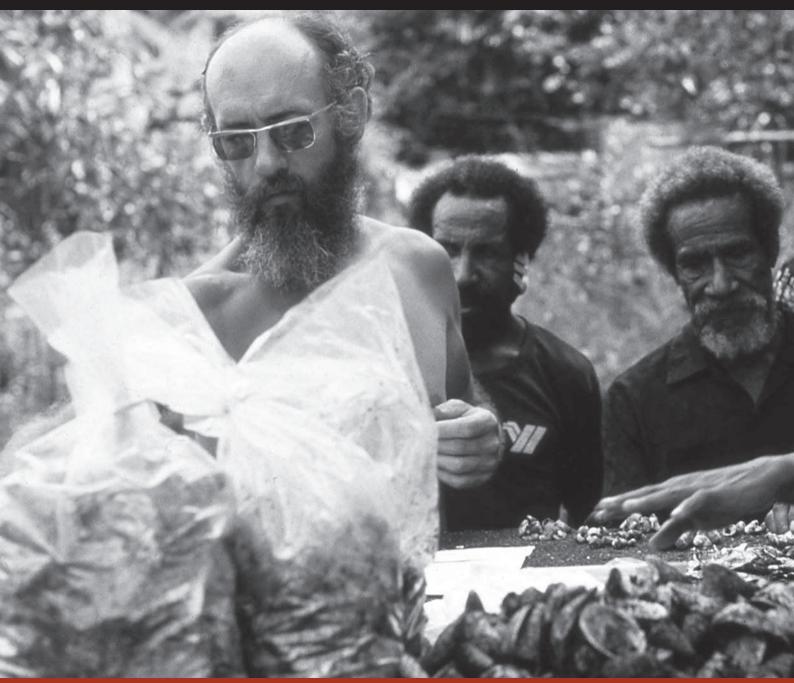
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Special issue in honour of Ron Vanderwal

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SOUTHERN NEW GUINEA AND TORRES STRAIT

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'Scenes hidden from other eyes' – Theodore Bevan's collection from the Gulf of Papua in the South Australian Museum

Barry Craig

Abstract: In 1888, the South Australian Museum purchased an ethnological collection from New Guinea that had previously been sent by Theodore F. Bevan and Messrs Burns, Philp & Co. for display at the New South Wales Court of the Queen Victoria Jubilee Exhibition in Adelaide in 1887. The identity of this collection subsequently became obscure prior to commencement of systematic registration of the Museum's collections in 1911. This paper reviews photographic, archival and published evidence to restore the identity of this collection, to uncover its indigenous cultural context and to relate it to comparable collections in Australia and overseas.

Introduction

It took some time after being appointed Curator of Foreign Ethnology at the South Australian Museum in 1995 for me to grasp the extent and significance of its Pacific collections, especially those represented by the 3000 artefacts in the Pacific Cultures Gallery. In this connection, when reading Herbert Hale's *The First Hundred Years of the South Australian Museum 1856-1956*, I came across the following passage:

... the Jubilee Exhibition Building had been erected on North Terrace and was opened for the first time on June 21, 1887, with an International Exhibition to commemorate the jubilee of both Queen Victoria and the founding of the Colony [of South Australia] ... The New South Wales Commission had installed good New Guinea ethnological material – the Theodore Bevan collection from 'the Douglas and Jubilee Rivers' (Hale 1956:62-3).¹

A check of the Museum Register indicated only nine spears under Bevan's name. A little research uncovered a copy of Bevan's 1890 book, Toil, Travel and Discovery in British New Guinea, in our museum library and it soon became apparent that the Douglas and Jubilee Rivers were the names given by Bevan to the lower Kikori River and the western branch of the Purari Delta that flow into the Gulf of Papua. I then realised that most of the Papuan Gulf objects on display in the Pacific Cultures Gallery were probably from Bevan and that some of the collection represented 'first-contact' material. The Register attributes the objects to the 'Old Collection', the term used for objects whose identity had been lost prior to commencement of systematic registration

in 1911. Thus began a process of detective work over several years looking for photographic, archival and published sources that would establish the identity of the Bevin collection, situate it in its historical and cultural context, and relate it to other collections in museums in Australia and overseas.

Although Bevan was the first European to penetrate the interior delta regions of the Kikori and Purari Rivers in 1887, 'curios' had already been collected up the Fly River by Luigi D'Albertis in 1876 and 1877 (D'Albertis 1880; Goode 1977), up the Strickland River by the Everill Expedition (RGSA 1885-6), in the eastern Papuan Gulf by Andrew Goldie (Craig 1996:68; Fox 1990:680) and along the coast west from Port Moresby as far as the Vailala River and Orokolo, and in the Torres Strait, by London Missionary Society missionaries James Chalmers (e.g. Chalmers and Gill 1885:140, 145, 170, 215; Chalmers 1895:44, 94, 116) and Samuel Macfarlane (collection in British Museum - Dorota Starzecka pers. comm. August 1994). The comprehensive collections from the Territory of Papua made by Sir William MacGregor (Administrator of British New Guinea) between 1888 and 1898 were assembled after Bevan's expeditions (Quinnell 2000:81-102).

Published ethnographic information on Papuan Gulf peoples comes from various sources, including missionaries J.H. Holmes (1924) and E. Baxter Riley (1925); government officers Leo Austen (1932, 1934, 1936, 1947-50), Wilfred Beaver (1920) and A.P. Lyons (1926); and anthropologists Alfred C. Haddon (1894, 1918, 1919), Gunnar Landtman (1933), A.B. Lewis (1931), Paul Wirz (1934, 1937) and most famously by



Figure 1. Theodore Francis Bevan. Unknown photographer, c.1888. (John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Image Nr 33429).

F.E. Williams (1923, 1924, 1936, 1939a, 1939b, 1940; see also Young and Clark 2001). Frank Hurley produced some of the most well-known photographs of the region (Hurley 1924, Specht and Fields 1984) and Albert Maori Kiki was the earliest indigenous voice (Kiki 1968, 1974; Beier and Kiki 1970). Landtman's (1933) description of his ethnographical collection from the Kiwai district at the mouth of the Fly River is the only comprehensive work on the full range of the material culture of any of the Papuan Gulf peoples (see also Lawrence 2010).

The first attempt at a comprehensive survey of the 'art' of the Papuan Gulf was the catalogue of the exhibition in the Museum of Primitive Art in New York, prepared by Douglas Newton (1961), still the standard reference work. Robert Welsch *et al.*'s (2006) exhibition catalogue adopts a subject-oriented approach (including a brief history of collecting in the Papuan Gulf) and Michael Hamson's (2010) *Red Eye of the Sun* provides an art museum–private collector perspective.

These sources are relevant to establishing the historical and cultural context of the Bevan collection in the South Australian Museum but identification of every item in that collection is by no means complete. The loss of identity of collections was not confined to Bevan's material. Some other Papuan Gulf objects in the SA Museum's collections are also without a clear identity and there is therefore sometimes an excess of candidates for a Bevan attribution. Furthermore, the collection sent to Adelaide by Bevan and Burns, Philp & Co. was not the total of what Bevan collected in New Guinea. There were earlier collections - notably that sent to the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886 in London (Bevan 1890:168) - that have found their way into various museums. Part of the 1887 collection from which the Adelaide component was drawn is to be found in the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin. Tracing these objects is also not completed but sufficient information has been accumulated to warrant an interim account, to stimulate others to follow up the loose ends, and to honour Ron Vanderwal's choice of the Papuan Gulf region as a site for his fieldwork.

Bevan in British New Guinea, 1886

Early in 1886, Theodore Bevan (Figure 1), a 25 year-old Londoner of Welsh descent, lay in his Port Moresby shack racked with the 'fever-and-ague fiend' (Bevan 1890:168). He had been busy trading for *bêche-de-mer* (trepang or sea-slug) and incidentally collecting curios along the Papuan coast west and east of Port Moresby for some six months in his cutter, the *Electra*, this being his third visit to New Guinea.² But now the lack of fresh food and being constantly at sea weakened his resistance to the 'plague' that was sweeping the Papuan coast and killing many people.

I would sink off into an uneasy slumber at, say, three p.m., and sleep seemingly for years and ages, all through my past life and far into futurity, and at last awake (judging by the sunlight that another day had broke), only to find, by reference to the inexorable timepiece, that these aeons of ages had winged in but ten minutes' actual oblivion from the realities of a sternly matter-of-fact world (Bevan 1890:169).

He rose from his bed at times to continue his trading activities or to follow up a rumour of gold in the Astrolabe Range behind Port Moresby, but in the end he experienced such 'frightful fevers' that 'it became a matter of indifference to me whether I survived or not' (Bevan 1890:175). In late June 1886, Bevan dragged himself to a schooner and took passage back to Australia where he slowly recovered in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney. He was warned by a doctor that should he be mad enough to return to New Guinea, he should take a coffin with him.

But by November 1886, Bevan was in conversation with Robert Philp of Burns Philp and Co., who offered him 'the free use of a steam launch for six weeks work in any part of the country I cared to select. It did not take me long to arrive at a decision. The bight of the Papuan Gulf had ever remained a *terra incognita* avoided as by common consent of explorers' (Bevan 1890:185). His objective:

... was an essentially practical one, viz. not only to be the first to work on *scenes hidden from other eyes*, and to discover what none had seen before; but also to find ready means of access to the 'higher levels', where a climate suitable for European settlement alone might likely be found (1890:187; *emphasis* added).

Bevan quotes Andrew Goldie, a resident of Port Moresby since 1876 just two years after first settlement:

I believe there is no part of the world that presents so many dangers as the bight of the Papuan Gulf. The water is in parts very shallow, with sandbanks running as far out as five miles to sea; and numerous rivers of discoloured water, having their origin in the great mountains, add to the difficulties of navigation (1890:185-186).

CLASS 282.—Aboriginal Weapons, &c.

Section J.—Military and Naval Armaments, Ordnance, Fire-arms, and Hunting Apparatus.

CLASS 282.—Aboriginal Weapons, &c.

117. BEVAN, Theodore F., 163 Macquarie-street, Sydney (on behalf of himself and Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co.—Ethno-logical Collection from New Guinea.

- 6 Shields
- 5 Masks
- 3 Drums
- 6 Spears 1 Bow and 5 bone-tipped arrows
- Paddles
- 4 Waistbelts
- 1 Fish Trap 7 Stone Clubs

- 3 Dilly Bags
 3 Grass Bags
 2 Women's Dresses
 10 Shell Ornaments, &c., &c.
 1 Pearl Shell Breastplate
- 1 Stone Adze
- 1 Wooden Club 1 Headrest
- 1 Taboo

A New Ireland Mask, a few New Britain Stone Clubs, and a bag from the Solomon Islands, are included in this collection for the sake of comparison.

Also numerous Sundries including unique specimens of idols, images, emblems, &c., &c., having superstitious significance and intimately associated with the rites, worships, traditious, and customs of the newly-discovered tribes of natives up the Douglas and Jubilee Rivers, Gulf of Papua, New Guinea.

Figure 2. List of Bevan's collection at the Queen Victoria Jubilee Exhibition, Adelaide, 1887 (AJIE 1887:93).

The Queen Victoria Jubilee Exhibition in Adelaide, 1887

In August 1885 – coincidentally the same month that Bevan set out from Sydney in the *Electra* on his third visit to New Guinea – it was proposed that the South Australian government erect a building in Adelaide for the exhibition of 'the products and manufactures of this province, side by side with the industries, arts, and manufactures of the neighbouring colonies, and of the older nations of the world' (South Australian Chronicle, 22.8.1885:6). The opening exhibition was to commemorate the jubilee of both Queen Victoria and the founding of the colony in 1836. In due course, the building was erected on North Terrace opposite its junction with Pulteney Street and the opening took place 21st June 1887.

Three official publications (AJIE 1886, 1887, 1889) provide information about the Exhibition, one of which is the official catalogue of the exhibits. In the section on the 'New South Wales Court' (AJIE 1887:93-94) is an entry, Nr 117, under the name of 'Bevan, Theodore F., 163 Macquarie-street, Sydney (on behalf of himself and Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co)' and described as an 'Ethnological Collection from New Guinea'. A list follows in which the individual items are described in the most summary terms (Figure 2).

When Herbert Hale was researching the history of the South Australian Museum, he must have found a reference in the museum's archives to this Exhibition. He reports (1956:64) that after the Exhibition closed, 'the [South Australian] Museum profited greatly' from the gift of a Malay ethnological collection sent by the

Sultan of Johore, and the purchase of the Theodore Bevan collection from 'the Douglas and Jubilee Rivers' (present-day Kikori and Purari Rivers) of the Gulf of However, the formal Register of the South Australian Museum, not commenced until 1911, 55 years after the Museum had been founded, fails to identify any New Guinea objects collected by Theodore Bevan or obtained from the Jubilee Exhibition, apart from a bundle of nine spears.

There is a list in the Museum archives (see Appendix), in the handwriting of the Museum's preparator Amandus Zietz, headed 'Coll. Burns Philp & Co' which differs somewhat from the official Exhibition list, and another archival document signed by Zietz and dated 21st March 1888 which has yet another slight variant of the list and the comment that 'the printed list in the [official] Catalogue of etc. - does not agree with the Collection'. Discrepancy between the official Exhibition and Museum lists complicates an identification of the Bevan collection.3

There are, however, many likely candidates labelled simply as 'Old Collection', that is, objects recognisably from villages of the Gulf of Papua, obtained prior to registration commencing in 1911, that had lost their documentation. How then to identify this important early collection? Fortunately, Bevan's (1890) published account of his New Guinea adventures and two photographs taken by Bell & Langford provide clues. It is his explorations during the first half of 1887 that are relevant to the collection in the South Australian Museum; the collections he assembled from his third trip to New Guinea during 1885-86 had already been dispersed to various museums, collectors and dealers. 4

Bevan's 1887 Expedition in the Victory

Bevan left Thursday Island, Torres Strait, on 17th March 1887 and headed for the Gulf of Papua (Figure 3). For this voyage, Bevan had two photographers with him George Bell and Henry Langford of Melbourne⁵ – and he intended to collect natural history specimens and artefacts from the settlements he visited.

Commencing in the western Gulf, the expedition entered the Kikori River delta west of Lord Salisbury (Ibibubari) Island, turned east into the Douglas (Kikori, but at this point now named the Auro) River and repulsed an attack by sixty men in canoes by sounding the ship's whistle and firing shots wide of the mark (Bevan 1890:188).

The expedition continued upriver, skirting the southern edge of the Aird Hills, northwards past the site of the present-day administrative centre of Kikori (est. 1912) until they reached a village on the west bank that Bevan recorded as Tumu. They made peaceful contact with the inhabitants by offering 'turkey red' cloth and hoop iron. Bevan overcame 'their natural shyness, obtained bone-tipped arrows in barter, and taught the Tumuans to shake hands. This tribe had certainly never seen and possibly had never heard of white men before' (Bevan 1890:191). The Bevan collection lists a bow and five bone-tipped arrows. There are only five such arrows

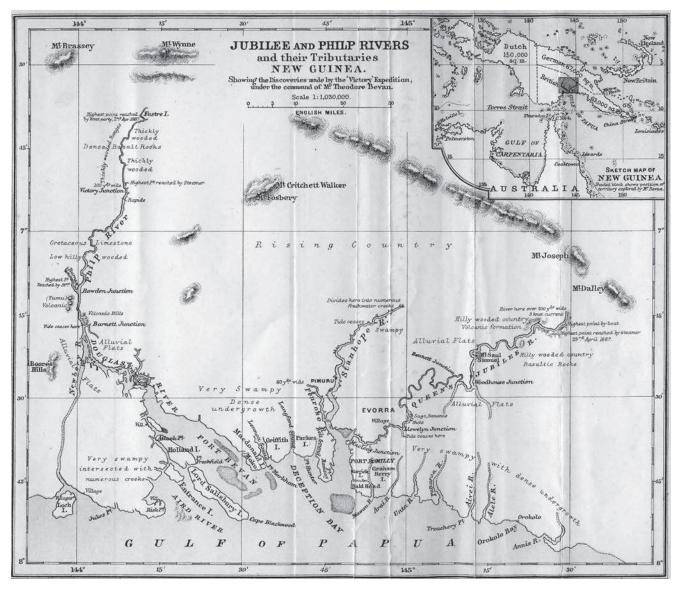


Figure 3. Map showing rivers explored by Bevan's Victory Expedition of 1887 (from Bevan 1890).

in the 'Old Collection' of the South Australian Museum that are candidates: A.8009-A.8013. The bow has not yet been identified.

Barred by low water from proceeding further up the Kikori, which Bevan named the Burns River, the ship turned north-east up the Philp (Sirebi) River, through limestone hills, until 31st March; they then continued in a row boat for another two days. Bevan estimated they reached a point about 25 miles from the British/German boundary running through present-day Mt Karimui; in fact they were about 50 miles from the boundary.

After returning to the *Victory*, the expedition steamed back down the Philp and into the Kikori, staying a couple of days at Tumu⁶ where Bevan recorded a basic vocabulary of the Kairi language (see Bevan 1890:Appendix G). One Tumu visitor on board the ship was 'horrified at seeing salt-beef in a cask ... and probably thought it was human flesh' (Bevan 1890:194). Continuing downstream, the expedition passed east of Lord Salisbury (Ibibubari) Island, making contact with the people of Moko (Varaibari on the 1965 1:250,000

topographic map) on the eastern shore of Bevan Sound. They then entered the Gulf and steamed 100 km eastwards to Vailala, arriving there on 9th April. The Captain of the Victory, Frederick Boore, records in his diary⁷ for that date: 'About 7 pm several canoes came off and we done a considerable amount of trade with them'. The next day he records: 'Daylight, the natives came off in large numbers. Bought a considerable amount more of curios'. They then sailed east-south-east along the coast to Motu Motu where in September 1885 Bevan's cutter Electra had almost been wrecked (Bevan 1890:140-142). On the 11th, Boore reports that 'Bevan, the two photographers [Bell and Langford], and myself went ashore in boat. Took some splendid photographs of the native groups, their village and the sago cleaning'8 (Figure 4). There they left a report of their discoveries to date to be forwarded on to the Special Commissioner for British New Guinea and turned back west along the coast, visiting Karama, Silo and Kerema, trading for more curios at each village.

Two masks in the South Australian Museum (Figure 5) may have been among the curios collected from Toaripi speakers at Karama (or nearby Silo),



Figure 4. Sago processing at Motu Motu, 11th April 1887. Photographers: Bell & Langford (Royal Geog. Soc. London, D009/008344).

as they share formal characteristics and one of them (A.7443) is almost identical to a mask (*hokore*)⁹ collected by A.P. Goodwin in 1885 from Karama. The latter is described as a mask of the crocodile clan (Welsch *et al.* 2006:28, Fig. 43). Another is illustrated by Newton (1961:Fig. 262) and although that is provenanced to Motu Motu, about 25 km eastwards along the coast from Karama,

the people living there are also Toaripi speakers. The third mask in Figure 5 (A.7437) may also be a *hokore* mask from Karama or nearby.





An under-arm shield in the South Australian Museum (A.7408) appears in one of the two Bell & Langford photographs of the Bevan collection (see Figure 16). Although not specifically mentioned in the Jubilee Exhibition or Zietz lists, it must have been on display at the Exhibition along with the other Bevan material. This shield (see Beran & Craig 2005:Fig. 6.18) may have been collected at Kerema or nearby. The design is consistent with those of Kerema shields illustrated in Lewis (1931:Plates XIX-XXII).

Back at 'Ballala' (Vailala) on 13th April, Boore notes: 'Took some splendid photographs of native group and the village,¹⁰ and done a considerable amount of trade for curios'. Moving on a little further west to Orokolo, there was more trading.

Two sets of three boards (hohao) in the Museum's collection correspond to the '6 shields' in the official Exhibition list and to the '6 large wooden idols' in Zietz's lists (Figures 6, 7). The two sets are carved and painted in different styles and iconography, and the three in one set could have been carved by one man and the three in the other set carved by a different man. The hohao with the pink and black figures against a white ground may with some reservations be ascribed to Vailala (compare Figure 6 with Lewis 1931:Plate IV.1, Vailala, Plate VII centre, Vailala, and Plate IX left of centre, Vailala).11

The second set of three *hohao* boards depict male figures, painted



Figure 5. Three masks in the South Australian Museum; 'Old Collection' but attributed to Theodore Bevan 1887. Probably hokore masks from Karama, Toaripi speakers. Left: A.7441, 65 cm high (without fringe) x 25 cm wide; centre: A.7443, 85 cm high x 32 cm wide; right: A.7437, 35 cm high x 30 cm wide.



Figure 6. Three hohao boards in the South Australian Museum; 'Old Collection' but attributed to Theodore Bevan 1887, probably from Vailala, Keuru speakers. Left: A.7683, 130 cm high x 25 cm wide; centre: A.7681, 166 cm high x 25 cm wide; right: A.7682, 154 cm high x 25 cm wide.

black with red faces, against a white ground (Figure 7). The heads of these figures are more 'naturalistic' than those of the other set of boards. However, it is difficult to find a published well-provenanced example with which to compare these carvings. The nearest comparison is with the carved-in-the-round figures in a Vailala men's house photographed by A.B. Lewis (Welsch *et al.* 2006:Fig. 30) and a similar figure photographed by F.E. Williams (1940:Plate 19) at Yogu, a few kilometres west of Orokolo. It is therefore most likely that these three boards were collected at Vailala or Orokolo.

Three masks in the Museum's Bevan collection are almost certainly from Orokolo (Figure 8). Another possible source is Vailala; perhaps archival photographs from A.B. Lewis and others might clarify the geographical



Figure 7. Three hohao boards in the South Australian Museum; 'Old Collection' but attributed to Theodore Bevan 1887, probably from Vailala, Keuru speakers (or possibly from Orokolo). Left: A.7680, 170 cm high x 30 cm wide; centre: A.7679, 145 cm high x 31 cm wide; right: A.7678, 140 cm high x 35 cm wide

extent of this tradition of mask-making. Two of these masks are *eharo* (A.7444, a mask with one head atop another, and A.7440 in the form of a ?crocodile with a human head and arms) and the third a *kovave* (A.7447, a conical mask with jutting jaws). Illustrations of, and information about, *hohao* boards, *eharo* masks and *kovave* masks are provided by Williams (1940:154-158, 265-269, 139-152 and Plate 16, respectively; see also Hamlyn-Harris 1913; Mamiya and Sumnik 1982; Welsch *et al.* 2006, esp. Fig. 40; and Young and Clark 2001:195-203).

Bevan continued west along the coast from Orokolo looking for an entrance into the extensive delta of the Purari. The expedition found a broad estuary just past Bald Head that was navigable and turned into it.







Figure 8. Three masks in the South Australian Museum; 'Old Collection' but attributed to Theodore Bevan 1887, probably from Orokolo, Orokolo speakers. Top left, A.7444, eharo, 187 cm high x 45 cm wide; top right, A.7447, kovave, 82 cm high x 20 cm diameter; bottom, A.7440, eharo, 280 cm long x 1.05 m high x 55 cm wide.



Figure 9. Evorra village, Purari Delta, 21st April 1887. Photographers: Bell & Langford (Royal Geog. Soc. London, D009/008331).

Immediately north of Bald Head at the Namau village of Kiwa Pori,¹² Bevan noticed war shields (which, puzzlingly, he compared to 'those until lately in use in New Caledonia') and that 'all these tribes wore nose pencils and distended the lobes of their ears, also smoked sun-dried tobacco ... by means of bamboo tubes' (Bevan 1890:206). He also reports on canoes: 'Not a few were grotesquely carved and painted outside to represent either inverted turtle shells or crocodile scales' (Bevan 1890:206; cf. Specht and Fields 1984:172-173; Williams 1924:Plate opp. p.33 and same image, reversed, in Young and Clark 2001:69).

Continuing on, the expedition sailed into a broad river flowing from the north that Bevan named the Stanhope (now called the Pie). They followed this river to a point¹³ over 50 km from the coast before they turned back and explored a river joining the Stanhope from the east; this proved to be the western-most branch of the Purari delta and Bevan named it the Queen's Jubilee River in honour of the 50th year of Queen Victoria's reign.

About 24 km up the Queen's Jubilee River (now named the Wame River), on 21st April, Bevan came across a village on the north bank named Evorra¹⁴ (Figure 9), marked on 1965 maps as Evarra. He observed some 15 houses and around 200 people, recorded a vocabulary of these Namau speakers (Bevan 1890:205, Appendix G), and noted:

Carved and painted bark waistbelts tightly pinched the abdomens of the males, who also wore white groin shells and pearl-shell breastplates of crescent shape, while the younger men adorned their persons with the brilliant leaves of variegated crotons. Among novelties obtained at this village were flat masks of semi-oval shape, varying in length from one to eight feet. These were constructed of fibre of a sterculiaceous¹⁵ plant with a raised rim down the middle from top to bottom, and at one end a projection shaped like a nose with two eyeapertures alongside. The whole was decorated with an irregular semi-serpentine pattern in black and white, and the rims were edged with cane frilling. Human and cabalistic representations carved on small flat slabs of bark and palm frond were also new to my previous experience of Papuan ethnology. Specimens of both descriptions of these curios were hung up in front of the houses apparently as emblems (Bevan 1890:198-199).

The official Exhibition list notes four bark belts but Zietz's lists state six were obtained by the Museum. There are eight candidates in the South Australia Museum (A.7695-A.7702, all 'Old Collection') but at present no means exist of determining which of these were obtained from Bevan. So far as I am aware, apart from Haddon's attempt at a classification of designs on bark belts (1894:111-128), nobody has surveyed this category of object held in museums around the world and analysed the distribution of the carved designs for well-provenanced specimens. Such a project may throw light on the provenance of undocumented examples.

Tall, flat masks were called *aiaimunu* (Figure 10; for coastal Namau examples, see Newton 1961:Figs 203, 208, 209 and Specht and Fields 1984:182-185; for inland Namau examples, see Newton 1961:Figs 227, 230). Newton (1961:23), following Williams (1924:191-204),





Figure 10. Two aiaimunu masks in the South Australian Museum; 'Old Collection' but attributed to Theodore Bevan 1887, Evorra, Purari Delta. Inland Namau. Left: A.8554, 272 cm high x 100 cm wide; right: A.7422, 130 cm high x 65 cm wide.

states that 'The *aiaimunu* represent spirits of the bush' and 'only about half a dozen are important enough to have names of their own. Their ritual is a series of appearances and parades (Aiau) which are comparatively modest in ceremony and consumption of time. They are an assertion of the reality of the spirits for the edification of the women'.

The 'human and cabalistic representations . . . hung up in front of the houses' referred to by Bevan are the type of object illustrated in Newton (1961:89, Figs 231-234) and photographed by Usher (Pike and Craig 1999:249, top image). Four items in the South Australian Museum are candidates: A.7417-A.7419 and A.7445 (Figure 11). These do not appear on the official 1887 Exhibition list but correspond to '4 shield-shaped bark masks or emblems' on the Zietz lists. Apparently, Bevan did not go inside the *ravi* (men's cult houses) and therefore did

not see and collect the carved boards called *kwoi* or the rattan basketry 'monsters' called *kaiemunu/kaiaimunu* (Williams 1924:64-68 and 131-153 respectively).

Further upriver, there were only temporary sagoprocessing and garden huts; Bevan (1890:200) states:

In one deserted hut ... was found fixed up in front a *taboo*, consisting of a painted mask resting on a large circular wisp of sago-palm fibre and rattan, with pendant streamers of the same fibrous material.

Boore notes in his diary (21st April) that 'At 2.50 pm came to an anchor off a deserted village. Bevan, photographers and others went ashore in a boat and took a photograph of it and two or three curios that had been left as a taboo, leaving a few pieces of turkey red [cloth] in exchange'.



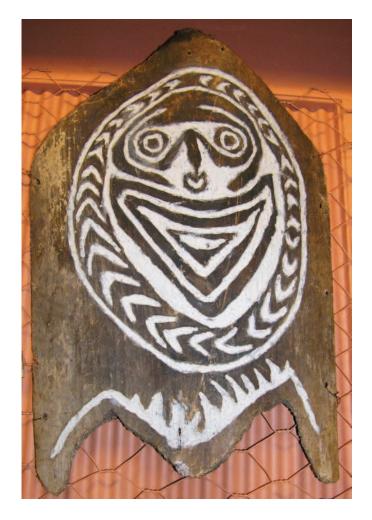






Figure 11. Four carved and painted 'bark' plaques in the South Australian Museum; 'Old Collection' but attributed to Theodore Bevan 1887, Evorra, Purari Delta. Inland Namau. Top left to bottom right: A.7417, 95 cm high x 31 cm wide; A.7418, 55 cm high x 39 cm wide; A.7419, 53 cm high x 34 cm wide; A.7445, 45 cm high x 33 cm wide,



Figure 12. Mask, South Australian Museum. 'Old Collection' but attributed to Theodore Bevan 1887, probably upstream from Evorra, Purari Delta. Inland Namau. A.7426, 190 cm high x 70 cm wide including fringe and skirt; small mask at centre: 39 cm high x 16 cm wide

The next day Boore again records that they passed 'several deserted villages. Boat went ashore and took the taboos, leaving some trade in exchange'.

It is not clear whether only one or more of the 'taboos' as described by Bevan were collected but one item is listed for the Adelaide Jubilee Exhibition as a Taboo and Bevan's description accords perfectly with such an item in the South Australian Museum's 'Old Collection' (Figure 12). This mask is almost certainly an example of the Namau *kanipu* referred to by Williams (1924:204-206): 'When for any reason (probably in view of an approaching feast) it is decided to tabu the coconuts, the enforcement of the tabu may be achieved by means of these *kanipu*.

They are not made for any other purpose'. It may be that Boore was calling all the small masks 'taboos' and indeed they may all be kanipu. Thus, Figures 228 and 229 in Newton (1961) could be kanipu, not aiaimunu as described in his captions. This conclusion is supported by Welsch et al. (2006:29, Fig. 10) who describe a mask almost identical to the small masks in the South Australian Museum (Figure 13) as kanipu and enforcers of taboos. Further, the coastal Namau masks referred to as kanipu by Newton (1961:Figs 204-206) seem, from their form, to be the equivalent of Elema eharo masks and therefore may not be kanipu at all. A photo by Kathleen Haddon, taken at the coastal Namau village of Maipua, Purari Delta, in 1914 (Welsch et al. 2006: Fig. 106) shows a mask of similar form to an Orokolo eharo mask illustrated by Newton (1961:Fig. 260).

Bevan's expedition continued upriver, reaching shallow water among foothills of the Aure Scarp on 23rd April 1887, just short of the territory of Pawaia speakers.¹⁷ On the 25th they turned back along the way they came, reaching the coast on the 28th and Motu Motu east along the coast on the 29th. Several photographs were taken that day at Motu Motu,¹⁸ one of which (Figure 14) shows Bevan and three unidentified members of the expedition among a large group of local people.

The next day the group departed from Motu Motu and steamed south-west across the Gulf of Papua to arrive back at Thursday Island on 3rd May.

Bevan sums up some of the results of his fourth trip as follows:

As a result of thirty-four days actual exploration, two principal new rivers – namely, the Douglas [Kikori] (with its tributary the Philp [Sirebi]) and the Queen's Jubilee [Wame, the western branch of the Purari Delta] – were discovered, and each was followed up for a distance of nearly one hundred miles (1890:201-202).

Fifty photographs, including many of new tribes and scenery, were obtained and interesting additions to our knowledge of the flora, fauna, ethnology, and anthropology of New Guinea have been contributed by means of the *collections* made (1890:207).

Photographs of Bevan's 1887 *Victory* Expedition Collection

It would appear that on Bevan's return to Sydney in May 1887, his ethnological material was stored at a Burns Philp warehouse. Two photographs of the collection, with the signature of Bell & Langford, were located in an archive in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University by Virginia-Lee Webb of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Prints are also in the archives of the Royal Geographical Society in London. ¹⁹ These photographs, one outside a building and the other inside (Figures 15, 16), clearly identify several items in the South Australian Museum and several in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.





Figure 13. Two masks, South Australian Museum. 'Old Collection' but attributed to Theodore Bevan 1887, probably kanipu 'taboo' masks collected upstream from Evorra, Purari Delta. Inland Namau. Left: A.7420, 60 cm high x 32 cm wide; right: A.7421, 65 cm high x 35 cm wide.

Other items in Dublin undoubtedly from Bevan but not appearing in the two Bell & Langford photographs are three *hohao* boards (340-1890, 338-1890; 339-1890) illustrated in Haddon (1894:Plate VI, Figs 101, 102, 103; see also Newton 1961:Figs 244 and 246), three 'ceremonial tablets' (333-1890, 336-1890, 345-1890) illustrated by Edge-Partington (1890-98, II:184, Nos 1, 3, 4) and an oval-shaped stone club (310-1890) (Edge-Partington, 1890-98, II:181, No. 4).

Haddon illustrates three items also undoubtedly from Bevan but not in the Dublin museum: a 'crocodile man' *eharo* (1894:Plate VII, Fig. 113) which appears to be the one at the centre of Figure 15, and two under-arm shields (1894:Plate VI, Figs 89, 90). These illustrations (drawings) are based on photographs taken by J.W. Lindt at the Centennial International Exhibition in Melbourne of 1888.²⁰

Apart from the twenty-eight items in the South Australian Museum attributable to Bevan that have been described above, there are another sixty items, some of which accord closely to the descriptions in the lists of the collection purchased after the Adelaide Exhibition, and some of which may not be distinguishable from similar objects allocated to the 'Old Collection'. About half of the Bevan items have been on display in the museum's Pacific Gallery since the 1920s.

Bevan's 1887 Expedition in the Mabel

After obtaining financial and other support from the NSW and Queensland governments and businessmen, in November 1887 Bevan returned to the Gulf of Papua, this time in the steam launch *Mabel*, to retrace and extend his explorations of earlier that year. He had with him a qualified surveyor, H.J. Hemmy, provided by the Queensland government, to produce a more accurate map of the region.

There were several adventures, most notably being stranded on a sandbar for a week on the upper reaches of the Philp (Sirebi) River, and being mobbed by thousands of people from a line of villages over 3 km in length, located around where Ubuo is situated on one of the



Figure 14. Members of the 1887 'Victory' Expedition among local people at Motu Motu, 29th April 1887; Bevan in white shirt at left of centre. Photographers: Bell & Langford (Royal Geog. Soc. London, D009/008345).



Figure 15. Part of Bevan's 1887 'Victory' Expedition collection in Sydney (Royal Geog. Soc. London, D009/008353). 1. Hohao, Dublin 334-1890 (cf. Haddon 1894:Plate VI, Fig. 100; Newton 1961:Fig. 245). 2. 'Taboo', SAM A.7426. 3. Wood club, SAM A.7633. 4. Aiaimunu mask, Dublin 351-1890 (cf. Edge-Partington 1890–98, II:186, No.1; Haddon 1894:Plate VII, Fig. 116; Newton 1961:Fig. 227). 5. Mask, SAM A.7437. 6. Aiaimunu mask, SAM A.8554. 7. Eharo mask, SAM A.7444 (a pair to this is in Dublin: 346-1890) (cf. Edge-Partington 1890-98, II:186, No. 2; Haddon 1894:Plate VII, Fig. 111). 8. Hohao, SAM A.7680. 9. Eharo ('crocodile-man'), SAM A.7440. 10. Eharo ('crocodile-man', pair to SAM A.7440). Photographed by Lindt at the Melbourne Exhibition of 1888 (cf. Haddon 1894:Plate VII, Fig. 113).



Figure 16. Part of Bevan's 1887 'Victory' Expedition collection in Sydney (Royal Geog. Soc. London, D009/008353a). 1. Under-arm shield, SAM A.7408. 2. Aiaimunu mask, Dublin 349-1890 (cf. Haddon 1894:Plate VII, Fig. 115; Newton 1961:Fig. 230). 3. Aiaimunu mask, Dublin, 348-1890 (cf. Haddon 1894:Plate VII, Fig. 114; Newton 1961:Fig. 228). 4. Hohao, SAM A.7679. 5. Fishing float, SAM A.7667. 6. Eharo mask in the form of a drum, Dublin 329-1890 (cf. Edge-Partington 1890-98, II:186, No. 4). 7. Small hohao, Dublin 342-1890. (cf. Edge-Partington 1890-98, II:184, No. 5). 8. Aiaimunu mask, SAM A.7421. 9. Eharo mask, Dublin, 352-1890 (cf. Edge-Partington 1890-98, II:186, No. 3; Haddon 1894:Plate VII, Fig. 110; Newton 1961:Fig. 37).

westerly branches of the Wapo River. However, it appears that Bevan did not collect any artefacts during this trip. On the lower reaches of the Jubilee River (Purari Delta), he handed out some hoop iron but 'As for the bark waistbelts and other curios eagerly offered in exchange, such things could not be carried, even if of any value, as the *Mabel* was still lumbered up in a way that precluded all comfort whatsoever' (Bevan 1890:241).

This expedition was Bevan's last trip to New Guinea. In 1888, he applied for a grant of 254,000 acres in the Purari Delta area for development purposes but this was rejected. He married in 1892 and died of consumption in 1907 in Sydney. He had no children (Gibbney 1969:161). His legacy is his publications, his explorations of the Kikori and Purari deltas, and the artefacts he collected.

Conclusion

Apart from the fact of its existence in Adelaide (and Dublin), what is to be learnt from Bevan's 1887 collection and the process of its documentation?

The South Australian Museum is indeed fortunate to have material evidence of 'first-contact' with the inland Namau of the Purari Delta and one of the earliest collections from the Elema of Orokolo and Vailala and from other peoples south-eastwards along the coast to the Toaripi of Motu Motu. But its documentation was historical rather than cultural. Bevan was able to provide very little information about the cultural context of his collection.

Despite the loss of its identity in the Museum's register, it did prove possible to relate the material to the historical facts of its collection, if not completely. The discovery of cultural significance, however, relied on the research of missionaries, government officers and ethnographers published decades after Bevan's expeditions.

What emerges from this exercise in historical and cultural reconstruction is that:

• Acquisition of significant collections by museums is usually a coincidence of 'luck', awareness and means. It was 'lucky' for the museum in Adelaide that Bevan and Burns Philip & Co. sent the collection to the Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition; it was awareness on the part of the museum staff that identified the significance of the collection; and there was the means to purchase it. Today, many museums lack the means to acquire significant collections and increasingly are losing the expertise underlying awareness.

- Recording and preserving documentation of incoming collections, and a secure process for registration that includes measurement and photography, is a top priority for all museums so that detective work, with all its uncertainties, does not consume the energies of future curators and collection managers. For all the fun that it entails, and for all the satisfaction of a successful hunt, all it does is bring us back to square one.
- Collections from one individual and/or from one geographical location are rarely to be found intact in one place. Collections may be divided and acquired by more than one institution and there may be several separate collections made by a number of people from the same geographical region, spread over a significant time period. Documentation available in one institution may be lacking in another.
- The opportunity now exists for distributed collections and documentation to be identified and brought together virtually, through photographic and digitisation technologies, to provide datasets that will demonstrate that 'the whole is indeed greater than the sum of its parts'.

Every museum should be prioritising the digitisation of its collections and working together to develop geographically-focussed research projects that capitalise on the pulling together of the distributed material evidence of particular peoples and their cultures. Such a procedure is necessary for the provision of data to support intelligent exhibitions and publications but also to provide an invaluable cultural heritage resource for the descendants of those peoples from whom the objects and information were acquired.

Acknowledgements

A significant contribution to the research for this paper was made by the discovery by Virginia-Lee Webb of copies of the two photographs by Bell & Langford of the Bevan collection at Sydney, held in the archives of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology in Harvard, during her research for the 2006-7 exhibition, Coaxing the Spirits to Dance. I subsequently located these and other Bell & Langford images also in the collections of the Royal Geographical Society in London, with special thanks to Joanna Scadden and Joy Wheeler. Fellow researchers Joshua Bell, Susan Davies and Noel McGuigan provided invaluable leads. Archival research was facilitated by the co-operation of a number of people such as the staff of the Mitchell Library (NSW), Mortlock Library (SA), and Macleay Museum of the University of Sydney. Ron Vanderwal provided a print-out of the 1886 Bevan collection in the Melbourne Museum; Dorota Starzecka and Jill Hasell provided information on Macfarlane and Bevan material in the British Museum; and Mary Cahill of the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin enabled me to confirm the identity of a significant number of the museum's Bevan objects. I am also grateful to Ian McNiven for drawing my attention to the image of Theodore Bevan held by the John Oxley Library in Queensland. Two anonymous reviewers patiently

pointed out that I had neglected my readers by failing to provide an Introduction and Conclusion; sometimes one too readily 'cuts to the chase'.

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Postscript

By email 25 March 2011, too late to incorporate into the body of this paper, Noel McGuigan provided me with copies of archival correspondence relating to the purchase by the Museum of Science and Art, Dublin (now the National Museum of Ireland), of 51 Papuan Gulf objects from the Royal Commission for Victoria, Australia, after exhibition of the collection at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1889. These are now registered 303-1890 to 353-1890. McGuigan also sent images he had taken of sixteen of these objects. Three of these (315-, 344-, 350-1890) I have identified in the Bell & Langford photograph reproduced here as Figure 16, in addition to the other five Dublin pieces already identified in that photograph. It seems that the government of Victoria sent to the Paris exhibition at least some of the Bevan collection it had included in its 1888 Centennial Exhibition. Further research is required in Melbourne.

Endnotes

- Herbert Hale joined the South Australian Museum in 1914 and was Director, 1928-60.
- Brief accounts of Bevan's trips to New Guinea are provided by Davies (2007:80-85), Fox (1990:683-684), and Hope (1979:3-8), drawn from Bevan's own account that he published in 1890 and which incorporates his earlier official reports.
- Except for one object, listed as '1 wooden ornament', with a sketch by Zietz that positively identifies it as A.9122. Unfortunately, Zietz did not provide sketches for the other objects.
- The collections Bevan assembled during his third trip to New Guinea in 1885-86 had already been dispersed to various museums, collectors and dealers (see Fox 1990 and Davies 2007). At least 50 objects were purchased by the Australian Museum in 1885 (Bolton 1980:45; but see Davies 2007, endnote 122). Approximately 120 objects are now held by the Museum of Victoria (list supplied to me by Ron Vanderwal; see also Fox 1990, endnote 47 and Bolton 1980:108) from a Mr B E Bevan on 10 February 1887. It is not clear who B.E. Bevan was but he may have been a member of the Bevan family in Melbourne; Bevan refers to 'a family connection, viz. Rev. Dr. Lewellyn Bevan, of Melbourne' (Bevan 1890:199, footnote). Bevan notes a collection he sent to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886, which was afterwards 'purchased by the New South Wales Government and presented to the Imperial Institute, London' (Bevan 1890:168, footnote). I have attempted to discover what happened to this collection of 1440 objects but without success. A list published of the New South Wales Court in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (Richards 1886:334-341; list supplied to me by Susan Davies), suggests this collection from the southeast coast and eastern islands of New Guinea, earlier than the collection made by Sir William MacGregor (Quinnell 2000), would be of singular significance if it could be found. Thirteen items in the British Museum collected by Bevan (list supplied to me by Jill Hasell in 2007) appear to have been sold at a Sotheby's auction to Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks and donated by him to the Museum in 1890; most are from Milne Bay and therefore likely to have been collected during Bevan's 1885-86 trip. The Macleay Museum in Sydney has at least seven pieces from Bevan, probably from his first 1887 trip, the subject of this paper. No doubt Bevan pieces will be found elsewhere.
- 5. Quanchi (1994:49) doubts that Bell and Langford themselves went on the expedition, suggesting that they were only the printers of the photographs. However Boore, in his diary at March 31st, mentions Bell by name and several times refers to 'two photographers'. The Royal Geographical Society in London holds 45 images from the 'Victory' Expedition, catalogue numbers D009/008309 to D009/008353a.
- 6. See Royal Geographical Society, image catalogue numbers D009/008315 to 321.
- Diary of Frederick Boore, Captain of the *Victory* during an Expedition to New Guinea, 17th March to 3rd May 1887. ML MSS 1770, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- 8. See Royal Geographical Society, image catalogue numbers D009/008342, -44, -46.
- 9. The *hokore* mask of Karama was equivalent to the *eharo* mask of the western Elema (Welsch *et al.* 2006:28).

- 10. See Royal Geographical Society, image catalogue numbers D009/008350 to 352.
- 11. This last example is illustrated in Welsch (1998, I:Fig. 7.21-left) where it is ascribed to Vailala but in Welsch *et al.* (2006:Fig. 12) it is ascribed to the 'Orokolo people'. The people of these two villages speak different though closely related languages and are located 15 km apart. On the evidence of the photograph of the *hohao* in the interior of a men's house at Orokolo (Welsch 1998, I:Fig. 7.26) it would appear that these three SA Museum boards are more likely to be from Vailala than from Orokolo.
- 12. This village must have been located about 4 km west of the mid-20th century location of Kaimari (for 1922 photographs of Kaimari, see Specht & Fields 1984:166-167)
- See Royal Geographical Society, image catalogue number D009/008330.
- 14. See Royal Geographical Society, image catalogue numbers D009/008331 to 334.
- 15. The term 'sterculiaceous' can refer to a malodorous species of tropical plant; however, this seems to be a reference to the tree from which the bark cloth is made that covers the framework of these masks. Williams (1924:39) does not specifically identify this tree apart from its vernacular name, *ipi*.
- 16. The villages in which photographs of *aiaimunu* were taken by Williams (1924, plates opp. pp. 64, 191) are not identified in the captions.
- 17. See Royal Geographical Society, image catalogue numbers D009/008338 and 339.
- 18. See Royal Geographical Society, image catalogue numbers D009/008343, -45, -47 to -49.
- 19. These two photographs were alluded to by Fox (1990:684 and note 52).
- 20. The present location of these photographs is unknown to me; nor is it clear how some of Bevan's collection came to be included in the 1888 Centennial Exhibition, the British New Guinea component of which was organised by Lindt. The Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition describes the exhibit from British New Guinea (CIEM 1890:251; emphases added):
- 21. New Guinea occupied a small court containing 1290 square feet and was represented by a splendid collection of natural products, native implements, idols, weapons, etc., and illustrated by a series of photographs taken by J.W. Lindt Esq., photographer, of Melbourne, to whom the whole of the exhibits belonged, and who kindly lent them for exhibition (my emphasis).
 - This does not appear to be entirely consistent with the Catalogue of the items (CIEM 1888), 'in the Queensland Court', which does not list any masks (or 'idols') and it isn't at all clear whether Items 84-85 ('Two shields (large wooden), West End') correspond to the two shields illustrated by Haddon. Contrary to the above highlighted statement, it appears that the exhibit was in two parts (CIEM 1890:483):
 - 1. J.W. Lindt An extensive collection of the material products, native implements, and weapons of New Guinea; and photographs taken by the exhibitor, etc., etc.

 J. Douglas, CMG, The Honourable Special Commissioner for New Guinea - Ethnological collection, stuffed birds, photographs, etc.

The two components of the 475 ethnological items in the list are not differentiated in the Catalogue and the sixty photographs listed in the Catalogue all appear to have been taken by Lindt during his visit to New Guinea (Lindt 1887; Jones 1985:11-12) in 1885. I have been unable to find any sketches or photographs of the ethnological exhibits (apart from the drawings in Haddon 1894), or any information as to where the Douglas collection may have gone after the close of the Centennial Exhibition. Lindt's New Hebrides collection of 1889 is in the Museum of Victoria (Bolton 1980:113) but the whereabouts of his 1885 New Guinea collection is not known to me.

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APPENDIX

THEODORE BEVAN COLLECTION

South Australian Museum

Purchased at conclusion of 1887 Queen Victoria Jubilee Exhibition in Adelaide

Archival list in Zietz's handwriting headed: 'Coll. Burns Philp & Co – purchased' (Burns Philp sponsored Bevan's 1887 expedition to the Papuan Gulf).

Note that only nine items – all spears – are recorded as from Bevan and Burns Philp in the register. Everything else seems to have lost its accompanying information prior to systematic registration commencing in 1911. All comments in square brackets are mine; B&L = Bell & Langford.

- 3. 6 shields [crossed out seems to have been replaced by entry Nr 30, below]
- 4. 5 masks [another Zietz list states 4 masks; there are six candidates: certainly A.7437 (head with hair, in B&L photo), A.7440 (crocodile-man, in B&L photo), and A.7444 (tall, double faced, in B&L photo); almost certainly A.7441 (with 'pigtail'), A.7443 (beak-like nose) and A.7447 (plain conical)]
- 5. 3 drums [probably A.7720, A.7721, A.7722 all 'fish-mouthed']
- 6 spears [there are 9 spears definitely registered as coming from Bevan & Burns Philp; these are A.7360, A.7361, A.7367, A.7368, A.7369, A.7388, A.7396 (all Papua); A.7392 (Sepik/Madang?); A.7592 (New Britain?)]
- 7. 1 bow & 5 bone-tipped arrows [bow not yet identified; arrows A.8009 to A.8013]
- 8. 2 paddles [almost certainly A.9102-A.9103]
- 9. 4 [overwritten with 6] waist belts [carved bark belts there are eight candidates: A.7695 to A.7702]
- 10. 1 fish trap [probably A.8061]
- 11. 2 stone clubs [11 candidates but possibly A.7480, A.7481]
- 12. 2 dilly bags [not yet identified]
- 13. 4 grass bags [not yet identified]
- 14. 2 [crossed out] Women's dresses (5 or 6) [other Zietz list states 2 women's dresses and others belong to masks not yet identified]
- 15. 10 shell ornaments etc [other Zietz list states 9 ornaments not yet identified]
- 16. 1 pearl shell breastplate (broken) [not yet identified]
- 17. 2 stone adzes (1 with & 1 without handle) [A.7582, A.7583 are both hafted; there are several others unhafted]
- 18. 1 large wooden club [A.7633, in B&L photo]
- 19. 1 headrest [not yet identified]

- 20. 1 Taboo [a small 'mask' mounted on swathe of grass covering, definitely A.7426 in B&L photo]
- 21. New Ireland mask [probably A.7425]
- 22. 4 New Britain Stone Clubs [there are nine candidates: A.7778-A.7780, A.7782, A.7784-A.7788]
- 23. 1 round basket New Ireland [= bag from the Solomon Islands in Exhibition List? -possibly round basket in Solomons wallcase A.7694]
- 24. 2 carved staffs [= fishing floats A.7666, A.7667; the latter in B&L photo]
- 25. 2 bone daggers [not yet identified]
- 26. 1 cocoanut vessel (carved) [not yet identified]
- 27. 1 yellow oval lime bottle [probably A.8605]
- 28. 1 wooden ornament [drawing provided, so definitely A.9122]
- 29. 1 lime spoon handle a human figure [six candidates A.7585-A.7588, A.9083, A.9086]
- 30. 1 small tubiform wooden vessel (Bamboo, carved) (cover broken) [probably A.7739]
- 31. 1 large mat or blind [not yet identified]
- 32. 6 large wooden idols [A.7678-A.7683 all *hohao* boards; A.7679 and A.7680 in B&L photos; smaller *hohao* board A.7684 also a candidate but may have come from someone else]
- 33. 1 very large plaited & painted Emblem [undoubtedly the tall oval *aiaimunu* mask A.8554 in B&L photo]
- 34. 2 smaller Bark Emblems [probably the smaller *aiaimunu* A.7422 and a *kanipu* of which there are two candidates, A.7420 and A.7421]
- 35. 1 ditto wood ditto [could be the *hohao* board A.7684 noted above, or the under-arm shield A.7408 which is in B&L photo]
- 36. 4 shield-shaped bark masks or emblems [A.7417-A.7419, A.7445 these were attached to the posts of the men's house]
- 37. 6 c. arrows [another Zietz list states 6 or 8 arrows not yet identified]

[Another Zietz list adds '1 plaited girdle' - not yet identified]

[TOTAL] c. 86 [NB. The number of objects adds to c. 90 if the first entry (6 shields) is ignored and entry 12 (women's dresses 5 or 6) is counted as 2 and the plaited girdle added; the c. means 'approximately' and there could be eight rather than six arrows - hence the total is also 'approximately']