Memoirs of the Queensland Museum | **Culture**

Volume 13

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

PO Box 3300, South Brisbane 4101, Australia
Phone: +61 (0) 7 3153 3000
Web: qm.qld.gov.au

National Library of Australia card number

ISSN 2205-3220

E ISSN 2205-3239

A Guide to Authors is displayed on the Queensland Museum website qm.qld.gov.au

A Queensland Government Project
Typeset at the Queensland Museum

Legacy, gifts and desires: Sir William MacGregor's Personal collection

14

Robin TORRENCE and Jude PHILP

R. Torrence and Philp, J. 2022. Legacy, gifts and desires: Sir William MacGregor's Personal collection. *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum – Culture* 13: 403–442. Brisbane. ISSN 2205-3220. https://doi.org/10.17082/j.2205-3239.13.1.2022.2022-14

As part of his government responsibilities as Administrator and Lieutenant Governor in British New Guinea (1888–1898), Sir William MacGregor amassed a substantial group of ethnographic objects currently known as the 'Official' collection and housed mainly at the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery and the Queensland Museum. Alongside this activity, MacGregor also set aside some material for his own private use, referred to here as the 'Personal' collection. The majority of the Personal collection was later donated to the University of Aberdeen to encourage fellow Scots to broaden their knowledge of the wider world. A smaller component that had been gifted to friends and colleagues is now housed at the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and several other museums. Many of the objects MacGregor reserved for himself probably had special significance as memories of people who became his friends and of occasions when he achieved success in his goal to bring what he considered as 'civilisation' to the peoples in the colony. Other highly decorated items that would have been attractive to nineteenth-century collectors were gifted by MacGregor to friends or high-status individuals to cement personal relationships or gain prestige. A comparison of the items reserved for MacGregor's private use with the British New Guinea Official collection highlights key differences between nineteenth-century ethnographic collections intended as comprehensive 'scientific' data versus those, like MacGregor's Personal collection, whose contents were designed chiefly for the education and enjoyment of its owners.

❑ William MacGregor, British New Guinea, ethnography, museum collection

Robin Torrence | Australian Museum | University of Sydney
Robin.Torrence@Australian.Museum

Jude Philp | University of Sydney
Jude.Philp@sydney.edu.au

A newspaper article describing material exhibited in Government House in Port Moresby provides a clue that William MacGregor, Administrator and Lieutenant Governor in British New Guinea (1888–1898) was in the process of putting together a collection for his own enjoyment.

> It contains a very valuable collection of native weapons and implements. Sir William has brought them together from all parts of the South Seas ('New Guinea News', *The North Queensland Register* 12 May 1897, p. 7.).

It seems likely that by displaying his collection, MacGregor was showcasing himself as a well-educated person of high status. Two photographs by his contemporaries Albert English and Rev. George Brown depict arrangements of artefacts hung on the walls of a building that is likely to be Government House in Port Moresby. The images show an array of stone clubs, adzes, shields, and other implements, some of which have been identified within a collection now held at the University of Aberdeen and some bear labels in his distinctive handwriting (Torrence et al., Fig. 1, Chapter 1 this volume; Davies et al., Fig. 12, Chapter 4 this volume). It seems likely that MacGregor was deliberately replicating the exhibitions of ethnographic material culture which he had observed in his previous posting in Fiji. The Governor of Fiji, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, and his wife had so many artefacts hanging on the walls of Government House (Nasova) that Anatole von Hügel observed that 'every room at Nasova had something of the Museum look about it' (quoted in Thomas 1991:170; see photograph on p. 173).

During his time in Fiji (1875–1888), MacGregor mixed with the Governor, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon and his guests, including the prolific collectors James Edge-Partington and Baron Anatole von Hügel, who became a close friend and with whom he went collecting (Thomas 1991:162–177). Gordon and von Hügel, like MacGregor, shared a knowledge of natural history collecting practices and used similar methodologies to build collections of Fijian material (Herle 2018:282). As discussed in more length in Torrence et al. (Chapter 1 this volume; also cf. Curtis 2015), MacGregor's initial experiences in the colonies would have had an important effect on his views about what constituted a comprehensive collection, but over the ten years that he made the Official and Personal collections from British New Guinea, his own personal goals and desires would have ultimately determined the composition of these assemblages.

While Sir William MacGregor's key role in assembling the extensive Official collection is well known (e.g. Moutu 2018; Quinnell 2000; Torrence et al., Chapter 1 this volume), the substantial number of ethnographic items that he acquired for his own use, referred to here as the 'Personal collection', has not yet been widely acknowledged or studied systematically (but cf. Beran 1996; University of Aberdeen Museums n.d. a). The existence of parallel collections from British New Guinea – Official and Personal – raises key issues concerning whether late nineteenth century Papuan culture is comprehensively represented by the better known, extensive Official collection. Does the material MacGregor kept for his own use simply replicate the contents of the Official collection or are different components of Papuan material culture given prominence? In what ways does the Personal collection reflect the priorities, interests, and private tastes of Sir William, together with his special friendships with collectors and high-ranking men? This chapter addresses these questions by tracking down the little-known ethnographic material that MacGregor kept for his own use and comparing it with the contents of the Official collection. Unlike the latter, which was envisaged as a representation of the cultural groups in British New Guinea, the Personal collection reveals the personal tastes of a man who appears to have been emulating the educated elites of British society by amassing exotic and highly ornamented objects from distant places.

Objects from MacGregor's Personal collection have been identified in several public institutions. The majority are held in the museum collections of the University of Aberdeen, with smaller assemblages in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford University, the Australian Museum, and

the Anthropology Museum at the University of Queensland (Table 1). An unknown number of objects were given to Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, Director of the Royal Zoological Museum in Florence and an honorary corresponding member of the UK Royal Geographical Society, who amassed an extensive natural history collection through manipulating his wide global networks (Nichols 2018: 19–23).[1] Many of the objects presented to Giglioli by MacGregor are likely to have been dispersed to multiple institutions and private individuals in the context of exchanges, in the same manner that several arrows reached the Pitt Rivers Museum (Table 2). Some of MacGregor's other gifts to unidentified individuals also circulated within the lively curios network of the late nineteenth century, as recorded in a popular sale catalogue (Oldman 1913; cf. Table 2).

The Personal collection can be broken down into four major components. The first group comprises material that was gifted to or received from close friends and colleagues with whom he interacted during his long career in colonial government. A second group includes strategic gifts that MacGregor made to prestigious individuals to strengthen personal ties. Although objects given away are not normally considered part of an individual's collection, it is useful to include them here because MacGregor obtained these in British New Guinea at the same time as the Official collection. What also makes the gifts and presentations interesting is how MacGregor used them in his social interactions both while he was still in the colony as well as in Australia and the United Kingdom. The third group, by far the largest, is a donation that MacGregor made to the University of Aberdeen to construct his personal legacy, but also envisaged as a way to influence future generations. Finally, the fourth category, which is based on an interpretation of MacGregor's will represents a group of objects that he kept with him until his death, which we have called the 'Home' collection. In the following we address a range of questions about the choices of objects that MacGregor made for the Personal collection and the uses to which he put his collection. How did MacGregor apportion material between the Official and Personal collections? Did each collection satisfy different goals and aims? What are the key differences among various components of the Personal collection and did each serve a different purpose?

Our preliminary comparison of the contents of the Official and Personal collections raises intriguing questions about how the former assemblage was selected by MacGregor and, by implication, whether it represents an exhaustive record of material culture in British New Guinea. In addition, an examination of MacGregor's choice of objects for his Personal collection offers insights into the man himself. By providing a breakdown of its composition together with examples of objects currently housed in the various museums, we hope this paper will encourage the further in-depth research merited by this remarkable but poorly known assemblage of material culture made and used by cultural groups in British New Guinea during the late nineteenth century.

CONTRASTING GOALS AND AIMS

As far as we can discern, MacGregor did not divulge the criteria he used to select objects for the Official collection or, for that matter, the material he kept for his own purposes. It is possible that he applied the same principles as he used for his natural history collection – "I took the first specimen; the person shooting took the second; I the third and so on" (MacGregor 1890a) – but the methods of acquiring cultural material were so different that it seems more likely that he had clearer goals for what was allocated to the Official versus the Personal collections. A key factor influencing choices for the latter was probably the desire to copy the actions of learned men whom he greatly respected, such as Giglioli and von Hügel, who both headed institutions that were voraciously collecting objects from the region. Through his close friendships with them, evident in their correspondence, he gained an interest in the intellectual pursuit of thinking about cultural difference through objects, a legacy of much earlier museum traditions.

TABLE. 1. Comparison of the contents of the Official collection with the University of Aberdeen Bequest and MacGregor's personal donations to the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Category	Official (10959)	%	Aberdeen (2817)	%	Cambridge (142)	%
Adze sago	7	0.1	5	0.2	0	0
Adze/Axe	839	7.7	199	7.1	16	11.3
Arrow	2801	25.6	775	27.5	0	0
Arrow point	31	0.3	0	0	0	0
Bag	176	1.6	10	0.4	3	2.1
Barkcloth	184	1.7	65	2.3	0	0
Barkcloth beater	27	0.2	11	0.4	1	0.7
Basket	52	0.5	36	1.3	3	2.1
Beheading knife	9	0.1	4	0.1	0	0
Belt	237	2.2	3	0.1	3	2.1
Bow/bowstring	108	1.0	72	2.6	0	0
Bowl	338	3.1	21	0.7	3	2.1
Bullroarer	1	0.0	1	0	0	0
Canoe baler	9	0.1	0	0	0	0
Canoe ornament	150	1.4	1	0	0	0
Carved board	20	0.2	0	0	0	0
Charm	99	0.9	9	0.3	2	1.4
Clothing, cape	7	0.1	0	0	0	0
Clothing, mourning	37	0.3	0	0	0	0
Clothing, skirt	95	0.9	17	0.6	2	1.4
Club	531	4.8	498	17.7	11	7.8
Container, lime	92	0.8	19	0.7	4	2.8
Container, other	26	0.2	0	0	5	3.5
Container, water	22	0.2	2	0.1	0	0
Cordage	92	0.8	0	0	0	0
Dagger, cassowary	9	0.1	4	0.1	0	0
Digging stick	0	0.0	0	0	0	0
Door	1	0.0	13	0.5	0	0
Drill equipment	22	0.2	2	0.1	1	0.7
Drum	133	1.2	4	0.1	1	0.7
Figure, animal	1	0.0	6	0.2	0	0
Figure, human	19	0.2	16	0.6	0	0
Fire-making equipment	3	0.0	0	0	0	0
Fish hook	43	0.4	18	0.6	5	3.5
Fish trap	30	0.3	15	0.5	6	4.2
Fishing kite equipment	11	0.1	3	0.1	0	0
Fishing line/float/lure	60	0.5	0	0	1	0.7
Fishing net	67	0.6	2	0.1	1	0.7
Grindstone	10	0.1	0	0	0	0
Hammock	7	0.1	0	0	0	0
Head carrier	2	0.0	1	0	0	0
Headrest	7	0.1	7	0.2	2	1.4

TABLE. 1. cont. Comparison of the contents of the Official collection with the University of Aberdeen Bequest and MacGregor's personal donations to the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Category	Official (10959)	%	Aberdeen (2817)	%	Cambridge (142)	%
Human skull/tooth	9	0.1	0	0	0	0
Hunting	37	0.3	0	0	0	0
Knife	35	0.3	0	0	0	0
Mancatcher	6	0.1	2	0.1	0	0
Mat	5	0.0	0	0	0	0
Mosquito Net	0	0.0	0	0	0	0
Model, house or canoe	18	0.2	0	0	0	0
Mortar	86	0.8	0	0	0	0
Musical instrument	32	0.3	4	0.1	0	0
Needle	40	0.4	0	0	0	0
Netting needle	19	0.2	10	0.4	1	0.7
Ornament, arm	346	3.2	48	1.7	15	10.6
Ornament, breast	56	0.5	35	1.2	2	1.4
Ornament, ear	269	2.5	0	0	4	2.8
Ornament, forehead	179	1.6	0	0	0	0
Ornament, head	245	2.2	47	1.7	7	4.9
Ornament, head, comb	27	0.2	55	2	0	0
Ornament, neck	633	5.8	37	1.3	22	15.5
Ornament, nose	8	0.1	13	0.5	0	0
Ornament, other	43	0.4	8	0.3	0	0
Paddle	98	0.9	16	0.6	0	0
Pestle	63	0.6	0	0	0	0
Pottery/related	117	1.1	0	0	7	4.9
Pounder	24	0.2	0	0	0	0
Raw Material, animal	92	0.8	0	0	0	0
Raw Material, glass	3	0.0	0	0	0	0
Raw Material, human hair	3	0.0	0	0	0	0
Raw Material, metal	13	0.1	0	0	0	0
Raw Material, mineral	20	0.2	2	0.1	0	0
Raw Material, pigment	9	0.1	0	0	0	0
Raw Material, plant	152	1.4	0	0	0	0
Raw Material, shell	158	1.4	18	0.6	0	0
Sawfish sword	3	0.0	2	0.1	0	0
Shield	172	1.6	20	0.7	0	0
Skirt cutting board	6	0.1	0	0	0	0
Sling	16	0.1	4	0.1	2	1.4
Sling stones	42	0.4	7	0.2	1	0.7
Spatula, lime	434	4.0	185	6.6	0	0
Spear	515	4.7	294	10.4	0	0
Swordclubs	198	1.8	125	4.4	3	2.1
Taro stirrer	68	0.6	0	0	4	2.8
Tobacco pipe	70	0.6	12	0.4	4	2.8

TABLE. 1. cont. Comparison of the contents of the Official collection with the University of Aberdeen Bequest and MacGregor's personal donations to the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Category	Official (10959)	%	Aberdeen (2817)	%	Cambridge (142)	%
Tool	111	1.0	22	0.8	0	0
Toy	2	0.0	0	0	0	0
Walking stick		0.0	3	0.1	0	0
Whisk, cassowary	3	0.0	0	0	0	0
Wrist guard	59	0.5	9	0.3	0	0

TABLE 2. Donations, bequest and gifts made by MacGregor from his Personal collection.

Receiver	Date	Current location	Contents	Source	Number of objects
Reverend William Lawes	Pre 1893	Australian Museum	Wooden shield from Woodlark Island (Fig. 1)	Label in MacGregor's handwriting; E.003838	1
University of Aberdeen	1889; 1919	University of Aberdeen	Wide variety of items from many places where MacGregor held colonial offices. See Table 1	Anon. 1912; University of Aberdeen 1920	2817
University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology	1898; 1904	University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology	Variety of object types. See Table 1	University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Registers	142
Sir Samuel Griffith	Unknown, but likely pre 1899	University of Queensland Anthropology Museum	Dance wand, Trobriand Islands	UQAM Register (UQAM 7652)	1
Enrico Hillyer Giglioli	1903	Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford	Arrows	Pitt Rivers Museum Online Catalogue PR 1903.40.5-8	4
Coutts Trotter (donated by granddaughter Naomi Mary Margaret Mitchison)	1962	Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford	Lime spatula (See Figure 13)	Pitt Rivers Museum Online Catalogue PR 1962.1.14	1
Dr. John Thomson (donated by his brother Prof. Arthur Thomson)	1897	Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford	Blood-letting bow and arrow; hair epilators (See Figures 14, 15)	Pitt Rivers Museum Online Catalogue: PR 1897.2.42.1-6	6
Dr. John Thomson (donated by his brother Prof. Arthur Thomson)	1931	Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford	Boar's tusk breast ornament	Pitt Rivers Museum Online Catalogue PR 1931.1.33	1
Unknown; advertised as 'Collected by Sir William McGregor' [*sic*.]	1913	Unknown	Boar's tusk ornament; fighting ornament of boars' tusks, red seeds on wood; shell frontlet ornament; 2 necklaces; bead 'currency'; carved canoe figure head.	Oldman 1913: nos. 30838, 30833, 30834, 30831, 30839, 30827, 30840	7
Wellcome Medical Museum	1917	Current location unknown	Tools related to blood-letting	Christine Wright, personal communication to Michael Quinnell	10

In terms of comparing the basis for MacGregor's two collections, Harrison (2011: 60–61) makes a useful distinction between two 'kinds of collecting' from indigenous cultures in the European colonies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One approach, derived from the concept that disappearing cultures could be 'salvaged' or preserved through acquiring all the items of material culture in use often adopted what F. E. Williams (1923: 6) termed a 'systematic' collection, whereas the second was unstructured and composed of 'souvenirs' (Harrison 2011: 61; Stewart 1993). The systematic view was influenced by the rapidly growing discipline of natural history and the focus on biological 'types,' which in theory were limited in number and could all be collected and arrayed in a museum. Alongside the more formal collecting, British travellers had long collected souvenirs for wholly different, often personal, reasons, e.g. to retain memories of places they had visited and to share these with others, but they also served to invoke emotional responses associated with their experiences. Within this second group we can include collections of ethnographic items made for enhancing knowledge about the world (e.g. Edge-Partington & Heape 1898; Clifford 1988; Thomas 1991) in the same way that Europeans had long been collecting ancient artefacts or birds' nests.

The dichotomy set up by Harrison (2011) can be usefully applied as a hypothesis for expected differences between the makeup of MacGregor's Official and Personal collections. Given MacGregor's training in the natural sciences and his concern to record indigenous culture before it had disappeared (Quinnell 2000), it seems likely that he aimed to acquire a systematic collection in his role as a government officer. In contrast, one might expect that MacGregor's Personal collection would embody his own cultural and aesthetic tastes, but the collection could also include 'souvenirs', objects that recalled events and people that had been important to him. What is fascinating is to identify the objects MacGregor decided could be excluded from the Official collection without reducing its importance as the ultimate systematic collection of cultural diversity in British New Guinea.

We can also assume that since MacGregor was recognised by communities in British New Guinea as a leader and a prominent person, known widely as 'Goverman' (Quinnell 2000: 82), he often received presents from local people during his inspections (cf. Davies, Chapter 4 this volume). Some of these might have been valuable to him as reminders of his diplomatic successes as well as of Papuans whom he admired. Not surprisingly given MacGregor's reputation in the colony, many people brought gifts to mark his final departure.

> It caused great surprise when the other day many hundreds of them most unexpectedly arrived at Government House, everyone bearing some little present for their retiring first Administrator. The last deputation received arrived in the harbour about five minutes before the steamer sailed. This demonstration showed the existence of feelings in the natives that were not previously known and were not suspected (MacGregor 1899a: 254).

As MacGregor was clearly very much touched by this display, it is likely that he kept some of these gifts to mark this special occasion and the outpouring of affection for him. Alternatively, his description of the offerings as 'some little present', might imply that he did not consider these as especially valuable objects.

GIFTS TO INDIVIDUALS

The first component of MacGregor's Personal collection is composed of gifts he gave or received from personal friends both in the colony and in the wider world (Tables 1, 2). A few insights about how MacGregor viewed his Personal collection can be gained through the writings of friends who lived and worked alongside him in the colony. For example, Rev. George Brown noted that MacGregor expected that those who travelled with him would acquire material for themselves while accompanying him (Quinnell 2000: 83), such as the private collection

made by Basil Thomson, MacGregor's Private Secretary (Quinnell 2000: 84; Davies, Chapter 4 this volume). Another hint about MacGregor's personal collecting can be gleaned from gifts he made together with those he received from friends resident in British New Guinea. For example, a shield from Woodlark Island (Figure 1a) which was donated to the Australian Museum (E3838) in 1893 by the long term resident of Port Moresby, Rev. W. G. Lawes from the London Missionary Society, bears a label in MacGregor's handwriting ('WOODLARK 19.7.90') that is identical to others in the Official collection (cf. Davies, Chapter 5 this volume). The date also coincides with MacGregor's visit to the island (cf. Quinnell, Appendix 1 this volume).

FIG. 1. Objects from MacGregor's Personal collection gifted to friends. Left: Shield from Woodlark Island donated to the Australian Museum (E.003838) by Rev. W. G. Lawes in 1893 bears a field label "WOODLARK 19.7.90." in Sir William MacGregor's characteristic handwriting (Davies Chapter 5 this volume). It was probably gifted to Rev. Lawes by MacGregor in British New Guinea. Photography, Gary Cranich with permission from the Australian Museum. Right: Dance wand from the Trobriand Islands was given to Sir Samuel Griffith and later donated to the Anthropology Museum at the University of Queensland (UQAM 7652). It bears the word 'Trobriand' written in red paint by MacGregor. Courtesy of the Anthropology Museum at the University of Queensland.

Rev. S. B. Fellows, a missionary on Kiriwina Island, was among MacGregor's closest friends in British New Guinea. He provided MacGregor with photographs of local people and artefacts that were used in his reports to Government. Among these was a photo of a shield accompanied by information provided by Fellows on the local meaning of the designs (Fellows 1899). The shield is currently held in the University of Aberdeen's museum collections (ABDUA:63451; Curtis et al. 2016. Swadling (BOX10.2 Chapter 10 this volume) notes that after MacGregor's final visit in 1898, Fellows (2001:13 June 1898) wrote in his diary that 'He was greatly pleased with the curios I had gathered him.' Among these items was probably a group of conus shell artefacts that were highly prized valuables among societies in the Trobriand Islands (see Swadling, Chapter 10 this volume). It is likely that additional gifts from Fellows are also among the objects in MacGregor's Bequest to the University of Abderdeen, which is described in more detail below.

MacGregor's good friend, Enrico Hillyer Giglioli was a very active trader in the curios market with a passion for obtaining a universal type series of stone tools (Nichols 2018:19–23). In January 1895 MacGregor visited Giglioli in Florence while enroute to Great Britain on leave (Quinnell, Appendix 1 this volume). Afterwards, Giglioli wrote to the Methodist missionary and collector Rev. George Brown that 'Sir William … has kindly promised to get me some special stone implements and weapons (clubs) from British New Guinea' (Giglioli 1895). Four arrows obtained by the Pitt Rivers Museum through an exchange with Giglioli (Table 2) likely represent a very small percentage of the material MacGregor gifted to him, some of which may have remained with Giglioli's collections in Italy. As Giglioli worked to perfect his series of stone tools worldwide, other material might have been exchanged in the same way as the arrows now at the Pitt Rivers Museum. It is therefore likely that additional objects collected by MacGregor have since been dispersed through private collections.

GIFTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

The largest presentation to a close friend that we have identified was made to Baron Anatole von Hügel, curator at the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) (Tables 1, 2). MacGregor seems to have given objects to him over several years, some of which were later donated to the museum by von Hügel. One very special gift from MacGregor's point of view is described in a letter to his friend using a classical reference that illustrates MacGregor's appreciation of ancient Greek texts.

> I have added a good few new things to my collecting lately, some good drums for example, & stone clubs. I am setting apart a few things for you. The other day I got a small work of art, the chef d'oeuvre of some Papuan Phidias[2]. I was much captivated by it, & consider it the best work of art I have seen from one of our natives. The odd part of it is that it is executed by an eastern, while it represents a western man. It may not be of much account, but I can add this, that I would not have parted with it to any other man. Now I hope you will like it. . . I shall keep whatever else I have for you till I come home or you come out (MacGregor 1896).

The object that MacGregor is probably referring to in the letter is a wooden carving (MAA 1917.30, Figure 2), similar to two figures and two lime spatulas in the Bequest in Aberdeen (Haddow BOX 14.1). It has also been identified by Beran (n.d.) as another masterpiece by the talented craftsman, Mutuaga (see Beran 1996). Another rare object that must have been carefully chosen for his friend is a carved animal bone shoulder ornament from the Morehead River which is labelled in MacGregor's handwriting (Davies, Chapter 5 this volume) (Figure 3). As an important personal item, this type of ornament is very rare in collections. At the time MacGregor sent the letter, this object was unique among his collections, although soon after he acquired another arm ornament for the Official collection. It was hidden in a personal

FIG. 2. A wooden carving recently identified by Harry Beran (n.d.) that was probably made by the famed Massim carver, Mutuaga, was a special present from MacGregor to his close friend Baron von Hügel. With permission from the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, MAA 1917.30.

bag abandoned following punitive action against a group of Marind-Anim raiders (Torrence et al., Figure 23, Chapter 7 this volume).

In December 1898, after he had left his post in British New Guinea, MacGregor wrote to von Hügel asking him to look after a shipment of material, some of which was designated for his friend.

> I have a few things coming for you. But I shall not be here when my things arrive. They are addressed to Henry S. King & Co. & are marked to you or to Cambridge. They are not a great prize. But the difficulty is, what to do with them. If they lie at Henry Kings I have to pay rent & they deteriorate. On the other hand they may be signed up & mistaken for my luggage. Is it better for you to take them on chance or leave them till I return in March or April. They will arrive in about ten days I suppose. If you are in London you might look King up & see whether they can be identified. If so, then walk them off. I do not know what they are, but they are the usual sort of thing (MacGregor 1998).

We suggest that this shipment provided the material for MacGregor's first official donation to the MAA, the contents of which were published in a report to the University Senate (Museum of General and Local Archaeology and of Ethnology

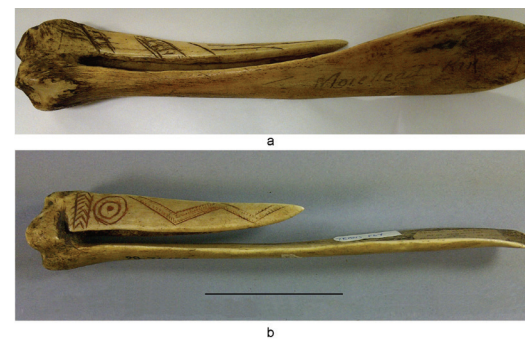

FIG. 3. Two views of an engraved animal bone ornament normally given by a woman to her future husband and then worn on the arm. It has a handwritten label by MacGregor giving the provenance as Morehead River. Scale bar: 5 cm. With permission of the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology E 1898.158.

1899; see also the handwritten list in the museum's Donation Book for 1898). A second presentation in 1904 raises the possibility that MacGregor, who was described in the report as 'Governor of Lagos' (Museum of General and Local Archaeology and of Ethnology 1904), had held onto part of his Personal collection after he made his substantial donation to the University of Aberdeen. A more probable explanation is that the second donation was derived from material from the original shipment that von Hügel had kept at his house for exchanges and display for house guests and other visitors. MacGregor had simply left it to him to decide what was a personal gift and what was useful for the museum. If this was the case, then the quantity of objects originally gifted to von Hügel may have been larger than the assemblage currently housed at the MAA, with others since dispersed as part of von Hügel's personal network supported by gifting and exchanges.

The contents of the MacGregor donations to the MAA recorded in the Senate reports of 1899 and 1904 are summarised in Table 1[3]. Overall, they represent an interesting mix of artefact types common within the Official collection (e.g. stone blades, clubs and simple body ornaments), as suggested by MacGregor's comment about 'not a great prize' and 'the usual sort of thing'. Absent from the donations are arrows, bows and spears, suggesting that von Hügel was not interested in acquiring further examples of these kinds of weapons. Surprisingly, only one drum was listed in the official records.

Some aspects of the MAA collection are unique among MacGregor's gifts. For example, he gifted von Hügel a sizeable group of decorated pots from the north-eastern part of British New Guinea that are very rare in collections (see Bonshek, Chapter 11 this volume). Since pottery is absent from the Aberdeen collection, it is possible that MacGregor was not interested in this craft (Table 1). On the other hand, he might have thought von Hügel would be interested since pottery is common in Fiji and was often considered to be an attribute of 'civilisation.' In contrast, artefact types well represented in Aberdeen are missing from the MAA donation (e.g. bark cloth, combs and lime spatulas) or not so predominant (e.g. clubs) and, compared to the swordclubs in the Aberdeen bequest, the MAA objects are smaller and much less ornamented.

The large number of rather plain and simple objects among MacGregor's donations to the MAA may indicate that a significant proportion was intended to assist von Hügel in brokering exchanges with other museums. Supporting this view are labels on objects written by von Hügel which designate the items as 'duplicates'. For example, a group of four plain coconut bracelets with a tag bearing the text 'duplicates of MacGregor 1898' are identical to a bundle in the Official collection now held in the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery. Also included in the probable 'duplicates' are necklaces made from coix seeds and simple armlets of seeds or trochus shell. In addition, an earring made from a lizard tail and stone blades made from a kind of green coloured stone are identical to duplicates chosen from the Official collection sent to the Australian Museum, National Museum of Victoria and British Museum (see Torrence & Davies, Chapter 13 this volume). It is interesting that de Vis in Queensland and von Hügel in Cambridge had similar notions of objects that were not considered especially valuable to their museums, largely because they were relatively common within the collection. Other items over-represented when compared to their frequency within the Official collection include adze/axes, fishing equipment, and, to a lesser extent, lime pots, but not lime spatulas.

In contrast to the 'duplicates,' MacGregor also presented von Hügel with some objects that were highly prized among contemporary collectors, including items commonly called 'charms.' Most were included in the second donation, perhaps as a response to a special request by von Hűgel or, alternately, material he had held back. One artefact, widely known by the name used in the Central Division, *musikaka*, was much sought after by collectors at that time (Figure 4) (e.g. Edge-Partington 1996: I, 274; Stone 1880: 116–117; Torrence & Clarke 2013: 178–179).

a

b

FIG. 4. Nineteenth century collectors were fascinated by these objects known as 'fighting' or 'face' ornaments and called *musikaka* in the Central Division. MacGregor kept several for his Personal collection, but also gifted a number to friends in Britain: **a.** ABDUA:144. Photograph by Robin Torrence ©University of Aberdeen; **b.** MAA E 1898.71.14 Courtesy of the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Scale bars: 5 cm.

> On the north-east coast, the warrior puts his face inside a frame that has a row of projecting boars' tusks round it. It is the Papuan idea of a Gorgon's head. There also, and on the south-east coast, they wear mouthpieces usually made of a plate of turtle-shell, and faced with red seeds and curved boars' tusks. Got up in all this terrible finery, the spear-fighting man yells at his foe, and hopes to shake the nerve through the senses both of sight and hearing, while at the same time it encourages himself (MacGregor 1897b: 65).

Another object that had a large appeal to British collectors was composed from hornbill heads and or beaks and was commonly described as 'homicidal insignia' (e.g. Williams 1930: 177–179; Beaver 1920: 97–98).

> To kill a human being under any circumstances hallows and dignifies the homicide in a high degree; but of course the slayer of a warrior is held in greatest honour. Decorations of different kinds, and social privileges, are conferred on the homicide. These decorations are as eagerly sought after by Papuans as are the knightly marks of merit in Europe. The Victoria cross of the Papuan consisted of the upper mandible of the hornbill – worn on the forehead – which was conferred on the slayer of a warrior in single combat … I was solemnly assured by natives that in a short time eight or ten murders had been committed in order that certain people should be able to wear the distinction of a plume of cock's tail feathers on the top of the head (MacGregor 1897b: 64).

MacGregor's gift of a hornbill charm (Figure 5) is specifically mentioned in the listing in the MAA Annual Report for 1899.

> A "*kalaka*," i.e. the head of a *boboro* (hornbill), which is the insignia, worn on the head, by a man who first kills an enemy in a fight. [This particular head-dress was sent to the donor, March 17, 1889, by the chief of Tupusili (to whom it had been forwarded by a native, with a request to kill some person)] [*sic*.] (Museum of General and Local Archaeology and Ethnology 1899: 11).

FIG. 5. This ornament (*kalaka*) (MAA E 1898.71.22) is composed of the beak and skin from a hornbill. It was possibly significant for MacGregor because it showed his attempts at preventing ongoing violence were successful. Chief Tupusili had given the object to him rather than killing a man as was the intent of the original owner (Museum of General and Local Archaeology and Ethnology 1899: 11). Scale bar: 5 cm. Courtesy of the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

This object may have been specially chosen by MacGregor for his friend because it references his success in creating a unified and pacified nation. The chief of Tupusili had chosen not to commit murder. Instead he turned the offending item over to the Government. If this proposition is correct, then the charm would have been a very meaningful gift to a close friend, who might share and appreciate MacGregor's success.

MacGregor's gifts to the MAA comprise a very mixed assemblage, possibly because they comprise material that had been filtered by von Hügel. The contents originally sent to him by MacGregor will never be known, since von Hügel probably used some objects to broker exchanges to enhance his own private collection. The objects he assigned to the MAA appear to have been designed to fulfil multiple requirements. On one hand, there are some unusual artefacts often thought to reference what British collectors considered as exotic, 'savage' practices (e.g. the charms), whereas on the other, the largest portion of the donation is comprised of relatively plain and domestic items like coconut armlets, shell necklaces, or fishing equipment that could be useful for exchanges or could perhaps fill out categories that were not already well represented. The other major components of the collection comprise stone artefacts – clubs, axes/adzes, bark cloth beater – that reinforce the antiquarian biases of many museum curators at this date. The decorated pottery, the drum, and the carved wooden figure are significant exceptions as rare items that express the skills of Papuan artisans. The overall impression from the MAA assemblage is that despite MacGregor's generosity in sending some very special objects to his friend, along with material that might have been helpful to him for exchanges, he largely retained what he considered to be the most highly worked and unusual objects for his own use.

STRATEGIC GIFTING

The second group of items in MacGregor's personal collection include those that were used strategically to create or strengthen social ties with prominent people (Table 1). Perhaps because MacGregor came from a lower-class background, he seems to have sought acceptance by educated, upper class men[4] such as Coutts Trotter (Anon. 1905), a wealthy Scottish writer and Founder of the Geographical Society of Scotland. MacGregor probably met him in Fiji in 1886. He was a prominent supporter of the administration in British New Guinea. In writing about explorations in British New Guinea, Trotter (1892) provided sound support and commendation for MacGregor's work. They may have met again at the Royal Geographical Society in London when MacGregor gave an address on 25 February 1895 or when he was awarded the Founders medal in 1896. Perhaps due to shared interests, MacGregor became better acquainted with Trotter in Scotland after he retired. Their shared interest in exploration and his praise for MacGregor's efforts in British New Guinea may explain why MacGregor gifted Trotter a highly decorated carved lime spoon adorned with red glass beads. It was later presented to the Pitt-Rivers Museum by Trotter's granddaughter (PR1962.1.114) (Beran 1988: Pl. 34) (Figure 6).

Prior to returning to the UK, MacGregor also made a gift of a dance wand from the Trobriand Islands (Figure 1b) to his very close friend Sir Samuel Griffith. They had probably met in 1886 when Griffith was representing Fiji at the Federal Council (Joyce 1974).

FIG. 6. Elaborately carved lime spoon decorated with red trade beads that was gifted to Coutts Trotter and is now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford (PR1962.1.14). Scale bar: 5 cm. ©Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

As Premier in Queensland, Griffith had supported MacGregor's initial appointment as Administrator in British New Guinea. In 1893 he was sworn in as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Queensland where he was indeed a powerful ally for MacGregor's work in British New Guinea. Having been appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia in 1903, Griffith was again a useful friend and source of advice during MacGregor's time as Governor of Queensland (1909–1914) (Joyce 1983). For many years after he left British New Guinea and even into his retirement, MacGregor continued to correspond with Griffith and seek his opinion on various issues concerning colonial governance (Joyce 1971; see photo in Plate 11).

MacGregor's desire to make a significant contribution to scientific knowledge is reflected in several additional strategic gifts. For example, he gave the Wellcome Medical Museum and Dr John Thomson sets of 'medical-related' tools that included blood-letting and hair removal implements, objects that are notably absent from the Official collection (Table 2; Figures 7, 8). Clearly, MacGregor was fascinated by these tools.

> Over a large part of the Possession hair on the face is considered superfluous and intolerable, and it has therefore to be removed. There are many mechanical devices for effecting this. . . But the most effective is the depilating instrument of the Mekeo district, which only requires to be better known to be brought more into use elsewhere. It consists of 6 inches of twine, to one end of which is attached two long fibres from a mangrove shoot or from the husk of a coconut. The two fibres are held in the left hand, and laid flat on the surface to be depilated; they are at such distance apart as to receive a certain number of hairs between them. The twine is then rotated between the first finger and thumb of the right hand; the hairs are thus twisted round the two fibres, and are then lifted out, leaving a perfectly smooth surface, free of the stumps and fragments left by the crude and unscientific process of shaving. Of course the hair grows again, but only to be lifted out

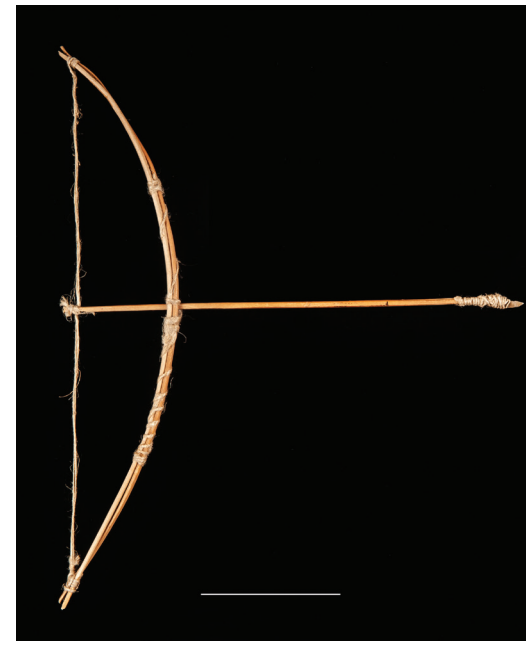

FIG. 7. A small bow and arrow used for blood-letting was among a number of gifts relating to medical practices in British New Guinea presented by MacGregor to John Thomson (PR1897.42.1). Scale bar: 5 cm. ©Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

FIG. 8. MacGregor was clearly intrigued by this tool which he described as a depilator to remove facial hair (PR1897.42.6). Scale bar: 2 cm. ©Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

> when it appears conspicuously above the surface. No doubt it would be possible on the same principle to construct a machine that could depilate a man's face like a lawn-mower, and which would dispense with the steel razor for shaving (MacGregor 1897b: 51–2).

Dr. Thomson (an acquaintance of MacGregor's who resided in Brisbane) passed these objects on to his brother Professor Arthur Thomson[5] who donated them to the Pitt-Rivers Museum in 1897 (PR1897.42.1-6), perhaps indicating that MacGregor had requested assistance from Dr Thomson in locating a place for these objects in a British museum. It is interesting that, unlike the medical and toiletry items, an extraordinarily large boars' tooth ornament (PR1931.1.33), also gifted to Dr Thomson by MacGregor, was kept for 35 years by his brother before it was donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum. Another breast ornament with boar tusks said to be 'collected by Sir William McGregor' (Oldman 1913: *38(30831)) was offered for sale in a 1913 Oldman auction catalogue along with a number of items which were described as a 'fighting ornament, wood ornamented boar tusk and red seeds,' (*36(30884) (probably a *musikaka* similar to the one he had donated to the MAA) and a carved canoe figure with a fairly high asking price (Table 2). Unless these items had entered the artefact market through Giglioli, they indicate that MacGregor had made additional gifts to unknown individuals, perhaps to solidify relationships and/or impress people with his status as a colonial administrator.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN BEQUEST

The third group of objects in the Personal collection are those used by MacGregor to ensure he had a long-lasting legacy in Scotland. In February 1897, MacGregor (1897a) wrote to von Hügel stating, 'I shall not know what to do with my private collection,' but two years later he had clearly made an important decision. He loaned a large group of objects to the Anthropological Museum of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland (e.g. Anon. 1912; University of Aberdeen Museums n.d.b; Haddow 2014). It seems likely that Sir William attempted to ensure he would be remembered favourably in his native country by making a sizeable donation to his *alma mater* of ethnographic material acquired during his various foreign postings. We refer to this group of material as MacGregor's 'Bequest.' It was first loaned to the University in 1899 (University of Aberdeen 1909), with a catalogue of the ethnographic contents published in 1912 (Anon. 1912). The special status of MacGregor's donation is highlighted by the publication of an additional catalogue to one describing the main museum collections. MacGregor's gift was finalised in 1919 through a bequest made in his will (MacGregor 1920). Subsequently, the contents were published in a report to the University of Aberdeen Senate (University of Aberdeen 1920). Mirroring his purpose for making the Official collection, MacGregor clearly felt that museums had an important role to play in educating the public. In the case of his donation, his aim was to broaden knowledge about the diverse populations in the British Empire.

> He frequently used to say, that he allowed his collections to be exhibited at Marischal College in order that the students of Aberdeen University might be impressed with the fact the universe is not limited to Aberdeen and its 'twelve miles radius' by seeing objects illustrative of native life in other countries, and in addition that he might help in providing a means by which a subsequent Reader or Lecturer in Anthropology in the University might be able to illustrate his subject – a subject which he considered to be of vital importance to all engaged in medical, educational, scientific, commercial or administrative work in the British Possessions beyond the seas (Reid 1919:14).

The catalogue of the material that MacGregor donated to the University of Aberdeen includes 2817 objects from British New Guinea and 222 entries from Fiji (Anon. 1912), but none from his first postings to the Seychelles and Mauritius (1873–1874) and only small numbers from subsequent posts in Lagos, Queensland, and Newfoundland. Clearly, his ten years in British New Guinea is the core of his Personal collection.

MACGREGOR'S HOME COLLECTION

Based on a close reading of MacGregor's will, the Aberdeen Bequest appears to have been comprised of two groups of material. As well as the loan which MacGregor made to the University in 1899, it seems there was a group of objects that he had retained for his own use.

> To the University of Aberdeen the Ethnological and Orinthological [*sic*.] Collections at Chapel-on-Leader – to be placed in the museum of said University along with the collection which I have already lent to said University but subject to the condition that my said wife shall be entitled to retain therefrom as her own property any special articles she may desire to have before the same are handed over to said University and also under the condition that the ornithological collections should be properly mounted and preserved by the authorities of said University (MacGregor 1920).

The published *Catalogue of specimens* (Anon. 1912) documents the items MacGregor originally presented to the University of Aberdeen in 1899, not long after he left British New Guinea and just before he went to his new post in Lagos. Since the list of objects in the final Bequest to the university (University of Aberdeen 1920) is larger, it seems plausible that it includes additional items kept at MacGregor's house at Chapel-on-Leader and referred to in the will. Until further archival material is located, it seems a plausible hypothesis that objects listed in the report to the University Senate in 1920, but not included in the 1912 published catalogue, represent items retained by Sir William at his house until his death. We term this assemblage the MacGregor 'Home' collection (Table 3).

Comparing the 1912 *Catalogue of specimens* (Anon. 1912) against the 1920 list of the Bequest to identify objects in the Home collection is not a straightforward exercise because slightly different terms are used for what we assume are the same items. For example, the 'carved boards' referred to in the catalogue are most likely the same items called 'shields' in the Bequest and the 'kite fishing traps' described in the *Catalogue of specimens* (Anon. 1912) are probably included in the more general category of 'fish traps' in the Bequest list. Removing the items listed in the Catalogue from the total recorded in the 1920 Bequest to the University, yields 478 items, 17 per cent of the total Bequest, which represents a significantly large collection to be stored or exhibited in a private home (Table 3).[6]

Assuming our forensic method has correctly identified what MacGregor may have held back for his personal use and enjoyment, it is interesting to speculate about the significance these items might have held for him. If we assume that the Home collection was carefully selected by MacGregor, what do the contents reveal about his personal tastes or collecting strategies? Were they associated with special memories or people and/or were they retained to serve as future gifts to friends or to showcase his status as a colonial governor? It is also conceivable that MacGregor retained artefacts for copying the style of decoration at the Government Houses in Port Moresby and at Nasova in Fiji, in a manner referred to in contemporary auction and sale catalogues as 'suitable for decoration of halls and billiard rooms' (Torrence & Clarke 2011:37).

Surprisingly, the most common objects in the Bequest, i.e. arrows, spears, stone axes, bows, frontlets, lime spatulas and tapa cloths, were not among MacGregor's choices for the Home collection, whereas he did retain a significant number of the breast ornaments, stone clubs, fish traps, shields and swordclubs (Table 3). The paucity of weapons in the Home collection compared to either the University of Aberdeen Bequest as a whole or the Official collection is especially striking (cf. Table 1). Possibly MacGregor did not want to be reminded of the violence he experienced during his Administration, preferring instead to select objects relating to his successes in the establishment of peace. For example, in his address to the Royal Geographical Society, later published as a book, he makes the following observation that highlights the achievements of his work in British New Guinea.

TABLE. 3. MacGregor's Home collection can be inferred by subtracting the contents list derived from the *Catalogue of specimens* (Anon. 1912) from the total Bequest (University of Aberdeen 1920).

Item name	Bequeathed	Catalogue	Home
Totals	**2817**	**2339**	**478**
Adze, wood	1	1	
Almanic tali in hemp cord	1	1	
Armlet, human jaw	1	1	
Armlet	47	43	4
Arrow	775	775	
Axe, ceremonial jade	7	7	
Axe, stone	191	189	2
Bag	7		7
Ball in iron ore	1	1	
Bark cloth beaters, greenstone	11	11	
Basket without lining	24	2	22
Basket, grass lined with palm leaf	12	12	
Belt, bark	3	3	
Bow	72	72	
Breast ornament	35	17	18
Bullroarer	1	1	
Calabash, coconut shell	2	2	
Canoe-ornament	1	1	
Carved human figure, wood, limestone	4	4	
Carving, wood human and figure	12	12	
Charm, wood, total	9	9	
Club, stone	498	262	236
Club, wood		5	
Club-head borer	6	6	
Comb, wood, tortoise shell	55	12	43
Dagger, cassowary bone	4	1	3
Digging shell	2	2	
Digging stick	13	13	
Dish, wood	21	21	
Dress, woven vegetable fibre, fur, feathers	8	2	6
Drum	4	3	1
Eel-trap	2	2	
Face ornament, strips of rattan, pigs' teeth, shells, beads, feathers wood	10	10	
Fish-hook wood	18	18	
Fishing net	2	2	
Fish-trap	13	4	9
Flagstone		5	
Fork, cassowary	5	2	3

TABLE. 3. cont. MacGregor's Home collection can be inferred by subtracting the contents list derived from the *Catalogue of specimens* (Anon. 1912) from the total Bequest (University of Aberdeen 1920).

Item name	Bequeathed	Catalogue	Home
Frontlet and necklace	31	31	
Gourd	7	6	1
Hammer, granite	1	1	
Head carrier	1	1	
Head-dress	37	15	22
Head-rest	7	7	
Knife, beheading	4	4	
Lime spatula, total	185	164	21
Man-catcher	2	2	
Minnow in shell and beads	1	1	
Musical instrument	4	4	
Necklace, shells, sperm whale's and crocodile's teeth	6	3	3
Nose ornament shell	13	13	
Paddle	16	16	
Pestle and mortar, wood	12	11	1
Pig, carved wood	5	5	
Pouch in palm leaves	3	3	
Pubic shell	8	8	
Pump drill	2	2	
Sago stone	5	5	
Sandstone ring	1	1	
Shell, cowrie	18	18	
Shield carved and decorated in red, black and white paint	1	6	
Shield wood	19	4	10[12]
Shuttle	10	9	1
Skirt (palm leaves and vegetable fibre)	9	4	5
Sling	4	4	
Sling stone	7	7	
Spear	294	294	
Spider's web for fishing	3	3	
Spoon, coconut	3	3	
Sword from saw fish	2	2	
Sword, wood	125	70	55
Tapa cloth	65	60	5
Tobacco pipe	12	12	
Utensil, coconut	3	3	
Walking stick	3	3	
Wisk in bamboo	1	1	
Wrist guard	9	9	

> No race of men can constantly carry arms without occasionally using them. Their universal presence make bloodshed of daily, hourly occurrence. Fortunately, the custom of carrying arms is disappearing with wonderful rapidity (MacGregor 1897b:62).

MacGregor did retain three of the four cassowary bone daggers (Figure 9), a tool that was associated both with hierarchies of power and practices of cannibalism and sorcery that MacGregor outlawed early in his posting. Possibly these were given to MacGregor by powerful leaders as signs of complicity with the Administration. They may therefore have been retained as proof that his attempts to pacify and change cultural practices had been effective.

A clear favourite for MacGregor were items known as 'swordclubs' (Figure 10). In a rare written reference to his private collection, he specifically

FIG. 9. MacGregor expressed much interest in objects made from cassowary bone that were thought to be associated with cannibalism (e.g. MacGregor 1899c) such as these so-called 'cannibal forks' (a, b) and 'daggers' (c, d): **a.** ABDUA:1187; **b.** ABDUA:1630 (no scale available); **c.** ABDUA:1624; **d.** ABDUA:1626 bears a handwritten label by MacGregor showing the object was obtained at "DAUMORI island' in the Fly River estuary which he visited on December 10, 1889 (see MacGregor Itinerary, Appendix 1 this volume). Scale bars: 10 cm. Photographs by Samuel Revell ©University of Aberdeen.

notes that: 'I have been giving 1£ for island clubs for my private lot' (MacGregor 1897a). The Home collection had 55 wooden swordclubs, which make up 44 per cent of the total number of this artefact type in the Aberdeen Bequest as a whole. MacGregor's choice of swordclubs is significant because their use in British New Guinea was ceremonial rather than in warfare (Malinowski 1920:12; BOX 7.1 in Torrence & Davies, Chapter 7 this volume), although they closely resemble a weapon familiar to Europeans (hence their English name). At the time MacGregor was collecting in British New Guinea, swordclubs may have been produced specifically to enhance trading opportunities with westerners and as such were decorated with elaborate carved and infilled designs. As large and highly decorated artefacts, but smaller than spears, it is easy to imagine that a group of swordclubs would have made quite a nice display on

FIG. 10. Many of the same kinds of swordclub that occur in the Official collection (see BOX 7.1, White & Torrence, Chapter 7 this volume) are also present in the Personal collection, but those in the latter group tend to be much more highly decorated: **a.** spatulate, ABDUA:989; **b.** spatulate, ABDUA:994; **c.** pointed, ABDUA:995; **d.** scabbard, ABDUA:1018. Scale bar: 5 cm. Photographs by Robin Torrence ©University of Aberdeen.

a wall or above a fireplace. In contrast, it is difficult to guess why only five of 65 tapa cloths were retained for his Home collection as these are colourful and have complex designs which MacGregor (1887a) had described to Baron von Hügel in a letter as 'no two specimens are the same.' Possibly the fragility of the bark cloth meant they were not suitable for display in Scottish climatic conditions.

Stone artefacts were highly popular with collectors at the turn of the twentieth century (e.g. Torrence & Clarke 2011: 46–7), but possibly only two of his 191 stone axes/adzes were retained for the Home collection (cf. Tables 1, 3). If our detective work is correct, it would be fascinating to know if these had unusual attributes. In comparison to the utilitarian axes/adzes, the stone clubs used both in warfare and as a marker of personal status dominate the Home assemblage (see Haddon 1900; Edge-Partington 1902). With 236 examples, making up nearly half the Home assemblage, they also comprise 47 percent of the clubs in the total Bequest. Such a preponderance highlights MacGregor's obvious passion for this artefact type (Figure 11). One possibility is that he was influenced by European collectors of antiquities, such as his friend Giglioli who had a passion for collecting stone artefacts. Albert C. English, who ran the Government Station at Rigo, and David Ballantine, his Treasurer, were also avid collectors of stone clubs.[7] A second possibility is that the stone artefacts could be used as a guide to potential mineral resources in the colony, such as jade. A third important factor may have been the role of decorated stone clubs in signifying a headman or highly respected person, similar to the pigs' tusk breast ornaments also widely known as 'fighting' or 'mouth' ornaments. A fourth hypothesis is that the colourful feather adornments and elaborate woven attachments were highly attractive to MacGregor. His interest in natural history and birds in particular (cf. Philp, Chapter 3 this volume) is also suggested by his retention in the Home collection of over half the feather headdresses. Another possibility is that some of headdresses and decorated stone clubs

FIG. 11. Stone clubs with elaborate feather and woven decorations are prominent items in MacGregor Personal collection at the University of Aberdeen: **a.** ABDUA:815; **b.** ABDUA number not found; **c.** ABDUA: 867. Photographs by Robin Torrence ©University of Aberdeen.

were gifts from the farewell celebrations just before his departure from British New Guinea, but the large number seems excessive for what he described as 'some little present' (MacGregor 1899: 254).

Given that MacGregor made several gifts to individuals of objects that signified masculinity and high status (Table 2), it is perhaps not surprising that he kept over half the breast ornaments in the Bequest for the Home collection (e.g. Figure 12). In this light, however, it seems strange that he did not retain any of the other kinds of 'fighting' or 'face ornaments' in his Home collection (Figure 4), especially since he had also gifted several of these to friends and prominent people (Table 2).

Among the largest items in MacGregor's Bequest are the decorated shields, of which he only kept one-third for the Home collection. Unfortunately, it is not currently possible to identify which specific shields he had chosen, so we cannot reconstruct his preferences in detail, but the group might have included a large number of the colourful dance wands from the Trobriand Islands, which were called 'shields' in the lists (Figure 13). It is also

FIG. 12. Breast ornaments made with boars' tusks may have been popular with MacGregor and other nineteenth century collectors because of their association with masculinity and status: left, ABDUA:134; right, ABDUA:1603. Scale bars: 10 cm. Photographs by Samuel Revell ©University of Aberdeen.

interesting that he only kept 11 per cent of the lime spatulas, possibly because the majority have very little decoration and are heavily stained from use. His choices, however, probably included the most skilfully carved examples, such as two examples made by the famous carver Mutuaga (Beran 1996) and other objects from what is obviously an outstanding collection (Haddow BOX 14.1).

It is not clear whether MacGregor was especially attracted to figurative art. For instance, he did not retain any of his numerous carved human or animal figurines for the Home collection (Figure 14), although these are much more common in the Bequest than in the Official collection, suggesting he had deliberately selected them. The small carvings seem likely as potential candidates for gifts he received as farewell presents. A possibility is that MacGregor recognised these did not represent traditional material culture and had been fashioned specifically to attract interaction with Europeans through trade. In contrast, since one object has not been completed (Figure 14b) – it is carved but not painted – it might represent an object in the process of manufacture, an aspect that MacGregor was keen to collect as part of his desire to follow principles of scientific research.[8] Following on from this possibility, perhaps the set of carvings of pigs with designs typical of artisans in the Trobriand Islands had been specifically collected for him by his good friend Rev. Fellows (see Swadling BOX 10.2 Chapter 10 this volume).

Among the Home collection are several artefacts whose attraction to a male of MacGregor's background and status is not obvious. Instead, their presence may reflect the influence of his wife in the selection of items that would have been displayed or appreciated in their shared residence. For example, after stone clubs, the second most numerous artefact type in the Home collection are combs (Figure 15). They make up a very large portion of the Bequest (43 items) and also comprise 78 per cent of the total combs in the Personal collection. Their prominence makes a strong contrast with the Official collection which only has 27 combs of which only six are made from turtle shell (Table 1). Is it possible

FIG. 13. These dance wands from the Personal collection illustrate that 'MacGregor was captivated by the virtuosity and aesthetic appeal of Trobriand Island and Massim artefacts' (Quinnell 2000: 88). It is possible that some were among the items gifted to him by Rev. Fellows: **a.** ABDUA:512; **b.** ABDUA:515; **c.** ABDUA:515; **d.** ABDUA: 511. Photographs by Eve Haddow ©University of Aberdeen.

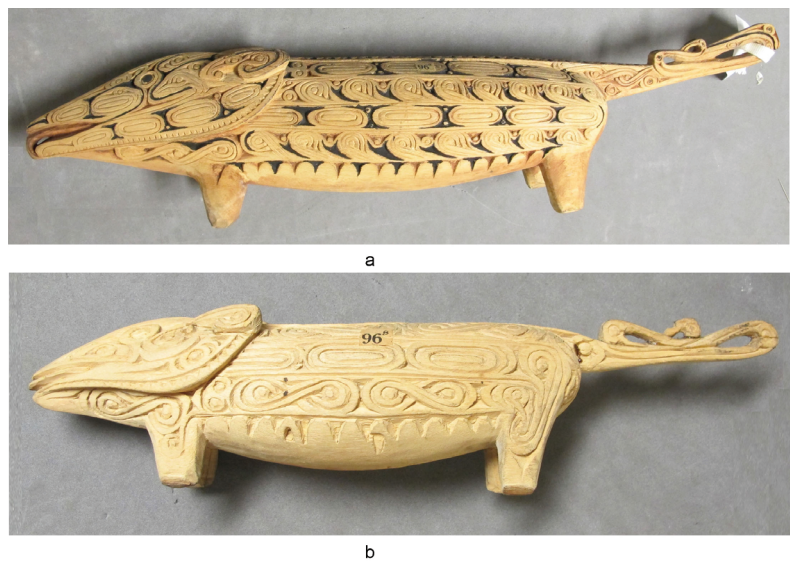

FIG. 14. Wooden carved figurines depicting pigs were possibly early examples of objects made specifically for exchange with westerners. The close similarity between the two suggests that they may have been made by artisans from the same community in the Eastern Division based on the style of the decoration. The lower image may not have been completed since it has not been painted. Photographs by Eve Haddow ©University of Aberdeen.

FIG. 15. Elaborately carved combs made from turtle shell were used as head ornaments and would have had attachments: **a.** ABDUA:437; **b.** ABDUA:436; **c.** ABDUA:439. Scale bar: 10 cm. Photographs by Samuel Revell ©University of Aberdeen.

that these objects were appreciated by his wife as outstanding hair ornaments? Speculating further about a possible gender bias, the majority of items classified as 'skirts' and 'dresses' were reserved for the Home collection. As relatively common items that would have been difficult to display because they are made of delicate, perishable materials that shed fibres easily, it is hard to understand why these were retained for the Home collection. Skirts are rare items in sale and auction catalogues during this period, so perhaps MacGregor valued them as an unusual object type. Another possibility is that he was emulating his friend Baron von Hügel who had made an extensive collection of women's skirts in Fiji (see Jacobs 2019). Although the 22 'baskets without lining' and seven bags were also highly perishable items, could their presence in the Home collection indicate the influence of his wife in favouring domestic items?

The Home collection included over two-thirds of the fishing traps in the Bequest, perhaps because they had a resonance with MacGregor's Scottish upbringing. These probably included the elaborate fishing kites that MacGregor (1899b: 46) described as 'this ingenious and singular apparatus' and which had been illustrated in the Annual Report of British New Guinea (1899: Pl. 1, 2; also see Chan 2018). Possibly these objects were especially attractive for MacGregor because they showcased the achievements of an otherwise 'uncivilised' society and as such demonstrated the potential for people in the colony to move forward into the modern world on a more equal status. As a whole, the combination of objects in the Home collection that mark cultural achievements or status, along with items of dress for men and women and markers of daily life, may have been chosen to stay at his house because they supported MacGregor's personal views about the positive successes of his ten year focus on pacification and preparing the population to take its place in the modern world.

CONTRASTING COLLECTIONS

When all the components are considered together, MacGregor's Personal collection appears to be the consequence of several distinct but related aims. Although it contains souvenirs to remind him of people he met and places he visited in British New Guinea, some of which were very significant to him, this assemblage of objects is largely a collection that reflects his views about knowledge, obtained through his relationships with like-minded gentlemen. Their engagement with broader questions of the times, such as technological differences that might track an evolutionary path leading to the 'development' of societies, certainly included aesthetic qualities as one of the markers of a developed, civilized society. Compared to the Official collection, the Personal assemblage had a focus on the decorated and ornamented elements of material culture. MacGregor also assembled the material to show that he was a well-travelled, sophisticated, and educated person and, very importantly, a successful statesman. In creating a personal collection that demonstrated his own work and achievements, MacGregor seems to have been deliberately reflecting the wealthy, high status government officials and travellers he had met throughout his career and, in particular, during his posting in Fiji.

In contrast, the Official collection was put together as a record of cultures that MacGregor thought were rapidly disappearing. A comparison of the two collections illustrates differences between assemblages brought together for very different purposes. One way to compare the composition of MacGregor's Personal and Official collections is in terms of categories of objects for whom there was an assumed function. For this analysis we decided to omit the gifts that MacGregor had made to his friends and focus on the differences between the sizeable Aberdeen Bequest (including the Home collection) and the Official collection. These relatively large groups were divided into a large number of classes that resemble those used in the published catalogue of the Personal collection (Anon. 1912) and that were widely used in contemporary auction and sale catalogues (see Clarke & Torrence 2011) or for instance, in Edge-Partington's album of objects (Edge-Partington & Heape 1898).[9] The descriptions of the objects largely, but not entirely, avoid assumptions about meaning or significance for the donor communities. Table 1 presents the numbers and relative proportions of items in each of 90 categories, which are broadly similar to what are often termed 'types' within research on ethnographic material. The data show that the primary difference between the Personal and Official collections is that the latter has a higher diversity of different kinds of artefacts and that a larger proportion of the Official collection is comprised of ordinary, everyday tools, rather than the decorated objects that were most common in nineteenth century private collections, as exemplified in contemporary catalogues (cf. Clarke & Torrence 2011; Foster & Leacock 2015).

Whereas the Official collection comprises 88 categories, the University of Aberdeen Bequest includes a much more limited selection with only 55 kinds of things represented. Although it is not surprising that the smaller collection is less diverse, the character of differences in the kinds of object categories included in the two collections indicate that MacGregor made deliberate choices about what to place in each assemblage. For example, the Official collection contains raw materials used in daily life and particularly those employed in the manufacture of objects, such as plant parts, shells, various kinds of string, etc., but these are absent from the Bequest. What is also missing in the Aberdeen assemblage are several kinds of items used in ordinary household tasks that are well represented in the Official collection: e.g. pounders; mortars; fire making equipment; canoe bailers; hammocks; etc. Similarly, although elaborate fishing traps and fishhooks are present in the Bequest, there are only two fishing nets in Aberdeen compared to 67 in the Official collection, which also contains a substantial group of lures and sinkers absent in the Bequest.

The largest component of MacGregor's Bequest is taken up by arrows and adze/axes, types that also dominate the Official collection. Looking in more detail at the kinds of arrows retained by MacGregor

for his Personal collection, there is a large number from the Western Division with fine, detailed carving, reflecting his particular interest in aesthetics. Several other weapon types also comprise significantly higher proportions in the Bequest than in the Official collection: i.e. stone clubs (18 per cent Bequest versus 5 per cent Official); spears (10 per cent Bequest versus 5 per cent Official); and swordclubs (4 per cent Bequest versus 2 per cent Official). The greater representation of these object categories in the Bequest vis-à-vis the Official collections suggests stone clubs, spears and swordclubs had especially high value for MacGregor (Figure 16). We can only speculate about whether he was particularly attracted to these as masculine items associated with violence and also important for marking status, or if he had obtained so many from specific events or communities that had special meaning for him. The large number of the stone clubs might have been inflated by his farewell presents, but these implements had become very scarce in the area around Port Moresby by this date (e.g. Quinnell 2000: 83). Also the swordclubs were made by groups in the Massim region, a very long distance away to have had a large contingent at his farewell.

As MacGregor appears to have been very interested in design and aesthetics, it seems very likely that the greater degree of decoration on items like swordclubs and stone clubs attracted his attention over other items. Many of the stone clubs are adorned with multiple species of parrot feathers which also could have caught his eye (Figure 11). A common motif on the swordclubs are carvings resembling bird heads as well as both carved and infilled designs of snakes or mythological 'serpents' (Figures 10, 16). It is interesting to note that other kinds of ornamented objects are also more common in the Bequest than in the Official collection: e.g. human and animal carvings (0.8 versus 0.2 per cent; Figure 14); bark cloth (0.4 versus 0.2 per cent); and lime spatulas (6.6 versus 4.0 per cent) (see Haddow, BOX 14.1).

Surprisingly, among prominent classes of decorated items present in the Official collection, pottery (which was crafted by women) is absent in the Bequest and elaborately beaded vests and caps worn mainly by women during mourning are very rare. Could this be due to their association with women? As well as mourning jackets and belts, most forms of body ornament (e.g. neck, ear, forehead) are much less common in the Bequest than in the Official collection, with the significant exception of breast and nose ornaments and combs which are disproportionately more abundant (Figures 12, 15). MacGregor seems to have been particularly interested in breast ornaments[10], possibly because they were markers of high status or, perhaps, for him the boar's tusks signified masculinity, hunting prowess and warfare. Another possibility is that through personal friendships made in British New Guinea and maintained by correspondence with multiple collectors both in British New Guinea and in Europe (e.g. Giglioli, von Hügel, Ballantine, Loria, etc.) MacGregor had gained much knowledge of the kinds of objects that were considered unusual, commercially attractive and museum worthy.

In addition to body ornaments, several other decorated object types are much less common in the Bequest than in the Official collection: e.g. bowls; drums; canoe ornaments; and charms. We can therefore assume that MacGregor was discerning in what he kept for his Personal collection. For example, the wooden bowls in Aberdeen tend to be larger and more highly decorated than those in the Official collection. In contrast, it is more difficult to understand why some seemingly ordinary artefacts are also more abundant in the Bequest: e.g. fishhooks and baskets. Perhaps these were acquired among his leaving presents. Finally, MacGregor reserved some rare object types for his Bequest. For example, the two sawfish swords are very large (920 mm and 760 mm) and certainly impressive (cf. Figure 1 in Torrence et al., Chapter 1 this volume). The fishing kites represent an exotic practice not found elsewhere and, in the same vein, the bullroarer, daggers, beheading knives, and head carriers relate to ritual practices such as cannibalism that might have titillated a western world view. Finally, it is surprising that the catalogue lists two mancatchers since MacGregor seems to have realised that some of these had been created specifically to tantalise missionaries (cf. O'Hanlon 1999).

FIG. 16. The swordclubs in MacGregor's Personal collection are remarkable for the elaborate carving, the large proportion of the blade decorated with incised and infilled decorations and the use of red colouring, which is absent among swordclubs in the Official collection (cf. BOX 7.1, Torrence & White, Chapter 7 this volume): **a.** ABDUA:987; **b.** ABDUA:985; **c.** ABDUA:968; **d.** ABDUA:1030. Scale bar: 5 cm. Photographs by Eve Haddow ©University of Aberdeen.

> The man-catcher of Keapara is theoretically a pretty weapon. It is a light, long-handled cane hoop, which is to be passed over the adversary's head, after the manner of the Roman retiarius; but the hoop is provided with a spike on its near segment, which is meant to pith the captured one in the way a criminal is legally and officially done to death in some parts of Europe. No instance of this weapon having been used in practice is known to me. It is an interesting object for the collector; but, as its spike is covered by the hoop on the outside, it would require a certain amount of compliance on the part of a man armed with a spear or a stone club to put his head into it. The man-catcher is perhaps never used in the field. As a weapon it would probably be inferior to a walking-stick (MacGregor 1897b:61).

Since the *Catalogue of specimens* (Anon. 1912) was probably written by the curator at the time, W. R. Reid, it seems likely that he had not consulted MacGregor about the collection, but had been influenced by the commonly accepted view of these objects at that time.

The key differences in composition of the Official collection and the Bequest support the hypothesis that MacGregor had separate and distinctive aims in making each one. Rather than putting together a representative sample of all the kinds of material culture extant in British New Guinea, as he appears to have done for the Official collection, for his Personal collection MacGregor seems to have been particularly interested in items that were rare, highly decorated in ways that were perhaps suggestive of a 'stage' in evolutionary progression or referred to a special memory. Looking beyond the relative proportions of objects, this general observation can be highlighted by some specific examples. For example, arrows are numerous in both the Bequest and Official collections, but the types of decoration in the former group are generally much more elaborate. For instance, with 61 examples, the assemblage in Aberdeen of 'man' arrows with their carved images of human and crocodile figures represents one of the largest groups in any extant museum collection. This assemblage makes a striking comparison with the very few examples in the Official collection.

Secondly, whereas swordclubs occur in both collections, the Bequest does not contain the full range of variation in form displayed among the Official collection artefacts. For example, plain or unfinished items were not retained for the Bequest, but they are relatively common within the Official collection (cf. Torrence & White: BOX 7.1, Chapter 7 this volume). Based on a large sample of the swordclubs in both collections, only five per cent of the blades in Aberdeen are undecorated compared to nearly one third in the Official collection (Table 4). A comparison of the extent of incised and infilled decoration on swordclubs in the two assemblages is also revealing. Whereas the average length of the swordclubs in the Official collection is greater than those in the Bequest, the mean percentage of the blade that is decorated is much smaller (Table 4). In terms of the swordclubs, at least, for his Personal collection MacGregor seems to have preferred elaborate designs over size and variability in form.

Conus shell arm ornaments comprise a third example of MacGregor's particular tastes. The Bequest has a smaller proportion of arm ornaments than the Official collection, but MacGregor's personal selection includes a significant number of highly decorated examples of Trobriand *mwali* made from very large conus shells and used in ceremonial transactions. As discussed by Swadling (Chapter 10 this volume), this kind of indigenous 'valuable' is extremely rare in other contemporary

TABLE. 4. Comparison of Swordclubs in the Official and Bequest collections.

Attribute	Official	Bequest
Number of swordclubs in sample	111	42
Mean total length (mm)	745	647
Decoration on the blade (% of total)	67	95
Mean length on blade of area with incised decoration (mm)	240	292
Mean proportion of blade with incised decoration (%)	32	47

collections from British New Guinea. It seems likely that MacGregor appreciated that these were special objects only possessed by people of high status and therefore he may have felt justified in reserving them for his Personal collection. In addition, they may have had special value for him as a gift from his good friend Rev. Fellows, as discussed by Swadling (BOX 10.2, Chapter 10 this volume).

Finally, some of the objects in the Bequest are concrete records of activities that MacGregor clearly felt were among his significant achievements. For example, he certainly viewed one of his main contributions as opening up the colony to the western world through exploration. He was heavily invested in extending knowledge of the lands which he administered through very detailed maps. His achievements are partly encapsulated for him by a stone with a natural hole on which he wrote in red paint 'Upper Fly River 600 Miles' (Figure 17). This self-awarded trophy celebrated his extensive exploration up to the headwaters of the Fly River between December 1889-February 1890. He had travelled a considerable distance beyond where previous scientific expeditions and traders, such as D'Albertis, had been unable to reach (MacGregor 1890b; 1890c).

Other achievements that MacGregor would have enjoyed revisiting through artefacts in his Personal collection focused on success in bringing peace to a region characterised by frequent conflicts among local groups. For instance, he kept a shield collected by David Ballantine, his Treasurer, who was working with the Armed Native Constabulary to stop aggression against neighbouring villages by the Baura group (Ballantine 1899; Figure 18). The label written in MacGregor's distinctive handwriting (cf. Davies, Chapter 5 this volume) reads 'Shield used by BAURA people attacking AW--ATENUMU on July 16 1897.'[11] Although MacGregor was at Government House on that date, Ballantine was leading punitive actions aimed against the Baura group in an attempt to stop the violence they were inflicting on neighbouring groups. Ballantine may have given the shield to MacGregor as evidence of successes he had made. Presumably, MacGregor then kept the shield in his Personal collection to remind him of the long and hard struggle he had faced to convince local groups to cease their tribal fighting. Along similar lines, MacGregor retained a simple lime spatula on which he had written 'BAULA' on one side and 'from Baula, 29.5.92' on the other. As discussed by Haddow (Figure 22 in BOX 14.1), through visits to the area over several years, MacGregor gained respect for Chief Baula, because of his efforts in maintaining peace in his region in conjunction with the missionaries. As we have only two other artefacts in both the Official and Personal collections that record the name of a person in MacGregor's handwriting (Davies, Chapter 5 this volume), Baula was clearly someone whose memory was important to him.

FIG. 17. Sir William included objects in his Personal collection that were mementos of significant events of his posting in British New Guinea, such as this stone which records his explorations 600 miles up the Fly River. Scale bar: 5 cm. Photograph by Robin Torrence ©University of Aberdeen.

A PERSONAL REFLECTION

MacGregor's Personal collection, currently dispersed in several venues, opens up a window into his individual tastes and interactions with societies both in British New Guinea and elsewhere through obtaining, gifting and displaying objects. It is not known if his collection was influenced by an early decision to make a substantial bequest to a public institution as a way of spreading knowledge about the colonial world he inhabited and attempted to shape or whether that idea occurred to him later. At the same time, it seems that he was also

FIG. 18. Hour-glass shaped shield probably presented to MacGregor by David Ballantine memorialises the success of his Government in stopping the raids by the Baura group: ABDUA:58582. Photographs by Eve Haddow ©University of Aberdeen.

motivated to acquire 'keepsakes' that reinforced memories of significant incidents and people in his life. Consisting of objects kept separate from the Official collection, the Personal collection clearly reflects MacGregor's own biases and personal tastes in terms of aesthetics and what he thought were the most significant or memorable items of those he encountered on his patrols in British New Guinea. Given he kept the objects with him until his death, the items in the Home collection might have represented significant symbols of his contributions to the colonisation process in British New Guinea.

A comparison of MacGregor's Personal and Official collections highlights the kinds of biases in any ethnographic collection (e.g. see O'Hanlon 1993) and, more particularly, material collected in the late nineteenth century. Clearly, neither group of objects or, indeed, both taken together, provides a completely accurate and representative picture of Papuan society in early colonial British New Guinea. While one undoubted strength of the Official collection is that it entails a very broad survey of the kinds of things made and used by the local communities, it clearly does not adequately represent the high level of craftsmanship extant at this time, nor does it encompass the full range of styles and types of decoration. In contrast, the broader sweep of object categories in the Official collection, compared to MacGregor's Personal collection, demonstrates MacGregor's scientific aim to capture a comprehensive sample of material culture including an emphasis on ordinary, everyday lifeways. In contrast, a primary goal in putting together the Personal collection may have been to focus on what he thought were the finest examples of artistic and craft skills.

This brief review of MacGregor's Personal collection reveals that although the Official collection is possibly the largest body of ethnographic material from late nineteenth century British New Guinea assembled by a single person, as well as one that is extraordinarily wide ranging in terms of the kinds of objects it includes, it is not fully representative of the craftsmanship and creativity in material expression in British New Guinea at that time. Clearly, substantive research on the extensive body of material now housed at the University of Aberdeen and the University of Cambridge, particularly in collaboration with descendant communities, would significantly expand knowledge about the considerable variation within material culture items made and used by Papuans societies in late nineteenth century colonial British New Guinea. Further examination of MacGregor's attachments to particular object categories and the unusual artefacts that comprised his memorabilia would also reveal more about his personal tastes and private views on Papuan society as well as the possibility that his wife had an influence on his choices for what to retain at their home.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was funded by Australian Research Council Discovery Grant DP150103518. We are grateful to the collection managers, curators and researchers at the following museums for assistance with accessing the Personal collection: Neil Curtis, Caroline Dempsey, Louise Wilkie and Hannah Clark (University of Aberdeen Museums and Special Collections); Rachel Hand, Anita Herle and Jocelyne Dudding (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology); Jeremy Coote, Nicholas Crow (Pitt-Rivers Museum). For the Official collection data, we thank collection managers, curatorial staff, librarians, and archivists at the Queensland Museum and the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery (for a full list of the staff who assisted, see Torrence et al. Chapter 1 this volume). Discussions with and detailed comments by Elizabeth Bonshek, Alison Brown, John Burton, Neil Curtis, Susan Davies, Robert Foster, Eve Haddow, Chantal Knowles, Michael Quinnell and Pamela Swadling, together with perceptive comments by two referees, helped us source useful data and improve our arguments. We are especially grateful to Neil Curtis and Nina Kononenko for assistance with the plates and to Peter White for his editing.

❑ ENDNOTES

1. Our project did not attempt to trace objects that MacGregor had gifted to Giglioli. The Pigorini National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography in Rome houses Giglioli's sizable cultural collections.
2. Note the Classical reference. In his letters and in his book *British New Guinea: Country and People* that was aimed at a wide audience, MacGregor (1897b) consistently cites relationships with classical antiquity, an interest that he carried through his life and a shared connoisseurship with his collecting friends.
3. The numbers of objects used in this paper and in Table 1 are based solely on the lists published in the official reports of the MAA (e.g. Museum of General and Local Archaeology and of Ethnology 1899; 1904), but may not be comprehensive because they do not include previous gifts that MacGregor had gifted to von Hügel (e.g. MacGregor 1896). The currrent MAA register may not be a comprehensive list of the MacGregor donations and additional material may be discovered during ongoing inventories, as with the case of the wooden figure which was not listed in the official reports.
4. The need for social acceptance and recognition is a major theme of Joyce's (1971) biography of MacGregor.
5. Arthur Thomson was Professor of Anatomy at Oxford and a physical anthropologist who worked out of the Oxford University Museum of Natural History which is located next door to the Pitt-Rivers Museum. Later he was one of the three Professors who supervised the Oxford Diploma in Anthropology from 1905.
6. It is also possible that MacGregor did not have the complete collection in his possession when he made the donation in 1899. Perhaps some material was still in transit from British New Guinea at that time and was not included. On the other hand, there was plenty of time for additional material to have been given to the University prior to 1912 when the catalogue was made. It is also impossible to determine whether some objects had simply been overlooked when the catalogue was created.
7. Ballantine's collection now at the British Museum was described by Haddon (1900) and English's extensive collection is currently held at the South Australian Museum.
8. For instance, in a letter to Baron Anatole von Hügel, MacGregor (1897a) notes that 'I am sending to the official collection two clubs in the process of being made'.
9. Our project, whose emphasis was the Official collection, did not have the resources to support a comprehensive study of the Personal collection at the University of Aberdeen or to consult with donor communities. A larger, more thorough study could certainly clarify and expand on our analyses.
10. Breast ornaments that incorporate boars' tusks are also referred to as 'face' or 'mouth ornaments.' Although often worn suspended from a cord around the neck, during dances or conflicts, they could be grasped in the mouth to give the wearer had a fierce appearance.
11. Full village name was Avaiatenumu as reported in Ballantine (1899: 16).
12. Represents the difference between the total number of shields in each list, since it is not possible to distinguish which were decorated.

LITERATURE CITED

ANON. 1906. Obituary: Coutts Trotter. *The Geographical Journal* 27(5): 512–513.

ANON. 1912. *Catalogue of specimens deposited by Sir William MacGregor in the Anthropological Museum, Marischal College, University of Aberdeen, 1899–1909*. University of Aberdeen: Aberdeen.

BALLANTINE, D. 1899. Enclosure 6 in Appendix B. Despatch reporting visit inland to the Western end of Owen Stanley Range, and thence across the island to the North-east Coast. *British New Guinea Annual Report, 1st July 1897 to 30th June, 1898*: 16–18. Victorian Parliamentary Papers: Melbourne.

BEAVER, W. 1920. The use of emblems or insignia of man-killing among the 'Orokaiva' tribes of the Kumusi Division. *Annual Report of the Territory of Papua, 1918–1919*: 97–99. Government Printer, Victoria: Melbourne.

BERAN, H. 1988. *Betel-chewing equipment of eastern New Guinea*. Aylesbury: Shire Publications.

—— 1996. *Mutuaga: A nineteenth-century New Guinea master carver*. Wollongong University Press: Wollongong.

—— n.d. More Mutuagas: further woodcarvings by the nineteenth master carver of the Massim region, Papua New Guinea. Unpublished manuscript. Reference by the author in email to Robert Foster April 28, 2014.

CHAN, K. 2018. Kiri Chan. Pp. 33–36. In K. Chan (ed.) *Kambek: reconnecting collections*. Queensland Museum.

CLARKE, A. & TORRENCE, R. 2011. Archaeology and the collection: tracing material relationships in colonial Papua from 1875 to 1925. *Journal of Australian Studies* 35(4): 433–448. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14443058.2011.617384

CLIFFORD, J. 1988. *The predicament of culture: twentieth century ethnography, literature and art*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

CURTIS, N. with DOWNES, J. & KNECHT, M. 2016. Imperial possessions: Sir William MacGregor, doctor, governor, explorer and collector. Unpublished exhibition catalogue. University of Aberdeen: Aberdeen.

EDGE-PARTINGTON, J. 1902. Stone-headed clubs from the outer coast of British New Guinea. *Man* 2: 58–59.

EDGE-PARTINGTON, J., & HEAPE, C. 1898. *An album of the weapons, tools, ornaments, articles of dress etc., of the natives of the Pacific Islands*. Series III. Issued for private circulation by James Edge-Partington and Charles Heape. Palmer Howe and Co.: Manchester.

ENGLISH, A.C. 1894. Appendix P. Report of the Government Agent for the Rigo District. *British New Guinea Annual Report, 1st July 1893 to 30th June 1894*: 61–9. Victorian Parliamentary Papers: Melbourne.

FELLOWS, S.B. 1899. Description of shield. B*ritish New Guinea Annual Report, 1st July 1897 to 30th June, 1898*: Appendix JJ. Victorian Parliamentary Papers: Melbourne.

——2001. *The diaries of S. B. Fellows: missionary to Panieti and the Trobriand Islands, 1891–1900*. Transcribed by K. Akerman. National Library of Australia: Canberra.

FOSTER, R. & LEACOCK, K. (eds). 2015. *Art, artifact, commodity: perspectives on the P.G.T. Black collection*. Buffalo: Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, Volume 42. Buffalo: Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences.

GIGLIOLI, E. 1895. Letter to Reverend Brown, March 1, 1895. George Brown, Scientific and Ethnological Papers, Mitchel Library, Sydney, A1686-22. Letter transcription and details supplied by Helen Gardner in a letter to Michael Quinnell, 6 October 1998.

HADDON, A. C. 1900. A classification of the stone clubs of British New Guinea. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 30: 221–50.

HADDOW, E. 2014. University of Aberdeen Museums Papua New Guinea Collection. National Museums of Scotland 2021). https://www.nms.ac.uk/media/475220/university-of-aberdeen-museums-papua-new-guinea-collection.pdf (accessed Octobr 28, 2021).

HARRISON, R. 2011. Consuming colonialism: curio dealers' catalogues, souvenir objects and indigenous agency in Oceania. Pp. 55–82. In S. Bryne, A. Clarke, R. Harrison & R. Torrence (eds) *Unpacking the collection: networks of material and social agency in the museum*. Springer: New York.

HERLE, A. 2018. Displaying colonial relations: from Government House in Fiji to the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. *Museum and Society* 16: 279–297.

JACOBS, K. 2019. T*his is not a grass skirt: on fibre skirts (liku) and female tattooing (veiqia) in nineteenth century Fiji*. Sidestone Press: Leiden.

JOYCE, R.B. 1983. Sir Samuel Griffith. *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 9. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/griffith-sir-samuel-walker-445 (accessed November 14, 2021).

MALINOWSKI, B. 1920. War and weapons among the natives of the Trobriand Islands. Man 20: 10–12.

MACGREGOR, W. 1890a. Appendix D. Despatch reporting tour of inspection made by his honour the Administrator of British New Guinea, extending from Manumanu on the coast of the possession to the Owen Stanley Range in the interior. *British New Guinea Annual Report, 4th September 1888 to 30th June, 1889*: 37–48. Victorian Parliamentary Papers: Melbourne.

MACGREGOR, W. 1890b. Administrative visits of inspection. Ascent of the Fly River. *British New Guinea Annual Report, 1st July 1889 to 30th June, 1890*: 12. Victorian Parliamentary Papers: Melbourne.

—— 1890c. Appendix G. Despatch giving details of an expedition undertaken to explore the course of the Fly River and some of its affluents. *British New Guinea Annual Report, 1st July 1889 to 30th June, 1890*: 49–64. Victorian Parliamentary Papers: Melbourne.

—— 1890d. Appendix M. Despatch in further reference to visit of inspection to St. Joseph district. *British New Guinea Annual Report, 1st July 1889 to 30th June, 1890*: 87–91. Victorian Parliamentary Papers: Melbourne.

—— 1896. Letter to Baron von Hügel dated 4 May 1896. University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Archive letters 1896–1897.

—— 1897a. Letter to Baron von Hügel dated 3 February 1897. University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Archive letters 1896–1897.

—— 1897b. B*ritish New Guinea: country and people*. John Murray: London.

—— 1898. Letter to Baron von Hügel, 20th December 1898. Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Archives.

—— 1899a. British New Guinea. Lecture given 28 March 1899. Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute (1898–99): 238–70.

—— 1899b. Appendix F. Despatch reporting visit of inspection to various districts of the possession. *British New Guinea Annual Report, 1st July 1897 to 30th June, 1898*: 46–50. Victorian Parliamentary Papers: Melbourne.

—— 1899c. Despatch reporting visit inland to the western end of Owen Stanley Range, and thence across the island to the north-east coast. *British New Guinea Annual Report, 1st July 1897 to 30th June, 1898*: 19–29. Victorian Parliamentary Papers: Melbourne.

—— 1920. Will of Sir William MacGregor. Source: Newfoundland will books 11: 485-488. http://ngb.chebucto.org/Wills/macgregor-william-11-485.shtml (accessed 14 December 2017).

MOUTU, A. 2018. Reconnecting the collection. Pp. 1–2. In K. Chan (ed.) *Kambek: reconnecting collections*. Queensland Museum.

MUSEUM OF GENERAL AND LOCAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND OF ETHNOLOGY 1899. *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Antiquarian Committee to the Senate, June 6, 1899*, Cambridge University Reporter (1898–99): 4, 11.

—— 1904. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Antiquarian Committee to the Senate, April 21, 1904*. Cambridge University Reporter (1904): 15.

NICHOLS, C.A. 2018. The Smithsonian Institutions' "greatest treasures": valuing museum objects in the specimen exchange industry. *Museum Anthropology* 41: 13–29.

O'HANLON, M. 1999. 'Mostly harmless?' Missionaries, administrators and material culture on the coast of British New Guinea. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5: 377–397.

—— 1993 *Paradise: portraying the New Guinea Highlands*. British Museum Press: London.

OLDMAN, W. O. 1913. *Illustrated catalogue of ethnographical specimens*. No. 129. Vol XI. London.

PITT RIVERS MUSEUM ONLINE CATALOGUE. https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/collections (accessed 14 December 2017).

QUINNELL, M. 2000. 'Before it has become too late': The making and repatriation of Sir William MacGregor's official collection from British New Guinea. Pp. 81–102. In M. O'Hanlon & R.L. Welsch (eds) *Hunting the gatherers: ethnographic collectors, agents and agency in Melanesia, 1870s–1930s*. Berghahn Books: New York.

REID, W. R. 1919. Sir William MacGregor. *Aberdeen University Review* 7: 1–14.

STEWART, S. 1993. *On longing: narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection*. Duke University: Durham.

STONE, O.C. 1880. *A few months in New Guinea*. (Sampson Low: London).

SYNGE, F.M. 1908. *Albert Maclaren: pioneer missionary in New Guinea*. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: London.

THOMAS, N. 1991. *Entangled objects: exchange, material culture, and colonialism in the Pacific*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

TORRENCE, R. & CLARKE, A. 2011. "Suitable for the decoration of halls and billiard rooms:" finding indigenous agency in historic auction and sale catalogues. Pp.29–54. In S. Byrne, A. Clarke, R. Harrison & R. Torrence (eds) *Unpacking the collection: networks of material and social agency in the museum*. Springer: New York.

—— 2013. Creative colonialism: locating Indigenous strategies in ethnographic museum collections. Pp. 171–195. In R. Harrison, S. Bryne & A. Clarke (eds) *Reassembling the collection: ethnographic museums and indigenous agency*. SAR Press: Santa Fe.

TORRENCE. R., BONSHEK. E., CLARKE, A., DAVIES, S.M., PHILP, J. & QUINNELL, M. 2020. Regimes of value in museum practices: A networked biography

of the MacGregor field collection from British New Guinea. Museum History Journal 13 (2): 111–131. DOI: 10.1080/19369816.2020.1807122.

TROTTER, C. 1892. Some notes on recent exploration in British New Guinea. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Geography 14* (11): 788–796.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN MUSEUMS n.d. a. Sir William MacGregor (1846–1919) https://www.abdn.ac.uk/museums/collections/william-macgregor-456.php (Accessed October 28, 2021).

—— n.d. b. Sir William MacGregor. https://uoamuseums.wordpress. com/2016/03/29/sir-william-macgregor/ (Accessed October 28, 2021).

—— 1909. 1908–1909 Report by Museum Committee to Senatus Academicus.

—— 1920. 1919–1920 Report by Museum Committee to Senatus Academicus.

WILLIAMS, F.E. 1923. *The collection of curios and the preservation of native culture*. Anthropology Report No. 3. Government Printer: Port Moresby.

—— 1930. *Orokaiva society*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

BOX 14.1

LIME SPATULAS

Eve HADDOW

In 2013, while researching museum collections of Pacific ethnographic material cared for by the University of Aberdeen, Chantal Knowles and I were astonished as we opened drawer after drawer full of lime spatulas from Papua New Guinea (Haddow 2014). The lime spatulas themselves were beautiful pieces crafted by nineteenth-century makers. However, we were also struck by the sheer volume and variety of examples. This material forms part of Sir William MacGregor's Personal collection, the Aberdeen portion of which contains approximately 200 lime spatulas. Each spatula is slightly different from the previous, with examples manufactured of wood, bone, turtle shell, and stone. Some feature shell, bead, or plant fibre adornments and others are carved into shapes or decorated with surface engravings and pigment.

The lime spatula is a ubiquitous object within museum collections of late nineteenth and early twentieth century British New Guinea material culture. They would likely have been an attractive item for collectors, being both decorative and portable, as well as in abundant usage. For the original owners, a spatula was often a high-use item, part of the habit of betel consumption. This process involves chewing the fruit from the areca palm and the leaf of betel-pepper (*Piper betle*) with a small amount of lime made from burnt shells or coral. Spatulas are used in this latter step, to spoon a portion of lime into the mouth.

While researching material acquired by MacGregor now in Aberdeen, 198 different spatulas were definitively identified. A further two spatulas with duplicate registration numbers are also likely to be part of MacGregor's collection, taking the total to 200. Evidence of wear and residue on the spatulate-shaped ends of at least 146 examples suggests they have had a life of use prior to acquisition (e.g. ABDUA:222 and ABDUA:287). Two examples appear to have been collected in an unfinished state (ABDUA:310 and ABDUA:312).

In terms of material composition, 129 of the spatulas are made of wood, 62 of cassowary bone, three of green stone, and three of turtle shell. Some of the cassowary bone examples are composite with a wooden spatula end. A small (145mm) bone spatula from Seymour Bay, Fergusson Island (ABDUA:357), was described in the *Catalogue of specimens* as 'made of limb bone of buceros' (Anon. 1912: 15), an old name for Blyth's hornbill (*Rhyticeros plicatus*). Two further spatulas are carved from whalebone, and while they do not have a specific geographical attribution, they are of the style known on Kiriwina island as *bosu*.

While many of the Aberdeen MacGregor collection lime spatulas have been attributed to the south-eastern coast and islands of British New Guinea, just under half were given more specific geographical associations in the catalogue (Table 5). The geographical spread further enhances the variability of the collection, not just in terms of materials used but in style of carving. For example, most of the wooden spatulas exhibit Massim style carving associated with the Milne Bay area, but there are also examples of a less figurative style associated with the Collingwood Bay area, Oro Province. Three cassowary bone spatulas are attributed to the Gulf of Papua and were acquired together with two decorated and pigmented bark belts.

TABLE. 5. Geographical attributions for lime spatulas in the MacGregor Personal collection at University Museums, University of Aberdeen.

Location	No. of spatulas	Notes
Southeast or southeast coast, British New Guinea	108	General region
Trobriand Islands	5	General attribution to island group
Kiriwina Island, Trobriand Islands	23	
Cape Nelson	23	Collingwood Bay, Oro Province
Gira Bay	15	Likely mouth of Gira River, border of Oro and Morobe Provinces
Seymour Bay, Fergusson Island	10	West of island, largest of D'Entrecasteaux islands
Gona Bay	6	Oro Province
Were Were, south cape	1	Likely a village name, Suau/south cape area
Papuan Gulf	1	General region
Bennet island	1	Likely Marshall Bennett Islands, in Milne Bay
Dududu (village)	1	
Kikiwana	1	Possible mis-transcription of Kiriwina
Melanesia	1	General region
No locality	2	Spatulas with duplicated registration numbers - no catalogue information available.

Two wooden spatulas in the Aberdeen collection have been attributed to Mutuaga, a master carver who lived in Dagodagoisu Village in the Suau/south cape area of southeast British New Guinea from c.1860 until early 1920s (Beran 1996: 1). One piece is carved in the form of a squatting male human figure playing a drum (ABDUA:177, Figure 19), while the other depicts a squatting human with elbows resting on knees (ABDUA:180; Figure 20). Beran (1996: 219 pls.58, 60) classifies both as 'spatulas in the naturalistic substyle, style variation 2'. Neither of these Mutuaga spatulas exhibit clear evidence of use, so may have been bought directly form the artist himself. Between 1888 and 1898, MacGregor visited the Suau area on multiple occasions, however, no evidence has yet been found providing details on interactions he might have had with Mutuaga. Two larger sculptural figures in MacGregor's Personal collection at the University of Aberdeen are also attributed by Beran to Mutuaga (ABDUA:1950 and ABDUA:1951; Beran 1996, 147). Interestingly, none of Mutuaga's artistic work appears in the Official collection suggesting he may have intentionally kept this impressive artwork for himself.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing spatulas in the Aberdeen collection is an example attributed to Seymour Bay, Fergusson Island, which is the largest of the D'Entrecasteaux islands, southeast British New Guinea (ABDUA:289, Figure 21). On close inspection, the spatula composed of light-coloured wood is in fact a repurposed folding ruler: an 'English boxwood foot-rule' according to the 1912 catalogue of MacGregor's collection in the University of Aberdeen. The measurements are marked in inches, with a metal guard on the butt of what would have been the spatula handle, and a metal hinge located at the six-inch mark and 18-inch mark on the reverse. Whoever crafted this spatula split the ruler, originally 24 inches long, in half. A small perforation in the handle suggests a suspension was previously attached.

FIG. 19. Lime spatula attributed to Mutuaga depicts a squatting male human figure playing a drum: ABDUA:177. Photograph by Samuel Revell ©University of Aberdeen.

FIG. 20. Lime spatula attributed to Mutuaga depicts a squatting human figure with elbows resting on knees: ABDUA:180. Photograph by Samuel Revell ©University of Aberdeen.

FIG. 21. Lime spatula repurposed from a wooden ruler, Seymour Bay, Fergusson Island, Papua New Guinea, collected 1888-1898: ABDUA:289. Photograph by Samuel Revell ©University of Aberdeen.

As with almost all the spatulas in the Aberdeen collection, there are no specifics about the collecting encounter and transactions that led to acquisition of this ruler turned spatula. Between 1888–98, MacGregor visited Seymour Bay numerous times, as well as other parts of Fergusson Island (cf. Quinnell, Appendix 1 this volume). Speculating on the ruler's origin, it could have been traded into the area by a member of a scientific expedition, by a crew member of a ship, or by a missionary. Perhaps it was even from a mission school. As an entirely unique object, the presence of this hybrid object in MacGregor's Personal collection suggests he attributed it some form of value, perhaps through association with its original owner, or perhaps its perceived status as a 'curio' exhibiting the use of exotic materials. This is not the only lime spatula in the Aberdeen collection incorporating introduced elements. In addition to those adorned with trade beads, one example made of whale bone incorporates a twisted plant fibre suspension onto which 16 flat spondylus shell beads and three European style buttons are threaded (ABDUA:356).

While limited information is available regarding specific collecting encounters, one lime spatula in Aberdeen may be connected to a particular individual in Papua New Guinea (ABDUA:347). Made of cassowary bone, an inscription in black ink on one side of the item reads, 'from Baula, 29.5.92', with MacGregor's initials, the reverse reading simply 'BAULA' (Figure 22). At first, it seemed this might be a geographical attribution, similarly to other items in MacGregor's collections. However, further research led to a mention of 'Chief Baula' by missionary Albert A. Maclaren, of the Anglo-Australian Board of Missions (Synge 1908: 79–81). A friend of MacGregor's, Maclaren met Chief Baula on 26 May 1890, spending time with him until at least 2 June and becoming 'very good friends' (Synge 1908, 81). He described Baula as living in 'Roan village', and chief of 'Vapa'. MacGregor had at least one meeting with Chief Baula in Ngauauni on 30 May 1890 accompanied by Maclaren (Synge 1908, 81; MacGregor 1891d: 90). Given Chief Baula's significance in MacGregor's governance of the Mekeo area, the presence of this gift in the Personal collection could be associated with the value MacGregor placed on this friendship.

In examining aspects of the collection of lime spatulas acquired by the University of Aberdeen from MacGregor, traces emerge of the ways he approached his Personal collection. Continuing detailed investigation and comparison with the Official collection could offer further insights. Importantly, this collection also offers traces of the original makers and owners of the lime spatulas which are poorly documented in MacGregor's writings. Further research could offer greater understanding of these individuals, as well as of the materials and motifs incorporated into this rich and diverse late nineteenth century collection.

FIG. 22. Both sides of a bone lime spatula presumably given to MacGregor on May 20, 1892 by Chief Baula, an important ally in establishing the Mekeo Government Station: ABDUA:347. A very rare occurrence of MacGregor's monogram occurs in the lower right-hand corner of picture d. Photographs by Samuel Revell ©University of Aberdeen.