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

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Social interactions and field collecting 1888–1889: William MacGregor's first six months in British New Guinea

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Sir William MacGregor assembled an Official collection of nearly 11 000 ethnographic artefacts during his time as Administrator (1888–1894) and Lieutenant-Governor (1895–1898) of the colony of British New Guinea. By reviewing three collecting events which occurred during MacGregor's first six months in office (1888–1889), this chapter illustrates the diversity of field settings and social interactions in which cultural artefacts were acquired for the Official collection. Examination of the historical sources connected with these events reveals that strikingly different types of social encounters, ranging from peaceful through to violent, framed the collection's assembly. The research highlights the important role that indigenous peoples, as interpreters, traders, leaders, and residents, played in shaping the assemblage through their engagement in bartering or gift-giving. A key finding is that ethnographic objects were not only obtained through peaceful measures but also through punitive actions, therefore demonstrating that the acquisition of artefacts through conflict and plunder dates from the earliest days of MacGregor's administration of the colony.

❑ Sir William MacGregor, Sir Basil Thomson, ethnographic collections, cross-cultural interactions, Indigenous agency, punitive collecting, British New Guinea

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INTRODUCTION

Sir William MacGregor (1846–1919) was the first administrator of colonial Papua New Guinea to make an extensive collection of indigenous artefacts in his official capacity. While several government officers had made small collections when the region was governed as a British Protectorate (1884–1888), these assemblages were either private in nature or had been gathered specifically for display at international exhibitions (Edmundson 2013: 162–163).[1] MacGregor's arrival in Port Moresby on 4th September 1888, and the proclamation of sovereignty which followed, transformed what had been a British Protectorate into the colony of British New Guinea (MacGregor 1890a: 5–6). His arrival also triggered a new phase of collecting which continued for the duration of his administration (1888–1898). Unlike his predecessors who were largely motivated by personal or commercial gain[2], MacGregor was determined to create a different kind of collection, a 'representative' type collection: one formed specifically as a legacy for the colony of British New Guinea and its peoples (see Torrence et al., Chapter 1 this volume; Quinnell 2000: 83). MacGregor would later describe the assemblage which he formed as the 'British New Guinea Collection …the official collection of this Colony' (MacGregor 1897a).

MacGregor's interest in ethnographic material pre-dates his arrival in British New Guinea. His experiences during his colonial posting to Fiji (1875–1888) were formative years. Like many others in the colony, including the Governor of Fiji, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, MacGregor participated in the collecting craze which had been heightened by the arrival of Baron Anatole von Hügel, in 1875 (Thomas 2011: 300–302; Anon. 1912: 7–8).[3] As discussed in Torrence et al. (Chapter 1 this volume), MacGregor's subsequent collecting endeavours in British New Guinea were probably influenced by the ideas of von Hügel, with whom he developed a lasting friendship. Tangible evidence of this bond is demonstrated by MacGregor's subsequent donations from his private collection to the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (CUMAA) in 1898 and 1904 (Table 1, Torrence & Philp, Chapter 14 this volume). While MacGregor had no prior links to the university, his 'dear old friend', von Hügel, had been appointed the museum's first curator in 1883 (MacGregor 1897b).[4]

Although MacGregor's many achievements are well documented by Joyce (1971; 1974), very few secondary sources actually address one of MacGregor's main legacies: the Official collection. Quinnell (2000) has extensively charted the fascinating history behind the making and repatriation of the Official collection, while Schaffarczyk (2006) and Edmundson (2013) have noted that the assemblage provided a model for the Official Papuan Collection later assembled by Sir Hubert Murray between 1907 and 1933.[5] More recently, Connelly (2016) has examined MacGregor's explorations of the Trobriand Islands within the context of indigenous agency, while Davies and Quinnell (2020) have revealed aspects of the assemblage through the sketches which the British ethnologist, James Edge-Partington, made in the Queensland Museum in 1897. In addition, Torrence et al. (2020) have traced the complex networked biography of MacGregor's ethnographic collection made in British New Guinea – official and private – through various Australian and overseas museums (see also Torrence & Davies, Chapter 13 this volume and Torrence & Philp, Chapter 14 this volume).

The Official collection is the product of a complex mix of cross-cultural engagements between indigenous residents and government officials in British New Guinea. Numbering nearly 11 000 items originating from around 200 different localities, the assemblage contains a wide range of Papuan material culture, including articles of everyday use, weaponry and ornaments (see Davies et al., Appendix 2 Table 1 this volume). Representing articles gathered in the field by MacGregor and government officers acting under his instructions, the assemblage was transformed into a museum collection in the 1890s, a process which has largely obscured the cross-cultural encounters which underlay its acquisition.

This chapter examines the collecting activities undertaken by MacGregor during his first six months

as colonial administrator of British New Guinea in order to highlight the different kinds of social contexts in which cultural artefacts were acquired. Three well documented collecting episodes undertaken by MacGregor between September 1888 and March 1889 exemplify the diversity of social contacts which characterised his administration of the colony. The first covers MacGregor's explorations of the Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux island groups over a six-week period (October-November 1888), the second occurred during a punitive expedition in the Chads Bay (Awaiama) region (November 1888–January 1889), and the third took place over a three-week period when MacGregor was based in the Rigo district (19 February–9 March 1889) (Figure 1). As representative of the range of social contexts during which artefacts were acquired for the Official collection, the collecting episodes provide a conceptual framework for further investigating the assemblage and its composition.

EARLIER CONTACTS SET THE SCENE

MacGregor's posting to British New Guinea provided an opportunity to make a collection of an entirely different kind, a representative type collection framed within the context of gathering specimens of Papuan material culture 'before it becomes

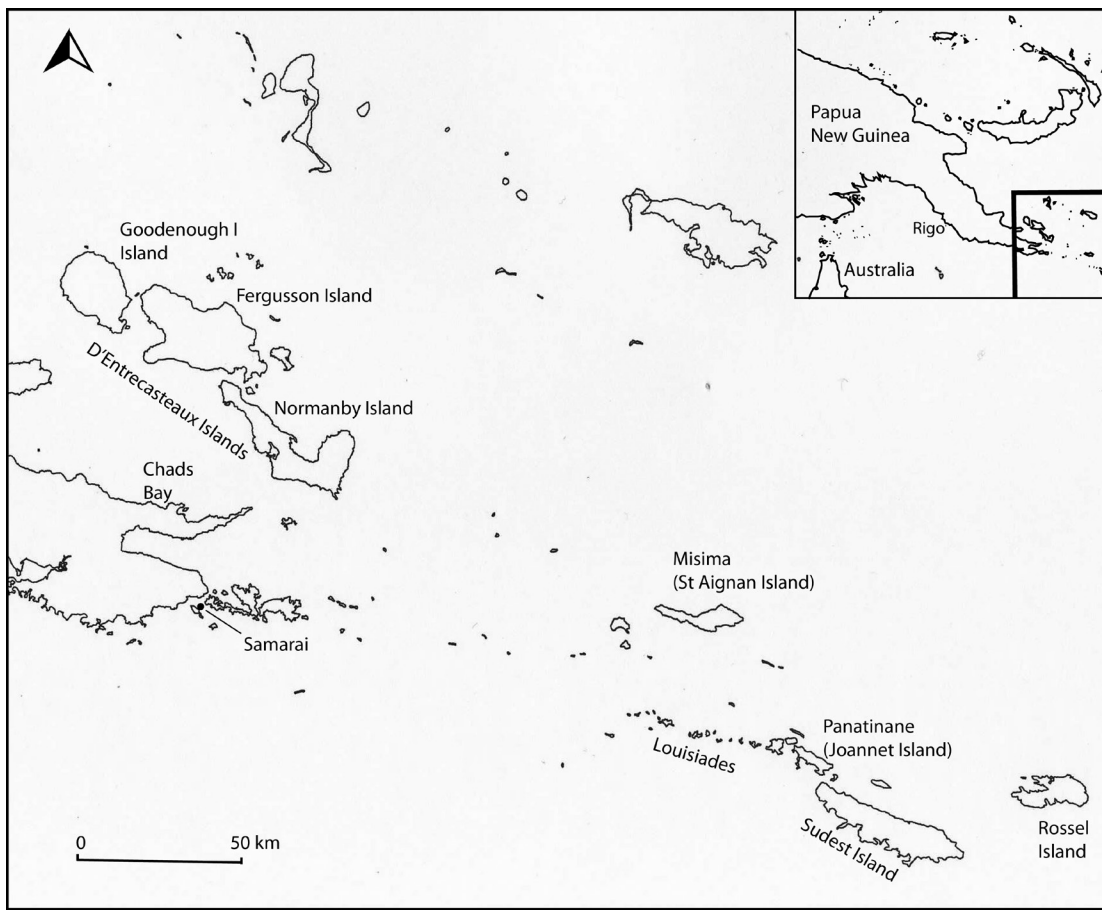

FIG. 1. Map of British New Guinea showing the Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux archipelagos and Chads Bay (Awaiama). Inset map shows location of Rigo. Drawing by Pamela Swadling.

too late' (Quinnell 2000: 89). Collecting under MacGregor's administration differed to that of his predecessors in that it became an important means by which he established positive relationships with communities and their chiefs. As Quinnell (2000: 85) has so succinctly put it: "The act of collecting (and the reciprocal relationship established) became a pragmatic procedure, part of his methodology for the spread of *Pax Britannica*".

Quinnell (2000: 84–85; 87) has noted that MacGregor acquired ethnological items occasionally through reciprocal gift-giving but more often at points of first contact, especially during administrative 'visits of inspection'. The latter provided multiple opportunities for MacGregor to collect indigenous artefacts, which, together with important food supplies, were obtained with government 'trade', which generally comprised manufactured items like metal axes, adzes, knives, cloth, glass beads as well as tobacco.[6] The practice of using foreign goods to obtain food, services (e.g. carriers and interpreters) and curios (artefacts) predates MacGregor's arrival in the colony. Missionaries were largely responsible for the introduction of trade tobacco while metal goods, cloth and glass trade beads commonly facilitated the activities of the first explorers and natural history collectors (Davies 2011). British New Guinea Protectorate (1884–1888) government officials used similar types of items to secure all kinds of goods and services from Papuans. Land for government use was also purchased with 'trade' (Fort 1886: 8).[7]

Like others before him, MacGregor discovered that European goods mediated his interactions with local residents, helping him to establish friendly relations with local communities and especially their leaders. Events like those related in this chapter show that indigenous people usually controlled situations in which bartering took place, offering particular items for exchange (and withholding others) whilst at the same time asserting control over what type of foreign goods they were prepared to receive in return. Over time, MacGregor's offerings of 'trade' were often tailored to meet the desires of local communities and sometimes incorporated additional items. For instance, when MacGregor explored the river systems of the Papuan Gulf in 1893, he exchanged white cowry shells for stone axes (MacGregor 1894: 25). His decision to include these in his interactions with people of the Biroi River on this occasion may have been influenced by his knowledge of the indigenous *hiri* trade in which pots and shell valuables were traded to the communities in the Gulf district by the Motu people of Port Moresby and the surrounding region. [8]

Whereas barter and gift exchange were the usual means by which MacGregor obtained cultural items in the field, punitive expeditions were another source of artefacts. Quinnell (2000: 86) has highlighted this activity through the example of MacGregor's clash with Tugeri (Marind-Anim) raiders from Dutch New Guinea in 1896, an event which yielded an estimated 1566 artefacts (Quinnell 2000 p. 86; Torrence et al., Chapter 8 this volume). While on this particular occasion the aim of the punitive expedition was to drive the Tugeri raiders back across the border and to stop their incursions into British territory, Papuans implicated in the deaths of traders or other foreigners had been the target of retribution long before MacGregor set foot in the colony. Whether looting of material culture occurred during these earlier retaliatory episodes has yet to be established.

As was the case elsewhere in the Pacific, British Royal Navy warships were usually sent to punish offending communities (O'Brien 2017; Mullins & Bellamy 2012: 24).[9] When landing parties from these vessels were sent ashore, they tended to destroy everything in their wake, usually by fire. An example of the practice is illustrated by the punishment inflicted on the people of Brooker Island in mid-1879 for their alleged involvement in the combined deaths of around 30 individuals from several different episodes (Mullins & Bellamy 2012: 24). A landing party of 150 mariners from HMS *Wolverine* and HM Schooner *Beagle* destroyed all the canoes and huts on the island during the raid. The punishment exacted on the village of Kalo in August 1881 following the massacre of a group of London Missionary Society teachers and their

families earlier in the year was particularly severe. Eighty-five seamen from the *Wolverine and Beagle* who were sent ashore killed as many as 40 Papuans in the battle which ensued (Tumarkin 1982: 424; Mullins & Bellamy 2012: 24–25).[10]

The south-east coast and adjacent islands were the site of many conflicts between Papuans and Europeans (especially traders). While the first missionaries settled the mainland at what is now Port Moresby in 1874, the indigenous population of the islands in the southeastern part of the territory had had a longer and more varied history of contact with Europeans. Three major commercial enterprises brought Europeans to the region between 1830 and 1887: whalers (1830s), *beche-de-mer* traders (1873 onwards) and pearl-shellers (1880s). Another group of foreigners circulated through the Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux archipelagos during 1883 and 1884, namely labour recruiters for Queensland and Fiji plantations.[11] When, in 1885, 405 individuals from the islands and the adjacent mainland who had worked on the Queensland sugar plantations were returned to their homes by the SS *Victoria*, some communities refused to have anything to do with the Europeans involved in the process (Nelson 1976: 8). By the time the SS *Victoria* left the area there were additional disaffected residents because they had not been compensated for the loss of the 194 relatives who had passed away in Queensland.[12] Together with the ongoing friction between some communities and European traders, the oversight regarding non-payment of compensation probably led to considerable feelings of anger and distrust among some island communities towards Europeans.

The establishment of the British Protectorate in November 1884 had little impact on the violence which erupted periodically between European traders and Papuans. In 1885, the newly appointed Special Commissioner, Sir Peter Scratchley, investigated the deaths of six European traders which had occurred in the previous two years. Among other things, he concluded that British war-ships were not a suitable means of effecting punishment (Fort 1886: 12–13). Even so, this tactic was still being used in 1886 and 1887 to punish the indigenous population.[13] In 1886, HMS *Diamond* was sent to Joannet Island (Louisiade Archipelago) where the captain and crew of the pearling vessel, *Emily*, had been killed but 'could do nothing' because villagers had fled into the bush (Douglas 1888: 42). Frustrated with the result, John Douglas (Special Commissioner), tried something different. He instructed a government officer to proceed to the place to arrest the murderers and to recover any stolen property, arms and ammunition (Douglas 1888: 46–47). The officer charged with the task, Henry Forbes, went beyond his instructions, however, and three villages were burnt (Nelson 1976: 12–13). Moreover, one of those in the raiding party reputedly returned with the head of at least one of the local residents in a basket (Nelson 1976: 13).[14]

MacGregor arrived in British New Guinea in 1888 with firm ideas on to how to protect its indigenous residents. Several of the eleven ordinances passed by the Legislature of the colony between 4 September 1888 and 30 June 1889 were focused on the welfare of the indigenous population (MacGregor 1890a: 6–9). He quickly discovered, however, that some Papuans was openly hostile towards the government because of their prior experiences with Westerners. Other groups had had limited, if any, prior interaction with Europeans. Through multiple administrative visits of inspection and exploratory field trips, MacGregor sought to build positive social relationships with local residents and tried to extend government influence. While he may not have always been successful in his endeavours, one of the legacies of MacGregor's myriad engagements with the local population is the Official collection of indigenous artefacts which he assembled between 1888 and 1898. This assemblage, which MacGregor perceived as belonging to the colony of British New Guinea, had its roots in the multiple social interactions between the indigenous populace and MacGregor and his agents over the course of nearly a decade.

CROSS CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS

The collecting events which are the focus of this chapter provide valuable evidence of the roles that indigenous peoples played in shaping the nature of the Official collection. The research highlights the multiple contributions Papuans made to the assemblage through their engagements in the activity of bartering or gift-giving. Local residents were able to determine what was collected in such situations by the choice of object they offered to trade. They could also choose to withhold certain items, that they considered were especially valuable. While most of the Official collection is believed to have been procured through peaceful bartering or gift-giving, there is evidence that a proportion of the assemblage was obtained through plunder or looting. This was not necessarily a one-sided affair because there are many instances where villagers actively participated in the plunder of European goods. Nevertheless, local agency was completely obliterated during punitive expeditions as villagers were unable to determine what was destroyed, let alone collected.

Crime and punishment are frequent partners in MacGregor's despatches to the Governor of Queensland between 1888–1898. Punitive expeditions were not always about avenging the killing of Europeans, however, for there were occasions when MacGregor reacted to the deaths of Papuans killed in intertribal conflicts in the same way (MacGregor 1897c). While the capture of alleged murderers was central to punitive actions originating from the colonial government, the destruction of property and looting of material possessions is evident in some circumstances. As Quinnell (2000: 87) has noted, MacGregor's standard procedure was to destroy weapons rather than to collect them in such situations. This usually occurred in full view of their owners as was the case at the village of Kaiboda on 25 August 1895 when 276 spears were collected, stacked together, and burned in the village square (MacGregor 1897c: 8).

MacGregor undertook his first punitive expedition in British New Guinea in November 1888. Lacking a police force, he engaged a group of gold prospectors to accompany his party to help expedite the capture of locals implicated in the murder of a European trader. The events which unfolded were chaotic and resulted in the burning of one large village and the destruction and seizure of property, including articles of material culture. This episode of punitive collecting was the first to occur under MacGregor's administration, but it was by no means the last as is illustrated by two later punitive episodes detailed in this volume (Torrence et al., Chapter 8 this volume; Torrence & Davies, Chapter 9 this volume). These later episodes differ in that they were accomplished with the aid of the Armed Native Constabulary (ANC) (established in 1890).

In addition to their myriad contributions to the Official collection through trade and gifts, the research also reveals that Papuans frequently acted as guides and interpreters for MacGregor. While these individuals are usually not named in official reports, they facilitated positive interactions between MacGregor and villagers and therefore assisted in the acquisition of cultural items. Some of the interpreters whom MacGregor engaged in 1888 had previously worked on the sugar plantations in Queensland. Aside from brokering first contact meetings, some interpreters played a significant role in building knowledge about local communities for the government. For example, the interpreter 'Jim' (sometimes referred to as 'Jimmy Sudest'), helped MacGregor's private secretary, Basil Thomson, to record a local vocabulary on Rossel Island in October 1888 (Thomson 1880–1917: 12 October 1888).[15]

Local chiefs were also recruited to act as guides and interpreters on occasion. It is likely that the chiefs were motivated to engage in the activity by a desire to forge a strong relationship with the government, and especially MacGregor. Such an alliance could potentially have long-term benefits in any future intertribal disputes, and increase their access to valued articles of foreign trade. Indeed, Connelly (2016: 161) has noted that local chiefs in the Trobriand Islands attempted to recruit MacGregor 'into exclusive exchange relationships' during his visits to the islands in 1890 and 1891. Two

of the collecting incidents recounted in this chapter highlight the pivotal role which local chiefs played in mediating social interactions between MacGregor and other communities.

BUILDING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

As the first case study discussed here, the primary aim of MacGregor's travels in the Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux island groups from October to November 1888 (Figure 1) was to assess the mineral potential of the islands and to prepare Islanders for the likelihood that gold prospectors might arrive on their shores (gold had been discovered on Sudest Island in June 1888). A significant part of the expedition was devoted to fostering social relationships with local communities. While a key aspect of social engagement was the exchange of material items, the willingness of local communities to engage with MacGregor's party[16] appears to have been influenced by their prior experiences with westerners, and the presence or absence of indigenous interpreters. At least five Islanders were recruited during the voyage to act as interpreters: 'Jimmy Sudest'; 'Jim' and 'Harry'; 'Charlie' and 'Johnny' (Thomson 1880–1917: 38; 58; 62; 64–67; 140).[17] Acting as intermediaries between MacGregor's party and local residents, the interpreters often shared important cultural information and some even helped MacGregor's private secretary, Basil Thomson, to record local dialects (Thomson 1880–1917: 64–65).

The Louisiade archipelago was the starting point of MacGregor's expedition. Sudest, the largest island in the group was reached on 4 October. Gold had been discovered on the island a few months earlier and around 130 western miners were actively fossicking on the island. By the time MacGregor left on 8 October, the number of prospectors had increased to 200 (MacGregor 1890a: 10).[18] Rossel Island was the next stop (8–16 October 1888). The island was rarely visited by Europeans between 1859 and 1887 because of its renowned history of violence towards strangers. This reputation stemmed from an incident in 1858, when the ship *St Paul* was wrecked near there and around 326 Chinese passengers and most of the crew were supposedly killed and eaten by Islanders (Musgrave 1887: 39; MacGregor 1890a:10).

Social interactions between MacGregor's party and Rossel Islanders appear to have been extremely limited and confined to coastal communities. MacGregor estimated that the local population numbered about 1000 to 1200 but noted this was 'pure guesswork'. Although he walked across the island and back again, he reported that he was able to establish relations 'with only a few natives on the north-east side' (MacGregor 1890a: 10). Thomson's journal provides further insights into the nature of social contacts. He wrote that some men in a village near their first anchorage offered 'any of their property I might take a fancy to' (Thomson 1880–1917: 10 October 1888). Several canoes also visited the *Hygeia* at its second anchorage (Thomson 1880–1917: 11 October 1888). However, when MacGregor's party ventured inland (12–16 October), the few locals they encountered fled upon seeing them. No women or children were observed during their entire stay.

Exploring or collecting scientific specimens (e.g. birds, botany, geology and insects) occupied most of MacGregor's party during their stay on the island. A group of approximately 20 miners who had accompanied his party from Sudest were left to their own devices. MacGregor's group travelled inland for four days (12–16 October), but found only deserted villages. Trophy skulls[19], grass skirts, spears and adzes (made of old ship iron, chain plates and bolts) were seen lying about the houses. The remains of recently extinguished fires indicated the inhabitants had left in a hurry, most likely deliberately to avoid meeting the strangers (Thomson 1880–1917: 12–16 October 1888). Based on labels applied to the artefacts, three adzes: ER8821 (MAC31); ER10688[20] (MAC5522, PNGNMAG); ER10576 (MAC5662, PNGNMAG) (Figure 2) were collected on 14 or 15 October 1888, although Thomson recorded there was no face-to-face interactions with villagers on those days (Thomson 1880–1917: 14–15 October 1888). The precise dates on the labels suggest that they may have been picked up in one of the deserted villages. Since Thomson, who was 'in charge of the native trade articles', noted that he 'religiously'

left payment (trade tobacco) for any food they took when no-one was around, it is possible that gifts were also left when the adzes were collected (Thomson 1880–1917: 14–15 October 1888). If this assumption is correct, field collecting did not always involve face to face interactions.

A similar scenario played out when MacGregor stopped at Joannet Island (19 October). Again, his party encountered people who were unwilling to engage with them. The burning of three villages in 1886 following the 'massacre' of Captain J.C. Craig and his crew (3 Europeans and 5 Malays) from the pearling vessel, *Emily* (Nelson 1976: 12–13), noted previously, was probably firmly imprinted in local memory and likely accounted for the reception which MacGregor's party received. In 1888, MacGregor and his party found 3–4 small villages on Joannet, only one of which appeared to be occupied. This village was located in a swamp in the centre of the island. Sharp spears set an angle in the long grass leading into the village had been obviously placed there to deter uninvited visitors (MacGregor 1889a; Thomson 1880–1917: 19 October 1888). The few villagers in residence kept their distance and quickly disappeared once they learned through Jimmy (the interpreter) that

FIG. 2. Adze with label fashioned from notebook paper which reads 'Rossel. I. 15.10.[88].' (Rossel Island, Louisiade Archipelago). ER10576 (MAC5662, PNGNMAG). The dated label which survives on this adze indicates that it was collected on Rossel Island on 15 October 1888. Since Basil Thomson's journal entries suggest that MacGregor's party had no face-to-face interactions with Islanders on that day, it is likely that the adze was removed from one of the deserted villages which MacGregor's party examined. Photography by Robin Torrence with permission of the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery.

MacGregor had come to enquire about the Craig murder (Thomson 1880–1917: 19 October 1888).

In contrast, when visiting the island of St. Aignan (20–24 October) (Figure 3), MacGregor observed that the people showed 'a very strong disposition to trade, bringing off to the schooner everything they thought we would buy' (MacGregor 1889a). Villagers were also keen to help with collecting natural history specimens, for which they were paid in trade goods (Davies BOX 4.1 this chapter). On 21 October, Thomson noted in his journal that the 'day was spent in paying for beetles, opossums and butterflies' (Thomson 1880–1917: 21 October 1888). On the following day the party visited the large coastal village of Valeha. Thomson noted that an 'old chief' from Seogara village [Sagara?] who followed them there 'constituted himself as our trader by refusing to let me give more than a stick of tobacco for anything' (Thomson 1880–1917: 22 October 1888). By asserting control over the bartering process in the village, this individual limited the amount of foreign trade which could be gathered by neighbouring groups. Thomson also related how some of the villagers 'brought off some twenty stone axes which are now apparently in disuse' although Jimmy informed him that 'they are still legal tender for wives' (Thomson 1880–1917: 22 October 1888).[21] It seems plausible that Islanders were off-loading stone tools which were no longer wanted.[22] Indeed, throughout this trip Thomson and MacGregor observed the widespread use of metal-headed adzes (Thomson 1880–1917; MacGregor 1889a).

MacGregor's party reached Normanby Island in the D'Entrecasteaux group on 25 October. The *Hygeia* was immediately surrounded by around 30–40 canoes whose occupants brought food, orchids and lycopods (mosses) to barter for tobacco, pipes and matches (MacGregor 1889a). A wide variety of material culture was offered to the Europeans during their stay (25–30 October), including lime containers, lime spoons, fishing nets, drums, spears and clubs (Thomson 1880–1917: 25 October 1888; MacGregor 1889a). MacGregor and Thomson visited 31 villages (including 7 coastal villages) on one

day (26 October) and seem to have had positive interactions with the villagers they encountered (Thomson 1880–1917: 26 October 1888; MacGregor 1889a). And yet on a visit to a different part of the island (29 October) MacGregor's party came across one inland group who 'fled in terror' upon seeing the strangers (MacGregor 1889a). In addition, the group of nearly 100 people encountered the following day on the beach appeared to be completely unfamiliar with the process of barter, or at least did not wish to acquire anything belonging to MacGregor's party (MacGregor 1889a). MacGregor's remarks about the encounter suggest that a considerable barrier to positive relations on that occasion was that his party had no knowledge of the local language. Indeed, MacGregor noted that they were unable to 'exchange a single word with them, nor quite make out why they appeared angry and excited… They have no idea whatever of barter of any kind, and evidently were not there for trading purposes.' (MacGregor 1889a). This last example highlights the difficulties which transpired when MacGregor's party lacked a suitable interpreter.[23]

A similar dichotomy between eager and cautious groups occurred on Fergusson Island where MacGregor and his fellow-travellers found most people on the coast were very experienced and quite

FIG. 3. Untitled (St. Aignan Island). The photograph is probably referred to by Basil Thomson on 20 October 1888: 'On landing we were surrounded by an eager crowd all talking and gesticulating at once. Two large canoes were drawn up on the beach much ornamented with carving …human figures like gargoyles hung from the outriggers …I got both men & women to group round this canoe while I photographed it'. (Thomson 1880-1917: 20 October 1888). Photography by Basil Thomson 1888, Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

knowledgeable about bartering, but those living in the interior were very suspicious of the motives of these new outsiders. Thomson related how on the 31 October 'a stream of canoes' left Fergusson and that some 200 men crowded round the ship eager to trade (Figure 4). He noted that 'We bought a number of carved clubs, drums &., but abstained from buying spears lest it should induce them to bring quantities off in their canoes which might be dangerous' (Thomson 1880–1917: 31 October 1888). The event which Thomson described was a typical off-shore trading encounter, a feature of early contact between Islanders and European mariners since the late 1840s (Davies 2011; Philp 2013).

Meetings between MacGregor's group and Fergusson Islanders also show how important it was to have the right sort of 'trade' at hand. Thomson found that red cloth was in high demand amongst some groups, while others preferred small pieces of newspaper (Thomson 1880–1917: 3 November 1888; 5 November 1888). Elsewhere he had found that people were 'ignorant of tobacco (so that my trade bag[24] was useless) & only wanted beads' (Thomson 1880–1917: 2 November 1888). Local preferences for particular types of European goods were also evident when MacGregor made a short trip to Goodenough Island (8–9 November). There he met some people who were 'not anxious to trade' while one group which came down to the beach in large

FIG. 4. Basil Thomson's photograph captures the first encounter with people from Fergusson Island by MacGregor's party. 'A stream of canoes then set out from Ferguson and we soon had more than 200 men round the ship overturning one another in their eagerness to attract attention to their wares. They were the keenest traders we have yet met & the most insatiable for tobacco, even preferring two sticks of the latter to a knife. We bought a number of carved clubs, drums e., but abstained from buying spears lest it should induce them to bring quantities off in their canoes which might be dangerous. I took two instantaneous photographs of canoes…' (Thomson 1880-1917: 31 October 1888). Photography by Basil Thomson 1888, Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

numbers to sell yams, did not like the goods offered. MacGregor observed that 'we had no trade they fancied to give in exchange' (MacGregor 1889a).

An interesting aspect of MacGregor's interactions with Islanders in 1888 is that some groups refused to part with certain articles of material culture. For example, at Hughes Bay (Fergusson Island), people would not give up their spears or clubs. This particular group appeared to have had less prior experience with foreigners for Thomson reported that they 'all fled when we struck a match' (Thomson 1880–1917: 4 November 1888). The practice of withholding indigenous valuables from the barter process has been observed elsewhere in eastern New Guinea by traders, explorers, missionaries and natural history collectors (Davies 2011: 94–99; Torrence & Clarke 2013: 188–192).

MacGregor's island explorations were completed in mid-November 1888. Various natural history collections made over the duration of the expedition were sent to well-known scientists or specialists for analysis (e.g. Jack & Clarke 1890; De Vis 1890). Local dialects collected at the islands of Rossel and St Aignan were subsequently published in the *Annual Reports on British New Guinea* without reference to the fact that these were procured with the aid of indigenous interpreters (MacGregor 1890b: 21).[25] Cultural artefacts obtained during the expedition were not reported in the official reports. Instead, they probably ended up in Port Moresby, perhaps in Government House, until they were forwarded to the Queensland Museum in 1892. Some cultural artefacts acquired during MacGregor's expedition have been identified through field labels (see Figure 2).[26] More examples are probably represented in the Official collection but currently cannot be distinguished from those obtained by MacGregor during subsequent visits to the islands between 1889 and 1892.[27] An interesting exception is the unusual carved fish (Figure 5) which is remarkably similar to one formerly in Basil Thomson's private collection (Edge-Partington & Heape, 1895: Plate 161, No. 4.)

FIG. 5. Fish carved in wood; provenance unknown but probably collected during MacGregor's explorations of the D'Entrecasteaux islands in October-November 1888. ER10434 (MAC4554). Queensland Museum Photography, Peter Waddington. A similar carved fish (described as a child's toy of light wood coloured black and red, from Fergusson Island) was formerly in Basil Thomson's private collection and was sketched by James Edge-Partington in England in the early 1890s (Edge-Partington & Heape, 1895: Plate 161, No. 4).

PUNITIVE COLLECTING

The second collecting incident analysed in this chapter occurred within the context of a punitive expedition (November 1888–January 1889). This episode shows that field collecting was not always conducted in the context of positive social interactions, but was sometimes entangled within a more complex set of events during which MacGregor tried to assert government authority and rules. The expedition to punish villagers implicated in the murder of a European mariner-trader was the first of its type to occur under MacGregor's administration and therefore offers a rare insight into a radically different way objects were acquired. The seizure of material possessions was one way in which MacGregor punished villagers implicated in the criminal act. His other response was to pursue and capture individuals and bring them to justice. In this case the process of capturing the ringleaders took about eight weeks during which time the region was in a state of turmoil as MacGregor and his party pursued those involved (MacGregor 1890a).[28]

On 14 November 1888, during MacGregor's return voyage from the islands on the *Hygeia*, the sighting of the remains of a burnt-out ketch at Chads Bay (Awaiama) triggered MacGregor's first punitive expedition in the colony. MacGregor was immediately suspicious: the vessel had been burned in a part of the country which was thickly populated and yet only one individual was to be seen. On his arrival at Samarai (16 November), MacGregor learned that the wreck was all that remained of a small trading vessel named the *Star of Peace*, whose master, Captain Ansell had been killed on 29 October (MacGregor 1889a).[29] Some individuals from the large village of 'Auwaiama' (Chads Bay) were reputedly responsible for Ansell's killing, the destruction of his ketch, and the plunder of its goods (MacGregor 1890a: 13). During his investigation MacGregor discovered that the *Star of Peace* held 11 tons of copra, 2 cases of pearl shell, 'a considerable quantity of trade' as well as a Martini-Henry rifle, 2 shot guns, 2 Colt revolvers and ammunition (MacGregor 1889a).[30] MacGregor later concluded that 'a desire for plunder' was behind the 'cold-blooded murder' of Ansell (MacGregor 1890a:13).[31]

FIG. 6. Some of the participants in MacGregor's punitive expedition in the Chads Bay (Awaiama) area during November 1888. Basil Thomson's (1880-1917) journal entries indicate that the Europeans depicted in the photograph could be either Bingham Hely, Charles Kowald or Albert Charles English. Baden Fletcher Smyth Baden-Powell is believed to be the individual seated on the ground holding the dog. The Papuan or South Sea Islander men in the photograph are also unidentified, but may have included the interpreter Jimmy Sudest, Caesar Lifu or George Belford. August 'a sailor' is possibly also among the group. The young Papuan woman seated on the ground is likely to be Aimore, who was taken captive in one of the villages and later gave evidence concerning the murder of Captain Ansell. Photography by Basil Thomson 1888, Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

MacGregor quickly assembled a group consisting of his staff, resident magistrate Bingham Hely and several crew members belonging to the *Hygeia* (Figure 6).[32] In addition, 12 miners were sworn in as special constables. Before dawn on 19 November, they attempted to capture some of the Auwaiama villagers. Failing in their efforts, they proceeded to search another 15–20 neighbouring villages but found everyone had fled. Plundered goods from the ketch were observed to have been spread over a wide area (MacGregor 1890a: 13). One large village was burned by some of MacGregor's party on 19 November, which was 'a distinct violation of repeated orders' (MacGregor 1890a: 14). Thomson concluded that it was probably the work of the miners who had received written orders 'to the effect that no one was to fire unless attacked by a native, that the object was to arrest and not kill, and that no houses were to be burned nor property destroyed' (Thomson 1880–1917: 18–19 November 1888).

Thomson's journal and an account by the former *aide-de-camp* to the Governor of Queensland, B.F.S. Baden-Powell, who joined MacGregor's party on 22 November, reveal that villages were ransacked by MacGregor's party over several days and possessions of local residents were either confiscated or destroyed (Thomson 1880–1917; Baden-Powell 1892) (see Figure 6). While MacGregor makes no reference to the seizure or destruction of property, he did report that 'We occupied the whole of the Ansell Peninsula, some part of which, or of the mountain range near, was searched every day, and the natives were kept out of their villages' (MacGregor 1890a: 14).

On 22 November, Thomson and Hely seized all the fishing nets from 17 villages. Thomson noted that some were beautifully made and estimated that it would take five years to replace them (Thomson 1880–1917: 22 November 1888). On the following day (23 November) Baden-Powell noted that he was part of a group which ransacked the houses in several small villages. He wrote that although 'we kept a few of the smaller articles, it was impossible to carry off many of the larger ones, and as they had to be confiscated, they were all smashed up'. He regretted that so many articles 'which could have adorned a hall or enriched a museum' had to be destroyed but noted 'it had to be done' (Baden-Powell 1892: 159–161) (Table 1).

TABLE. 1. Artefacts mentioned by Baden-Powell and Basil Thomson in relation to ransacking villages, 23 November–2 December 1888.

Object type	Description	Reference	Date
Fishing nets	Seized nets from 17 villages, 'some beautifully made'	Thomson 1880-1917: 132	22 November 1888
Woven bags containing two bottles of sulphuric acid	Found two bottles of sulphuric acid suspended in woven bags over a grave 'probably a 'tabu' or talisman owing to the fumes'	Thomson 1880-1917: 134	23 November 1888
Canoes	Seized 4 war-canoes	Thomson 1880-1917: 134	23 November 1888
Catamarans	Broke up several catamarans to use as levers to launch war canoes	Thomson 1880-1917: 135	23 November 1888
War canoe	Seize a war canoe	Thomson 1880-1917: 135	24 November 1888
Spears	Dark wood; generally barbed, 8-10 feet long	Baden-Powell 1892: 158; cf. Spear-heads illustrated p. 188	23 November 1888
Swords	Hard wood	Baden-Powell 1892: 158	23 November 1888
Clubs	Hard wood	Baden-Powell 1892: 158	23 November 1888
Shields	Softer material, about an inch thick; 2 1/2 to 3 foot high, oval in shape and 'often painted in red and white patterns'	Baden-Powell 1892: 158	23 November 1888
Cooking pots		Baden-Powell 1892: 158	23 November 1888

TABLE. 1. cont. Artefacts mentioned by Baden-Powell and Basil Thomson in relation to ransacking villages, 23 November - 2 December 1888.

Object type	Description	Reference	Date
Fish-spears		Baden-Powell 1892: 158	23 November 1888
Fishing nets		Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Pig nets		Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Feather war-plumes	Kept in 'hollow bamboos'	Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Bamboo containers for war plumes	For storing feather war-plumes	Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Netting-needles		Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Drums	With iguana or snake-skin tops	Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Conch-shells	'...holes drilled in them for use as horns'	Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Adzes and Axes	'...adzes and axes, generally made out of hoop-iron, but also some few of stone'	Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Clothing	'...specimens of wearing apparel'	Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Needle and cotton and reel	'Among the more peculiar articles I found a primitive needle and cotton, consisting of a sharp pointed bone with an 'eye' made in the top, the cotton being finely-spun grass fibre, and the reel a piece of tortoise shell	Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Drill	'I also got a drill, ingeniously contrived of a stick two feet long, about six inches from the bottom of which a piece of pottery is tied on as a weight; near the top two strings are fixed, which are tied to the ends of a cross piece of bone, some eight inches long; the bottom end is slit, and a small piece of flint inserted.'	Baden-Powell 1892: 159; cf. Illustrated on p. 160 (A Native-drill)	23 November 1888
Human-jaw bone armlet	'...ornamented and fitted up so as to form an armlet'	Baden-Powell 1892: 159	23 November 1888
Strings of nautilus-shells	'Most of the houses had something in the way of ornaments hanging over the door. Strings of nautilus-shells were pretty enough, but often there were old blackened human skulls, or pieces of human bone '	Baden-Powell 1892: 161	23 November 1888
Human skulls	Suspended over doors of houses	Baden-Powell 1892: 161	23 November 1888
Human bones	Suspended over doors of houses	Baden-Powell 1892: 161	23 November 1888
Wooden cages containing live cuscus		Thomson 1880-1917: 134; Baden-Powell: 161	23 November 1888
Fishing nets	Nets seized today could not be taken so cut off the floats and then sank them in deep water	Thomson 1880-1917: 136	24 November 1888
Fish-net floats	Cut floats off nets before sinking them in deep water	Thomson 1880-1917: 136	24 November 1888
Paddles	Two paddles taken	Thomson 1880-1917: 139	26 November 1888
Fish nets	Fish nets in catamaran thrown overboard; catamaran set adrift	Thomson 1880-1917: 142	27 November 1888
Catamarans	At least 13 catamarans broken up; one seized for party's use	Thomson 1880-1917: 143-144	27 November 1888
Nets	Nets, yams and plundered property seized	Thomson 1880-1917: 153	2 December 1888

The looting and destruction of property continued for several days. Thomson noted that four war canoes were seized on 23 November and 13 catamarans destroyed on 27 November (Thomson 1880–1917: 23 November 1888; 27 November 1888) (Figure 7). On Sunday, 2 December 1888, Thomson wrote in his journal, 'This day although the Sabbath was devoted to plunder … we went with two boats to seize all their property. We got a number of nets & yams, & some of the property of the murdered man' (Thomson 1880–1917: 2 December 1888).[33]

Baden-Powell's description of the crowded deck of the *Hygeia* around mid-December suggests that some of the artefacts seized by MacGregor's party were on board the schooner. Indeed, it is highly likely that confiscated items were jostling for space along with other items collected during MacGregor's earlier explorations of the Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux archipelagos.

> The yacht now presented a curious spectacle. The deck was crowded with native fishing-nets and bundles of spears and curios. Below were boxes full of birds, skins, and botanical specimens; on each mast was to be seen a large cuscus (they always lived up there, and only came down at night to feed), while cages hung around containing young hornbills and parrots. (Baden-Powell 1892: 192–193)

The types of artefacts seized by MacGregor's party in 1888 are revealed through Thomson's journal and Baden-Powell's (1892) book (Table 1). According to

FIG. 7. A photograph in Thomson's (1880-1917) journal illustrates an incident which occurred during MacGregor's punitive expedition in the Awaiama area of Chads Bay. 'We seized 4 canoes…They are used exclusively for war and are of enormous weight…We could only launch them with our small force of five men by the use of large levers to make which we broke up several catamarans' (Thomson 1880-1917: 23 November 1888). Photography by Basil Thomson 1888, Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

Baden-Powell (1892) the interior of houses contained spears, clubs, wooden swords [sword clubs], shields, fishing-nets, pig-nets, war-plumes stored in bamboo containers, netting needles, drums, conch shells used as horns[34], adzes and axes made from both stone and iron hoop, and needles of pointed bone with turtle-shell reels. Other articles, such as armlets fashioned from human mandibles and strings of nautilus-shell, were suspended over the doors of houses. Baden-Powell and Thomson appear to have kept some confiscated items for themselves.[35] Several objects in the Official collection from 'Chads Bay' are likely among those impounded by MacGregor's party in November 1888.[36] Certain types of field labels which still adhere to some objects in this group supports this interpretation (cf. Davies et al., Chapter 5 this volume). Moreover, three shields amongst this assemblage (Figure 8) are consistent with those described by Baden-Powell (Baden-Powell 1892: 158).

FIG. 8. War shield, Chads Bay (Awaiama), probably collected during MacGregor's punitive expedition, November 1888: (ER10747 (MAC5108). Scale bar: 10 cm. Queensland Museum Photography.

CULTIVATING SOCIAL RELATIONS

MacGregor's three-week stay in the Rigo district in 1889 is an example of how field collecting was enmeshed within administrative tours of inspection. Comprising a fundamental aspect of MacGregor's work in the colony, his tours to various areas were an important means of either establishing connections with communities or reinforcing 'friendly relations' with them through repeat visits. In contrast to MacGregor's travels through the Louisiade Archipelago and D'Entrecasteaux Island group described in the first part of the paper, in this kind of encounter, positive social relationships with local leaders formed during earlier visits were typically reaffirmed and new acquaintances were made.

Although Rigo Government Station had been established in the district about two years earlier, on this visit MacGregor found it to be in an unsatisfactory condition.[37] Only a few months had passed since he had first visited in September 1888, but little work had been done in the way of improving the station generally or planting food. MacGregor quickly set about rectifying matters. Station land was cleared, fenced, and planted with sweet potatoes and bananas during his three-week stay. Most of his time, however, was occupied with visiting villages, meeting chiefs and settling intertribal disputes, although his efforts to meet with leading men of the Manugora tribe failed (MacGregor 1889b).

MacGregor's (1889b) despatch describes his social interactions with local residents and reveals that he spent a great deal of time meeting and negotiating with leading men of the district. Aside from settling disputes, he reiterated the government's position that tribes should abandon intertribal warfare and become friends with their neighbours.

The social contexts surrounding his encounters with chiefs provided opportunities for the exchange of gifts. For example, Bobokula, the chief of the village of Qaiporopu (Qaipo tribe) presented MacGregor with a plume of bird-of-paradise feathers on February 21, 1889 (MacGregor 1889b).[38] This was probably no ordinary gift but instead constituted an indigenous valuable since plumes of bird-of-paradise feathers could only be worn on the head by an individual who had taken human life (English 1894: 68).[39] Whether MacGregor realised the significance of the gift at the time is not known although he did report that Bobokula 'repeatedly expressed a strong desire for peace with me' during his visit (MacGregor 1889b).

The gift from Bobokula to MacGregor was not an isolated incident of one chief trying to forge a strong alliance with the government. Objects used as valuables in local societies were also received by MacGregor during his visit to the Rigo district in February–March 1889. A good example is a war-charm known locally as a *musikaka* (ABDUA:145) and now held in the University Museums, Aberdeen. This object has a field label which reads 'Fighting Charm of Astrolabe Range Natives Rigo. 8.3.89.' (see Davies et al., Appendix 5 Table 2: ABDUA:145). Since it is backed with turtle-shell rather than wood or tin, it is unlikely to have been made specifically for trade with Europeans. The war-charm was obtained on 8 March when MacGregor was at the village of Kaile and where he met with the chief of Veiburi (MacGregor 1889b). It probably represents a significant gift to MacGregor from the chief or one of the other leading men he met that day. If so, the gift would have been quite meaningful to MacGregor because it showed that his message about pacification was understood and accepted by some community leaders.

A *kalaka* hornbill ornament which MacGregor presented to the University of Cambridge in 1898 (Museum of General and Local Archaeology and Ethnology 1899: 11; Figure 12 in Torrence & Philp, Chapter 14 this volume) is yet another striking example of a gift of a valued personal ornament. This ornament could only be worn by those individuals who had killed an enemy in single combat (English 1894: 68).[40] The ornament was sent to MacGregor on 17 March 1889 by the chief of Tupusili (Tupuselei) (Museum of General and Local Archaeology and Ethnology 1899: 11). Museum records indicate that the object had been sent to the chief by another person with a request for him to kill someone but that instead the chief had forwarded it to MacGregor (see Torrence & Philp, Chapter 14 this volume). This documentation suggests that the gift of the hornbill ornament to MacGregor represented an attempt on the chief's behalf to forge a strong political alliance with the government and particularly, MacGregor. On the other hand, MacGregor probably viewed the gift as a sign that his efforts in pacification of the region was beginning to work for the chief, instead of committing the murder as requested, had chosen to send the item to MacGregor.

Twelve stone-headed disc clubs (Figure 9) and thirty adzes (some hafted) in the Official collection originate from Rigo.[41] Extant field labels show that some of these items clearly originate from MacGregor's February–March 1889 visit (see Davies et al., Chapter 5 this volume: Figure 7).[42] At least one disc-club (ABDUA:892) in MacGregor's Personal collection was also acquired during this period (see Davies et al., Appendix 5 Table 2: ABDUA:892).[43] Since intertribal hostilities were on-going in various parts of the Rigo district during the time MacGregor was in the region, clubs would have been actively required and valued. It seems improbable, therefore, that the clubs MacGregor obtained were made especially for trade with Europeans. More likely, they represent the product of social interactions between MacGregor and some of the leading men in the district who wished to gain favour with him. The relinquishment of such weaponry would have been regarded by MacGregor as a sign that the local

FIG. 9. Disc club from Rigo, probably collected between 19 February-9 March 1889: ER9288 (MAC5558). Queensland Museum Photography, Peter Waddington.

leaders were beginning to come under the influence of the government. On the other hand, the chiefs and leading men probably had an entirely different agenda for their actions. The gifting or bartering of clubs would have established a good relationship with MacGregor which could be of use to them in future conflicts with neighbouring tribes.

MacGregor's Rigo sojourn presents a very different picture of field collecting to his island explorations in 1888 and the Chads Bay punitive expedition. While many different kinds of artefacts were obtained during the earlier episodes, the Rigo trip seems to have yielded a much more limited range of objects. The Official collection contains only stone clubs, adzes and adze/axe blades. A striking feature of MacGregor's social interactions in the Rigo area is the gifting of indigenous valuables to him (e.g. bird-of-paradise plume and possibly the *musikaka* war charm). He placed both objects in his Personal collection. Some insight into the value of the hornbill ornament is articulated by MacGregor who in 1897 described it as the 'Victoria Cross of the Papuan' (MacGregor 1897d: 64).

AN ENTANGLED COLLECTION

Through a detailed study of three collecting incidents undertaken by MacGregor during his first six months in office, this chapter set out to uncover some of the cultural contexts and social processes which led to the acquisition of ethnographic objects for the Official collection. The settings for these cross-cultural engagements were highly variable and included first contact encounters; administrative visits of inspection; repeat visits of inspection, and punitive expeditions. Examination of the historical

narratives associated with these events reveal that the Official collection was formed through a diverse and complex range of social interactions. Barter, gift-giving and plunder emerge as the primary means by which MacGregor obtained artefacts in the field.

The key role that Papuans played in shaping the Official assemblage emerges as a central theme. The complexity and dynamics of bartering is well illustrated through MacGregor's multiple interactions with peoples of the Louisiade and D'Entrecasteux island groups over six-weeks in 1888. In face-to-face encounters, Islanders skilfully controlled events where bartering took place and, in some cases, chose to withhold valued objects from the process. They were able to assert personal control over the type of object offered and what they were prepared to accept in return. In these social settings, MacGregor was only able to 'collect' what people were prepared to exchange.

Papuans also acted as interpreters, guides and intermediaries that mediated social encounters and brokered exchanges of food supplies and cultural items. Their presence usually guaranteed successful relations between MacGregor's party and local residents. In fact, it is evident that MacGregor found it extremely difficult to establish 'friendly relations', let alone transact exchanges with villagers without the presence of an interpreter. For MacGregor, the bartering process was a means of establishing positive relationships with communities and their leaders. The willingness of individuals and local groups to engage in trade with him appears to have been influenced by their prior experiences (if any) with Westerners. The prospect of obtaining Western trade goods was undoubtedly a motivating factor, but in places where there had been a history of prior conflict with Westerners, people often refused to engage in the activity or avoided the outsiders entirely.

The existence of collecting within the context of punitive expeditions under MacGregor's administration has not been previously emphasised, except in connection with a raid on the Tugeri (Marind-Anim) camp in 1896 (Quinnell 2000). The written accounts reviewed here demonstrate that the acquisition of objects (and destruction of others) during punitive actions dates from the beginning of MacGregor's administration of British New Guinea. Indigenous agency was completely obliterated in several episodes discussed in this chapter, in which local peoples had no control over what was collected (or destroyed) by MacGregor's agents.

This reading of the historical documents enriches our understanding of the assemblage for it takes into account the range of social interactions which led to the formation of the Official collection and more broadly acknowledges the multiple contributions of indigenous peoples in the colonial process. This interpretation of the Official collection acknowledges the pivotal role which Papuans played in determining the type of object that could be acquired during social encounters of a peaceful kind, like bartering or gift exchange. In addition, it challenges long-held views which recognize MacGregor as the sole creator of the assemblage and proposes that the Official collection should be viewed as the product of a diverse range of cross-cultural interactions in which MacGregor played a part. While MacGregor may have had a vision of what the assemblage should comprise, this chapter demonstrates that in many respects his choices were determined by the indigenous peoples of the colony.

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❑ ENDNOTES

1. New Guinea was declared a British Protectorate on 6 November 1884.
2. In addition to the private collections made by government officials like Anthony Musgrave Jnr. and John Douglas, there were collector-traders like Andrew Goldie (see Davies 2012) and Theodore Bevan (see Craig 2010) who made substantial collections of New Guinea 'curios' which they sold to museums in Australia and overseas.
3. There is no evidence that MacGregor collected ethnographic material during his earlier colonial postings to the Seychelles (1873) and Mauritius (1874). This is inferred from the collections which MacGregor subsequently deposited in the University of Aberdeen (see Anon. 1912).
4. Von Hügel served as curator of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology from 1883–1921.
5. Murray's collection, which is now housed in the National Museum of Australia, has been extensively documented by Schaffarczyk (2006) and Edmundson (2013).
6. All articles of government 'trade' issued through barter, gift, or payment for services rendered, were usually written up later in some sort of note-book or ledger. For example, note-books of issues of trade expended were kept (irregularly) during the return of Islanders in 1885–86 (Musgrave 1887: 24).
7. For example, on 7 October 1885, a tract of land (including two 'native' huts) was purchased by the government at South Cape for the following amount of trade: 1 axe, 1 adze, 3 tomahawks, 3 sheath knives, 1 grass knife, 12 looking-

glasses, 1 bundle of hoop-iron in small pieces, 6 long pipes, 12 short pipes, 3 wooden pipes, 1 piece Turkey red cloth, 1 piece trade handkerchiefs, 5 lbs. tobacco, 1 gimlet. Also see Fort (1886: 40; No. 16 Expenditure (20 November 1884–31 January 1886) which includes 'Trade for Natives £245.0.0').

8. See Barton (1910) for an account of the *hiri* trade.
9. In New Guinea in the 1870s it was common practice to shell the villages rather than send landing parties ashore. See O'Brien (2017) for an account of government sanctioned punitive raiding parties in the Western Solomon Islands between 1898–1904.
10. The Russian scientist-ethnographer Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay who accompanied the punitive raid stated that 'no more than a handful of lives' were lost (see Tumarkin 1982: 424).
11. Moore (2003: 148) notes that 3 000 Islanders were recruited from the Louisiade and Bismarck Archipelagos between May 1883 and November 1884.
12. The compensation comprised 'bundles of trade' which included 1 axe, 1 double blanket, 12 yards turkey red, 12 H.K.F's, 2 hatchets, 1 long knife, 1 short knife, 2 lbs. tobacco and 1 waterproof bag (Musgrave, 1887: 18). Musgrave estimated that less than half of the 194 'bundles of trade' due to relatives were distributed during the voyage of SS *Victoria*.
13. For example, HMS *Rapid* was sent to Moresby Island in 1887 to avenge the deaths of six crew from the schooner *Pride of Lagoon* (Douglas 1888: 8).
14. Nelson (1976: 9) reports that the Craig 'massacre' was the seventeenth incident in which foreigners had been killed in south-eastern New Guinea (Nelson 1976: 9).
15. MacGregor used interpreters throughout the course of his administration. Some had long-term connections to missionaries. A proportion were reformed prisoners. After 1890, interpreters were often drawn from the ranks of the Armed Native Constabulary.
16. The party which left Port Moresby included Basil Thomson (MacGregor's private secretary), Albert Charles English (collector), John Brewer Cameron (surveyor), Robert Hunter, Charles Kowald (government storekeeper) and three 'servants' (Thomson 1888: 20 September 1888). Robert Hunter did not accompany MacGregor on his island explorations but appears to have stayed on at Rigo government station which was under the charge of his twin brother (George Hunter) (see MacGregor 1889c).
17. Some of the interpreters had worked on plantations in Queensland (1883–85) and were probably among those Islanders returned to their homes by the SS *Victoria* in 1885 or the steamer *Truganini* in 1887 (Douglas 1888: 5).
18. Thomson (1889: 529) estimates the numbers of miners on Sudest at 400.
19. Trophy skulls represented the skulls of enemies taken in battle.
20. ER10688 (MAC5522) appears to have had an earlier inscription which was later overwritten in white ink in the 1970s.
21. Jimmy informed Thomson that they purchased their wives 'with a stone axe, earrings & three pigs' (Thomson 1888: 22 October).
22. Whether these stone axes originated from the people of Valeha village is unclear as the day before the *Hygeia* had been surrounded by trading canoes from Brooker and Teste Islands.
23. An interpreter called 'Charlie' or 'Charley' was engaged on Normanby Island (Thomson 1880–1917: 67; 73) but it seems that he knew only a few English words.
24. Thomson (1880-1917) makes several references in his journal to carrying what he called his 'trade bag' (see November 2 and November 8, 1888). It probably held a selection of goods for exchanges or gift distribution.
25. MacGregor (1890b: 21) noted that recording the dialects of Misima (Saint Aignan) and of Tagula (Sudest) had been begun by Mr. B.H. Thomson and were extended by Mr. Hely and Mr B.H. Moreton. No mention was made of the interpreters who contributed to their production.
26. For example, ER8821 (MAC31); ER10688 (MAC5522, PNGNMAG); ER10576 (MAC5662, PNGNMAG); ER9307? (MAC7555, PNGNMAG); ER9327 (MAC5708, PNGNMAG); ER9056 (MAC3528) (see Davies et al., Appendix 5 Table 1 this volume). Also, an adze in MacGregor's Personal collection in Aberdeen (ABDUA:518) was collected on 31 October 1888 (see Davies et al., Appendix 5 Table 2 this volume).
27. MacGregor made multiple visits to Rossel Island (1888; 1890 and 1892); St Aignan (1888; 1889; 1890; 1892); Normanby (1888; 1891; 1892) and Fergusson (1888; 1889; 1892). Objects collected from these localities between September 1888 to October 1892 would have arrived in Transfer 46 (1892).
28. MacGregor later reported that from 18 November 1888 to 2 February 1889 he was 'detained in the east end of the Possession, principally occupied in business concerning or arising from the Ansell murder' (MacGregor 1890a: 12). He reported that on 11 January 1889 'the last of the principals concerned in the murder' was placed in the jail at Samarai' (MacGregor 1890a: 15). Eleven men captured in connection with Ansell's murder and destruction and plunder of the ship were tried at Samarai on 18 January 1889. Four men received capital punishment and were publicly executed

in the last week of January 1889: one at Samarai; one at Milne Bay; and two at Chads Bay (Awaiama). Five men were imprisoned for 12 months while another was imprisoned for 18 months. One individual was acquitted.

29. This account also corresponded with what some local people from East Cape had told MacGregor on 15 December.

30. This information was given to MacGregor by the part owner of the ketch, Robinson (first name not known). Robinson estimated total loss of £500 in value.

31. MacGregor heard various explanations for the motive behind the crime from local people. Some said that it was to avenge the deaths of people taken to Queensland and who died there; others implied that it was a protest against the activities of the missionaries. A desire for plunder was also mentioned (MacGregor 1890a:12–13). A young woman named Aimore who was captured in one of the villages suggested that an old Milne Bay 'sorcerer' planned the murder and caused the ketch to be wrecked on the reef (Thomson 1880-1917, 22 November 1888).

32. The interpreter Jimmy Sudest was still with the group.

33. The following day Thomson was struck down with fever like some others in the group. With MacGregor's party low on ammunition and stores, Thomson was sent to Samarai (5 December) for supplies. Thomson's last entry in his journal was written at Samarai on 6 December 1888. His health deteriorated over the following weeks and he left the colony in early February 1889.

34. Baden-Powell (1892: 159) notes that the conch shells had holes drilled in them for use as horns. See Chan (2018: 23) for an illustration of the general type.

35. Baden-Powell makes reference to acquiring a drill on 23 November which he later illustrated in his book (Baden-Powell 1892: 159–160). Efforts to trace Baden-Powell's collection have proved unsuccessful. Some articles gathered by Thomson now in the British Museum appear to originate from the punitive expedition. For example, Thomson wrote in his journal on 24 November that the fishing nets seized by him on that day could not be taken so he cut off their floats before sinking them in deep water (Thomson 1880–1917: 136). Two net floats which the British Museum acquired from his widow in 1931 have short lengths of twine attached, the ends of which appear to have been cut (see Oc1931,0722.111–112). Furthermore, one bamboo container associated with a feather plume (Oc1931,0722.61. a–b) sounds remarkably similar to the 'feather war-plumes, kept in hollow bamboo' which Baden-Powell 'came across' when ransacking houses on 23 November 1888 (Baden-Powell 1892: 159).

36. Shields: ER10866 (MAC4741, PNGNMAG); ER10867 (MAC4742, PNGNMAG); ER10747 (MAC5108); Lime spoons: ER9674 (MAC1246, PNGNMAG); ER9675 (MAC773, PNGNMAG); ER10150 (MAC1252); Drum (ER9004, NOT FOUND); Axe/adze blades (ER9681, NOT FOUND); ER9682 (MAC7641, PNGNMAG). MacGregor made a return visit to Awaiama (Chads Bay) in July 1890. However, on that occasion neither MacGregor nor his fellow traveller, Rev. Albert Maclaren (who was then acting as his private secretary), made any mention of artefacts being collected (MacGregor 1892a: 10–11; Synge 1908). MacGregor also passed through Chads Bay (Awaiama) on 12 June 1891.

37. Rigo government station was established in 1887 (MacGregor 1890a: 20).

38. Although it was not recorded whether MacGregor made a gift in return, this was normal practice in such situations. A few months later MacGregor was routinely distributing a new shirt (often with five sticks of tobacco), as gifts to key individuals in some parts of the south coast (MacGregor 1890c: 37).

39. There are several bird-of-paradise headdresses in the Official collection but these lack precise collecting localities. Bobokula's gift may have ended up in MacGregor's Personal collection but to date it has not been identified.

40. In 1894, A.C. English, Government Agent for the Rigo district, reported that the 'Bina' ornament comprised of the upper mandible of the toucan [hornbill] was worn on the head by men who had taken a life in single combat (English 1894: 68).

41. A classification of stone clubs of British New Guinea by Alfred Cort Haddon (1900: 247) describes the club types characteristic of the Rigo district: pickaxe clubs, disc clubs and star clubs. Haddon observations that the star clubs 'are beautifully made and well polished' suggests that they were more valuable to their owners than either the pickaxe or disc clubs as a great amount of work was involved in their production. The complete absence of star clubs in the Rigo assemblage in the Official collection suggests that MacGregor was not offered them during his interactions with local residents or that he reserved any examples he acquired for his Personal collection now held in University Museums, University of Aberdeen.

42. Geological specimens were also gathered during MacGregor's Feb-March visit (Rands 1890: 56, Nos. 36–37 and No. 40).

43. ABDUA:892 has a rectangular-shaped paper label which reads 'Rigo 7.3.89' on the upper side of the stone disc. 'RiGO. 7.3.89.' is written on the underside of the stone disc in red paint.

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BOX 4.1

PREPARING FOR THE FIELD

Susan M DAVIES

Visits of inspections and field trips like those which MacGregor undertook during 1888-1889 required both a mix of personnel and multiple supplies of equipment, including tents, mosquito nets, food, collecting gear, arms and ammunition. When MacGregor's party of seven landed on Rossel Island on October 14, 1888, it carried an assortment of arms for personal safety but also for acquiring natural history specimens.

> We were armed as follows: 4 double-barrelled guns 2 Winchester rifles 13 repeating: and 4 revolvers – 56 shots without reloading. I and two others also carried cavalry sabres. (Thomson 1880-1917: 14 October 1888)

Thomson's cavalry sabre and a box of matches was stolen by a local carrier on Normanby Island a couple of weeks later (Thomson 1880-1917: 29 October 1888). By then the party had collected many scientific specimens. The destruction of wildlife is quite confronting. Thomson describes the contents of 'our bag' on 30 October 1888 as 13 scrub hens, 6 pigeons, 1 hornbill, butterflies, 6 manacodia and one snake (Thomson 1880-1917: 30 October). Some of the collecting methods used were quite unorthodox. For instance, on St. Aignan Island, one of the group, Caesar, was stationed in front of a cave with a butterfly net in his mouth in order to catch enough of what was presumably a certain type of insect for stuffing purposes (Thomson 1880-1917: 23 October 1888). On 21 October, Thomson noted in his journal that the 'day was spent in paying for beetles, opossums and butterflies' (Thomson 1880-1917: 21 October 1888). These specimens were presumably paid for in European trade goods, an essential component of any field trip. Adequate supplies of foreign goods were necessary for possible exchanges with local residents or for distribution as gifts. No European could travel anywhere in British New Guinea without them (Davies 2011).

In 1888, the goods known colloquially as 'trade' comprised a variety of things which were on hand, such as matches, match boxes and fragments of newspaper, as well as articles like clay pipes, sticks of tobacco, tomahawks, small knives, cloth widely known as 'Turkey Red' , glass beads (Figures 10 and 11) and mirrors (see Table 2 for examples). MacGregor's private secretary, Basil Thomson, was placed in charge of the 'trade' in 1888 and he usually carried a selection of items in what he described as his 'trade bag' (see Thomson 1880-1917: 2 November 1888). Government 'trade' issued through barter, gift, or payment for services rendered were usually written up later in some sort of note-book or ledger (see endnote 6). As Table 2 shows, such articles were routinely used to barter for food or artefacts, although they were also commonly distributed as gifts

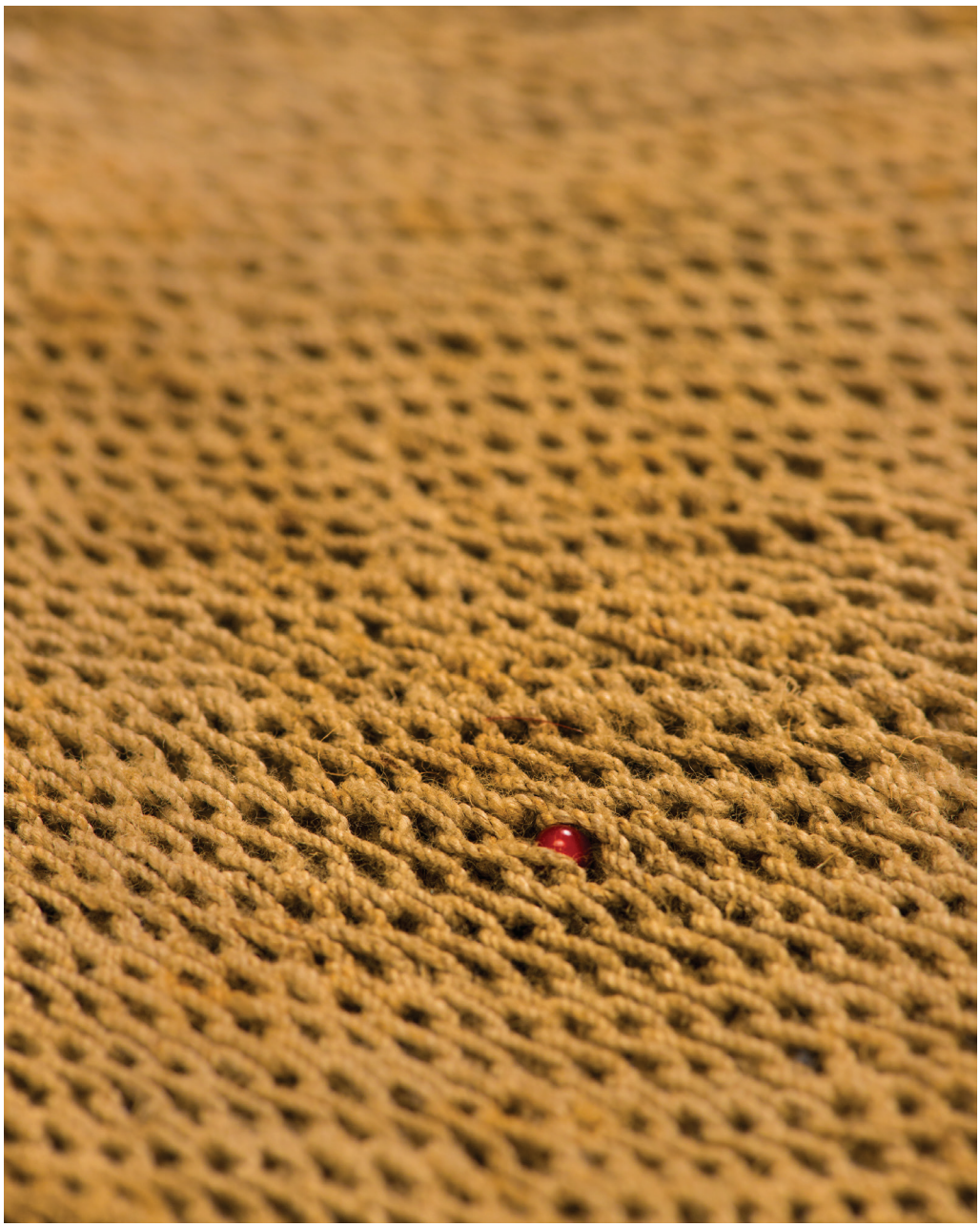

FIG. 10. A single red glass trade bead has been carefully incorporated into the fabric of a large woven bag from Goromani village on the mainland of British New Guinea in 1897 (see Torrence & Davies, Chapter 9 this volume: Figure 2): ER18754 (MAC1359, PNGNMAG). Small red glass trade beads like this example would have formed part of the standard 'trade' which MacGregor and his agents used in their social interactions with indigenous residents of colonial Papua. Queensland Museum Photography, Gary Cranitch.

FIG. 11. Glass beads like the strands attached to this bag from Goromani village were highly valued by Papuans (see Torrence & Davies, Chapter 9, this volume: Figure 2): ER18754 (MAC1311, PNGNMAG). Queensland Museum Photography, Gary Cranich.

TABLE. 2. European goods used for barter or gifts during MacGregor's field trip, October-November 1888.

Type	Exchange Type	Locality (island)	Source	Comments
Matchbox	Gift or Barter	Rossel	Thomson 1880–1917: 35	
Tobacco	Gift	Rossel	Thomson 1880–1917: 46	Left in deserted village as payment for food taken
Stick of tobacco	Barter	St Aignan	Thomson 1880–1917: 57	Tobacco in high demand; Stick of tobacco = 1 farthing
Pipe	Gift	St Aignan	Thomson 1880–1917: 57	Probably a clay pipe
Looking glass	Gift	Normanby	Thomson 1880–1917: 68; 79	Gift to women
Blue beads	Gift	Normanby	Thomson 1880–1917: 69	Gift to women and children; likely glass beads
Pipe & tobacco	Gift	Normanby	Thomson 1880–1917: 81	MacGregor's gift to an old chief

TABLE. 2. cont. European goods used for barter or gifts during MacGregor's field trip, October-November 1888.

Type	Exchange Type	Locality (island)	Source	Comments
Tobacco	Barter	Normanby	MacGregor 1889a; Thomson 1880–1917: 84	Thomson notes 'keenest traders met'; prefer 2 sticks of tobacco to metal
Pipes	Barter	Normanby	MacGregor 1889a	Specifically requested
Matches	Barter	Normanby	MacGregor 1889a	Specifically requested
Tomahawks	Barter?	Normanby	MacGregor 1889a	Specifically requested
Tobacco	Barter	Fergusson	Thomson 1880–1917: 84	
Beads	Gift	Fergusson	Thomson 1880–1917: 86;107	Likely glass beads
Trade Tobacco	Barter	Fergusson	MacGregor 1889a	
Beads and small presents	Gift	Fergusson	MacGregor 1889a	Distributed by Basil Thomson, MacGregor's private secretary, to women and children
Knives	Barter	Normanby	MacGregor 1889a	
Small axes	Barter	Normanby	MacGregor 1889a	
Beads	Barter	Fergusson	Thomson 1880–1917: 89	Thomson noted that his 'trade bag was useless' because the people they encountered knew nothing of tobacco and only wanted beads.
Beads	Barter	Fergusson	Thomson 1880–1917: 91	Exchanges beads for betel nut with old man who then then strings the beads on a vine and puts them around his neck.
Beads, blue-coloured	Barter	Fergusson	Thomson 1880–1917: 94	After a lot of trouble, managed to obtain two coconuts for them
Strips of red cloth	Barter?	Fergusson	MacGregor 1889a	People keen to obtain
Turkey Red cloth	Barter	Fergusson	MacGregor 1889a	People did not know tobacco or care for beads. Knives not very desirable
Red Cloth	Barter	Fergusson	Thomson 1880–1917: 97	People did not know tobacco; declined beads; only wanted red cloth
Little pieces of newspaper	Barter	Fergusson	Thomson 1880–1917: 98	Hughes Bay: People refused to part with spears or clubs
Tiny pieces of newspaper	Gift	Fergusson	Thomson 1880–1917: 103	They were received 'as if they were talismans of great value'
Clay pipe; 6 drams of tobacco & a strip of red calico	Gift	Goodenough	Thomson 1880–1917: 105	Present to a middle-aged man who was then induced to climb coconut tree to obtain coconuts
Turkey Red cloth	Gift?	Goodenough	Thomson 1880–1917: 113	