some of these individuals may have donated these objects to museums. A major benefactor of the mission, Henry Reed, donated a number of pieces to the Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston that I have included, and may also have supplied other museums. It is difficult to ascertain from Brown's records what he gave to individuals, and it is impossible to know what happened to most of these objects. It is possible that further research will discover more objects donated by Brown, or objects in other institutions.

The main Brown collection of more than three thousand objects left when he died in 1917 is much better known than the early collections, and includes at least 259 objects from New Ireland. This collection, which became known as the George Brown collection, attracted a great deal of press coverage, and became the subject of heated debate, when it was offered for sale to the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan in 1985 (e.g. Specht 1987; Benthall 1986; Gardner 2000). Interestingly, we have very little knowledge of the history of the New Ireland pieces in this collection. Brown did not record the date or circumstance of collection of any objects in his collection, although he did record the regional provenance of most objects. Some of the objects that he sent home to friends and family were probably returned to him for his collection, and he probably kept for himself some of the artefacts that he received during the celebrations at the end of 1880 marking his departure from the region. He

received objects from colleagues and friends in the Pacific Islands long after his return to Australia and he made subsequent visits to these regions during which objects were gifted to him. Therefore we cannot be certain who collected any of the objects from New Ireland, or when they were obtained. I have gone into more detail on the subsequent history of his various collections in Appendix 2.

Brown's Early Collections

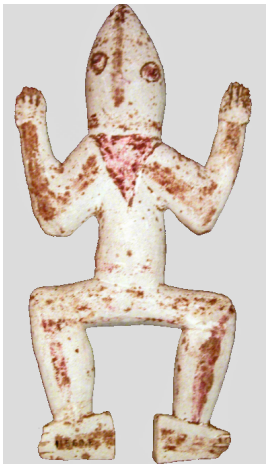
Brown's early collections are in the Auckland Museum, Tasmanian Museum in Hobart, Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston, the Australian Museum in Sydney and the Queensland Museum in Brisbane, and constitute GB 01 to 166 in my database. GB 165 may not strictly belong here, having been donated to the Australian Museum in 1895. These collections are made up of 123 warfare objects, 19 ritual and magic objects, 11 valuables, 11 ornaments and clothes and 2 musical instruments.

Warfare

This category includes 120 spears (GB 25-44, 62-161), two paddle-shaped clubs (GB 22, 166) and a wooden sword (GB 23). Most of the spears are recorded as from New Ireland, but twenty (GB 25-44) were from 'New Ireland or New Britain', with no further information available. The wooden sword is no longer in the collection today, but there are other examples of replica European weapons from the contact period in New Ireland, in particular wooden axes. Little research has been done on these objects, but the associated documentation confirms they were being made by 1876. Later research suggests that they were used as dance ornaments.

Ritual and Magic

There are 19 objects in this category: 12 *kulap* figures, five wooden carvings and two false-beard war-charms. The *kulap* figures, GB 17-19, 45, 57-61, 162-164, are the type with the ruff around the neck; some were donated as early as 1876. Brown mentioned collecting *kulap* figures from Kalil at the end of October 1875 (1908:127), and was told that the figures came from the Rossell Mountains (1877:140). Rossell was the name given to the mountains or hills in central New Ireland, between Kalil and Kudukudu. Brown also gave figures to friends and colleagues. One of the *kulap* figures (GB 163) is double-headed; this is unusual, and the Curator of the Australian Museum noted that it was 'of a kind not often to be had'. Another of the *kulap* objects is a carving of a frog or lizard (GB 19). There are very few other stone animals from New Ireland, and this may be unique. This object may be wrongly attributed and instead be an *iniet* animal figure from New Britain, but the stone, carving techniques and painting style used suggest it is *kulap*.



Frog or lizard *kulap* - GB 19
(11560 Auckland Museum)



Double-headed *kulap* figure - GB 163
(E 63173 Sydney, Australian Museum)

There are five other carvings in this category, including a fish head carving (GB 47) donated in 1877. It is executed in the northern New Ireland art style and looks like a mouth ornament but has no teeth marks on the handle. As Brown had not visited

northern New Ireland by the time this object was donated, this may be one of the 'Curiousities &c' that he mentioned purchasing from whaling captains and other individuals (journal entry for 17th December 1875). Henry Reed donated two *tatanua* masks (GB 54 and 55) to the Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston in 1880. Brown may have collected them on his brief voyage to northern New Ireland in 1879, or acquired them from someone else. There are also two white-faced masks (GB 46 and 56), donated in 1881 and 1880, that probably came from around the Lelet Plateau in central New Ireland; Brown may have collected these from the area around Kuras, thirty miles south of Lelet, when he visited in 1875 and 1880, or from the early mission stations of Kabanut and Kalil, sixty miles south.

The final two objects in this category are false-beard war-charms (GB 20 and 21), probably collected from the west coast villages Brown visited. Bell collected similar objects on Tanga in the 1930s[59], as did Parkinson from the west coast of central New Ireland before 1908[60]. These were used in magic relating to warfare; the leader of a party of warriors would clench one of these in his teeth in order to render the enemy ineffective (Bell 1935a:260). Parkinson described the wearer as having a 'wild, fear-inducing appearance' (1999:131). They are the only type of object that definitely relate to magic in any of these collections.

Valuables

There are eleven objects in this category, eight *kapkap* ornaments, two strings of shell money and a waist belt made from shell money. The waist belt (GB 10) was donated in December 1876; it was probably a highly valued object, and may have been worn

[59] Australian Museum E90739 and E90740.
[60] Chicago Field Museum 106093 and 106095.

by women during marriage ceremonies. There are few others known in collections. One of the strings of shell money (GB 50) was donated in 1877 and Brown gave the other string (GB 165) to his correspondent Robert Ethridge at the Australian Museum in 1895 (Gardner 1999:266). Brown sent E. B. Tylor of Oxford University an example of New Britain shell money in 1881 (Gardner 2000:47), and it is likely that he gave away other objects during his lifetime. The *kapkap* ornaments (GB 11-16, 48, 49) vary in appearance; these are worn as symbols of clan leadership and clan leaders may have given them to Brown to promote friendship and encourage mission activity in an area.

Ornaments and Clothes

The eleven objects in this category all relate to women's dress, including a waistband or belt made of woven cane and fibre (GB 01) and ten women's skirts or girdles (GB 02-09, 51 and 52). Only three of these can be identified in collections today (GB 02-04). GB 03 was described in the catalogue as 'Women's dress of two bundles of dyed grass, hanging from a belt'. These eleven objects constitute the largest group of female objects in any of the collections, and were collected before 1878. Brown was interested in women's dress, recording that the women of Batigoro, near the Topaia River in southern New Ireland, dressed more modestly than the naked ladies of the Duke of York Islands (1908:110). He probably had access to New Ireland women's clothing through Sieni, the wife of the Fijian teacher Pauliasi based at Kalil from November 1875; Brown's own wife Lydia did not visit New Ireland until 1880.



Women's skirt - GB 04
(11650, Auckland Museum)

Music Production

The only other objects in Brown's early collections are two musical instruments: a rattle (GB 53) and a nose flute (GB 24). The rattle consists of the shell of a nut or seed, possibly a galip nut, with part of a pig's tusk suspended inside as the clanger. The nose flute cannot be found in the collections.[61]

Synopsis of Brown's Early Collections

Weapons dominate Brown's early collections, comprising 74% of the total. His motives for purchasing weapons were multiple; in the short-term, it enabled him to establish an immediate rapport with individuals he encountered, and in the long-term, sending spears back to metropolitan museums proved that the mission was doing valuable and necessary work. Spears were probably also relatively cheap, and most weapons were easy to transport. Almost all of the ritual and magic objects are *kulap* figures, and most of the valuables are *kapkap* ornaments.

These early collections show a strong local bias. The provenance of 19 objects can be identified; 16 of these, 84%, are from the central part of the island, where Brown had

[61] It is probably similar to E2992, a nose flute in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, USA, collected before 1895.

most contact during his time there. Only three objects are from the north. Most of the other objects are probably from the central region also. He collected from both coasts, even though his contact was greater with the west than the east coast. These collections are unusual in containing objects made by and for women. Brown was willing to collect female objects; the mission teachers' wives may have made this possible. From Brown's perspective, these collections were expedient; he collected what he could when he could during his time in the region, and for a number of different reasons. He evidently wanted to amass a fine collection for the metropolitan audience, but he also wanted to highlight the 'primitive' nature of the people of the region, to justify the work of the mission, as shown by the weapons, the women's skirts and the *kulap* figures as 'primitive idols', and to forge contacts, and furnish evidence of these links, with New Irelanders, both men and women. Although his journal confirms that he was happy to trade with other Europeans when the opportunity arose, at this stage he probably collected most objects himself.

The Main George Brown Collection

The collection left by George Brown on his death in 1917 included at least 259 objects from New Ireland. Most of the collection is in the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, but there are also New Ireland objects in the Pitt Rivers Museum, the British Museum, the Sainsbury Centre at the University of East Anglia, and the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. There may be New Ireland objects in other institutions that have not been identified yet. The New Ireland objects were 141 weapons, 44 ritual and magic objects, 44 valuables, 7 ornaments and clothes, 15 hunting and fishing objects, 2 miscellaneous, 2 music production, 2 containers and 2 craft production objects.

Warfare

Warfare is by far the biggest category represented in Brown's collection, with 92 spears (GB 271, 272, 288-377) and 49 clubs (GB 167-188, 273 and 274, 378-402). Twenty-three of the clubs are identifiable in the Osaka collections, two of which are stone club heads (GB 167, 168). Only one is noted in Brown's original catalogue, as an 'Antique Stone Club'. There is little other information on these clubs, but the two in the Pitt Rivers Museum (GB 273 and 274) have more detail. One is described as a 'Wooden club with long slightly swollen head pointed at the end New Ireland (type very characteristic of the Sulka tribe of SE New Britain', and the other a 'Mushroom headed wooden club New Ireland (?South) of the tiara club of N New Britain'. These records suggest that Brown originally recorded more information about each object than remains in the archives today.



Club - GB 173
(H136750 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)

Ritual and Magic

This category contains 17 masks, 19 other wooden carvings and eight other objects. Most of the carvings are from *malagan*-related traditions, and are carved in the northern New Ireland art style.

Masks

Brown described all the masks as 'Lor' in his catalogue; his use of this word probably reflects his contact with Duke of York people. Ten of the masks that Brown collected came from northern New Ireland, and the other seven probably came from the central or southern region.

The ten masks executed in the northern New Ireland art style consist of four *tatanua*, four owl masks, and two other masks. The *tatanua* masks (GB 255-257, 281) are quite different from each other. The four owl masks are all fairly similar in style (GB 258, 259, 277 and 283), with two (258 and 283) being almost identical, probably made by the same person. The other four northern art style masks are quite varied in appearance. One is a *malagan* mask (GB 260) of an idiosyncratic type. Unusually, it has no head cover, and has extremely long ear lobes and an arm coming out of its upper lip. The last is a *kipong* mask (GB 286) that may be related to the *kipong* figure (GB 247) discussed later.



Owl mask - GB 258
(H144389 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)



Owl mask -GB 283
(UEA 940, University of East Anglia, Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts)

Five masks are probably from the area around the Lelet Plateau in central New Ireland. Two masks (GB 262 and 277) have broad, white faces, and one (GB 263) has a narrower white face, full beard and forehead cover. The last two masks (GB 276 and 282) are also white-faced masks, but they resemble both *tatanua* and the broad white-faced masks from central New Ireland. One of them (GB 276) has the typical *tatanua* crest but a broad, flat face of a light wooden colour. The other (GB 282) is missing its helmet, but it looks as if it once had a *tatanua*-type crest also. The face is broad, and slightly whitened, but it is curved lengthways with a prognathic chin and mouth section, and there is a wide sweep underneath the broad flaring nostrils. Both of these masks are decorated with black and red designs that resemble the Maltese cross. These two masks may be related, although the difference in the curvature of the face – with one being flat, the other curved from chin to forehead – suggests that the similarity in facial decoration may be coincidental. The last are a pair of white-faced masks with barkcloth hats (GB 261 and 287), which may have come from central or southern New Ireland. They are very similar, and may have been carved by the same person. None of these types of mask is made today.

Other carvings

There are seven figures (GB 245-249, 278, 285), four friezes (GB 250, 251, 280, 284), four hornbill carvings (GB 242-244, 279) and a 'Wall Carving' that consists of three panels (GB 252-254) included in the carvings subcategory. They are all carved in the northern New Ireland art style and most are *malagan*-related. One further carving (GB 264) is an *uli* figure from central New Ireland.

Six of the seven figures are fairly standard *malagan* figures, all individual apart from one pair (GB 245 and 246) whose stylistic similarities suggest that the same person carved them, and they may well have come from the same *malagan* display. The seventh (GB 248) is a *kipong* figure, identifiable by the distinctive face with slanting eyes surrounded by white designs, with similarities to the *kipong* mask (GB 286); they may have been carved by the same person.

Three of the four friezes are fairly similar (GB 250, 251, 280), being *malagan* horizontal bisymmetrical friezes depicting a bird with large carved wings and a snake framing its body. The bird has part of the snake in its mouth. The style of their execution is very different and different people probably carved them. The fourth is a long thin *malagan* fretwork frieze (GB 284) of the sort known on Tabar as *eikuar*, with very delicate struts.

The final three *malagan*-style carvings were recorded in Brown's catalogue as a 'Wall Carving'. These three panels were probably part of the entry panel to a ritual house. Two (GB 253 and 254) are still attached by twine, the third (GB 252) fits to the right-hand side of the two joined panels. The style is northern New Ireland; the right-hand panel features a central full figure viewed from the side with a large thumb in its mouth, and a fish and flower motif at each end; the middle panel has a geometric design, and the left-hand one has a circular pattern.

Three of the four hornbill carvings (GB 242-244) are mouthpieces, or fragments of mouthpieces. The fourth (GB 279) is a large carving of a hornbill clasping a human figure with a fish at both ends, and a spangled drongo bird (*Dicrurus hottentottus*) on

top of the hornbill's wings. The drongo is the symbol of New Ireland Province today, appearing on the provincial flag. This carving is one of the most impressive of Brown's *malagan* carvings. It is carved in the distinctive northern art style, and probably came either from the northern tip of New Ireland, New Hanover, or Tabar. One of the mouthpieces (GB 243) is stylistically similar to this larger carving, and may have come from the same area. Brown might have acquired both of these pieces on his journey up to New Hanover in October 1880.



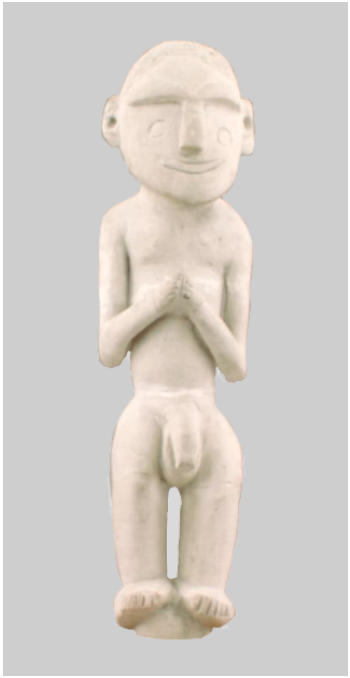
Hornbill carving - GB 279
(UEA 942, Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, University of East Anglia)

The last carving (GB 264) is a small *uli* with its hands by its side; only 15 out of 255 known *uli* figures are of this small type. This is the only *uli* in these collections, although Brown may have collected two *uli* figures in Launceston (IN 02 and 03). It no longer has its penis; its removal was probably related to church disapproval of nakedness and the display of genitalia. Brown described this figure as a 'Wood house ornament' in his catalogue, but did not indicate how or when he acquired it.

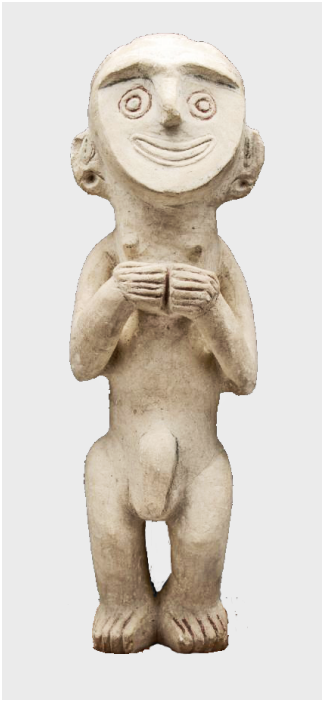
Other objects

There are two *kulap* figures (GB 239 and 240) and a *kulap* head (GB 241). The figures are similar to the *kulap* figures in his early collections, and may have been

collected at the same time. The head is stylistically different and its size suggests that it was from a much larger figure. Brown specified in the original catalogue that the head came from Punam, perhaps indicating a different date of collection. A Wesleyan mission station was established near Punam village some time after Brown's departure from the region (Poch 1908:7, map), so a European missionary colleague or one of the Pacific Islander mission teachers may have purchased the head for Brown.



Kulap figure - GB 239
(H136605 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)



Kulap figure - GB 240
(H136609 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)

The last objects are five false-beard 'Fighting Ornaments' (GB 234-238) very similar to GB 20 and 21 in his early collection; they may all have been collected at the same time, whilst Brown was resident in the region. They are the only objects that relate to magic that Brown collected.



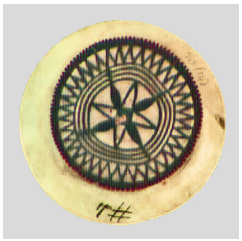
False-beard fighting ornament - GB 234
(H 136689 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)



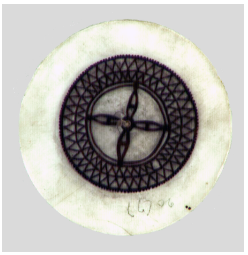
False-beard fighting ornament - GB 238
(H136693 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)

Valuables

The valuables category contains 44 objects, including 20 *kapkap* ornaments (GB 189-208), 12 examples of shell money (GB 209-219, 403), and 12 shell armlets or rings (220-227, 230-233). The *kapkap* ornaments are of varying sizes and designs but are not unusual types, so it is impossible to judge whether they were collected at the same time as the examples in his early collections.



Kapkap – GB 189
(H0136671 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)



Kapkap – GB 190
(H0136672 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)



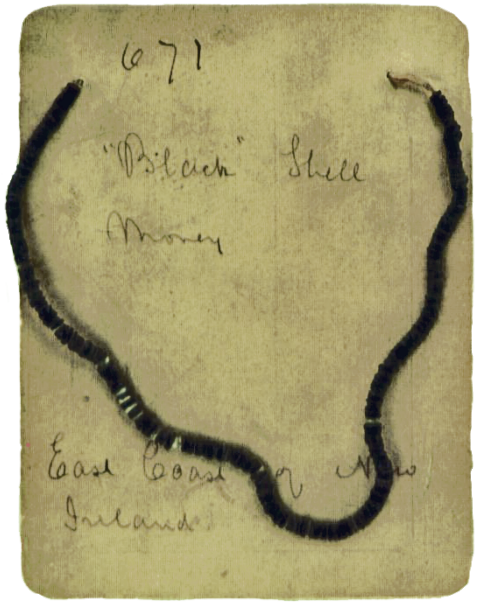
Kapkap – GB 192
(H0136674 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)



Kapkap – GB 199
(H0136681 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)

Four entries in the original catalogue refer to strings of shell money. GB 209 is a single piece of 'Black shell money' from 'East Coast of New Ireland' attached to an invitation card from Dr and Mrs Brown at their home in Gordon, which dates it to the

1890s or later, although the shell money could have been collected earlier. GB 213 is a string of greyish shell money, now discoloured by rust from the attached metal-rimmed dealer tab, described as obsolete in Brown's catalogue. There are few other examples of this type of shell money known in collections or mentioned in the literature.



Length of shell money – GB 209 (H0136662 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)

GB 214 and 215 are strings of shell money identified as 'Aragit' valuables in Brown's catalogue, which suggests they were the brownish-red strings from central or southern New Ireland. Four other strings of shell money (GB 210-212, 216) are light red in colour, so may have been *tapsoka* or a related type.

The original catalogue entry describes four 'Pig Tails 'Luepap'' (GB 217-219, 403), only three of which can be identified in the collection today (GB 217-219). They are packets of strings of white shell money made from what looks like *nassa* shell, one or more strings of thick ground disk shell money, alternating white and black or dark brown beads, ending with a small rattan square. Some dogs' teeth, a pig's tusk and

three or four pig's tails are attached to another string. This type of composite shell money was more commonly known as *birok*, or pig money in Pidgin; Brown's use of the word *luepap* to describe it suggests he obtained it from central New Ireland, where Hahl recorded the name as *nulpap* (Lewis 1929:24).



Composite shell money with pig tails - GB 218 (H 136658 Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)

Brown may have obtained these valuable objects from Le Bera in the Kalil-Kabanut area, or from Sagina at Kudukudu on the east coast. Brown met Sagina when he first crossed New Ireland in May 1876 and purchased a large pig from him. Le Bera and Sagina were both men of influence and wealth, and may have owned and distributed pig money. Other New Ireland men may have used shell money as gifts or trade goods in their encounters with Brown or the mission teachers.

Twelve shell armlets (GB 220-227, 230-233) were catalogued as being from New Ireland, with two recorded as from the east coast (GB 220 and 221). Only seven could be identified in the collections in Osaka, with six (220-222, 214-216) being thin circular shell rings made from *tridacna* shell, uniform in appearance. GB 223 is a thick, single-grooved shell ring known as *am fat*, made and used on the offshore

island groups of Tanga and Anir and their related communities on the east coast; Brown probably acquired these objects from the east coast of southern New Ireland.

Ornaments and Clothes

There are seven objects in this category in the George Brown collection, three plaited armlets (GB 228, 229, 406), one ear pendant (GB 404), one dress or skirt (GB 386), and two pieces of decorated barkcloth (GB 265 and 266). The dress, which Brown described in his catalogue as a 'Dble Dress', was probably similar to the women's dresses that he donated during 1875-1880 but is not identifiable in the collection today. The two pieces of barkcloth were attributed to Nakanai on New Britain by the National Museum of Ethnology but both are decorated in what is evidently a northern New Ireland art style, incorporating some of its very distinctive features. GB 265 has three *vavara*-like circles painted on it in red. GB 266 is a barkcloth piece in the shape of an envelope, Gunn considers it to be a unique object. The two sides of the envelope are decorated differently, but the central feature of each is a *turbo petholatus* eye surrounded by a circular painted design. The National Museum of Ethnology describes it as a hat.

Hunting and Fishing

There are 15 items in the Hunting and Fishing category, including seven 'Darts' (GB 416-422), four 'Fish Spears' (GB 412-415) and four fine fishing nets (GB 270, 409-411). As there are no other objects from New Ireland identified as darts, it seems likely that the 'Darts' were short thin fishing spears. Only one of these objects, an unremarkable fishing net (GB 270), is identifiable in the collection today. The 'darts'

and spears may have been mixed with the other spears or had their provenance recorded as Bismarck Archipelago.

Miscellaneous

This category contains two skulls described in Brown's original catalogue as 'Trephinied Skulls' (GB 424 and 425), presumably a typing error for trephined or trephinated, received from his colleague Reverend Crump who was stationed on New Britain between 1894 and 1904. This transaction indicates that the process of collating the George Brown collection continued well after Brown left the region, and confirms that other people collected on his behalf. We do not know where the skulls are today.

Music Production

The two objects in this category, GB 267 and 277, are both excellent examples of *lunet* or *livika* rub drums, unique and prestigious heirloom objects. Brown mentioned receiving one of these, probably in the 1890s, but certainly long after his time in the region (1910:420), and noted that they were new to him, which indicates that he did not collect either of them during the period he lived in the region. He recorded in his catalogue that they were made in the district of Laban, near Mesi on the west coast of New Ireland, and that Parkinson had called them *nunut*. This is a unique entry in Brown's catalogue, referencing Parkinson, and suggests that Brown had read the publications when he wrote the entry.



Lunet rub drum - GB 267 (H0136640, Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology)

Containers

Brown collected two 'Food Baskets' (GB 407 and 408). These are unidentified in the collection today, although there are many baskets that may have come from New Ireland. He did not collect baskets for any other institutions, and these may have had personal significance for him, perhaps being used in one of the feasts that marked the opening of a church or his departure from the area. He may have used them to carry other objects, and so they found their way into his collection by accident, but there is no information about either the objects or the context of their collection.

Craft Production

This category consists of two shell adzes (GB 269 and 425), noted in the original catalogue as from the east coast of New Ireland. Only one, a relatively small adze made from a piece of *tridacna* shell (GB 269), was found in the Osaka collection. We do not know how he obtained these objects.

Synopsis of the George Brown collection

The collection that Brown left at his death is far broader than his early collections, and incorporates a greater variety of objects from all over New Ireland. 28 (53%) of the 53 objects with identifiable provenance are from the northern art tradition, and 25 (47%)

are from central or southern New Ireland. Every category is represented. Weapons still dominate, although as a smaller proportion than in his early collections; Brown collected at least 216 spears in total, which is the largest number of any single object type in the collections I looked at. There are more ritual objects and more valuables here. There are greater numbers of impressive, high-value and unusual pieces in this collection, including the pig money, the *uli* figure and *lunet* rub drums, as well as the many *malagan* carvings. There are far fewer utilitarian objects, and only one associated with women, reflecting his loss of access to domestic objects once he moved away from the region.

These differences, and the increased proportion of objects from northern New Ireland, indicate that Brown's interests and motivations changed once he left the region. His main collection is well planned and thorough, suggesting that he deliberately gathered what he considered to be New Ireland's best examples of material culture, and focussed more on the motivations of his metropolitan audience than on relations within the region. Although we do not know exactly how or when he put this main collection together, the evidence suggests that he used a mixture of collecting strategies. He collected some of the objects during his period of residence, and probably during subsequent visits to the region, but he also used colleagues and friends to collect for him, sending objects to him in Sydney, and keeping objects to give him when he visited. He also swapped objects with other collectors.

Farrell's Collecting Activities

All of the 345 objects collected by Farrell were purchased by the Australian Museum between 1881 and 1887. Some Farrell objects were swapped with other institutions,

others lost, and further objects were destroyed as a result of insect infestation or fire. The first New Ireland objects were six stone club heads (TF 550-555) that formed part of a consignment sent down in 1881 by 'Mrs Farrell', the title the Australian Museum then used to refer to Emma Forsayth. Thomas Farrell must have collected these items, as Emma rarely travelled in the first two years of her residence in the Duke of York Islands.

A second consignment sent in 1884 included two female *kulap* figures (TF 616 and 617). A third figure (IN 08) was marked as being from New Ireland but looks much more like an *iniet* figure from east New Britain (Michael Gunn, pers. comm.). Another large consignment of natural history specimens and artefacts offered by Farrell and Parkinson in 1885 included nine spears (TF 430-438), eight *kulap* figures (TF 618-625) and one *kapkap* (TF 773) from New Ireland.

The bulk of the Farrell collection was offered for sale in 1886, in two transactions dominated by weapons and *malagan* carvings. Some of the carvings were recorded as coming from Gardners Island, as Tabar was known then, the others from New Ireland. These objects, including a large number of *malagan* carvings as well as spears, clubs, and a few other kinds of objects, were not accessioned into the museum until 1887, by which time a further consignment had been received from Farrell. Objects from these transactions were all registered together in 1887. Two more *malagan* carvings were re-registered in November 1896 as being from Captain Farrell (TF 652 and 706); I assume that these were from the 1887 purchase. I have taken the Australian Museum registers and purchase schedules as the basis for my analysis of Farrell's collection, in conjunction with the objects themselves.

Farrell's Collection

The 345 objects collected by Farrell from New Ireland comprise 186 weapons, 144 ritual and magic objects, one valuable, seven ornaments, one fishing net and six canoe models.

Warfare

Warfare is the largest category, with 120 spears, 60 clubs and six stone club heads. The spears (TF 430-549) vary slightly, some are barbed, but none has any decorative carving or inclusions such as bone or shell.

Sixty clubs from New Ireland were noted in the purchase schedules, but only 52 were registered. Thirty are paddle-shaped (TF 594-615), nine have oval ends (TF 572-580), eight round ends (TF 564-571), and three (TF 583-585) are carved with a simple etched crosshatch design in a band around the handle. The other two (TF 581 and 582) are plain, and we do not know anything about the eight mentioned in the purchase schedule but not registered (TF 556-563). The stone club heads, described as rounded, (TF 550-555) are no longer identifiable in the collection; they were probably destroyed in the Garden House fire. Brown only collected two of these; Farrell's willingness to supply European weapons such as axes and firearms to New Irelanders, or his slightly later collecting dates, may have made them more willing to part with traditional weapons.

Weapons dominate Farrell's collection, but it is unlikely that he purchased weapons with any agenda in mind; he did not need to prove how savage New Irelanders were,

nor how successful he had been at pacifying them. Spears and clubs were probably easy and cheap to obtain in the early 1880s, and easy to sell on, although Farrell only received £7 for the 90 spears and 60 clubs that he sold in 1886. The sheer volume of weapons traded indicates that New Irelanders were happy to trade away these objects, presumably because they perceived the trade goods received in return as more valuable or desirable.

Ritual and Magic

The second largest category in Farrell's collection is ritual and magic, with 144 ritual objects. Ten are *kulap* figures (TF 616-625), including seven female figures, five of which are painted. One of the three male figures is painted. The paints used are red ochre and grey/black from charcoal. Two of the female figures have hoods over their heads. The other 134 objects in this category were probably all carvings although twenty objects are missing from the collections today: twelve masks (TF 685-696), two large carved heads (TF 704 and 705), one figure (TF 729), four objects likely to have been mouthpieces (TF 739-742), and a further 'carved image' (TF 759).[62] They had the same register and purchase schedule descriptions as the 114 identifiable carvings, which are all executed in the northern art style and probably related to *malagan*. There are 62 masks, five carvings of heads, and 47 other carvings. Farrell did not collect any objects relating to magic.

[62] Seven of the missing objects were exchanged with Professor Giglioli, director of the Royal Zoological Museum in Florence, in 1887 (TF 685-691); seven (TF 696, 704, 705, 739-742) were burnt in the 1890s due to insect damage; and there are no artefacts to be found for the other six registration numbers (TF 692-695, 729, 759).

Masks and Carved Heads

45 of the 62 masks are dance masks, probably related to *malagan*. The largest group are 27 *tatanua* masks (TF 626-652), displaying a range of different styles, with some missing the distinctive single crest on the helmet. The variety suggests that Farrell collected these masks from a number of different villages and areas across the east coast of northern New Ireland and the Tabar Islands. There are also eight owl masks (TF 653-660), all fairly similar in style, probably from one or two owl dance ceremonies. There are seven *kipong*-type masks (TF 661-66, 673) with slanted eyes, a squared face and a nose plank; they were probably collected from Tabar and the northern part of New Ireland. Finally, three black-faced masks (TF 667-669) were classified as masks worn with care, probably for specific dances in the *malagan* complex (Michael Gunn, pers. comm.). TF 668 and 669 appear related and were probably carved by the same person.



Tatanua mask - TF 628 (E536, Sydney, Australian Museum)



Tatanua mask - TF 633 (E552, Sydney, Australian Museum)



Tatanua mask - TF 648 (E1180, Sydney, Australian Museum)

The seventeen other masks are *malagan* in the full sense of the term. The nine barred-type masks (TF 674-682), with the face of the mask behind a lattice of bars as though in a cage, and the complex tower-type mask (TF 683) are *matua* masks. The barred

face masks are all similar in style but vary greatly in size and elaboration, and it is unlikely that they would have come from a single *malagan* ceremony. Some of them may have been related, forming part of the same *malagan* sub-tradition, but with different carvers. Five masks with large ear planks (TF 670-672, 684, 698), and a pig-head mask (706) probably had more utilitarian functions than the *matua*. Another pig-head mask (TF 697), too heavy to be worn, would have remained in the display house.



Matua mask - TF 678
(E569, Sydney, Australian Museum)

There are five carved *malagan* heads in Farrell's collection. Three (TF 699-701) are *malagan* wooden heads that were probably part of a larger carving or display, and two (TF 702 and 703) are large *malagan* heads designed for static display as single objects. These two carvings are very similar, and were described in the purchase schedule and original register as shark's head images. These two pieces are probably

related to a very similar piece in the Dresden Museum acquired from Richard Parkinson in 1897, from Tabar.[63]

Other Carvings

The largest group of other carvings are 22 figures (TF 707-728). There are two pairs of connected pieces, and eighteen individual pieces that exhibit a wide variety of styles and decoration, with no apparent connections between them. Five of these (TF707-11) are classified as figures with a column-like body. Eight were described in the original register as being from Tabar. All are carved in the northern art style and are probably *malagan* objects.

The two pairs of figures depict couples and were probably carved for a ceremony commemorating the death of a couple. In one, the male (TF 712) and female (713) both hold a snake that runs from chin to feet and have a *malagacak* type headdress that looks like a black helmet. The *malagacak* sub-tradition originated in Tabar, and the headdress represents the archetypal warrior. The other couple (TF 714 and 715) also come from Tabar. Both figures appear to be walking, and their forms are similar, apart from the gender symbols. The male has a *kapkap* on his chest, and the female is holding one of her breasts in her hand. They both have prominent genitalia, and the female figure was described as 'erotic' in the original registration data. The other figure described in the original register as 'erotic' is TF 716, a woman giving birth.

[63] Dresden 12081.



Malagan figure - TF 714
(E582, Sydney, Australian Museum)



Malagan figure - TF 715
(E583, Sydney, Australian Museum)

The nine bird mouthpieces (TF 730-738) in Farrell's collection are all very similar, representing hornbill heads, and probably came from a single source. This is the largest single group of such mouthpieces known from museum collections, but at least 24 similar mouthpieces were collected between 1875 and 1915.



Bird mouthpiece – TF 736
(E593 Sydney, Australian Museum)

TF 743-748 are horizontal friezes known as *kobokobor* on Tabar, none of which appears to be related to another. One of them (TF 744) was described in the original register as a house ornament, the rest as carved images. One of these was provenanced in the original register as being from Gardiners Island, an early name for Tabar. Farrell's collection of six such carvings suggests that their ritual significance did not make people any less willing to sell the carvings after their display.

Finally, there are ten vertical carvings in Farrell's collection. Nine of these are the vertical friezes (TF 749-757) known as *eikuar* on Tabar. Five are very similar and probably come from a single *malagan* display (TF 752, 753, 755-757); they are small, between 100 and 150 cm high. A tenth carving (TF 758) is classified as a carved plank although it may well have been a wall carving or the detached headdress of a *malagan* figure. One of the friezes (TF 754) may be related to another piece in the Australian Museum, donated by Emma Forsayth in 1892.[64] This, along with the piece

[64] Australian Museum E 3321.

that was donated to Dresden by Parkinson in 1897, suggests that Farrell collected more objects in the 1880s that were stored, presumably at Ralum, and sold later.

Valuables

Farrell collected only one valuable, a *kapkap* 'breast ornament' (TF 773) that is no longer identifiable in the collection. It is surprising that Farrell did not collect more *kapkap*, or any shell money. It is possible that he used any shell money that he purchased for further trade in the region, where it may have had more value to him than shipping it to Sydney to sell to the Australian Museum.

Ornaments

Thirty-six *trochus* shell armlets from New Ireland were listed under one register number as part of the May 1887 consignment (TF 760); only three armlets can be identified today. These armlets were plain, thin shell armlets cut out of *trochus* shell and polished smooth. Parkinson noted that numbers of these armlets were worn together on the arm to create a band about 20 cm long (1999:131), which explains why Farrell's armlets were registered under one number. I have categorised these as ornaments instead of valuables as there is no indication that they were used as valuables, unlike the *am fat* shell rings and armlets made from *tridacna* collected by Brown and others.

The other six ornaments are wooden armlets, four large (TF 761-764) and two small (TF 765 and 766). These are wide bands of thin wood, carved in a circular shape, and scored with lines across them. The lines are in-filled with a white powder, presumably lime. These lines make it look as though the armband is in fact a layer of thin bands

placed sequentially up the arm, like the shell armlet. These wooden armbands are fairly rare in collections.



Wooden armlet - TF 765
(E627, Sydney, Australian Museum)

Fishing

Farrell collected one fishing net (TF 774), which was bought for 20 shillings by the Museum. It was decorated with small carved wooden floats and may have had ritual significance. Groves described the ritual passing on of a fishing net with carved floats on Tabar in 1933; the middle carving, known as *mi kititir*, was the largest and special, with significant magical potency (Groves 1934a:438, 1936:226). Presumably the net that Farrell sold was similar; it must have been aesthetically appealing as well as utilitarian to justify the price paid. It seems to have been a relatively unusual object, but unfortunately it could not be located in the Australian Museum stores when I visited.

Miscellaneous

Farrell sold six canoe models (TF 767-772) from New Ireland to the Australian Museum, all registered in 1887. TF 767 was registered as being from Buka, but the purchase schedule specified the provenance as Fischer Island, an old name for Tabar,

and is annotated with the registration number. Whilst we know that miniature canoes were offered to Europeans as early as 1872, there are only a few others in museum collections. Farrell may have encouraged the young men he recruited to make these; they were probably children's toys with no ritual significance.

Synopsis of the Farrell Collection

Warfare dominates Farrell's collection at 186 objects (54%), closely followed by ritual and magic with 144 objects (42%). Farrell collected an extraordinarily large number of ritual pieces, mostly *malagan* carvings from the north of the island. These two categories account for 96% of Farrell's collection, with the other categories being poorly represented. Farrell collected no objects associated with women, no shell money, and the only utilitarian object is the fishing net with carved floats, which may not have been utilitarian at all. His primary motivation was profit; he did not bother to collect everyday objects, preferring objects that he predicted would fetch a decent sum back in Sydney. For Farrell, objects of material culture really were a cash crop.

Farrell's collection shows a strong bias towards the north of New Ireland. Of the 144 objects where provenance can be identified, 134 (93%) are from the northern art tradition, with a significant proportion probably from Tabar; only 10 (7%) are from traditions from the central part of the island. He evidently had wide-ranging contacts on the coasts and offshore islands of northern New Ireland and strong trading relations with villagers from many places to amass such a vast and varied collection. In particular, he seems to have had strong links with the Tabar islands, which makes him one of the earliest Europeans to establish such contact there.

Farrell saw material culture as just another item of trade, and must have had some sense of the metropolitan market for these objects. His collection proves that some New Irelanders in the early 1880s were very keen to trade and willing to hand over their objects of material culture for trade goods of European manufacture. Farrell may have been particularly well placed to acquire carvings and other artefacts because of his willingness to supply guns and ammunition. New Irelanders were probably also keen to forge relations with Farrell for the longer-term aims of having a trading station established nearby.

Romilly's Collection

Romilly's small and discrete collection is different to those of Brown and Farrell as all of the 42 objects were collected in Kapsu in October 1883. The Duke of Bedford presented fifty-one objects to the British Museum in 1884, all registered as collected by Romilly in New Ireland. However, nine objects are almost certainly from the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain or its environs, probably acquired during Romilly's stay at Hernsheim's Matupi headquarters[65]. The objects from New Ireland consist of 32 ritual and magic objects, 6 ornaments and clothes, 3 hunting and fishing, and 1 miscellaneous.

Romilly described purchasing the contents of the *malagan* display house that he saw in Kapsu in 1883, and the only object he noted leaving behind was the central carved canoe, which he was unable to carry. He described purchasing 'about fifty' large figures; the fact that only 31 carvings were accessioned into the British Museum

[65] These are a neck ornament (IN 09) and plaited armlets (IN 10-12) using shell money from the Gazelle Peninsula, a *bilum* string bag (IN 17) and jew's harp (IN 14) probably from New Britain, and a head ornament incorporating European materials that is probably Tolai (IN 13). Finally there are two baskets similar in manufacture but not style to baskets from New Hanover (IN 15 and 16) that may also be from New Britain.

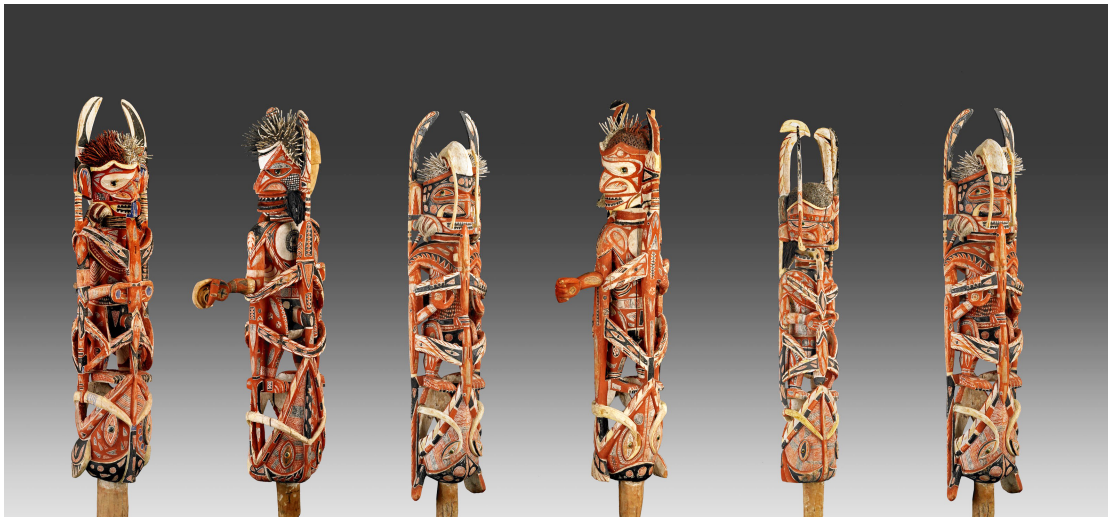
means either some figures were mislaid on the collection's journey from Kapsu to London, or that Romilly exaggerated the actual number of carvings that he bought. The composition of the group of carvings suggests that a number of different social groups and associated carvers were represented at the *malagan* ceremony that furnished Romilly's carvings.

Ritual and Magic

Of the 32 pieces classified as ritual and magic objects in Romilly's collection, 31 are carvings, and the last is an object no longer found in storage (HR 811). The original register documentation records it as a 'Bag or sheath formed of a broad piece of leaf? doubled, and containing some withered leaves. Obtained in New Ireland'. It was probably used for sorcery but may have had a medicinal use.

The carvings consist of six large figures, four smaller ones, nine bird figures and twelve masks. Romilly described the canoe as the central feature of the 'temple', with 'the birds… hung up so as to give the appearance of towing a small canoe… in which the figures were standing' (Yoshida and Mack 1997:313). The six large figures, five male one female, (HR 780-785) were probably standing in the canoe as they all have an open-mouthed fish at their base, typical iconography for canoe figures. They are very similar in design and composition, with heights ranging between 101 and 132 cm. The nine bird figures are also similar; six are bird friezes (HR 786-791), almost identical in style and composition. The other three (HR 792-794) are slightly different and may be parts of bird mouthpieces. There is a stylistic similarity between all of the bird figures and the large figures. The same carver, or group of carvers under the directorship of one master carver, probably carved the canoe and its associated figures

and birds, commissioned by an individual male to honour the memory either of someone in his wife's clan, or his own. It seems likely that the commissioner of these *malagan* carvings was a member of Nanati's clan, perhaps his maternal uncle, as he was able to organise their sale.



Kapsu *malagan* canoe figures - HR 780-785
(Oc 1884. 7-28. 01, Oc 1884. 7-28. 02, Oc 1884. 7-28. 04, Oc 1884. 7-28. 07, Oc 1884. 7-28. 09, Oc 1884. 7-28. 49, London, British Museum)

The smaller figures (HR 795-798) were probably the work of other carvers, from a different clan or lineage to that of the owner of the canoe piece, brought along as a contribution to the ceremony. HR 796-798 are similar in composition and style, being figures whose bodies consist only of an elongated ribcage. They were probably carved by one artist and contributed by a single person or group of people. HR 795 is stylistically different and was probably brought by a third person or group as a contribution to the ceremony and display. This piece also represents a male figure standing in the mouth of a fish, but is clearly not a part of the main group of figures designed to stand in the canoe. It may have been contributed to the canoe display by a third clan or lineage.

The twelve masks in Romilly's collection were almost certainly associated with the canoe *malagan* display. Seven are *tatanua* style masks (HR 799-805); Romilly noted their resemblance to 'the helmets of the ancient Greeks' (1886:4). The other masks are more complex. HR 806 and 807 are large, very elaborate, heavy and unwieldy objects that would have been difficult to wear. They were probably the main masks used to remove taboos in the *malagan* ceremonies. HR 808 and 809 are slightly smaller and less elaborate; HR 809 has barkcloth ears and an over-modelled face. They were probably fund-raising masks. A third (HR 810) is a strange piece that may have been either a mask or a carving; it is an open-fretwork carving with a fish head at the top. These last three masks are all stylistically different from each other and were probably carved by different carvers.



Tatanua mask - HR 801
(Oc 1884. 7-28. 25, London, British Museum)



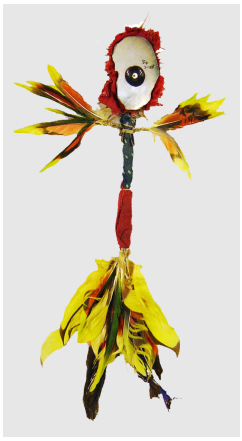
Malagan mask - HR 806
(Oc 1884. 7-28. 19, London, British Museum)

Romilly mentioned that he paid Nanati 'a gigantic pig' for the *malagan* carvings he obtained at Kapsu, presumably purchased from someone else in Kapsu as he travelled down from Nusa in a small, open whaleboat. We don't know what trade goods Romilly paid for the pig, nor why he didn't just pay those trade goods straight to Nanati for the carvings. It may have been unacceptable to the men of Kapsu to sell the

carvings for shell money or trade; the more traditional ritual payment of a pig may have been demanded even though it was not customary to sell carvings. It is also possible that Romilly gave trade goods alongside the pig.

Ornaments and Clothes

Romilly collected six ornaments, including three bunches of feathers probably used as dance ornaments in the *malagan* ceremonies (HR 812-814). The other objects are a pair of dog's teeth pendants (HR 816), most likely used as ear decoration, and a set of boar's tusk armlets (HR 815). There were seven boar's tusk armlets in the early register, although only two can be found in the collection today. I have registered these, following the British Museum, as one object as they were probably intended to be a set, owned and displayed together. The final object is a comb (HR 817). Romilly presumably purchased these objects in Kapsu either from Nanati or from other individuals who were keen to trade with him. The dog's teeth pendants, boar's tusk armlets and hair comb are objects that may have been kept for special occasions. Their presence in Romilly's collection indicates that Kapsu people were keen and eager to trade.



Dance ornament - HR 813
(Oc 1884.7-28.37, London, British Museum)



Dogs' teeth pendants - HR 816
(Oc 1884.7-28.39, London, British Museum)

Hunting and Fishing

Romilly collected one fishing net (HR 818) and two shell fishhooks (HR 819 and 820) in New Ireland. Romilly probably witnessed fishing at Nusa and Kapsu, and on the journey; he may have asked to purchase these objects from individuals that he saw using them.



Shell fishhook – HR 819 (Oc1884.7-28.47, London, British Museum)



Shell fishhook – HR 820 (Oc1884.7-28.49, London, British Museum)

Miscellaneous

The final object that Romilly collected is a bunch of seaweed (HR 821). Like the sheath of withered leaves, this object can no longer be found in the collection, and is only know from old records. It is unclear why Romilly collected it, perhaps as a botanical specimen, or it may, like the sheath of leaves, have had some magical significance. For this reason I have included this object in a separate category.

Synopsis of Romilly's Collection

Romilly's collection is small, and dominated by ritual and magic objects at 76%. This is the only collection not to include any objects associated with warfare, and includes objects in the smallest number of categories. The presence of utilitarian items such as fishing hooks and nets, and ornaments used for personal adornment suggests that

Romilly's collection was expedient; he acquired what he could during his brief time on New Ireland, with no consideration of market forces, and no reference to a collecting strategy. His description of the carvings as 'atrociously ugly… but splendidly carved and painted' (Romilly 1893:187) suggests that he was motivated by their very otherness, perhaps as symbols of his brave exploits and explorations.

From the data available, all of the carvings Romilly collected came from the *malagan* house he described visiting in Kapsu early in October 1883. The most likely scenario is that Nanati was greatly involved in the *malagan* ceremonies for which these pieces were carved; either he sponsored the ceremony and owned the rights to the canoe *malagan*, or he was very closely connected to the sponsor. Romilly described seeing the carvings in the *malagan* house, where access was restricted, rather than in the open and public display house, indicating either that Nanati sold the carvings before they had been displayed, which would be very unusual and does not seem likely, or that they had already been displayed but had been returned to the *malagan* house. *Malagan* objects were usually quickly dispersed after their formal display. Nanati had enough experience in dealing with Europeans, both on his trips to Nusa and when recruiters visited that section of the coast, to know that *malagan* carvings were of value to Europeans. It is strange that he returned them to the *malagan* house if they had already been displayed, but this may have been due to the fact that keeping *malagan* for sale was still very new. It is also possible that in 1883 *malagan* were displayed for longer, and perhaps in a restricted setting, rather than the open and public forum of *malagan* displays today.

All of the New Ireland objects that can be provenanced are executed in the northern art style, and the accompanying evidence suggests that all of the objects were from Kapsu, although it is possible he acquired some in Nusa. His collection provides clear evidence that some New Irelanders were very keen to trade at this time, to the extent that Nanati appeared to have overruled the elderly men of the village and perhaps to have broken traditional rules on the treatment of *malagan* carvings to make the trade (Romilly 1886:44). Romilly was evidently keen to collect too as he also purchased objects from New Britain, probably during his sojourn at Matupi.

Brown, Farrell and Romilly: Initial Comparisons

The collections are the sums of individual objects, not stand-alone entities, and some objects are related by their manufacture and indigenous use. These connections are vital to understanding both the situation from which they were collected, and the behaviour of the collector. Brown's early collections focused on objects that he encountered during his frequent visits to southern and central New Ireland whilst based on the Duke of York Islands. There are few objects from northern New Ireland. Warfare objects dominate, reflecting the fact that spears and clubs were readily accessible, and he was keen to collect them, as symbols of the mission's pacifying efforts as well as an opportunity to trade and make contact with diverse groups of men. In the main George Brown collection, warfare objects still dominate, but other categories, especially ritual and magic, and valuables, are better represented, and there are objects from all over New Ireland. He exerted a greater degree of personal choice over this collection and seemed more aware of his audience, but we do not know exactly how it was made.

Thomas Farrell's collection is also skewed towards warfare and ritual objects, with few other categories represented. Farrell was probably the biggest single collector of ritual objects from New Ireland in the early colonial period, especially as he supplied other collectors as well. Despite making a huge collection, he collected very few different artefact types, and his collection is the most homogeneous of all. Almost all of the objects for which provenance can be ascertained are from northern New Ireland. Romilly did not collect any weapons, but his collection, dominated by ritual and magic items, is also restricted to objects from northern New Ireland, reflecting the fact that Romilly's only contact was with Nusa and Kapsu. His collection is the smallest, but contains some variety of artefact types.

The fact that Brown, Farrell and Romilly were able to collect so much, in their various ways, in the late 1870s and early 1880s, indicates that New Irelanders fully recognised the exchange value of their artefacts by then, and were keen to trade. However, Brown, Farrell and Romilly did not only bring trade goods. Brown established long-term relationships with a number of local big men, and brought both mission teachers, stations and the rituals, songs and prayers associated with the *lotu*. Farrell brought traders and trade goods, and must have built up relationships with big men. Romilly was associated with Hernsheim's trading operation.

The central tension guiding my analysis is that between objects and history. In the next chapter, I aim to draw out from the threads of ideas started here with the data to explore further aspects such as the gender of the objects, the composition of the collections, and the inclusion of European materials. Having described the history of New Ireland from written sources, and the objects as sites of information, I explore

the relations between the two as historical documents. One of the questions underpinning the following chapter is the relationship between objects and collectors, and I continue to investigate how much we can tell about collections from their collectors, and vice versa. The collections tell us a great deal about the men who collected, but they are also rich repositories of other information. The next chapter is, therefore, analytical and comparative, drawing on the data presented here to continue the quest to understand this period in New Ireland's history. In subsequent chapters, I examine the impact of this period of history on New Irelanders, and look at how they used both objects and trade to initiate, facilitate and maintain relations with outsiders. I attempt to evaluate the effect of this decade on how New Irelanders understood the world and also on the distribution of power within New Ireland society.

Chapter Seven: Analyses of the Collections

In this chapter I aim to analyse the collections of Brown, Romilly and Farrell in the broader context of other New Ireland collections. I compare the timing and composition of the collections as well as the geographic provenance and original functions of the objects, with information from Gunn's database of New Ireland objects. I also explore the gender bias in collections by examining whether the collected objects were made, used and owned by men or women. In the following chapter I use individual objects and collections in conjunction with the database to analyse New Ireland's history during the 1870s and 1880s.

Gunn's New Ireland Database

Gunn's database was a vital tool in looking at the history of collecting in New Ireland in Chapter Five. Most of the ritual/art objects and some of the material culture objects collected by Brown, Farrell and Romilly are included in the database. For my analysis, I included all of the objects recorded in collection notes as well as museum and archival documentation, whereas Gunn only included objects that he could find in the records or collections of the museums he visited. As discussed in Chapter One, Gunn's database is rich in information on art objects from New Ireland, but less representative of other types of object. The database was originally put together in an effort to understand the immense variety of ritual objects from New Ireland; functional objects are under-represented as they are more likely to have been overlooked or misplaced within collections. The version I look at, as of January 2016, contains 5929 entries, 4266 of which are classified into types. The two main categories are ritual/art and material culture. Ritual/art objects are those created solely

or primarily for use and display in ritual contexts; material culture objects are utilitarian, with broader functions than ritual/art objects.

New Ireland objects in Gunn's database	5929	
Objects classified into types	**4266**	72% of objects in database
Ritual / art objects	3032	71% of classified objects
Material culture	1202	28% of classified objects
Other objects	32	1% of classified objects

Analysis of Gunn's database

Of the 4266 classified objects, 3032, or 71%, are ritual art, and 1202, or 28%, are material culture. The ritual/art objects are further subdivided by region and type; the material culture objects by function, including body decoration, canoes, clothing, dance implements, musical instruments, shell money, tools and weapons. There are 32 other objects - archaeological pieces, Western paintings and sketches, field photographs, and pieces inspired by the mission – which I have excluded from my analysis.

Gunn's database is most useful as an analytical tool to compare art objects. The classification system means that it has huge potential for looking at the geographic provenance of the objects, and as it is often only art objects that can be identified by region, the bias towards art objects does not matter. Gunn estimates that 5% of the objects in museum collections have a reliable recorded geographic provenance, including many of those collected in the early 20th century by the early German scientific expeditions, but it is possible to attribute a rough provenance to most of the ritual/art objects. The database is also a rich resource of information about broad

changes in collecting over time as the dates of both collection and acquisition of the objects are recorded, where known.

Timing

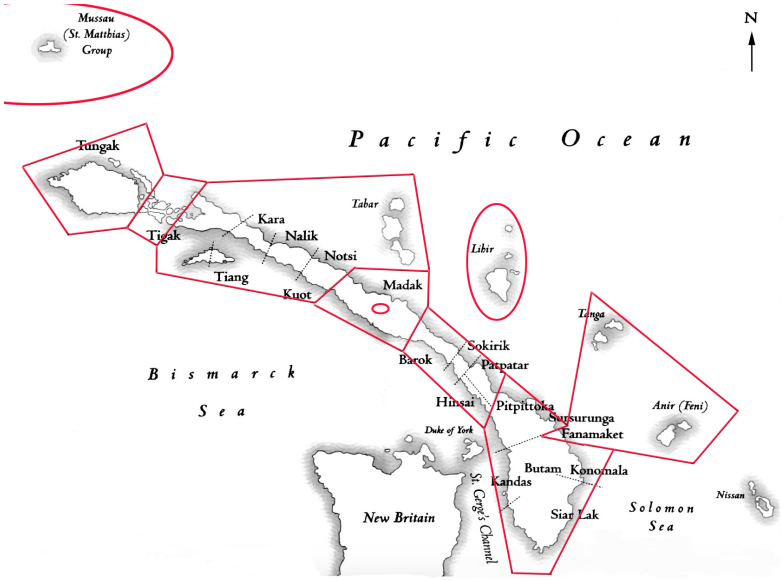
Whilst collection and acquisition dates are recorded in the database where known, there is a large proportion of objects where no exact collection date is recorded. It is often possible to make an informed guess about the date of collection, given the travel history of the individuals involved, but we also know from other sources that the collectors often swapped or sold artefacts from other visitors; collecting histories are often very complicated. The Godeffroy Museum is an example of this. Most of the artefacts in the museum's collections when sold to Leipzig in 1885 were probably collected before 1879 when the trading company collapsed. However, artefacts considered duplicates were sold and exchanged with other institutions, and also individuals, before, during and after its sale, so it is very difficult to date many of the artefacts precisely, or know exactly who collected what.

Broad analysis of the database, in conjunction with archival information, indicates that visitors were collecting throughout the 1800s. There was a very marked increase in the 1870s and 1880s, and collecting rates continued to rise gently until around 1914 when they dropped slightly and then levelled out. The increase in collecting rates is roughly proportional to the numbers of visitors and the amount of contact those visitors had with New Irelanders. By the 1870s, most European visitors, from the crews of whalers and government ships to traders and recruiters, attempted to collect when in the area. Brown and Cockerell were the first people to collect in a systematic way on New Ireland, and Brown's early collections are the earliest broad-ranging

collection by an individual. Brown, Farrell and Romilly were early and prolific collectors from New Ireland, and their efforts contributed to the rise in collecting in the 1870s and 1880s evident in the database.

Sources of Objects and their Geographic Provenance

Almost all of the 3032 art and ritual objects in Gunn's database are classified by geographic provenance, although Gunn highlights that these attributions are often a 'best guess' as the exact village of production or collection was rarely recorded. For the purpose of comparison, I have annotated Gunn's map of the linguistic regions of New Ireland with the regions he used in his classification of the geographic provenance of art and ritual objects. New Ireland's 'social landscape' (Gosden and Knowles 2001:28) is complex, and material culture, language and ritual variations have probably never aligned exactly, and have changed over time. This map attempts to represent the geographic regions used in Gunn's classification.



Map 12. Art and ritual areas of New Ireland, according to Gunn (2014).

Southern New Ireland mainland - most of the southern tip of New Ireland, including the language groups of Siar Lak, Kandas, Butam, Konomala, Sursurunga and Pitpittoka.

Southern New Ireland offshore islands - the island groups of Tanga and Anir and a small area of the west coast of the New Ireland mainland considered a colony of the Tanga and Anir groups.

Central New Ireland - the Patpatar and Barok regions, as well as the smaller Hinsal and Sokirik areas.

Lihir - the Lihir island group.

Lelet/Madak - the whole of the Madak-speaking region including the Lelet Plateau, a karst landscape of rugged hills and deep valleys formed by limestone.

Area to the north of the Lelet Plateau – this small area to the north-west of the Lelet Plateau is indicated as the possible source of specific art traditions, including some distinctive white-faced masks. Perhaps more densely populated in the past than now.

Northern New Ireland including Tabar - the northern part of the mainland from the Kuot and Notsi linguistic areas, Nalik, Kara, Tiang and most of the Tigak-speaking region, and all of the islands of the Tabar group. This is the heart of *malagan* production, although some *malagan*-style carvings are produced in adjacent regions.

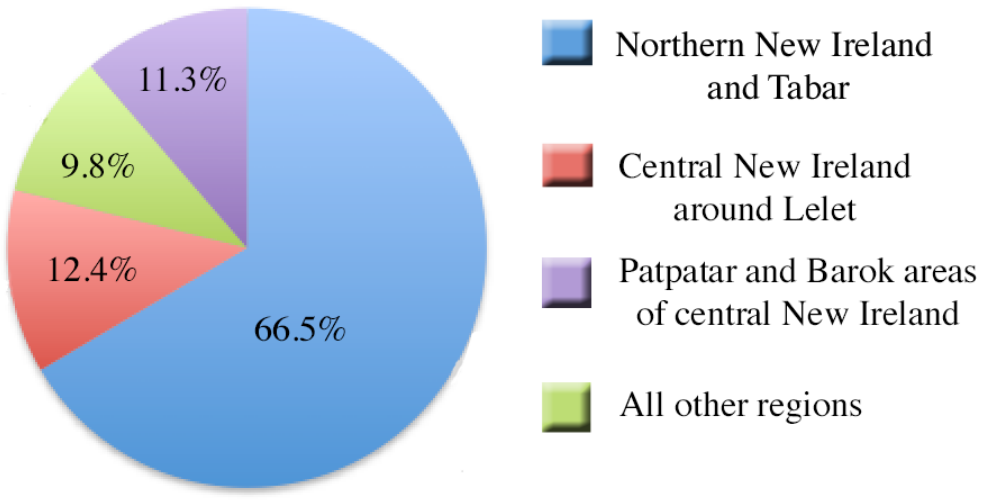
Area between New Ireland and New Hanover - the small islands of the straits between New Hanover and the New Ireland mainland.

New Hanover - the Tungak-speaking main island of New Hanover and its immediate offshore islands

St Matthias - the St Matthias group of islands including Mussau, Emirau and Tench.

Southern New Ireland mainland	96	3.2%
Southern New Ireland offshore islands	79	2.6%
Central New Ireland, Patpatar and Barok regions	298	9.8%
Lihir	22	0.7%
Lelet/Madak	376	12.4%
Area to the north of Lelet Plateau	55	1.8%
Northern New Ireland including Tabar	2015	66.5%
Area between New Ireland and New Hanover	6	0.2%
New Hanover	19	0.6%
St Matthias	51	1.7%
Idiosyncratic or unlocalised pieces	15	0.5%
	3032	100%

Geographic distribution of the 3032 classified objects in Gunn's database.



New Ireland objects by region.

This analysis by geographic provenance highlights that the *malagan*-producing areas of northern New Ireland and Tabar dominate New Ireland collections, accounting for 66.5% of ritual objects. The northern art style is by far the most collected, and many objects are from the *malagan* artistic and cultural complex. *Malagan* is generally understood to be an 'integrated group of art and cultural traditions' (Gunn 1997:41), and both Gunn and Küchler estimate that there are more than fifteen thousand *malagan* art works in museums and private collections in total. Northern New Ireland produced more ritual and art objects than the south, and many more of these objects reached the market. Very few *malagan* objects were re-used; almost all carvings were made for specific mortuary ceremonies and, traditionally, discarded after their ritual display, with no prohibition on them being traded out.

The *malagan* cultural complex provided an extremely robust means of transmitting cultural and art traditions, which meant that production continued throughout the upheavals of the contact and colonial eras. The villagers in the north were eager to trade from the early 1800s, and the coastline meant that access to the market was generally easy. Collectors liked the easy portability of many of the objects in the northern art style, and the style itself was popular amongst both travellers and the metropolitan market.

The other regions of New Ireland, including the other offshore islands, account for the remaining 33.5% of objects in the database. Dividing the mainland of New Ireland in half by length by drawing a line between the Mandak and Barok language areas, with Tabar and Lihir being in the northern half, Tanga and Anir in the southern, only 473 objects, or 15.6%, come from the southern half of the island, indicating that the

southern regions of New Ireland are under-represented in the material culture collections of art and ritual objects. There are a number of reasons for this disparity in collecting trends.

Many of the art traditions of central and southern New Ireland, like *kulap* and *uli,* produced heirloom objects that were used for many years and handed down through the generations; New Irelanders were much less keen to trade these objects. Southern New Ireland is also home to a number of secret/sacred societies such as *dukduk*, *tubuan* and *sokapana*. Most of these secret societies produce art, in particular masks and body costumes, and musical instruments like the bullroarer, but their participants did not trade out any artefacts.

Some of the art-producing traditions of central and southern New Ireland died out relatively early on, *uli* and *kulap* again being the most obvious examples. It is possible that the techniques for transmitting these traditions from one generation to the next did not survive the societal upheaval wrought by European contact and the imposition of colonial rule. Art traditions that produced heirloom objects would have had fewer specialist carvers than in the northern art traditions where large numbers of objects were made and used for single ceremonies, leaving them more vulnerable to the changes in population that occurred due to recruiting from the 1880s onwards. Parkinson noted this phenomenon:

> 'On Tanga earlier, masks were customary… During my last visit to Tanga, in 1903, I was unable to obtain further specimens. They are no longer made, I was told; the older people who knew how to make them have died, and the younger people, who for the most part hired themselves as labourers on distant plantations, neglected to learn how to make them.' (Parkinson 1999:283)

Northern New Ireland also supplied significant numbers of young men as recruits but *malagan* and other northern traditions had more carvers and different methods of transmitting the cultural knowledge that enabled carving to continue. However, there are large numbers of objects in collections that are not recognisably part of any art tradition that survives into the present day, some of which are executed in the distinctive northern art style, suggesting that this area also lost some art traditions as a result of the upheavals of the late 19th and early 20th century. *Malagan* and other northern art traditions, like those involving *kipong*, dominate collections, and have clearly both survived and thrived, but it is likely that northern New Ireland, as well as central and southern parts, had much more varied art traditions up to the early 20th century, when many smaller, more restricted traditions died out.

A further factor was probably also the nature of contact. Up until the imposition of colonial order after 1900, European visitors stuck to the coasts, rarely venturing inland. The more mountainous southern region was less accessible, and European contact with the inhabitants of the interior far less frequent. Central New Ireland and the offshore islands had more contact with European visitors in the late 19th century, but practical concerns caused by the lack of regular shipping – meant that the colonial regime had limited contact with the eastern offshore islands until later in the 20th century (Foster 1995:44).

In Brown's early collections, the vast majority of artefacts are from central or southern New Ireland, with only three objects from the north, indicating that it was possible to make collections from these areas. The main George Brown collection is more equally divided between the northern art style, and central/southern New

Ireland, where provenance can be ascertained. Brown's early collections fairly accurately represent the places he spent most time; he probably amassed his later collection intending to impress, and also to represent the whole of New Ireland. The geographic distribution displayed in Gunn's database is similar to that shown in Farrell and Romilly's collections; 93% of the identifiable objects collected by Farrell and all those collected by Romilly are in the northern art style. As Romilly only spent time in northern New Ireland, his collection accurately reflects his contact. As Farrell also traded with coastal villages in southern New Ireland, the predominance of northern New Ireland art objects is probably due to the fact that he collected to sell and knew that northern art style objects would sell well.

The Composition of Collections

I attempted to categorise Gunn's database according to the same categories used to analyse the Brown, Farrell and Romilly collections. Gunn distinguishes between ritual/art objects and material culture whereas I use Ritual and Magic to cover ritual, art and magic objects. So for Gunn's database I added 21 objects including charms and magic stones to the ritual/art category. The Miscellaneous items, covering objects that don't belong elsewhere, include a large number of canoe-related objects, with some canoes and canoe models, as well as food objects, architectural elements, and ochre. I classified ochre as a miscellaneous object as although it was used in ritual contexts and had significance beyond adding colour, it is not an object that was made for ritual use.

Gunn's database contains many more ritual/art objects than material culture objects, with 71% of the total of classified objects being ritual/art. The collections I study are

more evenly balanced between these two groups, with 239, or 29% of the 812 objects that Brown, Farrell and Romilly collected classified as Ritual and Magic, and the remaining 573, or 71%, being material culture.

	Early Brown	Main Brown	Farrell	Romilly	Total	Database
Warfare	123	141	186	0	450	**259**
Ritual & Magic	19	44	144	32	239	**3053**
Valuables	11	44	1	0	56	**124**
Ornaments & Clothes	11	7	7	6	31	**322**
Hunting & Fishing	0	15	1	3	19	**72**
Miscellaneous	0	2	6	1	9	**103**
Music production	2	2	0	0	4	**79**
Containers	0	2	0	0	2	**66**
Craft production	0	2	0	0	2	**156**
Total	**166**	**259**	**345**	**42**	**812**	**4234**

	Early Brown	Main Brown	Farrell	Romilly	Total	Database
Warfare	74%	54%	54%	0%	55%	**6%**
Ritual & Magic	11%	17%	42%	76%	29%	**72%**
Valuables	7%	17%	0%	0%	7%	**3%**
Ornaments & Clothes	7%	3%	2%	14%	4%	**8%**
Hunting & Fishing	0%	6%	0%	7%	2%	**2%**
Miscellaneous	0%	0.50%	2%	2%	1%	**2%**
Music production	1%	0.50%	0%	0%	0.50%	**2%**
Containers	0%	0.50%	0%	0%	0.25%	**2%**
Craft production	0%	0.50%	0%	0%	0.25%	**4%**
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Objects related to warfare dominate Brown's, Farrell's and Romilly's collections, accounting for 55% of the total objects I looked at, including 336 spears, whereas Gunn's database only includes 138 spears in total. I did not examine every spear, but archival research indicated that this was the approximate number of spears obtained from New Ireland by Brown and Farrell, whilst Romilly collected no weapons at all. Weapons are easy to overlook in museum research as objects like spears and clubs can be difficult or impossible to identify in storage, being easily lost, mislaid or labelled incorrectly. They can be difficult to store, and are often kept off-site, away from the heart of the museum storage units which are generally reserved for objects that are considered more interesting. They are often plain and homogeneous in appearance, making them difficult to provenance to specific island groups or regions,

and spears are particularly difficult to label securely. Efforts to locate, identify and study each object are not necessarily interesting or informative.

Romilly's collection highlights the fact that some collectors focussed almost exclusively on ritual art objects, partly because of the circumstances of their collecting, partly due to their own interests. Romilly may not have been offered any spears or other weapons as the Kapsu villagers were apparently preparing for an attack by their neighbours; the men may have wanted to keep hold of all of their weapons. Gunn's database indicates that the collecting of weapons declined significantly after 1890, perhaps due to German colonial efforts to pacify the region and disarm New Irelanders after 1887. It is also possible that the European and other visitors after 1890 just did not want to collect spears. Knowledge of New Ireland's ritual arts would have been widespread among the metropolitan audience, and it is likely that collectors had specific aims. Weapons may have fallen out of favour in the collecting world.

Romilly's records also provide a clear example of how collections were limited by practical concerns. The *malagan* house at Kapsu contained a *malagan* canoe, and whilst Romilly collected the figures, he did not have the space to transport the canoe so had to leave it behind. There are only three *malagan* canoes known in collections,[66] but it is possible that other collectors were similarly constrained by practicalities. Other figures may have originally come from *malagan* canoes; their size meant that figures were generally portable for both New Irelanders and visitors, whereas the canoes would have presented a far bigger challenge.

[66] Dresden Museum für Völkerkunde 12080, Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde 2613:05, Stuttgart Linden Museum 30158 (Barton, 2000).

The discrepancies between other categories are much smaller, but valuables make up only 3% of Gunn's database whereas they make up 7% of Brown's, Farrell's and Romilly's collections. This is partly due to differences in recording, as a number of the single entries in Gunn's database for these kinds of objects, for example shell money, cover groups of objects that may have been categorised individually in my analysis, depending on whether they were attached or initially recorded individually. However, the proportion of valuables in the collections that I looked at are also small, with Romilly collecting none, and Farrell only collecting one. The majority, 44 of the 55 valuables that Brown collected in total, were in his main collection.

We do not know much about the geographic distribution of *kapkap* within New Ireland but they were worn across the region, primarily as a chiefly symbol. Proportionally, there are far more *kapkap* in the collections made by Brown, Farrell and Romilly than in the database as a whole. The database contains 78 *kapkap*, of which Brown collected 20, and Farrell one. My research suggests that Brown collected a total of 28 *kapkap*, with the location of the other 8 unknown. The individuals who owned these *kapkap* may have wanted to strengthen their relationships with the mission and its associated power. There are so few in collections that it is clear they were not traded out readily; *kapkap* are visually interesting and highly portable objects, which suggests that Farrell would have collected as many as he was offered.

Most of the shell money and other shell valuables in collections came from individuals such as Brown and Hahl who had longer-term relationships in the region.

Many collectors may not have seen shell money as particularly collectible; the fact that traders used shell money in exchanges suggests that it would have been possible to acquire it. Members of the Deutsche Marine-Expedition (DME) collected a number of examples of shell money; they were collecting after 1902 when traders were banned from using shell money. Shell valuables such as *birok* pig money and *am fat* rings were probably more difficult for visitors to obtain. Brown may have been given the shell valuables in his main collection either on his departure in 1880 or when he returned to visit the region later on; as traditional payments in ritual activities, it is possible that they were given in return for the ritual elements and activities of the mission.

Brown and Farrell also collected a relatively large number of *kulap* figures; Brown collected at least 15, and Farrell 11. For Brown in particular, *kulap* figures are a relatively high proportion of his collections, comprising 24% of the Ritual and Magic objects he collected. For Farrell, who collected many more *malagan* objects, they represent 8% of the Ritual and Magic objects. The 191 *kulap* figures in Gunn's database represent 6% of the total of Ritual and Magic objects. These numbers probably reflect the early dates of Brown's and Farrell's collections, and in Brown's case the proximity of the *kulap*-producing villages to the early centres of mission activity on New Ireland. Brown was also particularly interested in these figures as they highlighted the 'otherness' of the New Irelanders. He described the Kalil villagers' 'superstitious regard' for these figures; men danced to them whilst women and children were forbidden from seeing them (1908:127-8).

Relationships between Objects

It is difficult to comment on the relationships between objects in most of the collections in Gunn's database due to the number of objects and the complexities of their biographies. New Ireland artefacts were swapped, sold, mislaid, destroyed and stolen in New Ireland, on their journeys to metropolitan areas, and in their subsequent lives in museums and collections. Looking at the relationships between objects is an imperfect science, but there are interesting lessons to be learnt by focussing on individual collections. Here I look the collections made by Brown, Farrell and Romilly in terms of the relations between the objects within each one. These relations are easier to see in the ritual and magic objects; it is hard to comment on relations between utilitarian objects such as spears, clubs or fishing nets.

Brown's Collections

Some of the objects in Brown's early collections are related to each other. The twelve *kulap* figures are probably related as there were only a few sources of these figures, concentrated in and near the Rossell Mountains inland from Kalil. The women's skirts that he collected may have been related; the four that exist today are similar, and probably came from the same village. The two war charms (GB 020 and 021) are probably related, and the two white-faced masks (GB 046 and 056) are also similar in appearance. The three other carvings, including two *tatanua* masks (GB 054 and 055), appear to be single, unrelated, objects. For the majority of objects in the collection, e.g. the *kapkap* and the spears, it is impossible to judge whether they are related.

Brown's main collection is diverse, with many more object types than in his early collections, which indicates that it was made in a relatively piecemeal fashion, over a

long period of time, from a variety of sources and areas. Nine, or 25%, of the 36 carvings, are related, forming four groups. The three wall panels (GB 252-254) are from the same display, two pairs of carvings were probably each carved by the same individual (male figures GB 246 and 247, masks GB 258 and 283), and two hornbill carvings (GB 243 and 279) are very similar. The four examples of pig money are similar and were probably all collected from the same area. It is not possible to identify whether the plaited or shell armlets, the hunting and fishing objects, the food baskets or the shell adzes were related. The two rub drums (GB 267 and 268) were probably not made by the same person, nor collected at the same time.

Farrell's Collection

Farrell collected 10 *kulap* figures, seven of which are of a similar type (TF 617, 618, 620-622, 624, 625), with a defined jaw line and brow ridge that were probably related in some way; the other three are of varied types. All of these figures came from a circumscribed area, and it is not clear how he obtained them. Twenty-eight, or 25%, of the 114 identifiable *malagan* carvings that he collected are related. The biggest group are nine hornbill head mouthpieces (TF 730-738), which are very similar and probably all came from a single source. The eight owl masks (TF 653-659) are similar in style and may have come from the same ceremony, although not necessarily carved by the same carver. Five of the vertical friezes (TF 752, 753, 755-757) also bear a strong resemblance to each other, and probably came from the same display. Two of the three black-faced masks (TF 668 and 669) look like they were carved by the same person, and there are two pairs of related figures (TF 712 and 713, TF 714 and 715), both recorded as from Tabar in the original register.

The other 86 objects, forming 75% of the carvings, are single items, although they represent relatively few object types. They probably came from a number of different villages and regions in northern New Ireland and the Tabar Islands, and although some were part of the same *malagan* sub-tradition, they do not look similar enough to have been carved by the same person, or under the tutelage of the same master carver. The data suggests that Farrell's collecting was focussed on northern New Ireland and Tabar, and that people were keeping groups of objects or small collections of pieces to sell to him.

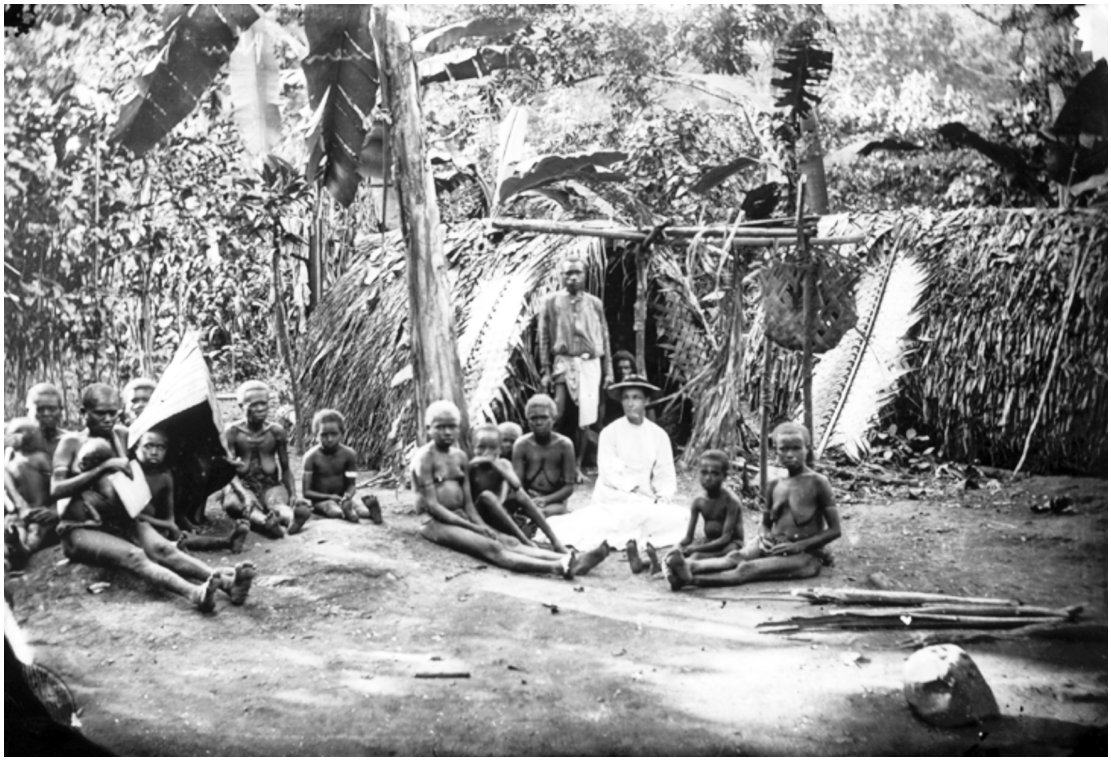
Romilly's Collection

In Romilly's collection almost all of the carvings appear related to each other, and in tandem with the archival information we can understand the context of the collection. All of the 31 carvings that Romilly collected probably came from the same *malagan* display house. The nine bird figures (HR 786-794) are very similar and may have been carved under the tutelage of the same master carver. The six large figures (HR 780-785) are very similar in style and composition, also suggesting the tutelage of the same master carver. Three of the other four carvings (HR 796-798) are related and were probably carved by one artist; the fourth (HR 795) is an individual object unrelated to any others. The seven *tatanua* masks (HR 799-805) are similar and were probably all made for the same dance, associated with the ceremonies involving the main canoe *malagan*, but the five other masks do not seem related to each other and may have been made by separate individuals. The three bunches of feathers (HR 812-814) are very similar, probably made by the same person.

From the museum evidence alone, it is clear that at least 80% of the carvings that Romilly collected are in related groups, and it was evident from observing them that objects in this collection were the most connected of the objects I looked at. The additional archival and documentary evidence confirms that this collection represents an entire *malagan* suite. The vast majority of Romilly's collection is from one place, collected at a single moment in time; the relationships between the objects confirm that they were probably all from one *malagan* display house, which had not yet been dismantled when the contents were shown to Romilly.

The Gender of Objects

An examination of the history of contact in New Ireland highlighted the gender bias inherent in almost all of the situations of contact. Fewer women were involved on all sides of the colonial encounter, and their roles were marginalised in the historical records. Some women had important roles in the colonial encounter but there is very little information in the records on any of these women or their experiences. The Fijian Sieni was probably the first foreign woman to live on New Ireland when she was sent with her husband, mission teacher Pauliasi Bunoa, to establish the mission station at Kalil in November 1875. Mere, a woman from Kabanut, became the first New Irelander to marry a mission teacher when she married Elimotama Ravono in 1880. Lydia Brown and Emma Danks spent time in the region with their missionary husbands and young families. Their invisibility in the historical records is mirrored by New Ireland women's invisibility in the material culture record.



‘Lydia Brown and women, New Ireland 1880’
V6392 George Brown photograph collection, Australian Museum (Reeson 2013:157)

In order to investigate how the collections represented gender issues, I compared them on the basis of the genders involved in manufacturing, using and owning the objects collected. I divided the objects into three categories: primarily male, ungendered, and primarily female. These divisions are based on the perceived primary role of the object and the gender of the person most likely to have owned it and manufactured it.

As warfare was an exclusively male activity, I designated all weapons used in warfare as primarily male objects; there is no evidence to suggest that women made or carried weapons such as clubs and spears in New Ireland. I have included weapons used in hunting as primarily male objects. I classified all fishing equipment, from nets to fish hooks to fishing spears, as ungendered as both men and women took part in fishing activity. It is unlikely that there were any gender restrictions on the use of these objects.

All ritual and magic objects in the collections are classified as primarily male. All the sources indicate that the making and use of *malagan* carvings and *kulap* and *uli* figures was restricted to men. Women could own the rights to certain *malagan* traditions and therefore the carvings produced from these traditions, but they did not make or use the carvings, and in most cases were restricted from seeing the objects. The manufacturing process as well as viewing was strictly supervised and controlled by men. There are no records of women undertaking the negotiations to sell any carvings.

Many of the valuables have been classified as primarily male objects. Records suggest that *kapkap* were owned and worn exclusively by men in the early days of contact, although Parkinson's photograph of 1907 suggests that women could wear them in the early 20th century (1999:116). I classified most of the shell money as ungendered as both men and women could own the shell armbands and strings of shell money that were used as currency and heirlooms in New Ireland. The shell money waistband (GB 010) may have been owned and used by women as part of bride wealth transactions but I designated it as ungendered as we do not know enough to confidently classify it as a primarily female object. Evidence suggests that only men, and wealthy ones at that, could own and trade the composite pig money, so these are classified as primarily male.

The ornaments and clothes category does not contain any objects classified as primarily male. Most of the objects of personal adornment - the ear pendants, bunches of feathers, boar's tusk armlets, *trochus* shell and wooden armlets, and the comb -

may have been owned and used by either men or women, so are ungendered. I classified the barkcloth strip (GB 265) and envelope (GB 266) as ungendered as we do not know enough about these objects to assign a gender. This category contains the only primarily female objects in the collections, the twelve objects associated with women's dress (GB 01-09, 51, 52, 404). These girdles, waistbands and grass skirts were all women's clothing, probably made, owned and worn by women.

Most of the miscellaneous objects are primarily male, as I classified all of the model outrigger canoes as male objects. Canoe building is an exclusively male activity in New Ireland, and whilst both sexes are allowed to use most canoes, boys learning the skills of canoe building probably made these models. I classified the trephinated skulls (GB 424 and 425), and bunch of seaweed (HR 821) as ungendered as we do not know enough about these objects to assess whether they were owned or used by either sex. The trephinated skulls may have belonged to men who had been injured in warfare (Brown 1910:185-6), but there is not enough evidence relating to the objects or the activity to assign them as primarily male objects.

The two rub drums (GB 267 and 268) in the music production category are primarily male objects. They are only used in *malagan* ritual contexts, and like other aspects of *malagan* the instrument could be owned by a woman, but would be made and used by men. The other two musical instruments, a nose flute and rattle (GB 024 and 053), are ungendered. Such instruments are relatively ubiquitous items and it is not clear that their production or use was restricted to men, although it may have been in some areas.

The two food baskets (GB 407 and 408) are classified as ungendered, as it is not clear who made and used them. Food production in a domestic context was generally a female activity; but these baskets were probably used for the ceremonial distribution of food by men at the feasts commemorating Brown's departure from the region at the end of 1880. We do not know enough about who made them, or even who used them.

Finally, I classified the two shell adzes (GB 269 and 423) in the craft production category as ungendered as we do not know enough about these objects to assign them as primarily male or female. Both men and women would have used adzes, although they may have been considered male objects at that time. There is little historical documentation or evidence concerning the production or use of such objects on New Ireland.

	Early Brown		**Main Brown**		**Farrell**		**Romilly**		**Total**	
Primarily male	150	90%	218	84%	337	98%	32	76%	**737**	**90.5%**
Ungendered	5	3%	40	15.5%	8	2%	10	24%	**63**	**8%**
Primarily female	11	7%	1	0.5%	0		0		**12**	**1.5%**

Analysis of the collections by gender.

All three collections are heavily biased in favour of primarily male objects. George Brown was the only man to collect any primarily female objects, 12 pieces of women's clothing, making up a mere 1.5% of the total of the collections. The vast majority of the collections, 90.5% of the whole, are primarily male objects. The other 8% are ungendered objects, still a relatively small proportion of the total.

George Brown's early collections have the greatest proportion of female objects, with 11 objects of women's dress making up 7% of the total. This must reflect his access to

women's objects through the wife of the Fijian teacher stationed at Kalil from 1875 onwards. His wife Lydia only visited New Ireland a couple of times, for brief periods. Sieni lived at Kalil for a number of years and probably had access to female clothing and other objects as part of her daily transactions. The mission teachers and their wives received cloth and other trade goods to support themselves, and Sieni may have swapped cloth for the women's clothing, perhaps specifically for Brown, or to help fulfil the mission's aim to encourage modest dress.

Neither Thomas Farrell nor Hugh Romilly collected any objects that were made, used or owned by women. Farrell's collection is dominated by primarily male objects (98%), with the only ungendered objects being shell and wooden armlets, and a fishing net. This reflects his collection's bias towards weapons and carvings. Farrell almost certainly had very limited contact with women; his crew reportedly engaged in sexual relations with New Ireland women (Biskup 1974:56), and he may have done the same, but the vast majority of his contact was with men. His contact was limited to trading and recruiting visits to a number of different villages with his male crew. The gender composition of Farrell's collection also reflects the fact that he was acquiring artefacts specifically for resale, with his prime motivation being money. Objects associated with women and the domestic sphere were not as highly valued by the metropolitan artefact market as colourful carvings and weapons, and so Farrell had no incentive to procure such items.

Romilly did not collect any primarily female objects although he did collect a slightly higher proportion of ungendered objects than Farrell; 8% of his collection consists of ungendered objects. Romilly's contact with the villagers of Kapsu was mainly

restricted to men, although he noted that he gave small gifts to a number of old ladies that he met. He may have received the bunch of feathers, ear pendants, armlets or comb in return, but this was not noted. He recorded that the women were very curious about their guests but Nanati prevented them from getting close.

Gendered Objects in Gunn's Database

Gunn's database does not have a specific data field for noting whether an object is made or used by women, but I searched through the clothing category for women's dress. Apart from the women's clothing collected by Brown, there are 43 objects that women owned or used: 25 women's skirts or pubic coverings, two aprons, one woman's dress ornament, nine women's hats, three women's bags, and three girdles for holding babies. Most of these objects were collected by members of the Deutsche Marine-Expedition (DME) or Boluminski in the early 1900s. However, officers on the German naval ship SMS *Gazelle* collected seven of the skirts from New Hanover in 1875. This indicates that it was possible for objects owned and used by women to be collected even when the contact was relatively brief. The officers of SMS Gazelle collected a total of 273 objects, including a number of practical objects such as mats and baskets. One of the officers, Strauch, noted that the people of New Hanover were particularly keen to acquire pieces of light red cloth. He also remarked that other observers recorded seeing large numbers of women 'wearing this cloth over their loins instead of the usual covering' (Whittaker et al, 1975:233). This may explain why they were able to collect what were presumably the 'usual coverings' he referred to. Strauch also noted of New Hanover that 'the woman seems to have large authority, - at least it appears so, as in barter the handing over of wares depended on the say of the woman' (1975:233).

Representations of Women

My research on the few objects in collections owned by women led me to think about other ways that women in New Ireland society were represented in the material culture and ritual art of the region. Seven out of the ten *kulap* figures that Farrell collected are female figures;[67] of the eight *kulap* that Brown collected where gender is signified, five are male and three are female.[68] There are 192 *kulap* figures in Gunn's database, around 70 are female, and eight depict male/female couples.[69] There is one stone female figure that is not a standard *kulap*.[70] There are also at least ten female figures carved from wood from central and southern New Ireland.[71]

Women were depicted fairly frequently in *malagan* carvings. Farrell collected four female *malagan* figures,[72] and one *eikuar* frieze where a female is depicted at one end;[73] one of the *malagan* canoe figures that Romilly collected is a female.[74] In Gunn's database there are a further 47 *malagan* figures that depict females, collected by a wide variety of people at different times. Some of the earliest New Ireland artefacts with a secure date are the female/male pair of *malagan* figures donated by Joseph Mayer to the Liverpool Museum in 1867.[75] There are at least 13 other *malagan* pieces, including *eikuar* friezes and two *malagan* disc shapes, that include a

[67] TF 612, 616, 617, 620-623.
[68] Male GB 057, 162, 239-241, female 018, 045, 058.
[69] Bremen, Übersee Museum D10831; Australian Museum B7226, E18317; Cologne Rautenstrauch - Joest Museum 48254; Vienna Museum für Völkerkunde 25000 and unknown number; Munich Museum für Völkerkunde 11.211; Linden Museum, unknown number.
[70] Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde Me 8290.
[71] Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde Me 10305, Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde VI Sa. 5782, VI 36957, VI 37618, Stuttgart Linden Museum 78111, Leiden Rijksmuseum 1986-2, Frankfurt Museum für Völkerkunde E1592, E1593, Bremen Übersee Museum D10747, Vienna Museum für Völkerkunde 42879.
[72] TF 714, 716, 718, 725.
[73] TF 750.
[74] HR 781.
[75] Liverpool Museum M5020A and B.

depiction of a female. There are at least two house posts that include images of women, including one of a woman in labour.

The database includes very few objects from women's ritual activity. There are two sets of panels from seclusion houses used in *dafal* rites, one set are probably the panels Hernsheim mentioned purchasing on Nusa in 1880 as they came from his nephew,[76] the other set was collected from Lakuramau, north of Madina in the Nalik region by Walden on the DME in 1908-1909.[77] Walden also collected a shark clapper for women's dance from Tabar.[78] Neuhaus claimed that a female secret society called *a gaga* once existed in the Patpatar language group (Neuhaus 1962:344). These are hints that ritual activity involving women may have been stronger in the early contact period and that, in some areas, women's status was higher than it came to be during the colonial period. No named women's ritual associations are known from New Ireland today.

It is not clear exactly why so few artefacts relating to ritual activities involving women were traded out. Some ritual activity involving women that did produce collectible artefacts, such as the seclusion of pubescent females known as *dafal*, seems to have died out in many areas fairly early in the colonial period, like the ritual activities that produced *kulap* and *uli* figures.

[76] Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde E3305, E3306; Musee Barbier-Mueller BMG 4343 may be from the same source.
[77] Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde VI34042, VI34041.
[78] Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde VI32875.

Gender Conclusions

My analysis of the gender of objects in the collections made by Brown, Farrell and Romilly records a very strong bias towards objects that were made, used and owned primarily or exclusively by men. Romilly had some interaction with females, noting that he gave token gifts to a number of older women in Kapsu, but there is no firm evidence of these interactions in the material culture record. Brown had easier access to female objects through the wives of the mission staff, and may have had more interactions over a longer period of time with women in New Ireland, but still collected very few objects relating to women and their material culture. Farrell probably had very little interaction with women.

This confirms the gender bias that was inherent in many of the early colonial encounters; for both sides, men almost always made initial contact, and that did not change as the relationships developed. Few European or other foreign women were on the ships that made these voyages, and even fewer, if any, had roles that necessitated contact with the people that they encountered. The accounts suggest that few New Ireland women had direct contact with their visitors. Where the collectors spent longer with the source communities, like Brown from 1875 to 1880, the number of primarily female objects rises from zero to a small percentage of the overall collection, as evidenced by Brown's early collections. Objects associated primarily with women may have been more difficult for male collectors to access, and were probably also less interesting to collectors such as Romilly and Farrell whose primary concerns were the visual 'otherness' of the objects and their interest to a metropolitan audience or market.

However, the significance of the role of women in New Ireland life is demonstrated by the inclusion of images of women in some forms of ritual art, particularly *malagan* and *kulap* traditions. *Kulap* figures probably represented and commemorated individuals who died, and the proportion of female figures is high. Whilst *malagan* figures and other carvings do not represent actual people, the fact that women and images of females are fairly common indicates that they were valued within the parameters of ritual reproduction.

The paucity of objects made or used by women in these collections is mirrored in many other collections made in the Pacific in the contact and colonial era. Women's artefacts have historically been given less attention in Western valuations, with collectors attributing more value to the material objects made by men (Hermkens and Lepani 2017:7). Thomas observed that 'artifacts produced by women were often neglected by the early collectors, and subsequently by the tribal art market, partly because they were classified as craft rather than art' (1995:132). All practical objects tended to be overlooked in collections; it is likely that both men and women made and carried baskets, probably of differing styles, in the past as they do today in New Ireland. Very few baskets were collected. It wasn't until the female anthropologists Krämer-Bannow and Powdermaker worked in New Ireland in 1908-9 and 1929 respectively that women's work and roles in New Ireland society were discussed and problematised.

The Collections in Context

As discussed in Chapter Three, there was a long history of interaction between New Irelanders and their visitors, often involving the exchange of objects, before Brown,

Farrell and Romilly made their collections. Brown's early collections are the earliest examples of collections made by an academically informed resident following a collecting strategy, and Farrell's collection is remarkable for the sheer volume of objects it contains. In later years, German colonial officers such as Boluminski, Wöstrack and Hahl and members of scientific endeavours such as the DME collected larger quantities of artefacts (Zimmerman 2000:70, 78), but Farrell's efforts in New Ireland were extraordinary given that he worked alone and alongside myriad other commercial interests, and without being part of the colonial infrastructure.

Looking at these collections in the context of many of the other objects from New Ireland that ended up in museums and private collections around the world, it is evident that they are all both typical and individual. Strands of commonality run through them all – ritual art and weapons tend to dominate, objects from northern New Ireland, particularly those relating to *malagan*, proliferate. There are very few objects relating to women's lives in any of the collections, but there are representations of women and the female form in some object categories. Microscopic and macroscopic investigations of both the collections and their objects offer different perspectives on New Irelanders and their histories of interaction with outsiders. In the next chapter I look at the collections in the broader context of these histories.

Chapter Eight: The Collections in a Broader Context

In this chapter I aim to examine the collections with a focus on the source communities. I look at written historical documentation and later ethnographic data alongside evidence from the material culture record to illuminate the changes that took place in New Ireland after 1616. I analyse the introduction, use and significance of trade goods and other European materials and examine what is missing from the collections.

Indigenous Materials

In the period immediately before European contact, New Irelanders sourced everything that they used in their material culture repertoire from their environment. Trading networks distributed materials with localised sources, such as ochre and certain types of stones and shells, across the region and to neighbouring island groups such as Buka and New Britain. Yet there is no evidence for the long-distance trade of materials such as obsidian that occurred in the Lapita era.

Early European visitors commented on the use of colour by New Irelanders, who used red, white and black from indigenous sources of ochre, burnt lime and charcoal. The captain of the whaling ship the *Coronet* noted in 1838 that men of northern New Ireland 'paint themselves very much and the most predominant colours are white and red' (Lincoln 1987:41, fn 4). Beale described men from Anir coming to trade with their hair and faces 'coloured…with white or red powder' in 1832 (Beale 1839:322). Brown described being confronted by warriors 'painted with Ochre & Lime as for war' on a journey across New Ireland in 1876 (journal 30th May 1876).

Gifford highlighted the reported ritual use of colour in *uli* ceremonies in and around Lamasong in the early 20th century, during which men and women anointed their bodies and hair with red ochre imported from Tabar. This ochre was considered sacred; its preparation was ritualised and its use confined to ceremonial purposes (1974:105). Krämer's informant described ochre as 'loved by spirits' (1925:46) and Peekel suggested that its use put the performer in a non-human situation (Gifford 1974:105). Burnt lime was also used in *uli* ceremonies; Peekel recorded that the magic specialist was completely whitened with lime and entered the ceremony in a great cloud of lime dust (Gifford 1974:106). Parkinson also highlighted the importance of red and white, noting that ochre and burnt lime were sprinkled on the body in funeral procedures and used to adorn participants during feasts and festivities (1999:122, 129). In 1929 Powdermaker noted that powdered lime was blown at each dancer at *malagan* ceremonies 'to make him dance well' (1933:125)

All this evidence suggests that ochre and lime had ritual significance beyond providing colour. The materials and their colours may have had meaningful associations for centuries before contact (Gunn, pers. comm.). Parkinson noted that 'red hibiscus blooms' and other fragrant plants were commonly worn at celebrations (1999:131).[79] Powdermaker noted that dancers purchased red shirts from a trade store to wear whilst performing, where formerly they would have painted their bodies red from the waist up (1933:125).

[79] Ephemeral decoration, known today as *bilas*, plays an important role in New Ireland festivities, and the smell is as important as the visual appearance (eg Fergie 1985:268), an aspect rarely mentioned in records of early contact.

Trade Goods

European manufactured goods were traded into New Ireland from the start of the contact period. Archival evidence indicates that all the explorers who visited in the 17th and 18th centuries attempted to trade in order to procure food and water for their voyages. The earliest known account is from Schouten's and Le Maire's visit in 1616 when crew members gave 'old nails, rusty knives…beads' and 'other trifles' to New Irelanders who approached in canoes (De Villiers 1906:216, 222) in an effort to obtain pigs, coconuts, bananas and other fruits. In 1643, Tasman tried to encourage trade by giving away beads, nails, sailcloth, a napkin, a belt and a cloth cap (Sharp 1968:201, 210, 211). In 1700, Dampier traded 'Beads, Knives and Glasses', including mirrors and glass bottles, and noted that men who came off from Tabar seemed to be 'utterly ignorant of Iron' (Williamson 1939:196 and 200). In 1767 Carteret noted that men who came from northern New Ireland 'seemed to be very fond of all Kinds of iron' (Wallis 1965:190). When travelling up the west coast of New Ireland, he recorded that refreshments could be procured 'from the natives for Iron tools, Beads, Ribbens, looking glasses, pieces of Cloth linens, and Showy things all which they seemed to be very found off' (Wallis 1965:189).

Long-distance trading ships in the region in the 1800s carried trade goods, including beads, various kinds of cloth, mirrors and glass bottles to exchange for food and water. Whaling ships carried the same goods, along with quantities of hoop iron, used on the voyage to make barrels for storing whale oil. Pieces of hoop iron were a common item of trade from the first whaling contact in 1799 onwards (Gray 1999:32-33, 36), and the amount of iron reaching New Ireland increased dramatically in the 1800s. Gray noted that in 1829 crude pieces of hoop iron were no longer acceptable as

trade goods on the Duke of York Islands, with hatchets and axes becoming the preferred trade item. The same had occurred at some places on Bougainville by 1858 (1999:33). Hernsheim, however, wrote that he had been drawn to the Duke of Yorks in the late 1870s as people there still accepted 'hoop-iron and even empty bottles as goods for barter', as well as beads and tobacco, whereas in other parts of the Pacific these items were no longer acceptable (Sack and Clark 1983:36). This indicates that there were both local and temporal variations in the preference for, and acceptability of, certain trade goods. New Irelanders' tastes and demands for specific kinds of trade goods became more complex but hoop iron remained a popular trade good there for longer than other regions, perhaps because its crudeness and malleability meant it was more useful as a carving tool than pre-cast objects.

Sources of European materials were diverse, and some trade goods probably found their way into local trading networks unintentionally. European materials may have washed up on New Ireland shores through shipwrecks or been lost overboard by accident when ships were passing by. At least one ship was sacked off the coast of New Ireland, the *Lavinia* in 1873.

The traders, recruiters and missionaries who visited and set up their bases in New Ireland from 1875 continued to supply the same sorts of European trade goods to New Irelanders as the whalers and long-distance traders had, but access to these goods increased considerably in certain areas. Brown recorded payment for a teacher's house in a new village on the Duke of York Islands: '1 American axe, 1 red shirt, 2 large knives, 2 American hatchets, 4 fathoms of print, 20 strings of beads, fishhooks' (Brown journal, 3rd November 1875). Brown supplied Cockerell with strings of beads,

which he used to buy natural history specimens, artefacts, and food supplies such as pigs on New Ireland (Brown journal 21st August 1876). Brown also provided the teachers and other mission staff with trade goods to support themselves when away from the mission headquarters. Large quantities of 'Blue for Clothes' were included in the orders he placed with suppliers in Sydney (Brown correspondence book, 1878, pg 139).

Cloth was a popular trade good; Turkey red cloth had gained popularity in India in the 1700s and by the 19th century it was manufactured in Britain for the colonial markets. When SMS *Gazelle* visited New Hanover in 1875, Strauch noted that local people 'preferred to receive pieces of light red cloth' and would not take other colours if they could get the Turkey red (Whittaker et al, 1975:232-233). Brown mentioned giving away small pieces of 'gaudy print' to women and girls in New Ireland in 1875 (1908:111) and Hernsheim considered it a staple trade good in northern New Ireland. Brown's orders from Sydney included large quantities of red, white and navy blue cloth, as well as 'fancy print' (Brown correspondence book, 1878, pg 141).

During this period, the traders established trading stations and also travelled extensively in their small ships to obtain coconuts, which were abundant across New Ireland. The villages in the north and east of the island that hosted traders had more frequent and reliable access to European trade goods than their neighbours and other villages, in particular inland ones, and much more control over the movement of European trade goods into indigenous trading networks.

Increased contact and better understanding of the trading situation meant that New Irelanders quickly became more specific in their demands. When Hernsheim set up a copra processing station at Nusa early in 1880, he recorded purchasing the decorative panels from a girl's seclusion house, plus the girl herself, for 'two empty bottles' (Sack and Clark 1983:57). He wrote that in the early days in New Ireland, beads and ironware were 'the most highly-prized trade goods', with Turkey red cloth also being a staple (Sack and Clark 1983:60, 131). By September 1883, Hernsheim reported that trading in Kapsu had been 'ruined by the labour ships' with only red beads in demand (1983:155). This was just a month before Romilly's visit to Kapsu. A few months later his trader at Kapsu had to ship 580 lbs of other coloured beads back to Matupi as he could not sell them in Kapsu. Otto Finsch noted that the rates of exchange for tropical produce in the Bismarck Archipelago rose sharply between 1875, when a length of tobacco was valued at twenty-five to forty coconuts, and 1880, when it was valued at only fifteen (quoted in Hempenstall 1973:150). Knives, axes and firearms had replaced red cloth, glass pearls and empty bottles as the most sought after items of trade.

The recruiting ships that visited in the early 1880s probably carried fairly uniform trade boxes. Douglas Rannie, government agent on the *Heron* in 1884, described the trade room as being filled with 'beads, gay calicoes and prints, paints, knives, tomahawks, axes, jews' harps, looking-glasses, fish-hooks and lines, pipes and tobacco, and many other sundries' (1912:21). He also discovered 'some hundreds of old Tower rifles, with powder, caps and shot' and supplies of gin, which he condemned. Whilst recruiting on Anir, he said that the trade bundle offered to recruits consisted of 'about a fathom of fancy print stuff…a looking-glass, a tomahawk, a

large knife with eighteen-inch blade, a small knife, three or four pounds of tobacco, half a dozen clay pipes, and a few glass beads' (1912:47).

William Wawn was a recruiting agent for the Queensland plantations who operated in Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and the Bismarck Archipelago in the 1870s and 1880s. He noted that the trade box for a Vanuatu recruiting trip in 1875 contained tobacco, clay pipes, flasks of gunpowder, beads, around eleven metres each of printed calico and Turkey red twill cloth, knives, axes, mirrors, fish-hooks, a tin canister of vermilion powder and some balls of Reckitt's washing blue for paint (Wawn 1893:8-9). There is no evidence of European-manufactured vermilion paint in New Ireland's material culture record, probably because there were indigenous sources of ochre for the colour red. Wawn also supervised the return of a number of men found to have been recruited illegally to Tanga in July 1884. Each returned islander received a bundle of trade containing 'beads, tobacco, pipes, calico of divers hues and patterns, tin pannikins and billies, fish-lines and hooks, tomahawks and knives, etc.' as well as clothing and blankets provided by the ship (Wawn 1973: 342-343).

Use of Metal for Carving

New Irelanders may have started using metal tools to carve ritual objects when they first obtained knives as trade in 1616. They were certainly doing so by the 1850s; the earliest secure date for a ritual artefact relates to a wooden mask donated in 1859 that appears to be steel cut (Gunn, pers. comm.).[80] It is impossible to judge what tools were used to carve two spears that were collected between 1821 and 1831.[81]

[80] Chicago Field Museum 276499, original donation to the Chichester Museum by Miss Newman of Midhurst.
[81] Peabody Essex Museum, Salem E4095 and E4952.

Very few New Ireland objects in museum collections appear to have been carved using stone rather than metal tools. Gunn concluded that six of the objects in his database of New Ireland artefacts are almost certainly stone cut while another six were probably stone cut. Of these twelve objects, six are *uli* figures,[82] four are objects carved in the northern art style,[83] and two are *lunet* rub drums.[84] Markings on a *malagan* canoe prow ornament picked up in the Gilbert Islands,[85] suggest the use of an obsidian blade. This was accessioned in 1866 but may have been collected before 1820. It had presumably drifted there from New Ireland.

Most of these were collected either late in the 1890s or in the first two decades of the 20th century. The stone-cut *lunet* rub drum in Brown's collection (GB 267) was probably sent to him after he left the region. Finsch collected the carved nose from a *malagan* mask in 1898. The *uli* figures and *lunet* rub drums were probably made before the large-scale introduction of metal tools, which may have reached the inland mountainous region, where *uli* figures were made, later than the coasts. Plenty of other *uli* figures and *lunet* rub drums in Western museums were clearly steel cut, including the second rub drum collected by Brown (GB 268). This suggests that there was no particular embargo on using introduced tools for these objects. Krämer observed in 1908 that it took eight hours to carve an *uli* figure and five to six hours to carve a *malagan* figure using metal tools, whereas previously it had taken two months for the *uli* figure and, presumably, five to six weeks for the *malagan* figure (1925:77).

[82] Museum fur Völkerkunde, Berlin VI 57395; Chicago Field Museum 138792 and 138795; Private collection, originally Museum fur Völkerkunde in Berlin VI 34278; Museum fur Völkerkunde Leipzig Me 8127 and 8883.
[83] Peabody Essex Museum, Salem E 25407; Linden Museum Stuttgart 30584; Museum fur Völkerkunde, Vienna 101269; American Museum of Natural History, New York S–698.
[84] GB 267 and private collection.
[85] Peabody Essex Museum, Salem E 5013.

Whilst the transition from using stone tools to metal ones in the carving of ritual and other wooden objects cannot be dated precisely, the museum collection record shows that by the 1870s almost all New Ireland carving was undertaken using metal tools. Traditional tools, on the other hand, were probably used in isolated cases up until the turn of the century. Stone tools may have been required in certain ritual contexts but this is not obvious from the material culture record. Both Finsch and Parkinson noted that the use of stone tools had ceased by the 1880s in northern New Ireland, although tools made from shells and pig tusks were still used. For example, Finsch observed a man using a shell axe to construct a canoe at Nusalik in 1885 (Lomas 1981:8) and Bühler collected a number of shell and stone hatchet and adze blades in Tabar in 1931.

Producing Artefacts for Sale

Firth noted that some Tolai carvers had begun producing artefacts specifically for European visitors by the mid-1880s (1982:45, quoting *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 1887:524-6). Similarly, Finsch, who visited New Ireland in 1884-1885, claimed that 'war clubs' were being made to sell (Lincoln 1987:40, quoting *Sudseearbeiten* 1914). Specht's observations present a similar picture, noting that Farrell had Buka clubs and dance wands made to order by his employees from Buka/Bougainville (2000:32). Although there is no indication that Farrell employed New Irelanders in the same way, he may have commissioned some of the 30 New Ireland 'paddle clubs' (TF 594-614) in his collection specifically for sale.

Sources indicate that some *kulap* figures were made for sale from the 1880s. Reverend Rickard sold a number of *kulap* figures to the Queensland Museum in 1887.

In an accompanying letter to the curator de Vis, he noted that 'now' the figures are made chiefly to trade with ships (Queensland Museum archives, letter 3rd September 1887). In 1892 he wrote, 'Many of them are now made merely for sale' (QM archives, letter 3rd March 1892). A related figure made out of limestone and collected before 1891 depicts a man wearing a European hat (IN 62). Unlike *malagan* and other forms of New Ireland art production where both image and production are controlled, there may not have been restrictions on who could make these figures, thereby facilitating their manufacture for sale. The ritual production of *kulap* seems to have ceased in the 1880s, perhaps due to European and mission activity in that area from 1875. At the same time, European purchasers such as Brown provided a ready market for these artefacts.

The making of objects for sale seems to have been restricted to *kulap* figures and perhaps clubs at this point. Otto Finsch recorded from his journey in 1884-1885 that New Irelanders produced 'carvings with new patterns for trade' that they sold to ships (Finsch 1886, quoted in Schindlbeck 1993:65), but there are no further claims that carvings from northern New Ireland were made for sale until 1900. Lajos Biró, the Hungarian collector who visited northern New Ireland briefly in 1900, commented that in some places around Nusa, people were making carvings specifically for sale to Europeans, and that the artists knew that 'the more bizarre their products the better they sell' (Bodrogi, 1967:76). He also wrote that there were no experts who could distinguish the genuine pieces from those made for sale. As Biró had limited contact with people on land during his 17-day circumnavigation of New Ireland by boat, it is not clear what he based these comments on. So it is possible, but not probable, that *malagan* style carvings were made for sale in 1900. By 1910, a number of sources,

including Consul Max Thiel and Governor Hahl, claimed that *malagan* were being made for sale in northern New Ireland, mainly to generate cash following Boluminski's introduction of head tax in 1907 (Buschmann 1996:205-206).

The Inclusion of European Materials

The inclusion of European trade goods in New Ireland's material culture is under-reported in most museums' records for a number of reasons. European materials may not always be visible or identifiable, and their inclusion may not have been considered important or relevant at the time the objects were accessioned. When he compiled his database of New Ireland objects in museums and private collections, Gunn was not specifically looking for European materials even though he noted down all the visible materials used in most ritual objects. Therefore the prevalence of European materials noted in his database is very much a minimum; there are probably many more than the statistics below suggest.

Only 5% of the objects in Gunn's database, 293 objects out of 5929, include some kind of European material: manufactured cloth, laundry blue, beads, bottle glass, a mirror and a clothes brush. Apart from one club, most of these are ritual art objects, with smaller numbers of valuables and ornaments. Most of the objects whose approximate date of collection is known were collected between 1880 and 1910, with very few collected before 1880. One of the earliest examples is the use of blue on a *kulap* figure probably collected late in 1875 or early in 1876 by Cockerell, the naturalist who accompanied Brown. Another early example is the inclusion of red and black rosary beads on a white-faced mask from New Hanover, collected before 1876

by Pilz, a German ship's paymaster.[86] Romilly, Farrell and Parkinson supplied a number of the objects, as did German colonial officials such as Wöstrack, the first district officer to be stationed at Namatanai in central New Ireland in 1904. Bühler collected several objects with European materials in 1931. It is not clear why his is the only collection to include these objects at such a late date. It is possible that some of the objects he collected were made much earlier.

The most frequently used European material was manufactured cloth, followed by washing blue, used as blue paint. Beads and bottle glass were used less frequently. Most objects only include one type of trade good: 140 included manufactured cloth, 93 blue paint, 26 manufactured beads, 15 bottle glass, one a clothes brush and one a small mirror. Some of the objects that incorporated beads or cloth used different colours or forms within the broader type. Only 17 of the 295 objects include multiple kinds of trade goods, which I discuss later. Glass-bottle eyes are probably under-represented in this analysis as it can be difficult to ascertain, without removing the eye from its socket, whether it is made from the operculum of the *turbo petholatus* sea snail, bottle glass, polished stone or obsidian. Trade beads may also be underrepresented as they are small, sometimes hidden and not always immediately distinguishable from shell beads.

Farrell and Romilly both collected objects that included European materials. Farrell collected 21 *malagan* carvings – masks, mouthpieces and a frieze - that incorporated trade goods, which amounts to 18.5% of all the *malagan* objects that he collected. Fifteen, or 36%, of the 42 objects that Romilly collected included trade goods, twelve

[86] Current location unknown, ex-Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde Me 10395.

of which were *malagan* carvings and three ornaments. Brown did not collect any objects from New Ireland that included European materials. There is only one artefact in any of his collections that does use European materials, a mask from New Britain that includes cloth.

Manufactured Cloth

Manufactured cloth is found mostly on wooden carvings, predominantly masks, from northern New Ireland, in a ratio proportional to the general predominance of northern New Ireland objects in the material culture record. Of the 140 objects in Gunn's database that include only manufactured cloth, 132 of them, or 94%, are in the northern art style. Of these, 118 are masks, four of which were collected by Farrell, and three by Romilly. Cloth was most often used to cover part of the head on the outside of the mask, alongside traditional ways of representing hair. Small shreds of cloth were sometimes incorporated to represent facial hair. There are eleven masks where manufactured cloth is used as a neck cover, in a direct replacement of the traditional barkcloth neck covering.

The earliest evidence of the use of manufactured cloth comes from a *malagan* frieze mask donated in 1880 that had a small square of green and black striped cloth attached to the centre of the mask, above the face.[87] Weisser, who visited New Ireland from 1882 as paymaster of the German warship SS *Hyäne*, sold a *tatanua*-type mask with red cloth on it in September 1883.[88] Romilly and Farrell were among the earliest collectors of New Ireland material that included manufactured cloth, and its appearance increased on objects collected during the 1880s. Cloth is used on figures

[87] Vienna Museum für Völkerkunde 11737.
[88] Australian Museum A18921.

in a canoe *malagan* collected by Parkinson before 1897,[89] similar to the one that Romilly saw in Kapsu in 1883. The canoe figures that Romilly collected did not use cloth.

Six masks that include cloth are from other places in New Ireland, including two from Tanga, two from the southern end of New Ireland, one from Lihir and one from the Barok region of central New Ireland. There are two carvings whose provenance cannot be ascertained. Gunn's database recorded the colour or type of manufactured cloth used for 51 of the 140 objects that included cloth; most of the cloth used is red. Thirty-eight objects used red cloth only, four used red and blue cloth, one red and green, and one red and patterned. Of the seven other examples of cloth being included, two objects incorporated black cloth, one a piece of green and black striped cloth, one white, one grey, one black pinstriped and the last black patterned.

Laundry blue

Laundry bluing was developed in Europe in the 18th century as an optical whitener for cotton and linen, the blue colour serving to remove the yellow or grey hues of white cloth. The earliest form of laundry bluing was a dark, Prussian blue also known as Berlin blue (Berliner Blau), which was the first synthetic blue to be manufactured in significant amounts, initially as a dye for oil paints. It was expensive to produce, not particularly robust, and poisonous in certain solutions. It is not clear how this Prussian blue reached New Ireland but in 1838 the captain of the *Coronet* described some northern New Ireland men who coloured half their faces white and the other half a 'dark blue' (Lincoln 1987:41, fn 4). Europeans must have been the source of this

[89] Dresden Museum für Völkerkunde 12080.

colour as there are no known indigenous sources of blue on New Ireland. According to Barton and Weik (1998:15), its presence in New Ireland was due to itinerant traders or 'floating hawkers' who plied the Pacific in the early-mid 19th century. Whalers and other ships may also have carried washing blue and used it in trade.

Synthetic ultramarine, developed in the 1820s and 1830s, had many advantages over Prussian blue. It was cheaper to produce, more stable and worked better. In the 1850s, the English company Reckitt's started to manufacture synthetic ultramarine and came to dominate the market, its name becoming synonymous with laundry bluing in many parts of the world. Produced in a variety of dry forms, it was easy to transport and relatively cheap. It is not known when traders began to take this brighter form of laundry blue to the Pacific to trade as paint, but recruiting ships were carrying it in their trade boxes by the 1870s. The recruiter Wawn noted that Reckitt's washing blue was 'in frequent demand' as paint in 1875 in Vanuatu (Wawn 1893:8). The washing blue was presumably novel and popular in New Ireland at this time. Many New Ireland languages do not have a separate word for blue though they have a word denoting blue-green.

The traders and mission staff stationed on the Duke of York Islands from 1875 had stores of laundry bluing. Contemporary photographs indicate that Brown and his staff dressed in the trademark colonial 'whites', at least on Sundays (Gardner 2006: front cover, photos 3, 4 and 5). Traders and visiting officials probably did the same. It is not clear how laundry bluing entered indigenous trading networks, whether through trade or theft, but it is evident that New Irelanders were aware of its potential by the late 1870s. In May 1876, Brown saw skulls 'painted red & blue' on his first visit to

Kudukudu on the east coast (Brown journal 31st May 1876). The origin of this blue may well have been the mission teachers' supplies. They may have taken it on their journey to Kudukudu earlier that year, or it might have travelled across the island through indigenous trade networks from the teachers' bases in west coast villages.



'Teachers and catechists of mission, Kabakada, New Britain 1880'
V6396 George Brown photograph collection, Australian Museum (Reeson 2013:126, figure 9)

The earliest object in Gunn's database that included blue is a female *kulap* figure painted with a dark Prussian blue, as well as red, yellow and black indigenous paints.[90] It was part of a small collection of three *kulap* figures, one *uli* figure and two fibre masks from southern New Ireland that was probably donated in 1876 by Cockerell, the naturalist who accompanied Brown to the region (Rebecca Conway,[91] pers. comm., Whittaker et al 1975:250). None of the other pieces in the collection incorporated any European materials. Prussian blue is only found on one other object

[90] Sydney, Macleay Museum 1574.
[91] Rebecca Conway, Curator, Macleay Museum.

from New Ireland, a wooden female figure that strongly resembles a *kulap*.[92] It was part of the collection of the Godeffroy Museum that was sold in 1885, so was probably collected before 1879 when the Godeffroy trading company collapsed.

It is not clear why these two female figures, one *kulap* and one wooden figure resembling a *kulap*, are the only two to incorporate the earlier Prussian blue. They were both collected in the 1870s, indicating that Prussian blue must have been traded to the villages where *kulap* were produced before then, perhaps by a Godeffroy trader who would have purchased trade goods from German sources. Brown and his mission staff had contact with the areas of southern New Ireland that produced *kulap*, but their stores came from Australia and would have included Reckitt's ultramarine, not Prussian blue.

The existence of the *kulap* figure featuring Prussian blue lends weight to the argument that Brown deliberately avoided collecting artefacts that included European materials. He collected at the same time and from the same sources as Cockerell and had first claim over Cockerell's collection.

The other 91 objects in Gunn's database that used laundry blue all used Reckitt's Blue. Of these, 72, or 79%, are from the northern art tradition, two are from New Hanover, 16 are from central and southern New Ireland, and the provenance of one cannot be ascertained. The 72 objects from northern New Ireland are dominated by 39 masks, which make up 54%. The remaining objects comprise ten mouthpieces, nine friezes, eight figures, two heads, two fragments of larger carvings, a fish and a *vavara*

[92] Leipzig Museum für Völkerkunde Me 10305.

disc. The use of blue was evidently not restricted to particular types of *malagan* objects, although there are more masks featuring this colour than other types of object. Farrell collected eleven of the masks and one mouthpiece while Romilly collected two figures and a mask. The two objects from New Hanover are *kipong* masks collected by Bühler in 1931.[93]

The sixteen objects incorporating blue that are not from northern New Ireland are quite varied in provenance and form. There are five objects from central New Ireland, including two pieces of barkcloth, a mask, a post and a decorated skull. Three are *kulap* figures from central New Ireland, and the other eight are from southern New Ireland, including three figures, two masks, a mouthpiece, a canoe decoration and a club. These all came from coastal areas of southern New Ireland including Lamassa on the southern tip of the island and Muliama on the east coast, both early centres for European activity in the region. The club was collected from King, a village on the west coast of southern New Ireland before 1920.[94] It is the only utilitarian object in the database that includes European material. The west coast of southern New Ireland is typically under-represented in museum collections - there are very few objects in museums from this area. The club provides the only example of laundry bluing on an object from this area.

Like other European materials, where collection dates are known, synthetic ultramarine was used mostly in the 1880s and 1890s, with some use visible up to 1915. It also appears on the two *kipong* masks that Buhler collected in New Hanover in 1931; these may have been made a decade or more prior to their collection. The

[93] Basel, Museum der Kulturen Vb 11059 and 11061.
[94] Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum PAP 667.

blue probably entered indigenous networks both directly, as a trade good by recruiters and traders, and indirectly through the stores of the teachers and mission staff who visited or were stationed on New Ireland.

Beads

Beads were traded into New Ireland from the earliest days of European contact. Manufactured beads are present on 28 objects in Gunn's database: seven *malagan* mouthpieces, four pieces of shell money, from both northern and central New Ireland, four *kapkaps*, five masks from northern New Ireland, two bunches of feathers (also with cloth), a neckband, a *malagan* carving, a panel figure from central New Ireland, a pair of pendants, a *kulap* figure and a wooden head from the area around Namatanai. These last two are the only objects from southern New Ireland to include beads.

All of the objects that include beads were collected between 1876 and 1910, apart from three objects collected by Bühler in 1931: a piece of shell money and a *kapkap* from Tabar, and a length of shell money from the Lelet Plateau. Romilly collected the two bunches of feathers and the pair of pendants while Farrell collected three of the mouthpieces. As previously mentioned, the white-face mask with rosary beads from New Hanover was collected before 1876, and a number of other objects that include beads were collected in the early 1880s, including a *kulap* figure collected by Schneider on SMS *Albatross*.[95] These beads may have come from mission staff in southern New Ireland, or early itinerant traders such as Farrell, or other visitors. Beads were easily traded through indigenous trading networks, and there was a precedent in the exchange and use of locally made shell money. Interestingly, the use

[95] Munich, Museum für Völkerkunde 7225.

of beads was not confined to carvings. In fact, the most notable feature of the 28 objects that include beads is the variety of object types and provenances represented, even though the overall number of objects is quite low.

There are likely to be many more than 28 objects in the collections that include beads. In some types of artefact beads may remain wrapped up or otherwise hidden from the observer's eye, for example on pig money. Shell money, which may have included European beads, tends to be under-reported in the database as such objects are relatively ubiquitous and it is often difficult to determine those that are from New Ireland. Strings of uniform beads of shell money are not visually spectacular objects, whether or not they incorporate European beads. Parkinson did not specify the time frame referred to in his 1907 book, but he noted that 'Necklaces existed earlier in widely varied arrangements; today they too are almost completely replaced by European glass beads' (1999:130).

Glass

Glass is found exclusively as a replacement for the *turbo petholatus* shells or obsidian used as eyes in carvings. Glass bottles were among the earliest objects traded into New Ireland. All 15 objects incorporating glass are *malagan* carvings from northern New Ireland: six figures, three friezes, three birds, two masks and one set of ear planks. Romilly collected six of these objects at Kapsu in 1883, Farrell sold one to the Australian Museum in 1887, and 'Mrs Farrell', as the Australian Museum referred to Queen Emma, donated four in 1892. The collection dates for the other four pieces are unclear, although their museum accession dates are from the 1920s and 1930s.

This means that the majority of the pieces with known collection dates were all collected in the 1880s. Farrell may have collected the objects donated by 'Mrs Farrell', which would mean that Farrell and Romilly collected eleven of the 15 objects where glass is used for eyes. The relationship between the use of glass and the proximity of traders is clear. The source communities of these objects may have replaced the *turbo petholatus* opercula with glass when the objects were sold, as good quality *opercula* are always in high demand, and refashioned broken glass may have been considered a suitable substitute for carvings that had already been displayed.

Other European Materials

At least two masks include other objects of European manufacture. A *tatanua* mask acquired in 1899 has a clothes-brush on its temple,[96] and another *tatanua* acquired in 1928 has a small mirror on its temple and includes blue paint.[97]

Depictions of Europeans

Seven carvings seem to portray Europeans or objects of European manufacture using indigenous materials. One is a bark cloth mask from southern New Ireland depicting a man wearing a white bowler hat, collected between 1909 and 1913.[98] Another is a *malagan* wooden mask wearing a European hat, collected between 1895 and 1896.[99] Four *malagan* figures depict men wearing bowler hats: two were collected in 1905,[100] and two were acquired in 1953.[101] The final piece is a carving of a man wearing a

[96] Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum 1899.62.405.
[97] Sydney, Australian Museum E31567.
[98] Chicago, Field Museum 138860.
[99] Budapest, Néprajzi Museum 36893.
[100] Bremen Übersee D1589; private collection (unknown) ex-Bremen, Übersee D1638.
[101] Antwerp, Etnografisch Museum AE.53.6.1 and AE.53.6.2.

pith helmet, painted white and riding a horse.[102] He originally held something, perhaps a pipe or cigarette, in his mouth. The piece was collected in 1898 and is carved in the style of southern New Ireland. As there were no horses in New Ireland until 1902 (Brunt and Thomas 2012:201), the carver must have seen the horse elsewhere, perhaps in New Britain or Queensland. The figure may have depicted Governor Hahl, who explored the Gazelle Peninsula on horseback from 1896 (Sack 1977:273), or another German colonial official, or a plantation manager such as Parkinson.



Carving of a man in a pith helmet riding a horse. Collected in 1898.
(14332 Néprajzi Museum, Budapest)

Use of Multiple European Materials

Only 17 objects, or 6%, of the 293 objects that used European materials incorporate more than one kind of trade good. Eleven objects included blue paint and cloth,[103] one blue paint and beads,[104] one blue paint and glass,[105] two cloth and beads,[106] one cloth

[102] Budapest, Néprajzi Museum 14332.
[103] Greenock, McLean Museum 1981.1447; Brighton Museum and Art Gallery 504091; Australian Museum E31568, E3057, E3482 (Mrs Farrell); Linden no nr; Budapest, Néprajzi Museum 13437; Amsterdam, Koninklijk Institut voor de Tropen A-1618; Bremen Übersee D1489; TF 638.
[104] TF 731.

and glass,[107] and one, a *malagan* figure, used blue paint, cloth and bottle glass for the eyes.[108] Romilly and Farrell collected a high proportion of the objects that involve multiple types of European materials: Romilly collected four, Farrell collected two, and another one came from Queen Emma. This probably reflects the fact that Romilly and Farrell collected from the same places and at the same time as the trading and recruiting booms in New Ireland, and indicates that they did not mind collecting objects that included European materials. It is also evident that New Irelanders were happy to experiment with European materials during the mid-1880s in areas close to the sources of trade goods.

It is not clear why relatively few objects incorporated more than one kind of trade good. Indigenous agency seems to have dictated how and when European materials were used, although external supply played a role in enabling these choices to be made. External demand also controlled whether these objects made it into collections.

The Significance of the Use of European Materials

Romilly's and Farrell's collections provide specific examples of the trend depicted in Gunn's database: that although European materials were not routinely included in New Ireland ritual art, the evidence indicates that there was no prohibition on using them in the early collecting period. The wide range of artefacts that feature European materials suggests that their use did not have particular symbolic or ritual importance. The material culture record does not suggest that European trade goods included on

[105] HR 797.
[106] HR 812, HR 813.
[107] Brooklyn Museum 35.2213.
[108] HR 796.

ritual art added or accreted any symbolic or cosmological values. The records suggest rather that they were used primarily for their decorative and visual properties.

In the 1880s, New Irelanders were quick and eager to experiment with new materials as decorative elements, and European materials tended to be incorporated in an obvious, visual manner, being used in traditional ways as replacements for locally sourced materials. They were sufficiently similar to be acceptable as substitutes for their indigenous counterparts, allowing the core object to remain virtually the same. Traders and recruiters supplied large quantities of red cloth and beads on the assumption that there was a market for them, so their inclusion was probably also driven by supply. Martha McIntyre suggests that whilst red is associated with strength and life in most Melanesian cultures, cost and availability were likely to be the primary motivators for the inclusion of European materials (pers. comm.).

The evidence indicates that Brown avoided collecting objects with European materials during the late 1870s and other collectors probably did the same. By 1900, many traders and collectors preferred not to purchase such objects, and this probably impacted greatly on New Irelanders' abilities to trade. New Irelanders' need for currency grew significantly after 1906 when the head tax was imposed in northern New Ireland. Most objects that incorporated European materials have collecting dates between 1880 and 1910, apart from those collected by Bühler. The market's call for more 'authentic'-looking artefacts using only indigenous materials probably encouraged New Irelanders to omit European materials from their ritual art at this point. There may well have been indigenous reasons too. As ritual art became increasingly important as a signifier of tradition in a rapidly changing world, New

Irelanders may have become keener to draw on and apply indigenous and traditional decorations, albeit in new and innovative ways. Today, many New Irelanders prefer the use of indigenous pigments for decorating *malagan* and other carvings, considering them more professional and aesthetically pleasing than trade-store paints.

The Significance of Metal

There is little information on the significance of the introduction of metal, but metal tools clearly made the carving process significantly quicker and easier, as Krämer noted. Lincoln argues that the introduction of metal carving tools enabled *malagan* carvers to 'define color areas with fine incised lines and to achieve a more angular style and more openwork than had been possible with old techniques of charring and abrasion' (1987:39). The carvings depicted on the canoe recorded from Tasman's voyage of 1643 must have been stone cut. They incorporated rounded openwork on the head crests and nose pieces, and one had a gently curved fret linking the head crest to the mouth. The three *malagan* carvings collected prior to 1875 appear to be steel cut.[109] The two figures incorporate fretwork but not extensively; more complex, detailed and fragile fretwork designs appeared in the late 1870s. A British Museum project examined one of the *malagan* figures collected by Brown (GB 285). On X-raying the object, it was found that much of the fretwork had been added on, using glue and thread (Jill Hasell, pers. comm.). The stimulus for creating such fine and detailed fretwork probably came from experimentation in carving styles after the introduction of metal tools, but the artefacts identified as stone cut are not markedly different from other related carvings.

[109] Mask - Chicago, Field Museum 276499; Figures - Liverpool, Merseyside County Museum, 5020 A and B.

The introduction of metal also facilitated the production of weapons and other wooden implements. Metal axes made it easier to source the wood, while axes, hoop iron and knives helped in fashioning the weapons. Metal tools had other benefits, for example facilitating gardening, making it easier and quicker to clear land and make fences, which probably impacted on ritual life in complex ways.

Evidence from Absence

There is an abundance of artefacts from New Ireland in collections around the world, but there are also glaring absences. A number of important types of object were either not collected at all or collected in very small numbers. Collections contain very few objects related to secret societies, to rainmaking and other forms of magic, or from certain types of *malagan* traditions.

The secret societies of *tubuan*, *iniet*, *sokapana* and *tanggara* were found across southern New Ireland and the offshore island groups of Tanga and Anir; whilst these were recorded by visitors, there were probably others that we don't know about. *Tubuan* is probably the best-known of the secret societies, and it is active in southern and central New Ireland today, as well as among the Tolai of east New Britain (Albert 1987:17; Kingston 2006:94; Denner 2006b:92). *Tubuan* displays involve masked and costumed figures known as *dukduk* and *nantoi*. Europeans have often been allowed to witness the displays of these societies. The earliest description is from 1823 when members of Duperrey's crew watched a *tubuan* ceremony at Likiliki in southern New Ireland (Duperrey 1826:pl 24, Gunn and Peltier 2006:94). Brown witnessed 'the inevitable Dukduk or dancing mask affair' at Watpi on his first visit to New Ireland in October 1875 (1908:111). Parkinson described being present at a number of *dukduk*,

tubuan and *iniet* ceremonies and dances (Parkinson 1999: 249-268). Stephan observed *tubuan* society activities in southern New Ireland in 1904 (Stephan and Graebner 1907:120; Hahl 1907:315). The anthropologist Albert recorded that the Lak people of the east coast of southern New Ireland were not involved in *tubuan* when they lived in the interior and only adopted it when they resettled at the coast around 1900 (1987:20). Bell described *sokapana* rituals and ceremonies on Tanga in the early 1930s (1935b:311). Foster noted that it no longer operated there in the 1980s (1987:59), but it was active on Anir where it is known as *kenit* in the 1990s (2003:26, fn 22).

These secret societies had, and in some cases still have, extensive paraphernalia associated with their ceremonies including masks, costumes and musical instruments; very few of which have been found in collections. Kingston notes 'not a single documented New Ireland *tubuan* has been found in any collection, public or private, worldwide, despite extensive surveys' (2006:94). The bullroarers associated with *sokapana* and other secret societies (Chinnery 1925:63, Bell 1934:306) are absent from collections, bar two examples collected from the east coast in the first decade of the 20th century.[110] Gunn only found five carved limestone figures associated with the *iniet* society from New Ireland, although there are many from New Britain where they were produced for sale to foreigners until recently. There are no masks known in collections from the *Tanggara* secret society from southern New Ireland (Gunn 2014:70).

[110] VI 35654 and VI 23812 Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde.

Some types of *malagan* carvings are also largely absent from museum collections. There are only three *vavara* pieces from the early colonial period in museum collections, although several others are documented in photographs (Gunn 2006:188; Küchler 1988:630, Krämer-Bannow 2009:207). These powerful and dangerous circular pieces are usually destroyed after their use in ritual contexts (Aijmer 2004:526, Billings 2007:278, Gunn 2006:26, Powdermaker 1933:134); Lewis noted that his informants in 1954 told him that they could not be sold and must be completely destroyed by burning (1969:101). Their rarity in collections indicates that people were not keen to sell them in the early colonial years. There may have been other forms of *malagan* carving that were not traded out either. Küchler mentions *malagan* figures whose bodies were moulded from clay that were reformed after use (1992:101, 1997:54); there are no such figures known in collections.

Magic, sorcery and spells have long played important roles in the daily life of New Irelanders. Examples include *malera* love magic, *marada* weather magic, gardening magic and magic used in warfare. Sorcery often involved masks, musical instruments, and objects that acted as a medium, for example stones wrapped in a fibre bundle. In 1933, Bell described 'magnificent' painted barkcloth *malera* masks from Tanga, but there are no known examples of these masks as they were all 'completely destroyed' by fire after the ceremonies (Bell 1957:144, 146). There are only three objects noted as mediums in the collections, all collected by Bühler in 1931.[111] Bell collected one stone used in weather magic.[112] Some of the ornaments, such as the false-beard war-charms, were probably part of magic pertaining to warfare. A number of *malagan* sub-traditions were related to forms of magic, including *marada* masks that were

[111] Basel Vb10888-10890.
[112] Page 64 of Bell's Specimen Diary, in the Australian Museum.

linked to rainmaking activities. *Marada* masks, like the *lunet* rub-drums, were heirloom objects and not destroyed after use, so would have retained value, unlike most other *malagan* carvings. There are fifteen of these masks in collections, which probably reflects this fact.

Other artefacts are also absent or very poorly represented in the material culture record. The traditional indigenous trade networks operating before the colonial era involved the exchange of pigs, shell money, shell valuables including bracelets and arm rings, canoes, ochre and arrows between the east coast of mainland New Ireland and the offshore islands (Kaplan 1976:82). There are some examples in the historical records of New Irelanders selling pigs to visitors in the 19th century. However, while there are examples of shell money and valuables in the collections, they appear in fairly small numbers, relative to the total number of artefacts collected. We know of around 12 model or miniature canoes, seven of which were purchased by Farrell, and three *malagan* canoes which were for ritual use only. By contrast, there are only two full-size, seaworthy canoes in collections: one collected in the 1980s and one from Tabar sold by Queen Emma in 1892.[113] There are also only five samples of ochre, all in small packages and collected after 1908.[114]

It is clear from these absences that objects exchanged as part of traditional trading networks were not generally offered to Europeans and other foreigners in trade. New Irelanders continued to use and exchange ochre, shell money and shell valuables throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, but mostly amongst themselves. The small

[113] E3341 Australian Museum.
[114] Schlaginhaufen collected Dresden 30680 and 30702 in 1908; Bühler collected Basel Vb10862 in 1931 by. Gunn collected Darwin NGE 1357 in the 1980s, the last example is in the Linden Museum and has no number attached.

numbers of these objects found in collections were usually acquired by Europeans who had strong relationships with local people from spending a long time in the region and a particular interest in these types of object.

Together these absences in the collecting record suggest that New Irelanders controlled which objects they traded to foreigners from the earliest days of contact. The ritual and cultural prohibitions on trading out certain types of objects were strictly observed. Europeans were allowed to witness many activities involving material culture objects, for example *tubuan* masked dances and *vavara* displays, but the objects themselves were either destroyed or retained after use, remaining off-limits to visitors.

Conclusion

Although manufactured goods had been traded into New Ireland for a number of generations, European materials do not appear in the material culture record until the 1870s, when access to trade goods increased considerably in certain areas. This indicates that initially European materials had a rarity value for New Irelanders, perhaps being reserved for personal use or exchange, but as they became more common, some New Irelanders experimented with their use in ritual art. The uses of European materials suggest that their inclusion was expedient rather than ritually significant: washing blue and beads were used on a wide variety of different types of object, glass was used to replace valued shells as eyes, and cloth was mostly used on masks replacing barkcloth and representations of hair that used indigenous materials.

Throughout the 19th century, New Irelanders were keen to acquire European trade goods for reasons that we will never fully understand. Whatever their motivations, the evidence from the material culture record suggests that ritual art production in the 1870s and 1880s was vibrant, diverse, innovative and prolific. Many New Irelanders were happy to experiment, incorporating new materials and new techniques, but they also maintained control over their ritual art production and retained a great deal of agency in their negotiations with outsiders. Very few objects associated with secret societies or certain *malagan* traditions were sold. New Irelanders were quick to realise the trade value of their artefacts and they exploited the appearance of a ready market for the artefacts they no longer had a use for. Whilst they were keen to trade, they were not desperate to do so. Evidence from the traders indicates that people refused to accept certain trade goods depending on the time and place, and evidence from the material culture record indicates that the market for artefacts did not dictate production at this stage. Ritual art was a very flexible constant throughout this period of great change.

Chapter Nine: Agency and the Depth of Change

In this concluding chapter I assess the impact of changes in New Ireland society in the contact and early colonial periods. New Ireland has one of the longest histories of contact and colonialism within Papua New Guinea. Brown's arrival in the area in 1875 heralded the transition from temporary to permanent contact with outsiders who took up residence on New Ireland. The decade from 1875 to 1885 was the juncture of change between the period of contact with Europeans and the assertion of a more invasive colonial order (Firth 1982:2; Sack 2001:496). There was a surprising amount of continuity in New Irelanders' lives between the contact and early colonial periods as social and economic changes were mostly evolutionary not revolutionary. Given the gaps in the historical records, discussion of the impact of change in this period inevitably involves some speculation. A focus on these years is vital to understanding New Ireland's subsequent colonial history, in particular New Irelanders' reactions to the more structured and invasive colonial regime imposed by the German authorities after 1900.

The previous three chapters have demonstrated the value of looking at material culture exchange, and its unique contribution to our knowledge and understanding of New Ireland's history. Close examination of the history of contact and exchange with outsiders confirms the complexities of colonial interactions and their varied impacts. A focus on material culture exchanges highlights New Irelanders' agency, indicating that New Irelanders retained more control in colonial encounters than is suggested by looking at the written historical records alone. By 1875 and probably before, New Irelanders were happy to exchange a wide range of objects, from a variety of utilitarian objects to artefacts made as part of ritual traditions, but they maintained

tight restrictions on the trade of objects relating to certain secret societies and ritual traditions. By the early 1880s they were storing objects for later use in trade.

The material culture record of the 1870s and 1880s reveals that New Ireland societies were at once traditional and dynamic, able to embrace many aspects of change whilst maintaining their distinctive characteristics, an ability common to many Melanesian societies (Harrison 1993:148). New Irelanders were quick to experiment with new materials and tools, but used these alongside indigenous and traditional materials. Later on, the record suggests that they recognised Europeans' distaste for the inclusion of European goods on the artefacts involved in trade, and stopped doing so fairly quickly.

The history of contact was not uniform, and neither are the histories of collection. There were periods when peace reigned and also times of great stress and violence, leading to varying degrees of social dislocation. The history of contact, including the trade and exchange of objects, languages, ideas and people, illuminates the complexities of the colonial encounter. Gosden and Knowles conclude that in the Arawe Islands of West New Britain, settlement, subsistence and technology changed first and most easily, with material culture changing more slowly (2001:210). The picture is less clear in New Ireland in early colonial times: there were changes in material culture, with experimentation in the use of trade goods, the exchange and spread of certain kinds of ritual life and the cessation of other kinds of artefact production. Changes in technology started very early on, with New Irelanders acquiring knives from 1700 and hoop iron from around 1800. Metal tools, particularly steel axes, probably led to large-scale changes in subsistence agriculture in the 1870s

and 1880s. There is little evidence for major changes in settlement patterns until after 1900 but it is possible that some New Irelanders spent more time at the coast to facilitate contact with outsiders.

In this chapter, I examine the contact and early colonial periods of New Ireland's history through the following categories: contact with others; economy, trade and mobility; politics and power; gender relations; health; and social, ritual and religious life. I then expand on the topic of ritual life, looking at traditions that survived, and ones that died out. I then investigate whether New Ireland was unusually receptive to outside influences, and finally give a broader regional perspective to my research.

My study of New Ireland's material culture record particularly informs the information in the section on social, ritual and religious life, although it underpins all of the discussions in this chapter. Although these imposed categories are awkward, with overlapping subject matter, dividing up the totality of life is a necessary heuristic device for understanding the complexities of the colonial encounter. Ironically, these categories were themselves created and reinforced by colonial authorities that separated and distributed responsibilities between church, plantation, government and health. Ritual and ceremonial activities, known in pidgin as *kastam*, came to be understood as the 'traditional' life of New Irelanders.

It is not clear that the various types of visitor – explorer, sailor, whaler, trader etc - were relevant to New Irelanders until Brown's arrival in 1875. This heralded different types of contact that eventually led to obvious variations in the colonial encounter. One of the first comments that Brown made on his arrival in the Duke of York Islands

was that local people were confused by the crew's refusal to trade on Sundays, a rule that he insisted all mission staff adhered to. Forbidding work on Sundays was a key feature of mission activity and one that marked it off as separate to that of traders. However, in the early colonial period, some of the missionaries also traded, they socialised with the traders, and many of the traders worked with the recruiters too, so the lines between them remained blurred.

After 1900, with the imposition of formal colonial order, the differing categories and roles of the various foreigners involved in the colonial encounter would have become more significant for New Irelanders, and their actions had much more impact on New Irelanders' lives. Gradually over the 20th century, the categories of government, church, plantation and trading, became reified in New Irelanders' lives as different spheres of activity. Foster noted that the categories of *lo*, government administration, and *lotu*, Church activities, had existed on Tanga since the 1920s; *bisnis*, wage labour and cash-cropping, and *kastam*, mortuary feasting and exchange, emerged as explicit cultural categories later in an 'antagonistic split' (1992:286, 1994:7).

It is almost impossible to discuss the impact of the early colonial period without reference to these categories, with economy and politics correlating directly with Foster's *bisnis* and *lo*. However, whilst in the colonial context religious life was covered by *lotu*, the reality was that indigenous beliefs were not often entirely supplanted by Christianity, especially in the early days, and even today there is no neat split between *kastam* and *lotu*. Colonial figures tended to record local and regional contact by New Irelanders only in passing. Health was not really a distinct category until hospitals and aid posts were established after 1910. And whilst women

were mentioned in some contexts, such as population decline or recruitment, relations between men and women on New Ireland were rarely the topic of discussion by colonial authorities.

I applied the category of gender to look specifically at the ways the contact and colonial situation affected women and gender relations in New Ireland society. New Ireland's written colonial history consists mostly of men talking about men; women are rarely mentioned in the literature. The earliest account by a European to focus on the lives of women in New Ireland was by Elisabeth Krämer-Bannow based on her trip from November 1908 to May 1909. She did not write exclusively about women but she included far more detail about their lives, roles and material culture than any previous visitors had. The next person to research women's lives was Hortense Powdermaker in Lesu in 1929; again, she did not focus exclusively on women but made a considerable effort to garner information from female sources, and to understand their lives, including their participation in ritual life.

The next researcher to focus on women's lives was Deane Fergie, working on Tabar from 1979 to 1980. Fergie looked at the entire 'ritual corpus' of Tabar life, identifying three separate but related sequences: *beriberi,* which celebrate human procreation, *malagan*, which commemorate the dead and were formerly related to male initiation, and those rituals surrounding death (1985:2). Women's participation in ritual life was a fundamental part of her research, but not the sole focus.

Of the three female anthropologists who put women at the centre of their research in New Ireland, only Krämer-Bannow documented in any detail women's material

culture. Both Fergie and Powdermaker recorded some information about *malagan* carvings but neither really focussed on material culture, even though Powdermaker did make a collection. Krämer-Bannow published illustrations of individual women and their tattoos, and recorded domestic scenes that detailed the utensils and implements that they used. She also recorded women dancing. Her husband Krämer included images of women in some of his sketches.

I used the work of these three female anthropologists to further my understanding of what life was like for New Ireland's women, and to investigate how life changed for them during the contact and colonial periods. These three sources of information are incomplete but invaluable additions to this task. There are very few objects relating to women in material culture collections. Looking closely at the written historical record, the collections and the ethnographic record sheds some light on the experiences of New Ireland women during these years.

Contact with Others

New Ireland's long prehistory of trade, exchange and travel (Kaplan 1976; Spriggs 1997; Summerhayes 2007) meant that most New Irelanders were not isolated in 1616, when their communities first encountered Europeans. Archaeological and later historical and ethnographic evidence suggests New Irelanders were enmeshed in trading and other networks and probably had been for many generations. They had cultural mechanisms for communicating with visitors from their experience of exchange networks and for coping with change in their willingness to adopt and adapt new things, both tangible and intangible. The European visitors who arrived by ship in 1616 were very different from anyone or anything they had encountered before but

New Irelanders quickly worked out how they could interact with the newcomers and what they could exchange.

The situation from 1616 was more complicated than a straightforward encounter between two sides, between indigenous people on the one hand and foreign visitors on the other. Identities were not fixed but fluid, varied, manipulable and subject to external forces for everyone involved. There were variations in the social organisation and personal histories of New Irelanders, and a wide range of backgrounds among the foreigners who visited. Equally, both New Irelanders and their visitors had different reactions to, and understandings of, each contact situation. Even after 1875, most Europeans and other foreigners were only temporary visitors, either due to the nature of their work or because of poor health in what we now know to be an endemically malarial region.

Gosden and Knowles highlight the speculative nature of colonial encounters, with relations being a series of experiments, each with slightly different outcomes (2001:22). As local people were more experimental than their visitors, they learnt more deeply about all parties (2001:209). This is especially true of New Ireland due to its small population and frequent contact from an early date. Information about encounters spread rapidly between communities, meaning that New Irelanders probably knew far more about their visitors than vice versa. Some coastal villages had two hundred years of experience in negotiations with visitors by the time foreigners started to come ashore from 1875.

Detailed analyses of the encounters between 1616 and 1875 indicate that New Irelanders were, in general, tolerant of and welcoming to foreigners, with conflict being a rare occurrence within the overall level of contact. Exchange started almost immediately, beginning with New Irelanders trading food items and, soon after, a wide range of objects. Apart from the earliest encounters with Schouten, incidences of violence were the exception rather than the rule, contrary to popular belief among Europeans at the time. On close examination, historical accounts of early violent encounters indicate that violence was often initiated by the visitors or occurred due to misunderstandings. In Gray's analysis of more than 360 examples of contact with whalers between 1799 and 1884 in the Bismarck Archipelago, only four were violent (1999:35). Moore suggests that the polyglot nature of many of the visitors, particularly the ships' crews, and their experience in dealing with other cultural groups may help explain the low levels of violence (2003:167).

In New Ireland, almost all encounters prior to 1875 took place at the shoreline, either on the beach or in the shallow water just beyond. The shoreline served as a neutral space in which to negotiate cultural categories, a contact zone like Dening's beach (1980:159) and White's middle ground (1991). Bell highlights the importance of these intercultural zones as spaces 'where generative misunderstandings between parties helped to create new practices that transformed all involved' (2017:249). These spaces began to be eroded after 1875 when individuals like Brown travelled inland and made permanent settlements away from the beach.

The number of recorded trading incidences and artefacts collected after 1800 indicates that New Irelanders encouraged trade by bringing objects to the shore and out to sea

to be traded. New Irelanders adopted European words early on. In 1823, Lesson, a member of Duperrey's expedition, noted that men from the southern tip of New Ireland used French words to describe the chickens and pigs that they brought out to trade (Lesson 1839, vol. 2:12-23). Captain Belcher of HMS *Sulphur* recorded in 1840 that a New Ireland man at Gower's Harbour 'spoke a little English' (Whittaker 1975:294). From then on, English, French and German words were often used in communications between visitors and New Irelanders, which was particularly useful in such a linguistically diverse region.

A significant number of the foreigners who started to visit New Ireland on a longer-term basis after 1875 were not of exclusively European descent. Fijian and Samoan mission workers were the first permanent foreign residents on New Ireland, and traders followed soon after, including half-English half-Fijian William Hicks and part-Tongan John Knowles. In the early 1880s, foreign contact was stepped up considerably with the establishment of trade stores on the east coast staffed by individuals from Germany, England, Australia, the United States, Japan, China, Malaysia, France and Mexico, supported by Solomon Islanders (Lomas 1981:6). These individuals had the most contact with New Irelanders and used Pidgin to communicate. Brown gave his sermons in Pidgin when he first arrived in New Ireland in 1875, and his mission staff spoke a Pacific Pidgin that included Fijian, Samoan and Tongan words to the New Irelanders they encountered.

From 1880, some New Irelanders left their homes to work on Matupi for Hernsheim, where they learnt Pidgin and met other Pacific Islanders. This trend was expanded considerably by the activities of the recruiting ships bound for Queensland, Samoa

and Fiji from 1882 to 1884. For the first time since Schouten's visit in 1616, violence became an intermittent but significant feature of contact between New Irelanders and their visitors. A number of recruiters and traders used force in their interactions with New Irelanders and were quick to resort to violence. Local power struggles over the control of the visitors and their goods also played a role, with the introduction of firearms exacerbating tensions and making confrontations more deadly.

After 1886, the reappearance of many of the recruited labourers after their three-year stint on the plantations further complicated the colonial encounter. These men and women had a greater understanding of, and experience in dealing with, the world outside New Ireland than those who had stayed behind, which must have had both advantages and disadvantages when it came to dealing with the colonial regime. Returned recruits' knowledge of Pidgin enabled them to communicate and negotiate with foreigners and also with New Irelanders from other language groups. For example, the natural history collector Cayley-Webster noted that many men on the west coast of New Ireland spoke Pidgin in 1897 (1898:280). They met and befriended workers from other regions of New Ireland when travelling to and working on the plantations. These connections probably engendered new alliances and longer-term friendships as New Irelanders continued to travel and visit allies, both over land and using ocean-going canoes throughout the contact and early colonial periods.

The European population in the region was also very mixed. Schnee recorded that the white population of New Britain and the Duke of York Islands numbered 30 people in 1883 but had risen to 112 by 1894 (1904:353). Specht describes the community as 'a mixed bag of people of different backgrounds and nationalities, with little cohesion

and often with conflicting interests' (1999:xvi). George Brown was born in England, emigrated to New Zealand and then spent fourteen years in Samoa before heading to New Britain and New Ireland via Australia. Thomas Farrell had also spent a number of years in Samoa and had Irish and Australian roots. Romilly was born in England but spent much of his adult life in the Pacific. Many of the other Europeans in the region had complicated identities.

Economy and Mobility

It is likely that there had been exchange and contact between the offshore islands and the mainland, between coastal and inland populations, and between adjacent groups of people, for many generations before 1616. It is not clear how trade with Europeans and other outsiders after 1616 affected the indigenous economy and its trade networks but introduced objects and concomitant contact probably had far-reaching ramifications.

In their earliest encounters with outsiders, New Irelanders were not prepared to trade, but this rapidly changed. Over the course of the 18th century, trade became a feature of almost all encounters, generally expected by both sides, albeit with complications and confusions. Initially New Irelanders supplied foodstuffs but after 1800 they also routinely supplied objects of material culture. Spears, which were usually readily to hand, were the first artefacts to be traded out, followed by clubs, masks and figures. Almost all this trade took place at sea, with New Irelanders deliberately taking artefacts out in canoes to trade with the ships. By the 1870s, many ships visited each year and trade in both produce and artefacts took place on a large scale. New Irelanders were quick to understand the market value of their artefacts and the

opportunity to trade them may have encouraged the production of some types of objects.

Brown often remarked that communities were isolated in their villages before the pacifying presence of the mission arrived, but close reading of his journals and notes, alongside other historical documentation, indicates a high level of mobility among New Irelanders in 1875. There are numerous examples of men from villages like Watpi, Lambon, Lamassa and Mimias travelling quite widely around southern New Ireland and to the Duke of York Islands when Brown arrived in the area in 1875. Romilly noted that in 1883 Nanati travelled regularly between Kapsu and Nusa, around 30 km by sea. Contact and trade with foreign visitors in the 18th and 19th centuries may have encouraged people to spend more time at the coast.

A number of sources mention reciprocal exchange networks that existed between coastal and inland groups during the contact and early colonial periods, with coastal people trading fish, salt and shell money for the weapons, garden produce, *cuscus* teeth, trinkets and charms of their inland trading partners. Bushmen had predefined passages where they were able to access the coast, but people living by the shore had an advantage in establishing relations with and obtaining trade goods from the foreigners who visited by ship. This may have skewed the trading relationships between inland and coastal dwellers considerably, making it more difficult for the bush dwellers to obtain coastal products. Various sources hint at conflict and a realignment of relations between inland and coastal peoples in the early colonial period. Settlement strategies were probably mobile and flexible, with individuals moving around their landscape based on clan affiliations and trading alliances.

Increased conflict between villages on the coast may have led to people seeking protection and refuge with inland communities with their defensive advantage.

The introduction of significant quantities of hoop iron and other metal tools after 1800 had a big impact. Axes had particularly far-reaching consequences as their use facilitated garden work, making it quicker and easier to clear rainforest growth, build fences and food storage shelters, and plant and harvest crops. Axes and knives were a popular trade good in the recruiting exchanges of the early 1880s. In 1984, older men from Tanga recounted to Foster that the trade goods offered during the recruiting era were attractive due to a scarcity of steel axes which were loaned out on a daily basis for work in the gardens (Foster 1995:39). Once ownership of metal tools became widespread, they probably had a democratising effect as each household was then able to clear land more quickly and efficiently. Gosden and Knowles argue that steel axes had far-reaching effects for the Arawe in changing social relationships and that widespread ownership changed patterns of relative advantage and dependency within communities (2001:172).

At the same time, the improved potential for food production created by the widespread use of steel axes may have increased competition between communities in two ways. Firstly, more food meant more opportunity to trade with foreign visitors; ships called more frequently at locations where they could obtain fresh fruit, vegetables and live animals for meat. Secondly, increased food production made it easier to prepare for the large-scale feasts that accompanied ceremonial activity. Steel axes and other metal tools also facilitated the production of ritual art, especially wooden carvings. As Krämer noted, the time taken to produce both *uli* and *malagan*

carvings was greatly reduced by the use of metal tools. I discuss these impacts on the ritual economy below.

The contact period probably led to changes in garden production. The cultivation of fruits and vegetables such as yams and bananas, popular as items of trade with Europeans, almost certainly increased, and new species may well have been introduced. Gray's analysis of exchanges with whaling ships between 1799 and 1884 indicated that some places such as Tabar and Lihir supplied whalers with a variety of foodstuffs, whereas others, including Tanga and Anir, supplied a smaller range of items. Variations over time probably reflect seasonal issues with production as well as planned changes in supply. Older men attempted to maintain control over access to the trade of vegetables and other food supplies, which they took in canoes to trade with passing ships.

Visiting foreigners had a significant impact on New Ireland's economy after 1875. The mission workers who lived in New Ireland had to trade with local people to survive, with the result that predictable amounts of trade goods entered the economy, impacting local trade networks. The presence of a resident mission worker encouraged other visitors, both local and foreign, for example Cockerell spent time with the Fijian teachers on New Ireland in 1875 and early 1876. A big change came in 1880 when trade stores were first established in New Ireland. This was probably the first time that people saw trade goods in volume, making visible a non-traditional accumulation of wealth. This may have shocked New Irelanders as previous encounters at sea and on the shore were more like traditional trading and bartering

experiences. Traders used fences, armed guards and other forms of protection to isolate themselves and their stores from local communities.

Northern New Irelanders who worked for Hernsheim on Matupi after 1880, like the Kapsu man Nanati, spent time with men from other villages and language groups and were exposed to different economic realities during their time there. By the early 1880s, foreign purchasers complained that competition for artefacts drove up prices, indicating that New Irelanders determined what they received in return for their produce and artefacts. Objects such as *malagan* carvings were routinely kept back for sale after their ritual display and sold for trade goods, significantly boosting local economies.

The introduction of guns by visiting traders and then recruiters in the late 1870s and early 1880s had a significant impact on the internal economy and power relations. Ownership and control of firearms were vitally important to New Irelanders; Parkinson (1999:127) noted that several early attacks on Europeans were undertaken in order to acquire firearms, primarily to gain advantage over neighbouring tribes, and also to use against punitive expeditions. Some recruiters supplied muskets and rifles, providing an incentive for signing up. Firearms altered the existing power balance, increasing rivalry and affecting pacts and alliances between villages, clans and languages groups. Romilly noted that after the recruiters left, muskets rapidly rusted and became obsolete, meaning that many villages lost both their best men and their means of defence. Whilst the authorities tried to ban trade in firearms, it probably only ceased completely once the German administration became effective after 1900.

The economy changed more radically for many New Irelanders from the late 1890s as plantations were established, and after 1900 when labour conscription was introduced, inland populations were relocated to the coast, and recruiting was expanded.

Politics and Power

Warfare was reportedly endemic across New Ireland when Europeans arrived (Bell 1935c:254; Brown 1908:125; Parkinson 1999:115), but there would have been counter-forces to this warfare in the form of peace-making alliances as well as trading and marriage-exchange relationships; European observers paid much less attention to these factors (Clay 2005:43). Local histories of internal warfare would have affected how different communities treated Europeans and other foreigners. Written accounts from the contact period record attempts to control access to European visitors, for example Dampier noted in 1700 that men from Boang in Tanga did not want men from Malendok having contact with the Europeans. As contact increased throughout the 1800s, the struggle for control of access to visitors and their trade goods probably intensified. Brown's journals from 1875 record how big men sought to retain their political power by controlling Brown's movements and trading potential. The changing balance of power between villages with more foreign contact and those isolated by geography had complex ramifications that are poorly understood because we know so little about the populations of the interior.

Hostilities between villages were exacerbated by the introduction of trade goods and guns that changed politics and power structures. Warfare probably increased in the 19th century. Rosman and Rubel, for example, consider that there was an efflorescence of warfare in response to colonial conquest (2004:238). Firth noted an

increase in warfare among the Tolai in the 1870s and 1880s, which he attributed to increased access to European weapons (1982:45). Whittaker highlighted the importance of the ceremonial preparations for warfare over the fighting itself (1971:638). Allegiances and trading alliances altered but continued to allow social contact and the transfer of objects between inland and coastal villages and between neighbouring or proximal villages on the coastal plain. For example, Brown and his party travelled from the west to the east coast of New Ireland without incident in 1876 (1908:162).

New Ireland's European visitors probably unwittingly reinforced their own expectations of a chief-led society (Rubel and Rosman 1991:341). It was much easier for these visitors to deal with one or two named individuals and invest them with the responsibilities that facilitated trade and mission activities. The 'big men' at the point of contact probably became the focal figures for most or all of the European visitors, thereby reinforcing their political power at the local level. Controlling contact and trade with Europeans was a new and uncharted aspect of political power, which may have challenged, or perhaps reinforced, the power of *maimai* clan leaders.

By the 1880s, the struggle for control affected inter-generational politics that challenged indigenous social coping mechanisms such as the need to accumulate shell money to gain power. Trading with Europeans offered new opportunities for young men to accumulate wealth in non-traditional ways; in 1883 Romilly noted that Nanati had been able to amass great wealth by manipulating the different values of shell valuables in Kapsu and Nusa, facilitated by the freedom of movement afforded by the trading stations. The older men of Kapsu apparently disapproved of Nanati showing

Romilly the *malagan* carvings. Finsch noted that wealth and 'chieftainship' were closely linked, while Boluminski suggested that leaders had less power by 1900, perhaps because access to trade goods was easier (Lomas 1981:8-9, Boluminski 1904:127).

Recruiting probably caused the most revolutionary change to the status quo. Accounts indicate that older men often tried to control the recruiting process, forbidding some young men from signing up, and encouraging or even forcing others to sign up against their will. The recruiters wanted young and fit men able to survive the voyage and work hard on the plantations so restricted the numbers of older men they would take. The consequences of signing up were poorly understood, but recruiters paid in trade for the recruit when they signed up, meaning that older men were effectively selling younger men.

The recruits left village life for significant periods of time and returned home bilingual and bicultural (Sack 1985:84), with quantities of trade goods, fluency in the pidgin languages, and experience in dealing with both other New Irelanders and Europeans (Boluminski 1904:130; Firth 1982:171). Corris noted of the Solomon Islands that some recruits saw their time away as a kind of initiatory seclusion that meant they were men not boys on their return (1973:99).

Many accounts noted that women were keen to sign up to the recruiting ships too. Older men also controlled this, but some young women were allowed to go; around 10% of New Ireland recruits were female (Blum 1900:6). As for men, recruiting

offered travel, novelty and excitement, as well as access to trade goods. The departure of large numbers of young men probably also encouraged young women to leave.

The exodus of large numbers of young men and some young women probably had a very significant impact on New Ireland social life and politics. The absence of a tranche of younger men may have temporarily eased the pressure on the generational conflicts between younger and older men but it also meant that there were no younger men to help with gardening, hunting, and ritual life. Nobody knew when the recruits would return, and many did not, either because of the extremely high mortality rates of recruits from New Ireland, or because they signed on for further periods of work.

Gender Relations

It is difficult to judge the effect of European contact on gender relations because there is no information available on the pre-contact situation and very little on the roles and positions of women in the contact and early colonial period. The expectations and assumptions of the European and other foreign men who visited New Ireland probably reinforced the power accorded to men and devalued the role of women. Almost all historical accounts ignored New Ireland women or mentioned them only in passing. For the most part, the colonial encounter was exclusively male. The crews of the ships that visited were all male, and, bar one recorded instance, only male New Irelanders came out to meet them.

In 1832 it was noted that women were hiding on the beach whilst men came off to trade on Anir; this is the first mention of Europeans seeing New Ireland women. Other records note women present in the background in the second half of the 19th

century. One exception to this comes from the west side of New Hanover in 1875 when Strauch observed women overseeing the exchanges between local men and the crew of the ship. He commented that women had 'large authority' over trading (Whittaker et al 1975:233). A small number of incidences of sexual liaisons were recorded during the whaling and early trading era, with payment in trade goods, but it does not seem to have been commonplace.

In the contact and early colonial days, women in New Ireland gained prestige from their work in the garden, and in raising and caring for pigs, as many do today. Brown recorded that women did most of the food production work in the garden, and Parkinson noted that 'the wife is to a great extent the workhorse' (1999:121). The mission tried, fairly fruitlessly, to promote the ideal Christian union of marriage, with men doing manual labour including gardening and women confined to the home, caring for the family.

Brown commented that women did not have a high place in society in most places in New Ireland and New Britain (Brown 1910:323). Clay noted that Brown and other missionaries often represented women 'as victims of their culture, as agentless beasts of burden, caged in initiations, excluded from participation in exclusively male ceremonies' (2005:46). Most other early colonial observers such as Hernsheim and Romilly only mentioned women in passing. Krämer-Bannow on the DME in 1908-1909 was the first person to investigate New Ireland women's roles in depth. She recorded women's dances at Lamasong (2009:96), at villages on and near the Lelet Plateau (2009:218, 220) and at Kulangit near Kavieng (2009:259). It is clear from her

work, and that of Powdermaker and Fergie, that women, at least in north and central New Ireland, had strong ritual lives of their own.

Brown acknowledged that women had their own ritual life in a comment noting that men and women always performed dances and songs separately (1910:421), but the only female ritual activity he described was *dafal* seclusion. Romilly and Brown both recorded incidents when they were approached by, or conversed with, older women in villages (Romilly 1886:45, Brown journal 31st May 1876). Some accounts noted that women were relatively free to choose their marriage partners, and that divorce was permitted, although there were evidently regional differences in the role and status of women. Parkinson recorded that the young women of New Hanover and northern New Ireland 'lead a far freer and unrestricted life' than those in the south who did not have a choice in who they were married to.

The recruiting boom of the early 1880s must have had a significant impact on gender relations. The departure of at least 2000 young men and 200 women from New Ireland in 1883-1884 probably left large numbers of young women without partners, altering their status within their villages and clans. Women keen to be recruited in the 1880s apparently wanted adventure, but also to join 'their men', husbands, brothers, fathers, who had already left (Rannie 1888:81, 1912:47).

There is no data on what happened to the 200 or more New Ireland women recruited from 1882 to 1884, or those who followed in later years. Earning a wage of some kind may have given them independence, but life on the plantations as maids and domestic help was probably hard. Those who returned to New Ireland may have found

reintegrating into village life difficult, especially as there was no precedent of women leaving the village for periods of time, or earning and accumulating non-traditional forms of wealth.

A number of observers in the 1890s and early 1900s noted that there were far fewer women than men on New Ireland, and that the population was decreasing rapidly. It is unclear how and when the population balance became skewed. The diseases brought back by returned recruits, both male and female, including sexually transmitted infections that caused sterility, probably affected reproductive rates and population distribution from the late 1880s onwards.

Female 'invisibility' in the historical record is reflected in the material culture record as there are very few objects relating to women in collections made before 1900. The only women's objects to be collected in the early colonial period were a small number of skirts or girdles and one set of panels from a female seclusion house. However, representations of women in the material culture repertoire, particularly in *malagan* carvings and *kulap* figures, suggest that their ritual roles were significant. New Ireland language groups are predominantly matrilineal, with clan identity and land use rights passed down the maternal line. Older female clan elders were probably accorded high status in earlier times, as they often still are today.

Health

Contact with Europeans probably had health implications from the outset as New Irelanders had little or no immunity to many of the infectious diseases that Europeans and other foreigners brought with them. Beachcombers, whalers, sailors and other

visitors in the 1800s may have introduced infectious diseases such as dysentery, influenza and measles, and also sexually transmitted diseases, all of which would have had significant detrimental impact on local communities.

From 1875, mission staff from Europe, Fiji and Samoa and other visitors probably introduced illnesses to New Ireland, and greater access to guns and ammunition led to increased deaths and injuries in warfare and accidents. New Irelanders were keen to obtain guns, and many of the recruiters and traders active in the region in the late 1870s and 1880s were willing to supply them. Alcohol was often traded alongside guns, and this may have increased accidental injuries.

Introduced illnesses increased after 1880 when traders and their employees took up residence, and contact with recruiters and other visitors increased. The NGC employee Pfeil noted in 1887 that an epidemic of dysentery in 1881 had been responsible for many deaths (Lomas 1981:5). Epidemics of flu and dysentery increased significantly when the time-expired recruits from 1882-1884 started to return home. Rooney noted that their return in July 1887 heralded a dysentery epidemic that had a high mortality rate (Firth 1982:51; Threlfall 1975:64). This was followed by further smallpox and flu outbreaks in the 1890s (Firth 1982:38). Boluminski linked recruitment in the 1880s and 1890s to population decline (1904:134), and records from the early 20th century note that introduced diseases drastically reduced the population of New Ireland. The returned labourers also introduced sexually transmitted infections (Corris 1968:104), which were widespread in northern New Ireland by 1900 (Schnee 1904:45, 133; Lomas 1981:5).

The smaller islands and atolls seem to have suffered particularly badly from these epidemics. In 1892, a punitive mission to Nuguria introduced flu, which killed 90 out of the population of 170 (Firth 1982:57). The offshore islands yielded proportionally large numbers of recruits and their return probably led to significant losses through illness in the late 1880s and 1890s.

The most significant impact on New Ireland life in the 19th century probably came from the population changes caused by recruiting and related health issues after 1882. Significant numbers of recruits died on the voyages to and from the plantations, through both illness and accident. Health care on the ships and on the plantations was poor and communication very challenging. Mortality rates among plantation workers from New Ireland were particularly high. Outbreaks of diseases such as mumps or measles left many survivors infertile, and STIs also caused sterility.

The introduction of tobacco, with traders setting up smoking schools to increase dependency, had less obvious but longer-term negative repercussions on the health of New Irelanders. Smoking was widespread on New Ireland throughout the 20th century.

The population of New Ireland fell significantly in the 1880s and 1890s, and again in the early 1900s (Chinnery 1931:37). This was one factor in the German colonial regime's efforts to relocate inland populations to the coast in the early 1900s (Buschmann 2009:129). The challenges to New Ireland's population continued, with a widespread famine in 1914 and further outbreaks of influenza in 1918 (Chinnery 1931:46). Fergie noted that the population of Tabar halved between 1914 and 1949

(1985:25). This resulted in a marked reduction of young women of 'productive gardening' age to provide food for feasting, which in turn lead to a gap in ritual activity from around 1940 to 1960 (1985:23). These population changes and challenges had major ramifications in all parts of New Ireland life.

The epidemics and population reductions due to recruiting did not occur uniformly across New Ireland. Some areas were affected more severely than others, which may explain why certain art traditions died out whilst others stayed strong. Some art traditions came from a small number of villages or clans, and if a significant portion of the population of those villages or clans died or left due to recruiting, the break may have been enough to render the tradition extinct. We need to look closely at how the traditions that survived were passed between the generations.

Social, Ritual and Religious Life

It is difficult to judge exactly how life changed after 1616 but early contact would have affected New Irelanders' thoughts and understandings of the world beyond the Bismarck Archipelago, profoundly impacting cosmological and moral beliefs. First contact with Europeans and their ships in the 17th and 18th centuries must have been shocking, but as local knowledge and understanding of the outside world deepened through continued encounters, New Irelanders adapted to their forced entanglement with Europeans and other foreigners. Bartering in the early trading negotiations informed New Irelanders in myriad ways about these visitors.

Strathern suggests that communities in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea were shocked at their own ability to elicit strangers to trade at first contact (1990:165). New

Ireland's long history of contact means that we can never know exactly what people there thought of the arrival of Europeans and other foreigners. It is clear that the impact of European contact was much greater after 1800, when more ships passed through, contact was more sustained, trade goods were introduced in significant quantities, and artefacts were routinely traded out. New Irelanders' adaptability, embracing change on their own terms, enabled them to cope with this ever-changing dynamic.

Ritual life probably encompassed all aspects of New Ireland life before colonialism, mediating trade, exchange and warfare relations before the imposition of colonialism. Ritual life encompassed and encouraged change and innovation, whilst maintaining a status quo that was often perceived by outsiders as static and unchanging. New Irelanders had probably been importing and exporting songs, dances, art styles and other aspects of ritual life for generations before 1616. This fluidity did not result in a single homogeneous New Ireland culture; these transactions probably helped maintain differences between the linguistic groups. Harrison's point that cultural self-consciousness of some sort is probably universal is relevant here, with New Ireland linguistic and clan groups aware of the differences between them, particularly at their boundaries (2000:663).

It is no surprise that this experimentation continued during the colonial period as part of New Irelanders' efforts to understand what was happening and to garner some of the power and wealth that European and other visitors displayed. New Irelanders were keen to adopt and adapt some aspects of colonial culture, like the songs and dances of the *lotu*, and to experiment with introduced goods, from imported clothes to the

incorporation of trade goods in art production. The production of art was an important part of ritual life across all of New Ireland.

Ritual life, including the production of art, forged identities and strengthened local relationships during periods of flux. It is clear from the collections that New Ireland continued to have an incredibly rich and diverse ritual life during the early colonial period. Through the production of art, and by allowing Europeans to watch ritual performances, ritual life also facilitated relations with the various outsiders who visited New Ireland in the contact and early colonial periods. Ritual life maintained the difference between New Irelanders and their visitors, but at the same time allowed change and facilitated understanding of this change.

By the 1880s, New Ireland became known outside New Guinea for its art output. Küchler argues that New Ireland has, in its art production, 'a perfect way to insure its relations with the West' (1997:52), and Buschmann concluded that the widespread changes of the first decade of the 20th century 'allowed for the growth of a *malagan* network that was able to cope with population decline and forced relocations' (2009:135). I agree that the production and exchange of artefacts helped negotiations with outsiders throughout New Ireland's history of contact, but this applied to all artefacts, not just those produced as part of ritual art traditions. Trade and exchange of all objects helped to negotiate boundaries and create relationships. Weapons accounted for 55% of the total number of objects in the three collections that I looked at. These clubs and spears were as much part of the complex of negotiations surrounding New Irelanders' encounters with Europeans as the masks and figures also collected.

The material culture record shows that many kinds of ritual art continued to be produced after 1875 but also that New Ireland art production changed over the course of the colonial era. Gunn and Peltier concluded from their study of art works from New Ireland that a wide range of art was produced in the contact and early colonial period but that this range diminished considerably over the next few decades (Peltier and Gunn 2006:16). As a generalised conclusion, the means of transmitting cultural and art traditions seems to have been more robust in northern New Ireland than in south and central New Ireland, where the techniques of transmitting art traditions from one generation to the next often did not survive the changes caused by contact and the colonial regime.

The most significant changes in New Ireland society occurred in the first two decades of the 20th century as a result of the imposition of colonial order, with its profound and complex impacts on all aspects of New Ireland life and the entire population. The German regime moved inland villages to the coast (Chinnery 1931:11), implemented new forms of governance and control, including the appointment of *luluai* village headmen, introduced head tax, conscripted labour to build and maintain the coastal highway, and encouraged the establishment of many more plantations (Lomas 1981:17). Recruitment was expanded and the population continued to decline. Hempenstall estimated that 70% of the adult male population had been recruited for European service by 1914, noting that there was a tenfold increase in planted land between 1902 and 1914 (1978:152).

Traditions that Survived

Malagan is the best known of New Ireland's art traditions, and it seems to have thrived and expanded through the contact and colonial times, along with *kipong*, also rooted in the north. Both *kipong*, which originated in New Hanover, and *malagan*, which came from Tabar, then spread across much of northern New Ireland and beyond. These traditions probably survived because they had a broad geographical reach and a robust means of transmission between generations. *Kipong* evolved as an open tradition, without copyright traditions, and so was able to spread across New Ireland using local art styles.

Malagan traditions are tightly controlled, with restrictions and rules on copyright and production, but because the ceremonies commemorate affines, the complex spread to the mainland through marriage exchange networks. Because the image, not the actual object, is copyrighted, the image's owner can ask anyone to carve the new artefact for a ceremony, which means that there are many skilled *malagan* carvers. In more restricted art traditions, the right to reproduce a specific object may fall to a very small number of men, perhaps even a single man, and may not be outsourced. The sheer number of *malagan* carvers probably helped maintain production even during periods of intense change, like the recruiting boom of 1882-1884 and subsequent upheavals in village life. Clan links that tie *malagan* to the land and to legal understandings of land use made it vital in periods of flux, especially when land ownership was challenged after 1885. It was probably these ties, as well as the tradition's inherent dynamism, that encouraged carvers to experiment with new styles, techniques and materials, that enabled *malagan* to survive and thrive.

How *malagan* traditions and carvings changed is a more complex question. Evidence from the material culture records suggests that the surviving art traditions became more homogeneous. Gunn notes that 'the onslaught of Western culture and administration' led to the disappearance of a wide range of sub-types of *malagan* and other art traditions (2006:16). Küchler observes that the formal properties of sculptures from northern New Ireland became more constant and less complex over time, with a concomitant reduction in the amount of incised work (1988:629) and that later figurative carvings included fewer motifs. She argues that these changes were partly because New Irelanders had less time for carving after the imposition of colonial rule, and partly because of the fragmentation of social relationships defined by the sharing of land (1992:108).

Prior to 1875, *malagan* traditions were probably one of the main routes to status in northern New Ireland, and there may have been a competitive element both to the ceremonial feasts and to the production of ritual art. In the early colonial period, trading and recruitment altered routes to prestige, power and status for young men. These changes to traditional lifestyles continued through the colonial period and intensified in the years after 1900. *Malagan* survived, but from the 1880s onwards there was a decrease in the rich variety of carving types, a process that was probably initiated by the disruption of the recruiting boom of 1882-1884.

However, the material culture record for the early colonial period does not definitively support arguments that the introduction of an external market for art objects encouraged their production in northern New Ireland at this time. Lincoln quotes Finsch and Birò to argue that some objects were being made specifically for an

external market by the end of the 19th century (Lincoln 1987:40). Lincoln uses Lewis's observation that between 1885 and 1914, 15,000 objects of material culture from New Ireland, principally masks and sculptures, were taken to European and American museums as evidence of a 'florescence in art production' (Lewis 1973:141). She attributes this not just to the stimulus of the external market but also to the 'severe cultural disruption' that colonialism brought to New Irelanders (Lincoln 1987:40). She argues that selling carvings for currency fulfilled a rapidly growing need for cash created by the imposition of head tax, contract labour and the presence of highly desirable manufactured goods. This may have been true of the years after 1900 when the German colonial structure was imposed at a local level across most of the region, but close examination of collections made between 1875 and 1900 does not support this. Godin also uses Lewis' statistics, in conjunction with Otto Finsch's description of trading in New Ireland in the early 1900s, to argue that the 'exceptional increase' in *malagan* production between 1880 and 1920 could have been due to the flood of money that entered traditional networks of exchange due to German traders purchasing shell money from New Hanover to trade in northern New Ireland (1979:285). Küchler claims that collections of *malagan* art provide 'evidence that sculptures were produced in ever greater numbers… and at ever shorter intervals' in the colonial years (1988:629). Again, the collections' records do not supply any evidence for this argument.

Küchler questions the 'assumption of the ancient character of Malangan art', arguing that the *malagan* system represents a sacrificial economy and is 'a distinctive development of a period dominated by the imposition of Western trade and commodities', as proven first by the collections, and secondly by ethnography

(Küchler 1988:629). She argues that *malagan* art and the associated conception of image reproduction 'is inseparable from the colonial situation in which relations of land, labour and loyalty became institutionalized in the mortuary context' (1992:94), and that the transference of *malagan* images facilitated the increased migration of individuals as a consequence of colonial rule (1992:110).

Whilst the role of the *malagan* system has almost certainly changed since 1616, there is so little evidence of how the system operated prior to European contact, or in the early years of contact and colonialism, that it is difficult to judge the nature of this change in the contact and early colonial years. Carvings and body decoration in the northern New Ireland style used in *malagan* were first recorded in 1643. Collections from the late 1870s and early 1880s indicate that the *malagan* cultural complex was vibrant and thriving at these early dates. The key change was New Irelanders' realisation that there was a market for these artefacts, so that the carvings were retained for sale rather than discarded or burnt as was traditional. This had happened by August 1883 when Hernsheim noted that the crew of a recruiting ship stole 'temple ornaments' that had been stored at Enuk, presumably in preparation for sale (Sack and Clark 1983:153). It is evident from the historical and archival data that collecting from northern New Ireland increased dramatically in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The emergence of an external market certainly encouraged the sale and export of many more *malagan* carvings, but there is no evidence that it encouraged production.

Gunn and Peltier found 'more than 17,000 non-archaeological objects of human manufacture that had originated in New Ireland' (Gunn and Peltier 2006:283) from 1859 to the present-day in museums and private collections outside New Ireland.

Gunn's database contains detailed information on about 3000 carvings, most of which were collected before the 1930s. Even if all of these objects were *malagan* carvings, it is still not an exceptional amount. Küchler uses the example that in 1930 six sculptures were produced for a single ceremony in Madina village as proof of an increase in numbers of carvings (Küchler 1988:629). In Kapsu in 1883, Romilly collected 31 carvings from one ceremony. The *malagan* canoe had at least six figures in it and was accompanied by four other unrelated figures, twelve masks, and other smaller pieces. It was not unusual to have a large number of carvings in one display. A lack of ethnographic information from the 19th century makes it impossible to judge how carving production changed between the 1860s and the early 20th century.

The introduction of metal tools made the production of carvings less time-consuming and also facilitated the vital concurrent activities of food preparation, raising pigs and tending gardens to prepare for the ceremonies; but these factors were mitigated by other changes. Fluctuations in the adult populations of villages probably made it more complex and time-consuming to prepare for feasts; and population decline caused by recruiting and related health issues probably acted to slow down ritual activity, as recorded by Fergie for Tabar in the 1940s and 1950s (1985:77).

Küchler argues that objects collected between 1840 and 1900 were from 'a handful of villages situated along the east coast of the island' (1988:629). Whilst we may know where some of the artefacts were collected, we do not know where they were produced or used in a ritual context. The *malagan* carvings that ended up in collections could have come from ceremonies across northern New Ireland or Tabar. *Malagan* and other carvings were almost certainly moved or traded locally before

reaching their market, once New Irelanders realised their market value. New Irelanders had decades of experience of European contact and knew where ships were likely to call. In addition, there are many instances of *malagan* carvings being purchased on the west coast of northern New Ireland, by Brown and others.

It is not possible to judge whether there was efflorescence in *malagan* production over the late 19th and early 20th century, as this requires a fine-grained analysis of museum collections in conjunction with historical and ethnographical detail that does not exist. Museum collections reflect the activities and motivations of the collectors as well as the producers, and whilst we know that there was a considerable increase in the *acquisition* of New Ireland artefacts after 1880 (Peltier and Gunn 2006:15) we do not know whether this directly reflected, or caused, an increase in production. There were many more collectors active in the region after 1880, some of whom were willing to travel further and pay more for desired artefacts. Gunn notes a considerable reduction in collecting after 1914, which he ascribes partly to the repercussions of the First World War, and partly due to European influence, in particular the alienation of many young men from their home villages through recruiting and wage-labour, and the new avenues to high status that travel and work afforded.

New Ireland cultural life had strong continuities. Plenty of other ritual traditions survived in New Ireland, many of which did not produce art. There is little evidence that carvings were ever produced as part of the commemorative and funerary ceremonies of southern New Ireland and the offshore islands. These rituals are still important today; Foster recorded that mortuary ritual was the practical locus for social reproduction on Tanga in the 1980s and that the observable forms of the mortuary

feasts and ceremonial exchange, involving pigs and shell money, had remained constant since Bell's fieldwork there in 1933 (1995:7-8). However, Foster felt that there was an 'efflorescence of ceremony' in the 1930s, as evidenced by the number of pigs exchanged at ceremonies during Bell's fieldwork in 1933. Bell recorded that 28 cooked pigs and 100 live ones were exchanged at one feast; Foster considered these 'enormous' numbers by the standards of the 1980s, where 25 pigs were exchanged at one ceremony but much smaller numbers were more common (1995:49). It is difficult to compare, but Powdermaker noted that 16 pigs were killed for the final *malagan* feast of an initiation ceremony at Lesu in 1929 (1933:129).

Whilst *malagan* remains a vibrant tradition on the Tabar Islands today, the popularity and practice of the *malagan* ritual complex has ebbed and flowed in some parts of the northern New Ireland mainland. Lewis concluded that wooden *malagan* carvings had almost completely died out in the area around Lesu in northern New Ireland in 1970, being replaced by concrete cement memorial stones known as *smel* (1973:144). Billings and Peterson also noted the popularity of *smel* in Mangai in the 1960s (1967:32). However *malagan* has reappeared in some of these areas since the 1980s. On the Lelet Plateau, new forms of artistic expression displaced *malagan* production in the late 1970s. Eves noted that 'dance is the art form that dominates the feasts that continue to be an important part of the ceremonial and social life of the Lelet' around 2000 (2004:343), and that the secret men's societies of *tubuan* and *Buai* were also active (2009:182-183).

Tubuan traditions continue to thrive in central and southern New Ireland and the offshore islands (Kingston 1998, 2006:94) and the *Sokapana* secret society is still

active on Anir (Denner 2003:26, fn 22). Artefacts related to these traditions have never been traded out, and are still not today. Denner concluded from her studies of mortuary rituals on New Ireland that 'the ritual cycle has remained surprisingly stable' although she noted that it had reduced in scale over time and had changed to accommodate Christian beliefs (2010:202).

Traditions That Died Out

The art tradition surrounding the production of *kulap* figures died out fairly early on. Brown noted that *kulap* figures played an important part in ritual life in 1875 and were kept in ritual enclosures. By the late 1880s, the ritual importance of these figures was declining and they were being produced mainly for sale. There is no evidence of their continued manufacture after 1914 and it is not clear that they had any ritual significance or use by this time.

The ritual use of *uli* figures ceased in the early 20th century. Krämer's informant described a series of *uli* ceremonies at Lamasong village in 1904-05, and Peekel witnessed a single ceremony in 1927 (Gifford 1974:40, 50). Some *uli* figures were collected as late as 1930 but the rituals surrounding them had simplified and become less frequent before then. Between 1875 and 1900, the production of some types of white-faced masks and a number of other art traditions stopped. Gunn has identified more than one hundred idiosyncratic carvings in museum collections that probably originated in New Ireland but do not belong to any known art tradition. He considers it likely that some of these were created and used by people who lived inland prior to the early 1900s. They may have abandoned their art traditions when they came down to live at the coast. The *tilok* masks used by the Pitpittoka, originally from the eastern

side of mountains south of Namatanai, are an example of such an art tradition (Gunn 2014:72).

We do not know for certain what caused the demise of these art traditions, but it was probably a combination of historical factors. The *kulap*, *uli* and *tilok* traditions were restricted to relatively small inland areas, with *kulap* and *uli* being produced in areas close to where Christianity was first introduced. The populations in these inland regions were forcibly relocated to the coast in the early 1900s. There may have been a very restricted number of people qualified as carvers in these traditions, making them more susceptible to the cultural shocks of the colonial era. Gifford noted that 'European domination eliminated some of the social problems that the Uli ceremony was designed to solve, and this had a fatal impact' on the rituals which subsequently died out within two generations (1974:200). He noted that the figure, in conjunction with its associated rituals, 'was a mechanism, produced at a time of social crisis when the group was leaderless, designed to maintain social values in connection with ritual' (1974:187).

Outside Influence

Was New Ireland ritual life unusually receptive to outside influences? A closer look at the written record suggests that New Irelanders were keen to experiment with introduced ideas, rituals, techniques and artefacts. Evidence from both Brown's journals and later ethnographic studies of New Ireland indicate that New Irelanders were accustomed to 'buying in' certain cultural phenomena such as songs and dances related both to open and restricted or secretive cultural traditions (Brown journal 16th February 1876; Bell 1934, 1935b). Gunn notes a 'continuing taste' in southern New

Ireland for dances, *singsing* and other traditions imported from the Tolai region of East New Britain (Gunn 2014:72), and this has probably been the case for art traditions throughout New Ireland's history. Increased contact with the outside world, as a result of New Irelanders travelling and working on plantations in Queensland, Fiji and Samoa, expanded the number of cultural imports, when returned workers came home with new songs, dances, magic and rituals. Secret societies and art traditions also moved between regions within New Ireland, for example the establishment of the *Sokapana* secret society on Tanga around 1914 recorded by Bell in 1933 (Bell 1935b:312).

Throughout the 20th century, New Irelanders have experimented with the local production of introduced objects such as *kundu* drums, *bilums* and Manus-type baskets. *Kundu* hand drums were not known in New Ireland before the colonial era but are now made and used in many places across New Ireland. *Bilums* and Manus-type baskets, on the other hand, have not been so widely adopted. There are similarities here with the introduction of European materials that were initially widely used and then largely dropped out of use, again confirming New Irelanders' willingness to experiment. The incorporation of European materials was part of the experimental nature of the colonial encounter, like buying songs, wearing manufactured clothes, and obtaining guns.

This same willingness to experiment, adopt and adapt, in tandem with the importance attached to traditional ritual life, meant it took a long time for the missions to make any real headway in New Ireland. Despite a small number of professed converts from the villages where the mission stations were based, New Ireland indigenous belief

systems were not threatened before 1886. New Irelanders seem to have been happy with a multiplicity of beliefs. The main impediment to the Wesleyan mission was that although people were keen to adopt the songs and dances of the *lotu*, and proclaim themselves a member of the Church, they maintained indigenous beliefs and practices as well. New Irelanders had, historically, been comfortable with a pluralistic ritual life, and whilst the mission disapproved of this approach, their presence in the early years was too precarious to challenge it effectively. With the imposition of formal colonial order and the support of the colonial infrastructure after 1900, church leaders were able to insist on a stricter adherence to their belief systems and behavioural mores, although pluralistic beliefs continued. Eves notes that the process of conversion to Christianity was not simply a displacement of beliefs but 'a complex, fluid and dynamic process' (2004:343).

Regional Perspective

New Ireland provides an excellent case study for the complex nature of the early colonial encounter as it is small enough to look at as a whole yet diverse enough to yield nuanced examples of what actually happened at the frontiers. New Ireland's early colonial history is unique, but has similarities with those of other island groups in the Bismarck Archipelago and the wider Pacific. The Duke of York Islands experienced the earliest and most concentrated contact with outsiders of anywhere in the Bismarck Archipelago, although the small size of the islands meant that Europeans eventually sought more space and switched their focus to Blanche Bay and the Gazelle Peninsula in the 1880s. Individuals such as Queen Emma and Eduard Hernsheim, and companies such as Godeffroys, established their first permanent trading stations and plantations in Blanche Bay and from here expanded their focus to

include New Ireland, while the Wesleyan mission established a large number of mission stations in and around the Gazelle Peninsula.

East New Britain's Gazelle Peninsula was a logical focus for European contact due to the nature of its coastline. Ships could harbour safely in the relatively protected environs of Blanche Bay, which also provided easy access to the low-lying coastal strip between what is now Kokopo and Rabaul, an ideal site for plantations. New Ireland had few natural harbours along the east and west coasts, so although there was a lot of brief contact with ships at these places, in bad weather ships had to seek shelter in the lee of the offshore islands at the northern and southern ends. The southern end, with its high mountain ranges close to the shoreline, was less appealing for permanent settlement by outsiders. The coastal plains of the northeast, however, were ideal for plantations and other settlements, and the north tip, around what is now Kavieng, offers a number of safe and calm anchorages.

Inhabitants of the high mountain ranges of the south had much less contact with Europeans before 1900 than those on the coastal fringes of both the offshore islands and the mainland, and on the northern end of New Ireland. The interior of the south probably had more in common with the history of New Britain, Buka/Bougainville and Manus, where contact was also focussed along the coastline and on offshore islands, with the exception of the Gazelle Peninsula and some parts of Buka where European contact spread inland in the 1880s.

It is difficult to compare the art and artefact output of New Ireland's neighbours, but it seems that New Ireland's prodigious ritual art production was greater and more

diverse than that of New Britain or Bougainville. New Irelanders' willingness to trade many of their artefacts, as well as produce such as fruit and vegetables, must have encouraged more trade. The trade in artefacts probably made ships' captains and crews look more favourably on the island group as a place to visit, which in turn improved its reputation among sailors, leading to more visitors. New Irelanders weren't alone in trading artefacts but New Ireland may have been unique in the sheer volume and variety of objects traded out at this period of time, thanks in large part to the quantities of carvings produced by the *malagan* complex.

Production of ritual art was a flexible constant as a vital but sacred part of life throughout the early colonial period, between 1875 and 1900. A close look at what was exchanged both into and out of New Ireland demonstrates that many New Irelanders were willing to embrace the new whilst maintaining traditions that they valued. Some art traditions became extinct, particularly in central and southern New Ireland, but ritual life and many types of art production remained strong across the province. It is quite clear that new influences were experimented with and embraced alongside traditional life. At this stage, there is no evidence of New Irelanders abandoning their previous lifestyles. The absence from collections of certain types of ritual art confirms that, during this period, New Irelanders retained a large degree of control over exchange. A focus on objects and their exchange reveals the agency of the New Irelanders in constructing their history and the experimental nature of the colonial encounter. Objects and their stories are a vital facet of the dynamic and complex historical situation.

Gosden and Knowles note that colonialism in the Arawe Islands brought about massive change around a kernel of continuity provided by material things (2001:211). I argue that in New Ireland the kernel of continuity was provided by ritual activity, which shifted and adapted but remained a source of constancy in negotiating relations with outsiders. New Ireland's long history of contact with outsiders meant that its inhabitants were able to adapt fairly rapidly to changes, both internal and those imposed from without. One trend that New Irelanders could not control was that of depopulation. Ultimately this probably had the biggest impact on all aspects of life in the early colonial era. However, it is evident from New Ireland today that communities there survived these challenges and their culture went on to thrive. Today, New Ireland is commonly known as *bilas peles,*[115] beautiful place, which is often assumed to refer to its natural beauty. But it is also a province of decoration and adornment, of art and of creativity, and of resilience and strength.

Further Research

As previously discussed, there are multiple gaps and biases in the historical record of New Ireland's history. One of the few practical ways of improving the situation is to broaden the archaeological record for this time period. Archaeological research could address the significant gap in our knowledge and understanding of New Ireland's history between the end of the Lapita period around 2000 years ago and first contact in 1616, and of the period between 1616 and the implementation of the colonial regime around 1900. A focus on the archaeology of the pre-contact, contact and early colonial periods would shed light on the timing and significance of changes associated

[115] *Bilas* also translates as decorated or decorations, with connotations of beauty.

with contact, for example on the speed and spread of the uptake of metal tools, and changes in trading and settlement strategies.

Ethno-botanical analysis of forest growth in the western Solomon Islands indicates a long history of human influence on land in the interior (Hviding 2015:52), and it is possible that research in New Ireland would yield similar results. Archaeological studies of settlement patterns might also confirm population densities and distributions at the time of contact and whether there were more flexible and mobile settlement strategies at that point. It could shed light on whether, and if so where and when, there were distinct bush and coastal populations, as well as how these differences manifested themselves. Did bush and coastal settlements vary in terms of material culture assemblages or subsistence strategies? And how does the forcible relocation of inland villages after 1900 appear in the archaeological record?

Archaeology may also shed light on the internal make-up of villages in different areas of New Ireland. When undertaking archaeological surveys at Hilalon in the 1990s, Gosden notes that older, inland settlements were arranged as a string development in a line along a spur, echoing present-day settlements at Hilalon village, which are arranged in a string development along the beach, in a sequence of clans (pers. comm.). This indicates that the internal makeup of some villages today may have a much greater longevity than their physical locations and suggests that a strong defensive position was of key importance to these early inland villages. Both the positions of villages and their internal arrangements may have changed in the contact period. Clay noted that the inhabitants of Pinikindu in the late 1960s considered kin-

based hamlets to be the traditional village arrangement here, with line-based villages imposed by the government after the Second World War (Clay 1972:52).

Torrence (2012:2912) used archaeological methods of use-wear analysis on turtle-bne artefacts from Wuvulu collected in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Her research indicated that they were not made specifically for sale to Westerners, but that Wuvulu Islanders were selling off their own personal tools. It is possible that similar studies could be done on the weapons from New Ireland; it would be interesting to know whether, and if so at what date, New Irelanders were making spears or clubs, for example, for sale to their visitors.

Archaeological dating methods could assist our understanding of the age of objects collected in the contact and early colonial periods. Radiocarbon dating of a range of objects, from heirloom objects like *lunet* rub drums to *uli* and *malagan* figures, for example, would give an indication of the possible ages of these traditions. A dating project for New Guinea objects at San Francisco's de Young Museum in 2005 indicated that a few of the artefacts tested were made from wood that was around 600 years old.[116] An *uli* figure owned privately but probably collected in 1909 has undergone radiocarbon dating, yielding a date of 1650-1800 AD.[117] These dates are controversial and the possible age range is wide. This method of dating indicates the age of death for the wood that the carvings were made from and not necessarily the date that the carvings were made. However, the dates still offer interesting food for thought on the possible longevity of New Ireland's art traditions and, as the cost of

[116] https://uanews.arizona.edu/story/radiocarbon-dates-reveal-new-guinea-art-older-thought
[117] http://www.sothebys.com/de/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/african-oceanic-pre-columbian-art-n09502/lot.8.html

radiocarbon dating falls, other collectors and institutions may test the artefacts in their collections.

Technology offers other potential avenues for further research. One *malagan* carving in the collections I looked at was examined by X-ray (GB 285). Further investigations of other *malagan* carvings may illustrate when and how carvers moved to the more intricate fretwork designs that were so popular in the 1870s and beyond. Similar research on masks and figures from other traditions such as *uli* and owl masks would further our understanding of the construction of these carvings. An owl mask collected in 1830 is one of the earliest artefacts in collections.[118] It would be interesting to learn whether the glue and sewing techniques evident in the fretwork of the Brown carving were in use for that kind of carving at that date.

Digital technologies offer great potential for New Irelanders to explore the material culture collections around the world, particularly as online connection improves in Kavieng and other areas of New Ireland. New Irelanders have been quick and keen to make use of their online access. An online digital database of all New Ireland objects in museums and private collections in the world would be of enormous benefit to present-day New Irelanders, whilst at the same time bringing 'past communities of origin into view' (Bell 2017:253). The *Mobile Museum* was a pilot project launched in 2012 as a collaboration led by Graeme Were between the Queensland Museum, the University of Queensland and the Nalik community of northern New Ireland to help Nalik people reconnect with and research those items of their cultural heritage that are in Queensland museums. As part of the project, high-resolution 3D images of objects

[118] 98.1101.275 Nantucket Historical Association, Massachusetts.

were made available online and on CD-ROMs (Were 2014:135). Were points out that digital heritage offers 'novel forms of revitalization, reintegration, and possession' (2014:141). Such use of digital technologies offers the most practical and efficient means of ensuring that the collections of old New Ireland remain relevant and accessible to future generations of New Irelanders.

Social media is also changing the way that New Irelanders interact with their history and enables the rapid dissemination of information not possible previously. The New Guinea Islands Historical Society Facebook group, set up by the late Gideon Kakabin from East New Britain, has 15,000 members, and is a lively forum for discussion and debate as well as the sharing of history. It enables contact between researchers from outside Papua New Guinea to engage with New Irelanders in both the Pacific diaspora and at home. Increasingly, New Irelanders record their cultural lives online through social media and use it to access information about their past.

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Appendix 1

This appendix consists of the tables that incorporate all of the objects in my database, and a few more that I have included for discussion purposes.

1.1 George Brown objects
1.2 Thomas Farrell objects
1.3 Hugh Romilly objects
1.4 Identification Numbers for other objects related to these collectors

The table entries are all the same. The first column, the VLB number, is the number that I gave each object in my database. The George Brown objects run from 01 to 425, Thomas Farrell's from 430 to 774, and Hugh Romilly's from 780 to 821. I always preface the number with the initials of the collector when discussing objects in the text. The identification numbers of the other objects run from 01 to 17 and are always identified by the initials IN.

The next column, Current institution, gives the place where the objects are today or where they were last time they were identified. Some of the entries are followed by a query, indicating that they are probably in that institution, or were at some point, but it has not been possible to locate them there today. I have also noted when an object has been exchanged out of a museum, or somehow destroyed. The Current Accession number refers to the numbering system of the current institution.

It is often not possible to be sure when exactly certain objects were collected so the fourth column gives the date by which the object seems to have been collected, i.e. a best-guess of the latest date of collection. The Provenance is, for most of the objects in the main collections, New Ireland, although a few items have New Ireland/New Britain as their provenance as it was not possible to ascertain where exactly they came from. The final column gives a very brief description of the Type of object, from information gathered from museum records and also other descriptions of New Ireland material culture.

VLB Number	Current institution	Current Accession number	Probably collected before:	Provenance	Type of object
GB 01	Auckland Museum	11562	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Waistband
GB 02	Auckland Mus.	11641	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Women's dress
GB 03	Auckland Mus.	11649	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Women's dress
GB 04	Auckland Mus.	11650	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Women's dress
GB 05	Auckland Mus.	None – list number 32, 4/8	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Women's dress
GB 06	Auckland Mus.	None – list number 32,	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Women's girdle

		5/8			
GB 07	Auckland Mus.	None – list number 32, 6/8	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Women's girdle
GB 08	Auckland Mus.	None – list number 32, 7/8	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Women's girdle
GB 09	Auckland Mus.	None – list number 32, 8/8	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Women's girdle
GB 10	Auckland Museum	11554	Decr 1876	New Ireland	Shell money waist belt
GB 11	Auckland Mus.	11509	Dec 1876	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 12	Auckland Mus.	11510	Dec 1876	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 13	Auckland Mus.	11511	Dec 1876	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 14	Auckland Mus.	None – list number 20	Dec 1876	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 15	Auckland Mus.	None – list number 21	Dec 1876	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 16	Auckland Mus.	None – list number 22	Dec 1876	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 17	Auckland Mus.	11558	Dec 1876	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 18	Auckland Mus.	11559	Dec 1876	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 19	Auckland Mus.	11560	Dec 1876	New Ireland	*Kulap*
GB 20	Auckland Mus.	11556	Dec 1876	New Ireland	War charm
GB 21	Auckland Mus.	11557	Dec 1876	New Ireland	War charm
GB 22	Auckland Mus.	11721	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Club
GB 23	Auckland Mus.	None – list number 43	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Wooden sword
GB 24	Auckland Mus.	11602	Dec 1876	New Ireland	Nose flute
GB 25	Tasmanian Museum	M 405	1881	New Ireland or New Britain	Spear
GB 26	Tasmanian Museum	M 406	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 27	Tasmanian Museum	M 407	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 28	Tasmanian Museum	M 408	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear

GB 29	Tasmanian Museum	M 900	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 30	Tasmanian Museum	M 901	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 31	Tasmanian Museum	M 902	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 32	Tasmanian Museum	M 903	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 33	Tasmanian Museum	M 904	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 34	Tasmanian Museum	M 906	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 35	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 1	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 36	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 2	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 37	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 3	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 38	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 4	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 39	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 5	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 40	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 6	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 41	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 7	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 42	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 8	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 43	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 9	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 44	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 10	1881	N.I. or N.B.	Spear
GB 45	Tasmanian Museum	M 4544	1879	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 46	Tasmanian Museum	M 135	1881	New Ireland	White faced mask
GB 47	Tasmanian Museum	M 116	1877	New Ireland	Fish head carving
GB 48	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 11, 1/2	1877	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 49	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 11, 2/2	1877	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 50	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 12	1877	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 51	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 13	1879	New Ireland	Band/girdle
GB 52	Tasmanian Museum	Not known 14	1879	New Ireland	Flax dress
GB 53	Tasmanian	M 109	1877	New Ireland	Seed case

	Museum				rattle
GB 54	Queen Victoria Museum Launceston	QVM:1983 E:283	1880	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
GB 55	QVM Launceston	QVM:1983 E:454	1880	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
GB 56	QVM Launceston	QVM:1983 E:194	1880	New Ireland	White faced mask
GB 57	QVM Launceston	QVM:1983 E:374	1880	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 58	QVM Launceston	QVM:1983 E:375	1880	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 59	Australian Museum	Not known 1/3	1876	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 60	Aust. Mus.	Not known 2/3	1876	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 61	Aust. Mus.	Not known 3/3	1876	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 62	Aust. Mus.	A 17171	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 63	Aust. Mus.	A 17172	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 64	Aust. Mus.	A 17173	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 65	Aust. Mus.	A 17174	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 66	Aust. Mus.	A 17175	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 67	Aust. Mus.	A 17176	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 68	Aust. Mus.	A 17177	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 69	Aust. Mus.	A 17178	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 70	Aust. Mus.	A 17179	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 71	Aust. Mus.	A 17180	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 72	Aust. Mus.	A 17181	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 73	Aust. Mus.	A 17182	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 74	Aust. Mus.	A 17183	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 75	Aust. Mus.	A 17184	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 76	Aust. Mus.	A 17185	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 77	Aust. Mus.	A 17186	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 78	Aust. Mus.	A 17187	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 79	Aust. Mus.	A 17188	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 80	Aust. Mus.	A 17189	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 81	Aust. Mus.	A 17190	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 82	Aust. Mus.	A 17191	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 83	Aust. Mus.	A 17192	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 84	Aust. Mus.	A 17193	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 85	Aust. Mus.	A 17194	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 86	Aust. Mus.	A 17195	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 87	Aust. Mus.	A 17196	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 88	Aust. Mus.	A 17197	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 89	Aust. Mus.	A 17198	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 90	Aust. Mus.	A 17199	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 91	Aust. Mus.	A 17200	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear

GB 92	Aust. Mus.	A 17201	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 93	Aust. Mus.	A 17202	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 94	Aust. Mus.	A 17203	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 95	Aust. Mus.	A 17204	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 96	Aust. Mus.	A 17205	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 97	Aust. Mus.	A 17206	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 98	Aust. Mus.	A 17207	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 99	Aust. Mus.	A 17208	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 100	Aust. Mus.	A 17209	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 101	Aust. Mus.	A 17210	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 102	Aust. Mus.	A 17211	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 103	Aust. Mus.	A 17212	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 104	Aust. Mus.	A 17213	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 105	Aust. Mus.	A 17214	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 106	Aust. Mus.	A 17215	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 107	Aust. Mus.	A 17216	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 108	Aust. Mus.	A 17217	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 109	Aust. Mus.	A 17218	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 110	Aust. Mus.	A 17219	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 111	Aust. Mus.	A 17220	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 112	Aust. Mus.	A 17221	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 113	Aust. Mus.	A 17222	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 114	Aust. Mus.	A 17223	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 115	Aust. Mus.	A 17224	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 116	Aust. Mus.	A 17225	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 117	Aust. Mus.	A 17226	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 118	Aust. Mus.	A 17227	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 119	Aust. Mus.	A 17228	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 120	Aust. Mus.	A 17229	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 121	Aust. Mus.	A 17230	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 122	Aust. Mus.	A 17231	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 123	Aust. Mus.	A 17232	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 124	Aust. Mus.	A 17233	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 125	Aust. Mus.	A 17234	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 126	Aust. Mus.	A 17235	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 127	Aust. Mus.	A 17236	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 128	Aust. Mus.	A 17237	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 129	Aust. Mus.	A 17238	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 130	Aust. Mus.	A 17239	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 131	Aust. Mus.	A 17240	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 132	Aust. Mus.	A 17241	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 133	Aust. Mus.	A 17242	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 134	Aust. Mus.	A 17243	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 135	Aust. Mus.	A 17244	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 136	Aust. Mus.	A 17245	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 137	Aust. Mus.	A 17246	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 138	Aust. Mus.	A 17247	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 139	Aust. Mus.	A 17248	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear

GB 140	Aust. Mus.	A 17249	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 141	Aust. Mus.	A 17250	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 142	Aust. Mus.	A 17251	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 143	Aust. Mus.	A 17252	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 144	Aust. Mus.	A 17253	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 145	Aust. Mus.	A 17254	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 146	Aust. Mus.	A 17255	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 147	Aust. Mus.	A 17256	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 148	Aust. Mus.	A 17257	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 149	Aust. Mus.	A 17258	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 150	Aust. Mus.	A 17259	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 151	Aust. Mus.	A 17260	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 152	Aust. Mus.	A 17261	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 153	Aust. Mus.	A 17262	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 154	Aust. Mus.	A 17263	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 155	Aust. Mus.	A 17264	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 156	Aust. Mus.	A 17265	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 157	Aust. Mus.	A 17266	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 158	Aust. Mus.	A 17267	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 159	Aust. Mus.	A 17268	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 160	Aust. Mus.	A 17269	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 161	Aust. Mus.	A 17270	June 1883	New Ireland	Spear
GB 162	Aust. Mus.	E 63172	Nov 1883	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 163	Aust. Mus.	E 63173	Nov 1883	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure (double headed)
GB 164	Aust. Mus.	E 63174	Nov 1883	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 165	Aust. Mus.	E 5352	1895	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 166	Queensland Museum	E 5407	1886	New Ireland	Club
GB 167	National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka	H 136817	1917	New Ireland	Stone club head
GB 168	NME, Osaka	H 136745	1917	New Ireland	Stone club head
GB 169	NME, Osaka	H 136746	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 170	NME, Osaka	H 136747	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 171	NME, Osaka	H 136748	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 172	NME, Osaka	H 136749	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 173	NME, Osaka	H 136750	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 174	NME, Osaka	H 136751	1917	New Ireland	Club

GB 175	NME, Osaka	H 136752	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 176	NME, Osaka	H 136753	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 177	NME, Osaka	H 136758	1917	New Ireland	Club/paddle
GB 178	NME, Osaka	H 136760	1917	New Ireland	Club/paddle
GB 179	NME, Osaka	H 136761	1917	New Ireland	Club/paddle
GB 180	NME, Osaka	H 136762	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 181	NME, Osaka	H 136765	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 182	NME, Osaka	H 136766	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 183	NME, Osaka	H 136769	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 184	NME, Osaka	H 136770	1917	New Ireland	Club/paddle
GB 185	NME, Osaka	H 136771	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 186	NME, Osaka	H 136774	1917	New Ireland	Club/axe
GB 187	NME, Osaka	H 136795	1917	New Ireland	Club/axe
GB 188	NME, Osaka	H 136796	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 189	NME, Osaka	H 136671	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 190	NME, Osaka	H 136672	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 191	NME, Osaka	H 136673	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 192	NME, Osaka	H 136674	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 193	NME, Osaka	H 136675	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 194	NME, Osaka	H 136676	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 195	NME, Osaka	H 136677	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 196	NME, Osaka	H 136678	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 197	NME, Osaka	H 136679	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 198	NME, Osaka	H 136680	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 199	NME,	H 136681	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*

	Osaka				
GB 200	NME, Osaka	H 136682	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 201	NME, Osaka	H 136683	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 202	NME, Osaka	H 136684	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 203	NME, Osaka	H 136685	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 204	NME, Osaka	H 136686	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 205	NME, Osaka	H 136688	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 206	NME, Osaka?	GB cat. no. 4, 1/3	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 207	NME, Osaka?	GB cat. no. 4, 2/3	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 208	NME, Osaka?	GB cat. no. 4, 3/3	1917	New Ireland	*Kapkap*
GB 209	NME, Osaka	H 136662	1917	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 210	NME, Osaka	H 139105	1917	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 211	NME, Osaka	H 139106	1917	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 212	NME, Osaka	H 139107	1917	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 213	NME, Osaka	H 136655	1917	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 214	NME, Osaka?	GB cat. no. 40, 1/2	1917	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 215	NME, Osaka?	GB cat. no. 40, 2/2	1917	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 216	NME, Osaka	GB cat. no. 19	1917	New Ireland	String of shell money
GB 217	NME, Osaka	H 136657	1917	New Ireland	Bundle of ‘pig’ money
GB 218	NME, Osaka	H 136658	1917	New Ireland	Bundle of ‘pig’ money
GB 219	NME, Osaka	H 136659	1917	New Ireland	Bundle of ‘pig’ money
GB 220	NME, Osaka	H 136441	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 221	NME, Osaka	H 136538	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 222	NME, Osaka	H 136539	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 223	NME, Osaka	H 136540	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring

GB 224	NME, Osaka	H 136541	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 225	NME, Osaka	H 136542	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 226	NME, Osaka	H 136543	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 227	NME, Osaka	H 136544	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 228	NME, Osaka	H 137975	1917	New Ireland	Plaited armband
GB 229	NME, Osaka	H 139113	1917	New Ireland	Plaited armband
GB 230	NME, Osaka?	GB cat. no. 55, 1/11	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 231	NME, Osaka?	GB cat. no. 55, 2/11	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 232	NME, Osaka?	GB cat. no. 55, 3/11	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 233	NME, Osaka?	GB cat. no. 55, 4/11	1917	New Ireland	Shell arm ring
GB 234	NME, Osaka	H 136689	1917	New Ireland	Fibre bundle war charm
GB 235	NME, Osaka	H 136690	1917	New Ireland	Fibre bundle war charm
GB 236	NME, Osaka	H 136691	1917	New Ireland	Fibre bundle war charm
GB 237	NME, Osaka	H 136692	1917	New Ireland	Fibre bundle war charm
GB 238	NME, Osaka	H 136693	1917	New Ireland	Fibre bundle war charm
GB 239	NME, Osaka	H 136605	1917	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 240	NME, Osaka	H 136609	1917	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
GB 241	NME, Osaka	H 139205	1917	New Ireland	*Kulap* head
GB 242	NME, Osaka	H 144380	1917	New Ireland	Mouthpiece fragment
GB 243	NME, Osaka	H 144381	1917	New Ireland	Mouthpiece
GB 244	NME, Osaka	H 144382	1917	New Ireland	Mouthpiece fragment
GB 245	NME, Osaka	H 136603	1917	New Ireland	*Malagan* figure
GB 246	NME, Osaka	H 136604	1917	New Ireland	*Malagan* figure
GB 247	NME, Osaka	H 144375	1917	New Ireland	*Malagan* figure
GB 248	NME,	H 144378	1917	New Ireland	*Malagan*

	Osaka				figure
GB 249	NME, Osaka	H 144388	1917	New Ireland	*Malagan* figure
GB 250	NME, Osaka	H 144376	1917	New Ireland	Frieze/panel
GB 251	NME, Osaka	H 144377	1917	New Ireland	Frieze/panel
GB 252	NME, Osaka	H 136608	1917	New Ireland	Frieze/panel
GB 253	NME, Osaka	H 139232 1/2	1917	New Ireland	Frieze/panel
GB 254	NME, Osaka	H 139232 2/2	1917	New Ireland	Frieze/panel
GB 255	NME, Osaka	H 144383	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 256	NME, Osaka	H 144390	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 257	NME, Osaka	H 144393	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 258	NME, Osaka	H 144389	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 259	NME, Osaka	H 144391	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 260	NME, Osaka	H 144379	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 261	NME, Osaka	H 144392	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 262	NME, Osaka	H 136654	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 263	NME, Osaka	H 136653	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 264	NME, Osaka	H 144385	1917	New Ireland	*Uli* figure
GB 265	NME, Osaka	H 136612	1917	New Ireland?	Barkcloth strip
GB 266	NME, Osaka	H 136614	1917	New Ireland?	Barkcloth envelope
GB 267	NME, Osaka	H 136640	1917	New Ireland	Rub drum
GB 268	NME, Osaka	H 137504	1917	New Ireland	Rub drum
GB 269	NME, Osaka	H 136457	1917	New Ireland	Shell adze
GB 270	NME, Osaka	H 136643	1917	New Ireland	Fishing net
GB 271	Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford	1924.58.8	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 272	PRM,	1924.58.12	1917	New Ireland	Spear

	Oxford				
GB 273	PRM, Oxford	1924.58.13	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 274	PRM, Oxford	1924.58.14	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 275	PRM, Oxford	1924.58.34	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 276	PRM, Oxford	1924.58.35	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 277	PRM, Oxford	1924.58.36	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 278	Sainsbury collection, UEA	UEA 944	1917	New Ireland	*Malagan* figure
GB 279	UEA	UEA 942	1917	New Ireland	Bird carving
GB 280	UEA	UEA 943	1917	New Ireland	Frieze/panel
GB 281	UEA	UEA 939	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 282	UEA	UEA 941	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 283	UEA	UEA 940	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 284	British Museum, London	1986.Oc.3.2	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 285	BM, London	1986.Oc.3.3	1917	New Ireland	*Malagan* figure
GB 286	BM, London	1986.Oc.3.4	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 287	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery	1988 A216	1917	New Ireland	Mask
GB 288	Unknown	GB cat. no. 373, 1/2	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 289	Unknown	GB cat. no. 373, 2/2	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 290	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 3/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 291	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 4/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 292	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 5/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 293	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 6/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 294	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 7/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 295	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 8/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 296	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 9/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 297	Unknown	GB cat. no.	1917	New Ireland	Spear

		375, 10/70			
GB 298	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 11/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 299	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 12/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 300	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 13/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 301	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 14/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 302	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 15/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 303	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 16/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 304	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 17/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 305	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 18/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 306	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 19/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 307	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 20/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 308	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 21/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 309	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 22/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 310	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 23/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 311	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 24/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 312	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 25/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 313	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 26/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 314	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 27/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 315	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 28/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 316	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 29/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 317	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 30/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 318	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 31/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 319	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 32/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 320	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 33/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 321	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 34/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear

GB 322	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 35/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 323	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 36/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 324	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 37/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 325	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 38/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 326	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 39/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 327	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 40/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 328	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 41/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 329	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 42/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 330	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 43/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 331	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 44/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 332	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 45/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 333	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 46/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 334	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 47/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 335	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 48/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 336	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 49/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 337	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 50/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 338	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 51/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 339	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 52/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 340	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 53/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 341	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 54/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 342	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 55/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 343	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 56/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 344	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 57/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 345	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 58/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 346	Unknown	GB cat. no.	1917	New Ireland	Spear

		375, 59/70			
GB 347	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 60/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 348	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 61/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 349	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 62/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 350	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 63/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 351	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 64/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 352	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 65/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 353	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 66/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 354	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 67/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 355	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 68/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 356	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 69/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 357	Unknown	GB cat. no. 375, 70/70	1917	New Ireland	Spear
GB 358	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 1/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 359	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 2/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 360	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 3/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 361	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 4/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 362	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 5/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 363	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 6/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 364	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 7/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 365	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 8/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 366	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 9/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 367	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 10/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 368	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 11/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 369	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 12/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 370	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 13/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear

GB 371	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 14/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 372	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 15/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 373	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 16/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 374	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 17/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 375	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 18/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 376	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 19/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 377	Unknown	GB cat. no. 397, 20/20	1917	New Ireland	Carved spear
GB 378	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 23/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 379	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 24/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 380	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 25/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 381	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 26/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 382	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 27/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 383	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 28/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 384	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 29/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 385	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 30/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 386	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 31/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 387	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 32/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 388	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 33/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 389	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 34/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 390	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 35/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 391	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 36/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 392	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 37/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 393	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 38/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 394	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 39/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 395	Unknown	GB cat. no.	1917	New Ireland	Club

		303, 40/47			
GB 396	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 41/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 397	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 42/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 398	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 43/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 399	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 44/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 400	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 45/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 401	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 46/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 402	Unknown	GB cat. no. 303, 47/47	1917	New Ireland	Club
GB 403	Unknown	GB cat. no. 136, 4/4	1917	New Ireland	Bundle of ‘pig’ money
GB 404	Unknown	GB cat. no. 56	1917	New Ireland	Ear pendant
GB 405	Unknown	GB cat. no. 385	1917	New Ireland	Dress
GB 406	Unknown	GB cat. no. 68 3/3	1917	New Ireland	Plaited armlet
GB 407	Unknown	GB cat. no. 268 1/2	1917	New Ireland	Food basket
GB 408	Unknown	GB cat. no. 268 2/2	1917	New Ireland	Food basket
GB 409	Unknown	GB cat. no. 84, 2/4	1917	New Ireland	Fish net
GB 410	Unknown	GB cat. no. 84, 3/4	1917	New Ireland	Fish net
GB 411	Unknown	GB cat. no. 84, 4/4	1917	New Ireland	Fish net
GB 412	Unknown	GB cat. no. 398, 1/4	1917	New Ireland	Fish spear
GB 413	Unknown	GB cat. no. 398, 2/4	1917	New Ireland	Fish spear
GB 414	Unknown	GB cat. no. 398, 3/4	1917	New Ireland	Fish spear
GB 415	Unknown	GB cat. no. 398, 4/4	1917	New Ireland	Fish spear
GB 416	Unknown	GB cat. no. 539, 1/7	1917	New Ireland	Dart
GB 417	Unknown	GB cat. no. 539, 2/7	1917	New Ireland	Dart
GB 418	Unknown	GB cat. no. 539, 3/7	1917	New Ireland	Dart
GB 419	Unknown	GB cat. no. 539, 4/7	1917	New Ireland	Dart

GB 420	Unknown	GB cat. no. 539, 5/7	1917	New Ireland	Dart
GB 421	Unknown	GB cat. no. 539, 6/7	1917	New Ireland	Dart
GB 422	Unknown	GB cat. no. 539, 7/7	1917	New Ireland	Dart
GB 423	Unknown	GB cat. no. 670, 2/2	1917	New Ireland	Shell adze
GB 424	Unknown	GB cat. no. 322, 1/2	1917	New Ireland	Trephined skull
GB 425	Unknown	GB cat. no. 322, 1/2	1917	New Ireland	Trephined skull

TF 430	Australian Museum	B 9107	1885	New Ireland	Spear
TF 431	Aust. Mus.	B 9108	1885	New Ireland	Spear
TF 432	Aust. Mus.	B 9109	1885	New Ireland	Spear
TF 433	Aust. Mus.	B 9110	1885	New Ireland	Spear
TF 434	Aust. Mus.	B 9111	1885	New Ireland	Spear
TF 435	Aust. Mus.	B 9112	1885	New Ireland	Spear
TF 436	Aust. Mus.	B 9113	1885	New Ireland	Spear
TF 437	Aust. Mus.	B 9114	1885	New Ireland	Spear
TF 438	Aust. Mus.	B 9115	1885	New Ireland	Spear
TF 439	Aust. Mus.	E 960	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 440	Aust. Mus.	E 963	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 441	Aust. Mus.	E 964	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 442	Aust. Mus.	E 965	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 443	Aust. Mus.	E 966	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 444	Aust. Mus.	E 969	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 445	Aust. Mus.	E 970	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 446	Aust. Mus.	E 971	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 447	Aust. Mus.	E 972	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 448	Aust. Mus.	E 973	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 449	Aust. Mus.	E 974	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 450	Aust. Mus.	E 975	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 451	Aust. Mus.	E 976	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 452	Aust. Mus.	E 977	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 453	Aust. Mus.	E 978	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 454	Aust. Mus.	E 979	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 455	Aust. Mus.	E 980	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 456	Aust. Mus.	E 981	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 457	Aust. Mus.	E 982	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 458	Aust. Mus.	E 983	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 459	Aust. Mus.	E 984	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 460	Aust. Mus.	E 985	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 461	Aust. Mus.	E 986	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 462	Aust. Mus.	E 987	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 463	Aust. Mus.	E 988	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 464	Aust. Mus.	E 989	1887	New Ireland	Spear

TF 465	Aust. Mus.	E 990	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 466	Aust. Mus.	E 991	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 467	Aust. Mus.	E 992	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 468	Aust. Mus.	E 993	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 469	Aust. Mus.	E 994	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 470	Aust. Mus.	E 995	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 471	Aust. Mus.	E 996	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 472	Aust. Mus.	E 997	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 473	Aust. Mus.	E 998	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 474	Aust. Mus.	E 999	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 475	Aust. Mus.	E 1000	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 476	Aust. Mus.	E 1001	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 477	Aust. Mus.	E 1002	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 478	Aust. Mus.	E 1003	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 479	Aust. Mus.	E 1004	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 480	Aust. Mus.	E 1005	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 481	Aust. Mus.	E 1006	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 482	Aust. Mus.	E 1007	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 483	Aust. Mus.	E 1008	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 484	Aust. Mus.	E 1009	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 485	Aust. Mus.	E 1010	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 486	Aust. Mus.	E 1011	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 487	Aust. Mus.	E 1012	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 488	Aust. Mus.	E 1013	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 489	Aust. Mus.	E 1014	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 490	Aust. Mus.	E 1015	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 491	Aust. Mus.	E 1016	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 492	Aust. Mus.	E 1017	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 493	Aust. Mus.	E 1018	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 494	Aust. Mus.	E 1019	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 495	Aust. Mus.	E 1020	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 496	Aust. Mus.	E 1021	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 497	Aust. Mus.	E 1022	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 498	Aust. Mus.	E 1023	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 499	Aust. Mus.	E 1024	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 500	Aust. Mus.	E 1025	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 501	Aust. Mus.	E 1026	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 502	Aust. Mus.	E 1027	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 503	Aust. Mus.	E 1028	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 504	Aust. Mus.	E 1029	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 505	Aust. Mus.	E 1030	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 506	Aust. Mus.	E 1031	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 507	Aust. Mus.	E 1032	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 508	Aust. Mus.	E 1033	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 509	Aust. Mus.	E 1034	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 510	Aust. Mus.	E 1035	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 511	Aust. Mus.	E 1036	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 512	Aust. Mus.	E 1037	1887	New Ireland	Spear

TF 513	Aust. Mus.	E 1038	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 514	Aust. Mus.	E 1039	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 515	Aust. Mus.	E 1040	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 516	Aust. Mus.	E 1041	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 517	Aust. Mus.	E 1042	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 518	Aust. Mus.	E 1043	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 519	Aust. Mus.	E 1044	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 520	Aust. Mus.	E 1045	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 521	Aust. Mus.	E 1046	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 522	Aust. Mus.	E 1047	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 523	Aust. Mus.	E 1048	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 524	Aust. Mus.	E 1049	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 525	Aust. Mus.	E 1050	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 526	Aust. Mus.	E 1051	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 527	Aust. Mus.	E 1052	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 528	Aust. Mus.	E 1053	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 529	Aust. Mus.	E 1054	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 530	Aust. Mus.	E 1055	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 531	Aust. Mus.	E 1056	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 532	Aust. Mus.	E 1057	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 533	Aust. Mus.	E 1058	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 534	Aust. Mus.	E 1059	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 535	Aust. Mus.	E 1060	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 536	Aust. Mus.	E 1061	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 537	Aust. Mus.	E 1062	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 538	Aust. Mus.	E 1063	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 539	Aust. Mus.	E 1064	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 540	Aust. Mus.	E 1065	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 541	Aust. Mus.	E 1066	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 542	Aust. Mus.	E 1067	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 543	Aust. Mus.	E 1068	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 544	Aust. Mus.	E 1069	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 545	Aust. Mus.	E 1070	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 546	Aust. Mus.	E 1224	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 547	Aust. Mus.	E 1225	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 548	Aust. Mus.	E 1226	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 549	Aust. Mus.	E 1227	1887	New Ireland	Spear
TF 550	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	No number 1	1881	New Ireland	Club
TF 551	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	No number 2	1881	New Ireland	Club
TF 552	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	No number 3	1881	New Ireland	Club
TF 553	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	No number 4	1881	New Ireland	Club
TF 554	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	No number 5	1881	New Ireland	Club
TF 555	Aust. Mus.	No number 6	1881	New Ireland	Club

	(destroyed)				
TF 556	Aust. Mus.?	No number 7	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 557	Aust. Mus.?	No number 8	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 558	Aust. Mus.?	No number 9	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 559	Aust. Mus.?	No number 10	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 560	Aust. Mus.?	No number 11	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 561	Aust. Mus.?	No number 12	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 562	Aust. Mus.?	No number 13	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 563	Aust. Mus.?	No number 14	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 564	Aust. Mus.	E 1071	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 565	Aust. Mus.	E 1072	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 566	Aust. Mus.	E 1073	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 567	Aust. Mus.	E 1074	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 568	Aust. Mus.	E 1075	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 569	Aust. Mus.	E 1076	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 570	Aust. Mus.	E 1077	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 571	Aust. Mus.	E 1078	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 572	Aust. Mus.	E 1079	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 573	Aust. Mus.	E 1080	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 574	Aust. Mus.	E 1081	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 575	Aust. Mus.	E 1082	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 576	Aust. Mus.	E 1083	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 577	Aust. Mus.	E 1084	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 578	Aust. Mus.	E 1085	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 579	Aust. Mus.	E 1086	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 580	Aust. Mus.	E 1087	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 581	Aust. Mus.	E 1088	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 582	Aust. Mus.	E 1089	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 583	Aust. Mus.	E 1090	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 584	Aust. Mus.	E 1091	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 585	Aust. Mus.	E 1092	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 586	Aust. Mus.	E 1093	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 587	Aust. Mus.	E 1094	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 588	Aust. Mus.	E 1095	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 589	Aust. Mus.	E 1096	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 590	Aust. Mus.	E 1097	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 591	Aust. Mus.	E 1098	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 592	Aust. Mus.	E 1099	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 593	Aust. Mus.	E 1100	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 594	Aust. Mus.	E 1101	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 595	Aust. Mus.	E 1102	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 596	Aust. Mus.	E 1103	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 597	Aust. Mus.	E 1104	1887	New Ireland	Club

TF 598	Aust. Mus.	E 1105	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 599	Aust. Mus.	E 1106	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 600	Aust. Mus.	E 1107	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 601	Aust. Mus.	E 1108	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 602	Aust. Mus.	E 1109	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 603	Aust. Mus.	E 1110	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 604	Aust. Mus.	E 1111	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 605	Aust. Mus.	E 1112	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 606	Aust. Mus.	E 1113	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 607	Aust. Mus.	E 1114	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 608	Aust. Mus.	E 1115	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 609	Aust. Mus.	E 1116	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 610	Aust. Mus.	E 1117	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 611	Aust. Mus.	E 1118	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 612	Aust. Mus.	E 1119	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 613	Aust. Mus.	E 1120	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 614	Aust. Mus.	E 1121	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 615	Aust. Mus.	E 1122	1887	New Ireland	Club
TF 616	Aust. Mus.	B 703	1884	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 617	Aust. Mus.	B 705	1884	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 618	Aust. Mus.	B 8832	1885	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 619	Aust. Mus.	B 8833	1885	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 620	Aust. Mus.	B 8834	1885	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 621	Aust. Mus.	B 8835	1885	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 622	Aust. Mus.	B 8836	1885	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 623	Aust. Mus.	B 8837	1885	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 624	Aust. Mus.	B 8838	1885	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 625	Aust. Mus.	B 8839	1885	New Ireland	*Kulap* figure
TF 626	Aust. Mus.	E 533	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 627	Aust. Mus.	E 534	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 628	Aust. Mus.	E 534	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 629	Aust. Mus.	E 540	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 630	Aust. Mus.	E 541	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 631	Aust. Mus.	E 544	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 632	Aust. Mus.	E 546	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 633	Aust. Mus.	E 552	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 634	Aust. Mus.	E 553	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 635	Aust. Mus.	E 554	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 636	Aust. Mus.	E 555	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua*

					mask
TF 637	Aust. Mus.	E 556	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 638	Aust. Mus.	E 557	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 639	Aust. Mus.	E 1168	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 640	Aust. Mus.	E 1169	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 641	Aust. Mus.	E 1171	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 642	Aust. Mus.	E 1173	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 643	Aust. Mus.	E 1174	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 644	Aust. Mus.	E 1175	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 645	Aust. Mus.	E 1176	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 646	Aust. Mus.	E 1177	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 647	Aust. Mus.	E 1179	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 648	Aust. Mus.	E 1180	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 649	Aust. Mus.	E 1181	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 650	Aust. Mus.	E 1182	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 651	Aust. Mus.	E 1183	1887	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 652	Aust. Mus.	E 5928	1887?	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
TF 653	Aust. Mus.	E 525	1887	New Ireland	Owl mask
TF 654	Aust. Mus.	E 527	1887	New Ireland	Owl mask
TF 655	Aust. Mus.	E 528	1887	New Ireland	Owl mask
TF 656	Aust. Mus.	E 529	1887	New Ireland	Owl mask
TF 657	Aust. Mus.	E 530	1887	New Ireland	Owl mask
TF 658	Aust. Mus.	E 531	1887	New Ireland	Owl mask
TF 659	Aust. Mus.	E 532	1887	New Ireland	Owl mask
TF 660	Aust. Mus.	E 539	1887	New Ireland	Owl mask
TF 661	Aust. Mus.	E 537	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 662	Aust. Mus.	E 560	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 663	Aust. Mus.	E 561	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 664	Aust. Mus.	E 562	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 665	Aust. Mus.	E 563	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 666	Aust. Mus.	E 564	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 667	Aust. Mus.	E 575	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 668	Aust. Mus.	E 576	1887	New Ireland	Mask

TF 669	Aust. Mus.	E 577	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 670	Aust. Mus.	E 543	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 671	Aust. Mus.	E 547	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 672	Aust. Mus.	E 548	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 673	Aust. Mus.	E 559	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 674	Aust. Mus.	E 565	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 675	Aust. Mus.	E 566	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 676	Aust. Mus.	E 567	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 677	Aust. Mus.	E 568	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 678	Aust. Mus.	E 569	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 679	Aust. Mus.	E 570	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 680	Aust. Mus.	E 571	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 681	Aust. Mus.	E 572	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 682	Aust. Mus.	E 573	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 683	Aust. Mus.	E 598	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 684	Aust. Mus.	E 1212	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 685	Aust. Mus. (exchanged out)	E 526	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 686	Aust. Mus. (exchanged out)	E 538	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 687	Aust. Mus. (exchanged out)	E 542	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 688	Aust. Mus. (exchanged out)	E 549	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 689	Aust. Mus. (exchanged out)	E 550	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 690	Aust. Mus. (exchanged out)	E 551	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 691	Aust. Mus. (exchanged out)	E 1170	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 692	Aust. Mus. (exchanged out)	E 1178	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 693	Aust. Mus. (artefact lost)	E 535	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 694	Aust. Mus. (artefact lost)	E 545	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 695	Aust. Mus. (artefact lost)	E 574	1887	New Ireland	Mask

TF 696	Aust. Mus. (artefact destroyed)	E 1172	1887	New Ireland	Mask
TF 697	Aust. Mus.	E 609	1887	New Ireland	Mask/carved head
TF 698	Aust. Mus.	E 558	1887	New Ireland	Carved head
TF 699	Aust. Mus.	E 578	1887	New Ireland	Carved head
TF 700	Aust. Mus.	E 581	1887	New Ireland	Carved head
TF 701	Aust. Mus.	E 605	1887	New Ireland	Carved head
TF 702	Aust. Mus.	E 737	1887	New Ireland	Carved head
TF 703	Aust. Mus.	E 738	1887	New Ireland	Carved head
TF 704	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	E 579	1887	New Ireland	Carved head
TF 705	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	E 579	1887	New Ireland	Carved head
TF 706	Aust. Mus.	E 5926	1887?	New Ireland	Carved pig head
TF 707	Aust. Mus.	E 515	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 708	Aust. Mus.	E 517	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 709	Aust. Mus.	E 518	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 710	Aust. Mus.	E 519	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 711	Aust. Mus.	E 521	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 712	Aust. Mus.	E 522	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 713	Aust. Mus.	E 524	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 714	Aust. Mus.	E 582	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 715	Aust. Mus.	E 583	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 716	Aust. Mus.	E 597	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 717	Aust. Mus.	E 599	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 718	Aust. Mus.	E 600	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 719	Aust. Mus.	E 601	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 720	Aust. Mus.	E 603	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 721	Aust. Mus.	E 604	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 722	Aust. Mus.	E 606	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 723	Aust. Mus.	E 607	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 724	Aust. Mus.	E 608	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 725	Aust. Mus.	E 1184	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 726	Aust. Mus.	E 1188	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 727	Aust. Mus.	E 1193	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 728	Aust. Mus.	E 1198	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 729	Aust. Mus. (artefact lost)	E 516	1887	New Ireland	Figure
TF 730	Aust. Mus.	E 584	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece
TF 731	Aust. Mus.	E 587	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece
TF 732	Aust. Mus.	E 589	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece
TF 733	Aust. Mus.	E 590	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece
TF 734	Aust. Mus.	E 591	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece
TF 735	Aust. Mus.	E 592	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece
TF 736	Aust. Mus.	E 593	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece

TF 737	Aust. Mus.	E 594	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece
TF 738	Aust. Mus.	E 596	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece
TF 739	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	E 585	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece?
TF 740	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	E 586	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece?
TF 741	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	E 588	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece?
TF 742	Aust. Mus. (destroyed)	E 595	1887	New Ireland	Mouthpiece?
TF 743	Aust. Mus.	E 768	1887	New Ireland	Horizontal frieze
TF 744	Aust. Mus.	E 772	1887	New Ireland	Horizontal frieze
TF 745	Aust. Mus.	E 1187	1887	New Ireland	Horizontal frieze
TF 746	Aust. Mus.	E 1189	1887	New Ireland	Horizontal frieze
TF 747	Aust. Mus.	E 1192	1887	New Ireland	Horizontal frieze
TF 748	Aust. Mus.	E 1194	1887	New Ireland	Horizontal frieze
TF 749	Aust. Mus.	E 523	1887	New Ireland	Vertical frieze
TF 750	Aust. Mus.	E 766	1887	New Ireland	Vertical frieze
TF 751	Aust. Mus.	E 767	1887	New Ireland	Vertical frieze
TF 752	Aust. Mus.	E 1185	1887	New Ireland	Vertical frieze
TF 753	Aust. Mus.	E 1186	1887	New Ireland	Vertical frieze
TF 754	Aust. Mus.	E 1190	1887	New Ireland	Vertical frieze
TF 755	Aust. Mus.	E 1191	1887	New Ireland	Vertical frieze
TF 756	Aust. Mus.	E 1195	1887	New Ireland	Vertical frieze
TF 757	Aust. Mus.	E 1196	1887	New Ireland	Vertical frieze
TF 758	Aust. Mus.	E 1197	1887	New Ireland	Carved plank
TF 759	Aust. Mus. (artefact lost)	E 520	1887	New Ireland	“Carved image”
TF 760	Aust. Mus.	E 622	1887	New Ireland	Group of shell armlets
TF 761	Aust. Mus.	E 623	1887	New Ireland	Wooden armlet
TF 762	Aust. Mus.	E 624	1887	New Ireland	Wooden

					armlet
TF 763	Aust. Mus.	E 625	1887	New Ireland	Wooden armlet
TF 764	Aust. Mus.	E 626	1887	New Ireland	Wooden armlet
TF 765	Aust. Mus.	E 627	1887	New Ireland	Wooden armlet
TF 766	Aust. Mus.	E 628	1887	New Ireland	Wooden armlet
TF 767	Aust. Mus.	E 514	1886	New Ireland	Model canoe
TF 768	Aust. Mus.	E 771	1887	New Ireland	Model canoe
TF 769	Aust. Mus.	E 1199	1887	New Ireland	Model canoe
TF 770	Aust. Mus.	E 1200	1887	New Ireland	Model canoe
TF 771	Aust. Mus.	E 1201	1887	New Ireland	Model canoe
TF 772	Aust. Mus.	E 1202	1887	New Ireland	Model canoe
TF 773	Aust. Mus.	E 8871	1885	New Ireland	*Kapkap*?
TF 774	Aust. Mus.	E 630	1887	New Ireland	Fishing net

HR 780	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.01	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 781	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.02	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 782	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.04	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 783	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.07	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 784	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.09	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 785	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.49	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 786	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.11	October 1883	New Ireland	Bird frieze
HR 787	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.12	October 1883	New Ireland	Bird frieze
HR 788	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.13	October 1883	New Ireland	Bird frieze
HR 789	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.14	October 1883	New Ireland	Bird frieze
HR 790	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.15	October 1883	New Ireland	Bird frieze
HR 791	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.50	October 1883	New Ireland	Bird frieze
HR 792	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.16	October 1883	New Ireland	Part of mouthpiece
HR 793	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.17	October 1883	New Ireland	Part of mouthpiece
HR 794	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.18	October 1883	New Ireland	Part of mouthpiece

HR 795	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.03	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 796	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.05	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 797	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.06	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 798	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.08	October 1883	New Ireland	Figure
HR 799	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.23	October 1883	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
HR 800	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.24	October 1883	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
HR 801	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.25	October 1883	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
HR 802	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.26	October 1883	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
HR 803	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.27	October 1883	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
HR 804	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.28	October 1883	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
HR 805	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.29	October 1883	New Ireland	*Tatanua* mask
HR 806	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.19	October 1883	New Ireland	Mask
HR 807	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.20	October 1883	New Ireland	Mask
HR 808	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.21	October 1883	New Ireland	Mask
HR 809	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.22	October 1883	New Ireland	Mask
HR 810	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.10	October 1883	New Ireland	Mask/carving
HR 811	British Museum (missing)	Oc 1884.7-28.41	October 1883	New Ireland	Sheath of withered leaves
HR 812	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.37	October 1883	New Ireland	Bunch of feathers
HR 813	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.38	October 1883	New Ireland	Bunch of feathers
HR 814	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.52	October 1883	New Ireland	Bunch of feathers
HR 815	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.36	October 1883	New Ireland	Seven boars' tusks
HR 816	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.39	October 1883	New Ireland	Pair of dogs' teeth pendants
HR 817	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.43	October 1883	New Ireland	Comb
HR 818	British	Oc 1884.7-	October	New Ireland	Fishing net

	Museum	28.45	1883		
HR 819	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.47	October 1883	New Ireland	Shell fish hook
HR 820	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.48	October 1883	New Ireland	Shell fish hook
HR 821	British Museum (missing)	Oc 1884.7-28.40	October 1883	New Ireland	Bunch of seaweed

VLB Number	Current institution	Current Accession number	Date of collection	Provenance	Type of Object	Collector
IN 01	Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston	QVM 1983.E.008	1880?	New Ireland	Fibre mask	George Brown?
IN 02	Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston	QVM 1983.E.277	1880?	New Ireland	*Uli* figure	George Brown?
IN 03	Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston	QVM 1983.E.279	1880?	New Ireland	*Uli* figure	George Brown?
IN 04	Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston	QVM 1983.E.286	1880?	New Ireland	Over-modelled skull	George Brown?
IN 05	Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston	QVM 1983.E.290	1880?	New Ireland	Jaw bone charm	George Brown?
IN 06	Unknown – sent to Henry Reed in Hobart	Not known	1878	New Hanover	Large mask	George Brown?
IN 07	Unknown – sent to Henry Reed in Hobart	Not known	1878	New Hanover	Large mask	George Brown?
IN 08	Aust. Mus.	B 704	1884	New Britain	*Iniet* figure (prob.)	Thomas Farrell
IN 09	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.31	October 1883	New Britain	Shell money	Hugh Romilly
IN 10	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.32	October 1883	New Britain	Plaited armlet	Hugh Romilly

IN 11	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.33	October 1883	New Britain	Plaited armlet	Hugh Romilly
IN 12	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.34	October 1883	New Britain	Plaited armlet	Hugh Romilly
IN 13	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.35	October 1883	New Britain	Head ornament	Hugh Romilly
IN 14	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.42	October 1883	New Britain	Jew's harp	Hugh Romilly
IN 15	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.44	October 1883	New Britain	Oval basket	Hugh Romilly
IN 16	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.51	October 1883	New Britain	Oval basket	Hugh Romilly
IN 17	British Museum	Oc 1884.7-28.46	October 1883	New Britain	Net bag	Hugh Romilly

Appendix 2

In this appendix I record and discuss what happened to the objects after they left New Ireland, focussing in particular on their histories in museum collections. The collections have very varied biographies. Brown's various collections have particularly complicated histories, and Romilly's single collection has a straightforward one.

George Brown's early collections, donated between 1875 and 1880

Brown made a number of donations of artefacts to colonial museums during and shortly after the time he was based at Port Hunter. The three main recipients were the Auckland Museum in New Zealand, the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart, and the Australian Museum in Sydney. These early donations give us an idea of what Brown collected whilst in the field, and how this changed over time. Inconsistencies in the supporting documentation mean that the list of objects collected is probably incomplete, so I have made an informed guess at what exactly the original transactions consisted of.

The Auckland Museum

Brown presented 24 objects from New Ireland to the Auckland Museum, around December 1876, according to the original donation book. Brown probably made the donation in person, when he visited New Zealand to spend time with his family there as part of his furlough from September 1876 to May 1877. It included items from New Britain and New Ireland, Samoa, and the Solomon Islands. There may have been a subsequent donation in 1878, but this did not include any objects from New Ireland. I numbered the 24 objects from New Ireland GB1-24.

Our understanding of this transaction comes from two main documents, both contemporary. The first, a list of "Articles presented by the Rev. G. Brown to the Auckland Museum", has less detail but is probably the earlier. The second is a list of the items presented by Brown in the original donation book. The two do not always tally up, and it is not possible to identify why this might be, but the objects were re-registered in 1900 when they were given their current accession numbers, so it is possible that further confusion took place then. The "Articles" list includes 19 objects from New Ireland, but the donation book notes 24 pieces from New Ireland. Fifteen of the New Ireland objects are identifiable in the collections today; any objects mentioned in the lists that cannot be identified in collections today I refer to by their number in the "Articles" list. Roger Neich, former Curator of Ethnology at the Auckland Museum commented, "Many objects from this period are not able to be identified in the actual collections because of losing their numbers, loss of actual objects and confusions of registration numbers" (Neich, pers. comm., 7th April 2003).

I was not able to look at the 14 objects that exist today in the Museum's collection, so my information on them comes from the Museum's database, which included photographic documentation of some objects, and also from Michael Gunn's database. Roger Neich and Fuli Pereira were of great assistance in my research.

The Tasmanian Museum, Hobart

Brown made three donations to the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart, run by the Tasmanian Royal Society, during his time at Port Hunter. The first was reported by

the Tasmanian Royal Society in April 1877 and involved a donation of approximately 52 ethnographic objects and some natural history specimens from New Britain, New Ireland and the Duke of York Islands. The *Proceedings* reported a talk that he gave to a meeting of the Royal Society (*Posts & Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania*, April 1877, page 8); he probably made the donation in person then. He made a second donation in 1879, of objects he sent down from Port Hunter at the end of 1878, and he probably made a third donation in 1881. Not all of the objects registered as being donated by Brown were mentioned in the records of these transactions. The only evidence of the 1881 transaction is from the records of individual objects, and we do not know when these records were written.

Some of the objects arrived via Henry Reed, one of Brown's patrons. He was a wealthy Methodist resident of Hobart who had supported Brown's mission to the New Britain region from the outset, providing Brown with the steamship *Henry Reed*, among other things. From Brown's letterbooks, it is clear that he sent artefacts to Henry Reed, and the December 1878 donation to the Tasmanian Museum is identical to the objects listed as being sent to Henry Reed earlier that month (Brown letterbook page 418, 25th December 1878. ML A1686-3 1876-1880). Henry Reed may have been a member of the Royal Society of Tasmania, or merely a benefactor of the Museum. It has proven difficult to tally up the information from the various archival sources within the museum, so the New Ireland objects that I have classified as being donated by George Brown in the Tasmanian Museum represent very much a best guess. A further complicating factor is that in 1880 Henry Reed gave some items to the Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston, where he had a secondary residence and family contacts. Brown mentioned sending items to the "missionary museum" in 1876 and 1880 (Gardner 1999:250, 255). Henry Reed had broached the idea of setting up a Methodist missionary museum with Brown in 1876 (Gardner 2006:141). The idea never materialised, and it is not clear what happened to the items Brown had sent for it. It seems likely that Henry Reed subsequently donated these items to the museums in Launceston and Hobart, in 1880 and 1881 respectively. His decision-making processes are not known, although research in ongoing at the Museum (Louise James pers. comm. 10th August 2005).

The 1876 donation to the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart consisted mostly of shell money, ornaments and some spears. There were "Two neck ornaments, one head ditto, a rattle and a string of shell money" (*P & P Royal Society of Tasmania*, April 1877, page 8) from New Ireland. The only object that can be recognised confidently from this list in the collections today is the rattle (GB 53). A fish head carving (GB 47) was registered as being from New Ireland as part of this donation. This was probably the object described as a head ornament in the article, as it looks like a mouth ornament. I have included all of the spears that Brown donated (GB 25-44) although some may have been from New Britain.

The second donation that Brown sent to the Tasmanian Royal Society in December 1878 consisted of a female *kulap* figure from New Ireland (GB 45) that is still in the Museum today, a "band and coloured flax dress from New Ireland" (GB 51), no longer in the collection, some shell money from the Duke of York Islands, two overmodelled skulls from New Britain, and some natural history specimens. In the letter that accompanied this transaction, (letter of 24th December 1878 reported in the *P & P Royal Society of Tasmania*, April 1879, page 2) Brown wrote that the

overmodelled skulls, or skull masks as he called them, were used by New Britain natives in their dances, and he highlighted the cannibalism of "the natives". He then defended the punitive action that he took following the murders of his teachers on the basis of this cannibalism. In a letter to Henry Reed, Brown mentioned including in the case "large masks from New Hanover (rare)" (Brown letterbook pg 418, 25th December 1878. ML A1686-3, 1876-1880); these masks may have been given to the Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston instead as there are northern New Ireland masks in their collection which were donated by Henry Reed sometime around 1880. Brown must have acquired these masks from someone else, as he had not visited New Hanover by 1878 when he described them to Reed.

A third donation, a number of the spears and a mask that probably came from central New Ireland (GB 46), was given to the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart late in 1880 or early 1881. There are 29 objects from New Ireland in the Tasmanian Museum in my database (GB 25-53). Of these, 14 are identifiable in the collections today. I was not able to visit the Tasmanian Museum so my information on the collection comes from the museum records, including some photographs, and also from Michael Gunn's database.

The Australian Museum

The third museum that Brown kept in contact with and donated to during his time in the Bismarck Archipelago was the Australian Museum in Sydney. He sent a crate of botanical specimens and some ethnographic objects to E. P. Ramsay, the curator of the Australian Museum, in September 1875. In 1876 he sent a further consignment of objects there (Specht 1987:1). The fire at the Garden Palace in Sydney in 1882 destroyed most of the museum's anthropological holdings, and evidence of the 1875 and 1876 transactions remains elusive. The Australian Museum received donations from him in October 1876 and February 1877; information from the documentation indicates that the first was dominated by objects from New Britain, the second by objects from the Duke of York Islands. At least three objects from New Ireland, all *kulap* figures, were in the first donation, but it is unclear if there were more.

The three large *kulap* figures donated were the ones he purchased at Kalil at the end of October 1875 (Brown 1908:128); he noted that the figures were lost in the fire at the Garden Palace. Ramsay mentioned Brown's presentation of "some rude figures" of chalk in a publication on the large natural history collections donated to the Museum by Brown and Cockerell in 1876 (Ramsay 1875-1876:377). There is no mention of New Ireland objects in the donation that Brown made to the Australian Museum in 1877, and we do not know what the consignment of bird skins and artefacts that he mentioned sending to Sydney in July 1880 (Letter Brown to Clark 16th July 1880) contained exactly, nor where it ended up.

After the Garden Palace fire, Brown sold objects to the Australian Museum as part of their efforts to re-stock the ethnology department. In June 1883 he sold them 100 spears from New Ireland (GB 62-161) for £12 10 shillings (Australian Museum Purchase Schedule 25/1883), and in October of the same year he sold the Museum three *kulap* figures (GB 162-164) for £5, a price that the Curator considered to be very moderate considering that one of the figures (GB 164) was "a large double one of a kind not often to be had" (Australian Museum Purchase Schedule 33/1883). The only other artefact from George Brown in the Australian Museum is a string of shell

money from New Ireland that was donated in 1895 (GB 165). This was presumably sent to Robert Ethridge, who took over from Ramsay that year. There are a number of letters between Brown and Ethridge from 1895 onwards (Gardner 1999:266) and Brown probably sent him an example of New Ireland shell money, just as he sent E. B. Tylor of Oxford University an example of New Britain shell money in 1881 (Gardner 2000:47).

I was able to visit the Australian Museum and see some of the objects discussed above, although I did not look at each and every spear. A brief perusal of the spear storage section confirmed that these spears were all relatively uniform, differing in length and some aspects of decoration, but not markedly. Four had human bones incorporated at the handle end, and five were carved in wood to look as though they had human bone handles. Jim Specht, Liz Bonshek and Antje Sonntag were very helpful in assisting research of the Australian Museum's collections.

The Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston

The Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston, Tasmania, is a small regional museum, and its links with George Brown have only recently been realised. Henry Reed made a donation in 1880, and his only connection to the Pacific was through Brown. As Reed died that same year, it is not clear whether his donation was posthumous or not. Brown sent Reed artefacts whilst he was stationed in Port Hunter, for the missionary museum that they discussed but did not set up, and perhaps also for his own personal use. The documentation is poor, and whilst there are 10 items from New Ireland in the museum's early collections, I have only included in my database the five that can be securely linked to Reed. These consist of two *tatanua* masks (GB 55 and 55), a white faced mask (GB 56) and two *kulap* figures (GB 58 and 59), all donated by Reed in 1880. There are two *uli* figures (IN 02 and 03) and a fibre mask characteristic of southern New Ireland (IN 01) that may also have been donated by Brown but the documentation does not clearly link these objects to the Reed donation. Furthermore there is an overmodelled skull (IN 04) and a jaw bone charm (IN 05) that are linked to Reed, but the New Ireland provenance was added at a later date so I have not included these either. At least one of the *uli* figures has had the penis removed, a fate shared by the *uli* figure (GB 263) in the collection Brown left at his death, but also by many other *uli*s.

The Launceston museum's collection holds the earliest known examples of northern New Ireland masks collected by Brown. It is possible that the two *tatanua* masks (GB 54 and 55) are the masks that Brown mentioned sending to Henry Reed in 1878, described as rare large masks from New Hanover.

I was not able to visit the Queen Victoria Museum in Launceston, but Louise James provided me with information about and photographs of most of the objects. Further study of the museum documentation may reveal more about these objects.

Other Museums

At least two other museums received objects from Brown during this time period. The South Australian Museum in Adelaide received a diverse collection of spears, birds, shells and clubs in 1876. These items lost their numbers, probably pre-1911, and cannot be identified in today's collection (Gardner 1999:249). We have no idea whether any of the items were from New Ireland. Brown donated two clubs to the

Queensland Museum in Brisbane in October 1876. One of these is from New Ireland (E 4507), the other from the Gazelle Peninsula (Michael Quinnell pers. comm. 22nd September 2005). There is no correspondence concerning these clubs.

Main George Brown collection

The collection that George Brown left when he died in 1917 consisted of more than three thousand items. In his obituary published in the *Methodist*, it was noted, "At his home in Gordon the late Dr. Brown leaves a wonderful collection of island curios, gathered together during his long life in the South Pacific. It is a museum in itself, and it was one of Dr. Brown's chief pleasures in his later days to welcome scientific and other friends to his house and show them this museum, telling many an interesting story as he lingered over this or that exhibit." [119]He stipulated on his death that the artefacts be known and described as the George Brown collection, and that they be stored and displayed separately and distinctly (Gardner 2000:49). The Bowes Museum in Barnard Castle, where Brown was born, eventually agreed to purchase the collection for £1250, and it reached there in 1920. In the early 1950s it was sold to Kings College, Newcastle for the same price, and it became a teaching aid for the Anthropology Department. In 1974 it was transferred to the Hancock Museum, at the now independent Newcastle University, and was sold by the University to Japan's National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka in 1985 in a deal brokered by Sotheby's.

The history of the collection in the 20th century has therefore been very chequered and the sale in 1985 attracted a great deal of controversy and press coverage. I examine this controversy only as it impinges on our knowledge and understanding of the George Brown collection. So many moves inevitably meant that the collection was split up. The Bowes Museum in Barnard Castle broke the tacit agreement not to split the collection up in 1924 when the Curator, Sydney E. Harrison, agreed to exchange what he considered to be duplicates in the collection with duplicates from the Pitt Rivers Museum's collection. A number of pieces from the George Brown collection therefore ended up in Oxford, including at least 7 objects from New Ireland. Other exchanges of items deemed to be duplicates, and sales of small numbers of pieces, took place in the 1920s and 1930s, with the Wilson Park Museum, the Royal Scottish Museum and Sheffield City Museum receiving objects from George Brown's collection. Henry Balfour and Harry Beasley also exchanged objects with the Bowes Museum. It is not thought that these other exchanges involved items from New Ireland (Gardner 1999: chapter 8, footnote 111).

When the collection was sold to Osaka in 1985 it became further fragmented as a number of smaller objects were left behind in the Hancock Museum, and a number of objects were refused export licences as it was deemed that their value exceeded the £16,000 threshold for objects of cultural heritage. The objects in the collection had been valued individually in order to circumvent this law, but 19 objects were held back to be offered for sale to British institutions. In the event, only 11 were sold in the UK and the other 8 rejoined the main collection in Osaka. Ten of the 11 objects that were sold in the UK were from New Ireland; all were *malagan*-related objects from northern New Ireland. This says more about values of art objects than it does about Brown's collecting activities, but it is interesting that objects from northern New Ireland were among the most valuable of Brown's collection.

[119] *The Methodist*, Sydney. No. 15, vol xxxvi. Saturday April 14, 1917

New Ireland objects from the main George Brown collection are in five different institutions. The majority of the artefacts are in Japan's National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, but there are also objects from the collection in the British Museum, the Sainsbury Centre at the University of East Anglia in Norwich, the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, and the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. Reconstructing the collection that Brown left at his death, though, is confusing as there are a number of sources of information that do not tally exactly with the physical collections. One of the most useful documents is a list entitled "Ethnological Collection of the Late Rev. Dr. G. Brown", with the New Ireland objects summarised in Appendix 2. This list has 683 entries incorporating 2833 objects, all of which, apart from three objects from Australia and three from North America, were from the Pacific Islands. Each entry on the list is numbered, and there is a brief description of the objects, and their provenance. The degree of provenance is varied but all of the objects from the Bismarck Archipelago are ascribed to their island group - New Ireland, New Britain or Duke of York islands. Helen Gardner believes that the list was probably written by Brown, and then re-typed after his death by his daughter Lizzie (pers. comm. 9th April 2003). The list was left as part of his papers in the Uniting Church Archives in Sydney, along with Brown's will. I refer to this list as the "original" list as it is the earliest known listing of Brown's collection, and it is clear that he had some input into its creation as the list is annotated with information that only he could have known.

A more detailed catalogue of the George Brown collection was published in 1985 by Peter Davis. This catalogue is divided into twenty sections based on functional categories, and the provenance is less specific so that there are a number of artefacts registered as Bismarck Archipelago. There are a total of 125 items listed as being from New Ireland, many of which are included in more than one category. The collection as documented in 1985 consisted of 3166 items, and Davis commented that the collection was "particularly strong in items of clothing and ornament, warfare and domestic ware" (Davis 1985:4). It is not clear why the collection "grew" by 333 objects between Brown's death and 1985, especially as we know that objects were removed from it in the 1920s and 1930s. Presumably, there were other items in his collection that weren't listed in the original list, and it is also possible that objects that Brown counted as a single object were later classified as two or more. For example, entries 240 and 241 were identified in the original list as a single object but both consist of "several strings" of shell money. Later researchers who worked on Brown's collection may have counted these strings of shell money individually. Brown also listed objects like a bow and arrows as a single set; they may later have been registered as a number of objects. Strangely, the Davis catalogue ignored the original catalogue completely, even though a number of the pieces are marked with a small red-edged sticker with the George Brown number on it, or have this number, and sometimes some notes, written on them in pencil. The list was obviously used by the Bowes Museum when the collection first went there as the accession book entries regarding the objects that were transferred to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1924 refer to "Dr Brown's list", and also the numbers that each piece was accorded on that list.

Although the total collection had more pieces listed in the later catalogue than in the original, there were fewer objects from New Ireland. The original list included 270 objects from New Ireland; the Davis catalogue only 125. This is because many of the

objects were ascribed to the Bismarck Archipelago in the Davis catalogue, whereas Brown was more specific about island group. I have largely followed Brown's original catalogue in my database of his collection; I include 261 objects from New Ireland in his collection at his death. This does not tally exactly with his catalogue, but it is as good an approximation as I can make. 121 of these are probably in collections today, and it is not clear what happened to the rest. Some may have been left in Sydney when the collection was first sold, others may have been exchanged out of the collection without documentation being left, and others may have become separated from their labels along the way and been misplaced or lost in the various museum store rooms that they have been stored in over the years.

Piecing together George Brown's collection has not been easy. The objects in the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka now have as many as four numbers, and it has sometimes been difficult to match these up with the various written sources of documentation. I take as my basic point of reference the original list, the catalogue that George Brown wrote himself. Most of the objects in museum collections correlate to this list, with fifteen pieces having the original catalogue number written on them in pencil, either on the object itself or on a small red-edged sticker (GB 166, 195, 196, 241, 220, 222, 268, 270-276, 278). Some of these objects also have the catalogue description written on them. With the other objects it was generally possible to correlate then with this catalogue. The exceptions to this are when objects have lost their New Ireland provenance altogether, probably when they were reclassified as Bismarck Archipelago in the Hancock Museum, and they are not so obviously from New Ireland that it was possible to re-assign their provenance. For example, 17 *kapkap* in the Osaka collection are identified as being from New Ireland, but many more are provenanced as from the Bismarck Archipelago. It is impossible to judge which of these are from New Ireland, and which from New Britain, so I have included three extra *kapkap* in my database to reflect the fact that Brown's original catalogue list notes that he had 20 *kapkap* from New Ireland. The objects mentioned in the original catalogue list that are not found in collections today were probably lost or became detached from their numbers and provenance over the years as the collection physically shifted its home.

Thomas Farrell's collection

The only institution that Farrell supplied was the Australian Museum, as far as I am aware. He sold pieces to other individuals, for example Reverend Rickard, and may have approached other institutions through brokers such as Mason Brothers, but I was not able to find records of sales to any other institution. However, it is likely that he contributed to the collecting activities attributed to Richard Parkinson, and he probably collected some of the many objects Parkinson sent to other museums and institutions. The 367 objects in my Farrell collection database were all originally sold to the Australian Museum. The Museum's policy of exchanging out objects means that some Farrell objects were swapped with other institutions, and others were destroyed; this is noted in my database.

The first New Ireland objects from Farrell were six stone club heads (TF 550-555) that formed part of a consignment sent down in 1881 by "Mrs Farrell", the title the Australian Museum used to refer to Emma Forsayth. Thomas Farrell must have collected these items, as Emma did not travel extensively in the first two years of her residence in the Duke of York Islands.

The first objects attributed to Thomas Farrell were offered for sale to the Australian Museum in January 1884 and shipped to Sydney on his ship the *Bella Brandon.* This consignment consisted of 1,864 artefacts and some natural history specimens from Buka, New Ireland, New Britain, and the Admiralty Islands. 1,759 of these objects were weapons, predominantly bows, arrows and clubs, with just 105 other objects. Only three were attributed as being from New Ireland, the purchase schedule noting "3 Chalk Images from New Ireland". Two are female *kulap* images (TF 616 and 627). The third, B 704, looks very similar to Tolai *iniet* figures, and is probably from east New Britain rather than New Ireland (Michael Gunn pers. comm.).

In October 1885, Farrell and Parkinson offered another large consignment of natural history specimens and artefacts to the Australian Museum. Again, weapons dominated, with 800 arrows, 366 spears, 71 bows and other clubs and paddles, mostly from Buka (Specht 2000:28). There were also seven "Chalk Gods" from New Ireland in this consignment, (TF 618-625) and one *kapkap* from New Ireland (TF 773).

In 1886, Farrell offered 1500 objects from the Admiralty Islands, Buka and New Ireland for sale to the Australian Museum. The museum purchased about 1100 items in two transactions, which were completed in 1887, and these form the main bulk of the Farrell collection. A further purchase was made in May 1887, shortly before Farrell's death, but it is unclear what this transaction consisted of as no items were registered until 1891 (Specht 2000:28). Specht's analysis of the Australian Museum's acquisitions from Farrell, Parkinson, Emma and her family shows that up to 1887, all transactions were sales, whereas after Farrell's death, Emma's family mostly donated objects. Between 1884 and 1886, the Museum received more than 4,600 items from Farrell and Parkinson; after 1886, the Museum only received 257 objects from the group (Specht 2000:29). Specht concludes that this is because Thomas and Emma Farrell were primarily, if not exclusively, motivated by making money, particularly in the mid-1880s when they were waiting for the plantations they had established to yield profit. The cash coming in from the Australian Museum must have aided their business ventures, but frustratingly, we do not know what profit margin they received on the sale of artefacts. We can assume though, given the evident financial motivations of both Thomas and Emma, that they were making some money out of the transactions, otherwise presumably they would have ceased their trade with the Australian Museum. Parkinson, in contrast, was interested in the objects themselves and in establishing relationships with museums and academics to further his knowledge of the ethnology of the islands. Emma offered further *malagan* carvings in 1892, but as this was five years after Farrell's death, I have assumed that he did not collect the carvings. In the intervening five years, Emma had established a station at Kavieng in northern New Ireland, which would have afforded her the opportunity to collect more *malagan*.

The Australian Museum's Purchase Schedules covering the two purchases from Farrell in 1886 show that *malagan* carvings dominated. The first purchase schedules (8/1886) is dated 2nd February 1886, with payment received on 5th March. The second purchase schedule (35/1886) is dated 5th March, but payment was not made until November 1886. The Museum probably had to spread the cost of the purchase across the financial year. The Purchase Schedules include lists of the contents of the

collections, and the price that the Museum valued the objects at, as well as the total price paid.

Purchase Schedule 8 consisted of 82 objects from New Ireland, and a few from the Admiralty Islands and Buka, including a number of carved Buka clubs, which were not taken. Carvings dominated; there were six armlets but all the other objects were carvings of figures, birds' heads or masks, apart from one house image, one canoe figurehead and two model canoes. Most of these carvings are attributed to New Ireland, although six carvings are provenanced to Gardner Island, and seven carvings and the two canoe models to Fischer Island. Fischer and Gardener Islands are both part of the Tabar group; Gardener Island referred to the southern islands of Tatau and Big Tabar, which lie very close to each other. Fischer Island referred to the northern island of Simberi; Parkinson's map of 1907 uses these names.

It is difficult, in most cases, to match up the items listed on the Purchase Schedule with objects in the collection today, which means that we have to look at both sets of evidence in combination. Annotated notes on the Purchase Schedule tell us the registration number of eleven of the objects (TF 707-713, 729, 759, 767).

The second consignment of artefacts that arrived from Farrell later that year, included under Purchase Schedule 35/1886, contained many objects from the Admiralty Islands, Buka and New Ireland. There were two images from Gardner Island; one was so big and "elaborately carved" that it was in three pieces, each taking up a case, and a canoe model from Fischer Island. There were two "Carved Images Sharks Head" from New Ireland, and many more utilitarian objects: 110 spears, sixty clubs, thirty-six plain armlets, and one fishing net.

The Purchase Schedules include two columns, the first is marked on some pages as "Museum price" and is a single figure of either shillings or pounds, and the second is a column of pounds, shillings and pence. I assume that the second column is the price asked by Farrell. Farrell asked for £322 6 shillings for both consignments, but the price paid was £225 (Purchase Schedule 8, price asked £136, price paid £100; Purchase Schedule 35, price asked £186, price paid £125). Farrell was therefore paid 70% of what he asked for.

It is interesting to note what objects Farrell valued highly and to what extent the museum agreed with his valuations. The Museum reduced Farrell's asking price fairly evenly across the board, but there are some interesting patterns. Farrell asked for between 20 and 30 shillings for most of the *malagan* figures and masks, and between 12 and 15 shillings for what seem to be smaller carvings like a "Carved house image". The museum tended to value these pieces at around 80% of Farrell's asking price, paying 20 shillings for most of the masks and larger carvings. These carvings were high-value items. However, some objects, including some masks, but particularly objects like the wooden armlets and a canoe figurehead, received a museum price of only 50% of the asking price. Farrell also varied the asking price within classes of objects, presumably reflecting his valuation of them. The New Ireland carvings garnered the highest price paid per object, with the "Image from Gardiners Island in three pieces elaborately carved" being valued at £14 (280 shillings), a carved image and a mask 50 shillings each, and thirty other masks and carvings 20 shillings each. Few non-New Ireland objects reached such prices; two large wooden bowls from the

Admiralty Islands were valued at 80 shillings each and two "middle sized" wooden bowls 60 shillings each. From Buka, one carved image and thirteen "Carved Canoes" were valued at 30 shillings each.

The March 1884 Purchase Schedule (8/1884) records that a total of 17 shillings and 6 pence was paid for the "3 Chalk Images from New Ireland". The fishing net from New Ireland fetched 20 shillings, the largest amount to be paid for a utilitarian object, with Farrell's asking price being 30 shillings. The price presumably reflects the fact that such nets from New Ireland were unusual. The thirty-six plain armlets were valued at a mere 8 shillings for the lot; the sixty clubs fetched 80 shillings and 90 spears just 60 shillings. The obsidian-tipped spears from the Admiralty Islands reached a higher price, with an average of £10 (200 shillings) paid per 100 spears.

Farrell's canoe models lead to more interesting questions. There were three canoe models from "Fischer Island" in Farrell's 1886 consignments, and 13 "carved canoes", also models, from Buka (Australian Museum E 499-511). Canoe models were being sold to Europeans as early as 1872, when the wife of the captain of the *A. R. Tucker*, an American whaling ship, noted that her husband traded for miniature canoes, among other artefacts, off the coast of New Hanover (Gray 1999:31). Gunn (pers. comm.) notes that today only children would make canoe models, but Farrell may have encouraged local production of these models by paying money for them. This feeds into the question of whether Farrell was having objects made to order.

Some of the vast numbers of weapons that Farrell collected must have been made to order. Firth (1986:45) noted that the Tolai of east New Britain were making artefacts specifically for sale to European visitors on passing naval vessels by 1884, and Farrell would have been aware of the potential of this activity, and prepared to use it for his own benefit. He brought at least 150 men from Buka and Bougainville to work as boss-boys, police-boys and pacesetters for the large force of natives employed in establishing the plantation. Twelve were specially selected and trained as a personal guard for Parkinson (Robson 1965:123). Farrell also used men from Buka and Bougainville as crew for his boats, and assistants in his trading and recruiting work.

Farrell presumably encouraged some of these men to manufacture weapons and paddles for resale to any interested parties. In 1885, Farrell, in conjunction with Parkinson, offered nearly 1,500 artefacts to the Australian Museum, including 800 arrows, 366 spears, 71 bows, paddles, clubs and 117 'painted ornaments – held in the hand' from 'Boker', a provenance which would have referred to both Buka and Bougainville. In 1886, Farrell offered 318 carved clubs, 120 barbed arrows, a bundle of bows and 100 paddles from Buka (Specht 2000:27) The only other items from Buka offered that year were the thirteen carved canoes, which may have been made-to-order models, three wrist guards and one "Image". It seems unlikely that he would have collected so many examples of only a few types of object directly from Buka itself, especially as they were not high-value items – in New Ireland, he tended to collect mostly carvings, but they had much greater commercial value than weapons. Specht considers it likely that Farrell was the instigator of high levels of production of weapons, and perhaps other types of artefact. Following Farrell's death, there was a sudden decline in the quantities of artefacts offered to the Museum by Emma and her family, which suggests it was Farrell who had large numbers of objects made for sale.

Specht thinks it likely that local people, and the plantation labour force, willingly colluded in this production (Specht 2000:32).

In Farrell's case, there are more objects registered in the Museum than mentioned in the Purchase Schedules. This is probably due to the fact that the objects from Purchase Schedules 8 and 35 were not registered until May and June 1887, by which time the Australian Museum had purchased a further consignment from Farrell. The Purchase Schedule accompanying this transaction merely reads: "A collection of Ethnology from the South Seas Islands as agreed", with a purchase price of £60. There is a copy of a telegraph sent to Farrell at Bolands House, Dubbo, on 27th April 1887, asking him whether he would accept £60 for the collection. His reply is not recorded, but he must have agreed as the purchase went through in May 1887. Objects from this transaction probably got mixed up with the objects from the previous two Farrell collections and they may all have been registered together. The Purchase Schedules 8 and 35 describe 78 *malagan*-type carvings, but 132 were registered in May and June 1887. Two more *malagan* carvings from Farrell were registered in November 1896; these were probably also from the May 1887 purchase.

I have taken the Australian Museum registers and purchase schedules as the basis for my analysis of Farrell's collection, in conjunction with the objects themselves. The Museum's former policies of trading out artefacts and of destroying artefacts that were damaged by insects, and also the fact that a few objects have been lost or separated from their registration numbers, means that there are a number of gaps in the collection, but in general, the information tallies up very well, apart from the additional objects registered without Purchase Schedule information, which can be explained by the May 1887 purchase of a "collection" with no detailed information. My description of Farrell's collection is the minimum that he collected; I have not included objects that he sold to other individuals whilst in the region, and it is possible that I missed other objects in the Australian Museum. For example, we cannot be sure what was included in the May 1887 purchase; there may have been other New Ireland objects that became separated from their documentation.

The carvings that Farrell collected have not been displayed much and they all remain in very good condition. The ones with European materials on them have never been displayed and most of these remain in pristine condition. It seems from their appearance that they were collected quite soon after their manufacture.

Other Collecting Activity

Farrell probably traded artefacts with a number of other Europeans in the region. The three northern art style masks that Rickard sold to the Queensland Museum in November 1887 (E2454, E5684, E5685) are the only ones that I found evidence of, but it seems highly likely that this was not an isolated incident. Farrell was keen on getting cash to fund the expansion of their operations, and was evidently able to procure large amounts of northern New Ireland material, so he was probably happy to sell some objects close to source, as shipping costs would be lower and there would have been a premium on immediate cash payment.

Hugh Romilly's Collection

Romilly's collection was the most straightforward to document as it was all collected at one moment in time, and has stayed together as a collection. It was sent from

Matupi to London, and received by the Duke of Bedford in the first half of 1884. He presented it to the British Museum before July 1884. It is mentioned in the British Museum's Book of Presents for 1884, which lists all the donations in a given year. The entry (no. 1094) reads: 'Contents of a native temple obtained in New Ireland by Hugh Hastings Romilly Esq. and consisting of a number of carved wooden images, grotesque helmets and hand-pieces. Presented by His Grace, The Duke of Bedford K.G. (81 Eaton Square, S.W.)'. There were also a small number of objects from New Britain.

Romilly's collection was accessioned into the British Museum as 1884.7-28.1 to 1884.7-28.52; the prefix Oc. was added later. One of the entries, number 30, is blank, with no corresponding number. Two of the objects, HR 811 and 821 (Oc1884.7-28.40 and Oc1884.7-28.41) are known from the old records only; they are no longer identifiable in the collection today. They are the most ephemeral of the objects Romilly collected, being described as a "bunch of seaweed" (HR 811) and a "sheath of withered leaves" (HR 821). One entry, HR 815 (Oc1884.7-28.36) originally consisted of seven boar's tusks but only two can be found in the collections today. Apart from these three examples, the rest of Romilly's collection has remained intact and in remarkably good condition. Jill Hasell and Lissant Bolton were very supportive of my research at the British Museum and greatly facilitated my work there.