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**Excavating MacGregor:
reconnecting a nineteenth century
collection from Papua New Guinea**

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Pottery from Collingwood Bay in the Official collection from British New Guinea: the Wanigela style and the social relations of its distribution

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During the late nineteenth century, a substantial assemblage of pottery was acquired by William MacGregor for the British New Guinea Official collection from the Collingwood Bay region in the north-eastern region of the colony. The group is highly significant because these ceramic styles are absent from most other museum collections dating to this period. Analyses of the manufacturing and decorative styles represented in the assemblage show that they belong to a style currently associated with the contemporary locality called Wanigela, a placename not used at the time MacGregor was exploring the area. Reconstructing the region of pottery manufacture versus the locations it was distributed through exchange, contributes to an understanding of social relations across the region at a date when there are few ethnographic accounts. This approach also provides an important example of how indigenous groups asserted their agency in their dealings with outsiders, even one as powerful as the representative of the British government.

□ British New Guinea, pottery, Wanigela, exchange, provenience, museum collections, agency, William MacGregor

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SITUATING A 'REMARKABLE' POTTERY STYLE

The substantial collection of pottery acquired from the Collingwood Bay region in British New Guinea by William MacGregor for the Official collection is important because it represents the first ceramic assemblage from this area (Figure 1). Even after more than 100 years, it remains among a very few collections of pottery from that region held in museums world-wide. Once transferred to Brisbane, the pots were noted by the curator Charles de Vis for their distinctive decoration. Visiting from England, the prolific collector Edge-Partington (1898) included several in his album. It is also significant that pots were not included amongst the duplicates that were sent out to the museums in the contributing colonies (cf. Torrence & Davies, Chapter 13 this volume; Torrence et al. 2020). MacGregor

did donate a set of extraordinarily fine examples to his friend Baron von Hügel, Curator at the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), but the information with them identified them as from Gona, not Collingwood Bay. Only 10 years later, at the turn of the century, was the style of pottery emblematic of the Gona pots firmly associated with the pottery tradition based in Wanigela, an area not identified or named by MacGregor and his party.

Through an exploration of the ceramic styles represented in the Official collection from the north coast of British New Guinea, I suggest that MacGregor and his party made the first museum collection of what is now known to be the Wanigela pottery tradition. The geographic distribution of these pots, ranging from Gona to Phillip's Harbour, just south of Wanigela (see Figure 1), a distance of approximately 220 km along the coastline is

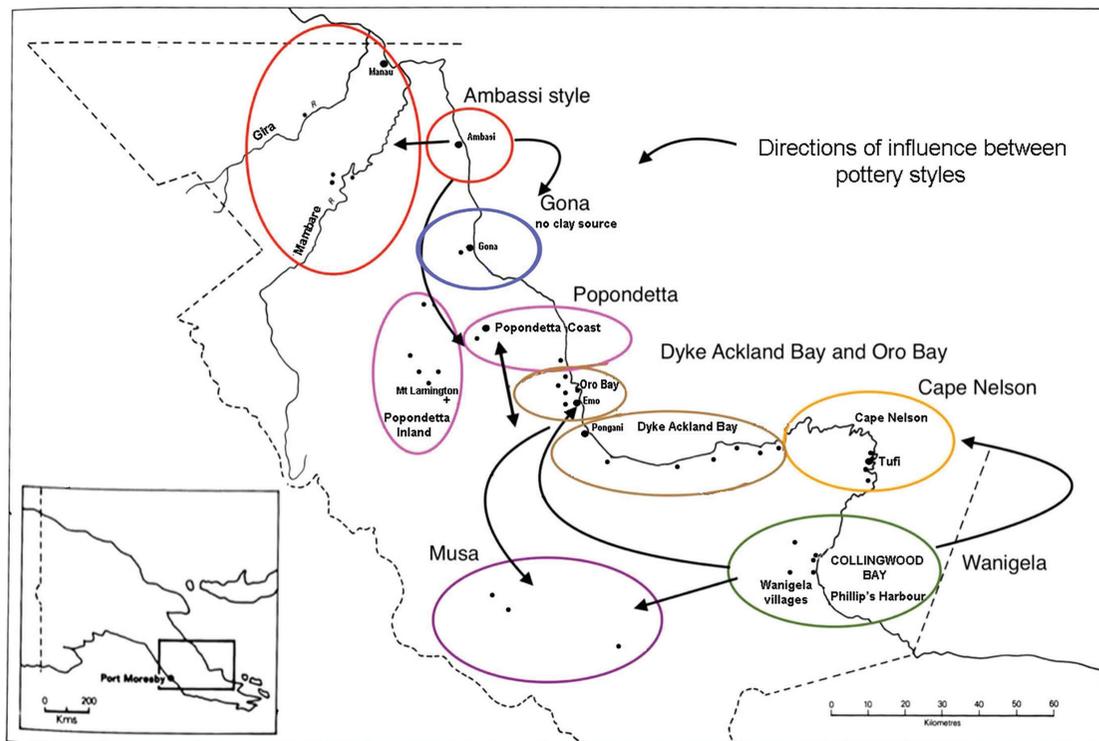


FIG. 1. Schematic showing the location of pottery traditions and the directions of influence between pottery styles. (After May & Tuckson 2000: Map 6).



FIG. 2. Pots probably acquired on April 14 and 15, 1894 at Phillip's Harbour: a. ER11672 (MAC3375 PNGNMAG); b. ER12247 (MAC5971 PNGNMAG); c., d. ER12248 (MAC7634); e., f. ER12249 (MAC5232 PNGNMAG); g. ER12251 (MAC5229 PNGNMAG); h. ER12252 (MAC6292); i., j. ER12253 (MAC5975 PNGNMAG). Scale bar: 5 cm. Queensland Museum photography.

testament to the movements and connections among the people of Collingwood Bay and beyond. The chapter will illustrate and establish the distinctive nature of the Wanigela ceramic style amongst the regional pottery styles present in the Official collection, which comprises pots from Mambare River, Kumusi River, Gona Bay, Musa River and Collingwood Bay (Figure 1). I commence with the pots noted as having been collected at Phillip's Harbour and explore the distinction between these and the pottery styles based inland and to the north (Figures 2, 3). The research is enhanced by a second collection acquired only 10 years later by Percy Money, a lay missionary who was based at the Anglican Mission at Wanigela for nearly a decade. It is through Money's knowledge of the area that long standing regional exchange networks in Collingwood Bay were first noted by Australian and European visitors to Collingwood Bay. MacGregor's collection presents a conundrum with regard to pots, because his party acquired pottery from disparate

places and Wanigela was never named. However, difficulties arising in establishing the provenience of 'Wanigela' style pots evaporate once indigenous networks of exchange are recognized as having been materialized in the Official collection.

Today, the name Wanigela refers to a district encompassing villages located on the coast as well as inland (Figure 1; see Bonshek 2005:3 for a detailed map of the Wanigela villages). This region is the home of a distinctive pottery style and tradition of production, use and exchange. Cooking pots enter local exchange networks and then may be traded north and south. Contemporary women potters of Wanigela, while reduced in their numbers, continue to make pots and walk inland to source clay located roughly 2 kilometres from the coast (Bonshek 2017).

When MacGregor first arrived in British New Guinea in 1888, the Anglican Mission had not yet established the first station in Collingwood Bay and the region now known as 'Wanigela' did not exist. Encouraged by MacGregor, the mission set up a station on the



FIG. 3. Pots probably acquired on 14 and 15 April 1894 at Phillip's Harbour: a. ER12254 (MAC5231 PNGNMAG); b. ER 12250 (MAC3380); c., d. ER 12255 (MAC3410 PNGNMAG). Scale bar: 5 cm. Queensland Museum Photography.

beach between two villages named Rainu and Oresan (which remain today) in 1899–1901. When the mission relocated inland to Sarad in the 1940s, some people from the beach also decided to move, establishing a new village adjacent to the mission station. Since then, a combination of population expansion and beach erosion has resulted in further expansion inland into the bush roughly one hour's walk from Sarad. It is this larger region, from the bush settlement to the coast, which is now called 'Wanigela'. Therefore, at the time MacGregor and his party explored the coastline and hinterland of Collingwood Bay, an area considered by them as uncharted territory, they did not, and could not have encountered a place called 'Wanigela.'

The absence of any reference to a place called Wanigela presents an important reflection upon the emergence of a pottery style which today is viewed unmistakably as linked to a region. This example gives pause to consider the apparent immutability of place names in museum provenience work. In documentation associated with the Official collection we are faced with a distinct style apparently disassociated from what has become known as its traditional place of manufacture and origin. How long a tradition has existed, or been associated with a particular place, area, or a group of people can be difficult, if not fraught, to assess. But it remains that the pots collected by MacGregor reflect a style that is recognisable today, a style that is claimed by the people of Wanigela and by others in Collingwood Bay as belonging to Wanigela¹.

LOCATING WANIGELA

As the Administration extended its reach northwards along the coast from Samarai in Milne Bay, MacGregor visited villages from Fir Tree Point (first noted on 28 July 1890) and up to Gona (first noted in 29 September 1893), a distance of approximately 217km. With MacGregor's support the Anglican Mission established outposts along the way, preceding the arrival of the government's station at Cape Nelson. However, the place name Wanigela does not appear in the *British New Guinea Annual*

Reports during MacGregor's time as Administrator and Lieutenant Governor (1888 to 1898).

The earliest pots from 'Collingwood Bay' arrived at the Queensland Museum (QM) in transfer T52 (1 August 1894). The bay had first been visited on 29 July 1890 when MacGregor's party stopped at Fir Tree Point before moving on ten miles to Phillips Harbour.

It is here that he came upon two large canoes in a lagoon. The occupants fled to the bush. MacGregor placed a small present in one of the canoes, which he saw was taken as his party left the lagoon. Four years later, Phillip's Harbour was visited again, and his party (possibly Moreton, Guise or Armit) acquired pots for the Official collection on 14 April 1894.

The place name 'Wanigela' is used first by the Anglican Mission. In his account of the early days of the Mission in Collingwood Bay, Rev Chignell, the third Anglican missionary to serve at the Wanigela Mission station, recounted that Bishop Albert Maclaren had travelled with MacGregor 'all around Collingwood Bay' and they had gone ashore at Uiaku, Yuayu and Wanigera [sic] (Chignell 1913:90). Macgregor (1892:12) reports that on 30 July 1890 he and Maclaren visited Maisina villages between Phillip's Harbour to beyond Keppel Point noting that they stopped at Beria, Augo and Uiaku villages. Wanigela/Wanigera was not mentioned.

Commenting on his visit to these villages, MacGregor (1892) referred to local regimes of value in relation to introduced objects. For instance, he noted that stone clubs and shields were too valuable to be traded. He also observed social practices, remarking on betel chewing equipment, clothing and houses; in one village a local purchased a box of matches from his party. Uiaku was described as having more canoes and ornaments than their neighbours, which MacGregor felt demonstrated their greater relative wealth. People there also played bamboo nose flutes. He observed that the use of iron was unknown and that he could not obtain any jade adzes for which he had offered metal objects in exchange. He then visited a village called Maki Maki where, unlike in Uiaku, the villagers 'willingly exchanged their jade-stone adzes for a few small

beads' (MacGregor 1892:12). Maki Maki may represent present day Rainu and Oresan, and the 'village' referred to by Chignell as Wanigera.

In his history of the mission, Chignell recorded that Bishop Copeland King, Maclaren's successor, visited the area three years later, in 1893, and again in July 1895. Copeland King went to Uiaku and then on to Wanigela 'not yet known by that name' where he received a 'tempestuous welcome,' by which we are to understand that the locals were eager to trade (Chignell 1913:90). According to Chignell, Copeland King reported as follows:

These people proved to be expert thieves, and stole the handkerchief out of my trouser pocket, the watch out of my pouch, the sock out of my boot while on the ground beside me, and the trade I had already purchased from them, with the utmost ease. However, anything I missed was returned to me when I asked for it. But when I called there again on my way back from Cape Nelson, they would not let me into their stockaded village, because I had brought no iron ashore to trade with (Chignell 1913:90).

At this early stage of interactions between the British Administration and people on this part of the north coast, MacGregor seems to have identified all the inhabitants of Collingwood Bay uniformly as Maisin or 'Maisina'. MacGregor's first information about the inhabitants in this region came from the people living on Cape Vogel (to the south) whom he referred to as the Kapi Kapi language speakers (MacGregor 1892:12) and who spoke a language belonging to the Milne Bay language group. MacGregor noted that conversation with the Maisina/Maisin in Collingwood Bay was difficult because their 'dialect' had little in common with that of Murua and Awaiama, to the south, close to Cape Vogel.

The Anglican Mission had already established a station at Wedau (on Goodenough Bay, south of Cape Vogel), and MacGregor enlisted local men from the Taupota district south of Wedau to assist him on his exploration of Collingwood Bay. The Taupota men acted as translators and negotiators. MacGregor

stated that Maisin was a different language to that spoken in Taupota, but the latter were aware of the people living in Collingwood Bay and knew them as Maisin people. This is likely to be the source of MacGregor's designation of the bay as 'Maisina'. MacGregor, of course, was not put off by language difficulties, but was determined to 'show them [the locals] that Europeans could supply them with articles useful in everyday life' (MacGregor 1892:12): i.e. using the supposed universal language of barter and trade. A contemporary map of language families in the area (Wurm and Hattori 1983) illustrates a wide diversity of languages that no doubt was present during MacGregor's administration. Such variation in languages must have increased the complexity of MacGregor's challenge to chart both the land and the people of the region and perhaps contributes to the absence of 'Wanigela'.

Chignell's (1913) account of mission history records the name 'Wanigera' as a person's name, not a place name. The chronicle refers to Copeland King's attempt to establish a station at Sinipara (south of Phillip's Harbour) in 1898 in an effort to extend the reach of the mission northwards. Their efforts were useless because they could not secure the foundation poles in the ground as these refilled with sea water. The story goes that while a chief named Wanigera had wanted the mission to settle in his village at Uiaku, warriors from the inland, known as the Dorriri, attacked the village and killed chief Wanigera and 14 other men. The survivors did not want the mission and so King and Abbot moved 13 miles north to Wanigera, the villages at the head of Collingwood Bay (Chignell 1913:97; Figure 1).

According to Mr. Abbot, who accompanied Copeland King,

there were several villages at Wanigera, and the largest was hemmed in by mangrove swamps and there was a high palisade on the seaward side with a low doorway in the centre. When the white people began to carry their things from the shore towards the village, the principal man hurried forward and barricaded the doorway, and Mr. Tomlinson, who had

picked up some local words at Sinapa, had to parley for a long time before they would let the strangers come into the village and give them a place to sleep in. After a few days they got the natives to build a house on the beach, between two of the smaller villages (Chignell 1913: 107-108).

The relationship between Wanigera the man and Wanigera/Wanigela the place is not clear. Nor is the chronology and causes of decampment from the defensive position of the fortified (stockaded) village to the coastal villages of Rainu and Oeresan. Today the manner of dispersal from the fortified village is not unanimously agreed upon (Bonshek 2005), but by 1904 to 1905 the mission station had established a church and school between the two villages.

According to Chignell's account, Copeland King described the chief Wanigera in some detail. King apparently remarked in a description of a visit in October 1896 that the chief was 'a man...worthy of more than passing notice' (Chignell 1913: 90). However, a possible ray of light was shed subsequently by Percy Money who resided in Wanigela for nearly ten years and gained familiarity with the *tok ples* language Ubir.

Money made a collection for the Australian Museum between 1901 to 1910. In his letters to the museum in 1909 he corrected his earlier spelling of 'Wanigela' indicating that 'Wanigera' was preferred. He said that 'Wanigera' was used by locals and that earlier missionaries had been incorrect in using 'Wanigela'. However, during my own fieldwork (2001 to 2003), the word 'Wanigela' was legitimised and explained as referring to an action and not a specific place. In the Ubir language placing together 'wani' and 'gela' communicated the sense of 'pulling together'. Regardless of these puzzling permutations, as a place name Wanigela remains in use and came to include the villages of Rainu, Komabun (where clans speaking Ubir language resided) and Oeresan (where clans speaking Oyan resided). Other villages Aieram and Murin were located only a short distance inland and Aisor and Onjob language speakers resided there. The connection between Wanigera the chief and Wanigera/Wanigela the place remains

unclear. Money's correction to linguistic knowledge commenced the process of providing a greater understanding for Europeans and Australians of the linguistic complexity of the area by providing Ubir, Oyan and Maisin language classifiers for the objects in his collection.

From a contemporary perspective, Collingwood Bay has been revealed to be an area of considerable linguistic diversity with the Miniafia, Korafe, Onjob and Aisor languages added to Maisin and Ubir which had been recognised at the turn of the nineteenth century. There is nothing to suggest that today's complexity was not present in the 1880s and 1890s. So when MacGregor refers to the Maisina of Collingwood Bay, informed by the men from Taupota, we can conclude that this is an oversimplification of the reality on the ground. Clearly, people of a number of different language groups were living in the region during MacGregor's administration.

The Wanigela style of pottery making exemplified by the pottery MacGregor collected was recorded as a tradition of Collingwood Bay and the north coast. While Money is the first outside observer to ground this tradition to a place and to record the use of pottery in exchanges beyond their place of manufacture, the collection made by MacGregor and his party forms the physical evidence of this network of engagement across the north east coast from Fir Tree Point to Gona.

A DISTINCTIVE AND REMARKABLE TRADITION

MacGregor described the pottery of the Wanigela tradition obtained in Phillip's Harbour as 'distinctive' and 'remarkable' and associated it with the Maisin people (Figures 2, 3).

Some very remarkable pottery was obtained at Maisina [Phillip's Harbour] for the public collection. The pieces are bowl-shaped and have on the outside raised designs, as if a small cord had been half inserted into the clay and left there. This raised form of design is the only example I have seen of relief ornamentation in Papua pottery (MacGregor 1894:37).

This ‘remarkable pottery’ arrived at the Queensland Museum (QM) in Transfer T52 on 1 August 1894 (Table 1; Figures 2, 3). For MacGregor, the pots were striking because of their decoration: he had never seen ‘raised patterns’ on pots before and perhaps interpreted these designs as ‘communicative art’ (MacGregor 1897: 77-78). He correctly deduced how the designs were applied to the surface of these pots. His comments on the technique of making applied designs show him to have been an astute observer of detail and perhaps already knowledgeable about pottery making techniques. Over a hundred years later May and Tuckson (2000) noted that this kind of applied design, as well as the technique used to form the body of the pots, is unique in Papua New Guinea.

In contrast, Charles de Vis, the curator at the QM, was not impressed. While he wrote favourably about MacGregor’s collection as a whole, noting the additions not only provided ‘novelties’ for students of ‘primitive art and manners’ but also increased the number of examples of object types from British New Guinea and so allowed the identification of duplicates, his view on the Collingwood Bay pots was

not complimentary (de Vis 1894: 98). De Vis viewed pottery as ‘domestic utensils,’ rather than an art form, and classified them alongside ‘wooden bowls’ and ‘platters’. He incorrectly suggested that the raised designs were drawn up, not applied. Noting that by 1893, the museum already held 22 pottery vessels from Collingwood Bay in the collection, de Vis added that they were

...inferior in material and make to that of the Western coast, but decorated with ridges disposed in guilloches and chevrons; the ridges raised by means of a bamboo spring forceps by which the clay is pinched up along the lines of pattern: colour given to the hot clay by a decoction of mangrove root (de Vis 1894: 98).

While the Collingwood Bay pots were considered ‘inferior,’ by de Vis, they were not as deficient as the Kumusi River pots, which he described as ‘very crude and plain’ (de Vis 1894: 98), thereby raising the issue of how the Wanigela style compared to other local pottery traditions.

TABLE 1. Pots that arrived at the Queensland Museum on 1.8.1894 (Transfer 52) as recorded in the *Ethnology (New Guinea) Register* (Queensland Museum: 1889-1910). They were probably acquired on 14 and 15 April 1894 at Phillip’s Harbour.

ER number	MAC number	Description in Ethnology Registry	Bonshek commentary, including Ubir language names	Figure
12246	3375	Brown ware water jar, raised ornamental pattern	Water pot – simom	2a
12247	5971	Water basin, angular at each end of rounded bottom	Dish, possibly made to look like a string bag	2b
12248	7634	Water basin, oblong, round bottom	Dish serving - rectangular - <i>sewaf</i>	2c, 2d
12249	5232	Water basin/ round bottom	Serving dish, rectangular, <i>sewaf</i>	2e, 2f
12252	6292	Water basin, oblong, round bottom	Serving dish, rectangular, <i>sewaf</i>	2h
12251	5229	Water basin, round bottom	Serving bowl, round, <i>ramo</i>	2g
12253	5975	Water basin, oblong, round bottom	Serving dish, <i>sewaf</i>	2i, 2j
12254	5231	Water basin, round (incised pattern)	Serving cup, <i>wiga/kiriwas</i>	3a
12255	3410	Water jar, large spherical	Cooking pot, perhaps used as a water pot at time of acquisition	3c, 3d
12260	3380	Water bowl, round raised and incised pattern	Serving round, <i>ramo</i>	3b

ORO PROVINCE STYLES AND THE WANIGELA POTTERY TRADITION

Since MacGregor recorded places separated by approximately 220 km of coastline where pottery was acquired and did not specifically identify the villages associated with its manufacture, there is a question about what constitutes the 'Wanigela pottery tradition', as it has now come to be known (Egloff 1973, 1977: 26-27; 1979; Key 1968; May & Tuckson 2000: 119-124). To address this question, I review the pottery traditions represented in the MacGregor collection from the north coast of British New Guinea in order to prosecute the case that pots collected at Gona and Philip's Harbour do not actually constitute local manufacturing traditions. Rather, they actually belong to the Wanigela tradition now anchored in the coastal villages surrounding Rainu and Oeresan and inland. This study therefore challenges the common practice in museum provenience work of using places of acquisition as unquestionably places of production of historical collections.

As he explored the area from Collingwood Bay at the southern end of what is now Oro (or Northern) Province up to the Mambare River area at the northern end and adjacent to the nineteenth-century German border, MacGregor acquired pots

TABLE. 2. Shipments from MacGregor to the Queensland Museum that included pottery.

Date	Transfer Number	Number of pots
4.3.93	T47	3
1.8.94	T52	14
11.1.96	T55	8
1.3.97	T60	26
29.12.97	T68	7
10.11.98	T74	5

in various places. In all, 112 pots were sent to the Queensland Museum in six transfers (see Table 2). While 'Wanigela' is not referred to, as noted already, reference was made to the Maisina, Maisenia, the Maisina District, Phillip's Harbour and additionally Maki Maki (or Makimaki). All are located in Collingwood Bay, in the North-East District (Figure 1). (Interestingly Maki Maki does not appear in the PNG government's 1973 list of villages of Northern District.)

De Vis recorded four localities for 29 pots as follows:

- Collingwood Bay
- Musa River
- Mambare River
- Kumusi River

Subsequently, Michael Quinnell's attributions, based on style, increased the number of pots from the North-East District to 57 (excluding fragments). This project has identified a further six items, bringing the total to 63 pots for the North-East District which are currently housed in the Queensland Museum or the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery (see Appendix 6, this volume for a listing of all Oro Pots in the Official collection). The Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) at Cambridge University holds additional examples acquired by MacGregor for his own use. However, the latter were recorded as originating from Gona Bay and Waututu (also in the Gona area), introducing a fifth geographical point of origin for the pots (Figures 4, 5).

The introduction of Gona as a potential source of pottery complicates the description of what constitutes Wanigela style if the provenience information is interpreted as place of manufacture and acquisition. Another pot recorded from Waututu does not fit the contemporary classifications of style and places of manufacture on the northern coast and hinterland (May & Tuckson 2000). The 'Gona' style is no longer extant, but is remembered as a northwards, not southwards, facing tradition (May & Tuckson 2000: 115). What can be learned from this apparent disjuncture?



FIG. 4. Pots identified as “Gona Bay” in the Annual Report of British New Guinea (Anon. 1898-1899: Plate 5, Figures 9, 10): a. MAA Z 9192; b. ER19281 (MAC3417); c. ER19283 (MAC3387); d. ER19284 (MAC3408); e. ER19285 (MAC3369); f. MAA Z 9191. Photos a and f by permission of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; photo e by Elizabeth Bonshek; photos b, c, d, Queensland Museum Photography. Scale bar: 5 cm.



FIG.5. The Waututu pot (MAA Z 9194). Published as “Clay pot from Waututu (North-East Coast)” (Anon. 1898-1899: Plate 13, Figure 25). Photo permission of the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

TABLE. 3. Locations where MacGregor acquired pottery compared with pottery making centres identified by Patricia May and Margaret Tuckson in the 1960-70s. For locations see Figure 1.

Localities where MacGregor and his staff acquired pots	Location of style areas identified by May and Tuckson (2000)
<i>Mambare River</i> <i>Kumusi River</i>	Northern region including the Mambare and Kumusi Rivers Ambassi pots represent the style of the northern region
<i>Gona Bay</i> <i>Waututu</i>	Gona, Holnicote Bay. Gona production style is noted as ‘lost’. The Wanigela style is present in Gona as well as an unknown style represented by the ‘Waututu’ pot
<i>Musa River</i>	Dyke Ackland Bay region. Musa pot makers are part of the Dyke Ackland Bay style, but are influenced by the Wanigela style of Collingwood Bay
<i>Collingwood Bay</i>	Wanigela Located in the several villages in Wanigela.

POTTERY STYLES IN NORTHERN PROVINCE

In their survey of pottery making centres and styles in Papua New Guinea undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s, Patricia May and Margaret Tuckson (2000: 110–125) described four extant and one defunct pottery production areas associated with four styles. These styles were represented at the following (Figure 1):

Extant

- Ambassi
- Dyke Acland Bay and Popondetta area
- Musa
- Wanigela.

Defunct

- Gona (synonymous with Holnicote Bay)

If we compare the locations from which MacGregor and his party acquired pots against the stylistic regions identified by May and Tuckson (2000), nearly 100 years later we can see overlapping geographical locations and can presume that there are also continuities in style within the regions since the late nineteenth century (Table 3). A brief overview of the pottery styles in contemporary Oro Province will serve to establish the distinguishing features of the Wanigela pottery making tradition and ‘style’ and also indicate influences among various regions (Figure 1 and Table 4). These will be summarised moving along a north–south axis using information derived from May and Tuckson (2000) unless specifically referenced otherwise.

AMBASSI STYLE

During May and Tuckson’s research, Ambassi potters were living at Ambassi, Manau, Mambare River and Gira River areas. Ambassi (somewhat like Wanigela) refers to a group of 16 villages located offshore and accessible only by boat. The potters used several local, high quality clay sources. The Ambassi style is characterised by a deep cone shaped pot (e.g. Figure 6) up to 50cm in height, sometimes decorated around the outer rim. While the inside of the pot is smoothed, a section between

TABLE. 4. The location of pottery styles and villages associated with pottery manufacture (See Figure 1).

Pottery style areas	Associated villages
Ambassi	Ambassi Barara Gira River Iaudari Mambare River Manua Nindewari
Gona	
Popondetta	Aragasusu Busega Kakandetta Warisoia
Popondetta inland	Awala Garombi Jajau Sasembata Sivepe
Oro Bay - Emo	Baoro Borou Leibai
Dyke Ackland Bay – Pongani	Bendoroda Gobe Iwuji Karisoa Songadie
Cape Nelson	Angorogo Barabara Kabuni Sepoa
Musa	Namudi Safia Sibia
Wanigela	Komabun Koreaf Naukwate Oresan Rainu

4 to 10 cm at the rim is left untouched revealing the coils and sometimes a pattern, as illustrated in (Figure 6, detail).

At the time of May and Tuckson’s (2000) survey, Ambassi style potters lived at Nindewari village, on the Gira River; Iaudari on the Mambare River; Barara village to the south of the Mambare River, and Manua village located on the coast between the two rivers. While the production technique has similarities to the Waria style further to the north, the reach of these pots stretched southwards too, as May and Tuckson (2000) recorded Ambassi pots in the Gona area and near Mt Lamington, where they were said to have been acquired as gifts.

GONA, HOLNICOTE BAY

Gona is approximately 15 km north of Popondetta. May and Tuckson (2000) could not describe the Gona style because production had ceased for a generation by the time of their visit. There are no clay sources in Gona and potters acquired their clay from the Ambassi. May and Tuckson (2000: 115) suggested that the Gona style would have reflected the Ambassi style because the ancestors of the Gona people had travelled from Ambassi. As discussed below, it was not possible to establish the origin of the pot at the CMAA described as the Waututu pot (Figure 5).



FIG. 6. Left, Ambassi style pot, with an unrestricted mouth, ER18743 (MAC3386 PNGNMAG) Queensland Museum Photography. Right: Inside edge of Ambassi style pot, made by Elsie Rorowi, Konje village, Gona. Reproduced from Figure 5.4 in May & Tuckson 2000: 114 by permission from the Australian Museum and Patricia May.

POPONDETTA AREA (BINANDERE LANGUAGE AREA)

This pottery production area included the inland villages of Sivepe, Sasembata, Garombi, Awala and Jajau, on the north west slope of Mt Lamington. All the potters of this group accessed a clay source located on Awala village land, two hours walk from Sasembata and Sivepe. A second group comprised Kakandetta village located close to Popondetta, and Busega, Aragasusu and Warisoia, all of which had clay sources and were located on the coast, south east of Popondetta towards Oro Bay (May & Tuckson 2000: 116). A wide variety of pottery forms in the Popondetta area were characterised by May and Tuckson (2000) as tending to ‘restricted forms’ (the mouth of the pot is drawn in, or narrowed), unlike the Ambassi which are all unrestricted (the mouth of the pot is open and wide). Many were plain, but some had incised decoration along the outside rim of the pot, and some had the Ambassi style “unbonded finger marked coils” on the inside top of the pot. Also, the conical nature of the Ambassi pot is softened (Figure 7a).

ORO BAY AND DYKE ACLAND BAY

The villages of Emo (Oro Bay) and Pongani (Dyke Acland Bay) were noted by May and Tuckson

(2000: 117-118) as renowned for pottery making. The pot makers were Notu speakers, one of the six languages spoken in this region. The technique of production in both areas was similar to the Binandere of the Popondetta area. At Pongani only cooking pots were made. These were restricted pots with flattened or pointy bases made of a distinctive sandy orange coloured clay which was found some three hours walk from Pongani. Design elements were incised onto the surface of the pot (Figure 7b).

When May and Tuckson visited Emo, sago feasting pots were still manufactured from clay sourced from Baoro near Leibai village, also a three hour walk away. Emo potters used incised designs and also a minimal use of applied designs appearing as a single wavy line around the rim of the pot (Figure 7c). Informants told May and Tuckson that pottery continued to be made at Beama, Waima, Leibai, Borou, Ordeno, Iwuji, Songadie, Karisoa, Bendoroda, Sebaga, Gobe, Beporo and Ako. May and Tuckson had difficulty distinguishing a Pongani – Emo – Beamo style, except that the pots in this area were distinct to the Ambassi style. They concluded that the Pongani – Emo pots were influenced by the Wanigela style (see below) but were not so well made. They attributed similarities to intermarriage and the relocation of women to their husbands’ villages (May & Tuckson 2000: 118).

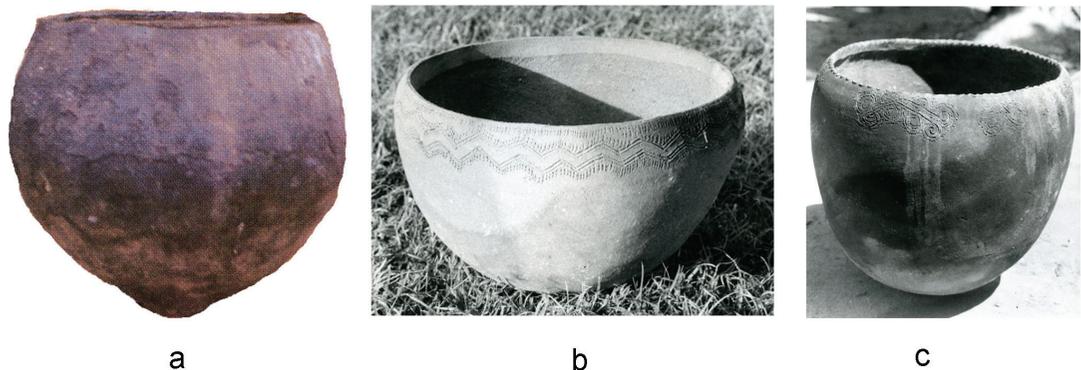


FIG.7. a. Popondetta profile illustrating softening pointy base and restricted mouth (cf. see Ambassi pot in May & Tuckson (2000: 115) made by Natalie, Gorombi village. Reproduced with permission from Patricia May; b. Dyke Acland, Pongani pot showing incised designs, restricted, flattened or pointy bases (made by Anatasia Rajara of Pongani village); c. Dyke Acland, Emo pot showing characteristic profile, single wavy line applied at rim, and incised design (made by Rosa Mary Gorewa of Emo village) (May & Tuckson 2000: 116-117). b, c, Reproduced with permission from the Australian Museum.



FIG. 8. Musa and Musa River pots: a., b. Musa, ER16461 (MAC5239); c., d. Musa River, ER16459 (MAC5969 PNGNMAG) e. Musa River, ER16460 (MAC6204); f. Musa River, ER16462 (MAC5233); g. Musa River, ER16463 (MAC5984 PNGNMAG) Scale bar: 5 cm. Queensland Museum Photography.

MUSA

May and Tuckson (2000: 118) reported pottery making at Musa, approximately 80 km from Pongani, at the villages of Safia, Sibia and Namudi, but did not provide a description of the pots. The examples in the Official collection, recorded in the *Ethnology Register (New Guinea)* (Queensland Museum 1889-1910) as 'Musa' or 'Musa River' provide a snapshot of this regional style at the turn of the nineteenth century. These pots vary in the quality of their construction. For example, the finish of ER16461 (MAC5239) (Figure 8a and b) is rough: the rim has been left uneven and the sides of the pot have not been paddled to create a smooth surface. But ER16460 (MAC6204) (Figure 8e) is more finely finished with a single wavy line and incised V shaped lines around the rim and 'dot' impressions along the external sides of the V shapes. The pot surface is badly eroded; the carbonaceous colouring suggests a cooking pot. The design is applied well and together with the shape of the pot suggests a Wanigela style. In contrast, ER16462 (MAC5233) (Figure 8f), which is smaller in size, perhaps being a cup or a bowl, does not reflect a classic 'Wanigela' shape of cooking pot (see below), having a squared off profile. The application of the curved 'cloud' design and the use of notches, in this case around the rim, has some similarity in feel. The utilization of impressed notches or dashes reflects some of the features of the Wanigela style, but other elements are absent.

Among other examples, ER16463 (MAC5984) (Figure 8g) is a small cup or bowl which, unlike ER16461 (MAC5239) (Figure 8a), has been finished off by smoothing both the inside and the outside surfaces and maintaining a circular profile, in contrast to the bucket like profile of ER16462 (MAC5233) (Figure 8f). This group of pots appears to reflect a range of proficiency in pottery manufacture and a style which tends to modest decoration in the form of incised patterns with some applied work. This is reflected most flamboyantly in the three-dimensional effects of the applied elements of ER16459 (MAC5969) (Figure 8c and Figure 8d), a flat dish, with small raised 'knobs' around the entire rim. The application



FIG. 9. Blanche from Waijug, holding a flowerpot with applied "bumps" around shoulder and rim of a pot which she had made. Photography, Elizabeth Bonshek, 9 November 2001.

of such 'knobs' appears on some Wanigela pottery and may constitute a clan design or motif. Compare with the contemporary example in Figure 9.

CAPE NELSON

May and Tuckson (2000: 118) reported that the Korafe speaking villages of Angorogo, Barabara, Kabuni and Sepoa were home to pottery makers. Their style appears similar to Wanigela, as many women from there have married into Cape Nelson.

WANIGELA

The pots of Wanigela are distinctive from those of their neighbours both in the shape of the profile and in the use of applied designs which tend to cover large parts of the surface of the pot. The technique of their manufacture is also unique in Papua New Guinea although not readily visible in their final form. While applied designs can appear throughout this region, they are restricted to minimal application at the rim of the pot (generally a wavy line) with incised designs predominating. In contrast, the Wanigela style is distinguished by up to four wavy lines at the rim and a profusion of applied designs often covering the top two thirds of the pot, if not the entire surface. Wanigela also produces several different pottery forms, as discussed below, reflecting the integration of pottery vessels into

both domestic and ceremonial life. The examples acquired by MacGregor in the Musa area also suggest a variety of forms which might have been produced there, perhaps emulating some aspects of the Wanigela style.

It is of course a precautionary comment that material representations of both poor proficiency and great skill are no doubt evident in all the pottery examples contained within the collection MacGregor assembled and therefore the designation of a regional style needs to navigate the presence of both. Notwithstanding levels of proficiency, the typical styles of these pottery production areas overlap (especially from the Gona/Holnicote Bay southwards). If stylistic attributes regarding pot form are located along a north to south axis (from the Mambare River to Wanigela in Collingwood Bay), then some distinguishing features can be plotted. The pointy based pots of the Ambassi villages blend into the northern Mambare region and Gira region. The base flattens slightly but leans to Ambassi shape in Popondetta: for example, in the flattened base in the Dyke Ackland area and a bucket like profile of the Dyke Acland-Emo region. Musa 'looks to' Dyke Ackland Bay and is also influenced by Wanigela. The Musa might receive influences from both Dyke Acland and Oro Bay, as well as from Wanigela. Figure 1 presents a schematic showing the location of pottery traditions and their distribution within the region.

THE "WANIGELA" TRADITION OF POTTERY

The description of Wanigela pottery forms above relates mostly to cooking pots, but there is a great diversity of pottery forms. In fact, MacGregor collected examples of several different types of vessels then in use. In the *Ethnology Register (New Guinea)* (Queensland Museum 1889-1910) de Vis recorded 10 items variously as: water jars; water basins (long and spherical); water basins (long and round); water basins (oblong and round); and water basins (round) (Table 1). Not only are these items the only pots specifically recorded

as originating in Collingwood Bay, but in addition to the brief description, measurements were also included. Perhaps MacGregor was present when de Vis registered these items, as this kind of detail is lacking in all other entries regarding pots.

In addition to the description recorded in the *Ethnology Register (New Guinea)* (Queensland Museum 1889-1910), Table 5 lists functions and local language names for the pots (Bonshek 1989) and Table 6 provides the social/ceremonial uses of the pot types. The Ubir language names for the variety of pot types in this region were first recorded by Percy Money (Bonshek 1989). These types of pots and their *tok ples* names were noted by Egloff (1979) based on his fieldwork in the 1960s and also recorded during my fieldwork in 2001-2003. Examples of these are present in the Official collection and the material MacGregor donated to the CMAA. (See Appendix 6 this volume for a full list of the Collingwood Bay pots, including their local names).

In Transfer 52 alone, MacGregor's collection includes 1 *simom*, (Figures 2a, 10), four *sewaf* (Figure 2b), two *ramo* (Figure 2g), 1 *wiga* (Figure 3a) and a cooking pot (Figure 3c, 3d). Considering all of the

TABLE 5. Ubir language names for pots and their roles in food consumption.

Language name	Pot type
<i>sewaf</i>	serving dish, rectangular in proportions
<i>simon</i>	water pot
<i>sabed</i>	cooking pot for sago
<i>durum nokwat</i>	cooking pot for taro and sago
<i>wiga</i>	cup
<i>ramo</i>	serving dish, round
<i>kiriwas</i>	ladle
<i>kibub</i>	narrow mouthed pot, round
<i>kepkep</i>	double mouthed pot

TABLE. 6. Types of pots and their uses in social and ceremonial life.

Ubir name	Uses	Form
<i>nokwat</i>	Cooking food/ Exchange and Trade	Bowl
<i>sabed</i>	Feasting	Bowl
<i>durum nokwat</i>	Cooking food	Bowl
<i>sewaf</i>	Serving/consuming food or drinks	Rectangular dish
<i>ramo</i>	Serving/consuming food or drinks	Round dish
<i>wiga</i>	Serving/consuming food or drinks	Cup
<i>kiriwas</i>	Serving	Ladle (with a handle)
<i>kibub</i>	Serving/drawing water	Narrow mouthed dish?
<i>kepkep</i>	Serving	Double-mouthed dish
<i>simom</i>	Water container	Narrow- mouthed, tall

TABLE. 7. The distribution of pot types in the Collingwood Bay component of the Official collection.

Type	Number	Percent
Cup: <i>wiga / kiriwas</i>	3	6.1
Water container: <i>simom</i>	4	8.1
Dish (oblong): <i>sewaf</i>	9	18.3
Dish circular: <i>ramo</i>	13	26.5
Cooking pot	10	20.4
Unassigned	10	20.4
Totals	49	100
<i>Serving vessels</i>	29	42.5
<i>Cooking vessels</i>	10	20.4

identified pot types attributed to the Wanigela style of Collingwood Bay, 26 per cent are *ramo* (circular dishes) while 20 per cent are cooking pots. The full distribution of types is presented in Table 7. Interestingly, in relation to those pots with a known function, it is the serving vessels that represent a larger proportion of pots (29 per cent) in the Wanigela style than cooking pots (10 per cent).

The collection that MacGregor and his staff acquired is remarkable in that 11 of the 48 pots of the 'Wanigela' style have been coloured. The application of red and white to the surface of pots has not been recognized in Wanigela's 'ethnographic present'; nor was it documented by Percy Money, May and Tuckson (2000) or Brian Egloff (1979). There are eleven pots in the Official collection which are coloured, and two in the MAA collection (Figure 10). As we will see below, in terms of the social function of pottery in Collingwood Bay, it is cooking pots which have exchange value, whereas the most highly decorated forms are associated with clans and individuals. Before looking at the forms of social life mediated by pots, I return briefly to the Gona Pots.



FIG. 10. Water pot, known as *simom* in Ubir: ER 11672 (MAC3375 PNGNMAG). Queensland Museum Photography.

THE GONA POTS REPRISED

The seven pots represented as ‘Gona Bay Pottery (North East Coast)’ in the official reports (ANON ARBNG 1898-98: Plate 5, Figures 9, 10) (Figure 4) are Wanigela style pots. This does not negate the fact they were acquired by MacGregor in Gona. Percy Tasman Black also acquired similar pots from Gona (described at length by Scott and Segman 1968)². Not only have the connections and influences of the various styles in the Northern region been established as overlapping and having influence into neighbouring areas, peoples’ lives and settlements were disrupted during the period preceding MacGregor’s arrival as well as during the decade of his exploratory journeys on the north coast. The discussion of the Waututu pot below illustrates forced migration due to natural disaster and subsequent return. We should not be in any doubt that both people and pots circulated: sometimes within socially and culturally established trajectories and sometimes as the result of disruption.

The pot MAA Z9191, which appears in the *Annual Reports of British New Guinea* (1898-1899: Plate 5 bottom left; Figures 4 and 11) is a very fine example of the vessels with applied designs that cover the entire pot as well as the repetition of design areas with a tendency to delineate sections of designs. Many of the pots in Percy Money’s collection at the Australian Museum also show this design aesthetic. The design segment visible in Figure 11 (left) is repeated on the other side of the pot. The two renditions of the design are separated by a series of wavy lines which do not run in parallel, but are placed in an inverted relationship: the apex of each wave touches the trough of its neighbour. The base (Figure 11, right), separated from the repeated designs on the sides of the pot by three concentric circles presents a cross pattern with wavy lines emanating in parallel. This gives the effect of an origin point at the centre, but, in fact, the lines fill the triangular segments which form the cross. All these motifs are undoubtedly clan designs. Red and white colour has been added to the surface, appearing on the recurring design motif (on either side of the

pot), and covering the entire base. A segment of red appears on part of the rim.

In contemporary Wanigela, clan designs are applied to the face on special occasions (such as traditional dancing) and the colours used are red, white and black. It might be that the application of colour to MAA Z 9191 completes the designs, or it might be that the colour has been applied to claim the pot in some way which goes above and beyond the design embedded into the pot during its manufacture prior to firing. Given that some contemporary potters were surprised by the presence of colour on pots, it is possible that this is not usual, or it is an aspect of pottery making that has been forgotten. Possibly it is a way of marking the pot by someone seeking to make it their own by overwriting the applied designs. The colours red and black are normally applied to bark cloth throughout the north coast. What is certain at this juncture is that the application of colour to the pots is something that requires further investigation in order to understand it as a ‘communicative act’ in the sense discussed by MacGregor.

THE WAUTUTU POT

The stylistic origins of the Waututu pot (MAA Z 9194, Figure 5) are opaque. It has a bucket like shape, perhaps similar to that described by May and Tuckson for Dyke Ackland–Emo pottery. Its rim is slightly everted and is wide and flat, unlike any of the styles from the north coast. In addition, it has an incised design, possibly made by pressing and moving the crenelated rim of a seashell with an uneven result. The design below the rim comprises V shaped incised lines in groups of three, placed within boundary lines within repeated sections. A second motif consists of horizontally arranged impressed dots separating the larger horizontal bands. Small irregular dots and dashes follow the lines of the V shape and appear along the top and bottom of the band. The top of the rim also has incised marks. These design elements all have hints of the Wanigela style in which marks are often pressed into an applied design element. There are no applied elements in the Waututu pot, but

the incised pattern echoes the Wanigela design aesthetic. It also resembles the application of dots to accompany the outline of a motif which is applied to bark cloth made throughout Collingwood Bay.

The origin of the pot might be resolved by embracing the knowledge that during MacGregor's administration people were regularly moving around the region, due to both environmental and social factors including intermarriage. For instance, when MacGregor was visiting the mouth of the Kumusi River, men from Bafare and from Kome came to see him there. On his way southwards, MacGregor visited Bafure village at Gona Bay and while trading with the people there he discovered that they were new to the location. He thought they were from the interior, and he described them as 'excessively timid' (MacGregor 1899: 44). Moving on from Bafure village, MacGregor visited the Chief of Waututu on 19 May 1898 (MacGregor 1899: 44-45). The chief was mentioned specifically because some years earlier he had assisted carriers who had deserted prospectors in the Mambare District. MacGregor thanked him formally for his assistance and 'presented him with a gift' (MacGregor 1899: 45).

MacGregor then moved on to the next village where once again he was known. The population, described by MacGregor as very friendly, had returned to the area four or five years before, having fled the

region following a tidal wave (MacGregor 1899: 45). MacGregor returned to visit the tribes near Waututu on 9 July 1898 and had wanted to establish an anchorage there. However, the locals did not have much food to spare and there was no reference to any trading at this time. Was the MAA Z 9194 pot a return gift from Chief Waututu to MacGregor after the latter's formal presentation to the chief during his visit on 19 May 1898?

The Waututu pot appears to bring together several design elements found in the region, but also manifests elements that are not typical of the region. Perhaps an unknowable history of unstable settlement in the region caused by natural disaster, tribal warfare, regional exchange and intermarriage is reflected in the combination of design elements of the Waututu pot.

ESTABLISHING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN POTTERY FORMS AND USE

Moving away from an analysis of form and refocusing on how pots were used in the past and, on certain occasions, also in the present, we can begin to comprehend their social role in everyday life and perhaps also conceive of how MacGregor had acquired these items. Percy Money informs us that the pots made in Wanigela were part of a regional



FIG. 11. Pot (MAA Z 9194) bears markings around the sides and on the base that are likely to be clan designs. Photos by permission of the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

trade network, exchanged for barkcloth, mats and string bags, which are also represented in the Official collection (Bonshek 1989). Pots were required to fulfill ceremonial obligation, as gifts at ‘marriages’, as well as for cooking. Money does not provide much detail about this exchange relationship,³ but he tells us specifically that pots and barkcloth were exchanged between the villages of Wanigela and Uiaku (Bonshek 1989). Since Money was in the area only three years after MacGregor left, it seems reasonable to assume that the local exchange networks he witnessed had also been active during MacGregor’s time.

There were three missionaries who made ‘ethnological’ collections⁴ while based in Wanigela between 1898 (the year MacGregor left British New Guinea) and 1910: Rev Wilfred Abbot⁵ 1898 to 1900; Percy Money 1901 to 1910; and Reverend Chignell,⁶ who arrived in 1907. Anna-Karina Hermkens (2013: 278-279), who has presented an analysis of collections from this period, observed that stone adzes, ornaments, pottery and bark cloth predominated in terms of numbers because these were major items of local exchange. As such, the agency of Collingwood Bay locals is reflected in the composition of the collections, as much as the individual collecting agendas of the visitors.

During my fieldwork in Wanigela (2001-2003), women continued to exchange pots for barkcloth made by women of the Maisin villages in Collingwood Bay on a one for one basis, as well as for string bags and mats made by the Miniafia and Korafe women living to the north of Wanigela (Bonshek 2017 and Figure 12). (These are the undifferentiated people of MacGregor’s Maisin District.) Further, in terms of a local regime of value, 20 pots were required as a gift accompanying bride price payments and previously 20 pots were needed to exchange for shell valuables called *nunug*. MacGregor collected one of these items which do not appear frequently in other collections. Pots in various numbers were exchanged for other objects such as canoes, pigs, dogs. These items formed part of an indigenous exchange network which extended throughout

Collingwood Bay and beyond. In 2003 a Wanigela informant told me that in former times men traded pots with partner clans located both north and south of the bay (Bonshek 2005). His own clan had associations to the south, as far as Cape Vogel. In addition to exchanging pots for *nunug*, Wanigela men also used pots to obtain special varieties of bananas (called *ogi darag*). The same relationships were activated in warfare, when trading partners were enlisted to lend support.

Some pots bear statements of social connections through the clan designs that they carry. Money noted that pots with clan designs were placed on graves, a practice that remains in Wanigela in the contemporary period. Today, pots decorated with clan designs are withheld from trade networks, but they might be given as important gifts to valued people or be retained within the home as heirlooms. The collection made by MacGregor and his agents includes pots which I believe have clan designs on them (See Appendix 6, this volume).

While cooking pots connect people through trade and exchange, clan design pots (which may well be used for cooking) also connect people through visual references to their clan. We can see that pots are objects of exchange in longstanding regional networks of connection. They formed an important part of an indigenous scale of value as well as providing the means to cook and serve food; they constituted the means to exchange for items needed for both every day and ceremonial life; and there were forms for different purposes (Table 6). The Official collection captures the diverse array of pottery forms: water pot; small cup; several kinds of oblong dishes used for eating and or serving; exchange pots used for cooking; clan pots used for cooking and feasting. Given their use and regional reach in exchange, it is perhaps not surprising that pots obtained by MacGregor and his agents were acquired from locations beyond contemporary Wanigela. We can also theorize that as the Official collection contains both clan pots and trade pots, in relinquishing these objects local people were drawing MacGregor and his party into customary modes of engagement. In these engagements,

objects are entangled in social relationships, move through diverse cultural spaces and are used to negotiate new relationships (Thomas 1989).

MacGregor (1897: 72) himself noted the significance of trade networks up and down the southeast coast. I think he would have been impressed by chancing upon another network in operation on the north coast, but it appears that he did not comprehend the significance of these pottery vessels. MacGregor's comments on their decoration are apposite because, as clan designs, they are indeed forms of communication.

CONCLUSION

MacGregor wanted to collect objects untouched by European influence (Quinnell 2000), but it is not always clear how he acquired them. With respect to the pottery tradition now widely regarded as 'Wanigelan', the location of their manufacture, in contrast to their acquisition, was not clearly mapped, nor were their makers. We have no sense from MacGregor that it was the women of Collingwood Bay who made such distinctive pots.



FIG. 12. "Women from Wanigela going to Uiaku to trade vessels. 6.11.67". Image courtesy of Brian Egloff.

The provenience, or the origin, of objects in museum collections might be linked implicitly to the place of acquisition. In contrast, the Gona pots, as well as those collected at Philip's Harbour, are by style clearly identified as Wanigelan. From a curatorial perspective concerned with origin, a problem in terms of provenience arises. The difficulty is compounded by the absence of the name Wanigela in MacGregor's itinerary. While the women who made such pots clearly were present, Wanigela probably did not exist at that time. (The significance of the place name Maki Maki remains unknown). The problem of provenience disappears when the local context of the uses of pots is fully understood. If these objects are understood as not only domestic items for cooking and eating, but objects of value that circulated in regional systems of exchange and trade, then their occurrence at far distant locations is not strange and perplexing, but understandable. In addition to exchange, there was a fluid movement of people in the Collingwood Bay region. The pots obtained by MacGregor and his party were manufactured at some distance from their point of acquisition having made their way along pathways and networks of exchange; the movement of people through marriage, migration or refuting from natural disasters.

The first encounters of MacGregor and his men were followed by return visits and the recognition of individuals and places. While 'first encounters' appeared to have involved an initial flight response on the part of locals, on most occasions some sort of exchange was entered into and subsequently, MacGregor found people willing to trade. In fact, it might be said that on the north coast, MacGregor and his staff appear to have had little problem trading or bartering for objects with the people of Collingwood Bay.

MacGregor and his officers travelled through the region with a powerful escort including an armed native constabulary. While he passed through the bay, the local populations, who were connected to one another in trade, marriage, and alliances with and against one another in warfare, recognised that he was a powerful force. What better way to gain a

connection with, and perhaps influence, a powerful man than to include him in local forms of exchange and gifting, and by doing so, lay the ground for further interaction and potential for influence. By giving MacGregor or his agents pots carrying clan designs, people were also making themselves visible within these extraordinary engagements. While MacGregor was seeking vestiges and survivals of the past, the pots in his collection represent the agency of people in Collingwood Bay in dealing with the newcomers to their villages. These pots were not signals of a primitive culture, but both items of everyday use, integrated into ceremonial life, and objects of value which, through the presence of emblems of belonging, were technologies with which to bind and secure connections. The pots from Collingwood Bay in MacGregor's collection represent indigenous agency in dealing with newcomers. We know MacGregor found the pots from Collingwood Bay to be unique in their design and he would no doubt have been satisfied to learn that they held communicative value in the form of clan designs and clan association.

More broadly, MacGregor's collection of pots from the north coast is remarkable because it encompasses all the pottery traditions that continue to exist in the present. It might be said that his pottery collected from Collingwood Bay and Gona predates the designation of the Wanigela style as identified by the lay missionary Percy Money only a few years later. The Wanigela style comes into being through its association with the establishment of the Anglican mission and the documentation of the name Wanigera/Wanigela. But while Money documented the local production of this pottery tradition, it is MacGregor who, albeit unwittingly, recorded its regional importance within Collingwood Bay and as far as 200 km away at Gona, in Holnicote Bay. The Official collection brings to us the recognition of a particular style, yet to be named by outside observers, but which was actively moving and known by those within and beyond Collingwood Bay. MacGregor acquired a collection which, when reframed from one which presents a problem with provenience, becomes one which

reflects the regional importance of pottery within indigenous networks of exchange and through which local agency was negotiated in interactions with MacGregor.

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with me at that time and on subsequent visits. Abikakaiwim engon.

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□ ENDNOTES

1. In contemporary Papua New Guinea there are 2 places named 'Wanigela': Wanigela Tufi and Wanigela Central (also referred to as Wanigela at Marshall Lagoon). Neither appear in MacGregor's itinerary.
2. PT Black's collection of Wanigela pots (Scott and Segmen 1968). Black worked for the Burns Philp Company and travelled to New Guinea several times between 1886 and 1916 (Scott and Segmen 1968: 74) but did not actually visit Wanigela. He did visit Tufi (as well as Gona, further north) and the pots are registered as from Gona and Tufi.
3. With reference to Australian Museum pots, registered as E12950 to E12959, Money noted: 'The whole of these pottery vessels were made at Wanigera, Collingwood Bay, British New Guinea with the exception of no 6. The Maisin tribe do not make pottery but buy it from Wanigela using tapa and obsidian as mediums of barter'. And 'the women of Wanigela make pots and exchange them for barkcloth with the neighbouring villagers of Uiaku' (Money 1909).
4. Reverend Ramsay also made collections, between 1900 and 1919, but was based at Samarai. As he travelled between the Anglican mission's outstations, he would have had the opportunity to either make collections by himself, or have the resident missionary in Wanigela obtain the objects. Either way, three of the four pots he obtained from Wanigela and which are now held in Museum Victoria are clan design pots. He also collected from Wedau, Wamira and Wanigela for A.B. Lewis (350 objects) including 31 pots now in the Field Museum in Chicago (Welsch 1998: 136-137).
5. Rev. Wilfred Henry Abbot was the first Anglican priest resident at the Wanigela Anglican Mission from 1899 to 1901. He worked there with help from a South Sea Islander teacher from Vanuatu, named James Nogar. We also know that James Nogar was an active collector, probably assisting Abbot (Wetherell 1977). When Abbot left Collingwood Bay, he returned with an ethnographic collection which he sold to the British Museum and to the National Museum of Scotland. There are no clan design pots in the collections he sold to the British Museum.
6. The second resident missionary Arthur Kent Chignell (1907–1914). The material I have seen in the National Museum of Scotland did not contain any pots with clan designs which were recognizable to me.

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