

Memoirs of the Queensland Museum | **culture**

Volume 8  
Part 1

# Goemulgaw Lagal: Natural and Cultural Histories of the Island of Mabuyag, Torres Strait.

Edited by Ian J. McNiven and Garrick Hitchcock

**Minister:** Anastacia Palaszczuk MP, Premier and Minister for the Arts

**CEO:** Suzanne Miller, BSc(Hons), PhD, FGS, FMinSoc, FAIMM, FGSA, FRSSA

**Editor in Chief:** J.N.A. Hooper, PhD

**Editors:** Ian J. McNiven PhD and Garrick Hitchcock, BA (Hons) PhD(QLD) FLS FRGS

**Issue Editors:** Geraldine Mate, PhD

© Queensland Museum  
PO Box 3300, South Brisbane 4101, Australia  
Phone: +61 (0) 7 3840 7555  
Fax: +61 (0) 7 3846 1226  
Web: [qm.qld.gov.au](http://qm.qld.gov.au)

National Library of Australia card number  
ISSN 1440-4788

## VOLUME 8 IS COMPLETE IN 2 PARTS

### COVER

Image on book cover: People tending to a ground oven (*umai*) at Nayedh, Bau village, Mabuyag, 1921.  
Photographed by Frank Hurley (National Library of Australia: [pic-vn3314129-v](http://pic-vn3314129-v)).

### NOTE

Papers published in this volume and in all previous volumes of the *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum* may be reproduced for scientific research, individual study or other educational purposes. Properly acknowledged quotations may be made but queries regarding the republication of any papers should be addressed to the CEO. Copies of the journal can be purchased from the Queensland Museum Shop.

A Guide to Authors is displayed on the Queensland Museum website [qm.qld.gov.au](http://qm.qld.gov.au)

**A Queensland Government Project**  
Design and Layout: Tanya Edbrooke, Queensland Museum  
Printed by Watson, Ferguson & Company

# Reactivating visual histories: Haddon's photographs from Mabuyag 1888, 1898

Anita HERLE, Jude PHILP and Jocelyne DUDDING

Herle, A., Philp, J. & Dudding, J. 2015: Reactivating visual histories: Haddon's photographs from Mabuyag 1888, 1898. *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum – Culture* 8(1):253-288. Brisbane. ISSN 1440-4788.

During two expeditions to the Torres Strait (1888, 1898) the Cambridge zoologist-anthropologist A.C. Haddon and his colleagues took over 150 photographs of Mabuyag Island and its people. These images are a tremendous resource for Islanders and researchers alike being the largest purposely made photographic record of Goemulgaw life in the late nineteenth century. The authors investigate the content of the photographs as well as the circumstances involved in their production, focussing on the large number of images of named Islanders. For the first time, the photographs are directly linked with previously unpublished excerpts from Haddon's personal journals from 1888 and 1898. While the images show Haddon's own bias in subject matter, the journal excerpts reveal that they are ultimately a document of who, what and where Haddon and the Expedition members were allowed to photograph by their Goemulgaw advisors and assistants. The intensive contribution by Goemulgaw in this documentation of their culture, along with the large number of named individuals depicted, ensures the ongoing benefit of this photographic archive.

□ *History, anthropology, Torres Strait Islanders, photography.*

Anita Herle  
Senior Curator, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology  
University of Cambridge, England  
ach13@cam.ac.uk

Jude Philp  
Senior Curator, Macleay Museum  
The University of Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia  
jude.philp@sydney.edu.au

Jocelyne Dudding  
Manager, Photographic Collections  
Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, England  
jd324@cam.ac.uk



The name of Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940) is inextricably linked to the Torres Strait. Drawing on his initial research on marine biology in 1888, ground-breaking fieldwork as leader of the 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait, and ongoing correspondence with Islanders, local informants and international colleagues, Haddon spent over 50 years researching, compiling information and resources, and publishing on Torres Strait Islander history and ethnography. Of particular significance is the extent to which individual named Islanders contributed to this project to document their history and custom. Despite inevitable biases, limitations and inaccuracies, the sheer volume of the material, the diversity and depth of the collections, and the care with which it was assembled and documented, has ensured the Haddon material has remained a key resource for Torres Strait Islander studies.<sup>1</sup>

This paper focuses on 151 known photographs taken at Mabuyag in 1888 and 1898 by Haddon or his Expedition team. Many of these images have previously been published, typically as illustrations for ethnographic and historical descriptions. Nearly half of the images were included in the 6 volumes of the *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*.<sup>2</sup>

Yet the photographs have never been systematically researched as a group. As a collection they contain layers of information, within and beyond the picture frame, about the content of the images, the context of their production and the various ways that they have been understood (Morton & Edwards, 2009; Geismar & Herle, 2010).

Haddon's work was prompted by particular ethnological concerns, focused on the evolutionary and historical relationships between social groups as determined by the analysis of physical types, languages, customs and material culture (Urry, 1998: 201-239). Photography was quickly enmeshed in both a developing 'science of mankind' and the personal dynamics of fieldwork. The Mabuyag photographs provide unique information about Goemulgal and aspects of their life in the late nineteenth century. The images are also a record of the individuals with whom Haddon lived and worked and the complex interpersonal relations that developed between them.

Following a brief biographical background to Haddon and summary of ongoing work on his collections at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) at the University of Cambridge, we concentrate here on linking the images with previously unpublished

extracts from Haddon's journals and some of his other writings and collections. Haddon kept a journal almost continuously during his two fieldtrips to the Torres Strait. They are the most detailed accounts of his daily activities, the people with whom he worked and how his own understanding of Islander custom developed over time. Containing Haddon's personal observations, experiences and feelings, the pages were periodically sent by mail steamers to his wife Fanny in Cambridge, as regular updates of his time away as well as for safekeeping. The entries vary from detailed daily accounts, including lively vignettes of people and events on Mabuyag, to summaries of weekly activities.<sup>3</sup> A close analysis of the photographs illuminated by extensive quotes from Haddon's journals situates the images within a chronological time frame and provides a vivid immediacy to people and events on Mabuyag in the late nineteenth century.

### ALFRED CORT HADDON

Alfred Cort Haddon (1855–1940) was born into a modest London family (Quiggon, 1942). His parents were Unitarians, his father a printer, whose commissions included tracts for the London Missionary Society (LMS), and his mother a writer. Haddon had a keen eye for artistry in all forms and his skill at producing detailed and accurate drawings was refined through his training in natural history. He was evidently a bright and studious child for despite financial limitations, in 1875 he was accepted to study for a bachelor and then master's degree at Christ's College at Cambridge University (Mullins, 1995; Rouse, 1997). Natural sciences were extremely popular at this time in Britain and Haddon took to the discipline in his private time as well as his studies, focusing on zoology and comparative anatomy. He pursued this work at the Naples marine station (1879), as curator of the Zoological Museum at Cambridge (1879-80) and with two

roles in Dublin, Professor at the Royal College of Science and Assistant Naturalist to the Science and Art Museum (1880-1888). It was as a marine biologist focusing on sea anemone<sup>4</sup> that Haddon first went to the Torres Strait in 1888, selecting two field sites – Mabuyag and Mer. His choice of location was determined following the advice of two distinguished men who had spent time in the area – the biologist Thomas Huxley, formerly Assistant Surgeon on HMS *Rattlesnake* (1846-50) which surveyed the Strait and Reverend Samuel Macfarlane of the London Missionary Society (LMS), who is credited with bringing Christian teaching to the Torres Strait on 1 July 1871 (see Philp, 2015).<sup>5</sup>

During Haddon's 1888 expedition his interests gradually shifted from marine biology to the people with whom he lived and worked. In the evenings after the conclusion of daily prayers, the local men often visited Haddon's residence where, prompted by Haddon's questions, they had long yarns about customary life. Haddon shared the concern, voiced by many of the elders, that knowledge of the old ways was gradually disappearing as a result of the impact of traders, missionaries and colonialism. Inspired by the people who he lived and worked with on the islands, Haddon resolved to return with a group of people to systematically study and record the customary beliefs and practices of Torres Strait Islanders. It took nearly ten years to rally the necessary support. Finally, in March 1898 a team of seven men sponsored by the University of Cambridge set out for the Torres Strait with the goal of making a broad and comprehensive anthropological study. Led by Haddon, the seven Expedition members included scholars in ethnology, psychology, physiology, medicine and linguistics with expertise in photography, music, and art (Haddon, 1901; Haddon, 1901-1935; Herle & Rouse, 1998; Herle & Philp, 1998; Urry, 1993; Stocking, 1996). In addition to Haddon,

the expedition members included William McDougall, Charles Myers, Sydney Ray, William Rivers, Charles Seligman and Anthony Wilkin.

With the active input of numerous Islanders, Haddon and the Expedition members compiled an enormous amount of documentation – notes, drawings, photographs, artefacts, sound recordings, and film. In addition to writing numerous popular and academic articles and books, Haddon edited the six volumes of the *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait* (1901-1935), the data supplemented and refined by ongoing correspondence with Islanders and colleagues. The volumes are organised by disciplinary studies – General Ethnography (Vol. I), Physiology and Psychology (Vol. II), Linguistics (Vol. III), and Arts and Crafts (Vol. IV), with two volumes dedicated to the Western and Eastern Islanders respectively (Vols V & VI). The information specific to the Goemulgal is concentrated in Volume V: *Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Western Islanders* (1904), with additional details scattered throughout the other volumes. In addition to Haddon's published work, extensive archival material, including papers, drawings and photographs, is contained within the University Library and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge. While many of the details from Haddon's notes and papers were incorporated into his publications, there is much work yet to be done to catalogue material, cross reference documentation and make the collections more widely accessible.

#### **WORKING WITH THE HADDON PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS FROM THE TORRES STRAIT**

According to Haddon's listing of his 1888 photographs,<sup>6</sup> of 199 images 36 originated from Mabuyag.<sup>7</sup> To date no original listing

of photographs from the 1898 Expedition has been located, but there are 391 surviving negatives in MAA's collections with 115 identified as being from Mabuyag. In both 1888 and 1898 Haddon used dry process negatives, and probably a double dark slide, which encouraged him to take two different compositions and/or exposures of each scene photographed. This is most pronounced in 1888 when out of a total number of 199 negatives exposed there are 63 pairs of almost duplicate images.<sup>8</sup>

Given his training as an artist, Haddon had a good eye for composition, but he struggled with the technical aspects of exposing and developing negatives, particularly during his first trip to the Torres Strait. The environmental conditions of high light levels, temperature, and humidity further hindered his photographic work. Haddon noted that some of his negatives were 'not good' or 'failure', and several glass plates were broken. Many more have developed residue chemical staining or lifting emulsion over the years. In 1888 Haddon used a single half-plate camera, whereas in 1898 there were three cameras being used, including a state of the art half-plate Newman and Guardia Series B, and two quarter plate cameras.

Ongoing research on the Haddon photographic collections at MAA in Cambridge has focused on correlating information from multiple sources and through different mediums. Numerous images overlap with Haddon's drawings and watercolours, which typically provided a more schematic view. Some of the photographs include objects collected and separately documented. Haddon referred specifically to some of the photographs and the scenes they depicted in his notes and writings, thereby providing detailed documentation about the content of individual images and the circumstances surrounding their production. Over the

years, Haddon (and others) published many of the photographs, with different captions for the same image. Several different lists of the photographs have been created by various people, each list containing distinct information. Recent work to match up the original glass plate negatives with the large number of duplicate prints has greatly assisted with providing additional information, including the names of many of the people portrayed. For example, some of the 1888 images were printed, mounted on stiff black card, and annotated in Haddon's hand with the names of the individuals depicted. A negative listed in Haddon's notebook as simply 'Mabuyag lads', became Ailumai, 'Peter' Dimi, Masi, 'Min' Kebisu, 'Moris' Baira, Ngukis, Bageri Moka (Figure 1). Given the rough quality of the prints and

style of captioning, it is likely that this was done in the field in 1888 (cf. Philp, 2004: 98, Haddon 1888-89, p. 47). There are also scraps of paper with simple sketches of some of the photographs, each detailing the individuals depicted. Attempts to identify people were complicated by individuals often having more than one name. For example, on Mabuyag Haddon referred to Noboa as Tom and Papi as Peter. We have used local names here.

While numerous prints were produced from most of the negatives, other images were not printed for inclusion in the official 'Haddon Photographic Collection' within MAA's archives.<sup>9</sup> Some of these include similar images or those of poor quality. Of particular interest is the exclusion of photographs of non-Goemulgaw<sup>10</sup> residents on Mabuyag,



FIG. 1. (l-r): Ailumai, 'Peter' Dimi, Masi, Min or Kebisu, 'Moris' Baira, Ngukis, Bageri Moka, 1888. MAA P.59831.ACH2.

predominantly people of South Sea Island origin either attached to the mission or working on the many pearling luggers. As is common with ethnographic collections of the period, the focus on 'traditional' cultures restricted the inclusion of images showing outside influences, which were left to languish (cf. Herle, 2010: 110). It was not until the late 1990s that a full inventory was made of MAA's Torres Strait images. Ongoing research has both enriched our knowledge of familiar photographs and brought new images to light.

In 2011 MAA digitally scanned all of the original negatives. The quality of the resolution on the glass plates combined with new technology has revealed details previously invisible in most of the prints. For example, the identity of some individuals can be confirmed by comparing distinctive physical characteristics, such as the customary cut marks on people's ears. Similarly, the details of canoe and house construction can be illuminated by digital enlargements.

For over a century Islanders and others have assisted with identifying and documenting Haddon's photographs. Haddon developed prints in the field, which were discussed with and presented to local people. In 1898 Haddon brought images taken in 1888 for elucidation, as both prints and lantern slides. The Expedition's work was checked and supplemented through years of correspondence with individual islanders, often through the shop-keeper and pearl-shellner John Cowling on Mabuyag and the school teacher Jack Bruce on Mer. Rivers was particularly keen to identify individuals as part of his genealogical work and also sent copies of photographs for identification. Islanders also requested photographs, most commonly images of family members who had passed away. In this way Noboa asked for a portrait of one of his daughters who had died,<sup>11</sup> Waria for the picture of his deceased

infant son,<sup>12</sup> and later for images of Gizu who had passed away, possibly one of ten victims to dengue fever reported by Cowling.<sup>13</sup>

Since Haddon's time, photographs have circulated within the Torres Strait in various guises – as individual prints, photocopies from the *Reports*, and through publications,<sup>14</sup> PowerPoint presentations, film and television programmes. Some of the images have been the focus of ongoing private research between family members. Copies of most of Haddon's negatives were made for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in the early 1980s. To mark the Bicentenary of Australia, Year 11 students from the high school on Thursday Island prepared a book on Torres Strait history presented in photographs, which drew on Haddon and other Torres Strait images from AIATSIS and elsewhere (Thursday Island State High School, 1988). MAA also produced several hundred 8 x 10 prints for the High School, where they were made publically accessible within a keeping place. Since the 1990s dozens of Islanders and other researchers have visited MAA in Cambridge, providing snippets of information about the photograph, object and archive collections. To date, the process of identifying people, places and events through discussions with contemporary descendants has been extremely valuable. It is hoped that a recent collaborative project to return complete sets of prints to the main Islands from which they originated<sup>15</sup> will assist in making photographs from Mabuyag and elsewhere in the Torres Strait more widely accessible and thereby generate additional knowledge. This article has been written in support of this process by publishing key images from Mabuyag with associated information from Haddon's journals.

**MABUYAG 18 SEPTEMBER –  
31 OCTOBER 1888**

The Is[land] is hilly – fairly fertile about 8 minutes walk fr[om] the village is a deserted fishing station (pearl shell) wh[ich] I can utilise for laboratories. In the Missionary compound is a comfortable mission house of wh[ich] I shall have sole use. The teacher's wife – a Lifu woman – is a nice motherly person & she will 'do' for me. Mr Milman gave the chief instructions to do whatever I wanted & I am to have full use of the Govt. whaleboat & the 4 native water police. I shall in fact be chief of the island & the only white man there. I have engaged a Malay 'boy' Jama for the next 4 months as my factotum, so I shall be comfortable enough & in the midst of coral reefs & of the dugong fishery... They had obtained 7 within the last 2 days – that evening every 2 boats came in with 3 or 4... The people at Mabiag [sic] are extremely friendly & very industrious what with their plantations & fishing there is 'plenty kaikai' (Haddon, 1888: 18 August).

Haddon's first written impression of Mabuyag provides an overview of the physical and social geography of the island and highlights his privileged position as a Cambridge researcher working in the Australian colony. Hugh Milman, the Acting Government Resident based on Thursday Island, accompanied Haddon to Mabuyag on the Government steam launch the *Albatross* and numerous resources were put to Haddon's service. Haddon's research was greatly facilitated by the colonial infrastructure in the region. Although he was often critical of the detrimental influences of outsiders on Islanders, Haddon praised

the influence of missionary teaching on the Mabuyag people, whom he described as 'happy, fairly industrious and very honest' (1888: 49). During his six weeks at Mabuyag, Haddon was based at the LMS mission compound, which became the backdrop for several photographs, including the only two images of himself taken in the Torres Strait in 1888 (Figure 2) and several images of the resident missionaries and their families (Figure 3).



FIG. 2. Alfred Haddon (in pith helmet) and Jama, his cook and servant from Thursday Island, 1888. MAA N.22799.ACH2.



FIG. 3. The LMS mission (l-r) Jimmy Ware, Salit from Lifu (breastfeeding Yeku), Charlie Lifu behind a girl also named as Yeku, Tichan, Nageli. Hankin of Lifu (holding a book), Uzu, and Charlie Ware (holding a gun). Seated on the ground are Manatu and Chinan, 1888. MAA N.22870.ACH2.

Haddon's research was dependent on the assistance of Goemulgaw men who helped him with dredging operations and shore collecting. This work began at 5am on 20 September with his first trip to the reef on the whaleboat with the Mamoose (island headman or leader) Nomoa and the four local policemen. Haddon recorded their collective enthusiasm as they hurriedly gathered specimens in the high tide.

We collected till the tide turned. The men were very anxious to do their best & they were chuckling the whole time & great was their delight when they picked up things I cared for & kept. I was fortunate enough to find some living Blue-coral (*Heliopora cerulea* [sic *coerulea*]) & I believe I am one of the very few zoologists who have seen the polyps expanded – if not the only one (Haddon, 1888: 42).

The specimens were later drawn and preserved at the laboratory that he set up in a deserted pearling station at Panay. Haddon did not take any photographs of his zoological work, although he produced detailed drawings of marine creatures and a sketch of the make shift laboratory where he worked. There are however several photographs of his assistants. A single image shows the four policemen in uniform standing in a row on the beach (Figure 4). One of the policemen, Mam, is also photographed with his family (Figure 5). There are several photographs of Nomoa, including two family photographs of him with his wife and children (Figure 6). Of the people included in the mission group (above) there are also two photographs of Ned Ware with his family (Figure 7). Haddon continued the practice of taking family portraits of his close male assistants when he was on Mer and throughout his 1888 and 1898 fieldwork. The act of photography became an important aspect of Haddon's interaction with local people, both creating

and documenting personal relationships. Rough prints that were often developed in the field became part of a wider gift exchange and family photographs were sometimes made at Islanders' request.

Haddon's long days were filled with dredging, collecting, recording and analysis, with the evenings occupied by evening prayers at the missionary camp followed by socializing with local men, a welcome distraction which soon turned to full-time interest in the investigation of the past. Discussions focused on what the Goemulgaw did 'before the white man he come – no missionary – no nothing' (Haddon, 1888: 47). These evening sessions were also an opportunity for the collection of artefacts. Men would often gather in Haddon's room to barter shells and 'curios' for tobacco and trade goods. 'When the trade fell off, I showed the men my sketch books & drawings I had made. These they heartily appreciated & we had a good time together' (Haddon, 1888: 44).



FIG. 4. Policemen in uniform with Mam on the left, 1888. MAA N.22869.ACH2



FIG. 5. Mam and his family, 1888. MAA N.22809.ACH2



FIG. 6. One of the nine photographs of Nomoa, here with his wife and children, 1888. MAA N.22868.ACH2.

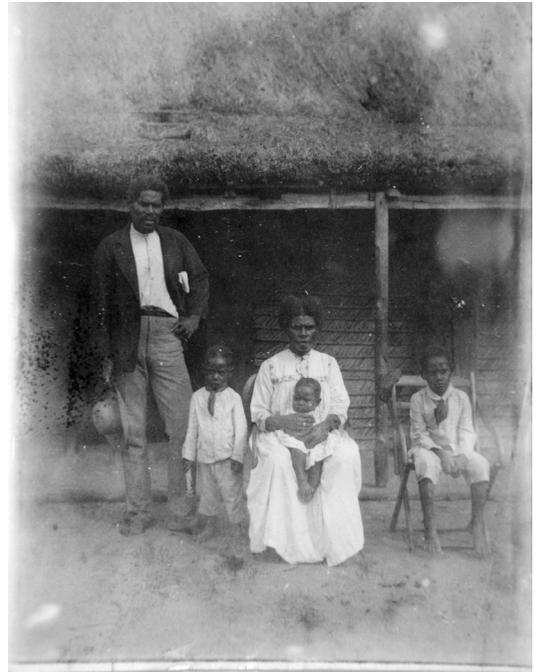


FIG. 7. Portrait of Ned Ware with his wife and children, 1888. MAA P.59866.ACH2.

While Haddon's ethnographic interests were focused on the Goemulgal, his photographs also show the influx of people from other parts of the Pacific. In addition to the portraits of the South Seas Islander families that ran the LMS station on Mabuyag, there are photographs of others who had migrated to the Torres Strait to work in the thriving maritime industries, particularly on the many pearl luggers. One image depicts the large extended family of Billy Tanna (Figure 8), his surname indicating his island of origin in Vanuatu.

Two full-length portraits of seven Mabuyag men wearing calico taken front on and from the side (Figures 1 and 9) and a similar front and side portrait of five women wearing missionary dresses with distinctive hair styles (Figure 10) anticipate the series of anthropometric images taken by the Haddon and the Cambridge Expedition ten years later. It is telling that all of the young men are named in these photographs, but seldom the women. These are the only portraits of Mabuyag women in 1888 in which they are shown separate from the families with whom they are identified in the captions e.g. 'Chief and family'. The gender bias towards men seen generally throughout Haddon's work was typical of both local and Victorian sensibilities.

Haddon was greatly impressed by his companions' maritime skills and he was keen to record customary seafaring technology for hunting dugong and fishing. His developing interest in canoes – their form, ornamentation and distribution<sup>16</sup> – is shown by his photographs, drawings and watercolours of indigenous boats (see McNiven, 2015). Many of the activities related to traditional sailing and dugong hunting have two sequential negatives of the same image. The 1888 photographs include three views of a large beached canoe with mat sails, with a group of men tending to oars and ropes in order to



FIG. 8. Billy Tanna and his extended family on Mabuyag, 1888. MAA P.59867.ACH2.

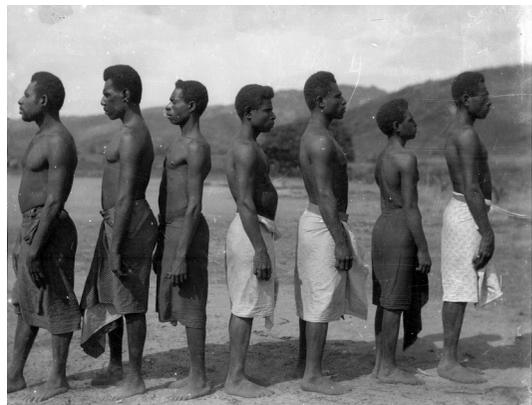


FIG. 9. Seven Mabuyag men standing in a line on the beach. (l-r) Ailumai, 'Peter' Dimi, Masi, Min or Kebisu, Baira, Ngukis and Bageri Moka, 1888. MAA N.22771.ACH2.



FIG. 10. Women in two rows facing the camera. Haddon thought these women's striking hair partings were reminiscent of the *dhoeri* headdress, 1888. MAA N.22775.ACH1.

demonstrate how the boat was sailed (Figure 11). Haddon would have needed to organise times and probably token payments for the participants and it is likely that local people assisted with the procurement of the pandanus mat sails, which were rare by 1888.

Another pair of images show Haddon's practice of encouraging re-enactments of the past, a methodology that was developed with remarkable effects in 1898. Haddon noted:

In former days Dugong were speared from canoes - or from an erection made of bamboo and termed a 'nēēt' - the native-English name is 'house along [sic] Dugong'.

Hearing of this and wanting to know exactly what it was like I got a man to make one for me.... The nēēt is erected at a spot where there is evidence of the feeding of Dugong in the 'grass' there present. It is always built end on to windward so that the wind by blowing on it should not make a noise and so frighten away the dugong; the wap is also kept in the same direction for a similar reason. The nēēt is only used at night for it is only then that the dugong approach the shore: in the day time they keep to the open and to the large isolated reefs. In leaping into the water care



FIG. 11. One of the three photographs of men demonstrating the use of mat sails. Note the platform built across the outrigger booms used for storing and cooking food. Mabuiag, 1888. MAA N.22777.ACH2.

has to be taken not to get entangled in the rope. It sometimes happens that the man comes up within a coil and as the rope is rapidly drawn out by the retreating Dugong the man is speedily strangled (Haddon, 1888: 58-59).

The photographs show Nomoa's nephew Waria standing and then sitting on the *nath* holding a *whap* attached to a large coil of rope (Figure 12). Haddon was keen to reproduce everything 'as it used to be' so underneath the *nath* he hung a wooden dugong model, which he had collected at Moa. Haddon was

particularly intrigued by this practice and he sent a copy of the print to his wife along with an account of his efforts to take the picture. His journal also referenced a traditional story about a Badu man named Sesere, credited as being the first man to make a *nath*, 'being instructed one night by the skulls of his father and mother' (Haddon, 1888: 59); he later published this story in the *Expedition Reports* (Haddon, 1904: 40).<sup>17</sup> One sees here the productive links between artefacts, photography and stories that was typical of Haddon's comprehensive approach to documenting custom.



FIG. 12. One of the two photographs of Ned Waria demonstrating the method of dugong hunting from the *nath* (platform), 1888. MAA N.22801.ACH2

Haddon's excitement at being invited to accompany Nomoa and some dozen Mabuyag men on a lugger to hunt for dugong in October 1888 is indicated by his vivid and lengthy journal entry.

Here we are, scudding along over the dirty green sea which betokens shallow coral waters, the waves created by the ever-flowing S.E. trade wind, the lavender coloured sky is studded with clouds which uniformly belie their pluvial appearance. There is a shout of 'Dungul' ... After cruising about for a long time and sighting but few Dugong we at length arrive at a spot where they are plentiful and over the bow and to port and starboard they are ever and anon to be seen rising up to breathe and diving down again. One sees their rounded back and lastly their fan-shaped tails for an instant and then all is gone ... This is the hunters' opportunity and the boat undergoes those gyrations which sober men do not indulge in as it dodges about in the helmsman's endeavours to approach the [quarry]. When distant, the natives shout and chatter in a very lively manner and go through a pantomime of spearing the dugong, but when one is observed close by a sudden hush falls upon the crew who are in a state of highly strung, suppressed excitement. Directions are given to the helmsman by signals. The Mamoose stands on the nose of the bowsprit wap in the hand and with the other steadying himself by the rigging and well he may – for the boat is pitching and tossing considerably. Behind him in the bow stands a man who looks after the rope, perched a short way up the foremast is the lookout

man and behind are the rest of us with glistening eyes intent on the unconscious sirenian, making at most the clacking sound, so characteristic of these Islanders, or a whistle.

All of a sudden Mamoose springs into the water wap in hand, using the latter after the manner of a leaping pole. The aim was good and the velocity of the spring in addition to the weight of the spearsman has driven the dart well homes and it is firmly imbedded in the thick, dense skin of the Dugong, who is, by this time, steaming off followed by the trailing rope. The suppressed excitement of the spectators finds heat in a shout and in various manifestations of delight - for Torres Strait Islanders are a demonstrative people – once or twice in the day I had my suspicions that even they were amused at the intent I exhibited and more than once I caught myself adopting their 'elating' and whistling in addition to the ordinary British methods of expressing delight and surprise.

The Mamoose has regained his wap and has clambered up onto the boat and expresses his satisfaction by a grin which would do credit to the Cheshire Cat in 'Alice through the Looking Glass'. Shirts are doffed and the universal 'calico' (loin-cloth) may be dispersed with and several men dive into the water. Spare rope is thrown out to them and they strike out for the Dugong, amid great shouting they endured to tied tie a rope round its tail, swimming up to when it comes up to the surface to breath and diving after it in its descent. The powers of subaqueous respiratory endurance on the part

of the men appears to almost rival that of the Dugong itself. The main object is to prevent the Dugong from raising its nostrils above the level of the water by bearing down upon the rope during the animal's ascent. In time the latter manoeuvres are successful and death by drowning results. The lumbering carcass is towed towards the boat and after much effort and more noise is hauled inside (Haddon, 1888: 54-55).

Haddon took two photographs of the men on the lookout for dugong blurred by the unsteady movement of the boat (Figure 13), and he sketched 'the first Dugong which I saw pass from the present to the past tense' (1888: 56). Back on shore he took two nearly identical photographs of Nomoa, *whap* in hand, looking very satisfied as he stands behind his catch in front of 'Brown's Station' at Panay (Figure 14).<sup>18</sup> Afterwards, Nomoa gave the smaller dugong to Haddon who described it as, 'a very acceptable gift both for scientific and gustatory reasons' (1888: 57). Haddon then measured and dissected the dugong, comparing it with his earlier analysis of an American manatee at Cambridge, and noting that the intestines were 108 feet in length.

Haddon learned much about dugong from his Mabuyag friends, noting that 'probably more dugong are speared from this island than in all the other islands and reefs in the Straits put together. The Mamoose here claims to have himself speared over 1900 of these harmless sea-cows' (1888: 61). Haddon also became aware of the social significance of the dugong as a clan totem. He was delighted to learn of an old woman who had representations of her clan scarified on her lower back, a rare example by 1888 which Haddon duly sketched and photographed (Figure 15).<sup>19</sup>



FIG. 13. One of two photographs of men on a lugger on the lookout for dugong, 1888. Shown, clockwise from top, are Kokowa-Mai, Ailumai, Johnny and Nomoa. MAA N.22795.ACH2.



FIG. 14. Portrait of Nomoa, with his dugong catch. In the background is Brown's former pearling station at Panay, where Haddon set up his laboratory, October 1888. MAA N22793.ACH1.



FIG. 15. (l-r) Patagam from Mabuyag with *tabu augud* (snake totem) and Ado from Badu with *dhangal augud* (dugong totem) scarification, 1888. MAA P.23314.ACH2.

Despite Haddon's growing ethnographic interests, his use of photography in 1888 tended to be sporadic and opportunistic. He took photographs of the people closest to him, a few images of local foliage (mangrove swamps, pandanus and coconut palms) and special events.

One Saty, a number of Badu men came over in a canoe & spent the afternoon at 'play' – throwing spears – or rather javelins at a mark. They aimed at a tree trunk 5 inches in diameter from a distance of about 40 paces (say 35 yards). I reckon that about 10% struck the stump, some

of the javelins were hurled with such force that the points appeared through the other side. The greatest distance thrown was about 100 paces (over 80 yards). The javelins were of course thrown with the throwing stick. I took a couple of photos of the men. On questioning I found that a better aim could be made with bow & arrows than with javelins but in warfare they preferred the latter as it might take 3 or 4 arrows to incapacitate an enemy whereas one javelin would bowl him over (Haddon, 1888: 49).

Haddon took advantage of the visit of the Badu men to extend his ethnographic investigations. He photographed the javelin competition (Figure 16) and sketched the postures of men as they were throwing their spears. Later that evening:

... some of the Badu men came & had a yarn & I obtained some interesting information from them. I brought a dozen javelins & several throwing sticks. I could not get any more as they did not care to part with them. I also purchased another model of the dugong used as a charm in dugong fishing (Haddon, 1888: 49).

Summing up his six weeks work on Mabuyag, Haddon noted:

Anthropology and photography take up a good deal of time but it is mainly in the evening.... I fancy a fair verdict would be (1) Coral reef investigation – much less done than I should have liked, but I am making a start. (2) General marine zoology about as much as I could reasonably expect to do. (3) Anthropology much more than I anticipated (Haddon, 1888: 52).

On the morning of October 26 Haddon left Mabuyag 'with much affection & regret on the part of myself and my colonial friends. It was a great 'send off' as the Americans term it & numbers walked from the Camp to the Station to see the last of me' (Haddon,



FIG. 16. Javelin throwing competition between Mabuyag men and visitors from Badu, 1888. MAA N.22813.ACH2.

1888: 63). After a short visit to Tudu to see Maino, Haddon stopped briefly at Mabuyag on his way to Thursday Island and was warmly received by his 'old friends'. Early the following morning while the steamer was watering, Haddon climbed one of the hills on the Island 'to pay a final pilgrimage to the tomb grave of the local hero Kwoiam [Kuyam] – and to other spots, associated with his name' (1888: 67). His interest aroused, the cult of Kuyam would become an important area of investigation when Haddon returned with the Expedition in 1898.

### MABUYAG 17 SEPTEMBER – 21 OCTOBER 1898

To be a proper anthropologist one requires wider knowledge and more versatile talents than I can lay claim to. He should be a linguist, artist, musician, and have an extensive knowledge of natural & mechanical science, etc. (Haddon, 1888: 108).

Haddon returned to Mabuyag 17 September 1898 after 10 weeks on Mer and survey work in British New Guinea.<sup>20</sup> He was accompanied by Sydney Ray (a school teacher and linguist), William Rivers (in charge of experimental psychology and physiology), Charles Seligman (a medical doctor with interests in local pathology) and Anthony Wilkin (a student of Haddon's who worked as the official photographer). The two other members of the Cambridge Expedition, William McDougall and Charles Myers, did not visit Mabuyag but travelled to Borneo at the invitation of Resident Commissioner Charles Hose, before returning to England.

Work started slowly. Focused on anthropology rather than marine biology, Haddon complained that many of the men were too busy to talk during the day. Their time was occupied with diving and working in preparation for the May meeting or 'mei',

the annual gathering of various stations of the LMS. On the positive side, unlike in 1888, many people were able to speak in English, much more so than at Mer. The active involvement of the Goemulgal in maritime activities is shown by the number of boats off the coast at Panay and the group of people cleaning pearlshell on the beach (Figure 17).



FIG. 17. Islanders cleaning pearlshell on the beach at Bau with outrigger canoes and luggers in the background, 1898. MAA N.23011.ACH2.

Haddon described Mabuyag's leading role in the trade:

Mabuyag [Mabuyag] is a centre of the pearl-shelling industry or rather of the kind that is known as swimming diving. The great pearl-shell banks have been worked out by the diving boats & soon after I left in '89, till within the last year or two, the shelling industry has been very slack & much money has been lost, owing to a decrease in the market value of shell. Now prices are better and the natives either own their own boats or hire themselves out to white men and they swim down in shallow water & collect pearl shell. A great deal of money has been made by natives in this way (1898: 230).

Haddon noted a number of changes on his arrival. A new wooden church had been built the year before for £200, part of the £500 that had been received by Mabuyag Islanders from the resident European trader John Cowling and a man named 'Cox' for a large quantity of pig-copper found on the reef (see Gesner & Hitchcock, 2015).<sup>21</sup> On arrival Haddon interviewed Cowling for an update of local activities and the Expedition members settled into the Mission house. A few days later Haddon and his team received a formal welcome from the Goemulgal (Figure 18).

On Tuesday morning before breakfast a procession of men, women, & children came from the village into the mission compound and deposited before our door a present of a large number of coconuts, 4 water melons, 1 yam, some taro, two cocks and a hen. The spokesman said that the island was poor (in garden produce) and they could not give us much. I said I knew they had not much produce and that they had given us a good present – no one had given us fowls and eggs before. One interesting feature was that as they came they sang hymns, & parents generally let their little children put the present on the heap. After the little speechifying was over the people and presents were photographed (Haddon, 1898: 20 September).

To facilitate their anthropological investigations, the Expedition engaged two men at one pound, one shilling a week. Waria, remembered from his manufacture of the *nath*, was one of the men hired to assist. Haddon noted that while Waria was the hereditary chief to-be of the island, his uncle Nomoa had been appointed as Mamoose, as Waria was a young lad when his father died.<sup>22</sup> Haddon described Waria as a very accomplished person for his knowledge of tradition and his work on a new translation of Saint Matthew's Gospel. The translation was a group effort including Noboa (Tom) and Papi (Peter), two men who also assisted the Expedition members on Mabuyag.<sup>23</sup> Another man who was crucial to the success of the Expedition's work was old Gizu, described as 'a great authority on the old customs & beliefs & legends & we have constantly to refer to him' (1898: 232).<sup>24</sup> As indicated by the photographic record, these four men became the Expedition's key assistants. The playfulness apparent in a pair of photographs hints at complex and self-conscious relationships that developed between them. Taken in the same place at the same time, the images show the Expedition's friends and interpreters in a mirror position to that of the Expedition members. Gizu, a senior Mabuyag elder is seated in the same place as Haddon, Waria, who was soon to assume his hereditary leadership, assumes the position of Rivers, while Noboa and Papi stand slightly behind (Figures 19-20).



FIG. 18. Formal welcome by the Goemulgal to the Cambridge Expedition members, with gift of food, 20 September 1898. MAA N.22930.ACH2.



FIG. 19. Expedition members on Mabuyag. Alfred Haddon (seated) with (l-r) William Rivers, Charles Seligman, Sidney Ray and Anthony Wilkin, 1898. MAA N.51923.ACH2.



FIG. 20. Expedition's friends and assistants on Mabuyag. Gizu (seated) with (l-r) Ned Waria, Papi, and Noboa, 1898. MAA N.22988.ACH2.

Not surprisingly there are several photographs of Noboa with his family, including two images in which he is holding a pet monkey, an anomalous but clearly highly prized creature (Figure 21). Papi is also photographed with his family (Figure 22) and there are several portraits of Waria



FIG. 21. Portrait of Noboa, his family and pet monkey, 1898. MAA N.23291.ACH2.



FIG. 22. Portrait of Papi and his family, 1898. MAA N.22925.ACH2.

and Gizu. Despite the Expedition's reliance on male informants, important medical information was obtained by Seligman from two midwives, Gugui and Aun. There are two portraits of these formidable women, with them standing behind two children (Figure 23).

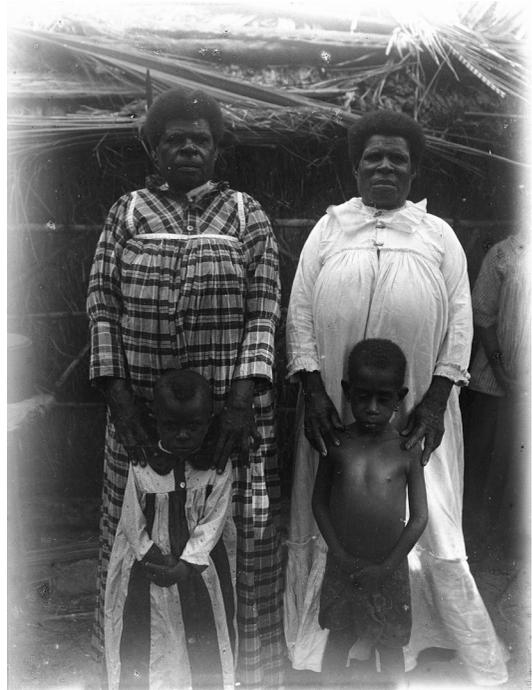


FIG. 23. One of the two photographs of the midwives Gugui and Aun with two children, 1898. MAA N.22995.ACH2

Haddon reacquainted himself with his main contacts from 1888, many of whom were re-photographed. There are two images of the elderly Nomoa with his family in 1898 (Figure 24). An image of the policemen in uniform standing in a row mimics one taken in 1888, only in 1898 there are five men instead of the four previously depicted. Haddon later noted: 'the indigenous police force were chosen by the Government Representative to enforce the laws of the court (European and indigenous). They were given uniforms and paid one pound sterling



FIG. 24. One of the three photographs of Nomoa, the Mamoose of Mabuyag, and his family probably standing outside their home, 1898. MAA N.22937.ACH2.



FIG. 25. Family with one man wearing a military uniform and another man, possibly Sunday, holding a gun, 1898. MAA N.23286.ACH2.

and one pound of tobacco a year' (Haddon, 1901: 13). Other men appear in uniform (Figure 25), possibly evidence of work on naval ships or connections with government.

Overall, the photographs from 1898 are more purposeful than those of 1888. Haddon sketched the interior of the old-church house which they converted into an 'anthropological laboratory' complete with a backdrop used for photography and various testing equipment. The images from Mabuyag uniquely show the process of psychological testing, led by Rivers who was



FIG. 26. Inside the anthropological laboratory with William Rivers and Noboa demonstrating the use of the colour wheel. There are numerous onlookers, including Gizu seated immediately behind Noboa, 1898. MAA N.23037.ACH2.



FIG. 27. William Rivers and Ned Waria experimenting with the E-test for visual perception. Rivers is holding a board with E-shapes arranged in various positions. Ned matches the shape of the E on his board to the position of the E indicated by Rivers, 1898. MAA N.23039.ACH2.

an expert on the physiology of the senses, particularly visual perception. There are two photographs of Noboa using the colour wheel. The darker image, taken inside the anthropological laboratory with numerous observers, reveals the interest generated by the experiments (Figure 26). There are also two near identical photographs of Waria and Rivers outside the church experimenting with the E-test in the bright daylight (Figure 27).<sup>25</sup>

Photography was also employed to record objects and technological processes. Once again there are numerous representations of canoes, including an image of a canoe named 'Adi', with two subsequent images detailing the prow and stern decorations (Figure 28). One photograph shows a hunted dugong lying on coconut fronds on the beach, with incision markings showing how it should be cut up for distribution and eating (Figure 29). A series of five images show Noboa and Waria landing and butchering a turtle on the beach, surrounded by a group of enthusiastic on-lookers (Figure 30). Haddon provides a summary of the activities in his journal:

Several dugong and turtle were caught this week. We have had some of the meat & a welcome change it has been to tinned meat. It is a gastly [sic] sight to see them cutting up a live helpless turtle that helplessly lies on its back and beats the air with its flippers. Boys & girls, even naked little boys that have scarcely passed the toddling stage finger & pat the bleeding flesh & viscera or poke their fingers in the eye of the poor reptile & scoop up handfuls of clotted gore which they ladle into large shells. Wilkin photographed some of the stages of the butchery. I took the names of the various viscera both of the turtle & dugong. They have names for joints and for regions of the intestine just as we have. The liver & gall-bladder & some other parts have the same name in the dugong & turtle, but the heart for example has a different name (1898: 232).

Haddon was especially keen to investigate and record what he termed 'pre-colonial' ritual beliefs and practices. On Mabuyag he was intrigued by references to the legendary



FIG. 28. Detail of the ornamented bow of the double-outrigger canoe named 'Adi', 1898. MAA N.37892.ACH2.



FIG. 29. A dugong prepared for cutting and distribution of the meat, 1898. MAA N.23012.ACH2.



FIG. 30. One of five photographs showing the stages of turtle butchery demonstrated by Noboa, 1898. MAA N.23008.ACH2.

figure of Kuyam, whose cult was central to male initiation and practices associated with warfare. Numerous photographs were taken to document Kuyam's movements and activities, which were marked in the topography of the landscape on Mabuyag and the nearby sacred island of Pulu. These include two pictures of Kuyam's water-hole on Mabuyag, showing the grooves in the nearby rocks which resulted from Kuyam straightening his javelins (Figure 31). The Expedition members were privileged to be taken to Pulu on three occasions, where they photographed the men's *kod* and other sacred sites. Haddon's interest in recording past events is most dramatically seen in his determination to photograph a re-enactment of the death of Kuyam, taken in the exact place where it was believed that he was fatally ambushed by his enemies from Badu (Edwards, 1998: 113-117).<sup>26</sup>



FIG. 31. One of two photographs of Kuyam's water-hole on Mabuyag, 27 September 1898. MAA N.23030. ACH2

A large number of images from 1898 were taken within the genre of anthropometric photography, then seen as essential data for ethnological concerns.<sup>27</sup> Twenty-one images of individuals and small groups photographed 'front' and 'side' were taken, typically posed in front of a draped canvas set up at the old church-cum laboratory. These images predominately are of men, but they also include a couple, Patagam and Nabia, and two women, Mugur and Kawsa (Figure 32). Given his interest in comparative physiognomy, Haddon was particularly keen to photograph people originating from different places. There are four anthropometric photographs of bare-chested men from Tanna (Figure 33).



FIG. 32. Mabuyag women (l-r) Mugur and Kawsa, 1898. N.22962.ACH2.



FIG. 33. One of four images of Tanna men living on Mabuyag (l-r) Nahani and Kaio, 1898. N.22945.ACH2.

Haddon noted: 'There are also a number of S.S. [South Seas] men living on this island who have married Mabuyag women and we have studied several of them and their half-caste children as well. For example, my old friend Billy Tanna is still here with his numerous progeny. There are also 3 or 4 other Tanna men whom we have measured' (1898: 230-231). The Expedition also took advantage of occasional visits by Indigenous people from Cape York, who were working as crew on some of the pearling boats. '[W]e have taken this opportunity to measure, psychologise and photograph some of them. I think about 11 or 12. This is fortunate for us as we wanted to get some observations on the N.Q. Aborigines' (1898: 230).

These 'mug shots', taken frontally and in profile embody the tension between the classification of racial types in nineteenth century anthropology and the personal relationships suggested by portraits of named Islanders and their families. Indeed over time, Haddon used many of these images as representations of his friends and assistants. The intimacy afforded by intensive fieldwork and the personal relationships that developed seems to have aided a more general transition in anthropology from physical types to personal portraits. This shift is clearly visible in the way that Haddon incorporates these images in his personal photographic album, entitled 'Sunny Memories' (Edwards, 1998: 124-126). It is also shown in the contrast between two portraits of Waria, one following the convention of a frontal 'mug' shot and one taken with his face turned slightly to the side (Figure 34). Haddon acknowledged the invaluable work of individual Goemulgal in the project to document traditional culture on Mabuyag. 'Our indebtedness to our native helpers is obvious; but to Waria, the chief of Mabuiag, we owe much, as, in addition to what he has told us orally, he has sent a large quantity of manuscript, mainly of genealogies and folk-tales, which he has written at his own initiative' (1904: 6).<sup>28</sup>

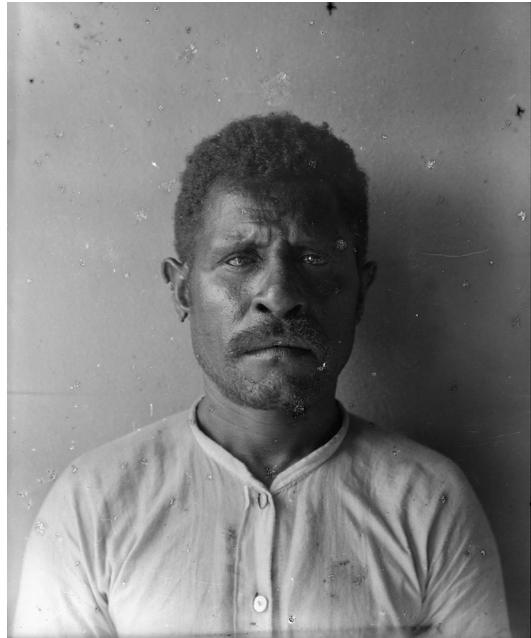
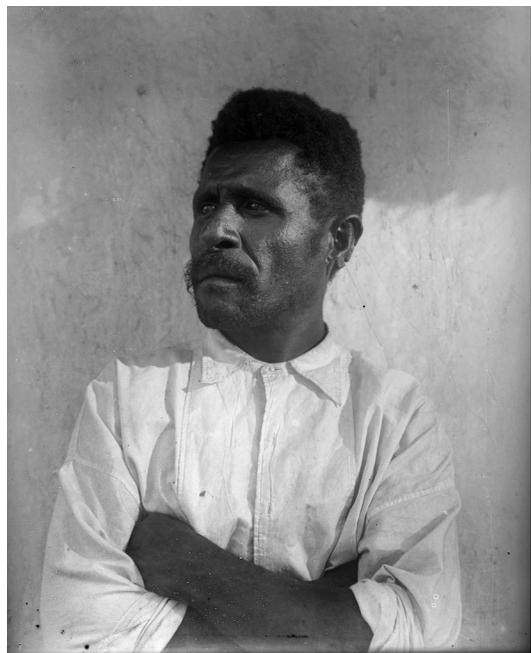


FIG. 34. Two photographs of Ned Waria. The first 'mug shot' follows the formal conventions of anthropometric photography, while the second image was used by Haddon as a portrait of his friend, 1898. MAA N.22959.ACH2 & MAA N.22990.ACH2.



As in 1888, incidental events were also recorded. The most dramatic was a house fire that was fortunately extinguished before spreading to nearby thatched houses by the quick actions of local people and the Expedition members. One of the two photographs of the event show a crowd gathered and a man standing on the roof (Figure 35).

On Friday Sept. 30. As I was quietly yarning with Waria in our laby. Ontong ran in to say there was a house on fire. At first I thought it was ours, but on looking out of the window I was reassured on that point. Then we rushed to the village and saw a native grass house in flames. Wilkin bought

the camera & soon had a couple of photographs of the conflagration. Sligs & I helped to tear down the cumberant outer walls & roof, but not much of the thatching could be saved. No personal effects were lost. The husband was away swimming diving & the mother was asleep inside when Billy Tanna saw the fire & burst in the door. It appears that a very small boy was playing with fire & making cigarettes of dried Gauana leaves when the others were asleep & he ignorantly & carelessly set fire to the wall of the house (1898: 231).

The 'mei' that Mabuyag Islanders were busily preparing for took place on 8 October. Quick



FIG. 35. Thatched house on fire, 1898. MAA N.22987.ACH2.

to draw comparisons between the Torres Strait and England, Haddon noted in his journal: 'A "May Meeting" in October in Torres Straits is not much greater misnomer than the June "May week" in Cambridge' (1898: 235). The meeting was presided over by James 'Tamate' Chalmers, one of the London Missionary Society's European representatives, who had recently arrived on Mabuyag from the LMS station at Saguane, Kiwai Island. Haddon described the event in great detail:

On the forenoon of Saturday Oct. 8th a service was held in the church, most of the congregation arrived in a procession headed by Tamate and the Samoan Teacher of Mabuiag (Isaiah) and the Nuie teacher of Badu (Morris). First came two broad rows of men and boys, then two rows of women and girls - all singing hymns. Whilst the second hymn was being sung in church it was discovered that the all important plate for the collection had been forgotten so a deacon went out and very soon returned with two enamelled iron plates. In his address Tamate said he was sorry that so few people had come from the other islands as was their former custom. The Prince of Wales Islanders were few in number & they wanted a teacher and Chalmers reminded the Mabuiag people that they had promised to subscribe money to help the Prince of Wales people. The Mabuiag people get plenty of money diving for pearl shell. Perhaps they make too much money for when they go to Thursday Island they often squander it on drink or otherwise waste it and so have no reserve for bad seasons. He appealed for more money to support new teachers in the Fly River District of New Guinea and also for an annual contribution of discarded clothes and calico and other presents

for the Mabuiag teacher Mugala at Kunimi. Finally he asked them to send young men to his station at Saguane to learn to read the Bible in English and eventually to go as teachers (1898: 236).

Haddon was caught off guard when Tamate asked him to speak during the meeting. His summary of the contents of his talk, revealed how some of his attitudes about the differences between Islanders and Englishmen had changed as a result of his work in the Torres Strait. 'I spoke a little about our work & that we found that the difference between the white, black, brown, red & yellow men were merely external but that inside they were all alike' (1898: 237). An early example of cultural relativity, albeit within an evolutionary, historical and evangelical framework, Haddon then compared various British and Islander practices.

I described briefly the difference between palaeolithic and neolithic implements & how man gradually improved. How they had augûds i.e. totems, & we had too. Theirs were dugong, shark, cassowary, dog, crocodile etc we had the white horse, seal, wild boar, etc. ... How we had sorcery just as they had. They made magic with wooden figures of men & we struck pins onto clay ones. Then missionaries came to England and taught us about God just as missionaries come to them. The people in New Guinea are still what they were like a few years ago and now it was their turn to send missionaries to New Guinea (1898: 237).

Then followed prayers sandwiched with hymns and addresses in the vernacular by teachers, chiefs and deacons. All the time, as with us at home, only more so, there was a continual dropping by the children of

the coins they were to contribute to the collection. But as not with us, the sound was the clunk of silver and not the clank of copper.... This year Chalmers took as the Mabuiag subscription to the L.M.S £40.10.0, this amount being the local 'May' collection and half of the weekly offerings – a very creditable amount (1898: 238).

... After dinner a large quantity of food was heaped in front of the mission house and a speech was made...We then photographed the heap of food. Next a Samoan named 'Teapot' gave a very clever dance to the beating of an empty kerosene tins; he flung an axe up and down backwards and front

and all sorts of ways, catching it & twirling it with great dexterity.

Then the food was shared out. Tamate got the live turtle, a lot of coconuts etc. and the 'Doctor' received 20 coconuts and 5 sweet potatoes. I was very pleased at this further mark of the friendliness of the natives. Numerous other people also received presents (1898: 239).

In addition to the single photograph taken of the food piled up for the 'mei' meeting (Figure 36), there are several group photographs of local people dressed-up for a special occasion, which were probably taken during this event.<sup>29</sup> Following gender divisions, typically



FIG. 36. The presentation of food during the LMS Mei meeting on Mabuyag, 8 October 1898. MAA N.23005.ACH2.



FIG. 37. Group portrait of women and children on Mabuyag, possibly dressed up for the Mei meeting, 8 October 1898. MAA N.23277.ACH2.



FIG. 38. Group portrait of men and boys on Mabuyag, possibly dressed up for the Mei meeting, 8 October 1898. MAA N.23276.ACH2.

marked by church seating arrangements, separate photographs were taken of women and men (Figures 37-38).

Haddon's persistence in attempting to record past activities is clearly shown by his negotiations with Chalmers prior to the meeting. 'As is their wont everywhere, the South Sea Teachers put a stop to all native dancing in the straits and as I wanted to have a dance got up for our benefit there was a possibility of a misunderstanding; but Chalmers soon put that all right and so a native dance was to be included in the programme' (1898: 235).

Late in the afternoon a dance was performed by some thirty men in the palm grove within the mission compound. This was the 'Pibi Kap' sometimes called Kwoiam's dances, after the legendary warrior of this island. It was a war dance that was performed after a successful fight. Some of the men had variously

painted themselves with red & black and yellow ochre. They wore chaplets of young coconut leaves or white feathers in their hair, crossed shoulder belts & petticoats of the same yellow or yellowish green coconut leaves and streaming amulets of the same leaves, and bands round their legs and ankles. They held a bow and arrow in the left hand and in the right was a coconut or pawpaw, or something of that sort to represent a decapitated human head (Haddon, 1898: 239).

Haddon was clearly delighted by the opportunity to see the dances associated with Kuyam and noted that the old women joined into the victory cries that punctuated the performance. Just two weeks before, in the midst of visits to sites associated with Kuyam, a related dance, the 'Markai' or death dance was staged for the Expedition members in the centre of the village (Seligman 1898: 68). There



FIG. 39. Performance of the 'Markai' (the great funeral ceremony or death-dance) staged for the Expedition members on 24 September 1898. MAA N.23021.ACH2.

are 10 photographs of the dancing, the largest number of images taken of any single event on Mabuyag (Figures 39-40). Afterwards, a full costume was purchased for the Cambridge museum. The expertise of the dancers, the availability of elaborate costumes and the familiarity of the Goemulgaw spectators with both of these performances raise questions about the extent to which the 'Pibi Kap' and 'Markai' had been relegated

to a distant past. One might speculate that the performers welcomed the opportunity to selectively demonstrate and integrate aspects of custom, even within a Christian context, without divulging the details of these important ritual activities.

The Expedition members spent just over a month at Mabuyag, yet their combined efforts and the active participation of individual Islanders generated an enormous amount of



FIG. 40. One of the dancers in the re-enactment of the Markai performed for the Expedition members on 24 September, 1898. MAA N.23028.ACH2.

information. Their work would be gradually analysed, supplemented, refined and prepared for the *Reports* over the next decade.

## CONCLUSION

Looking at the 1888 and 1898 photographs from Mabuyag some comparative conclusions can be drawn. There are notably fewer images from 1888 and overall the photographic intent was much less purposeful. In 1888 Mabuyag was Haddon's first sustained field site and he was just getting accustomed to living and working with local people during the period that he was there. Yet it was his experiences on Mabuyag, bolstered by his previous encounters with Maino from Tudu, that initially sparked Haddon's life-long commitment to anthropology. In 1898 Mabuyag was Haddon's last field site before returning via Borneo to Britain. By the time that Haddon arrived with the Expedition members on Mabuyag their goals and practices had been refined and their anthropological work was much more focused. Yet underlying these differences is the ongoing importance of Haddon's friends and assistants and the relationships that developed over the two trips and beyond.

As a community the Mabuyag people were helpful and hospitable to Haddon and his colleagues. As highlighted by the photographs, some Goemulgal were particularly active in the project to document their custom. Closer investigation reveals these people were often also hereditary holders of particular knowledge or custom. In recognising their work, it is crucial to acknowledge their contributions to the anthropological record as well as the absences of things that were not photographed, collected or fully documented. People were selective about what and when they told things to Haddon, and which objects they were prepared to sell. Haddon

photographed and sketched the remarkable canoe prow ornaments and one assumes that he would have been extremely keen to obtain them, yet there is not a single example from Mabuyag included in his collections. While Haddon recorded details of important ritual activities there is a sense that some of the information is incomplete. Certain aspects of custom were restricted and it is likely that the Goemulgal determined that some things were not appropriate to be photographed. It is perhaps telling that the most sacred aspects of Goemulgal custom were only made visible photographically as re-enactments. While the focus on re-enactments has been interpreted as resulting from Haddon's persistence to record a dimly remembered past, it is likely that there were ritual activities taking place 'behind the scenes', which were kept private. In other instances Haddon must have been told not to divulge information that he was privy to. A leading Goemulgal man played the part of Kuyam in the re-enactment of his death. The name of the person involved was known but there is no mention of his name in Haddon's journal, photo captions or other notes.

In his final years Haddon donated to the Museum a number of personal keepsakes of his time in the Torres Strait. His own photograph album, 'Sunny Memories' contains numerous Torres Strait images, many of which recall his friendships and times on Mabuyag. The Goemulgal participants and Haddon's team may not have realised the long-term importance and far-reaching implications of their collective work, let alone just how long these images would last. By emphasising the importance of photography for ethnographic fieldwork, Haddon and his colleagues provided a wealth of visual information for communities, researchers and family members. A close analysis of the

photographs provides a means of connecting people and events through time, enabling Goemulgal and others to reactivate the images to address current concerns.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank Ian McNiven for his encouragement to write this article. We are extremely grateful to our colleagues on Mabuyag, in particular Terrance Whap, Cygnet Repu, the late David Amber, Thowa Whap, Crossfield Gometera Manuel and Annie Gamia. Background research on the Torres Strait photographs has been supported by the University of Cambridge Crowther Beynon Fund. An ARC funded project, 'Globalization, Photography, and Race: the Circulation and Return of Aboriginal Photographs in Europe' (2011-2015), led by Jane Lydon of Monash University provided assistance with preparing and returning a full set of the Torres Strait images to the main communities from where they originated

### LITERATURE CITED

EDWARDS, E. 1998. Performing science: still photography and the Torres Strait Expedition. Pp. 106-135. In Herle, A.C. & Rouse, R. (eds) *Cambridge and the Torres Strait: centenary essays on the 1898 anthropological expedition*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

GEISMAR, H. & HERLE, A. 2010. *Moving images: John Layard, fieldwork and photography on Malakula from 1914*. (University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu).

GESNER, P. & Hitchcock, G. 2015. Two Nineteenth Century copper ingots from waters off Mabuyag, Torres Strait, Queensland. In McNiven, I.J. & Hitchcock, G. (eds) *Goemulgaw Lagal: Natural and Cultural Histories of the Island of Mabuyag, Torres Strait. Memoirs of the Queensland Museum – Culture* 8(2).

HADDON, A.C. 1888-1889. Journal. Manuscripts Room Cambridge University Library, Envelope 1029.

HADDON, A.C. 1895. *Evolution in art: as illustrated by the life-histories of designs*. (Walter Scott: London).

HADDON, A.C. 1898. Journal. Manuscripts Room Cambridge University Library, Envelope 1030.

HADDON, A.C. 1901. *Head-hunters: black, white and brown*. (Methuen: London).

HADDON, A.C. (ed.) 1901, 1903. *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Vol. II, Physiology and psychology, Parts I & II*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

HADDON, A.C. (ed.) 1904. *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Vol. V: sociology, magic and religion of the Western Islanders*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

HADDON, A.C. (ed.) 1908. *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Vol. VI: sociology, magic and religion of the Eastern Islanders*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

HADDON, A.C. (ed.) 1912. *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Vol. IV: arts and crafts*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

HADDON, A.C. 1935. *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Vol. I: general ethnography*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).

HADDON, A.C. & HORNELL, J. 1936-8. *Canoes of Oceania, Vols I-III*. (Bernice P. Bishop Museum: Honolulu).

HADDON, A.C. & SHACKLETON, A. M. 1891. *Reports on the zoological collections made in Torres Strait by Professor A.C. Haddon, 1888-1889: Actiniæ*

- : *Zoanthææ*. (Royal Dublin Society: Dublin & Williams and Norgate: London).
- HERLE, A.C. 2003. Objects, agency and museums: continuing dialogues between the Torres Strait and Cambridge. Pp. 194-207. In Peers, L. & Brown, A.K. (eds) *Museums and source communities*. (Routledge: London).
- HERLE, A.C. 2010. John Layard's photographs on Malakula: from observational to participant field research. Pp. 74-120. In Geismar, H. & Herle, A. (eds) *Moving images: John Layard, fieldwork and photography on Malakula from 1914*. (University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu).
- HERLE, A.C. & PHILP, J. 1998. *Torres Strait Islanders: an exhibition marking the centenary of the 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition*. (University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology: Cambridge).
- HERLE, A.C. & ROUSE, S. (eds) 1998. *Cambridge and the Torres Strait: centenary essays on the 1898 expedition*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).
- MCNIVEN, I.J. 2015. Canoes of Mabuyag and Torres Strait. In McNiven, I.J. & Hitchcock, G. (eds) *Goemulgaw Lagal: Natural and Cultural Histories of the Island of Mabuyag, Torres Strait. Memoirs of the Queensland Museum – Culture 8(1): 127-207*.
- MORTON, C.A. & EDWARDS, E. (eds) 2009. *Photography, anthropology and history: expanding the frame*. (Ashgate: Farnham).
- MULLINS, A. 1995. *Torres Strait: a history of colonial occupation and culture contact 1864-1897*. (Central Queensland University Press: Queensland).
- MYERS, C.S. 1898. Journal. Manuscripts Room Cambridge University Library, 8073.
- PHILP, J. 2004. 'Embryonic science': the 1888 Torres Strait photographic collection of A.C. Haddon. In Davis, R. (ed) *Woven histories dancing lives: Torres Strait Islander identity, culture and history* (Aboriginal Studies Press: Canberra).
- PHILP, J. 2015. *Krar*: Nineteenth century turtle-shell masks from Mabuyag collected by Samuel McFarlane. In McNiven, I.J. & Hitchcock, G. (eds) *Goemulgaw Lagal: Natural and Cultural Histories of the Island of Mabuyag, Torres Strait. Memoirs of the Queensland Museum – Culture 8(1): 99-125*.
- QUIGGIN, A.H. 1942. *Haddon the head hunter: a short sketch of the life of A.C. Haddon*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).
- RAY, S.H. 1907. *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits. Vol. 3: linguistics*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge).
- ROUSE, S. 1997. *Ethnology, Ethnobiography and Institution: A. C. Haddon and anthropology at Cambridge 1880-1926*. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge.
- SELIGMAN, C. 1898. *Fieldwork Notes*. Archives, London School of Economics. Seligman 1/1.
- STOCKING, G.W. Jr., 1996. *After Tylor: British social anthropology 1888-1951*. (Athlone: Madison).
- THURSDAY ISLAND STATE HIGH SCHOOL. 1988. *Culture in change: Torres Strait history in photographs*. (Australian Bicentennial Authority: Canberra).
- URRY, J. 1993. *Before social anthropology: essays on the history of British anthropology*. (Harwood Academic: Chur).
- URRY, J. 1998. Making sense of diversity and complexity: the ethnological context and consequences of the Torres Strait Expedition and the Oceanic phase in British anthropology, 1890-1935. Pp. 201-233. In Herle, A.C. & Rouse, S. (eds) *Cambridge and the Torres Strait: centenary essays on the 1898 anthropological expedition*. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge)

## APPENDIX

Index of people at Mabuyag photographed in 1888 and 1898 in the Haddon archive

Ado	Manatu*
Aigasa	Masi
Ailumai	Min (or Kebisu)
Amwiu	Monday
Aun	Mugar (Mugur)
Bageri Moka	Nabaia
Baira (Morris)	Noboa (Tom)
Bonel (Saibai)	Nageli*
Chinan*	Ngukis (Nukis)
Dimi (Peter)	Ngungai (Nungai)
Gaiba	Nomoa (Mauga)
Gainab	Papi (Peter)
Gaudai	Patagam
Gizu	Salit*
Gogoi Gupi	Sunday
Hankin*	Tichan*
Jama (Haddon's servant)	Uzu*
Johnny	Ware, Charley*
Kokawa-Mai	Ware, Jimmy*
Kanaii (Badu)	Ware, Ned
Kausa (Kawsa)	Waria (Ned)
Lifu, Charley (Suni)*	Yeku (two individuals)*
Madua	Yola (Aiwa)
Mam (policeman)	

\*Indicates 'people connected with the Mission Station, Mabuyag'

Note that the spelling of individual's names varies according to source and some people have more than one name

## □ ENDNOTES

1. The material originating from the 1898 Anthropological Expedition, as well as most of the archival and photographic material from both 1888 and 1898 is held by the University of Cambridge and housed in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and the Manuscripts Room of the University Library. The wax cylinder sound recordings are in the National Sound Archive of the British Library, where they have been digitized and are accessible via their website. The original film reel is at the British Film Institute National Film Archive. The majority of Haddon's object collections from 1888 are in the British Museum in London and the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin, with a small number of pieces in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology University of Cambridge, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, the Smithsonian Institute in Washington DC and the Queensland Museum in Brisbane.
2. 62 photographs from Mabuyag were published in Volumes I–V of the Reports (Haddon, 1901-1935).
3. Some of the material in the journals overlaps with the documentation contained in a series of notebooks and sketchbooks, focusing on different areas such as zoology, geography and ethnography. Information from the journals was also incorporated into Haddon's published work, in particular *Headhunters: black, white and brown* (1901), his popular account of the 1898 Expedition.
4. His first paper on Actiniae (sea anemone) was published in Haddon and Shackleton (1891).
5. The arrival of the LMS party (including McFarlane) at Darnley Island (Erub) on 1 July 1871 has been incorporated into Islander history as 'The Coming of the Light', an event that is celebrated annually, often through staged re-enactments and special church services.
6. Haddon notebook 'List of Torres –Strait Photographs 1888-1898' and 'List of lantern slides' (MAA Archives). The list includes 199 images of which 176 are from the Torres Strait and the rest from the coast of New Guinea and Cape York.
7. In 1888 Haddon's photographic output was initially restricted, as the case containing the bulk of his glass plates failed to turn up with the rest of his luggage on arrival at Thursday Island (Haddon, 1888: 2). The limited number of glass plates may explain why there are no photographs of Haddon's early encounter with Maino on Tudu.
8. Of the 36 images from Mabuyag in 1888 there are 8 pairs (44%). Of the 115 images from Mabuyag in 1898 there are 21 pairs (37%).
9. The concept of a unified photographic collection at MAA originated in 1935 when approximately eleven thousand photographs (including those from the Torres Strait), were mounted on cards, catalogued and arranged in specially designed wooden cabinets. These were presented on his 80th birthday to Haddon, who donated the collection to the Museum.
10. Goemulgaw is the possessive form of Goemulgal.
11. Cowling to Haddon 26.6.1901; Haddon papers Envelope 1024.
12. Cowling to Haddon 14.1.1900; Haddon papers Envelope 1024.
13. Cowling to Haddon 29.4.1905; Haddon papers Envelope 1024.
14. Several hundred copies of the MAA catalogue *Torres Strait Islanders: an exhibition marking the centenary of the 1898 anthropological expedition* (Herle and Philp, 1998), including nearly 50 photographs, were freely distributed to Islander communities.
15. In June 2011 the authors returned copies of Haddon's photographs and associated documentation to community representatives from Mabuyag, Mer, Iama/Tudu and Muralag. The project was supported by the Australian Research Council and the Crowther Beynon Fund, University of Cambridge.
16. This became a life-long quest, see Haddon and Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania*, 1936-1938.
17. The story was given to Haddon by a man called Malakula, the name likely referencing a connection to the island in Vanuatu.
18. This is likely the old pearling station where Haddon set up his laboratory.
19. For a further discussion of this image see Edwards (1998: 132-133).
20. Haddon arrived on Mer on 6 May and travelled through the Rigo, Central and Mekeo Districts of British New Guinea from 23 May, returning to Mer on 20 July 1898. He then left Mer on 11 September visiting Kiwai Island for a few days on his way to Mabuyag.
21. Haddon noted that 'The copper probably formed part of the cargo of a ship that got on the reefs and the copper was jettisoned to lighten her' (1898: 227).

□ **ENDNOTES** cont.d

22. Haddon records that Nomoa had been appointed by the resident Governor John Douglas (1898: 229).
23. Ray writes more fully in the *Reports* (Haddon, 1912: 189) that this translation was of the gospel in Samoan and that Isaiah, the Samoan LMS teacher, Waria, Noboa and Papi all worked on this to varying degrees. It was published through the Foreign Bible Society in 1900 *Evangelia iesu keriso mataion nimarpalaizinga*.
24. Some years later Waria wrote to Haddon that 'he could not now do justice to any old legends now Gizu is dead' (Waria via Cowling to Haddon 29 April 1905; Haddon papers envelope 1024).
25. Rivers describes the variations and use of the E-test in Vol. II of the Expedition's *Reports* (Haddon, 1901: 14-15).
26. Most of these were taken by Anthony Wilkin on two occasions, once around 23 September and then again on 11 October 1898 when Gizu, Tom, Peter went with Haddon, Ray, Seligman, Wilkin and Cowling to Pulu (Haddon, 1898: 241). Other photographs may have been taken 21-27 September 1898 when Seligman, Haddon and Wilkin visited the site (see Seligman Journal 1898: 67-68; Haddon Journal 1898: 230, 241-269).
27. More of this style of photography was carried out at Mer, however Myers noted that they were frustrated in their work as most people came to use the set-up as an informal opportunity to acquire family photographs. (Myers, 1898).
28. Waria worked closely with Rivers on compiling genealogical information (Haddon, 1904: 122-152). Waria's remarkable 231 page manuscript, *Net Warian polaizinga. Muruioao tusi. Leg nel Mabuyagi*, was sent to Haddon around 1900, with much of it translated by Ray and published (Ray, 1907: 191).
29. The 'mei' was the main religious and social event during the period when the Expedition members were on Mabuyag"