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Special Issue

IMAGING, REPRESENTATION, AND PHOTOGRAPHY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

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PACIFIC STUDIES

SPECIAL ISSUE
IMAGING, REPRESENTATION, AND PHOTOGRAPHY
OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Vol. 20, No. 4 December 1997

INTRODUCTION

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Queensland University of Technology

THE CRITICAL READING of photographs and film taken by Euro-American photographers in the Pacific Islands has been pursued by English-language scholars from a surprising variety of disciplinary and institutional backgrounds, and although few in number and geographically widely dispersed, these scholars have taken the study of "old" photographs into innovative theoretical directions. The most remarkable attribute of this slowly increasing output of research papers, exhibition catalogs, and conference presentations analyzing black-and-white prints, lantern slides, stereoscopes, film, and postcards is not the empirical, classificatory, and descriptive diversity of material that these scholars have brought to notice. Rather, it is that, far from being the mere replication of interpretative and critical methodologies from other fields such as art and cultural studies, the study of the imaging and representation of Pacific Island peoples, places, and events is notable for its distance from the scholarship of those working on the photography of other culture groups, such as Native Americans, Africans, and South Asians. With the same enthusiasm that poststructuralists and postmodernists have applied to the interrogation of texts, challenging the taken for granted and the conventional, scholars working on Pacific Islands photographic and film material have broken new ground, seeking more appropriate methodologies and new forms of interpretation, particularly in the questioning of photographs as evidence. Another identifying characteristic of their work has been the highlighting of the multiple uses (and meanings) that images attract when displayed mostly in the Western world. Pacific researchers have sought to situate the practice of photography in its colonial and postcolonial time frame, but in a relationship that offers deeper understanding of the public reading of photographic

images at the time of their taking and their present reading when removed from the context of their production and projection, relabeled, and presented in museums, monographs, galleries, and public displays.

The scholars represented in this collection have sought to understand the deep structures of photographs not only in the "sites of their making" in Samoa, Papua New Guinea, the Torres Strait, and elsewhere, but also in the "sites of use"[1] in the West, where rearticulations, refigurations, multiple histories, and multiple trajectories raise questions about dissemination and meaning (Edwards 1994:14; 1995:49). They are interested in the provenance of the images—the who, when, and where of their taking—but more so in the intention, ideology, and motivation of the photographer, the journeys images take in their public reading, and the complexities of the relationship between image and ideology, discourse and narrative that frames their past and present use.

This collection is an acknowledgment of the rapid advances made in Pacific Island photographic scholarship. There has not been a similar publication focusing entirely on critical historical analysis of Pacific Island imaging, though there was a precursor when a special issue of *Photofile,* edited by Ross Gibson, was devoted to the "South Pacific." Half the material was on Aotearoa (Gibson 1988). No major publications followed this lead. Scholars writing in French, German, Dutch, and Italian continued to present conference papers on aspects of Pacific photography, and across the English-speaking world isolated researchers were tackling similar projects and themes. Nicholas Thomas began with some interpretive essays (1992, 1993, 1994), and in particular he opened up discussions on colonial and missionary imaging. Essays by Emese Molnar-Bagely, Judith Binney, Ric Bolzan, Hart Cohen, Stuart Cunningham, Paul Fox, Margaret Jolly, Gordon Maitland, Marta McIntyre and Maureen Mackenzie, Peter Quartermaine, Heinz Schutte, Garbor Vargas, and Chris Wright offered occasional and tantalizing glimpses of research completed, under way, and promised. Virginia-Lee Webb published on the photographer Frank Hurley in Papua (Webb 1986), on Samoa (Webb 1995a), missionary photographers (Webb 1997), and the wider Pacific region (Webb 1995b). Alison Nordström tackled several aspects of Samoan imaging (Nordström 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1995). Anne Maxwell has worked on the imaging of women, tourism, and colonial exhibitions (Maxwell 1993–1994, 1994, 1995–1996). Brigitte d'Ozouville has worked on nineteenth-century photography in Fiji and the Dufty family (d'Ozouville 1997). Max Quanchi began by looking at the colonial imaging of Papuans (Quanchi 1994b), the work of the photographer Thomas McMahon (Quanchi 1994a, 1995, 1997), and more recently the imaging of South Sea Island pastors (Quanchi 1996). The Pacific History Association conference in Hawai'i in

1996 brought together for the first time many of these scholars and a new group of younger researchers.

The effort of Elizabeth Edwards to gather a collection of essays analyzing the relationship between anthropology and photography (Edwards 1992), although with only a minor emphasis on Pacific material, set parameters for Pacific scholars. Edwards and her contributors explored methodologies and ideologies behind photographic imaging and its uses, and defined a path for subsequent researchers to follow. Chris Pinney's essays on South Asian photography made a similar contribution (Pinney 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1992). In addition to her research on Captain W. D. Acland's photography (Edwards 1995) and curating an exhibition of Diamond Jenness's D'Entrecasteaux Islands photographs (Edwards 1991, 1994), Edwards's next project was a collection, with a number of Pacific-related papers, on the relationship between colonialism, anthropology, and photography (Edwards 1997). At the same time a few collections of photographs were released, focusing on war, expeditions, or companies in the Pacific (Coutts 1990; Buckley and Klugman 1986; Gash and Whittaker 1975; Lindstrom and White 1990; Specht and Fields 1984).

Museum and gallery exhibitions of Pacific photography offered a further platform for some Pacific scholars, and small but important catalogs and essays devoted to Pacific material evolved from exhibitions and catalogs in London (Poignant 1980) and Oxford (Edwards and Williamson 1981), the *Der Geraubte Schatten* and *Die ethnographische Linse* exhibitions in Europe in 1989, the Powerhouse Museum *South Pacific Stories* exhibition (Stephen 1993), and the Southeast Museum of Photography and Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum für Volkerkunde, Cologne's traveling exhibition of Samoan colonial imaging (Blanton 1995). The catalog for the Musée National des Arts Africains et Oceanies exhibition on colonial imaging had only a limited focus on the Pacific but provided a wide-ranging and important study of French material (Blanchard 1995). Until the release of this *Pacific Studies* collection, a publication devoted solely to the analysis of Pacific photography was lacking.

The inclusion of a panel on photography at a major international conference on the histories of the Pacific, the Eleventh Pacific History Association Conference at Hilo, Hawai'i, signaled an awareness that photographs must be put under similar critical processes to those that historians now apply to other sources. Up to this point authors, editors, and publishers have used photographs uncritically, merely as editorial gloss for a book or monograph, and have not seen them as constructed, contested fields of tension. The few pictorial histories from the Pacific region have also treated images as evidence in the same uncritical manner, suggesting to readers, as did the photographers of the last century, that what was being offered was "truth" or "from real life." This editorial practice lies at odds with the concern displayed by

museum and gallery curators, who have warned their audiences and viewers at length that photographs do indeed mislead. Questions about evidence are raised by several essays in this collection in regard to the anthropologist Haddon's use of reenactment, the propaganda uses by missionaries of images of Pacific Island pastors, the Russian-born Swiss collector Paul Wirz's practice of filming what he desired (men living in harmony with nature) rather than what was there, and the filmmaker Flaherty's use of manipulated and carefully constructed "real" scenes from Samoan life. Discussions of salvage anthropology, ethnographic recuperation, civilizing missions, tourism and science, a romantic South Seas, and "men of nature" are connected in the essays by Edwards, Schmidt, Webb, Jolly, and Quanchi to uncritical public acceptance, earlier this century, of the messages projected by these images. The essayists warn that the projection of these same images today —in monographs, galleries, displays, or documentary filmmaking—is under surveillance.

The original use made of images by scientists, anthropologists, missionaries, and early museum curators sits in a particular conceptual framework and relationship with dominant Euro-American ideas about the Pacific. Webb and d'Ozouville suggest in their essays that images were predicated by colonial and hegemonic possessiveness. Edwards, Schmidt, Webb, Jolly, and Angleviel suggest a further relationship between anthropology and the pictorial imaging of cultures that were alleged to be dying out. Several scholars have taken these constructions of the Pacific, cited as salvage anthropology, ethnographic recuperation, romantic notions of lost paradises, and disappearing harmony between "native cultures" and nature, as their primary contention. These relationships take an interesting but as yet not fully explored contemporary dimension when professional and private photographers continue to juxtapose the new against the old and tradition against modernity—a Tarawa child eating a double ice-cream cone while walking past a *maneaba,* a Yapese lagoon pile house foregrounding a cluster of Mobil oil storage tanks, a plumed Southern Highlands warrior posed by a massive mining dump truck, or, beyond the Pacific, a robed Bedouin by a solar-powered telephone box.

The fertile field of study hinted at in much of the research so far concerns the impact of images once they become public. The huge collections of individual photographers like Crane, Haddon, Wirz, and Dufty and of organizations like the London Missionary Society were not stored away completely after their showing to family and friends or their appearance in a scholarly journal or monograph, the odd university lecture, or a missionary pamphlet. In many instances, a single image or a small folio of images also entered the wider public domain and became an iconographic marker for a whole era or

generation of learners-by-looking, viewers, and readers. Haddon, for example, provided photographs and two articles in 1920 for a new popular illustrated magazine, *Discovery,* probably reaching several thousand or tens of thousands of readers around the world. The London Missionary Society provided photographs of Papua for a mass-distribution London illustrated newspaper, the *Sunday Strand* (Abel n.d.), reaching a readership way beyond the religious congregations and donors that saw the same images in missionary newsletters and pamphlets. Pacific scholars have identified a gap in our understanding of meaning and reworked meaning, of representation and rearticulation, because they have taken a step beyond recovering photographers' lives, private albums, or expedition collections and have begun to trace the complex journeys taken by images as they enter the public domain.

The directions being taken in Pacific research can be measured against writing on photography in other geographic areas of study, for example, in three new books, *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early Twentieth Century Philippines* (Vergara 1995), *Navajo and Photography: A Critical History of the Representation of an American People* (Faris 1996), and *War and Photography: A Critical History* (Brothers 1997). Their subtitles indicate the interrogation to which "old" photographs are now being subjected. Vergara and Brothers pursue individual photographs, serialized commercial images, and private albums and establish relationships with colonialism, anthropology, manifest destiny, news (media), and the construction of histories. In their respective colonial (Philippines) and military (Spain) domains, they question the truth in photographs and measure representation against fact, and they are able to suggest agendas underlying the official and commercial distribution and reading of the images. The theoretical structure applied by Vergara and Brothers, outlined in the opening chapters of both books, resonates with the work of scholars working on Pacific material and English-language scholars of colonial photography in Africa. In contrast, Faris's study of the imaging of the Navajo, although absorbing and detailed, is concerned with identifying the photographers, the male and female photographic subjects, and the geographic locations. Although acknowledging the ideological motivations for imaging as a discursive enterprise with institutional and exploitative trajectories, Faris presents a narrative rather than a critical history. Both approaches are valid and valued, though it is with Vergara and Brothers that Pacific scholarship sits most comfortably.

The essays in this collection fall into three sections. On the surface the first section appears to present the imaging and representation agendas of expeditions, individual photographers, and missions and to identify and connect their images to a broader historical or intellectual period. The authors

move far beyond this useful, conventional approach. Their underlying and powerful intent is to unpack the images by treating them as historical evidence as well as to expose the scientific, intellectual, ideological, and commercial motives of the photographers; by doing so, they are able to trace the multiple uses to which these images have been put over time. Elizabeth Edwards examines the photographic practice and motivations of the Cambridge Torres Strait Expedition of 1898 under the leadership of A. C. Haddon; Andrea Schmidt follows Paul Wirz's long connection with New Guinea and highlights the distinction between ideologically driven and chance photographs in his collection; Brigitte d'Ozouville uses Francis Herbert Dufty's images from Fiji in the 1870s to question the relationship between colonial subjects, colonizers, and commercial photographers; Max Quanchi asserts that Pacific Island pastors are missing from the missionary pictorial record because of tension between commercial, civilizing, and anthropological agendas in the mission field in Papua; and Virginia-Lee Webb analyzes the photographic practice and the collections that emanated from the part-scientific, part–pleasure cruise privately funded Crane expedition to Papua New Guinea in the 1920s.

The second section tackles similar pathways through film. The questions raised about the underlying motivations of expedition, mission, and colonial photographers, who used mostly black-and-white still images for public announcement, are also asked about motion picture filmmakers. Distinctions are made in all essays between artistic and commercial images, but for the first time, propaganda as a motivation for the taking, dissemination, and sale of images is also highlighted with regard to documentary, ethnographic, artistic, and commercial film. Both Caroline Vercoe in her study of Tracey Moffatt's film *Nice Coloured Girls* and Margaret Jolly in her exploration of Flaherty's *Moana* and Murnau's *Tabu* bring feminist theory to the study of imaging, along with theoretical considerations from history and anthropology.

The third section looks at collections, one private and one institutional. These are particularly important, as knowledge of the whereabouts, depth, and accessibility of archival and other repositories of Pacific Island photography is still sparse. The two collections discussed here, for example, were mostly unheard of in the wider research community until the authors made them the subject of conference presentations in 1996. Frédéric Angleviel and Max Shekleton discuss one overlooked aspect of imaging—the postcard—by examining the content and depth of Shekleton's unique collection of Vanuatu postcards. Felicia Beardsley tackles another huge collection—and also an overlooked aspect of imaging, the stereoscope—and identifies the origin, depth, and unplumbed resources of the California Museum of Photography's Keystone-Mast Collection.

NOTES

These essays were first presented at the Eleventh Pacific History Association Conference held at the University of Hawai'i, Hilo campus, in July 1996. Acknowledgment is made to the support of David Hanlon, convenor and host of the conference. Thanks also to Craig Severance and Letisha Hickson for their assistance. Several other papers were delivered in the photography panel at the conference, but other commitments and limited space precluded their inclusion in this volume. The willingness and even eagerness of Dale Robertson and the Board of *Pacific Studies* to devote a special issue to photography is also gratefully acknowledged.

1. This phrase "from sites of making to sites of use" appears in the title of a paper Alison Devine Nordström intended to deliver at the Eleventh Pacific History Association Conference in Hilo, Hawai'i. She subsequently was unable to attend. The concept is also explored in *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography, and the Power of Imagery* (Banta and Hinsley 1986) and *The Burden of Representation* (Tagg 1988).

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MAKING HISTORIES: THE TORRES STRAIT EXPEDITION OF 1898

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The Cambridge Torres Strait Expedition used photography to address two agendas, both of which were grounded in the temporal ambiguities of photography. Photography was used first as an integrated tool of anthropological investigation, particularly in the field of salvage ethnography and through "reenactment"; and second as a site of social interaction between the expedition and the Torres Strait Islanders through the exchange and display of photographs. I argue that these two agendas and their function as "history" are grounded in the temporal ambiguities inherent in photographic inscription. The first, the scientific, depended on the construction and representation of a "static" temporality; the second, the social, on active "real time," which embraced the passage of individual lives and the process of social change. My theoretical position thus addresses the complex historiographical implications of photographic inscription of histories.

THIS ESSAY on the Cambridge Torres Strait Expedition of 1898 is concerned with the act of photography as historical expression and the use of photography as social interaction in making histories, rather than with photographs in evidential terms.[1] While the specifics of my argument relate to one expedition, my broader aim is to demonstrate how such a focus can be used to extend our historiographical thinking regarding visual inscriptions of the past and photographs as tools in the construction of histories. Through opening up subjective spaces it may become possible to dig deeper into the structuring of photographic discourse within this metanarrative, not merely in terms of context as containment and explanation, but as a poetic metaphor of multiple

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experiences. In broad terms the complex use of photography is part of the central but multiple roles of visual information, visual relationships, and visual analysis that constitute a metanarrative of the expedition's intellectual agendas (Langham 1981:67–68). Particularly, I hope to show how the expedition's use of photography played on two temporal agendas inherent in the nature of photography itself, establishing concurrent yet oppositional temporal currencies in the making and use of images that could *only* be constituted photographically. Through these temporal tensions photographs become the currencies, first, of an expression of a notion of Torres Strait culture and, second, of social interaction between the expedition and islanders.[2]

The Salvage Paradigm

The Cambridge Torres Strait Expedition, under the leadership of Alfred Cort Haddon, is seen as a watershed event in the development of British anthropology, a nascent form of the modern school of systematic, scientific, sociologically based fieldwork (Stocking 1983:83–84). Haddon was trained as a zoologist with strong theoretical leanings. He had visited the Torres Strait in 1888, while professor of zoology at Dublin, to examine coral reefs and their fauna. In his spare moments he collected artifacts, made photographs, talked to people, collected stories, listened to tales of dugong fishing and the exploits of the totemic hero Kwoiam, and visited sacred sites with the old men in the area. The experience of sitting with the old men hearing tales of the past before the arrival of the mission in 1871 and sensing the loss this event engendered converted Haddon to the study of culture (Urry 1993). Haddon longed to return to the Torres Strait to study and record the cultures of the islands before it was, as he saw it, too late—an exercise in salvage ethnography:

> In many islands the natives are fast dying out, and in more they have become so modified by contact . . . no one can deny that it is our bounden duty to record the physical characteristics, the handicrafts, the psychology, ceremonial observances and religious beliefs of vanishing peoples; this also is a work which in many cases can alone be accomplished by the present generation. . . . The history of these things once gone can never be recovered.[3] (Haddon 1897:306)

By 1896 Haddon was teaching in Cambridge, where he had originally studied as a scientist, as well as in Dublin and had enough confidence in receiving at least the minimum necessary funding and support to start planning. By 1897 he was ready (Haddon 1898:352). The final team was of the highest

caliber, and it would make a major contribution not only to anthropology and psychology, but to the reasoned and equitable response to and understanding of western Melanesia more generally (Denoon 1996). The team comprised Haddon, the zoologist rapidly becoming anthropologist, and three medical doctors: McDougall, Seligmann, and Myers. A fourth medical man and a late addition to the team was W. H. R. Rivers, who was in the forefront of the emerging discipline of experimental psychology. Rivers is in many ways the most important member of the expedition in terms of his future achievements as a scientist and the intellectual energy he both brought to the expedition and gained from his experience in the Torres Strait. He is a fascinating, brilliant, and highly complex man but is beyond the scope of my particular interest in the expedition (Slobodin 1978; Langham 1981). The team was completed by two less multifaceted members: Sidney Ray, a schoolmaster and expert on Melanesian languages, and Anthony Wilkin, who had recently graduated from Cambridge. Wilkin had been inspired by Haddon's lectures on sociology at Cambridge, and he joined the expedition with a responsibility for the photography and certain aspects of material culture study.[4] Although Wilkin actually took most of the photographs and developed and printed many of them in the field, I shall refer to them largely as Haddon's, because it is clear from the expedition records that Haddon was directing the photographic work and was the intellectual force in its construction. The complete surviving photographic output comprises just under three hundred images from Torres Strait, about three hundred from Papua New Guinea (Central District), a few from the Fly River Delta, and the famous four minutes of film (Long and Laughren 1993).[5]

Although very much in the salvage paradigm, the systematic scientific laboratory nature of the expedition was stressed by the cutting-edge technology that was assembled (Sillitoe 1977; Gathercole 1977:23): a Newman and Guardia cinematograph with thirty reels of seventy-five feet of film, black-and-white and color still photography, the latter being the process developed by Ives and Joly,[6] and two phonographs with both recording and playback facility—all mimetic devices—as well as the latest equipment in psychological testing (CULSC Haddon Papers, Box 10/1022). Much of the latter was for testing visual acuity, visualizing capacities and performance, and color recognition and differentiation; the mimetic visual tools together with the technical stress on visuality and visualizing clearly articulate the core intellectual objectives. This intellectual engagement with visuality, to which photography is integral, enables us to push through the surface of record and content, and to view photographs as integral to the expedition's intellectual statement, thus furthering our understanding of its discourses and interaction with the people of Torres Strait. Linking this metanarrative of visuality with

photographically constituted questions concerning modes of inscription—the ways in which facts/records are inscribed, in photography a series of technological choices made in relation to the subject matter and the desired nature of the resulting record/inscription—gives us an insight into the larger workings of the discourses and interactions, while at the same time suggesting the limitations and ambiguities of our own assumptions about visual agendas in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century anthropology.

Temporal ambiguities are inherent in photography itself. If a history is texted by the nature of its documents, it is essential to consider the ontological nature of the photograph itself as part of that structure. Not only does it configure old information in new ways, but it configures *different* information in unimaginable ways (Schwartz 1995:41). In many ways the photograph defies history. It defies the diachronic connections on which the structures of history in the West have depended. The photograph dislocates a moment from the flow of life from which it was extracted (Berger 1980:51–52), but while it is "of" the past, it is also "of" the present. It gives the impression of coexistent times; in Barthes's famous phrase, the "There-Then becomes the Here-Now" ([1980] 1984:44). The photograph contains and constrains within its own boundaries, fracturing the balance and natural flow of those processes that are the focus for historical study. The fragment of space and time is transported in apparent entirety into differently constituted spaces, pointing to the ill-defined borders between us and the past, between presence and absence, between materiality and immateriality. Time and event (or happening, if one prefers) become fused; indeed time, that pastness, becomes event, the appearances and significances of the moment elevated by the photograph. Yet the possibilities of photographs as expressions of historical experience come precisely from the way they move, by the very force of their nature, away from chronological, linear histories of cause and event in measured time to unknown histories. They mediate between formal historical articulations and less clearly articulated layers of experience and memory. Conversely, the photograph stresses the passage of time and change, a focus for individual and collective reflection, even nostalgia, engaging with both measured time and the social and human experience of time in its culturally differentiated forms (Gosden 1994:2–7). Possibly no other historical form except oral history has this fluidity.[7]

The relationship between time, photography, and salvage ethnography is central. It not only reveals the deep objectives of the expedition in scientific terms but also suggests "romantic" resonances, a structure of feeling, especially in Haddon's responses, consistent with what Clifford has termed the "ethnographic pastoral." This fundamental contradiction between the conditions of possibility of holding the subjective experiential moment of a com-

munity and the conditions of possibility of *scientific* knowledge carries this broad "structure of feeling." This contradiction defines a deep-rooted cultural primitivist motif of the "unbroken community," articulated and rationalized in this specific instance through the mechanisms of salvage ethnography (Clifford 1986:112; Stocking 1989:9). It is enhanced by the nature of photography, the realism of which heightens and makes theatrical, yet paradoxically allows the impression of authenticity of experience. Haddon's diaries and certain passages in *Head-Hunters,* his popular book on the expedition (1901), display a lyricism of language and imaginative projection beyond the observational, a lyricism suppressed in the expedition report volumes. I would suggest therefore that the act and uses of photography present a complex interplay of salvage ethnography and the "structure of feeling" that defines the notion of the disappearing primitive and the end of "traditional" society (Clifford 1986:116). While the overt imaging of Torres Strait culture remains on the surface resolutely realist, this interplay forms the conceptual patterning of the photography.[8]

Photography, Reenactment, and Time

The largest proportion of the Torres Strait photographs (they are spread fairly evenly throughout the area except for the northern islands of Saibai, Dauan, and Daru, where photographic production was more limited) comprise portraits and photographs of sacred or ritual sites and subjects. This subject matter is consistent with Haddon's interest in totemism and religious belief as the cohering elements of social organization and his consequent interest in such sites as the core of traditional pre-mission Torres Strait culture as he perceived it (Haddon 1904). The photographic intensity with which the sacred sites were recorded is remarkable. There was concern for accuracy, completeness, and density of inscription, which is at the same time a desire for scientific precision (or what Taussig has described as a "mini-ritual of scienticity" [1993:199]) and a desire to inscribe the reality of these remnants of Torres Strait society (in Haddon's definition) on the photographic plate. But the directness and clarity of the photographic image were more than mere simulacrum; they reveal also a subjective longing that can be read as a metaphorical statement of a subject, a poetic grounded in that "structure of feeling." It is through photography of reenactment that these strategies are most clearly articulated. They have a doubly or even excessively mimetic quality, in which understanding of the copy becomes a foundation for a deeply serious reality, expressing through the notion of copy not only cultural "truths" about Torres Strait (the referent), but the cultural basis of the salvage paradigm itself (Gruber 1970:1297; Taussig 1993:255).

This position is exemplified by the images concerned with Kwoiam. As Haddon's nearly last act, on October 30 of his 1888 visit, before he left Mabuiag for Thursday Island, he made in his words "a final pilgrimage" to the places associated with Kwoiam (CULSC Haddon Papers, Item 1029, Diary 1888:67). Kwoiam was the totemic hero whose mythic cult centered on Pulu was central to all western Torres Strait initiation and death ceremonies. Haddon returned to these places in 1898, and it is in this series of images that the method of reenactment becomes revelatory and transcendent. Here we have the visualization of the very root of myth, not only in the photographing of sacred spaces, such as the *kwod,* the *sopsop,* and the *zogo,* and the sites of mythical happenings, but in this case through the reenactment of a mythical moment that defined the topographical space and social space in Torres Strait—the death of Kwoiam. The landscape was marked through contact with Kwoiam's body and the bodies of his victims—his footprint is present in the rock, the boulders are the heads of his victims. It is mapped through his social interaction: a stream that never dries is the place where he thrust his spear into the rock; the grassy plains studded with pandanus are where he had his gardens. His exploits involved much slaughter and associated headhunting, but eventually Kwoiam was ambushed by his enemies. He retreated to the summit of a hill, where, crouched on the ground, he died. Haddon writes: "The bushes on the side of Kwoiam's hill have most of their leaves blotched with red, and not a few are entirely of a bright red colour. This is due to the blood that spurted from Kwoiam's neck when it was cut at his death; to this day the shrubs witness this outrage on a dead hero" (1901:147). But Haddon also writes immediately before this passage: "I wanted one of the natives who had accompanied us to put himself in the attitude of the dying Kwoiam, so that I might have a record of the position he assumed, photographed on the actual spot" (1901:146).[9] In reenactment (Figure 1), the physical body is reinserted into mythical space through realistic representation, itself expressed through the realist agendas of photography. This process leads to a total collapse of temporalities, the distinction between mythic, historical, and contemporary time. Clifford's description of the salvage paradigm as "a relentless placement of others in a present-becoming-past" (1986:44) becomes inverted as the past, an imagined mythic past, becomes present through photography. Further, reenactment is itself theatrical not only in terms of replication: it is a *heightening* of reality through the intensity of the photographic moment, as both action and image. Nor were such expressions entirely alien to the men of Torres Strait, for such commemorative reenactments of myth were, as in many other places, central to Torres Strait belief systems. Rituals such as the Bomai Malu dances of initiation of the eastern Strait likewise transport the mythic past to the present through performance.

FIGURE 1. **"The Death of Kwoiam" (reenactment), Pulu, Mabuiag. Photographer A. Haddon/A. Wilkin, from original dry gelatin plate, 5″ × 4″.** (CUMAA T.Str. 66; P. 749.ACH1)

Not only does the ritual of photography *appear* to resacralize space, it enables Haddon to share past time (almost for a moment allowing a space for intersubjective time) rather than remaining in an insistent allochronism that Fabian identifies as the all-pervading anthropological temporal paradigm (1983:32, 37–38). These photographs suggest a more complex, ambiguous, and fluid temporal agenda at work.

Yet not only do we have here the ritual intensity of reenactment and the collapse of temporalities. These are coupled with a marked working out of the intensity of inscription. Accounts from Newman and Guardia, the prestigious London photographic firm which supplied the expedition's photographic and cinematographic equipment, show that the expedition took many more quarter-plate than half-plate negatives.[10] The latter were used for a few portraits and for the inscription of sites of major ritual significance. The technological choice to use the larger half plate with slower emulsion and short focal length, which allows a finer inscription on the plate, detailed in every nuance of texture and shading, makes for an intensity of photographic inscription that reflects intellectual and cultural significance.[11] It is precisely

in historiographical terms an instance where intellectual, scientific, philosophical, and aesthetic discourses overlap with mechanical techniques, but one that can only be revealed through the interrogation of photographic ontology (Crary 1990:8; Schwartz 1995:54). These images depend in their ethnographic or historical power on the temporal stillness of photography to halt change, to suppress change, and to reactivate the dead. The ability to conflate mythical, historical, and contemporary time intellectually depends precisely on the representational atemporality of photography, inviting temporal slippage of the viewer to partake in the actuality of an imagined past—a visualization of an imagined past made present while playing simultaneously on timelessness.

Using the Kwoiam series to think with opened deeper readings of the salvage paradigm of the expedition suggests perhaps a linked poetic of photographic and ethnographic experience. It can be seen worked out to a greater or lesser extent in a considerable number of images. Intensity and clarity of inscription are stressed repeatedly.

> Occasionally a few stones required to be placed upright, or broken ones put together. The best view for the photograph had to be carefully chosen and further clearing of the foliage was generally necessary; sometimes branches of trees a little way off had to be lopped if they cast *distracting* shadows. Usually little twigs, leaves or tiny plants had to be removed from the ground or from between the stones and shells so as *not to unnecessarily complicate the picture.* . . . Very rarely did I turn a carved stone so as *to bring out its carving* more effectively; occasionally I shifted shells a little, so as to make them show up better, but only when these had no definite position. Attention to small details such as these are necessary to *produce intelligible photographs* but care must be exercised not to over do it or in anyway to modify the object or shrine. (Haddon 1901: 66; emphasis added)

Haddon's diary description of photographing the Au Kosker *zogo* in their cave runs along similar lines: "I replaced the head, but could not do so to the other which I placed by the side of the body—after a lot of trouble we focused the camera and left it for half an hour or so for exposure. We found to our surprise that we had a fairly good negative when it was developed in the evening" (CULSC Haddon Papers, Box 10/1030, Diary 1898:85).[12] As if to penetrate and inscribe further the cultural experience of these sites, Haddon again employs reenactment, either in simple terms of putting sacred figures back together again or for restaging.[13] The notion of "clearing the undergrowth" and making visible again is a strong metaphor for the salvage paradigm, retrieving "traditional culture" from the "undergrowth" of

colonial influences. Clearly, the association of place and memory served as a useful elicitation tool for the ethnographer, but at the same time, seen within the context of the overall photographic project, the poetic dimension emerges.

> When all was ready the photograph was taken generally by Wilkin; and we sat down, and a native told me the "storia" connected with it. . . . It was most interesting to hear these yarns on the spot, told by natives who believed in them. (Haddon 1901:66)

> We had with us the Mamoose, Enocha, Jimmy Dei, Ulai and Kaige all of whom belonged to the *zogo.* We learnt the names of the stones and then at our request the *zogo* men placed themselves in the right position and attitude for consulting the *zogo,* and then they were photographed. It was very *suggestive* to see the reverent affection the old men had for the *zogo,* and they seemed gratified at the care with which it had been cleaned and mapped. (Haddon 1901: 54, emphasis add)

There is another facet to these complementary strategies of reenactment and inscription. They are not merely illustrations or a visual notebook but a demonstration of culture more akin to the scientific method of experimentation and proof. Drawing, inscribing, and photographing were to Haddon part of the tradition of scientific drawing, which through its realism could explain the real world (Urry 1993:73); in intellectual terms they represented alternative routes to the revelation of truth.[14] In 1898 Haddon brought precise photographic intentions with him that built on images attempted in 1888 or re-represented drawings made in 1888 as photographs in 1898.[15] Given that Haddon was trained within the cultural legacy of the natural sciences, it is not unreasonable to see this visual thinking and planning as akin to the repetition of experiment, a standard methodology for the verification of results in the sciences. The act of repetition not only reinscribed with greater detail and accuracy, but gave greater density to the ethnographic truth so represented. Reenactment contains tensions between the mythopoetics of the past—as reflected in Haddon's language on the death of Kwoiam—and a rational tradition of demonstration in the physical and biological sciences. The result was not mere illustration, but an integral part of the proof and transmission of scientific evidence, a tradition that can be traced back to Renaissance and even classical science.

Haddon's images, especially the death of Kwoiam, open for us a much deeper reading of the agendas of salvage ethnography not only in Torres Strait, but in terms of the whole notion of reenactment and historical truth, and of the fluidity between past and present. The Kwoiam image demon-

strates its place in much broader paradigms that admit the intellectual possibilities of reenactment, ranging from Franz Boas's reconstructions for the camera of Kwakiutl technologies to Edward Sheriff Curtis's film *In the Land of the Headhunters* (1914) or even Robert Flaherty's film of Inuit life, *Nanook of the North* (1922) (Jacknis 1984:33–42; Holm and Quimby 1980; and see also Jolly in this volume). I do not argue that such reenactments were seen as "real" in simplistic terms. Rather, the intellectual preconditions for expressions of the past allowed for the demonstrational validity of reenactment.[16]

There are hints of another perspective, that of the people of Torres Strait. Reenactment and performance as powerful social tools were central to Torres Strait expression. Clifford has argued that to an extent cultures write themselves into ethnographies through the version of culture given to the ethnographer (1986:118). So it is not unreasonable to suppose that such a process was occurring through the reenactments. Haddon initiated the action through his requests, and the shape inscribed was dictated by the islanders, who performed social actions and myths on their terms. Haddon tells an anecdote on the making of the death of Kwoiam: "It took an incredible amount of persuasion to induce the man to strip, although he was a friend of ours who knew us well. Eventually we succeeded but the prudery he exhibited was ludicrous" (1901:146).

While Torres Strait Islanders had strong cultural objections to nudity, one can also ponder (and only ponder, for there is no hard evidence) that it might represent, rather, a deep-seated reluctance on the part of the actor to unleash the powerful implications of the Kwoiam story. The 1898 report of the Government Resident at Thursday Island to the undersecretary of the Queensland Home Secretary's Department, submitted in 1899, the year after the expedition, states of the Murray Islands: "Socially and politically there has been a good deal of unrest. Dr. Haddon's party with the minute introspection of his savants set them thinking and wondering what was coming next" (Queensland Government Paper C.A.74-1899:4, in CULSC Haddon Papers, Box 10/1022). One wonders if reenactment rather than "psychologizing" might not have played some part in this reported unrest, despite the limited number of actors. Accounts suggest that the Kwoiam story still had deep cultural meaning; reenactment possibly constituted a conscious expression of elements that had been suppressed in the negotiation of Torres Strait experience after the arrival of the mission in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Beckett 1987:39–60).

Photography as Social Interaction

Haddon's anecdote brings me to the second temporal agenda of photography, that of real life experiences played out in socially active concepts of time.

The story of the reluctant actor is premised on the way it encapsulates the experiences of the people in historical time, the passage of time marked by difference. It is the photographic play on the intersubjectivities of difference in time and experience that I would like to discuss now.

The display, projection through magic lantern shows, exchange, and gift of photographic images played a central role in the expedition's social relations with the Torres Strait Islanders. These activities should not be interpreted as the technology of enchantment or a colonial fascination with indigenous responses to mimetic technologies, as discussed by Taussig (1993:212–235).[17] Visualization of the past and of ideas was far from alien to people of the islands by this date. By the time Haddon arrived, there had been a long association with graphic representations of various kinds and in their performance. The lantern slides shown by missionaries, for instance, comprised a wide range of visual material. By the 1880s, the period of the most concentrated mission activity in Torres Strait, the lantern slide had become de rigueur for the interventionism of Victorian moral teaching (Landau 1994:29). Haddon's engagement and social use of photographs was, however, at a human level. As Denoon has argued, the Torres Strait Expedition was one of the first times when the Melanesian voice had been listened to and taken seriously (1996), and the expedition's photographs in this context might be seen as part of that communication.

Photography as a means of social interaction was planned. The expedition took two lantern slide projectors with them, and Haddon's diary shows that they practiced with them by giving lectures to passengers on board the ship that brought them out.[18] They had lantern slides of general interest and known popularity for the people of Torres Strait, for instance, a novelty lantern slide with moving parts that showed rats running down the throat of a snoring man—with which Haddon and Wilkin always finished the show.[19] Most important, they brought some of Haddon's 1888 photographs. Of their first evening on Mer, Haddon wrote: "Nearly all my old friends that were alive turned up and many others and to their intense delight I showed them some of the photos I took on my last visit not only of themselves but also of other islands. We had an immense time and you can well imagine how I enjoy myself. The Mamoose and others sometimes cried when they saw photos of deceased friends but mostly they were in a state of wild delight" (CULSC Haddon Papers, Box 10/1030, Diary 1898:63–64). The second evening saw similar performances, with even more people turning up, and yet another by popular demand. The fascination, delight, and sorrow were premised on the passage of time, experienced time measured from each viewer's own subjective space: both that of the islanders and, differently constituted and informed, Haddon's. Thus we have two temporal trajectories emerging, European time and Torres Strait time. Haddon and Wilkin added to this

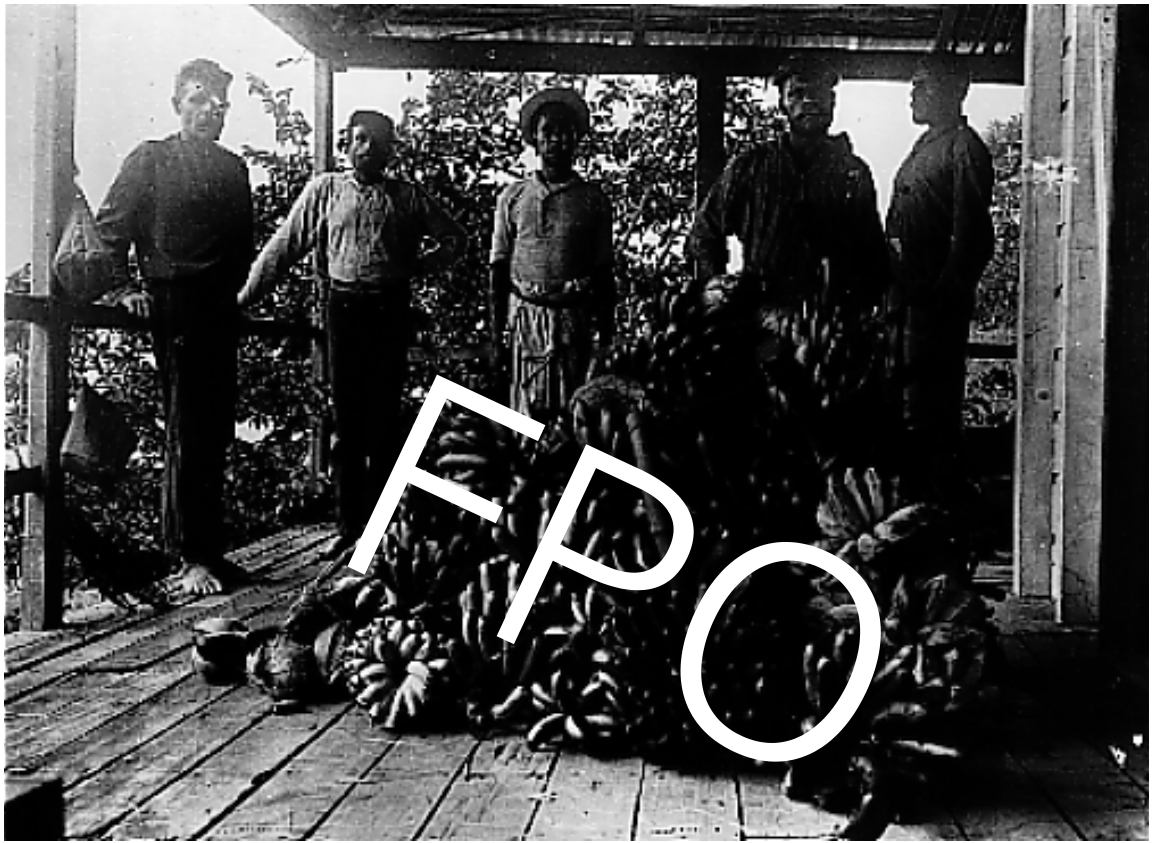

FIGURE 2. **"Present of food," Mer. Photographer A. Wilkin, from original dry gelatin plate, 5″ × 4″.** (CUMAA T.Str. 233; P.918.ACH1)

corpus of lantern slides as people came up the hill to the old mission house where the expedition was staying with bunches of garden produce and coconuts: "Soon there was a great heap of garden produce on the floor. By this time the verandah was filled with natives, men and women, and I again showed the photographs, but not a word was said about the fruit. They looked at the photographs over and over again" (Haddon 1901:10). It was a relationship of reciprocity: coconuts and lantern slides. Wilkin then photographed the produce (Figure 2) and made a slide that was shown at the next slide show, where it brought much pleasure.

Haddon and Wilkin responded to the desires and needs of the people either in lantern slide shows or in photographs made at their request. For instance, Wilkin and Haddon acted as wedding photographer on 11 May 1898 at the wedding of Jimmy and Aba: "I took a photo of them at the conclusion of the service. . . . And on Thursday Wilkin and I made lantern slides of this photo and of a present of food" (CULSC Haddon Papers, Box 10/1030, Diary 1898:64) (Figure 3). The next day, when they gave yet another lantern slide show, which began with engravings of the reception of Captain Blackwood in Torres Strait in 1845 (from Jukes's *Voyage of H.M.S.* Fly), "I showed the photo. of the wedding last Wednesday" (ibid.:67). This photograph was received with great excitement and was shown directly after the food present image, which stressed the reciprocity of the relationship.

Haddon also responded to the desire for photographs on a very different occasion: "We went to inquire who had died. To our sorrow we heard it was the infant son of Waria. . . . Waria was very desirous to have a photograph of his dead baby in order that he might not forget what he was like. Of course we did this for him" (Haddon 1901:123). Photographs were also given as presents for cooperation with scientific investigation, vision tests, and the like: "Most of the Murray Island photographs were developed on the spot, and in a considerable number of cases copies of the portraits were given to the sitters in consideration for their submitting to be psychologised" (Haddon 1901:28). Yet these photographs, if Haddon is to be believed, gave great pleasure to people of Torres Strait, allowing their subjects to be remembered (Figure 4).[20] Haddon likewise absorbed some of these images into his own personal memories of the expedition. There is a small album in Cambridge containing what one can only assume were significant images for him. It contains many portraits (Figure 5) in the prettily vignetted slots for the photographs (four different shapes to each page), and on the first page are juxtaposed a photograph of the expedition members and a photograph of their friends, guides, and interpreters, taken a moment apart in the same place in the same pose. The embossed title of the album is, significantly, "Sunny Memories" (CULSC Haddon Papers, Item 1018).

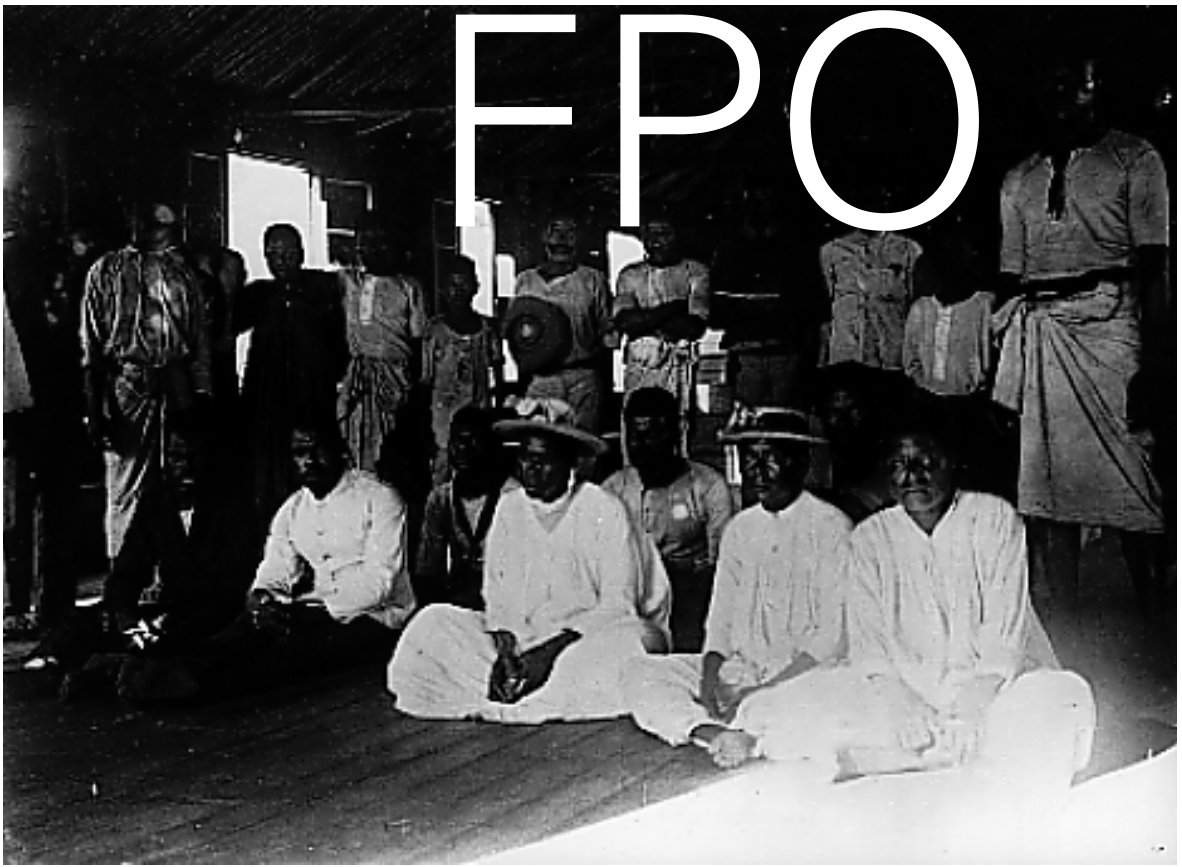

FIGURE 3. **"The wedding of Jimmy and Aba," Mer. Photographer A. Wilkin, from original dry gelatin plate, 5″ × 4″.** (CUMAA T.Str. 222; P.907.ACH1)

FIGURE 4. **"Wanai and family," Mer. Photographer A. Wilkin(?), from original dry gelatin plate, 5″ × 4″.** (CUMAA T.Str. 190; P.875.ACH1)

The photographs also become active sites of social interaction through their re-presentation. The materiality of the photographs and lantern slides themselves was used to sustain patterns of human temporalities at both conscious and unconscious levels. Showing the lantern slides in a darkened room suspended the viewer, both expedition member and islander, in the dark, displaced into a nonspace of a shared time of a re-created visual world that nonetheless related directly to personal history and memory, both collectively and individually. Like the reenactments, this interaction plays on specifically photographic ambiguities, reproducing apparently faithfully what was once real, lived experience. In this rigorous placement-yet-displacement and emphasis on that which has been, the intensity is not of inscription, but of experienced time. Communication, as Fabian has argued, is ultimately contingent on creating an intersubjective "shared time" (1983: 30–31). Despite the different trajectories of these images as they became absorbed into very different histories and memories, this shared space of intersecting and communicating histories was articulated and reified through photography, allowing photography to become the site of social interaction.

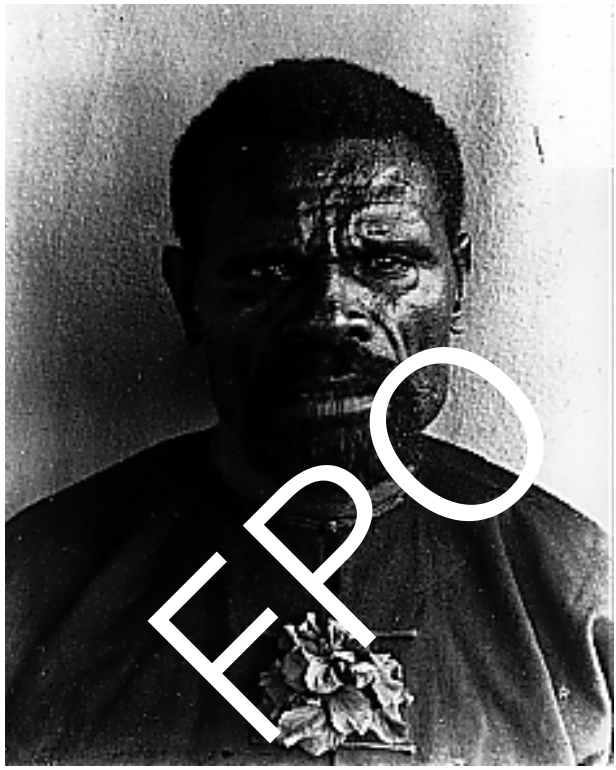

FIGURE 5. **"Pasi, Mamoose of Dauer," the first photograph in "Sunny Memories." Photographer A. Wilkin(?), from original dry gelatin plate, 5″ × 4″.** (CUMAA T.Str. 164; P.849.ACH1)

Yet coming out of this interaction around the same set of images was not the same history. Rather new meanings gathered around the images as they moved into different spaces, measured by different times. A message, one of a number of such examples, was sent to Haddon, via Cowling, a pearler, in June 1901 from a man named only as Tommy, who had worked closely with the expedition: "Tommy wants me to ask you to send him a photo. of his family that you took as one of his daughters is dead, and he wants to look at her again" (CULSC Haddon Papers, Box 10/1024). The Torres Strait Expedition photographs became reengaged with yet again, absorbed into another memory, an interface between individual and collective.

Historiographical Implications

From this discussion of the expedition photography, we can extrapolate some notion of the historiographical implications of photographic inscription of

histories. It has been argued that the sphere of historical research extends only as far as historiographical explanation reaches, and thus the unique excess becomes inexplicable (Le Goff [1977] 1992). The photograph would appear to behave precisely thus. Photographs have a density of experience and inscription that resists conventional historical thinking. The Torres Strait Expedition photographs raise, to my mind, a number of historiographical considerations—the nature and context of inscription, the transformation and performance of inscription, an opaque evidential power, and the complexities of the creative tensions between content, construction, context, and performance. However, if we approach photographs as not merely being "of" things, but as something to think with, as active entities in the making and remaking of histories, they emerge as sites of dialogue and interaction that also allow us to extend our historiographical reach and understand how we relate to photographs as dynamic historical sources. I find it a fascinating paradox that the Torres Strait Expedition created photographs that were "mini-rituals of scienticity," verifying the existence not only of the object of study but of scientific attitude, yet are capable of revealing a structure of feeling in science and through its social forms, in Dening's admirable phrase, a poetic of histories (1991).

NOTES

1. This essay is part of a larger ongoing project and was part of the research project around the centenary of the Cambridge Torres Strait Expedition (see Herle and Rouse 1998). I am most grateful to the British Academy; the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and Faculty of Anthropology, University of Cambridge; and Pitt Rivers Museum (Sub-Faculty of Anthropology) and the Astor Fund, University of Oxford, for the financial support given to me for my continuing research. I should also like to thank Gillian Crowther, McRose Elu, Chris Gosden, Anita Herle, Alison Devine Nordström, Mike O'Hanlon, Sandra Rouse, and Virginia-Lee Webb, who have discussed and commented on this work as it has progressed. A version of this essay was presented at the Pacific History Association Conference, University of Hawai'i, Hilo, in July 1996, and I should like to thank Max Quanchi, who organized the session and first invited me to take part. All the photographs in this article are reproduced courtesy of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

2. I refer to Torres Strait as a largely undifferentiated region, which of course it is not, because my purpose is to concentrate on the specifics of photography, not to give a potted ethnography and cultural history of the many islands and their mobile populations. A more extended version of this essay would be able to take account of similarities and differences. Furthermore, the two discourses in which the expedition was inseparably embedded, the enabling networks of colonial relations and certain evolutionary assumptions about culture, are taken as givens that run through this analysis. Again, in a greatly extended version they could be unpacked to effect.

3. Haddon reiterates this view in his introduction to *The Study of Man* (1898:xxiii).

4. For a detailed account of the recruitment of the expedition members, see Quiggen 1942. The expedition's own monument is the six volumes of expedition reports (Haddon et al. 1901–1935), but for a detailed account and assessment of the achievement of the Torres Strait Expedition and its place in British anthropology, see Urry 1993:61–82; Stocking 1995:98–126.

5. These are now in the collection of the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge.

6. For a brief account of the Ives and Joly process, a screen plate color process patented in 1897, see Coote 1993:32–35 and Coonan 1994. The equipment was ordered, but it is not clear whether it ever arrived. If it did, it was not successful. Nevertheless, it constitutes a very early attempt or at least intention to produce color photography in the Pacific region. Davies states that the first color photographs in Australia were taken by Mark Blow in 1899 (1985:104).

7. Having raised this point, I should add that I am convinced that visual historians could do worse than to adopt the methodology developed by oral historians of interrogating their sources from a theoretical basis of genre, expectancy, and performance (Tonkin 1992). I have used this model in relation to photographs; see Edwards 1994 and 1995.

8. The differing appearances of the "primitive," as demonstrated through the balance between subject matter and photographic form in the expedition's output, is instructive. The Papuan material photographed during the two-month survey of Central District and neighboring regions focuses on traditional technological processes, such as pottery making, tattooing, and building. The approach found in the Strait itself is more of a broad visual survey, but the only scenes photographed were of "traditional" activities such as butchering a turtle (CUMAA Photo. Coll. T.Str. 40–42) and "traditional" activities reworked within a colonial context that are dehistoricized—for instance, dances and picnics for the queen's birthday are translated in the ethnographic reports as "secular dances" (CUMAA Photo. Coll. T.Str. 213 and 219; Haddon et al. 1912: plate 33, figs. 1–2).

9. CUMAA Photo. Coll. T.Str. 66. This photograph, taken on 21 September 1898, was published as *Expedition Reports*, vol. 5, plate 4, fig. 2; the caption there stresses the spatial particularity of the reenactment: "The photograph was taken on the exact spot where he [Kwoiam] died" (Haddon et al. 1904).

10. Invoices of 7 December 1897 and 2 March 1898 from Newman and Guardia show sixty dozen quarter plates (for use with a Newman and Guardia Series B camera with Zeiss lens) and eighteen dozen half plates for use with another unspecified camera (CULSC Haddon Papers, Item 1022). For a history of Newman and Guardia, see Russell 1988.

11. The most complete set of surviving half-plate photographs is in an album of forty prints in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Department of Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, Photograph Study Collection, A. Wilkin Album 90.4a.1–40. For instances of "intensity of inscription," see "Kwoiam's house," which was photographed in quarter plate (CUMAA Photo. Coll. T.Str. 65) and half plate (MMA 90.4a.28), and "Kwoiam's waterhole" (CUMAA Photo. Coll. T.Str. 63 and MMA 90.4a.29).

12. This quotation refers to the making of photograph CUMAA Photo. Coll. T.Str. 277 on Saturday, 21 May 1898. It was published in the expedition reports, vol. 6, plate 5, fig. 2 (Haddon et al. 1908).

13. Almost all the dance photographs and the film are reenactment. Many of the technology series from Papua New Guinea are likewise reenactment or demonstration.

14. This remark relates also to Haddon's interest in the evolution and dissemination of art forms within a specific area. Design itself, as the outcome of a number of complex processes in time and space, was central to Haddon's study of the evolution of art, which began in Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea in 1888 (Urry 1993:57–58).

15. This strategy is revealed by the number of instances where drawings in Haddon's 1888 diaries, letters, and sketch books reappear as photographic subjects in the 1898 photographs. It is clearly articulated when Haddon states, "Unfortunately the triple-crowned coconut palm that I sketched on my last visit here [Saibai] has died, so I could not photograph it as I had hoped to do" (1901:172).

16. One should recall that Haddon was a zoologist by training, and indeed Boas was a physicist.

17. In contrast, the phonograph, with its playback facility, was used in the way discussed by Taussig (1993), and Haddon's diaries constantly refer to responses to it. The number of photographs of the phonograph in action with members of the expedition and Melanesians would support a reading of its use as both a ritual of science and a technology of enchantment.

18. "Sunday March 20th I gave a lantern talk on the Natives of Murray Island and showed about 30 slides—Wilkin working the lantern—his lantern is a very good one" (Diary 1898: 7). "Monday April 11th I gave a lantern show fr. 8 to 9 on the Western tribes of the Torres Strait. The slides showed up very well on the white wall of the deck house" (Diary 1898: 31). CULSC Haddon Papers, Box 10/1030.

19. The LMS missionary Florence Buchanan also reports the popularity of this story or a very similar one under the title "The Tiger and the Tub" in Torres Strait in 1895 (Jones 1921:12–13).

20. The people in Figure 4 are named in small pieces of gummed paper stuck to the negative.

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IN SEARCH OF "MEN OF NATURE": PAUL WIRZ'S PHOTOGRAPHY IN NEW GUINEA, 1916–1955

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Between 1916 and 1955 the Swiss anthropologist and collector Paul Wirz (1892–1955) took several thousand photographs during his research trips to New Guinea, where he stayed with the Marind-anim of the south coast, at Lake Sentani, in the highlands with the Western Dani and the Enga, at the Papuan Gulf (Gogodala), and in the Sepik and Maprik areas. For his black-and-white–dominated photography Wirz used first gelatin dry-plate technology, later roll film. The photographs served as illustrations for his numerous publications, and, sometimes hand-colored, as lantern slides for his lectures. In content, Wirz believed that photography should above all document and conserve cultural aspects of the life of "men of nature," that is, societies that were barely influenced by Western culture, colonialism, and missionary work. He thus focused on portraits of individuals and groups to fix anthropological and ethnograpical information —such as physique, decoration, clothing—and on visible socioreligious signs, because for him the traditional religious structure formed the foundation of culture. Being a combination of both, shots of the *dema* actors of the Marind-anim became his best known photographs.

The Swiss anthropologist and collector Paul Wirz (1892–1955) spent most of his lifetime on the move: he traveled in Southeast Asia and Melanesia, various parts of Africa and Asia, the Caribbean, and southern Europe (Figure 1).[1] Within the scope of several research trips, he stayed altogether six and a half years in different areas of the island of New Guinea. His scientific research there established his reputation as an anthropologist. No matter how limited his luggage had to be, he always had his photographic equipment with him. His travels and expeditions worldwide pro-

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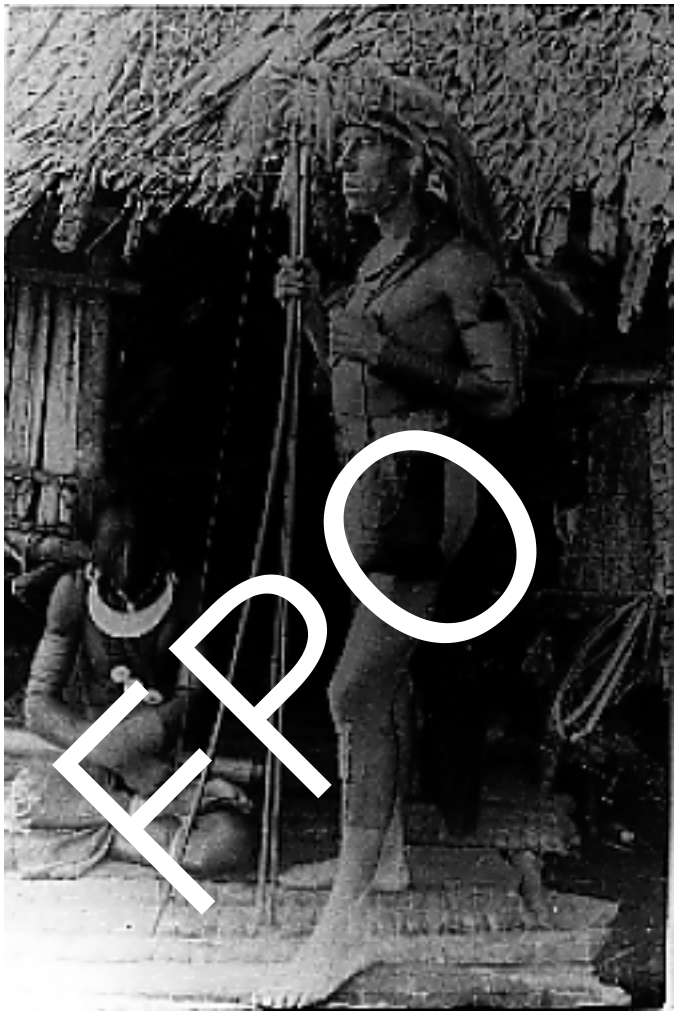

FIGURE 1. **Paul Wirz at the Papuan Gulf. Photographer unknown, 1930, vintage print.** (From the private collection of Dadi Wirz)

duced approximately 10,000 photographs, about one-third from New Guinea.[2] The largest collection is now housed in the photographic archive of the Museum of Cultures in Basel, Switzerland; another collection is located at his family home in Reinach; and some hundred prints are distributed among different museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[3]

The following investigation explores how Wirz's personal image of the Pacific, in this case of New Guinea, is reflected in his extensive photographic work. Apart from their use today for anthropological and ethnohistorical purposes, his photographs also convey his philosophy of life and sometimes his life's story.

Although photography was an inherent element of his anthropological work, Wirz never discussed the importance of this visual medium to his studies, even though he used it from the beginning of his research in 1915, nor did he discuss filmmaking, which he added ten years later. He was not trained as a photographer or in photographic methods. He never bothered to question the method or use of photography and gave no indication of whether he followed special instructions in his photographic work. In his field diaries and publications he referred only to the development of certain special shots, for example, because they were difficult to take. Even when reporting that he brought photographs back into the field, he never referred to them as a research medium for his work. Therefore, my analysis of his photographic imaging of the Pacific required the coupling of his photographic material with his academic background and personal biography and with the spirit of the times, the technical equipment, and the working conditions.[4] By means of this analysis, it was possible to establish several phases corresponding to his personal and academic motivations and intentions, on the one hand, and the technique of photography, on the other. Turning up throughout his work were "nature" and "naturalness," the keywords of his imaging, reflected in his photographs.

Photographic Technology and Practice

The photographs of Wirz's numerous travels document well the technical changes in photography during the four decades of his research work: at first he had to cope with the limitations of the early techniques, later with the possibilities of new developments. Wirz mentioned as little about his technical equipment as he did about his purpose and method. Occasionally he remarked on the trade names of his cameras. During travels to New Guinea up to the early 1930s, he used a hand and tripod camera for gelatin dry-plate technology with glass-plate negatives of 9 × 12 cm. and 13 × 18 cm.[5] From the mid-thirties on he used a roll-film camera, a two-eyed Rolleiflex for 6 × 6 cm. negatives or a 35 mm. camera, usually a Leica, and 24 × 36 mm. film negatives. Black-and-white photography was the standard, but some lantern slides made for lectures on his early expeditions were hand-colored. In the 1950s Wirz also used color film.

How Wirz dealt with these technical changes is evident in his photo-

graphs. The early equipment did not allow for spontaneous pictures, as the complex procedures and heavy equipment forced him to consider every shot carefully. Later, lightweight equipment (cameras and negatives) and easier operation made spontaneous and numerous pictures possible, but he ran the risk of recording events and sites with only superficial snapshots.

Consideration of Wirz's motives and photographic practice leads to several conclusions. First, with the help of photography he tried to document and conserve cultural aspects to suspend time: time, in his opinion, would inevitably bring the disappearance of native cultures and their different, in comparison to Western culture, "natural" ways of life that were his main field of interest. Photography's second use was to facilitate his ethnographic work: he used pictures to document his observations and as supplements to his cultural descriptions, particularly if they were difficult to formulate, like the attributes of the different age groups of the Marind-anim; and photographs were useful when time for data collection was short. Photographs had a third use as record for physical anthropology, which was one of Wirz's scientific interests in the early years of his work.[6] In the last part of his working life, for example on his field trips to eastern New Guinea in the 1950s, photography also formed a kind of compensation for stationary field research.

Another aspect of photography relevant to Wirz was the illustration of his numerous scientific and nonscientific publications.[7] In addition, he used lantern slides in lectures he gave in Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Wirz never had permanent employment in his profession. He joined the Netherlands Central New Guinea Expedition in 1921 and prepared a catalog for the Museum of Ethnography in Batavia (Jakarta) two years later. For a period of three semesters, between 1928 and 1932, he gave lectures at the University of Basel. Otherwise, he depended on publications and public lectures to disseminate his work and relied on attractive visual material for their success.[8] For this reason too it was important for Wirz to find subjects that had never been photographed before: unique and unusual shots not only enhanced his reputation as an anthropologist, but also attracted attention to his publications (Wirz 1933:170).

Wirz's method of work can be reconstructed only with the help of scattered remarks from his publications and unpublished material. It seems that his practice was to obtain permission to photograph by payment or reward in the form of tobacco or trade goods.[9] Some of his remarks reveal that, at least in the beginning of his research, not everyone posed voluntarily before his camera (Wirz 1928b:91).

In the rare case that he could not personally take a picture of an important subject, he fell back on material borrowed from other photographers, for example, missionaries or travelers.[10]

Destinations in New Guinea

Wirz did his first scientific research in the former Netherlands New Guinea, now Irian Jaya: in 1916–1919 he worked with the Marind-anim of the south coast; he stayed twice at Lake Sentani, in 1921 and 1926; and in 1921 he joined the Central New Guinea Expedition of the Netherlands colonial government to the Western Dani. He then concentrated on the eastern part of the island, now Papua New Guinea: in 1930 he did research in the Papuan Gulf area, with the Gogodara (Gogodala) among others; in 1949–1950 he traveled in the highlands and on the Sepik River; he repeated these travels in 1952–1953 and went for the first time to the Maprik region; he returned there one year later and died during this stay. He was buried in Wewak on the north coast of Papua New Guinea.

Wirz's choice of New Guinea for his first research was linked to his general motivation to choose anthropology as his profession after giving up teacher training in the natural sciences. He expected a self-determined, independent, interesting, exotic, and romantic life that would give him the opportunity to travel and to be in a "natural" and warm environment together with natives that were still *"Naturmenschen"*—"men of nature." New Guinea seemed to be an ideal destination where most peoples were considered to be barely influenced by Western culture, missionary work, and colonialism.

He was influenced by the theory of evolution during his first year of university study in 1914–1915 in Zurich, where Professor Otto Schlaginhaufen taught physical anthropology. This training fit with his idea to study yet unknown peoples that might represent early stages of mankind. These peoples were chiefly expected to be found in New Guinea, exemplified by the Marind-anim, who were reported to be former headhunters and cannibals.

The Marind-anim

The photographs Wirz took during his first scientific research with the Marind-anim are probably his best known. Many of them are included in his two-volume monograph on the Marind-anim, a standard work concerning this culture (Wirz 1922, 1925a), in a popular book about his stay with the Marind-anim (Wirz 1928b), and in shorter articles (Wirz 1925b, 1928c).

For his doctorate, based on research with the Marind-anim, Wirz tried to relate data he collected to the classical anthropology he had studied. He had the classical monographs in mind when he recorded aspects of Marind-anim culture: environment, daily and family life, methods of agriculture, households and crafts, games and religion. Corresponding to his idea of a complete monograph, Wirz tried to cover these topics in his photographs too.[11]

But this scope was modified by experiences and opportunities in New Guinea and other special interests he pursued.

Since this early field research in New Guinea, it is clear that Wirz's only interest was native cultures in their "natural" state. His cultural pessimism led him to lament that the "savages" and their traditional and natural way of living were becoming irretrievably lost. However, cultural change and acculturation were rarely evident in his research and photographs. His photographs concentrate on the alleged original state of the native cultures.[12]

Scenic views are numerous in Wirz's Marind-anim photographs, particularly anthropogeographic shots and flora. Because of the techniques of photography at that time, shots of fauna are rare. The limitations of static photography also forced him to arrange situations in front of the camera, for example, to sketch the daily life in the settlements or the work routine in households, agriculture, and craft. Another focus of the Marind-anim pictures was portraits: by portraying individuals and groups, Wirz tried to fix anthropological and ethnographical information, such as physique, decoration, or clothing (Figure 2).

Besides portraits with ethnographic information, Wirz took numerous physical anthropological pictures of the Marind-anim. Within the scope of his first field research with the group, these pictures complemented his anthropological observations following the methodology of classical anthropology. On later occasions, anthropometric and physical anthropological portraits substituted for deeper anthropological fieldwork. Their use was forced on him by lack of time, limited knowledge of a group's language, and limited opportunities for extended fieldwork and observation. He also collected physical anthropological data, including photographs, when an ethnic group had already been influenced deeply and so was no longer living "naturally" (Wirz 1925c: plate 7, picts. 1–5). In such cases Wirz collected physical data at least as material for his special interest in migration theories concerning New Guinea. His photographs for this purpose were not anthropometric photographs (relying on visual measuring instruments) and could not have been used for subsequent measurement. Even if Wirz was aware of the demands of physical and anthropological photography—if possible the human subject was to be naked and photographed from different sides (front, back, side)—his photographs were above all physiognomical. He designated these portraits as *"Typen-Photographie,"* character-type photographs (Figure 3). The foundations for his physical anthropological photography probably were laid by Otto Schlaginhaufen, who esteemed photography as a method for reproduction and a complement to measurements (Schlaginhaufen 1915), and by Rudolf Martin (1914), though Wirz mentioned neither man's works in this connection in his own publications.

FIGURE 2. **Marind-anim, female portrait. Photograph by Paul Wirz, 1916–1919, 9 × 12 cm. colored lantern slide.** (From the private collection of Dadi Wirz. Published in Wirz 1922, plate 18, ill. 2: "Iwåg von Domandéh mit der Mumbre-majub-Haartracht," and in Wirz 1928b, ill. 25: "Festlich geschmückte Iwåg von Domandeh. Die Frisur besteht wiederum aus langen Baststreifen von Mumbre [*Hisbiscus taliacaeus*], die zu dünnen Strängen vereinigt und an den Haarzöpfen befestigt sind")

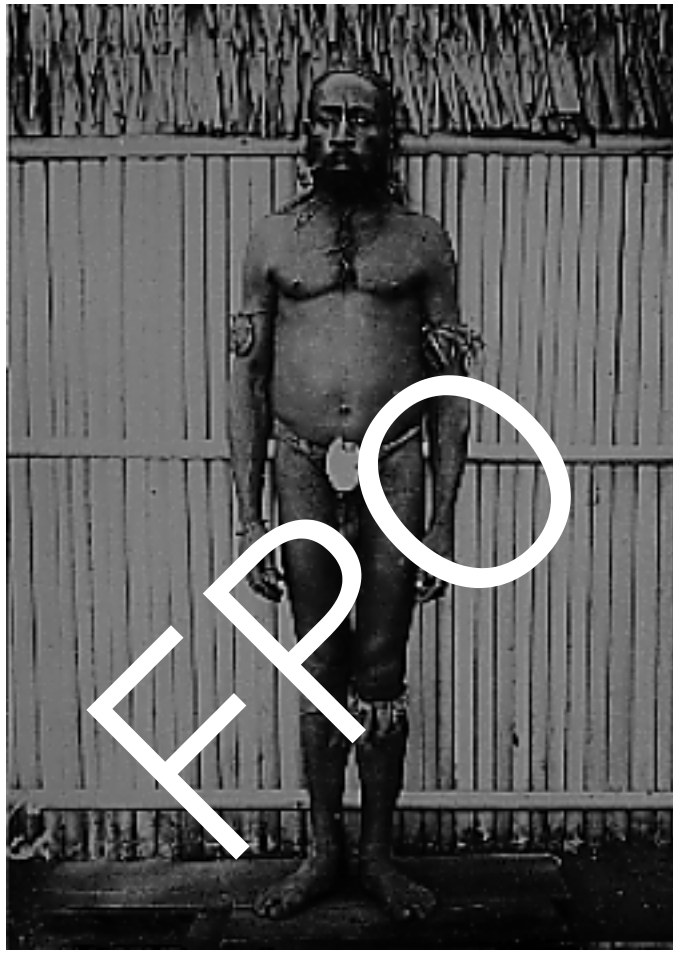

FIGURE 3. **Marind-anim, male portrait. Photograph by Paul Wirz, 1916–1919 or 1922, 9 × 12 cm. glass-plate negative.** (Museum der Kulturen, Basel, [F] Vb 35 068; copyright Dadi Wirz)

A second focus of Wirz's Marind-anim photographs was on visible socio-religious signs. For him traditional religious structures formed the foundations of culture. Throughout his scientific research Wirz was interested in socioreligious structures and aspects of culture, and he was a great opponent of missionary work. Missions to him meant the destruction of the basis of traditional, "natural" societies.

By attending festivities of the Marind-anim that were organized by the colonial government, Wirz had outstanding opportunities to get insights into a complex aspect of Marind-anim culture, the field of the *"dema,"* and to follow the production of its different costumes. The data collected and the photographs taken during these festivities laid the foundation for Wirz's reputation as an anthropologist and photographer. Today their artificial construction needs to be taken into account, as those festivities not only were arranged by the colonial government but also traditionally were celebrated at night or in the early morning. Celebrating them in the daytime made photographic documentation possible (Wirz 1928b:229–230; for published examples, see Wirz 1925a, 1925b, 1928b, 1928c, 1951).

From Lake Sentani to the Gogodara

The Marind-anim were the exotic "savages" Wirz had wanted, and he tried to create this image in his photographs and publications (1928b). From Lake Sentani he gave rise to the opposite image, that of an exotic "paradise," a South Sea Eden. He constructed an image of the lovable primitive, living in nature and naturalness, that reflected his personal sense of well-being during his fieldwork (Wirz 1929a). There too Wirz tried to document the traditional culture monographically (1928a, 1933–1934). And his choice of subjects, for example, palm trees in the foreground of environmental pictures, created a special "paradise" (Figure 4). Still unaffected by missionary work and hardly by colonial changes, the people of Lake Sentani corresponded closely to Wirz's image of "men of nature." They were friendly, diligent, and happy people that, important to Wirz, still held to their religious traditions.

The situation seems different during his participation in the Central New Guinea Expedition of 1921. He joined with enthusiasm because of the opportunity to be among the first Europeans to contact several ethnic groups still living naturally, but his limited output of pictures reflects the circumstances of this fieldwork. A difficult language situation, lack of time, and serious illness made his research difficult. Therefore, anthropogeographic photographs and scenic views dominate his pictures from the highlands of Irian Jaya. His portraits often had a coincidental character that reflected his limited research opportunities (Wirz 1924). Despite reduced opportunities, though, Wirz again tried to document every religious sign that he noticed.

Wirz had so far always concentrated on a single ethnic group in his research and his photographs, but after about ten years of anthropological work, a turning point can be noticed. He became more interested in studying a larger area in a more general way, rather than staying for an extended

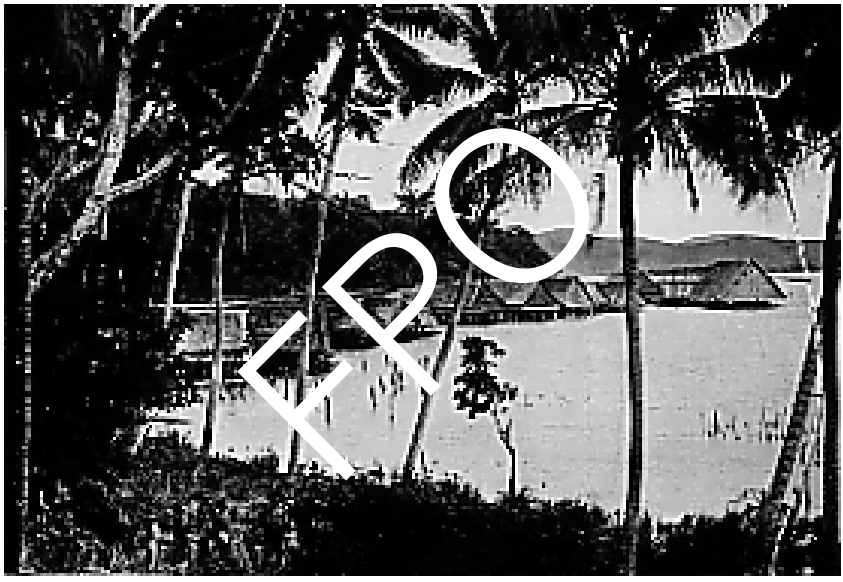

FIGURE 4. **View of Saboiboi, Lake Sentani. Photograph by Paul Wirz, 1921 or 1926, 9 × 12 cm. colored lantern slide.** (From the private collection of Dadi Wirz. Published in Wirz 1929a, ill. 7, and in Wirz 1933–1934, p. 16: "Blick auf Saboiboi am Sentanisee")

period with one group. This became obvious during his visit to the Papuan Gulf in 1930 (Wirz 1934a). Wirz's photographs from this journey seem to rely on chance encounters he made during his travels in the gulf area. His pictures rarely reflect a coherent research agenda, as had been evident in photographs from the Marind-anim, Lake Sentani, and the Western Highlands. Religious signs formed his sole special area of interest, but here too Wirz's preferences began to change: stationary scientific research moved to secondary importance in comparison to the collection of objects.

Only during his stay with the Gogodara did Wirz develop a discernable coherence in his scientific research, and this is reflected in the pictures he took (1934b). With the Gogodara he again found a "naturally living" ethnic group that he considered unaffected by missionary work and colonial influence, and he felt happy in their company. Beyond the mere collection of objects he tried to gain deeper insight and to describe their culture monographically, as he had before with the Marind-anim and the people from Lake Sentani. Again his special interest in socioreligious aspects of culture

resurfaced. In contrast to his photographs of the people of Lake Sentani, where his motivation was to create a special notion by selective choice of subjects, with the Gogodara he now selected particular aesthetic arrangements. The composition of his photographs became thoroughly influenced by a personal philosophy of life that had changed in the meanwhile.

By the end of the 1920s, Wirz had joined the movements of *Lebensreform* (life reform) and *Nacktkultur* or *Freikörperkultur* (nudism), which were then very popular in parts of Swiss and German society. In these movements he hoped to meet like-minded people to whom nature and naturalness played the important role he had always tried to give them in his life. In the following years, life reform and nudism had a great effect not only on his personal life, but also on his research and photographic work.[13] Among other things he now tried to document the relaxed ways of dealing with the body in native societies. He therefore transferred typical poses from life reformers and nudists to his field photographs, and to stress his idealized image of naturally living people, he also introduced contre-jour shots in his photography (Figure 5).[14] Wirz wanted to participate in the "naturalness" of the natives, because it promised him a kind of freedom he could never experience or live in his own society (1933) (see Figure 1).

To the Eastern Highlands, Sepik, and Maprik

After his journey to the Papuan Gulf in 1930, Paul Wirz did not visit New Guinea for a period of nearly twenty years. During this periord a second turning point in his research work and photography can be noted. Visiting the Eastern Highlands and the Sepik area several times after 1949, he only passed through the region (Wirz 1954b). He stayed no longer than a few days in any one place, or for some weeks, for example, in the Enga region (Wirz 1952c), and the photographs of his travels in the eastern part of New Guinea seem to rely on chance. Consequently, his photographic output resembles the typical outdoor shots taken by tourists and travelers more than ethnographic insights into indigenous societies. Photography as working material became a substitute for the on-site presence of the scientist.[15] Even if Wirz's specific field of interest, the socioreligious aspects of culture, was documented in photographs of ritual houses, his main intention in traveling had changed. Collecting objects had become more important than scientific field research, because the unaffected men of nature he had tried to trace were, he thought, extinct; now it was of higher importance to keep what was left of their material culture before this too was lost (Wirz 1954a, 1959). As a result, photography was now used in the field for the documentation of objects (Wirz 1952a, 1952b, 1952d, 1954a).

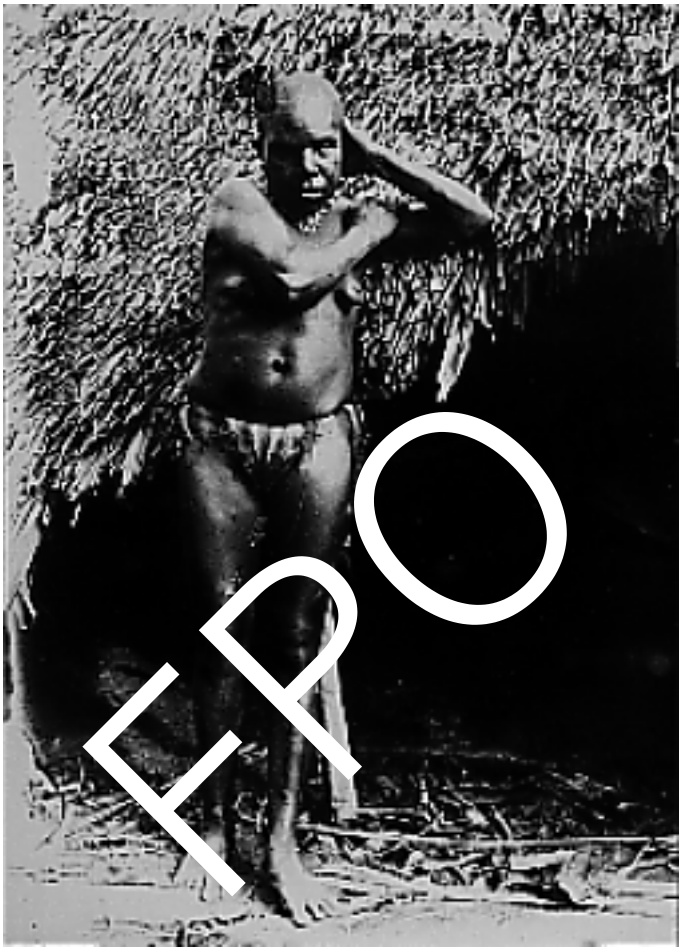

FIGURE 5. **Gogodara woman. Photograph by Paul Wirz, 1930, 9 × 12 cm. glass-plate negative. "A Gogodala woman in typical dress, she stands adjacent to her entrance [A Sotawa] to the longhouse [Genama]" (Crawford 1977).** (Museum der Kulturen, Basel, [F] Vb 7234, copyright Dadi Wirz)

APPENDIX: PAUL WIRZ CHRONOLOGY

29 May 1892	born in Moscow, Russia
1912 & 1913	two journeys to North Africa
1914–1915	studies in physical anthropology, geography, anthropology, and zoology at University of Zurich, Switzerland (Professor Otto Schlaginhaufen, Professor Hans Jakob Wehrli)
1915–1919	first research trip to the Netherlands Indies—Netherlands New Guinea (Marind-anim)
1919–1920	studies in anthropology, zoology, and mineralogy at University of Basel (Professor Felix Speiser)
1920	doctorate at University of Basel (thesis: "Religion und Mythus der Marind-anim von holländisch Süd-Neu-Guinea und deren totemistisch-soziale Gliederung")
1920–1924	second research trip to the Netherlands Indies—Sunda Islands and North New Guinea (Lake Sentani)
1925–1927	third research trip to the Netherlands Indies—Sunda Islands and North New Guinea (Lake Sentani)
1928	*venia legendi* at University of Basel
1929–1931	research trip to New Guinea, Papuan Gulf
1932–1940	travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa • Sardinia and Tunisia, 1932 • West Africa, Morocco, and Spain, 1933 • Ceylon, India, and Northeast Africa, 1934–1935 • India, Burma, Siam, Indochina, China, Hong Kong, Japan, and Formosa, 1936–1937 • North and South India (Kashmir, Ladakh, Nagaland), 1937–1939 • Ceylon, 1939–1940
1941–1945	stay in the Caribbean (Cuba, Dominican Republic)
1947–1948	travel in Ceylon
1949–1950	travels in India, Pakistan, and Territory of Papua and New Guinea—Highlands and Sepik
1952–1953	travels in Territory of Papua and New Guinea—Highlands, Sepik, and Maprik
1954–1955	travel to Territory of Papua and New Guinea—Maprik
31 Jan. 1955	died near Ulopu, New Guinea

NOTES

1. For support of my research on Paul Wirz's photography I want to thank Wirz's family, his wife Erna Wirz and his son Dadi Wirz, who gave me access to all of their photographic materials, and the Museum der Kulturen, Basel, Switzerland (the former Museum of Anthropology), where I had outstanding working conditions in the photographic archive.

2. A correct count is difficult to obtain. Some photographs have several negatives (of different sizes or as lantern slides); some prints, in contrast, have no negatives left; some photographs are published in books or articles by Paul Wirz but were not taken by him.

3. The material in the Museum of Cultures in Basel consists of original negatives (glass-plate, roll-film, 35 mm. film), repro negatives and duplicate negatives, lantern slides, vintage prints, and repro vintages. In the family archive there are original negatives, lantern slides, vintage prints, and albums. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York owns approximately 900 prints in albums or loose collections, some now identified as having been taken by Paul von Rautenfeld, an acquaintance of Wirz's for many years.

4. A general overview of the photographs of Wirz's New Guinea journeys is in preparation by the author and will be published by Crawford House Publishing, Bathurst.

5. On his early journeys to New Guinea, including his visit to the Papuan Gulf area, Wirz developed his photographic plates on-site himself to control the difficult exposure and to take advantage of the fact that developed plates are less sensitive than undeveloped plates. For that he had to travel with all necessary material in his luggage: the photographic plates, photographic paper, and photographic chemicals for developing. Later he sometimes sent film to Europe or Australia for developing.

6. For an example of Wirz's physical anthropological work, see Wirz 1926.

7. Around four-fifths of his 174 publications contain photographs; less than 10 percent include only photographs of objects.

8. For example, after visiting the Indonesian islands, Wirz published a small illustrated book about Nias and Mentawai: *Nias, die Insel der Götzen: Bilder aus dem westlichen Insulinde* (1929b).

9. Wirz reported, for example, on the Marind-anim: "Es gelang mir einst, einige Männer von *Bahor* zu überreden, zur Anfertigung von Photographien zwei *Dema* darzustellen. Das ging nicht so ohne weiteres, wie ich dachte. Selbst eine große Belohnung vermochte nichts zu ändern" (Wirz 1925a:8).

10. See, for example, photographs taken by A. J. Gooszen in Wirz's Marind-anim publication of 1925 (1925a: plate 1, ill. 1), and his remark concerning photographs from the Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunst en Wetenschapen (Wirz 1928b:x).

11. As customary in the classical monographs, Wirz also published some drawings he made during his stay with the Marind-anim.

12. In the rare case in which Wirz documented cultural change, he used a technique of opposing pictures portraying scenes "before and after." This technique corresponds to the mission photography of those years that wanted to document the success of conversion. Wirz used the technique with a totally different intention: to document the passing away of the traditional way of life through the influence of the mission. But he did not publish these pictures.

13. From 1928 to 1930 Wirz tried to establish a lodge for followers of the life reform movement, in the warm Swiss Ticino, where he offered health food and exercise.

14. Wirz's affinity with life reform and nudism became even more obvious in some of his pictures from Bali (see Wirz 1931) and his following journeys to Africa.

15. See Wirz's descriptions of his highlands travels from 1952: "Sugli altipiani della Nuova Guinea," *Le vie del mondo, rivista mensile del Touring Club Italiano* 14 (1): 623–640, and "Tra i popoli primitivi della Nuova Guinea," *Le vie del mondo* 12:1307–1318.

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READING PHOTOGRAPHS IN COLONIAL HISTORY: A CASE STUDY FROM FIJI, 1872

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Strasbourg, France

This essay explores the significance of a photographic triptych, ca. 1872, pasted on a colonial-era photographic album about Fiji. The author argues that these photographs are reliable documents of referent questions that go beyond the aesthetic effect of photography, the new impact of the medium, and the European curiosity developed for the representation of the "savage." First, the content of these images are examined within the context of the Fijian colonial history, that is, their *"signifiant"* in Barthes's terms. But the interpretation of this triptych is extended further in light of our present knowledge of photography and its use in a certain class of photographers' hands in the nineteenth century. Consequently, the second part of this essay is an attempt of interpretation, paying attention to the local commercial photographer Francis Herbert Dufty. The *"signifié"* of the photographic images as a triptych is stressed and the photographs are re-placed in the historical era of their production and circulation. In conclusion, the triptych is considered as a metaphor for the benefits of civilization and Westernization by means of evangelization at a time when Fiji, already partly converted to Methodism, would become a new colony of the British Empire.

"Reading photographs" as narratives responds to the fact that very few photographs found in archives come supplied with stories or interpretations. I intend to demonstrate that photographs are reliable documents providing the substance for a definable moment of intersecting histories: those of anthropology, colonial history, and local Pacific history (Edwards 1994).

This study considers a group of photographs taken in Fiji by the local photographer F. H. Dufty and looks at expressions of colonialism within gov-

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ernment and mission discourse in Fiji in the late nineteenth century. The intentional choice and position of these three photographic portraits, pasted on a privately owned album's front jacket, influence one's vision of the photographer and inform the possible impact of his work on the viewer (Figure 1).

In this respect, I would like to consider the significance of ethnophotography in the Fijian historical context. The ambivalent character of photography has disallowed its recognition in the historical discourse (Dubois 1990). Moreover, reading photographs implies an experience besides critique and evaluation (White 1957). Just as the oral text needs an audience, so the photograph needs a viewer. As a historical document a photographic image is fertile today only if someone can say something about it as a product of human labor and a cultural object whose being—in the phenomenological sense of the term—cannot be dissociated precisely from its historical meaning and from the necessarily datable project in which it originates (Damisch 1980: 288). Then it is no longer an illustrative adjunct but a "reference" in the sense of "the founding order of photography" and a starting point for investigation.[1]

In the case of the Dufty photographs, I tried to identify each one by cross-checking the reference. However, it is not only what the photograph represents that matters here, but what it means. Indeed, it is the juxtaposition of the photographs to form a triptych and their duality that justifies the search for meaning. This album's front jacket and its contrasting views of Fiji strike me as the work of a photographer who wanted to represent the country, to build up a collection of human types, and to stimulate the development of the future colony (d'Ozouville 1997). Since an image refers always to another image, I will associate the triptych photographs with some of Dufty's other works to develop my historical argument.[2]

Fiji in the early 1870s was characterized by a search for stability because there was no centralized form of European government. Between the community of settlers and the chiefs, local relationships were organized according to reciprocal interests based mostly on landownership. The community's political dilemma and the question of sovereignty were constant worries, and many Europeans expressed the need for an agreed-upon form of government. The ultimately successful settler-dominated Cakobau government was launched at Levuka on 5 June 1871. A Deed of Cession ceded the Fiji group to Great Britain on 30 September 1874.

Ratu Seru Cakobau, now acknowledged as Tui Viti, or king of Fiji, blamed Fiji's disunity for his kingdom's eventual loss of independence. Scarr's view is that it was destroyed by three factors: the resistance of the *kai colo* mountaineers, the collapse of cotton, and the Anglo-Saxon settlers' belief that they had the right to rule the islands (Scarr 1973, 1980).

It was during the troubled years from 1871 to 1874 that the photographs

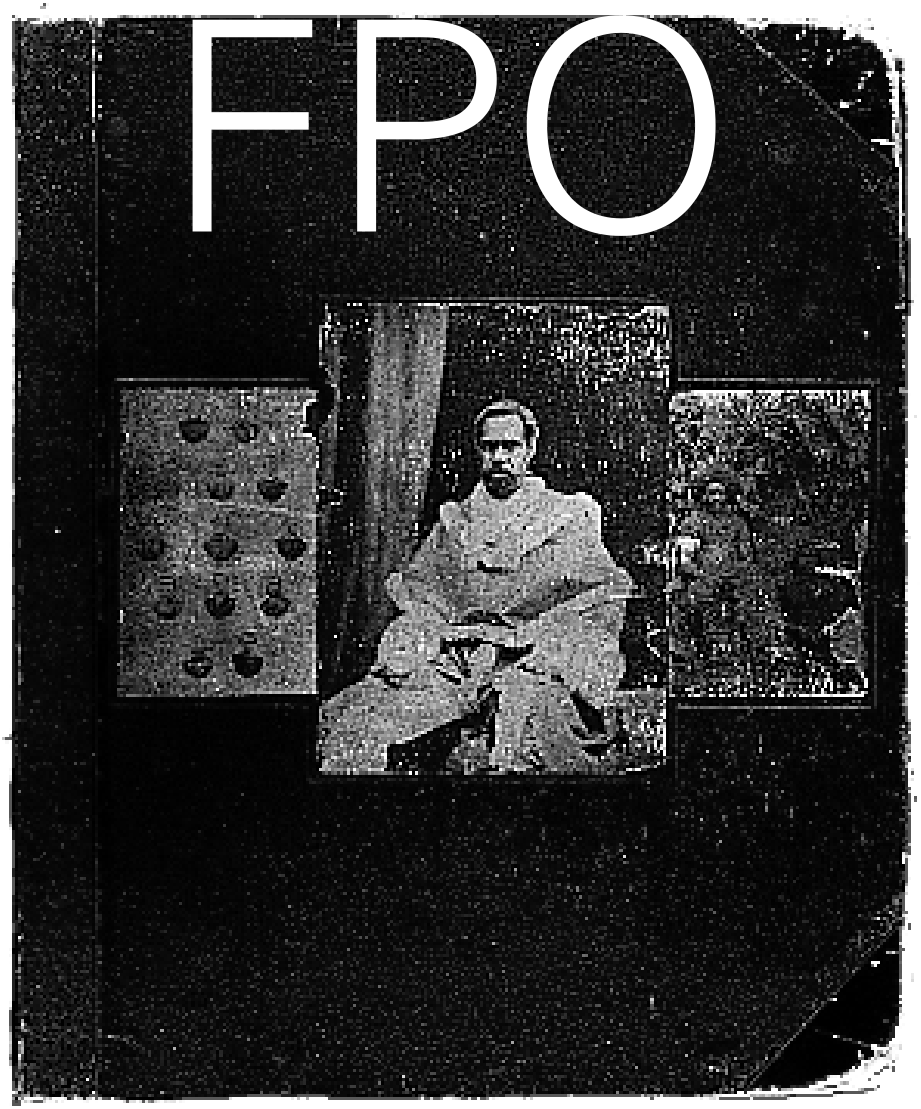

FIGURE 1. **The photographic triptych. Photographs by Francis Herbert Dufty.** (From an album cover at the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Q988.8/P)

under consideration were taken by Dufty. Originally from England, he came to Fiji in 1871 after six years spent in the Colony of Victoria practicing the art of photography. After moving to Fiji, Dufty established a profitable business and became an active member of the colonial society of Levuka, then the major port and capital of Fiji. His photographic portraits have traveled around the world, becoming the "true" representation of the people of Fiji (Darrah 1981; Sagne 1994). His role parallels that of other photographers of his time working elsewhere in the world, such as Jean Geiser, in Algeria, 1848-1923, for whom photography was a technique, an aesthetic, and a means to serve history (Dubuisson and Humbert 1995:277).

Photographic compositions made intentionally are actually the testimony of meanings relating to the hidden historical dimension of the photographs, which are more than just illustrations or memories of places. Through their composition, subject matter, and symbolic content, they reveal their internal evidence. The economic and social environment affects the opportunities and disappointments of the photographer, who is an instrument of an inevitable history.[3] Dufty's contribution to Fiji was of primary importance in the 1870s. His photographs promoted the Fijian-European politics of the church and the government, concerned as they were to instill social order in the country. Although photographers of the last century have left many images, documentation such as diaries, logs, private papers, and manuscripts that allow a serious analysis of the genesis of their work is rare.

The Photographic Portraits: A Descriptive Approach

Because a photograph does not have an exclusive meaning, the descriptive approach is the beginning of interpretation. No caption and no date were given for the three portraits under study, but for their appreciation one needs a caption, a context, and a code (Gombrich 1972). I identify the portraits as Ratu Marika Toroca in the center, Wesleyan missionaries on the left, and Tui Namosi and another mountaineer on the right, with the latter two images in *carte de visite* format.[4] Although the *carte de visite* was the mainstay of the photographer's business, its role in the history of photography remains virtually unexplored.[5] Nevertheless, the photographer had to do more than just photograph, he had to "biography," to give life to his subjects (Disderi 1855:25).

The photographs under study belong to an album in the photographic archives at the Mitchell Library in Sydney. It contains mostly views of Fiji and its capital, Levuka, which range from 1871 to 1910 and are not organized chronologically. This album is like a fragment of history of the 1870s, left as a visual outline. Because the album is stamped with the name "Dufty

Bro." on the inside back cover, it is likely that it was purchased in the late 1870s, when the studio operated under this name.[6] The place of the photographic album in nineteenth-century society stresses the significance of photography; indeed, it fulfilled the Enlightenment dream of a universal language. It is a symbolic object for social and familial cohesion in which affective attachments and social relationships are demonstrated. Since political and artistic preferences are expressed, the album has a definite impact on ideas and mentalities, reinforcing convictions developed elsewhere. It is an integral part of the social relations of photography's production, reproduction, and consumption, considered as modes of historical expression.[7] It was only when I identified Ratu Marika, the native judge, that the significance of this set of images became obvious (Figure 2 and Figure 3, no. 232).[8]

Ratu Marika looks like a European, but he is a Fijian. In his full judicial robe, an ermine coat, Mr. Justice Marika's handsome portrait was taken by the photographer Dufty in his studio. Viewed against a classic background made up of a large velvet curtain, the "civilized" Fijian has a short haircut, a moustache, and a well-shaved beard responding to the European fashion of the time. Ratu Marika was the associate judge to Chief Justice Sir Charles St. Julian. Article 64 of the Constitution stated that "the Supreme Court shall consist of a Chief Justice and no less than two Associate Justices, one of whom shall be a Native." However, it also provided that two justices, one being a native, may hold court (*Fiji Argus,* 7 August 1874). Ratu Marika Toroca was also a Fijian chief from Namata, Tailevu. He was "remarkable for the profundity of his knowledge, for the perspicuity with which he could grasp a difficult question of law, and for the soundness of his opinions." He was an example of success in the process of civilization and was known as "the venerable magistrate" (Roth and Hooper 1990). As a popular illustrated Australian magazine noted, "His dwelling is one of the most civilised-looking households in Fiji. In public Marika dresses carefully in European costume, which becomes him, but in his own home he willingly returns to the simple *sulu* and white shirt of the civilised Fijians. Altogether, Ratu Marika is one of the most successful instances of a native in Fiji discharging a public function" (*Australasian Sketcher,* 4 October 1873).

Dufty made a mosaic card of the Wesleyan missionaries, as reported in the *Fiji Times,* "to keep memory of those who have worked for the mission."[9] The raison d'être for this photograph, made of thirteen head-and-shoulder portraits, was "to secure the shadow ere the substance perish." The Reverend Langham, head of the Methodist Church in Fiji, is in the center; among the others are D. Wylie (just underneath), A. Webb (above), and L. Fison (Figure 4).[10] These portraits contributed to the mosaic of "the colonists of Fiji" that Dufty started in 1875 as a "social and colonial institution." The

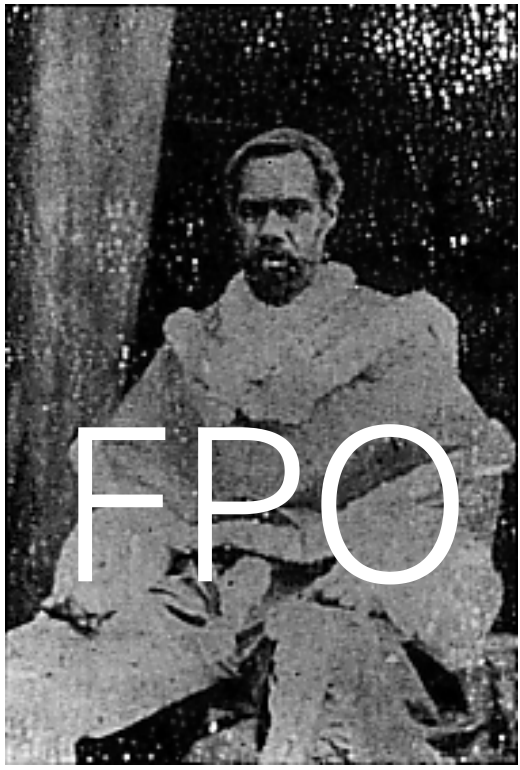

FIGURE 2. **Ratu Marika Toroca, the native judge, a cabinet portrait.** (From the triptych)

composite photograph was later published in the *Cyclopedia of Fiji* (Allen 1907), where the portraits of the colonists bore numbers; for example, the Reverend Arthur Webb is 886.

From the beginning of the mission in 1835, the Wesleyans cultivated and gained the support of chiefs, and Methodism became the church of the high chiefs in Fiji. The mission conserved the traditional Fijian structure and assumed it would remain in place in the future. The mission, from 1857 onward, passed from the British to the Australasian Wesleyan Mission Board and was run from Australia and New Zealand in the 1870s and 1880s (Garrett 1992). The Reverend Frederick Langham, nicknamed "the Cardinal," ruled the whole machine with a firm and strong hand, for example, shipping off the Lovoni people as plantation labor after their uprising against Bau (Scarr 1984:51). "Qase Levu" to the Fijians, he was received in great state, re-

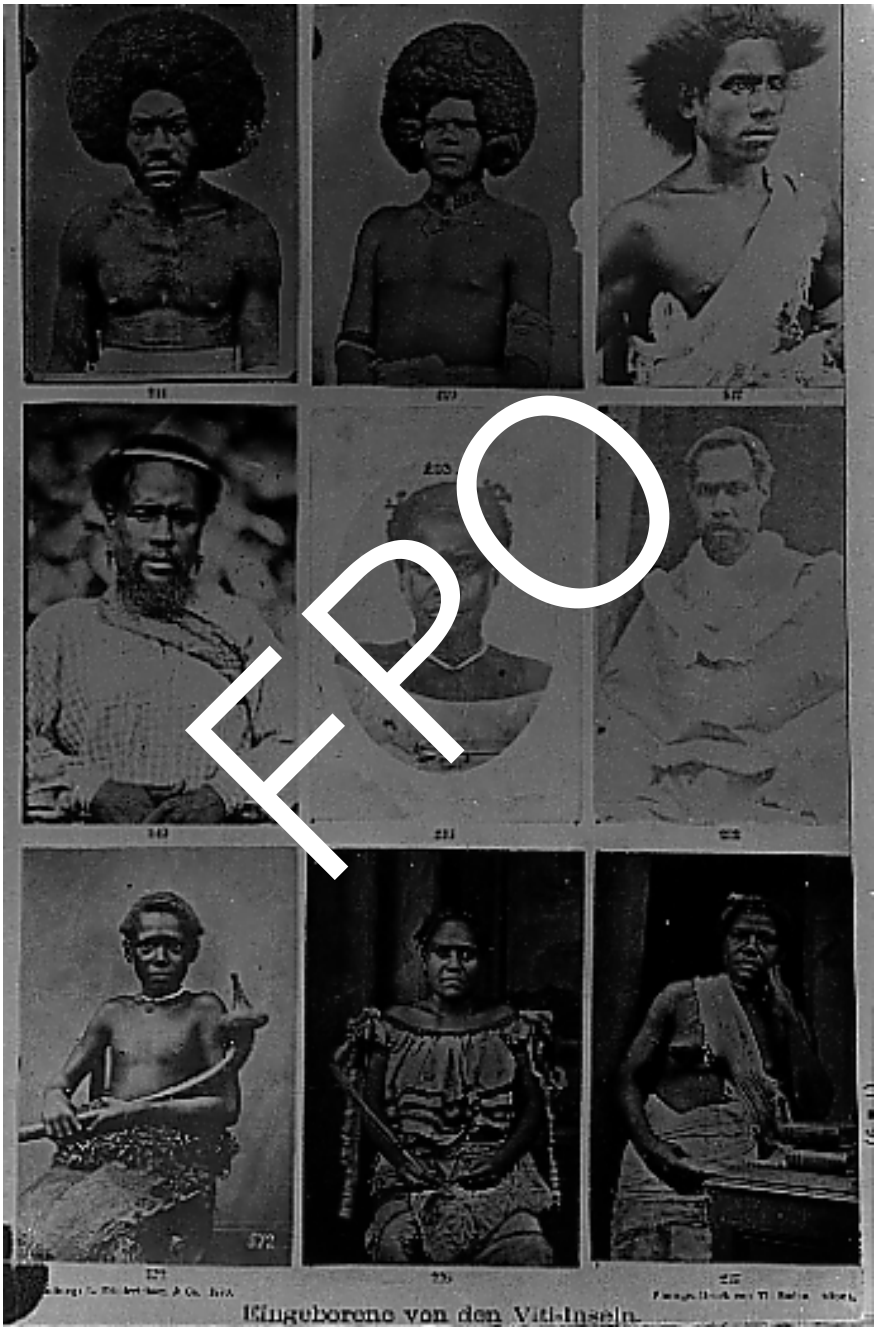

FIGURE 3. **"Natives of the Fiji Islands." Assemblage of photographs by Francis Herbert Dufty from the Godeffroy Museum.** (Photo Collection, Musée de l'Homme, Paris)

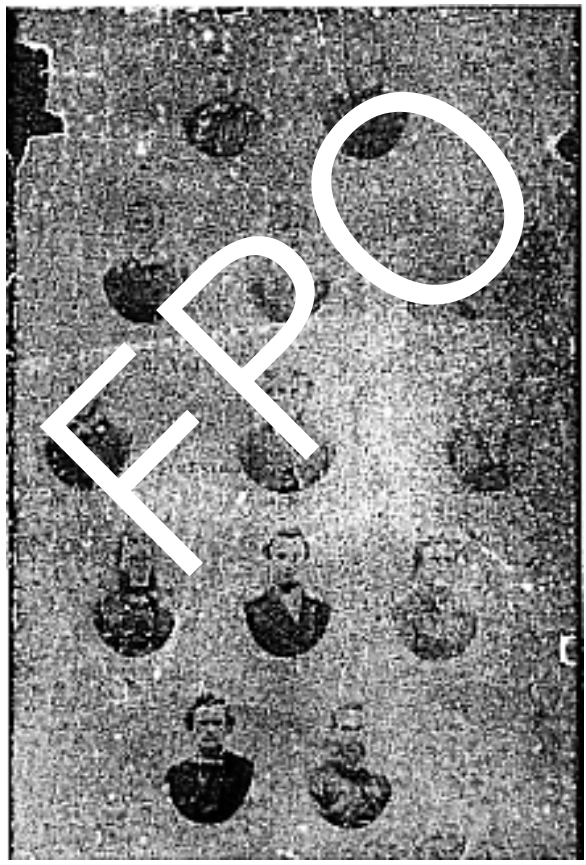

FIGURE 4. **The Methodist missionaries: a mosaic card of head portraits, *carte de visite*, 1873.** (From the triptych)

flecting the influence he wielded within his church, whether or not his European colleagues and Fijian pastors approved. They did not when it came to withdrawing church membership over tobacco smoking and drinking *yaqona* (kava), and a moral code imposed by the Wesleyan church created discontent in the community (Young 1984). The colonially trained European missionaries adopted an authoritarian approach that did not trust the capacities of Fijian ministers and Tongan missionaries to run the church (Garrett 1982: 279, 284), and in 1874 Joeli Bulu and other native missionaries clashed with

FIGURE 5. **Tui Namosi and attendant, *carte de visite*, ca. 1872.** (In various collections; here from Small Picture File, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney)

the Reverend Langham over their exclusion from the decision-making annual meeting of the church.

The photograph on the right side of the triptych represents two Fijian mountaineers, or *kai colo,* photographed in Dufty's studio or possibly in the field at Navuso against a backdrop featuring tropical foliage (Figure 5). They are half-naked with loincloths, thick hair, and a *yawa* fan in front of them. In view of their position, one must be the chief and the other an attendant, or *matanivanua,* his spokesman. Both men are from the interior of Viti Levu. I

identify the chief as Ro Matanitabua, Tui Namosi, king of the mountaineers of Fiji. Namosi was a "powerful chiefly kin-group" whose men perceived the Cakobau government as a useful counterweight against both their neighbors and the Rewa chiefs who claimed authority over them (Scarr 1973:23, 162). Tui Namosi's portrait circulated widely outside Fiji with other "representative" Fijian images (see Figure 3 above, no. 231).[11]

In their narratives, many travelers and visitors to Fiji described the physique of the native Fijians, not sparing racial comments. Great attention was paid to their dress and hairstyle, especially to their *sulu,* a piece of tapa cloth around their loins, and their magnificent mops of hair (Brenchley 1873: 151). These were considered as the distinctive visual marks of Fijian identity, stimulating attraction and curiosity (Clunie 1981).

Dressing and attributes, an essential part of photography's significance, reveal origin, status, and function and therefore have a strong impact, especially in nineteenth-century photography. Dufty portrayed some Fijian chiefs as curiosities,[12] adding to the circulation of the portraits of princes, princesses, and celebrities of foreign lands and, in so doing, constructing "the other." These portraits, mostly in *carte de visite* format that circulated internationally, were pioneering in photographic art instruction and appreciation. Cakobau was most photographed, as he became the direct ally of the Europeans. The evolution of his appearance, seen through Dufty's photographs, was proof of his colonial transformation.[13] In 1873, the so-called Barbarian King was ironically described as "dressed in his *tapa sulu* and a clean white shirt" (*Illustrated London News,* 8 March 1873). In this Victorian era, visual representation was a major concern (Freund 1974:57), and it is precisely during this period of the 1870s and 1880s that photography became a tool for anthropology, to classify "human types" and organize collections. In the Godeffroy collection the nameless portraits of Namosi and Marika figure among other Fijians (see Figure 3); in the von Hügel collection Tui Namosi is referred to as Matanitabua, erroneously the chief of Ba.

The Interpretation of the Photographic Triptych

Let us rest our attention on the triptych composition in an attempt to "dream up the history by interpreting clues and cues in the image" (Gibson n.d.). The attraction is due to a kind of duality, the co-presence of discontinuous elements, heterogeneous for not belonging to the same world (Barthes 1990: 23). It also arises from readings in the sociocultural context. The link between the history of photography and the country's own historical process is evident, and different connections are revealed within and among the photo-

graphs: the complex role of the native judge as a traditional chief, convert, and government official; the place of justice in a country searching for ways to establish social order; the representation of the Fijians in the outside world; and the function of the church in linking civilization with Christianity; and, among these connections, the impact of the colonial photographer.

If we look at the attitude of the people in the three photographs, Ratu Marika is facing the viewer, but his gaze is closer to the group of missionaries; he is sitting in a sideways position; his back is turned against the *kai colo;* his larger portrait, standing forward and lightened by Mr. Justice's surrounding white coat, contrasts with the dark background of the *kai colo*'s skin and the vegetation. This duality creates a tension in the photographs between the coldness and the warmth relating to both worlds, Western and Pacific. This contrast is exhibited as the missionaries are surrounded by an empty space—the sky. Their heaven is contrasted with the rich environment of the *kai colo.* There is also a contrast between the missionaries' heads, their formal attire, in opposition to the half-naked bodies of the mountaineers. Following European classical thought, the upper part of the body—the seat of the mind, the spirit, and the reason of the superior being—is viewed in opposition to nakedness as an inferior state closer to nature, symbolized here by the studio's tropical foliage. The Cartesian dualism between the body and the mind finds here an embodied significance. Indeed, Mr. Justice, the government's representative, being the highest native official in all native matters, is surrounded by the church's leaders on one side and the world of the heathen on the other.

However, the apparent contrasts are also part of the unity of the triptych. Indeed, if we remember the role of the triptych in medieval and religious history as a referential and symbolic object, originally three images of which the two small parts on the sides could fold into the larger centered image, we can see the composite image as a set of related elements: a single vision was desired. In sanctuaries these images were generally presented in a privileged place to attract the devotion of the people. Here they are presented on the cover of the album, which is indeed the best place to stress the message.

The photograph of Ratu Marika is a symbolic image of the colonization process. On the one hand was the government, who regarded Ratu Marika as one of the most successful natives on the public scene, and on the other hand, the white settlers' community, who jeered at him as the "darkey" judge, saying he was a mere puppet and patronizing him because he was not highly educated: "His library cannot be supposed to occupy much of his time, for it is limited to a Fijian translation of the Bible and Bunyan's *Pil-*

grim's Progress" (*Australasian Sketcher,* 4 October 1873). For his opponents he was considered unsuited for a Supreme Court judge—"not able to give his opinion on points of law, he was, of course, ignorant of all law except club law—And he could speak scarcely a word of English" (Forbes 1875). The *Fiji Times* summarized the situation: "In all other respects the Europeans will rule: the power of education and civilisation must come to the front, and if the prominent figure be a native, whether in the form of a king or a president, it is only a puppet, the strings of which are pulled by a white man" (29 July 1871). Toward the stranger there are only two attitudes, both of mutilation: recognizing him as a puppet or as a pure reflection of the Occident. Most important is to take away his history. Exoticism's profound justification is to deny any situation its historical context (Barthes 1957:165).

The widespread circulation of photographs made possible by the *carte de visite* and the cabinet-size photograph had different consequences for European societies and foreign lands depending on the background of their production. The evaluation of the effects of reproduction and consumption of such images from the Pacific region has only just started.[14] Indeed, it is the use that is made of photographs that determines their meaning for the past as one tries to analyze them with the knowledge of the present. For instance, the reproduction and distribution of the likeness of political personalities served to embody their authority and social stability, as, for example, Ratu Marika's photographic portrait, when it was published as an engraving in the *Australasian Sketcher* in Australia. The flattering text described him as "a man of upright character with a clear head and great natural sagacity; he has an earnest desire to raise himself in the scale of civilisation." A further sentence in regard to Ratu Marika best summarizes the colonial hopes for the country of Fiji: "May his tribe increase" (*Australasian Sketcher,* 4 October 1873). As the embodiment of progress, Ratu Marika, a Europeanized chief and a person of distinction, united the church in Fiji with chiefs who had not yet accepted European values of civilization.

In spite of his high position and his family connections with the Kingdom of Bau, Ratu Marika Toroca was subject to tensions arising from traditional chiefs' prerogatives.[15] "A literate man and very much of the modern age," he intrigued over Tailevu sugar land against the interests of his Bauan overlords when money came into the Fijians' hands from leases. Ratu Marika, an official as well as a ruling chief, could rely on an unfair proportion of rent monies. The connection between wealth, the chiefly system, and the Methodist Church in Fiji led some observers to link conversion with corruption associated with the introduction of commercial duplicity (Thomas 1993:55). An engraving of Ratu Marika's portrait by Dufty was associated with another one captioned "A Fijian missionary meeting," referring to the *meke vuka*

missionari, at which the yearly contributions are made to *na lotu wai wai,* "the oily religion." In Australia in 1873, it was thought that "the missionaries bled them well, but the missionary is but a flea to the Government vampire, and these two great authors of taxation frequently come into unpleasant contact" (*Australasian Sketcher,* 4 October 1873).

The remarks on the "tax-collecting competition" stress the success of the Wesleyan mission and the benefits the Fijians were getting from it in return for their gifts, in comparison with the government, from which there were no returns.[16] There was tension between the government and the Methodist Church, and some of the most acculturated and sophisticated Fijians like Ratu Marika Toroca and Ratu Jone Colata of Bau, lieutenant in the Armed Constabulary, were able to take advantage of it to challenge the legality of the protective Fijian law code, Na Lawa Eso, inspired by the mission and enforced by the government.

It is partly through the connection of the mission with the administration of justice that Western ways were taken up in Fiji. A changed conception of justice occurred as missionaries drew up rules for civil government to be recommended to Christian chiefs (Derrick 1946:115). The adoption of a new code was under way. A unique view showing natives in court suggests how Western and Fijian culture were becoming entangled (Figure 6).[17]

Some of Dufty's photographs served both the judicial domain and the politics of a government trying to control the most remote native communities. Dufty owed to the official *Fiji Gazette* (21 February 1874) the label of "colonial celebrity" for his photographic portraits of the mountaineers known to be the Burns family's murderers. The incident reveals the function of photography as an effective check on crime, obviously calculated to render valuable aid in the detection of notorious criminals (Sekula 1986). The infamous being popular early subjects, Dufty took this commercial opportunity to satisfy public curiosity by selling the murderers' portraits.

The mountaineers, called the Tevoro, or "Devil People" of the hills, were regarded as extremely savage compared with other peoples of the Pacific region. They were alleged to be fully engaged in warfare and cannibalism (Thomas 1993:54). In July 1867 Thomas Baker, a Wesleyan missionary, was murdered by the Vatusila people at Nubutautau. Did the mountaineers associate the *lotu* (Cakobau's religion) with subservience to Bau and its allies? Had Baker gone as a mere visitor, and not as a missionary, would he have been murdered? A photograph captioned "Devil or Ba mountaineer" in the von Hügel collection was one of the most widespread images of the Fijian mountaineers. Confronted with the fierce attitude, the club, a boar's tusk, and the cruel look, the colonial viewer could easily have been prompted to fear these Fijians.

FIGURE 6. **Interior of Police Native Court, Levuka. Photograph by Francis Herbert Dufty, ca. 1879.** (Stone Collection, 27–1–98, Birmingham Central Library, England)

Some of these tribes fought the government and had a fearsome reputation on the coast. From 1868 to 1874 Fijian attacks on isolated planters were followed by speeches about law and justice, and punitive expeditions to avenge them. For example, the Ba expedition of 1871 proved to be merely the first of a series of attempts on the part of the settler community, Cakobau, and later the British colonial government to conquer the mountaineers of central Viti Levu. The *kai colo* resistance was one of the elements that undermined Cakobau's ascendancy and caused his loss of independence. In 1875, Baron von Hügel, the famous ethnologist and collector, was prevented from traveling inland because "the natives, treacherous at all times, had now since the measles epidemic driven away the Wesleyan teachers and returned in a body to their cannibal practices" (Ross and Hooper 1990:14). The western side of Viti Levu remained unevangelized as late as 1890.

Not surprisingly, interest was high in Australia about the situation in Fiji, where many Australians had settled and others planned to go. Various engravings related to indigenous people and local wars captured the imagination of

the readers of illustrated magazines. For instance, the engraving of Ratu Marika was published in the *Australasian Sketcher* (4 October 1873) in association with a report on the "Native War" and the killing of planters in Ba and Rakiraki. Commentators sought to highlight Australian concern in Fiji's troubles, and in contrast to exalt the progress made in the colony.

A photograph and its engraving captioned "Mountaineers of the Ba Country, Fiji"—found in various archives and publications—depicted "the big headed natives" as "fierce, irrepressible savages, living in a state of perpetual warfare, marked by blood and ravage" (Figure 7, Figure 8).[18] A similar engraving from a photograph by Dufty was used elsewhere to illustrate a claim in the text that "they [the Fijians] have nearly all been cannibals" (Scholes 1882:28) (Figure 9). Thomas suggests that narratives concerning particular mission fields tended to dramatize one or two key practices with which the state of heathenism was identified: cannibalism in Fiji, for example (1992: 373). Throughout most of the nineteenth century, all missionaries, Catholic and Protestant alike, believed that their task was to save the perishing heathens from eternal punishment and give them the assurance of everlasting life (Langmore 1982:108). "The abolition of cannibalism" is the title of a series of engravings that appeared in the *Graphic* (8 January 1887).

It is within this context of colonial endeavor that the photographs have to be placed. Fijian Christian conversion and chiefly organization weighed heavily in Governor Gordon's consideration of the fate of Fijians. "The colonial administrators saw in Christian converts living peacefully and productively within the colonially delimited boundaries and tasks the key to eventual Fijian civilisation and maturity" (Kaplan 1989). The reading of Dufty's photographs leads to the question, was there a path to development and success other than through the guidance of religious authority? Was the missionaries' stance also that of some active lay members of their church, such as the Anglican Dufty? Extremely active in the moral and social development of Levuka, Dufty worked hard toward what is called today the "politically correct"; his work, then, was the exaltation of a social order encouraged by the mission, which as a whole structure of institutions (not just a "house in the bush") recognized work and social life (Thomas 1992:380).

The indigenous condition was postulated in the absence and lack of enlightenment. Photography distributes "light" in both a literal and a figurative sense to make the world and people better.[19] For photography there was a mission of civilization. It contributed to social homogenization within the bourgeois vision of the world (Freund 1974:22). And it served to reinforce nineteenth-century social conformity. For example, the institution of Christian marriage and the Western conception of the family were encouraged by the mission. The 1870s family portrait of Ratu Savenaca—often reproduced

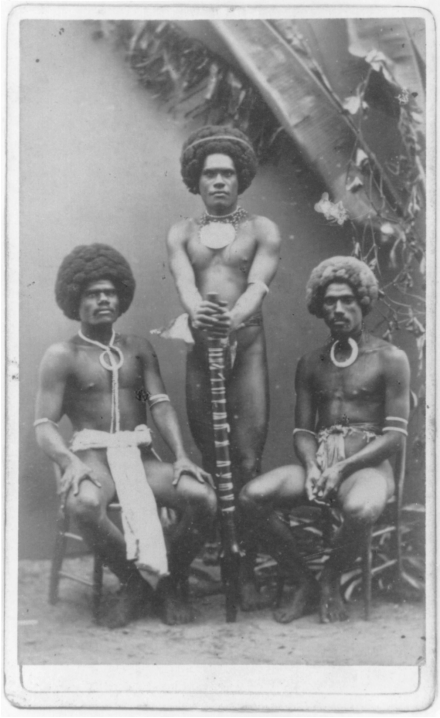

FIGURE 7. **Portrait of three *kai colo*, *carte de visite*. Photograph by Francis Herbert Dufty, ca. 1873.** (C.D.V. Collection, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney)

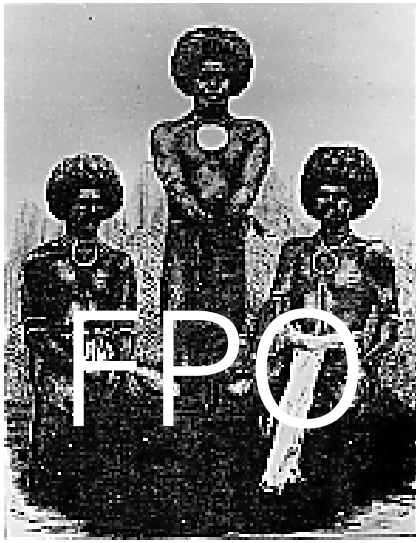

FIGURE 8 (ABOVE RIGHT). **"Mountaineers of the Ba Country, Fiji," engraving.** (*Australasian Sketcher,* 17 May 1873, National Library of Australia, Canberra)

FIGURE 9. **Portrait of two *kai colo*, *carte de visite* (glass plate). Photograph by Francis Herbert Dufty, ca. 1873.** (Fiji Museum, Suva)

—is significant because it is the first such portrait in the European style and proof of the civilization and Christianization process (Figure 10).[20]

One function of photography was to develop the church's propaganda and enhance the conversion of the "savage" through education and care. The task was to civilize as well as convert, as in missions elsewhere. Civilization without Christianity was meaningless: the axiom that a savage in a shirt was no better than one without reflects what the missionaries meant by civilization, "[a]ssociated in their minds with the externals of Western culture, especially . . . clothing. Most Protestant missionaries, although sceptical about attempts to civilise before converting still saw the two as inextricably intertwined" (Langmore 1982:116). Similarly, early missionaries regarded the extravagant hairstyles as verminous symbols of paganism and short hair as the hallmark of a Christian convert. Ironically enough, the Methodist Church later exploited the hairstyle as an exotic vision to attract the attention of its Australian readers (Figure 11)![21]

Church members' collections and albums are the living testimony of the great interest photographs carried within these institutions. The Anglican Dufty's reliable clients from all religious institutions were fond of curios and images.[22] The interests of the church and the photographer were convergent, and photographs were a tool for knowledge and propaganda to raise funds overseas: "In view of Mr. Floyd's visit to England for the purpose of raising funds to assist the Church of Fiji, he [Dufty] predicted that their pastor would . . . speak both privately and publicly of matters connected with the colony." Dufty presented Floyd with a series of photographs that "would admirably assist him in description, and help to create an interest in [Dufty's own] work" (*Fiji Times,* 29 March 1884).

The social and influential role of the photographer has been studied elsewhere in the context of Fijian colonial history. Dufty was a strong supporter of the Anglo-Saxon race, the mission, and the social order. He shared with the Wesleyan mission interest in the advancement of all matters calculated to increase the intellectual and moral status of Fiji.[23]

In the Pacific region the Methodist Church expanded quickly, and missionaries became photographers themselves. Along with administrators and planters, missionaries liked to make records. To serve the interests of the mission's development, photographs were used mostly to impress readers with the reality of the world of the Pacific, constructed in ways they wanted readers to think about. An early postcard shows a Fiji Methodist dressed in Western-style costume and carrying the Bible. The church used photographs to show the "metamorphosis" of the savage native into a civilized person, for example, in two contrasting covers of the *Missionary Review* (June 1922 and May 1923) with the amazing captions "a mountaineer of Fiji"

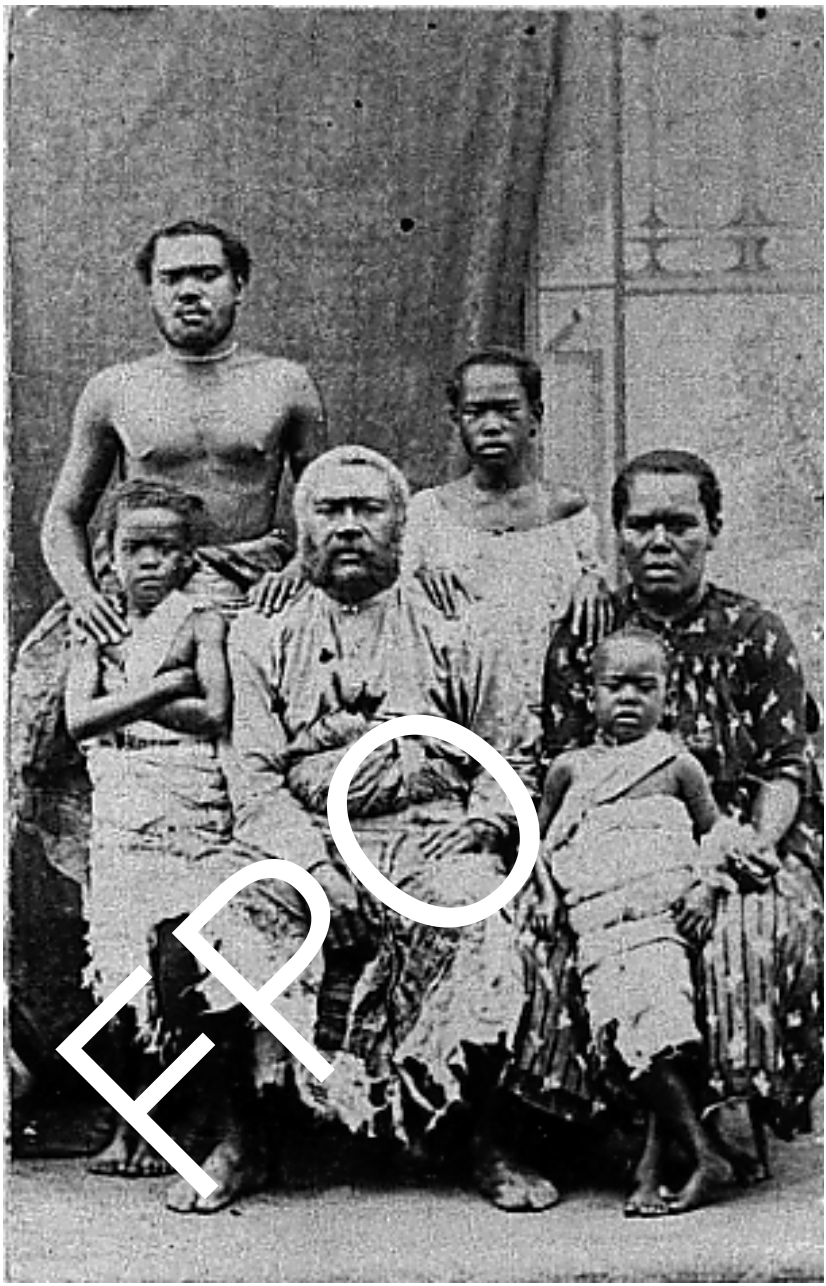

FIGURE 10. **Ratu Savenaca and family, *carte de visite*. Photograph by Francis Herbert Dufty, ca. 1872.** (National Archives of Fiji, Suva)

FIGURE 11. **Cover, *The Missionary Review*, issue of May 1923.** (266/M, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney)

(see Figure 11) and "the real missionary" or two postcard portraits of the Catholic mission ca. 1920, showing the opposition between the "warrior" and the "catechist," symbolizing through dress and facial expression passage from the state of nature to civilization. One can note the opposition between elements such as formal attire and the shiny naked torso, short and long hair, and the Bible and the club.

By the 1920s, Methodism and other forms of Pacific Christianity had been appropriated by Pacific Islanders and in Fiji was interwoven with the chiefly hierarchy and traditionalist nationalism. The mission was not simply a religious instrument, but rather a total social fact (Thomas 1992:384).

Conclusion

Most studies of photographs from the late nineteenth century carried out by art historians favor an aesthetic approach and thus avoid commercially produced images. Those interested in the latter have worked mostly on the images produced at the turn of the century, when the *carte de visite* had disappeared from the market and the postcard trade was emerging. However, the *carte de visite* is of primary importance for historians because of its large-scale reproduction and consumption, and because it was the first photographic representation of "the other" that became a cultural object in collections.

The photographs by Dufty are ethnographic documents, since their subject matter, symbolic content, and composition have been identified. Photography is a remarkable documentary object in that photographs give guarantees for what they represent. They are also reliable historical documents, for they serve our understanding of the relationships that existed at a particular time in Fijian history. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the fact that the image is the result of multiple choices that are selective; only one part of a certain reality is photographed and thus transformed. Indeed, photography hides as much as it shows.

The photographic compositions under study here are a perfect example of the embodiment of the Fijian reality in the 1870s and respond to the anthropological inquiry relating the viewer to the question of identity in history or "the other" and the self in the problematic of the mirror image (Todorov 1989; Kilani 1996). In fact, interpreting the three photographs of the triptych is to "read history" and to develop an understanding that is revealing about the process of colonization, the birth of anthropology as a new science, and the contribution of photography.[24]

In the historical context of this study—the building up of the Colony of Fiji—one who resisted this process and its effects through the civilizing action of the mission remained in a state of nature, whereas one who accepted it would reach civilization. Toward this aim this photographic triptych is a perfect statement of colonization, acting like a metaphorical equation.

The ties between photography and Western culture are important from a historical and a social point of view and of essential importance for the study of Western rationality itself. Today, at a time of increasing global interdependency, the comprehension of our culture's specificity has a practical as well as theoretical importance. Fixing "the other" in a photograph does not mean we know him. Believing we do mostly informs us about ourselves: it is this practice that defines our relationship to the world (Fontcuberta 1996:56). To conclude, let us recall the following words, written from Fiji in the 1870s

by a European: "Are we not a sort of modern [H]ades outside the pale of civilisation instead of outside the Pillars of Hercules—a kind of hedge or boundary between Heathenism and Christianity[,] between Barbarism and Civilisation" (J. B. Thurston, cited in Scarr 1973:161).

NOTES

1. "Ideas are not so important, they are met elsewhere; what is important is the image because one can get into it." P. MacOrlan, interviewed on *Un siècle d'écrivains,* France 3 (t.v. show), 24 January 1996.

2. There is no record of Dufty being the official government photographer, as Allan Hughan was in Noumea in the same period. Unfortunately, because of space limitations, not all photographs referred to in this essay could be reproduced.

3. Historians and their editors make use of photographs as illustrations to produce more attractive books. Gravelle, for example, includes many photographs without dates or captions (1979), and the recent edition of von Hügel's journal fails to credit the photographer (Roth and Hooper 1989). "Yet most scholars, even experienced historians, do not hesitate to use a photograph without attempting to attribute it to the photographer—the photographer as observer and historian is still a vague concept" (Darrah 1981:199). Edwards notes that "the hidden history comprises those possibilities which the image implies, perhaps through absences within the image, suggesting a historical counterpoint to the forensic. [This is where] I hope to demonstrate the nexus of photography and history is potentially most revealing" (1994:5).

4. The *carte de visite,* invented by Disderi, refers to small and cheap photographs, nearly always albumen prints made with the wet-plate process, that could be reproduced in unlimited numbers and passed on easily.

5. The division between artist-photographer and commercial photographer that aroused so much controversy a century ago led art historians to ignore the *carte de visite* (Darrah 1981). Dufty fulfilled both dimensions twenty years after the *carte de visite* originated in Europe.

6. From 1871 to 1880 it was called the "Victorian Studio"; thereafter it became "Dufty Brothers Studio."

7. For modes of historical expression, see Edwards 1994:10. The album, linked with the ideas developed by the "Encyclopédistes" (or *philosophes du Siècle des Lumières*), explored the relationship between human beings and a universe based on rational knowledge (Duchet [1971] 1995). Photography will be a new medium to read the world like text.

8. The author attributes most photographs in Figure 3 to Dufty, ca. 1873. The set of *carte de visite* portraits in Figure 3 originated from the Godeffroy Museum collection of photographs in Hamburg. The photographs were supplied to the museum by German expatriate communities. Theodor Kleinschmidt, a German naturalist and collector for the Godeffroy

Museum, was in Fiji from 1873 to 1878 and was acquainted with Dufty. The figure illustrates how photographs in "anthropological archives" were arranged and arrayed in classifications. The figure shown here was assembled from copies made by other photographers, which explains various names and dates on pages of albums. The same photographs have circulated widely and are also part of other collections, such as the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, the Société de Géographie and the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Photographs that were not created with anthropological intent or specifically informed by ethnographic understanding may nevertheless be appropriated to anthropological ends. The Godeffroy Museum's collection is the object of Thomas Theye's doctoral research in Bremen.

9. Disderi created the mosaic card in 1863. Mosaic cards were an excellent form of advertising for a photographer, offering a sample of styles and production.

10. *Fiji Times,* 29 June 1872. I identify the following missionaries: Lorimor Fison, James Calvert, Jessey Carey, Frederick Langham, Joseph Nettleton, Joseph Waterhouse, Arthur Webb, Daniel Wylie, John Leggoe, William Moore, and James Rooney. The phrase "to secure the shadow ere the substance perish" was common among photographers, and Dufty used it in his advertising (see *Fiji Times,* 11 May 1872).

11. A photograph, "Tui Namosi, king of the mountaineers or *Kai Colo,* equally associated to the Devil men or *Tevoro,*" was sent by Thurston in his letters to Hope (Scarr 1973). He is identified on a *carte de visite* in the Ferguson Collection, Australian National Library, and copies can be found at the Bishop Museum (handwritten on the *carte de visite* is "Tui Mousi") and in the Baron von Hügel Collection, Cambridge University. His image was also reproduced on a German postcard with the caption "Fidschi-Eislander" (Max Shekleton's private collection, Noumea).

12. Dufty, presumably traveling with the government party, took the opportunity to take portraits when the mountain chiefs and government representatives met at Navuso in January 1875.

13. Dufty took portraits of Cakobau dressed in both traditional tapa cloth and formal European attire.

14. Father Patrick O'Reilly was among the first collectors and researchers of photography in the Pacific region; see O'Reilly 1969, 1978. Recent exhibitions of photographs from the Pacific include *Colonial Photography of Samoa* at the Southeast Museum of Photography, Daytona Beach, 1995; *Images of Trade, Travel and Tourism,* Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, 1993; and *Portraits Kanak, Paroles Kanak,* photographs by Fritz Sarasin, 1911–1912, A.D.C.K. Centre Culturel J. M. Tjibaou, Noumea, 1995.

15. Head of one set of *bati,* or warriors to Bau, and married into the Vunivalu's family, he was nevertheless unacceptable as Roko Tui Lomaiviti (Scarr 1984:88, 103).

16. *Fiji Times,* 29 March 1884. The paper also claimed that "the Fijians . . . are rapidly becoming one of the best taxed peoples in the world." Contributions by Fijians to the Wesleyan church averaged about four thousand English pounds annually (Thornley 1977).

17. Another of Dufty's compositions juxtaposes the courthouse with portraits of the "House of Delegates." Renamed Parliament House, it had previously been Levuka's Reading Room.

18. *Australasian Sketcher,* 17 May 1873. They were described further as having a large coiffure or headdress made of matted hair and living in "a state of perpetual warfare. It was by a tribe of the savage mountaineers that Mr Burns, his wife, family . . . were lately murdered." Thurston sent this photograph to Hope in a letter with some other portraits of his own, as he was a keen photographer himself. Scarr (1973:98) erroneously attributes Thurston as the photographer.

19. The trade name "Temple of Light" was common at the time. The Australian photographer Besse used it in Fiji in 1879.

20. For example, in France it appeared as "Fiji Islands, the Royal Family," an engraving by Ronjat, from Dufty's photograph (Reclus 1889). The photograph was sent to the Société de Géographie, a rich source of nineteenth-century photography. Ratu Savenaca Naulivou, Cakobau's half-brother, was a minister in his government launched at Levuka in June 1871. A man of decision, he took an active part in the cession of Fiji to Great Britain. In January 1875 he addressed the mountain chiefs at Navuso. He was among the numerous Fijians who died from the measles epidemic in March 1875.

21. Curiosity about Fiji would have been raised in 1922 by a photograph of children captioned "Some queer hair-cuts in Fiji" with a note that "no two children have their hair cut alike" (*Missionary Review,* 5 July 1922). This photograph, attributed to Caine, was also used as a postcard (Macmillan Brown Collection, Canterbury University, Christchurch, New Zealand).

22. The Reverend George Brown was in Fiji in 1875. The importance of photography within the mission became more explicit when missionaries became amateur photographers and photography came to serve as propaganda for the missions.

23. Dufty hoped Fiji would become a thriving settler community like Australia and New Zealand and that it would retain close interests with the Colony of Victoria. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge and the Independent Order of Oddfellows, and was a philanthropist who signed up for various subscriptions for moral or financial support of political or social campaigns. See d'Ozouville 1997.

24. The understanding of photography today and to some extent these three photographs reveal even more today about their own role in relationship to subjects or objects with the contribution of such disciplines as sociology, semiotics, and psychoanalysis.

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THE INVISIBILITY OF GOSPEL PLOUGHMEN: THE IMAGING OF SOUTH SEA PASTORS IN PAPUA

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South Sea Islanders serving in missions in Papua were visible in their journey to Papua, in their work as pioneers opening up new missions along the coast and inland, and in their immersion in local communities. Travelers, administration officials, and European missionaries in Papua reported meeting these "gospel ploughmen" and "admirable frontiersmen" and relied on them for assistance with transport, accommodation, translating, collecting, and personal and official business. They were an integral part of the European world, though marginalized by position, rank, skin color, language, and ethnic origin. The schools, churches, and chapels they built were usually the only substantial buildings using European materials or architecture. When dressed for visitors in their white trousers, *lap-lap*s, and shirts, they stood out among partly clothed Papuan converts, students, and neighbors and were recorded in this space by photographers. Present but not acknowledged in the visual imaging of colonial Papua, they are only apparent on the edge of the print and on the edge of histories of missions.

ABOUT 190 SOUTH SEA ISLAND PASTORS served in Papua between 1871 and 1891. By 1922 a new era had begun, and they made up only 22 of the 316 non-European mission staff (Stonewigg [1912] 1933:9; Wetherell 1977:121). The majority were now Papuans. Papua was the frontier when South Sea pastors first arrived in large numbers to support lone European missionaries. The cameras of European officials and passers-by were focused exclusively on the indigenous Papuans, their material culture, and their environment. The popularity of amateur anthropology, the novelty of the camera, and the excitement of being in savage, untamed, "heathen" Papua meant that the subse-

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quent publications, private albums, and loose collections of these resident/traveler photographers rarely included pastors at all, and if so only as supplementary to a long-range scenic view of the church, school, or teacher's house. Even in mission publications, few portraits of pastors were included in the hundreds of books and articles that resulted from the tours, official visits, and longer sojourns by European missionaries in remote mission stations. There is no evidence to suggest that pastors owned cameras or took photographs of themselves, their colleagues, or their families.

The pastor was the dominating presence in the early Papuan mission field. The Anglican bishop Henry Newton praised the pastors for being "able to break the fallow ground, to do pioneering work of a most valuable kind" (1914:155). In the field, the Anglican Arthur Chignell thought more highly of their efforts, noting that "their names rarely get into print, and hardly any one on earth knows or cares anything at all about them," but, he declared, man for man they had "done work as truly missionary and as permanently useful during these one-and-twenty years as the more ornamental and expensive white bishops and lay people" (1915:40–41). Later scholars agree. David Wetherell's opinion is that for the first two decades "the Anglican diocese was more Melanesian than European in character" (1977:104), and Diane Langmore notes that "the protestant preacher who stood before most Papuan congregations every Sunday was not the European missionary but the South Sea Islands teacher" (1989:161). Sione Latukefu and Ruta Sinclair conclude that "hardly any facet of the traditional way of life of the people among whom these Polynesian missionaries lived and worked was left untouched by their influence" (1982:4). Yet, in the huge mass of photographs generated by and about the mission in Papua in this era, the pastor is either missing or relegated to the edge of an occasional group portrait or school, church, and mission station view.

The pastors' role in teaching, preaching, and liaison with local communities was acknowledged sparingly by their superiors and home mission authorities, but there were a few singularly visible tributes. The London Missionary Society, for example, dedicated a stained glass panel at the Vatorata Training College to acknowledge the eighty-two martyrs from Polynesia who died in the first twenty-eight years of the mission, and the Anglicans placed brass plaques on the walls of the church at Dogura to commemorate the Solomon Island pastors who had joined the mission from the canefields of Queensland. At grave sites, markers commemorate their efforts, though rarely by inclusion with European martyrs and founders. One exception was a garden at Kwato, Eastern Papua, where Tiraka Anderea (deceased 1939) was listed on a plaque along with some of the European pioneers and the founder, Charles W. Abel. In a lantern slide set produced by the London Missionary Society (LMS) in

1892, two of the early pastors, Ruatoka and Harry Niue, were featured along with a "Teacher's house, Vabukori," but this seems poor acknowledgment in a slide set that included eight images of European missionaries; two of Papuan deacons, students, and their wives; and six of churches and chapels. As well as being treated indifferently in the mission record, in the final selection process pastors could not compete against the popularity, in England and Australia, of discovering others. In the LMS lantern slide set, the bulk of the images conveying mission "Life and Work in Papua," just over forty slides, were ethnographic, highlighting Papuan housing, costume, implements, canoes, a "half-civilised chief," and a sorcerer.

While contemporary mission writers like Chignell made a point of identifying in their texts the Anglicans' pioneering pastors—Willie Miwa, Henry Mark, Willie Holi, Dick Bourke, James Nogar, and David Tatoo—among seventy photographs in his two books, Chignell could find space to include only one portrait of a pastor, Peter Seevo, who arrived in 1907 (Chignell 1911: 52). It was not because photographs of these men were unavailable. A group portrait of the first four pastors appeared in the Anglicans' magazine *Missionary Notes* in June 1895. Nogar had his portrait taken in Brisbane in 1898, and a portrait of Dick Bourke, who arrived in 1897, was included by Gilbert White in his hagiography *Francis de Sales Buchanan: Missionary in New Guinea* (1923). However, images of these well-known pioneering pastors did not disseminate widely.

My purpose is to examine the imaging of those pastors who appeared in the public domain, to look more widely at the imaging of mission work in Papua, and to offer an interpretation of the motivations behind the use made of images in mission publications and propaganda. This approach also invites commentary on the reluctance to publish images of pastors and on the relationship between indigenous missionaries and Europeans (with cameras) within a European-managed evangelical field.

The exact number and names of South Sea pastors who served in Papua is not known. In 1886 the *British New Guinea Annual Report* named ninety-five men who had served between 1871 and 1885, and eighty-two martyrs were named by the London Missionary Society on the Vatorata Chapel memorial. From Anglican records, Wetherell was able to name forty-six Anglican pastors who served between 1893 and 1942 (1977:40–41, 99). Mission books, articles, lantern slides, and postcards published up to 1930 reveal the names and photographs of only another fourteen pastors. These 14 are a paltry acknowledgment and visual record, considering, for example, that 1,198 photographs from Papua were published in a sample of 33 mission books in the 1894–1929 period. Not naming their colleagues in displays of the mission's work or in other modes of dissemination in the public domain was a

reflection of the power European missionaries exerted over South Sea teachers and pastors. A similar exclusion and marginalization was repeated in relation to Papuan co-workers, appointees, deacons, and priests.

Group Portraits

In archives, libraries, and personal collections, there are perhaps fifty group portraits of pastors from this period, but persons are not individually identified. In these unidentified formal arrangements of well-dressed pastors, we have the faces of some of the eighty-three Fijians who served in Papua before 1917, or perhaps some of the forty-five Anglican South Seas pastors, or some of the two hundred or more who served with the London Missionary Society. Until further research positively identifies them, they remain a statistic, appendixes to the history of the mission (see Figure 1).

The group portrait was a particular favorite of mission photographers, serving both to use plates and film economically, and, by its composition, to mark the pastors' incorporation into "a larger world and family," though still in a subordinate position (Thomas 1993:54). For example, a typical Sacré-Coeur fund-raising postcard of "native sisters" at Kabuna emphasizes the contribution of Papuan women to the church, yet seated in the central and dominating position is a male European missionary. A similar group portrait in H. M. Dauncey's 1913 book *Papuan Pictures* demonstrates the same dominant-subordinate relationship. In this portrait of nineteen district teachers, Dauncey commands the central position. In the twelve individual and group portraits of LMS and Methodist pastors published in Gash and Whittaker's *Pictorial History of New Guinea* (1975), the same pattern can be observed. George Brown stands amid a group of eight pastors and their wives, Dauncey stands outside the church at Kabadi with three pastors, and in a formal studio portrait three Europeans pose with Aminio Bale and an unidentified Fijian pastor. The Fijian, unnamed and of junior rank, is flanked, protectively and aesthetically, by the Reverends George Brown and Benjamin Danks. As a hero of the mission, Bale shares the limelight, seated in front, with the secretary-general of the Methodist mission. Had the visual message not been dominated by the hegemonic positioning and inclusion of the Europeans, the message these prints and postcards conveyed would have been celebratory and commemorative of the work not of the European missionary, but of the South Sea pastors. There are many group portraits of pastors in which European missionaries do not appear, although even these images were probably read as congratulatory of the European mission, not of the endeavors and achievements of the subjects photographed.

We must assume that photographers, editors, and mission administrators

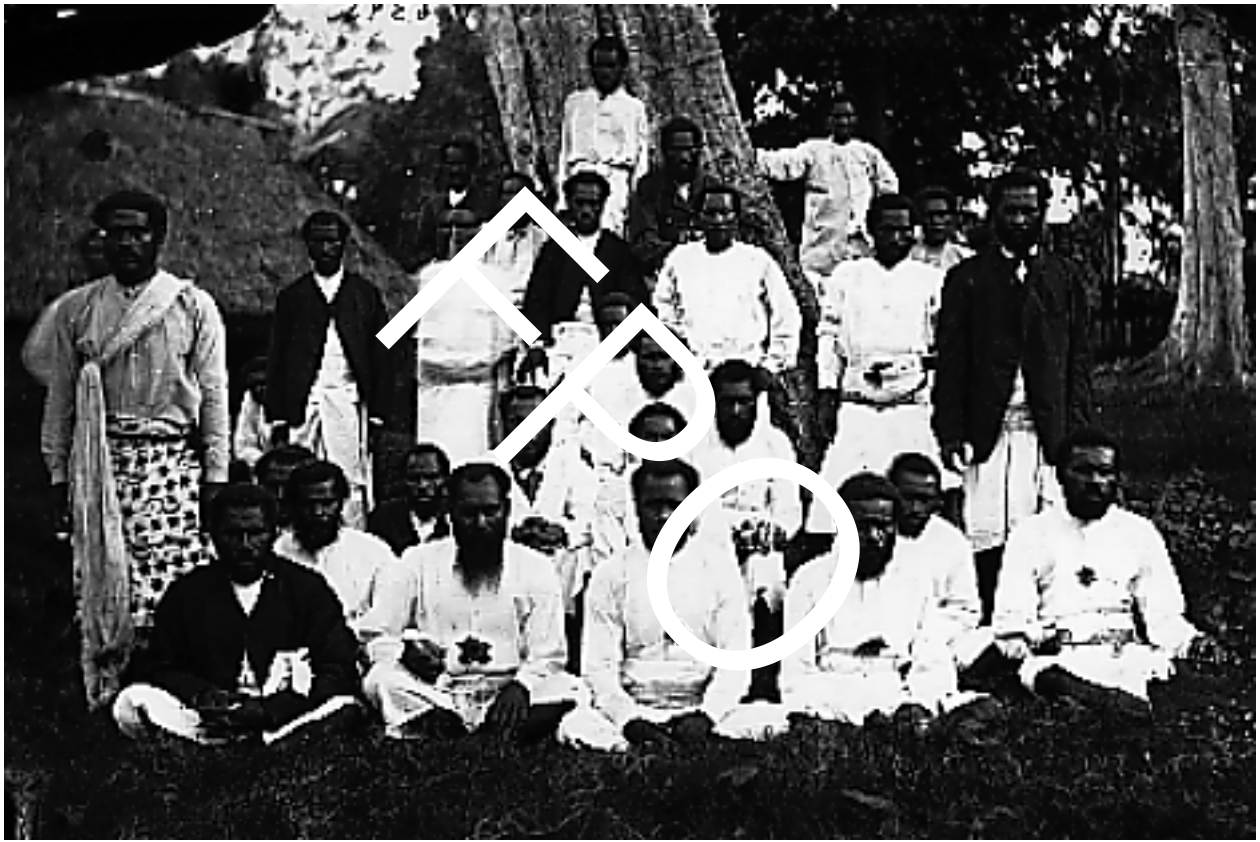

FIGURE 1. **Group photograph, unnamed pastors, no place or date.** (George Brown New Guinea collection, V6395, Australian Museum, Sydney)

judged that a group portrait of pastors, without a European present, would not represent the mission's management, leadership, and evangelical zeal. The European missionary was the public face of the mission at home in England or Australia, and these men took the chair in the middle not just because of their race, education, and rank, but because of their self-perception as the pivotal character. This is an ideology-driven reading of the image. It should not divert attention from more simple, human affection, for example, displayed when Dauncey and the district pastors finished the Christmas service at Delena and posed *together* merely for the purposes of creating a memento of the occasion. This imaging of pastors, if we read the images today, invokes rearticulations and refigurations, multiple histories and multiple trajectories, and raises questions about the dissemination of images worldwide and subsequent changes in meaning that are now the focus of much Pacific photographic research.[1]

The European missionary's superior place in the mission was made explicit by the public display of group portraits, where he was shown seated or standing among, but distanced and apart from, his junior evangelists by race and authority (and clothing), or positioned as photographer on the other side of the camera. The group portrait signaled success upon ordination or graduation; celebrated a sense of shared endeavor, brotherhood, and community in the field; or marked a particular event in the mission calendar. The purpose was not to glorify, identify, or acknowledge individuals, and if a caption was required, the standard self-effacing phrasing "Reverend 'X' and his native teachers" was used.[2] The group portrait also served to address the mission's fund-raising agenda. A group portrait of a sizable contingent heading for Papua, a recently ordained class, or a recently arrived group informally gathered at Port Moresby, Dogura, or Kwato praised past work and demanded funds for the next phase of mission achievement. These often overlapping, often conflicting hegemonic, fund-raising, and celebratory motivations lay behind the taking and use of group portraits and, at the same time, limited the functional use and popularity of posing and publishing individual portraits. Pastors were visible in private photography as friends and members of the religious community and brethren, but in published material they were denied this personal and individual position.

A further motivation for arranging group portraits might have been requests by pastors for such portraits to be taken so they could send copies home as visual evidence, demonstrating to their home congregations that they were working with kin and countrymen in Papua. They also may have secretly held grander visions of contributing to a global and distant enterprise that home congregations were only familiar with through sermons and calls for contributions.[3]

The Photographic Record

The only substantial single photographic collection of pastors was taken by the pioneering missionary William Lawes (in Papua, 1871–1907), who not only took single shots and series of photographs of his South Sea colleagues, but also named many pastors, their wives, and their children. The Kerry and Company sale catalog for his New Guinea collection included forty-one photographs of pastors and individually named fifteen of Lawes's colleagues (1919). Lawes's photographs became the first major stock of the LMS's London office for the preparation of fund-raising publications, magazines, and displays, but surprisingly few shots of pastors were used.

Later, the LMS in London added missionary photographers in Papua such as W. H. Abbott, H. M. Dauncey, E. A. Field, C. F. Rich, B. T. Butcher, W. J. Saville, and others. However, the LMS made little effort to acknowledge the work of pastors as a community, as a strategy in mission work, or individually, so that although the LMS created a cataloging system for keeping track of the images arriving from Papua, it did not create a separate category for pastors. Revealingly, when placing photographs of pastors in the filing system, LMS editors merely included pastors in the "Papuan individuals and groups" collection, conflating in Eurocentric fashion the Papuans and South Sea pastors as natives, further denying them their South Sea origins.[4] When the LMS was sorting and cataloging the many images of pastors, several of Lawes's images were given anonymous captions such as "South Sea Island teacher" and "New Guinea teacher," and teachers' names were adjusted by the LMS for English audiences so that "Matapo" became upon publication "Jacob."[5] These practices reflected the low regard for indigenous pastors at the home office and contrasted sharply with the personal relationships between pastors and missionaries in the field and the friendship shown by the considerable effort of Lawes, Dauncey, and others to photograph their teachers and pastors. They often took six or more plates of one pastor and his family, using different poses and compositions to ensure the best image was created (see, for example, Figure 2).[6] When the LMS editors were sorting Dauncey's photographs, the category "missionaries, church work" was created along with eight other categories, but not a separate one for pastors.

Dauncey offered his view on pastors in his book *Papuan Pictures* (1913), in which he wove anecdotes with a diary of his own life in Papua. Samoan teachers such as Timoteo were praised by Dauncey for being "a success as a teacher as at most things" and for continuing on despite the personal tragedy at Kabadi of losing his mother, father, stepmother, and three of his own children. For primarily a children's audience, Dauncey included a group portrait of teachers at a Christmas service, a portrait of a pastor's wife and two chil-

FIGURE 2. **Pastor and his family, unnamed, no place or date.** (George Brown New Guinea collection, V6426, Australian Museum, Sydney)

dren, a standard group setting of a teacher and wife with their students on the school steps at Kopuana, and a snapshot of children playing in front of Timoteo's house with two (unnamed) pastors looking on (Dauncey 1913:125, 127; Langmore 1989:234).[7]

A published photograph of a European missionary suggesting close contact with a pastor was rare, reflecting the institutional and hierarchical gap that separated co-workers in representation and imaging, though not in reality among the flock. The separation of European and South Sea Islander, to which publications adhered strictly when signaling to English and Australian readers what was happening on the mission frontier in Papua, followed from the belief that the mission was a European endeavor and performed a European civilizing role. Yet, the literary and archival record suggests that pastors and missionaries shared much freer and friendlier relationships. The view of the missionary facing off-camera while the pastors stared obediently at the lens was a popular composition and can be found in group portraits from both Pacific and African mission fields (Douglas 1900:335; Burret 1906:499, Thomas 1993:52). Although this composition signaled the missionary's au-

thority, it did not necessarily deny the paternal love and companionship that existed.

The missionary–South Sea pastor relationship differed from the missionary–Papuan clergy/convert relationship. Published photographs of European missionaries with their newly ordained Papuan deacons, priests, catechists, and local appointees were colonial, racist, and Eurocentric in their format and composition. But private unpublished images can be read as conveying a sense of companionship and respect. In visual imaging, missionaries and Papuans could be imagined as close friends. Meanwhile, the missionary–South Sea pastor relationship was imaged in publications as restrained and distant.

The first time a pastor was named by the LMS in an image published in *The Chronicle* was in July 1884, thirteen years after the Papua mission started. Identified were the Loyalty Islander Gucheng and his daughter. Between 1882 and 1900, the *Chronicle* included etchings, based on photographs, or photographs of the Cook Islander Peri's house, five group portraits of unidentified pastors, and a view of a teacher's house. This was a reasonable commitment considering the *Chronicle*'s wide field and limited use of illustration. A few more etchings, postcards, and photographs of individuals, groups, and teachers with their families appeared after 1900, but excepting the now famous Ruatoka (in his obituary), pastors were not named (Figures 3, 4). In 1921, the mission's jubilee year, a double-page photography feature, a format rarely used by the LMS editors, was devoted to "pictures of primitive Papua; the utmost for the least." It presented fourteen photographs sent in by C. F. Rich from Fife Bay mission. The impression gained by glancing across the Fife Bay presentation is of a comfortable, busy station life with European missionaries in close contact with Papuans. Europeans feature in half the images, which also include two standard fund-raising mission images —a launch and a school. No pastors were included. The early acknowledgment and then, after 1900, virtual silence mirrors the history of South Sea pastors' contribution to the LMS and other missions in Papua. The first ten to twenty years of pioneering work was led by indigenous evangelists, and their presence in visual imaging of that era reflected the pastors' importance in the mission. As European missionaries and lay members and gradually Papuan appointees took over the field, South Sea pastors were no longer recruited so heavily for the mission.

Although it is possible to cite examples where pastors were acknowledged by inclusion in text and illustration, in the surge of illustrated mission and non-mission books and articles after 1900 pastors were notable for their exclusion rather than their inclusion. The lack of acknowledgment in mission publications is made more noticeable by their occasional inclusion in non-

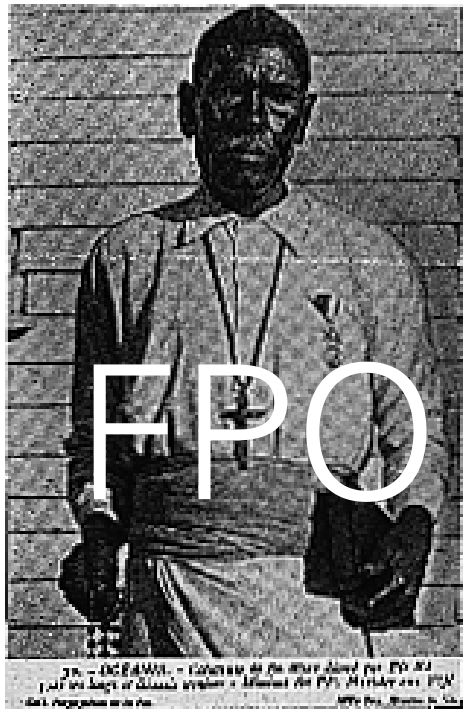

FIGURE 3. **Catechist, Marist Mission, Ba River, Fiji, unnamed. Fund-raising postcard, no date.** (Propagation de la Foi, Paris)

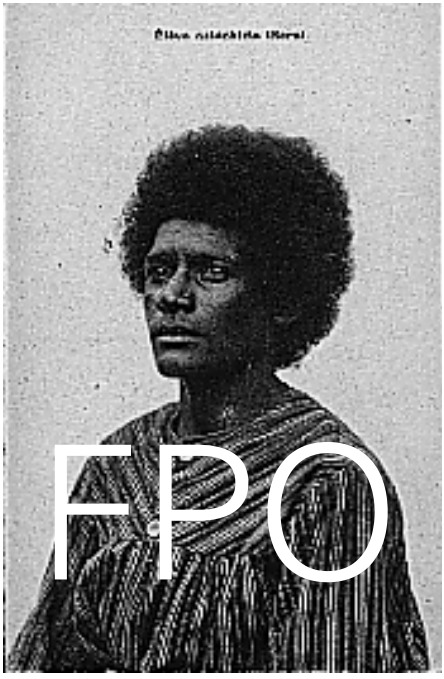

FIGURE 4. **Catechist, Roro, fund-raising postcard, no place or date.** (From a series "Papouasie, Novelle-Guinée," Sacré-Coeur Mission)

mission domains. For example, an obituary appeared for Dick Kiake in the administration's *Territory of Papua Annual Report* of 1887 and for William Lattu in the *Papuan Courier* in 1920. Even in 1921, when the LMS was celebrating fifty years in Papua, and South Sea teachers were declared to be "first on the list" and it was declared "right to give them the foremost place because of their lives laid down," the only image of pastors offered in the *Chronicle* was Lawes's group portrait of the early contingent, representing the years 1871–1872, when the LMS began its work in Papua. The choice of this photograph is significant, because in the collection at the editor's disposal there were more than a hundred carefully composed photographs of pastors from across the fifty-year period from 1872 to 1921. This oversight was partially redeemed in the LMS's 1945 commemorative "snakes and ladders" board game, which included a portrait of Ruatoka (the entry for 1872) and a group portrait of the first ordained Papuan teachers (the entry for 1884).

Naming the Pioneers

The pioneering missionary James Chalmers (in Papua, 1877–1901), although not known as a photographer, included images of pastors in his four illustrated books in 1885, 1886, 1887, and 1895. The Cook Island pastor Ruatoka, his wife, a group portrait of teachers, and the Cook Island pastor Peri's house at Boera were featured in etchings, taken from photographs, in one or more of Chalmers's and Chalmers and Gill's books. In 1894 the LMS historian George Cousins included three images of pastors in the children's edition of *Story of the South Seas* and four in an adult edition, including a rare image of the "Rev John Marriott with recruits for New Guinea," taken in Samoa. Among books published in 1902, W. E. Geil included a standard view of a teacher's house and C. W. Abel included two of teachers' houses and a group portrait (using the possessive captioning "my Samoan colleagues"); in 1917 Frank Lenwood included an unidentified "Samoan missionary"; and in 1926 J. W. Burton included a portrait of Simioni Momoivalu, a pioneer Fijian pastor. The only pastor to be publicly recognized through inclusion and regular naming was Ruatoka, an LMS pastor from Mangaia in the Southern Cook Islands, who went to Papua with the pioneering Polynesian pastor group of 1872. He was referred to as the "patriarch of the South Sea Teachers" and "Ruatoka, the Good Samaritan" and appeared in etchings (based on photographs) or in black-and-white photographs, either alone or with his wife (later, with his second wife), in books, lantern slides, games, and books, ranging from one by Chalmers and Gill in 1885 to one by Rogers in 1920.[8] However, this list of appearances by pastors is notable for its brevity and amounts to a sparse visual record, considering the lives given

and the presence of hundreds of South Sea pastors in the first fifty years of mission involvement, and considering the mass of photographs taken and published.

Images of Others

The chief competitor for publishing space was the late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century reading public's fascination with images of others. The public popularity and interest in anthropology and visual ethnographic reporting from the field meant that mission editors, with an eye on fundraising, gave priority to images of Papuan types, artifacts, and material culture, allowing one or two portraits of a European missionary and relegating pastors (as non-Papuans and non-Europeans) to a single group portrait, if any.

In their texts, amateur missionary authors tried to marry conscientious studies of the church abroad (considered apologist texts by mission critics) with ethnographic studies of their Papuan communities and neighbors. Thomas correctly points out that for these amateur texts "the properties of descriptive discourse and the familiarity with indigenous peoples upon which statements were typically based encourage one to place these texts, as a category, on the same level as those of professionals" (1989:12, 69–73). The publication of hagiography, the celebration of heroic endeavor and propaganda aimed at potential European and Australasian donors, constituted a major portion of the mission library, however; and a focus on mission conversions, theological debate, pastoral programs, the comings and goings of European staff, and church, school, and launch construction was outweighed by a popular and amateur ethnographic discourse. The result was that the majority of so-called illustrated mission publications were closer in style to travel literature, popular science, or ethnography than they were to expositions of mission positions on liturgy, faith, evangelism, teaching, and prayer. This popular-ethnography format was motivated by a need to keep an eye on mission finances. Mission publishers and societies hoping to attract donations were aware that an illustrated text dominated by earnest missionaries and pastors, recently built mission launches, and church buildings had less popular appeal than a tree house, a mask *ravi,* a double-hulled *lakatoi,* an infant in a "cradle," or a group of alleged cannibals posed in front of a camera for the first time.

Mission texts, although responding to the underlying task of the mission, were contextualized by issues of colonialism, economic and social development, and popular (amateur) anthropology. The close three-way association between the newly emerging study of anthropology, colonial rule, and late-

nineteenth-century evangelical expansion is acknowledged by a recent catchword in academic discourse in the 1990s—the colonial project—and has been the subject of research in African and Asian mission fields,[9] though less so in the Pacific. Anthropology in the English-speaking world in the late nineteenth century had become, in Greg Dening's phrasing, "the science of understanding the native" (1980:35, 44), but it was an understanding rooted in domination. Papuans were being homogenized, incorporated, and culturally dominated. Young, citing Levinas, asserts that "the aim of the west was to make the other lose its alterity" (1990:12). The Papuan was thus normalized. Pinney suggests that photographs were a means for the Occident to document the Orient and to reduce "otherness to degrees of difference along a normalising scale" (1989:146, 148). This reductionism can be seen in a study of the frontispieces of Papuan mission texts, images carefully selected by mission authors as representations with a powerful initial impact on readers.

C. W. Abel's "a group of Logea men," J. H. Holmes's Orokolo fisherman poised in "anticipation," A. K. Chignell's "Agnes and Phoebe," H. M. Dauncey's "Tima of Delena," and J. M. Synge's "native of Wamira" are images normalized by contrived poses, contrived demeanors of wistful thoughtfulness, and their status as frontispieces (Abel 1901; Synge 1908; Chignell 1911; Dauncy 1913; Holmes 1924). The subjects continued to live their Orokolo, Delena, Logea, or Wamira lives, but for the rest of the world they were new colonial subjects and Papuan types along a scale of "otherness." The boy from Wamira frozen in F. M. Synge's 1908 frontispiece was no longer a brute savage from Goodenough Bay, but was normalized by both the photographic composition and the mission experience and became, despite his "difference," a childlike Christian, British subject, and friend. This image was an ideal mission frontispiece. The same selection process excluded pastors, because they were not Papuans and did not fit the ethnological taxonomic classifications into which thousands of other photographs of Papua were sorted (McIntyre and Mackenzie 1992:158). Pastors like Timoteo and Ruatoka might appear toward the end of a book or lantern slide show, but their inclusion merely served to legitimize the mission's work at large among distant indigenous peoples.

Multiple Motivations

The selection of frontispiece and other photographs for publishing reflected the philosophical position of the powerful assuming control over subject peoples, and imaging of Papuans and the South Sea pastors belongs to a complex, interwoven typology. The colonizer-missionary-ethnographer roles

FIGURE 5. **"An outpost of the Church in Oceania: a missionary with two Papuan boys," unnamed. Probably photographed by Thomas McMahon, Papua, 1917.** (*Illustrated London News,* 15 November 1919, p. 779)

that missionaries in the field adopted were the result of the pressures exerted by the multiple motivations of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century European hegemony of spaces like the newly claimed and mapped Papua. European missionaries were caught between the role of converting the heathen and the role of civilizing new colonial subjects, and they felt that along with Christianity they were bringing Europe's material culture, social discipline, and behavior (see Figures 5, 6). They had to move back and forth (carrying their cameras) between evangelism, administering their mission station and domain, gathering ethnographic evidence in their spare time, and a civilizing duty.

FIGURE 6. **The Rev. George Brown and two pastors, unnamed, no date.** (George Brown New Guinea collection, V6342, Australian Museum, Sydney)

Images of these English and Australian men in their heroic and grand work was a subject worthy of publishing, but for editors and publishers was clearly secondary to captioned Papuan ethnographic subjects from congregations and not-yet-converted communities. The South Sea pastor, meanwhile, was busy teaching and preaching, immersed empathetically in the daily social and economic, and thereby personal or political, agendas of his

congregation. As the pastor did not have a place in mission responses to the emergent field of anthropology, to colonialism, or to economic development,[10] he came a distant fourth in editorial selection processes. Elsewhere I have argued that, in Papua, missionary photographers and other visitors attempted through their photographs to convey the deeper meaning of Papuan cultures and to tackle the intensive study of limited areas, which A. C. Haddon claimed was the appropriate methodology for knowing others (Quanchi 1996; Stocking 1983). This strategy meant that "South Sea fellows and their wives," whom H. M. Dauncey praised effusively for bearing the brunt of mission work in Papua, were mostly excluded from the public visual record of missions. The emphasis on ethnography that characterized published mission imaging meant that pastors, already marginalized by the European-led mission power structure, were denied the acknowledgment that portraits, preaching scenes, or classroom views might have attracted to their efforts.

At the pragmatic level, a portrait of a pastor or a scene with a pastor preaching or teaching had to compete against fund-raising images such as mission launches, newly constructed chapels and churches, school buildings, and "teachers' houses." Images of launches, locally made cutters, dinghies, or bigger craft—the essential lifeline for remote mission stations—were a standard inclusion. The "teacher's house" also was a popular inclusion in mission publications, usually with the pastor dressed in European clothing and standing to the side. The launch and the "teacher's house" signaled success, achievement, and work in progress, and invited further donations to keep the mission going. The launch and house were signs of permanence. The Anglicans' Society for Propagating the Gospel, for example, published a fund-raising "album" with eight photographs and a short introduction about mission work and aims. The images included a "redeemed cannibal," three portraits of Papuans, and two village views, at Samarai and Aue. Mission work was highlighted by images of Wamira station, including the first church (a copy of an early photograph), a school, and the new St. Matthew's native church. Standing to the side in both the school and church photographs was a pastor, dressed in white. Donors to the mission were informed by a caption that the man at the left of the picture was the "South Sea Islander Teacher." For the public the physical construction (the building) was the focus, the mission's educating role (the school) a secondary interest, and the pastor merely an adjunct to the two central visual messages. When European missionaries wrote or spoke about their own work and grappled with problems confronting them in the church abroad—which the Bishop of Brisbane considered was "conscientious study" and an appropriate subject for a book (St. Clair 1911:vii)—they chose to use photographs that reinforced the link

between the mission and home churches in England and Australia. Mission authors and editors represented this link with images of mission vessels, whaleboats, or launches, toward which home church congregations were expected to give freely, not with images of pastors from the South Seas.

The LMS photographic archives show that European missionaries like Dauncey, Schlenker, and Butcher, at considerable personal expense, took series of photographs of their pastors, their wives, and their children. At Aird Hill, for example, B. T. Butcher posed with "my Samoan teacher and forty-six boys," while an unnamed missionary photographer took seven successive poses of a pastor and his family, also unnamed. The prints from these sittings with pastors, wives, and children in various poses on chairs or mission house steps, like others in loose collections and private albums, were never published. They were for personal use, perhaps by the pastors for sending back to their home communities and islands; but it is possible that pastors never saw their own image, particularly if the missionary died, moved on, or went home shortly after, or the visiting photographers failed to send prints back as they continued on their journey. The subject matter of the few substantial collections of work by missionary photographers suggests that taking private and personal photographs was not a priority. Recording the culture, artifacts, behavior, and appearance of Papuans seems to have dominated their photographic activities.

Surprisingly, there are few extant photographs of pastors teaching in school or preaching, though there are several staged compositions with pastors standing at the side or among their congregations or a curious village crowd. The absence of industrial or documentary photography of pastors at work is partly explained by the difficulty of taking indoor shots and of stage-managing a large crowd for the time required for a long exposure (see Figure 7).[11] It also related to the timing and introduction of the camera. When pastors were most active in Papua, between 1871 and 1900, there were only a few bulky wet- and dry-plate cameras taken on the long and arduous sea, river, and land journeys to new stations. Photographers also had a limited number of plates. More pressing imperatives determined the allocation of those plates for recording savages, heathens, and converts. Visitors also traveled from harbor to harbor visiting major settlements like Daru, Port Moresby, and Samarai, missing pastors stationed in remote and less accessible outposts. By the time roll film and box cameras became widely available, pastors were no longer leading the mission work, and pastors as subject matter were now competing against exciting ethnographic images to be collected in the Fly-Gulf division or in the Highlands. By 1930 there were only a few South Sea pastors left in Papua to photograph.

FIGURE 7. **LMS missionaries at a photography session. Photographed by the Rev. A. K. Chignell, date and place unknown, probably Samarai, ca. 1910.** (L. H. Stamp collection, PX*D119, no. 22, Michael Somare Library, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby)

A New Era

Certain images remained standards for mission imaging. A set of Anglican mission calendars from 1967 and 1968 reveals much the same imaging as in the pre- and post-1900 era. Church and mission photographers continued to take group portraits and individual "mug shots," though by the postwar period they were now of local, indigenous Papuan clergy.[12] In the early 1960s the Anglican Board of Missions produced a large display poster on their work in Melanesia. The ten black-and-white photographs covered the same subject matter as in the 1880–1930 period, including a group portrait of theological students on the steps of a school, three individual portraits (including the first two Melanesian Anglican bishops), the crew of a mission ship, images of a teacher, a nurse, and a printing machine operator, and a village scene where the sacrament was being taken. The remaining photograph was a European woman teacher with her class. Allowing for changes in clothing and excluding the printing machine and the nurse, these could have been taken in 1880 or 1890.

The prominence being given to Melanesian church workers in the 1960s, after a hiatus when pastors gradually disappeared from visual imaging in the 1900–1930 period, is explained by the indigenization of churches in the Pacific. Unfortunately for pastors, they were either poorly represented or excluded entirely from the visual record of all stages of the transition of governance from pioneering (dominated by pastors) to consolidation (dominated by Europeans) to indigenization (by Papuan clergy). In Papua, even during the pioneering stage, when pastors were central to mission success, the mission was European-led and pastors were either constructed in images that reinforced European hegemony or excluded from the visual record because they were from the South Seas and not Papuans. When indigenous Papuan church leaders claimed the governance of missions and churches in the 1960s, they also claimed space in the visual record and in the nationing process,[13] as Papua and New Guinea passed from colonial to independent nation status. As the transition occurred in the mission field from pioneering to indigenization and nation building, the inclusion and exclusion of foreign pastors is another dimension of the history of missions and of the complex evangelism-anthropology-colonial project in Papua.

NOTES

1. For example, these issues were raised by Alison Devine Nordström and Elizabeth Edwards in an exhibition catalog of Samoan photography (Blanton 1995:14–25, 49). The phrase "from sites of making to sites of use"—part of the title of an unpublished paper by Nordström (n.d.)—captures these entanglements neatly.

2. For example, Lawes took three group portraits of pastors in 1875, two in 1882, another in 1886, and one other that is undated; see Papuan Pictures, Box 4 (Lawes album dated 1885–1890). Another Lawes album dated 1875 is held in Papuan Pictures, Box 1, and further large prints in Papuan Pictures, Box 5. Church World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and Asian Studies, London (hereafter cited as CWM/SOAS).

3. A search of family albums and training-college records in Fiji, Samoa, Niue, and Tonga might reveal that pastors did indeed use photographs in this way, but to this point family holdings in source islands have not been the subject of research.

4. See Papuan Pictures, Box 7, PGLP series and PGPI series, CWM/SOAS. The categories for storage of Papuan photographs used by the LMS were "Church and Mission work," "General-landscape," "Documentary," "Impact of civilisation," "General-types," "Home life," "Crafts," "Manners and customs," and "Miscellaneous."

5. Lawes named twenty-nine teachers in forty-eight of the sixty-five photographs of pastors in his collection. He also used anonymous captions for seventeen other group portraits, such as "New Guinea students and wives" or "group of four Samoan teachers." For Matapo, see "Photos of groups of Papuans" (n.d.), Papua Pictures, Box 7, PaPiLp 5, CWM/SOAS.

6. For example, a series of photographs taken by H. M. Dauncey at Delena, Papua Pictures, Box 7, PaPgLp 26–28, 31, 38, and 45; and a series probably by H. P. Schlencker at Kalaigolo Mission, Papuan Pictures, Box 6, Pa2, 1–14, CWM/SOAS.

7. Lawes's photograph of Timoteo was available through his "New Guinea" catalog, print no. 330; Dauncey's photograph of Timoteo appeared in *Papuan Pictures* (1913: facing page 120). Pastors appear elsewhere; see ibid.: facing pp. 105, 120, 136, and 137. McIntyre and Mackenzie make the point that Dauncey's familiarity with Delena people enabled him to make a documentary record by taking casual snapshots of village life (1992:160). A similar familiarity, with colleagues and friends, shows in his imaging of pastors.

8. Etchings and later photographs of Ruatoka appeared regularly (in Chalmers and Gill 1885; Cousins 1894; Horne 1894; Chalmers 1895; Barradale 1907; King 1909; Nairne 1913; Bryant 1925), and six prints of Ruatoka alone or with his family were offered for purchase in Lawes's "New Guinea" catalog when it was made available through Kerry and Company of Sydney (1919). H. M. Dauncey wrote Ruatoka's obituary. See *The Chronicle,* November 1908, p. 207. Also see, Bryant 1925: Chap. 23, Reason 1947, and Crocombe 1982.

9. See Howell 1947, Rosenteil 1959, Rotberg 1965, Porter 1980, Coombes 1985, and Clymer 1986.

10. The limited interest in research on representation, imaging, and mission history in the Pacific is surprising. The few attempts to critique mission imaging in the Pacific include Quanchi 1995, Schutte n.d., Thomas 1992, Thomas 1993, and Webb 1995.

11. For a rare photograph, never published, see Papuan Pictures, Box 7, PaPgLp 77, CWM/SOAS. A pastor is shown with a European missionary and a European woman (playing an organ), leading an open-air service for 200 partly clothed Papuans under a large banyan tree.

12. Uncataloged photograph collection, Anglican Board of Missions, St. Martins House, Brisbane; and "New Guinea," uncataloged collection of lantern slides, Church House, Brisbane.

13. Images of indigenous clergy were used as propaganda by the former colonial power, Australia, and by the new nation, Papua New Guinea, to demonstrate the successful transition. The Papuan priest or minister represented the nation's success. The nation was in turn represented by the image of the Papuan priest or minister taking over the role of the European (and colonial) missionary. For the notion of "nationing" and the use of symbols and images to represent the nation in an Australian context, see Turner 1992.

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OFFICIAL/UNOFFICIAL IMAGES: PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE CRANE PACIFIC EXPEDITION, 1928–1929

Virginia-Lee Webb
Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Crane Pacific Expedition was privately funded by Cornelius Crane and institutionally sponsored by the Field Museum, Chicago. Originally planning a pleasure trip, Crane offered to fund and organize a scientific one for the museum. The expedition circled the globe from November 1928 to October 1929, and collected over 18,000 specimens of all types for various departments at the Field Museum. Sculptures were also collected and given to several museums. However, the Crane Expedition is particularly significant for its photographic record of the Sepik River, New Guinea. One official photographer, Sidney N. Shurcliff, was documented, yet five men are now known to have taken photographs and motion pictures. Over 500 photographs were made of people, art, architecture, and everyday life in New Guinea, especially while traveling the Sepik, Keram, and May Rivers during April and May 1929. This article discusses the planning and participants, and provides information and attributions for both the official and unofficial photographers of the Crane Pacific Expedition.

The Crane Pacific Expedition was one of several groups of Americans that traveled through the Pacific during the first decades of this century (Figure 1). It was not the first group of Americans to conduct exploration in the Pacific, neither was it the largest. It is significant because of the diversity of its work, especially its photographic legacy.

We know the multiple agendas of the Crane Pacific Expedition from the very complete collections that survive today. This legacy includes natural history specimens, sculpture, diaries, correspondence, photographs, and films. A popular travel book, *Jungle Islands,* published in 1930, recounts the events of the expedition, but because the book was based on only one participant's diary,

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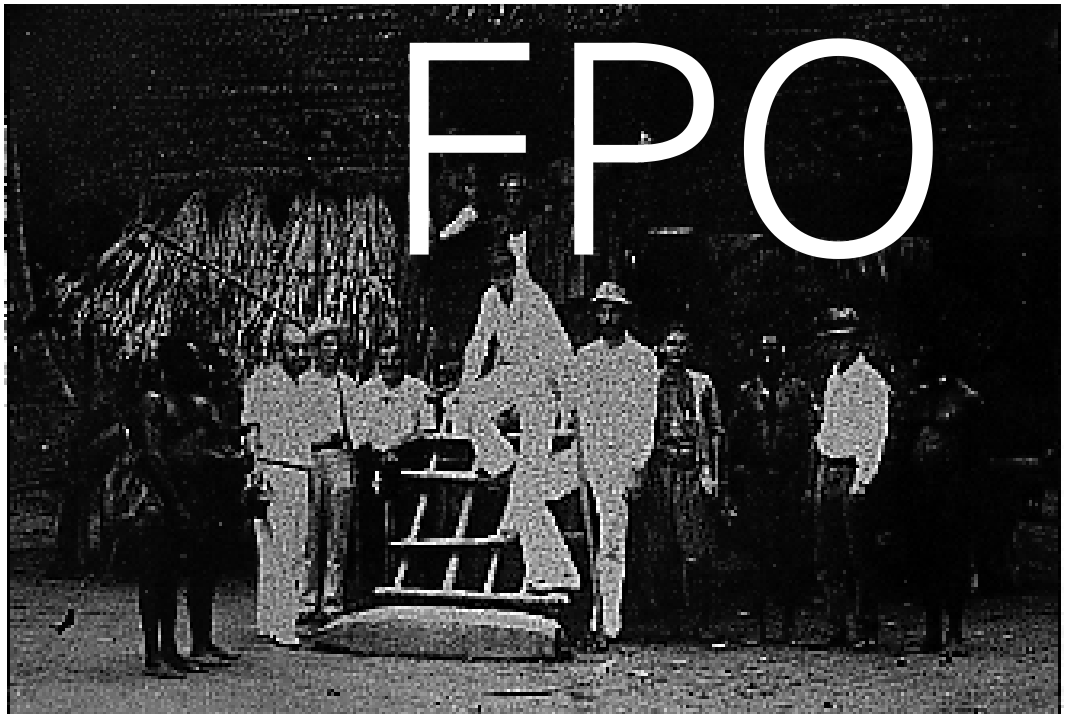

FIGURE 1. **Group of Crane Pacific Expedition members at Tambanum village, New Guinea. Photograph by Sidney N. Shurcliff, 14 May 1929. *Left to right:* Two unidentified men, Father Franz Kirschbaum, Dr. William L. Moss, Captain Seldon Boutilier, Cornelius Crane (on ladder), Dr. Albert Herre (behind Crane), two unidentified men, Charles Peavy, Dr. Karl P. Schmidt, an unidentified man, Murry Fairbank, and another unidentified man. Walt Weber and Frank Wonder remained at Marienberg Mission to collect specimens.** (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Sidney N. Shurcliff, 1973)

many details are omitted, and the itinerary seems to have been changed for literary purposes. This essay will include a brief history of the expedition, identifying the participants, itinerary, and objectives. The photographic activity will be described with special attention given to images made in New Guinea, where the most comprehensive photography took place.[1] Through these images we can construct the vision of several men and see how they pictured the peoples of the Pacific. Also, details about the expedition fill a gap in the history of Euro-American contact with several Pacific communities.

The Crane Pacific Expedition lasted eleven months. It began on 16 November 1928 and returned to port in the United States on 21 October 1929, taking its name from the family who initiated the project and provided most of the financial support. The Crane family of Chicago was socially prominent, wealthy, and adventurous. Family members were also great philanthropists, supporting science and the arts. Crane businesses, which included plumbing companies, were located throughout the United States with a few offices in Europe. The family had grand residences in Chicago as well as Boston and Ipswich, Massachusetts. The head of the family and its numerous businesses, Richard Teller Crane Jr. (1873–1931), was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Field Museum of Chicago (1908–1912, 1921–1931). His wife, Florence, was the daughter of Harlow Higinbotham, who had been president of the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and of the Field Museum 1899–1909 (Shurcliff 1979a:16). Some anthropology and natural history displays at the Columbian Exposition later became part of the Field Museum. Richard and Florence had two children, a daughter named Florence and a son named Cornelius Crane (1905–1962). It was Cornelius who provided the idea for an expedition.

In 1927, having just completed his studies at Harvard University, the twenty-two-year-old Cornelius was promised a yacht as a graduation present from his father. This is quite an extravagant gift by today's standards, but in the second decade of this century before the great stock market crash, it was even more staggering. The wealth of the family was so great that, it is said, the crash of 1929 had little effect on their way of life. The two institutional affiliations with Harvard and the Field Museum provided Cornelius not only with prestige and academic resources, but with an inspiration regarding the use of his soon-to-be-built yacht. Rather than take his friends on a pleasure cruise around the world as he originally planned, Cornelius decided to investigate the possibility of sponsoring a scientific expedition for the Field Museum, where, because of his father's position as trustee and benefactor, he had access to the scientific staff.

Among the earliest documents relating to the idea of the expedition is a letter from Cornelius dated 27 January [1928]. Written on Castle Hill sta-

tionery, from the name of the extraordinary Crane family summer estate in Ipswich, the content of the letter implies that informal discussions about an expedition had taken place by that time between Cornelius Crane and the director of the Field Museum, D. C. Davies. In this letter Crane thanks Davies for sending him information regarding "the question of weather, winds, etc.," and states that he has decided to sail through the South Pacific. Crane also suggests a collaboration with the Field Museum. "I think it would be entirely possible to work out some sort of itinerary of value both to the Museum and to myself and would be very glad to take with me two or three men from the museum providing the cost is not too great."[2] This letter thus began the formal financial negotiations, choice of personnel, and overall planning of the expedition.

Crane not only wanted to have an adventure and to cruise the South Seas, but he decided to mirror his multidisciplinary expedition to follow parts of the routes taken by Charles Darwin in 1831 and his "co-evolutionist" Alfred Russell Wallace, who traveled to the East Indies in the 1850s (Shurcliff 1930: 275). Crane's education and relationship with the Field Museum made him aware of the expeditions that went to the Pacific before him, especially to New Guinea. George Dorsey of the Field Museum had gone on a world tour in 1908 that included what was then German New Guinea. The collecting possibilities inspired Dorsey to raise funds to send anthropologist Albert Buell Lewis to the area between 1909 and 1913. On the Joseph N. Field Expedition, Lewis collected approximately 14,000 objects and made 2,000 photographs, 1,500 of which are now at the Field Museum.[3] Crane also wanted to visit New Guinea, not to specifically follow the course set by Lewis, but to go to areas that had not been systematically visited by Europeans or Americans since the German colonial expeditions of the prewar period. New Guinea was where Crane felt he could still visit "unknown and undiscovered" places.

The Expedition Personnel

Crane knew that the staff of the Field Museum were skilled professionals in their respective fields of study and of good demeanor, which was of special concern to Crane. Crane describes the qualifications and type of personnel he thinks are needed for a trip that would sail around the world through the Pacific and Asia: "I should think it would be necessary to have someone who knew the New Guinea or Celebes regions. . . . As to the men themselves of course they would have to be thorough gentlemen and congenial as well as men who knew their work."[4]

Crane's selection of "gentlemen" to accompany him began in the zoology department with then assistant curator Karl Patterson Schmidt (1890–1957).

Schmidt was a herpetologist who had started at the Field Museum in 1922 (Shurcliff 1979b:20). He had participated in the museum's Brazilian Expedition and was highly regarded by Dr. W. H. Osgood, then head of the department. Schmidt was approved by Crane and appointed supervisor of the scientific staff. Osgood knew that Schmidt's now prominent position on this expedition provided a way to expand the departmental collections, so he pushed for additional staff from the Field Museum to participate in the expedition. In a museum memorandum to Director Davies, Osgood wrote in support of the expedition, as it would provide an opportunity "to make a beginning in collections of marine invertebrates and material for the Museum's Marine Hall." He suggests additional personnel: "The [next] man might be younger . . . but it would be particularly desirable if he were competent as an artist for making sketches. . . . Such a young man is probably available in the person of a young student at the University of Chicago."[5] Although unnamed in this memorandum, he was referring to Walt Alois Weber, a twenty-two-year-old artist who eventually joined the trip. Osgood further wrote, "May I call attention to the qualifications of Mr. Frank Wonder who is now employed as assistant skin dresser and general assistant in the Department of Zoology."[6] Osgood praised Wonder's work experience, indicating that, if given the opportunity, he would develop into an extraordinarily good field man. Wonder was signed on and was to help prepare and mount all of the natural history specimens collected on the expedition.

Although Osgood preferred to include his own scientists, specialists were not forthcoming in every area. Several ichthyologists were proposed, but none of the men were available. In March 1928, Crane selected Dr. Albert W. Herre from Stanford University. He had considerable credentials and had specialized in studying fishes of the Pacific for twenty years.

A medical doctor was an absolute necessity for a trip of this type, as the scientists and crew would be exposed to many different environments on a world cruise. Also, the content of his letters indicate that young Crane was not a healthy man. His secretaries often wrote to reschedule his appointments because of sickness or operations. Crane suffered from asthma and spent time convalescing in warmer climates such as Bermuda. For the health of the crew and his own well-being, a physician was chosen. Dr. William Lorenzo Moss, from the staff of Harvard University and Boston Children's Hospital, was an ideal candidate for this position. He had received his medical training at the University of Georgia and Johns Hopkins Medical School, and he had done graduate work in Berlin. In 1916 he had accompanied a Harvard University–sponsored expedition to Peru. His expertise in epidemiology and tropical medicine, and his prior travel made him an ideal choice to take care of the personnel. Crane's expedition greatly interested Moss, as it would pro-

vide him the opportunity to continue his pioneering work defining human blood types and studying tropical diseases. In 1928 the system that we now use to identify human blood types was not yet in place. Moss's research helped formulate the system that is used today to make transfusions a safe procedure. In addition to his professional experience and to the great delight of Crane, Moss was also known to be a thorough gentleman.

While the scientists were being selected for the trip, Crane was busy contacting friends that he wanted to take with him on his world cruise. Charles R. Peavy of Mobile, Alabama, was the next man to join. He had attended Harvard with Crane and had sailing experience. Sidney N. Shurcliff of Boston was a childhood friend and Harvard classmate of Crane. Their families lived near each other during their summers in Ipswich; Sidney's father, Arthur Shurtleff, was a well-known landscape architect who worked on designing the grounds of the Crane estate there.[7] Shurcliff was appointed the official photographer. Shurcliff's sister Alice remembered that Crane hired a "Hollywood type" to train Shurcliff in movie film techniques (pers. com., 27 June 1986).

The last person to join the expedition was Murry Fairbank. Fairbank proved to be a versatile and valuable member of the crew. A mechanical engineer, he had also attended Harvard with Crane, graduating in 1928. At the time of the expedition, he was superintendent of airplane maintenance at Boston Airport Corporation (Shurcliff 1930:10–11). Documentation indicating when Fairbank was officially asked to join the crew is lacking. His name does not appear in any of the preliminary correspondence. He may have been contacted as late as October 1928. Fairbank was probably invited because Crane had planned to bring an airplane along. The plane was to have folded wings, making it easier to transport. Much to his disappointment, Crane realized during the planning stages that there would not be enough room on the ship, but Fairbank was still invited (Shurcliff 1930:6).

The yacht that was to transport the expedition was named the *Illyria.* It was constructed in Lussinpiccolo, Italy, by Marco Martinolich. Designed by Henry J. Gielow of New York, it was a brigantine of 357 gross tons and 133 feet long (Tod 1965:247–248). A crew of eighteen sailors was selected, to be led by Captain Seldon Boutilier, who came from the Massachusetts area. Crane now had a full picture of his expedition.

The itinerary of the expedition was global. From Boston Harbor on 16 November 1928 they sailed to Bermuda, Cuba, Haiti, through the Panama Canal, to the Galapagos, the Marquesas, Tahiti, Fiji, New Hebrides (now Vanuatu), and the Solomon Islands before reaching New Guinea. The visits ranged from a few hours to several days. During the first five months they became settled on the ship and began their scientific work by collecting specimens. They took photographs and movie film of the places they visited and

some of the plants and animals they collected. In retrospect, they were conservative in their picture-taking activities from November to April in comparison to their time in New Guinea. It was there that they took the most photographs.

The Photographers

Photography was to be an almost daily activity on the Crane Pacific Expedition. Crane wanted photographs to document every aspect of the trip. As the "official" photographer, Shurcliff took many photographs and exposed thousands of feet of movie film, but he was not the only photographer active on the expedition. There were other "unofficial" photographers. Diaries and correspondence have revealed several other men with cameras.

Schmidt was planning to take camera equipment. In fact, the details regarding photographic equipment and supplies were initiated in a list written by Schmidt. He wrote to Shurcliff on 30 August 1928, relating his plans: "Mr. Crane suggested that I write to you regarding my photographic needs. . . . The only apparatus I shall take is a (4 × 5) Graflex, using roll film in six exposure rolls."[8] Schmidt indicates in the same document that he plans to take flash pictures. This would be necessary if he was to photograph any nocturnal species. Schmidt may also have used an Eastman View camera that was a personal possession. Shurcliff informed Schmidt that he would be using a slightly smaller film format, 9 × 12 cm. We know from Shurcliff's diary and book that he also used a Graflex camera.[9]

Dr. William Moss also brought along a camera. He used a small Kodak Autographic, which used A-122 and A-118 film. It was a folding-type model that he can be seen carrying in several still photographs. Like Shurcliff he too referred to his camera in his letters and journal by the brand name, Kodak.[10]

In addition to his position as engineer, Murry Fairbank was asked to be assistant photographer to Shurcliff. He was not assigned any specific camera or task, so his duties included filming, moving equipment, and developing and editing film. In addition to assisting Shurcliff, Fairbank seems to have brought along a Leica for his personal use. The Leica is a 35 mm. range-finder camera, radically different in format from the Graflex, Kodak, and View cameras belonging to the other men. It uses smaller, rectangular-format film. The shutter of the Leica operates without making the loud "clunk" that other cameras make, enabling the photographer to get fairly close to his or her subjects.

Charles Peavy may also have brought along a Leica, but few details are available regarding his photographic activity.[11] We know of his participation in the photography because Shurcliff recorded it in his diary. Referring to their visit in Wala, he noted that "Murry and Chuck did pretty good with their

small Leica cameras at Wala."[12] In total there were at least five still cameras on the expedition, possibly more.

The formats of cameras and film, in fact, assist with photographer attributions. No separate lists of photographs were made. The details we know regarding photographers and their equipment come from diaries and correspondence. Descriptions of events, people, and places in the written documents provide clues to a photographer's identity. Using this information along with negative sizes, images can be assigned to a specific individual.

Crane aspired to make an adventure film in the tradition of Frank Hurley and Martin and Osa Johnson. To accomplish this, he purchased three movie cameras that used black-and-white, silent 35 mm. film. The movie *Jungle Islands* attained that goal, although it was not a commercial success. All of the men used the movie cameras. To film a scene from different angles, often three cameras were used at once. The primary camera was an Akeley, which was the most dependable but also the most cumbersome (Figure 2). It was

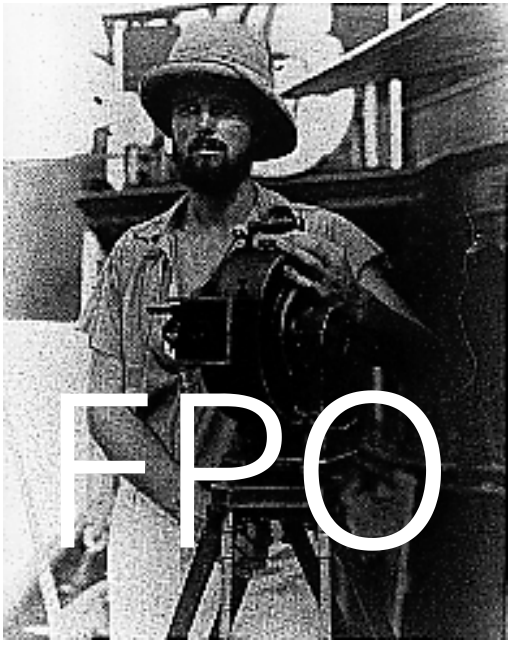

FIGURE 2. **Sidney N. Shurcliff with an Akeley movie camera. Photograph by Murry Fairbank, 1928–1929.** (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Sidney N. Shurcliff, 1973)

heavy and needed to be mounted on a tripod or firm support. However, Shurcliff often secured it to unlikely places such as treetops and the *Illyria*'s crow's nest in order to take interesting footage.[13]

Two smaller, more portable De Vry movie cameras were the second type used.[14] They could be and were hand carried while walking. They were often used by the scientists in the smaller boats to film the approach to shore. This portability subjected the cameras to adverse conditions, and they often got wet and jammed. However, like the Leica still cameras, they enabled the photographers to move freely and closely to capture the action.

Remarkably, an underwater movie camera was included, as was the heavy and cumbersome diving equipment of the time. The scientists wanted to photograph aquatic life and coral reefs. They successfully made a reel of underwater film that survives today.

They brought along a movie projector for their own entertainment and to view the film they had shot. A few commercially made silent movies were also brought along. In addition, a Victrola record player was a cherished possession, providing music when the crew needed reminders of home.

The *Illyria* had a fully equipped darkroom, which was well used during the trip. Still photographs were developed and printed by Shurcliff and Fairbank. Shurcliff found local photographers to process the movie film when time was limited. When they reached the Pacific, especially New Guinea, they rarely had time to work in the darkroom, because they were moving quickly from place to place and were so busy preparing specimens.

The sophistication of the photographic equipment reflected the preparedness of the scientists, the wealth of funding, and Crane's commitment to making a photographic record of his trip. Crane's enthusiasm and his knowledge of the best camera equipment available in 1928–1929 created the setting for the Crane expedition to show the world their adventure on film.

The Collections

Today the collections relating to the expedition are dispersed in the United States. The sculpture collections made by Crane, Moss, Peavy, and Shurcliff are primarily at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. There are a few objects at the Field Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The 18,000 natural history specimens collected by Schmidt, Herre, Fairbank, Wonder, and Weber are at the Field Museum. Shurcliff's four volumes of diaries were deposited in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, as were copies of his photographs and movie films. Shurcliff gave contact prints of his photographs and a complete copy of the film *Jungle Islands* to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1973. Fairbank's negatives were also given by Shurcliff to the Metropolitan

Museum of Art at the same time. Schmidt's photographs, specimen notes, and expedition correspondence are at the Field Museum. The sculptures he collected are now at the Peabody Essex Museum. Dr. Moss's family has carefully kept his detailed diary and the letters he sent home. They also preserved and cared for his negatives and photographs. Shortly after the expedition, Moss gave a selection of prints to the photograph archives, Peabody Museum, Harvard. The Metropolitan Museum of Art also has a copy set obtained from the Moss family. The extraordinary photographic record that Crane, Shurcliff, Schmidt, Moss, Peavy, and Fairbank assembled (over 500 images of New Guinea alone) takes the form of contact prints, enlargements, and hand-colored lantern slides held by the Metropolitan Museum, the Peabody Museum, the Field Museum, the Peabody Essex Museum, and the Moss family.

The unique quality of the photographs is their intimacy. In general, they do not conform to static pictorial tropes common to anthropometric study. These are not "field photographs" in a proper anthropological sense. There were no anthropologists on board, and neither did they stay long enough in any one location to make a systematic cultural study. Except for one or two instances where people were posed to emphasize gender or physical stature, the photographs are spontaneous. They reveal the in-between moments that only the photographic medium can capture. Indices of reality are cut out of time and imprinted onto film to reveal reciprocal moments of wonder during each encounter. An "experience of wonder" is present in the photographs (Greenblatt 1991:15). The movie film also portrays the moment of the encounter in a seamless, cinematic way. Liminal moments of contact and exchange during the expedition were filmed.

In New Guinea

The Crane Pacific Expedition arrived in Rabaul, New Britain, on 26 April 1929. Rabaul had been a major port during the German colonial period and was then the center of Australian administration. There the expedition obtained supplies, packed and shipped specimens back to the United States, and inquired about traveling to remote districts of the northern coast of the island of New Guinea.

The long-term German residents and sailors that they met in Rabaul assured them that they could travel to the interior of New Guinea by going up the Sepik River. Various scientific and commercial expeditions had been sent up the Sepik during the prewar period, when the northeast part of the island was a German colony (Souter 1964; Firth 1982; Scheps and Liedtke 1992; Sack and Clark 1979). Government administrators, scientists, business-

men, and missionaries had traveled parts of the river many times before May 1929. Crane was advised to seek out a Father Franz Kirschbaum, who had lived on the Sepik for many years. Father Kirschbaum was a member of the Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost, Society of the Divine Word, based at Sek, Alexishafen, in 1909. He had arrived in New Guinea in 1907 (Streit and Dindinger 1955:523). Kirschbaum ran a smaller mission station at Marienberg on the lower Sepik River, which was well established by 1914 (Firth 1982:154). Crane located Father Kirschbaum at Alexishafen, and after some discussion, he agreed to guide the expedition upriver in exchange for taking three tons of provisions and transporting fifteen local people back to Marienberg. Kirschbaum was key to the success of the Crane Pacific Expedition. He had linguistic abilities, knew village locations, and literally guided the expedition upriver.

The *Illyria* made its way to Marienberg on 9 May 1929. Weber and Wonder remained to collect birds while the rest of the expedition sailed up the Sepik. Because the ship had traveled quickly from Alexishafen, it was decided that the *Illyria* would go back downriver to stop at villages that they passed along the way. The first major photographic activity took place in Bien village, among the Angoram-speaking people on 10 May 1929. The people were the primary subject of the photographs, and the images here include the few pictures that are suggestive of a standard anthropological style. In composition, they resemble anthropometric photographs made at the turn of the century. But, according to Shurcliff, the men and women of Bien village were posed in a line not to be measured, but for photographs. The women of the village ran away as the all-male expedition entered the village. Kirschbaum facilitated the photography by asking a man in the village to have both men and women pose in a line so Fairbank, Moss (Figure 3), and Shurcliff (Figure 4) could take photos (Shurcliff 1930:215).

On May 11, at the suggestion of Father Kirschbaum, the expedition headed for Murik Lagoon, northwest of the Sepik. Kirschbaum had previously visited the villages in this area with other missionaries and taken photographs. In Darapap village they were permitted to enter one of the men's houses, where elaborate feather headdresses were being constructed (Figure 5). Shurcliff, Fairbank, and Moss took photographs of these headdresses.

As they moved up the Sepik, the river and landscape became the subject of many photographs. Schmidt noted in his diary the great variety of vegetation and wildlife along its banks. Landscapes and river views are numerous in the photographic corpus.

By May 14 they had reentered the Sepik River after Murik, passed Marienberg again, and entered the middle section of the river. In addition

FIGURE 3. **Dr. William L. Moss preparing to photograph the women of Bien village, posed in a line. Photograph by Sidney N. Shurcliff, 10 May 1929.** (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Sidney N. Shurcliff, 1973)

FIGURE 4. **Women and children of Bien village, posed in a line. Photograph by Sidney N. Shurcliff, 10 May 1929.** (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Sidney N. Shurcliff, 1973)

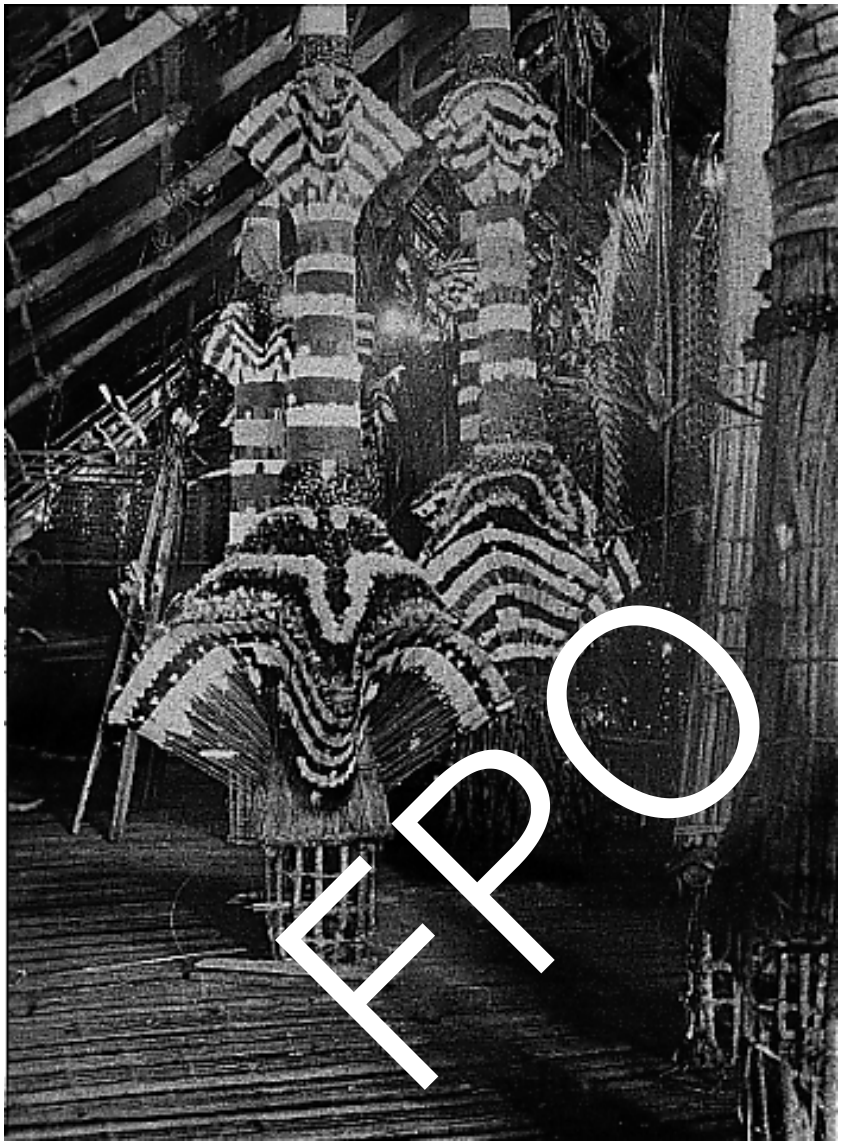

FIGURE 5. **Feather headdresses in house interior, Darapap village, Murik Lagoon. Photograph by Sidney N. Shurcliff, 11 May 1929.** (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Sidney N. Shurcliff, 1973)

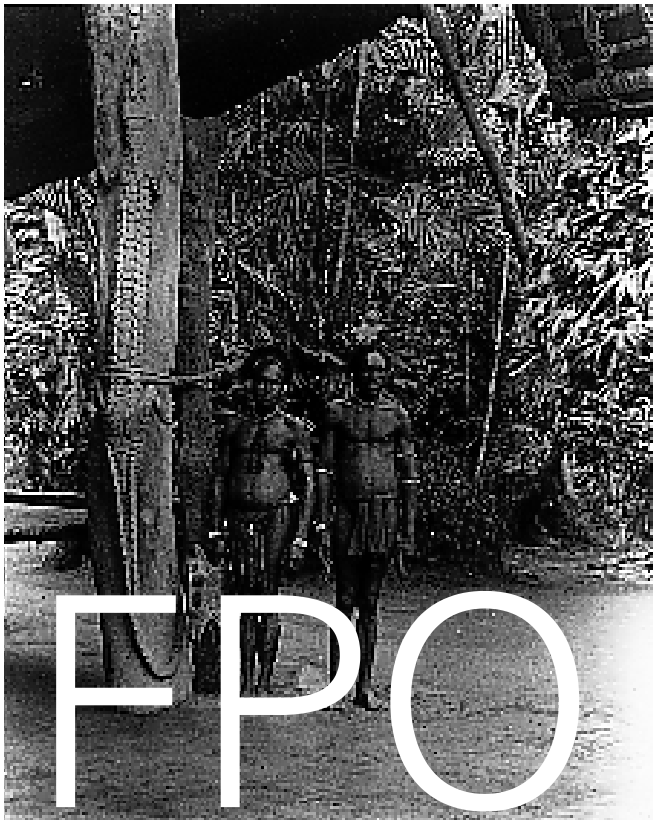

FIGURE 6. **Two unidentified men, Tambanum village. Photograph by Dr. William L. Moss, 14 May 1929.** (Courtesy of Peabody Museum, Harvard University [N31769, H23075])

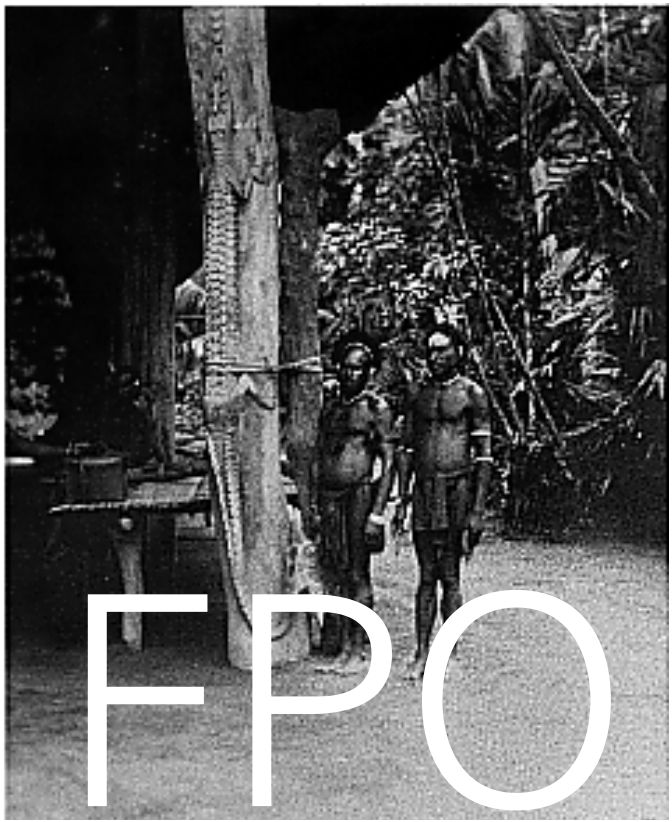

FIGURE 7. **Two unidentified men, Tambanum village. Photograph by Sidney N. Shurcliff, 14 May 1929.** (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Sidney N. Shurcliff, 1973)

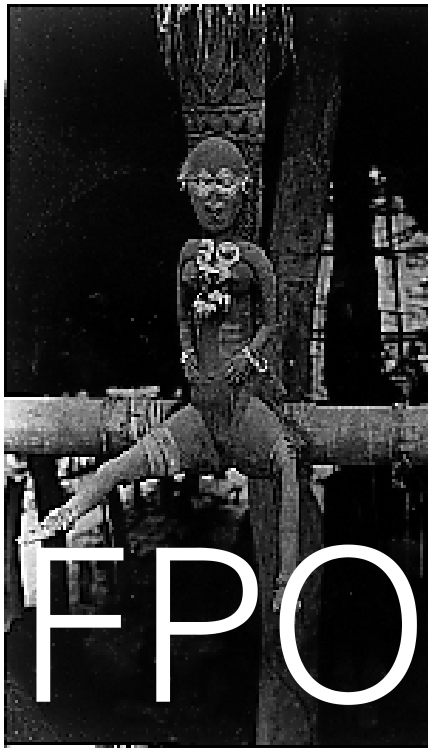

FIGURE 8. **Detail of gable sculpture, Tambanum village, Iatmul. Photograph by William L. Moss, 14 May 1929.** (Courtesy Peabody Museum, Harvard University [N31770, H23076] and Moss Family Collection, Athens, Georgia)

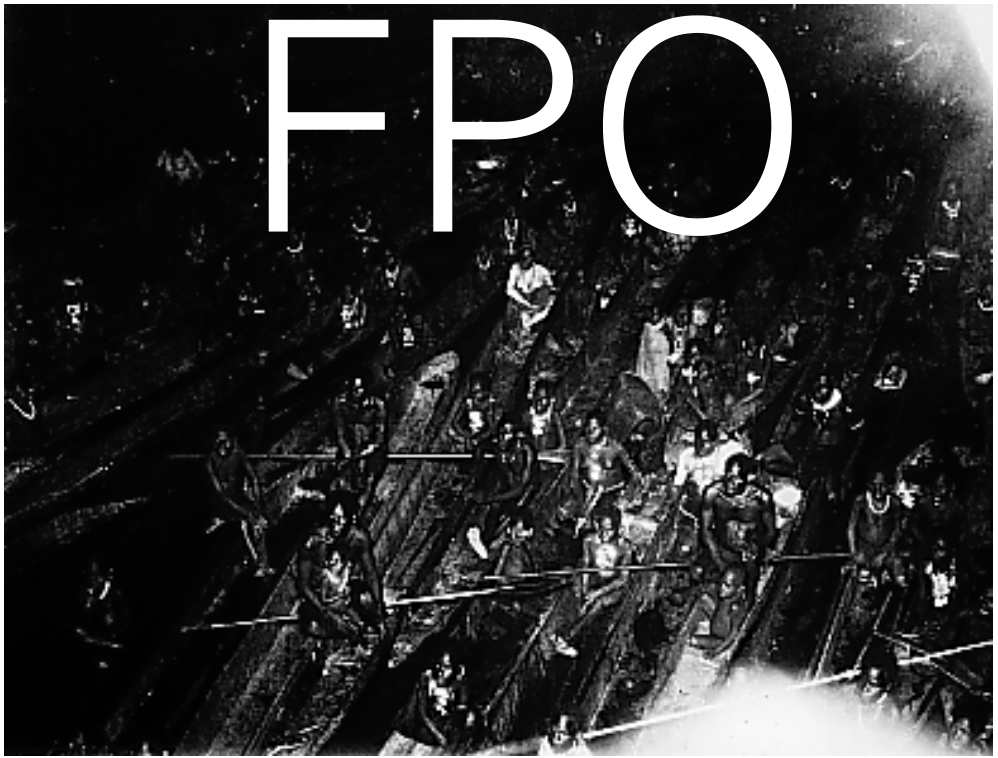

FIGURE 9. **Flash photograph of people in canoes, Timbunke village. Photograph by Karl P. Schmidt, 23 May 1929.** (The Field Museum, Chicago [Neg. C5A–69998])

to the linguistic and ethnic changes, the architecture and art they now saw was quite different. They were in an area inhabited by the Iatmul-speaking people, some of the most prolific and inventive artists and architects in New Guinea.

The first Iatmul village they visited was Tambanum, on May 14. Dr. Moss's images indicate their primary photographic interest in the Iatmul area was architecture. The photographs taken by Fairbank and Shurcliff show that the extraordinary style, construction, and decoration of domestic and ceremonial buildings fascinated the expedition.

The picture-taking activity was so intense in Tambanum and other Iatmul villages that photographs were made almost simultaneously by the men. For example, Moss and Shurcliff each photographed the same scene, an elaborately carved housepost and two men (Figures 6 and 7). At first glance the images appear identical, but closer examination reveals that the subjects turned their heads slightly for each photographer. The cameras Moss and Shurcliff used were similar in format, both the Kodak and Graflex being held at the chest. The duplication of images poses questions regarding the notion of unique artistic style. If the same scene is photographed simultaneously by two different photographers, with nearly identical equipment resulting in nearly identical images, where is the individuality of the photograph? Its unique quality is not in the choice of composition, it is unique because it is a different frame of time, indexing the same referents at another moment from another position. The photographer's approach to a subject is also apparent. There is a photograph by Shurcliff showing Dr. Moss standing on a ladder opposite the gable of a house, preparing to take a photograph of the sculpture; and a detailed photograph by Moss of the female figure that was carved into the post (Figure 8). When the set is seen together, we can locate the movement of the photographers and sequence their activity.

After Tambanum village, the expedition continued up the Sepik. The same day, May 14, they visited Timbunke village. In fact, they stopped here also on May 23, on their return back downriver. It is difficult to attribute some of the photos to either date with any certainty, as their activities were similar on both visits. They took motion picture film of children in the village swimming across the river, and several photographs and film footage were made of people in canoes (Figure 9).

They stopped at Kanganaman village on May 15, and again they photographed the architecture in great detail. The ceremonial or men's houses and objects kept inside were the subject of many images. The proliferation of photographs from diverse angles and positions has produced a discernible narrative of photographic activity.

The expedition reached Malu village about noon on 16 May 1929. Malu

had been visited by outsiders as early as 1887, when Dr. Schrader and Dr. Hollrung of the Neu Guinea Kompagnie had set up camp in the area (Kaufmann 1990:592; Souter 1964:115). The first extended European visit to Malu was in 1912–1913, when the Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss Expedition traveled through the area. A member of that group, Dr. Adolf Roesicke, spent a great deal of time near Malu village, because the expedition's base camp was located nearby at Ambunti (Kaufmann 1990:592–593). Some of Roesicke's notes and photos survive today at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. The photos from the Crane Pacific Expedition add to the few additional photos of the area. It was rare for people to travel past the patrol post at Ambunti on the upper part of the Sepik River.

By May 18 the expedition had passed Ambunti and approached the villages of Wogamush and Kubka. They were not permitted ashore but photographed from the *Illyria* and traded with the men who came out to the *Illyria* in their canoes. Schmidt collected two hornbill bags now in the Field Museum. He can be seen displaying them in two photographs (Figure 10).

Navigating by German maps, finally, on May 19, the *Illyria* reached the May River. The name reflects the month seventeen years earlier when the Germans reached it. Unfortunately, the Crane expedition did not obtain names of the villages or people they visited, so it is difficult to make attributions of the photos. Later research indicates that they may have passed Pekwai village (Newton 1973). The encounter and active exchange between the expedition and the villagers was photographed. The images by Fairbank especially frame the action. He captured the liminal moments of trade between the men with his quiet and small Leica. Satisfied that they had visited an "unknown" place not seen by outsiders for at least seventeen years, Crane and his men headed back toward the mission.

On their return to Marienberg, the expedition went down the Keram River to Kambot, Korogopa, and Geketen villages. Father Kirschbaum and another missionary named Father Girards had previously visited these villages. They had seen and photographed the featherwork that decorated the architecture on certain occasions. When Crane arrived, the large feather displays were down, but the architecture, carving, and painting once again enthralled them. In Kambot they made photographs of the underside of the painted roof gables that extended out over the entrance. Flash photos were taken of the house interiors (Figure 11). The flash photographs are especially valuable, because they show the art inside these extraordinary buildings. They were also very dangerous to make: one person held the flash gun with the exploding gunpowder, while the second person opened the shutter of the camera to expose the film. Together, the many photographs form a very complete record of the way Kambot village looked on 24–25 May 1929.

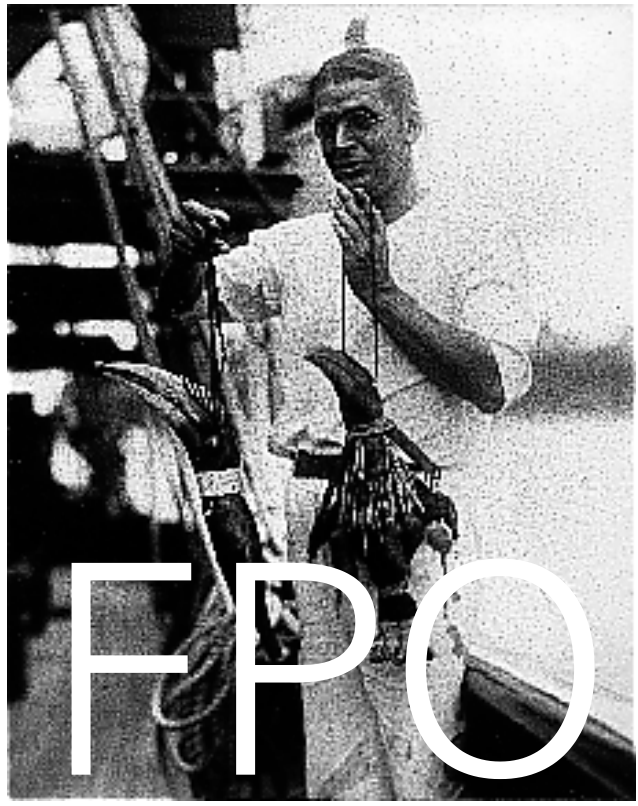

FIGURE 10. **Dr. Karl P. Schmidt holding two hornbill bags, near Wogamush village, Wogamusin. The hornbill bags are now in the collection of the Field Museum, Chicago. Photograph by Sidney N. Shurcliff, 18 May 1929.** (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Sidney N. Shurcliff, 1973)

Finally returning to Marienberg Mission on the evening of May 26, the expedition members were tired but elated by their experiences. Each one of them had either made photographs or films, or collected objects or specimens. The trip up the Sepik River in New Guinea was the last "official" stop of the expedition. The collecting and photography systematically ceased after they left the island and made their way home through Asia. The scientists dispersed at different locations, and Captain Boutilier brought the *Illyria* back to Massachusetts after a voyage of eleven months.

FIGURE 11. **Four unidentified men inside ceremonial house, Kambot village, Keram River. Photograph by Sidney N. Shurcliff, 24 May 1929.** (The Field Museum, Chicago, Crane album, p. 99)

Because of the insight, social position, and above all the wealth of one young man and his family, we now have a photographic record with supporting documentation of the way that New Guinea looked to several Americans during the month of May in 1929. The nearly 500 photographs were framed, composed, and inspired from their perspectives. In a literal sense, the photographs look a certain way because of the types of equipment they used and the limited number of positions from which views could be taken. But the personal vision and objectives of the men, and of course the time period, contributed to the choice of subjects and scenes. The Crane Pacific Expedition can now be added to the chronologies of Pacific exploration in the transitional period after German colonial presence and before the visits of Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, and others. These newly relocated images by the official and unofficial photographers can now be made available to contemporary audiences and used to construct histories from the perspectives of their own time and various cultures.

NOTES

I wish to thank Max Quanchi and the editors of *Pacific Studies* for their assistance with the publication of this essay. At The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, thanks go to Julie Jones for her support of this research and Deborah A. Saleeby for her assistance with the preparation of this essay. I gratefully acknowledge the individuals and archives who have granted reproduction requests: Nina Cummings, Field Museum; Kathy Flynn and Jane Ward, Peabody Essex Museum; Martha Labelle, Peabody Museum, Harvard University; and Marguerite Heery, The Moss Family Collection.

1. The information in this article is based on my Ph.D. dissertation, hereafter referred to as Webb 1996.

2. Crane to Davies, Jan. 27 [1928], Crane Pacific Expedition, Folder 2. Citations are from the official expedition documents located in the Museum Archives, Field Museum of Natural History, hereafter cited as CPE.

3. A publication containing Lewis's extensive diaries is forthcoming by Dr. Robert Welsch. See Welsch 1998; Welsch 1988; Welsch and Terrell 1991; and Parker 1978 for descriptions of Lewis's work.

4. Crane to Davies, Jan. 27 [1928], CPE, Folder 2.

5. Osgood to Davies, Feb. 7 [1928], CPE, Folder 2.

6. Osgood to Simms, Oct. 6 [1928], CPE, Folder 9.

7. Around 1928 Arthur Shurtleff changed the family name to Shurcliff. Throughout the expedition documents both names were variously used.

8. Karl Schmidt's papers are located in the Field Museum Library. Schmidt to Shurcliff, Aug. 30 [1928]. "Shurtleff," B21, F4 KPS Papers, Field Museum Library.

9. Sidney Shurcliff Diaries (hereafter SNS Diaries), MSS E-42, Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass., vol. 1, entry December 27, 1928; vol. 2, January 7, 1929, and elsewhere.

10. See, for example, a letter to his wife, Marguerite, on 13 May 1929. Moss Family Collection, Athens, Georgia.

11. To date, no journal or diary by Peavy has been located.

12. SNS Diaries, vol. 3, entry April 4, 1929.

13. SNS Diaries, vol. 3, entry May 15, 1929.

14. A third De Vry was purchased on 24 February 1929, while in Tahiti. SNS Diaries, vol. 2, entry Feb. 24, 1929.

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The Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois

Museum Archives
"Crane Pacific Expedition of the Field Museum." Eighteen folders of correspondence regarding planning; letters and documents of expedition.

Field Museum Library
"Karl Patterson Schmidt Papers," Boxes 1–31.
Files: "Crane," "Fairbanks," "Field," "Moss," "Shurtleff," "Crane Pacific Expedition."

Moss Family Collection, Athens, Georgia

Photographs, journals, and correspondence of Dr. William L. Moss
Courtesy Marguerite Moss Heery, Athens, Georgia; Elizabeth Moss Schmidt, Sheffield, Massachusetts; William Lorenzo Moss II, Athens, Georgia. All rights reserved.

Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts

Sidney Nichols Shurcliff [Shurtleff] Diaries
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WHITE SHADOWS IN THE DARKNESS: REPRESENTATIONS OF POLYNESIAN WOMEN IN EARLY CINEMA

Margaret Jolly
Australian National University

This article considers representations of Polynesian women in two early Hollywood films: *Moana* (1926) and *Tabu* (1931). It ponders the tensions not just between the cinematic visions of Robert Flaherty and F. W. Murnau, but between ethnographic recuperations and romantic celebrations of Polynesian women, in the light of de Lauretis's contentions (in *Technologies of Gender,* 1987) that gendered identities are neither fixed nor immutable, but shifting and fluid effects.

Moana (1926) and *Tabu* (1931) are both films associated with the name of Robert Flaherty, though in different ways. *Moana: A Romance of the Golden Age* carries a clear Flaherty signature and, like *Nanook of the North,* has been celebrated and criticized as part of the tradition of the "documentary" or ethnographic film.[1] *Tabu* has been typified, rather, as an example of the genre of Hollywood romances of the South Seas, a tempestuous if poignant love story. Although Flaherty worked on both these films, only *Moana* bears his directorial signature.[2] *Tabu* is attributed to the German director F. W. Murnau.[3] As he had during the filming of the earlier *White Shadows in the South Seas* (1929),[4] with William Van Dyke II, Flaherty fell out with his collaborators and, indeed, the Hollywood studio system. In 1929, on the eve of departure for Tahiti, he quipped that going through Hollywood was like "sailing over a sewer in a glass-bottomed boat" (Winston 1984–1985:59).[5] But the tensions between Flaherty and Murnau were not just over art and money, or even between the approaches of documentary and fiction film, realism and expressionism. The juxtaposition of *Moana* and *Tabu* also suggests a slippage between genres, a slippage that is especially acute in representa-

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tions of women—between the sliding motions of ethnographic recuperation and romantic celebration.

Moana: A Romance of the Golden Age

Critical discussion of *Moana* often proceeds by comparison with Flaherty's earlier film *Nanook of the North,* made with the Inuit in 1920–1921. Both the arctic climate and the arduous history of its making evoked the struggle of "man" [*sic*] with nature. Grierson and others suggest that the studio wanted another *Nanook* but that Flaherty found Samoa too idyllic, too benign for such a saga (Grierson 1972:127). He and his family (his wife Frances, their three children, his brother David, and an Irish nursemaid) spent about eighteen months on the island of Savai'i in Western Samoa, and from his extensive footage (over 240,000 feet) he constructed another struggle—the struggle to achieve manhood itself. The central character, Moana, has in the final sequences of the film to endure the pain of acquiring a tattoo, in order to "become a man" and thus to secure the "survival of his race" (quoted from intertitles of *Moana*).

But Ta'avale, the actor who played Moana, would not have been tattooed if it were not for Flaherty's film and the high fee he was paid (Calder-Marshall 1963:113–114). Even though tattooing was little practiced in this era, Flaherty insisted on recording the rite (with some local resistance, presumably from devout Wesleyans).[6] Many Samoan men of the period, including many of the actors in the film, do not bear tattoos. Although *Moana* is part of the documentary canon,[7] its ethnographic intent is clearly romantic and recuperative. The subtitle betrays this—Flaherty was knowingly reconstructing a golden age, a Samoan idyll where nature was bountiful, work was pleasure, relations between men and women were harmonious and secure, and the old gods prevailed rather than Jehovah.[8]

The opening intertitles establish both the romantic and the ethnographic credentials. First, a quote from Robert Louis Stevenson: "The first love, the first sunrise, the first South Sea island, are memories apart." Then, Flaherty's acknowledgment of his indigenous interpreter, Fialelei, granddaughter of Seumanutafa, of the island of Savai'i, "where the people still retain the spirit and nobility of their great race." She is also described as "intimate friend and counsellor of Robert Louis Stevenson."

The initial shot tracks from the tip of a high tree, covered in vines to its base, in the midst of a taro garden, the gardeners seemingly lost among the large glistening leaves. The women are dressed in tapa ponchos *(tiputa),* the men though bare-breasted are also wearing beautiful *tapa lavalava,* which look like rather inappropriate garden attire.[9] Here we meet the central char-

acters, the beautiful young man Moana, harvesting the taro ("their bread"); his younger brother Pe'a; his elder brother Leupenga; the beautiful Fa'angase, "the highest maiden of the village," collecting leaves and bananas; and Moana's mother, Tu'ungaita, collecting paper mulberry boughs. They are not only well dressed in *siapo* (tapa), they are all laughing exuberantly while they work. The differences between men's and women's labor is emphasized —women carry leaves, bananas, and firewood on their backs; men bear tubers and coconuts in woven leaf baskets attached to poles and shoulder their loads with more puff and ostentation.

Later scenes establish that it is men and boys who assume the dangerous, risky work—be it pursuing and ensnaring a wild pig ("the jungle's one dangerous animal," "the tusks can kill"), climbing high palms to dislodge coconuts, smoking out coconut crabs (Figure 1), or fishing and catching turtles in turbulent seas. Although the sea at Safune village is calm and abundant, fringed by a coral reef, the tempestuous potential of the ocean is evoked in shots of heavy waves and blowholes that spume into the camera lens. It is men who brave the ocean vigorously in their outriggers (Figure 2), and in one stunning if dangerous sequence, they succumb and have to swim to shore. (This was shot with a long lens, with Flaherty at a safe distance).[10]

The work of women, by contrast, is represented as subdued and interior.[11] We see the smoke rising from Mother Tu'ungaita's cookhouse, and we see her soaking the mulberry strips, beating them with a mallet, carefully pulling apart the fragile white tissue, and patching pieces onto the frayed holes in the fabric. Her supple, consummate hands work lovingly over the cloth. The candlenut seeds are crushed and the dye is made, and she instructs her younger assistant in carefully marking the tapa. Their faces are suffused with joy and satisfaction. And although the intertitle "Mother Tu'ungaita makes a dress" slyly alludes to missionary sewing classes, we are assured that this is none other than the costume of the country, "the *lavalava*" (although elsewhere men are to be seen sailing outriggers in store-bought cloth).

Women are also portrayed at work in the gardens and the seashore, collecting reeds and shells. There is a shot of a bare-breasted Fa'angase holding a giant clam, followed by a playful teasing sequence between her and Moana. We had earlier seen Moana languorously dribbling water, "pure, cool, and sparkling" from a bush vine into her throat.[12] In this sequence Fa'angase is draped over an outrigger, eagerly munching tiny live fish. We are told "she couldn't bear to eat raw oysters, but silver fishes—yum!! wiggle and all" (quoted from intertitles).[13] As she munches she teases Moana, her sinuous toes and his plaintive fingers moving in and out of the water like darting little fishes. The erotic play between the young lovers continues in a later sequence where she massages Moana with perfumed coconut oil and deco-

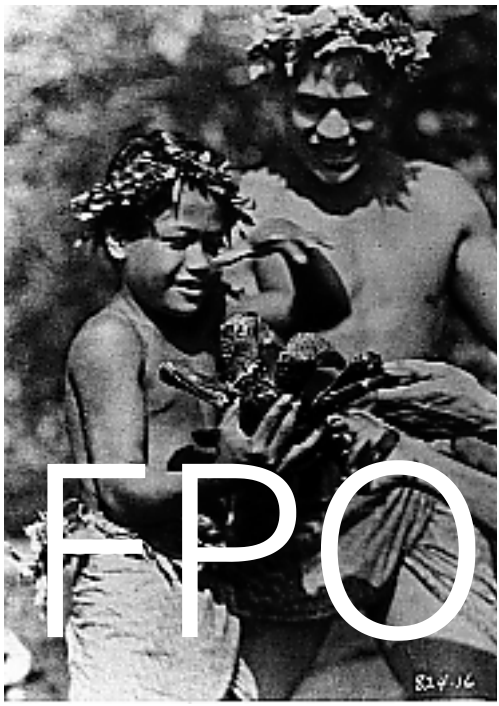
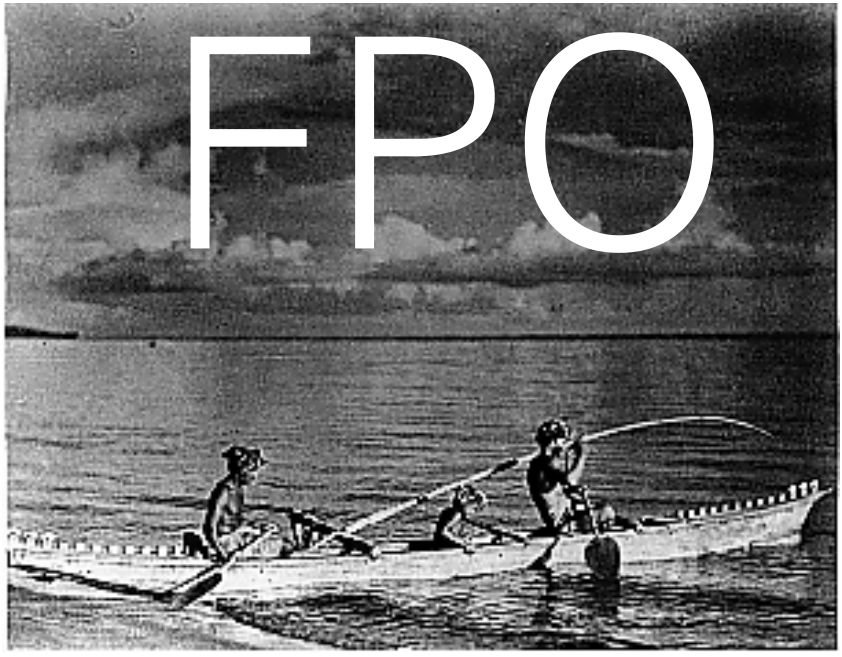


FIGURE 1 (LEFT). **The adventure of male work: Moana and his younger brother catch coconut crabs by smoking them out. Film still from *Moana*.** (Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive, New York)

FIGURE 2 (BELOW). **Moana (right) and his two brothers, Pe'a (center) and Leupenga (left), in a Samoan outrigger canoe. Film still from *Moana*.** (Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive, New York)



rates him with flowers and anklet shells in what we are told is "an age-old rite of the Siva." This culminates in a dance described as "Pride of beauty . . . Pride of strength. The art, the worship, the courtship of the race" (quoted from intertitles). The camera angle, either by accident or by design,[14] first has only Moana in frame. Fa'angase is visible only as a deep shadow or as enticing dancing fingers at the edge of the frame. Only in the last moments do we witness the mutuality of the ancient arts of dancing, the eroticism between them rendered more intense by the knowledge that she is a sacred virgin *(taupou)* and that in order to "win" her, he must submit to more than a massage.[15] But in constructing a fantasy of heterosexual romance, Flaherty has substituted the girlfriend, the lover, for the sister. It was Samoan practice for the sister to massage her brother with coconut oil and to dance the Siva with him.

In a rather clumsy narrative device, another intertitle informs us that all we have witnessed so far has been preparation for what Moana must suffer. "There is an ordeal which every Polynesian must pass in order to win the right to call himself a man" (a declamation that not only eschews women from the category "Polynesian" but ignores the patterns of female tattooing in some parts of Polynesia; see Gell 1993:88ff. for a consideration of sex differences as part of the regional variations in Pacific tattooing).[16] Fa'angase lays the mats for Moana, and the work of the tattooist, the *tufunga,* starts. In some stunning shots at medium range, the camera closely witnesses the work of the bone needle and the penetration of dye on Moana's skin. Dark wedges of black emerge on his back, the canonical abstract patterns of Samoan tattoos advance over his flank. Moana winces, his mother and father and his beloved look on with great compassion. At one point the pain is too intense; he pauses and Fa'angase gently rubs his back and fans the inflamed skin. Again this would have been done by the sister, not a sweetheart, who should always act with circumspection, never touching or showing signs of attraction in public (Schoeffel, pers. com., 12 November 1997).

For three weeks the tattooist continues.[17] Whereas the male *tufunga*'s art is seen as dignified and sacralized, the old woman who prepares the dye for him, also a highly sacred and dignified *tufunga,* is cast as a witch:[18] "Light your oven, witchwoman, Tufunga needs more dye. . . . Work your charms and spells, witchwoman, and keep the devils out" (quoted from intertitles). Meanwhile, other men, many of whom are noticeably not wearing tattoos, dance to give Moana courage. Finally, his thighs are covered with deep ridges and stripes, and "the hardest of all to bear," the knee, is done. He is proclaimed to have a strong heart, to be *malosi*—his manhood is won. Flaherty makes his own proclamation to his imagined Euro-American audience: "Through this pattern of the flesh, to you perhaps no more than cruel, useless ornament,

the Samoan wins the dignity, the character, the fiber which keep his race alive. The deepest wisdom of the race has said that manhood should be won through pain" (quoted from intertitles).

The film races to its climax. Fa'angase, as the sacred virgin, must prepare the kava that is offered to the chief, who in turn offers "a libation to the gods." She is then adorned with her plumed headdress (a prerogative of persons of the highest rank) and dances with Moana in a public ceremony, though in fairly restrained fashion. Moana has won "prestige for his village, honor for his family, the maiden of his desire." Again this constructs a heterosexual romance of a dance that would have been performed by the *taupou* not with a lover, but with a brother. Finally, the camera lingers on Moana's younger brother, Pe'a. He has fallen asleep, and his watchful mother covers him with a soft, caressing tapa, its superb patterns like an afterimage of the marked tissues of Moana's skin.

Moana recreates an idealized ancient Samoa rather than the Samoa of Flaherty's two-year sojourn of 1923–1924. The fabulation of this golden age is most obviously effected through his saga of eternal manhood, the fiber of Samoan masculinity, dehistoricized, which alone secures the "survival of the race." Rotha and others have criticized Flaherty's propensity in this and other films to focus on a "past or dying generation" and to create male heroes who are "waxwork figures acting the lives of their grandfathers" (Rotha 1972: 235). But in this ethnographic recuperation women are also crucial. Not only are we told that Flaherty's key interpreter was the chiefly woman Fialelei, but other images of women—as maiden, as mother, and as witch—fix and frame the tattooing rite. The crucial Samoan female role of sister is, however, elided (cf. Tcherkezoff 1993).

Margaret Mead apparently complained about Flaherty's depiction of the Samoan family, but in his representation of the maiden Flaherty comes closer to Mead than to Derek Freeman.[19] Grierson tells us that Hollywood asked for "dark-skinned bathing belles" but "got a quiet, dignified young heroine with a flower in her ear, who danced superbly, but could not possibly be confused with whoopee" (1972:128). He claims that, in desperation, the studio first issued the film with the subtitle "The Love Life of a South Seas Siren" and gave it a prologue of "jangling guitars and shimmering chorus girls" (ibid.). But in his reinscription of the myth of the ethnographic artist fighting the salacious commercialism of the studio, Grierson perhaps overstates the case. Fa'angase is no doubt seemly and dignified, but though a virgin, she is sexualized. Her nubile breasts are regularly bared to Flaherty's camera, and she is often seen in erotic play with Moana—the dribbling water, the wiggling fish, the oiled caress, and the exquisite eroticism of dancing fingers and feet. Their love is blessed not just by the gods but by

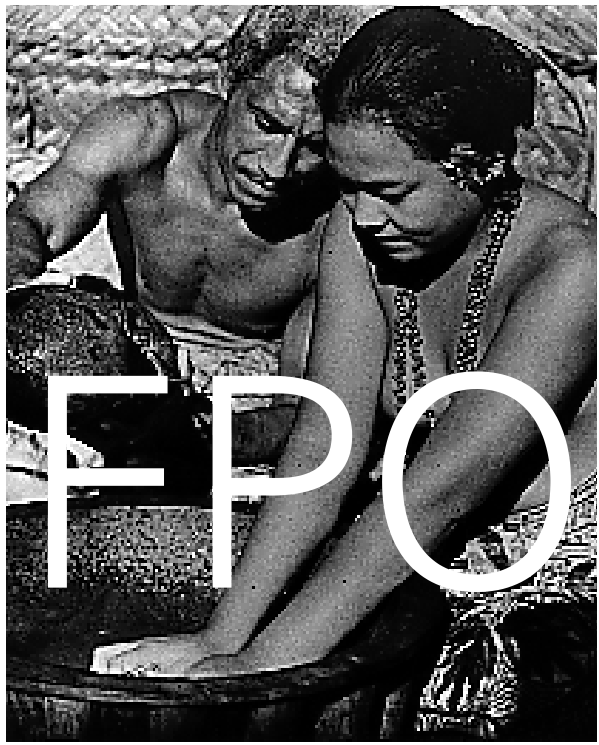


FIGURE 3. **Making coconut cream for *palusami* (fish in breadfruit leaves with coconut). Film still from *Moana*.** (Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive, New York)

parental approval. Mother Tu'ungaita lovingly instructs her future daughter-in-law in the art of making tapa and drapes the beautiful creation around her, while Moana's father plays the drums to which they dance.

Moana's mother is the epitome of nurture and compassion. From her imagined "cookhouse" comes steaming taro and breadfruit, the delicious *palusami* (fish in breadfruit leaves) (Figure 3). Cups of coconut-cream custard emerge from Fa'angase's supple, wringing hands. Although father and brothers are shown hard at work, preparing breadfruit and taro and the hot stones of the earth oven, the routine culinary work of Samoan men tends to be elided as emanating from Mother Tu'ungaita's cookhouse. And unlike the father, who is only rarely filmed, her maternal relation to Moana and Pe'a is captured constantly. She sits watchful and concerned as Moana's tattooing

progresses. She is forever on the lookout for the frisky young Pe'a, from the opening sequence where she searches for him beneath the gigantic taro leaves to the final moments where she covers him with tapa.

But perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Flaherty's depiction of women in *Moana* is his depiction of the woman who manufactures the dye. This female specialty, like the manufacture of the sacred turmeric and other medicines, was no doubt a spiritually charged and dangerous role. But, whereas the male *tufunga* is represented as a noble and sacred artist, she is portrayed as his maidservant engaged in magic and, even worse, as a witch. There are whiffs of the witch's cauldron, and, in one of the few allusions to the pervasive Christianity of Samoa at that time, she is seen both to cast out devils and as the source of satanic practice. I return to this paradox below.

Tabu: A South Seas Romance

Whereas *Moana* is part of the canon of what Grierson dubbed "the documentary," *Tabu,* shot in Tahiti in 1929 and released in 1931, is one of the earliest of a long genealogy of South Seas romances. *Moana* conveys the quotidian texture of Samoan life—the glossy brilliance of taro leaves, the steaming cups of coconut cream, the weave of mats and walls, the soft caress of tapa—and creates a slight narrative from this. *Tabu*'s brilliance is rather in its suspenseful plot and its expressionist style. The cinematography evokes the play of light and dark; the plot, the struggle of good against evil, in a way reminiscent of Murnau's earlier horror classic *Nosferatu* (1921–1922). One version of the credits tells us that it was "directed by F. W. Murnau" and "told by Flaherty"—an enigmatic co-signature that cloaks the deep differences that emerged between them over directorial styles and inclinations toward genre. Moreover, whereas *Moana* was, in its first incarnation at least, a silent film,[20] *Tabu* has a powerful musical score, an extraordinary mélange of Wagner, Tahitian melodies, and fragments of what I can only call Hollywood Chinese ditties. The film was released in 1931, a week after Murnau's death, to wide critical acclaim. It did better at the box office than *Moana,* although still not a stunning success, according to Reyes "being too downbeat for the Depression years" (1995:201).

Despite its blatantly fictional plot, Murnau is not averse to a little ethnographic authentication himself. We are assured by the credits that "only native-born South Sea Islanders appear in this picture—with a few half-castes and Chinese." This assurance is presumably to allay doubts about Reri, the light-skinned heroine, who might very well have been mistaken for a Latino actress like Dolores Del Rio, who plays the doomed virgin in Van Dyke's 1929 version of *Bird of Paradise,* or Raquel Torres, the heroine of Murnau's

earlier *White Shadows in the South Seas* (1928). We are also assured that, although we are about to enter a "land of enchantment," the island of Bora Bora, where the film was made, is still miraculously "untouched by the hand of civilization."

Tabu also tells a story of two young lovers, Matahi and Reri, but whereas the love of Moana and Fa'angase is blessed, theirs is blighted by the fact that her virginity must rather be consecrated to the gods. The opening sequences of Matahi and his mates fishing in heavy seas with spears in the Tahitian style are reminiscent of Flaherty's ethnographic shots of fishing in Samoan waters, and Reyes believes they were Flaherty's creation (1995:200). But we are summarily moved from this authenticating moment up the mountain. As the young men wash and cavort in a waterfall, a tiara of flowers falls from a grotto above. Here, in a canonically Hollywood Polynesian idyll, are several beautiful young women, draped in sarongs and splashing about in the water. Emerging from underneath a stand of gigantic taro leaves is the most beautiful of all—Reri. As her glistening face and body are revealed (still fully draped), Matahi peeks from behind, and the sound track trills with flutes evoking bird calls. The other women struggle in jealous squabbles over the men (one gets a black eye), and Matahi engages in rough play with Reri, pushing her down a waterfall. She is at first disconsolate, but after he lovingly wipes her off, she seems to like the look of him.

The idyll is broken by the sharp sound of a conch, or rather a man imitating a conch. A ship with big white sails has arrived, and a plethora of canoes are launched. As they get closer, we see the name on the hull, *Moana,* Papeete! The long hand of civilization has touched even Bora Bora, it seems, although the ship is primarily a conduit for indigenous relations. Though manned by white men, *Moana* has a seriously indigenous set of passengers —Hitu, the priest from Fanuma, with several aged virgins, all of whom wear a uniform of cotton drapery with identical patterns. He bears an edict from his chief, conferring on Bora Bora "the highest honor known to our islands." The capitalized words written on the unfolding parchment appear first in Tahitian and then in an Old Testament register of English, their portent transparent in translation.

> The virgin sacred to our gods has passed away and I decree that from your island has come her successor, one I have chosen for her beauty, for her virtue, for her royal blood. She who is named RERI.
>
> No law of the gods is more to be feared than that which guards the sacred virgin. Man must not touch her or cast upon her the eye of desire. For in her honor rests the honor of us all. Sacred is Reri from this time forth. She is Tabu, to break this Tabu means death.

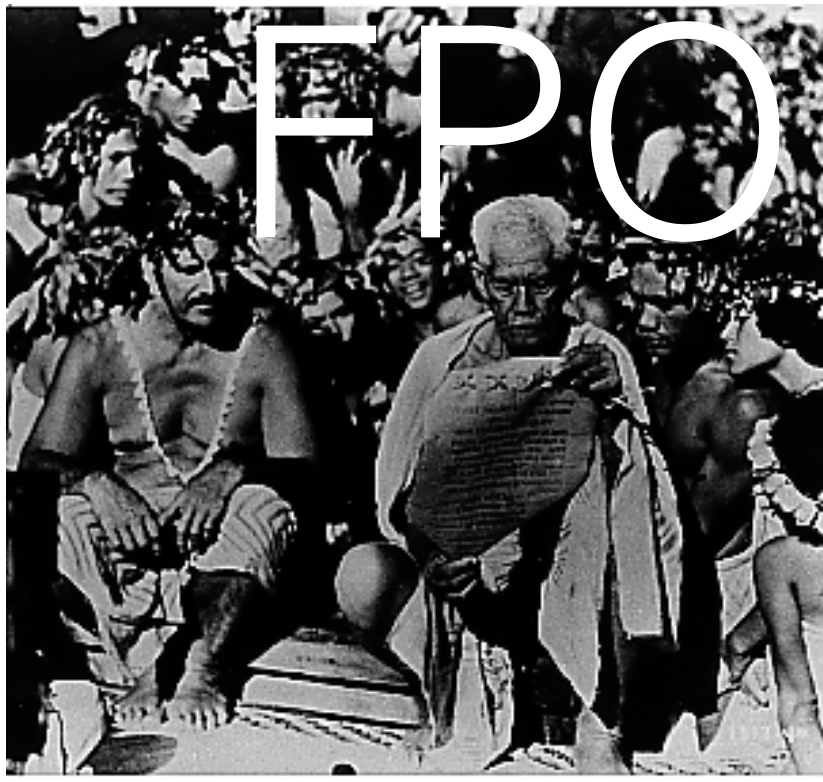


FIGURE 4. **Hitu, the priest, reads the edict declaring Reri's dedication to the gods as a virgin. Film still from *Tabu*.** (Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive, New York)

But Matahi, arriving late to the ship and thus blissfully unaware of this edict, is still casting "the eye of desire" upon her and throws a beautiful fresh tiara onto her head. It is summarily removed by one of Hitu's attendants, the crushed flowers on the deck portending lost love. The floral motif recurs in the next scene. A group of young women are tumbling in a sea of flowers, threading them into tiaras, leis, and headdresses in preparation for the dance to celebrate Reri's consecration. She is not celebrating—she sobs relentlessly on her mother's knee, refusing to go with the aged virgins. Hitu appears quietly and sits by the door with a portentous, still patience. A small boy tries to rouse the mourning Matahi, enticing him to get into his grass skirt and ready for the dance.

Reri at last consents to don the cloak of the sacred virgin, and the path is

FIGURE 5. **Reri's dancing—bare-breasted rather than draped—intensifies and outrages Hitu. Film still from *Tabu*.** (Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art/Film Stills Archive, New York)

swept and children bundled off for the invasive procession of chiefs, priests, and virgins. Kava is poured, slit gongs are beaten, and a mass of men and women dance, both in swirling grass skirts, the men bare-breasted, the women draped but wearing superb floral headdresses. The beskirted Matahi arrives at last but cannot bring himself to respectfully place a tiara on Hitu's head. Reri joins the dance in her vestal robes, but Matahi pushes himself forward and close to her: the dance reaches an erotic intensity that Hitu cannot tolerate (Figure 5). He throws his tiara to the ground. It is finished. Canoes are laden for the return journey, and a farewell lament is sung.

But in the deep of night, with the full moon searing through the palms, Matahi approaches the boat, his head disguised among a cluster of coconuts bobbing on the sea. In a brilliant series of nocturnal shots, we see flares sprout from the ship and slit gongs being beaten to announce that Reri has been "stolen." At this point the French colonial policeman writes to his superior, informing him that he will stay until it is clear what the islanders are going to do. The "guilty lovers" meanwhile are adrift on the vast ocean,

braving storms and burning skies, dying of thirst, and seeking some "island of the pearl trade where the white man rules and the old gods are forgotten."

They are rescued on the edge of such a place—ruled it seems not by the white man, but by the Chinese. In a graphic sequence set around a Chinese restaurant, Murnau evokes the freedom and the decadence of the multiracial pearling ports. Here there is easy credit for food and grog. Here champagne, not kava, flows into coconut shells and tin pannikins, and even Reri has a shy sip. Here the dancing is even more erotic and close than Bora Bora style. We see both waltz and whoopee: we see bare feet of different hues, women dancing with women, men with men, and a white woman's feet in stiletto shoes very close to the dark bare feet of a man. A white man in trousers and cowboy hat plays accordion and does a hula, his belt gesticulating wildly.

But, although Matahi is a born diver and earns well from the pearl trade, he does not know "what money means," and we witness an appalling sequence of bills in Chinese script adorned with his awkward mark "M." In an even worse augury, a ship slips into the harbor—none other than *Moana* from Papeete! Matahi and Reri are pursued by the French policeman, acting under orders to arrest the couple, who threaten conflict between the islands, and in anticipation of the reward of 500 francs. When Matahi offers his pearls for their freedom, the policeman tears up his orders but laughs menacingly, knowing that Hitu and the "avenging power of the Tabu" are not so readily compromised.

The power of tabu is summoned in the next sequence, where the deadly consequences of breaking ancestral law are exposed. A diver, in pursuit of pearls, defies the tabu on an oyster bed. His rope tumbles out dangerously, the outrigger is upturned, and he disappears into the miasmic jaws of a huge white shark. The colonial officer plants a sign over his watery grave announcing "TABU."

Then, in a stunning nocturnal sequence, we witness Matahi and Reri sleeping together but fitfully waking in turns, their minds moving toward different resolutions. The moonlight falls through the moving palms, the play of light and shadow falls on the weave of the hut and their faces, its restless movement evoking the tension between their divergent plans. Hitu appears to Reri at the door and is poised to hit Matahi with his spear. Reri protects him, but Hitu leaves a threatening message: she must return with him in three days or death will ensue. She buries his message, but in a flash-forward her intention is revealed: she will buy two tickets for Papeete (whether the second is for Matahi or for Hitu is unclear).

As she sleeps, Matahi steals off to search for pearls at the tabu site. The sea is full of menace (sprouting a series of patently fake shark fins), but he

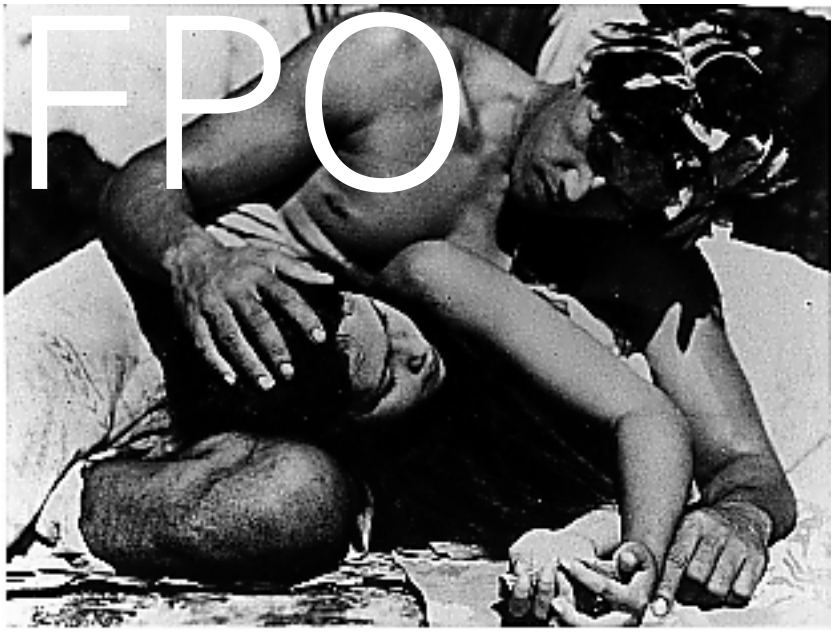


FIGURE 6. **Matahi, unable to sleep, cradles Reri as their tragic fate looms closer. Film still from *Tabu*.** (Courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art/ Film Stills Archive, New York)

succeeds in finding not only a pearl, but a black pearl (beautiful and forbidden like Reri). Yet, despite his dreams of his bills being torn up, it is not enough to cancel the mountain of debts he has to the Chinese traders. A montage sequence, akin to early Eisenstein, evokes the tragic relation of Chinese rapacity and Tahitian innocence. The fare to Papeete cannot be found, and Reri thus decides to take another journey with Hitu.

With heaving sobs, framed by the restless play of moonlight on thatch walls, she writes her letter of farewell. This letter is in the same strange style of inscription as the chiefly edict—capitalized words of portent on parchment. "The Tabu is upon us," she declares. Matahi discovers that she is gone. When he reads the note, he discards the black pearl in the sand; it lies next to a frail frangipani, fallen from Reri's hair.

She takes her fated journey with Hitu—his face mournful, but as resolved as his rudder and his silent sailing ship cresting the waves. Matahi pursues them; swimming valiantly through the surf, he manages to gain on them and even grabs hold of the anchor rope. But Hitu takes his knife and,

with a decisive cut, leaves him stranded, his strength failing, his strokes slowing, his body now lost and drifting in the ocean.

This is clearly a sob story and one that relies on a tactic of identification with the young lovers rather different than in *Moana*. But although a romance rather than a documentary, it acquires a certain ethnographic authority from its being shot on location in Tahiti and from its representation of Polynesian notions and practices of *tapu,* chiefly and priestly power, and, of course, erotic dancing. It has none of the texture of daily life that characterizes Flaherty's work. Both works make scant use of local language, but the divergent uses are interesting. Flaherty translates snippets of Samoan conversation that emerge in the cinematic action—"good hunting," "good eating." Murnau uses Tahitian only in the powerful edicts emanating from the chief (and in Reri's farewell letter, inscribed in similar style). This contrast between everyday conversation and codified, literate edicts of chiefs corresponds with divergent representations of indigenous culture, of chiefly and priestly power, and of women vis-à-vis that power.

Flaherty constructs the power of elders and chiefs as benign and necessary for the survival of Samoans. Both the pain Moana suffers and the institution of the *taupou,* which Fa'angase embodies, are depicted as noble and essential to the "race." The relations between men and women, of both the younger and older generations, are depicted as a finely tuned harmony of respect and sensual ease. Women, though not tattooed, are seen as valued and respected members of their "race." The only discordant note is that witch-woman—a figure who appears only briefly in two short shots in the tattooing sequence. Her irruption in the narrative, replete with a pot, shells, and perhaps skulls, evokes another competing trope—of dark heathenism and cannibalistic portent—in a film that in every other way constructs Samoa as South Pacific idyll: a site of beauty and abundance, sensuality, and sanctity. Flaherty's ethnographic recuperation of Samoa in this vein relies on gendered narrative structures and romantic tropes with a far longer genealogy than Hollywood cinema (see Jolly 1997).

In *Tabu,* in contrast, the power of chiefs and priests is seen as invasive and capricious. Although Hitu is portrayed as patient and dignified, his dignity is seen to rely ultimately on the power of death. Both Matahi and Reri are portrayed as subject to such tyranny, but it is Reri who must be consecrated for life. Although *Tabu* is critical of the insularity and the oppressiveness of indigenous power, it is no hymn to civilization either. The French colonial authorities are shown not just as complicit with indigenous chiefs, but also as corrupt, not averse to the odd pearl in payment for ignoring an order. The freedom of the ports, the dancing of the diaspora, is tinged with

decadence and exploitation—all the more rapacious in its racist representation of Chinese traders rather than whites. The destructive force of money as much as coercive tradition dooms Matahi—he desecrates tradition in pursuit of forbidden pearls to pay all those credit slips in Chinese.

But *Tabu* does not (as *Bird of Paradise* does) portray the woman as mere doomed victim. Dolores Del Rio, due to be sacrificed to the volcano, can only be rescued by the power of the white man. Reri, by contrast, might be seen to rescue herself. Although like Matahi she longs for their love, she also ultimately acknowledges that it is hopeless. It is she, not her male lover, who has internalized the indigenous values of sacred power—it is to her rather than Matahi that Hitu appears as man and specter. Although she eludes Hitu and defends Matahi from him with her own body, she ultimately decides to go with him. The lover's note, written in the same style of inscription as the chiefly edicts, evokes her ultimate collusive acceptance of such power.

Reri is the only female character of consequence in *Tabu.* Her girlfriends in the grotto, her weeping disconsolate mother, the chorus of aged virgins are all mere backdrop to the lovers' doomed romance. But the tensions in the representation of her subject position between tradition and modernity, between Pacific pasts and the "long white hand of civilization," are perhaps worthy of comparison with the maiden, the mother, and the witch of *Moana.*

Romancing the Real

I now want to situate these two films in some of the broader debates about the "documentary" and ethnographic film (see, for example, Barnouw 1974; MacDougall 1994; Weinberger 1994). Flaherty's corpus is often adduced in such debates, although as is clear from the history and proceedings of the Flaherty Seminar, set up in 1955 to commemorate and perpetuate his work,[21] it is a myth of Flaherty that is drawn upon (Barnouw and Zimmerman 1995; Ruby 1980:432). His widow, Frances Hubbard Flaherty, intimately involved in his cinematic projects from the start, although not sufficiently credited, has written extensively about how they filmed and has also been involved in promoting film in his "spirit" (Nordström 1995; David MacDougall, pers. com., November 1997).[22] There is some irony in this, since, whereas Flaherty is famous for his statement that it may be necessary to "distort reality to capture its true spirit" and Frances herself acknowledges the large degree of reconstructive fantasy in *Moana,* for instance, she has, in revisioning his corpus since his death, stressed rather "filming without preconception," a style closer to the direct cinema of Wiseman and other directors of 1960–1970s America.

Contemporary theories of documentary and ethnographic film are far more likely to admit that there can be no direct cinema, just as there can be no direct ethnography—a mere mimesis, a representation by replication. All visual and written texts are selective, mediated, and reconstituted. Thus, even the documentary films of Wiseman that appear to retell the quotidian horror stories of American institutions in the 1960s and 1970s—in schools, prisons, and asylums—are not just "what the camera saw." The camera's eye was set, its focal length chosen, its point of view selected, its sound recording set for a certain range. Wiseman's films may have been unscripted, but they were tightly, if brilliantly, edited. Moreover, even these films are stories, using narrative structures with which audiences are familiar. I do not mean to deny that documentaries and fiction films are different genres. They tell truths in different ways and they establish identifications of different kinds.

The same might be said of the ethnographic films of David and Judith MacDougall and other canonical works of the new visual anthropology. They allow stories to emerge out of images and situations rather than scripting them in advance, they use local sound and conversation (and subtitles) rather than an authoritative master narrative, they admit their own presence and, indeed, invite the subjects of the film to take the camera and film them. But such films are still partial truths, still selective stories. They are still making truth claims even if the claims are acknowledged, even if the relation of filmmaker, filmed, and audience is imagined as more egalitarian and interactive (but see Moore 1994).

It is hard to imagine Flaherty interacting with the Samoans as equal interlocutors rather than as exotic others. Although he spent about eighteen months in Samoa, his command of Samoan was slight (witness its minuscule use in intertitles). Moreover, although his work was strong on cinematography and weak on editing, this bias was not put to the service of "telling it from the native viewpoint," let alone "letting the native speak" (contra Ruby 1980).[23] Both Flaherty and the period conduced to his assuming the posture of the "white master." Even in sickness, prone, being carried on a stretcher by Samoans when he was suffering from a mysterious illness (most likely due to drinking water poisoned by his photographic chemicals), there is, as Winston alleges, a "whiff of the imperialist" about him (1984–1985:58).[24]

Moreover, differences between the epoch of his making and our viewing these films bear on the very distinction between the documentary and the fiction film. It is too easy to write a history of these early silent films as teleology, anticipating later cinematic and sociopolitical developments and the particular burden the distinction between documentary and feature film later assumed. This distinction became not only that rather spurious one between telling facts and telling fictions, but one between independent artists

marginalized by, and perhaps resistant to, the film industry and those filmmakers who were canonized and who created the routine hegemonic myths of Hollywood, of an American cultural imperium. There is, then, a tendency on the part of many film historians to rewrite the history of these early silent films in accord with the self-justificatory myths of a later epoch. Such fraught political adjudications and burdensome distinctions bear directly on the way in which we view *Moana* and *Tabu.* They especially bear on the way in which Flaherty is typically represented in alternative hagiographies as saint or charlatan. In the dominant story Flaherty has been mythologized as the "seminal father" of the documentary, fighting the evil studio and its pliant pawns, such as Van Dyke (see Ruby 1980:437). Such distinctions and dichotomies occlude the intimate practical relationships between making documentaries and fiction films in this period. They also occlude the way ethnographic and romantic fictions of the Pacific slid into each other.[25] This slippage between genres becomes a fault line around the figure of woman. And if, as is so often suggested, Flaherty is the "seminal father" of the documentary, this was not a frozen donation for the future. Let us rather view gender as a fluid effect both in the making and the viewing of these films.

Gender as Shifting and Fluid Effects?

Teresa de Lauretis has in a series of brilliant works devoted to cinema and feminism propounded the idea that gender identities are never fixed and immutable, but are fluid and shifting effects of representations (e.g., 1987). She espouses this view in general, apropos "social realities" as much as those chimeras born of the darkness, the movies. She opposes not just biological essentialisms but social or psychological essentialisms that she finds in many kinds of feminist theory, influenced by a psychoanalysis or philosophy that clings to a notion of sexual difference. She despairs of the dismal narratives of sexual difference according to Freud, Lacan, and Derrida, which even in their feminist recuperations imprison women in "the master's house." She is aware of what the lack of a stable figure of "woman" might do to the unity of the feminist movement, but proclaims rather the aptness of "women," of fluid and shifting subject positions, of shifting and situational identities formed by gender, race, and class. De Lauretis is an exciting and influential theorist of contemporary feminism and cinema, but how might she be relevant to a study of these films where Polynesian women seem to assume frozen and immutable postures? Can we reinvest gender in these films with fluidity and change? Can we reinterpret them so that gender becomes a fluid and shifting effect in the original telling and in our contemporary view-

ing (cf. Connor and Asch 1995)?[26] I will attempt to do this by focusing on the slippage between ethnography and romance.

Moana is as much a romance as ethnography, and *Tabu* arguably deploys ethnographic values at the core of its narrative structure. Both films depict Polynesian cultures in relation to the "white shadows" of encroaching outside influence. *Moana* represents Samoan culture as out of time, as eternally enduring not just because of the stoicism of male endurance, but because women are lovingly attached to ancient traditions—even the seemingly savage, painful rites of tattooing—as mothers and as lovers. Fa'angase is not just a beautiful virgin but a young woman of joyous sensuality whose love embraces not just her man, but *fa'a Samoa,* the Samoan way. This representation occludes not just the more violent and repressive elements of Samoan culture (see Freeman 1983), but also the way in which *fa'a Samoa* had already been transformed by the effects of German traders and missionaries. It is only the figure of the witch who disturbs the benign glassy surface of this romance of Samoa. Her fleeting, unexplained presence, her grotesque caricature, is not just a product of Flaherty's Euro-American masculinist imaginary of a "witch." She is a disturbing element, an excess, not just portending a dangerous disturbance to the sublime complementarity of male and female in Samoa, but, through her depiction as "satanic," covertly alluding to the presence of Christianity through its evil opposite. The darker forces of Samoan tradition are thus rendered both feminine and devilish (cf. McClintock 1995:245 on Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*).

Tabu, by contrast, invokes the darkness of Polynesian tradition in the very practice of devoting virgins to the gods. The priest is a dignified but dark, almost malignant figure, surrounded by a bevy of beautiful women who must sacrifice being either lovers or mothers in order to appease the rapacity of the gods. The chiefly and priestly hierarchy is seen to oppose not just love and sensuality but also a woman's power to choose. And yet, as I argue above, Reri is no cipher, no doomed victim, but one who in choosing to follow Hitu is pursuing not just destiny but the palpable power of tabu. The attractions of modernity—money, mobility, freedom—are summoned up only to be exposed as corrupting illusions.

Taken together, then, these two films may be seen to portray not so much frozen and immutable "woman," but fluid and shifting subjects, especially in their orientation to the tensions between the indigenous and the foreign. In both these films, women's subjectivity is privileged in narratives about the power of Polynesian tradition in its confrontation with the "long hand of civilization." They are silent, black-and-white films, dated not just by their cinematic techniques but by the racist and imperialist attitudes of their era. They are both pervaded by an erotics of the exotic that has typified European

visions of the eastern Pacific from the Cook voyages to Hollywood cinema (see Jolly 1997). But how far have Western scholars and filmmakers moved beyond such frames? In contemporary theorizing there is a persisting tendency to freeze the fluidity of the subject positions of Polynesian women in terms of binaries such as us/them, indigenous/foreign, and tradition/modernity as they navigate the ever more turbulent waters of the Pacific in this era of globalization.

NOTES

I am grateful to participants in the panel organized by Max Quanchi at the Pacific History Association meetings in Hilo, 1996, for insightful discussion. I am also grateful to David MacDougall, Chris Gregory, Gary Kildea, and Caroline Vercoe for comments and criticisms not all of which I could deal with fully. I thank Richard Eves for drawing the recent book by Fatimah Tobing Rony to my attention and Penelope Schoeffel for sharing her deep knowledge of Samoa with me and thus saving me from several ethnographic gaffes. I especially thank Asenati Liki whom I met in Honolulu for her comments and conversations, and the chance to view an interview she did about her responses to *Moana.* These made me look and think again. Thanks as always to Annegret Schemberg for her research assistance and meticulous copyediting and to Ann Howarth for word-processing corrections. Finally, many thanks to the Museum of Modern Art for permission to use all the accompanying photographs.

1. Winston, who is critical rather than celebratory, sees a tension between the view of Flaherty as "the father of the documentary, the prime 'poet' of the cinema, a genius and a prophet" and criticism of his famous propensity for "reconstruction of a most extreme kind" (1984–1985:58; see also Winston 1995). He opines that "carping about reconstruction and selectivity seems to imply nothing but a jejune view as to the definition of the documentary," given the recognition that all documentaries are selective (ibid.). He attacks partisans of Flaherty who avoid such criticism by saying that his works are not documentaries at all. He criticizes Rotha's biography of Flaherty (1983), although elsewhere Rotha is equally critical of Flaherty's sentimentalist recuperative tendencies. Winston believes that Flaherty's influence cast a pall over the entire documentary tradition and that he was an imperialist who in Samoa cultivated the idea of himself as Big White Chief and enacted on the body of Ta'avale (Moana) the revival of the "dead ceremony of tattooing" (1984–1985:59). I am not concerned either to attack or to defend Flaherty, a constant habit in the literature (see Ruby 1980), but rather to analyze the tensions between realism and romance in his work in relation to women and to reflect on the seepages between genres, especially in the early Hollywood period.

2. According to Barsam, he was an M.G.M. staff director, known for his efficiency and versatility (1988:47). Barsam also notes that what is credited to Flaherty depends on the print: on some copies his name does not appear at all. He may have contributed to only about twelve shots and to have made some contributions to screenplay and casting (ibid.: 127).

3. The credits state: "Directed by F. W. Murnau and Told by Robert Flaherty." The film was released in 1931, a week after Murnau's sudden death in a road accident.

4. This film inspired the title of this article. I had originally planned to discuss this film too, but could not get access to a copy in Australia.

5. This quote is often reproduced, though in slightly different form. See Barsam 1988: 52, 128.

6. Penelope Schoeffel confirms that, in this period, tattooing had been abandoned by the majority of Samoans, who were Wesleyans, and was practiced only by the minority Catholics (pers. com., 12 November 1997). Tattooing was later revised both in Samoa itself and by Samoans living overseas. See Thomas 1996: chap. 4.

7. It has been claimed that it was the first film to be described in this way. Witness Grierson's "*Moana,* being a visual account of events in the daily life of a Polynesian youth, has documentary value" (1972:27–28). Grierson later suggested that he had meant to compare it thus with the French *documentaire*—a travel or expedition film—and not to imply that *Moana* was a documentary in the sense of a film with a clear sociopolitical statement in line with Rotha's views (Barsam 1988:42–43; cf. Rotha 1972). Winston, however, challenges Grierson's claim for *Moana*'s status as the original documentary on the basis of this "Franglais" word (1995). Grierson, he notes, said after all that its documentary value was "secondary to its value as a soft breath from a sunlit island." Moreover, Winston notes earlier documentary films by E. S. Curtis and indeed earlier uses of the concept in the work of Boleslaw Matuszewski in a tract in French in 1898. Winston suggests that Matuszewski was elided from the conventional cinematic genealogies because "he was a Pole writing in French" and because he had no clear connection to Grierson (1995:8). Winston is patently very critical of the entire Griersonian tradition, which, he alleges, despite its claim to represent workers for the first time, was in fact a propagandist project of intellectuals serving British government interests that were both conservative and imperial (1995).

8. Frances Flaherty later declared that their intention was to reproduce the style of *Nanook* and "to present the drama of Samoan life as it unrolled naturally before us, as far as possible untouched by the hand of the missionary and the government" (Griffith 1953: 54). Caroline Vercoe has also commented on this aspect of *Moana,* noting how the elision of foreign influence frames Samoa in a way that conforms to a view of Samoa as the opposite of the West, and thus "we see a prevalence of laughing happy types, within the unspoilt, idyllic setting" (1996:3). She also perceives the same us/them antithesis in Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), based on fieldwork in Eastern Samoa in 1925.

9. Apparently Flaherty negotiated with the chief of Safune village that the cast wear only *siapo* (bark cloth), that young women go topless, and that there be no sign of missionary-inspired dress (Vercoe 1996:3). There is in fact some store-bought cloth on view, and paradoxically the tapa poncho style was introduced by missionaries, probably Tahitians following an indigenous style there. Everyday wear was the *titi,* a skirt of cordyline leaves, until about the 1890s, after which time calico became common. Tapa was ceremonial or festive attire for those people of intermediate rank (Penelope Schoeffel, pers. com., 12 November 1997).

10. Many dimensions of Flaherty's cinematography in *Moana* have been much discussed. His extensive use of long-focus lenses is one—he notes that, whereas in *Nanook* he used them mainly for distance work with animals, in *Moana* he found them especially useful for portraiture and intimate scenes, since when he was shooting at a distance, people were

less self-conscious. An added benefit was the "roundness, a stereoscopic quality which gave to the picture a startling reality and beauty" (Flaherty 1971:97). Second, his use of color panchromatic film has been celebrated as crucial to the extraordinary richness of the images. But although some have claimed this as an innovative accident, it was in fact an intentional and then routine part of filming with a Prizmacolor camera (Barsam 1988:40). Third, the startling lack of continuity in the film suggests rather less virtuosity. Moana, for example, is to be seen in the very first sequences of the film with his tattoo, long before the rite occurs in the cinematic narrative. And in a shot of Pe'a climbing the tree for coconuts, Flaherty failed to tilt the camera in time, and he climbs out of the frame. The subsequent shots of him amidst the efflorescence of the palm and the nuts are clearly taken on a different, shorter tree.

11. This is in fact accurate to a point. Men's work was seen to be that of bush and sea and women's work of the village. Unlike women in most of Melanesia, Samoan women were not expected to do arduous outdoor work such as carrying heavy loads. But the notion of a woman's "cookhouse" is Euro-American fantasy. Cooking is rather the work of young men (Penelope Schoeffel, pers. com., 12 November 1997).

12. Barsam suggests that this was his mother (1988:33), but to my eyes it is Fa'angase.

13. This aversion to shellfish is apparently common for Samoans (Penelope Schoeffel, pers. com., 12 November 1997).

14. Barsam suggests that the framing was intentional to avoid undue eroticism (1988:35). Gary Kildea suggested that it might well have been the unintended result of the positioning of the camera (pers. com., June 1996). In either case, my sense is that the play of shadows and fingers out of frame increases rather than decreases the erotic intensity of the dance.

15. The role of *taupou* was in fact declining from the 1920s. Although it was customary for young men to have sex after a tattoo was completed, this would not have been with a *taupou* (Penelope Schoeffel, pers. com., 12 November 1997).

16. In fact circumcision was the rite that established a boy as a man, while tattooing was the sign of warriorhood (see Fell 1993:44ff.)—which is part of the rationale for its being banned by Wesleyan missionaries, if not Catholics. I cannot detail Gell's complete argument here, but it should be noted that women were also tattooed in Samoa with the lozenge-shaped *malu* behind the knee and/or a lacy pattern on the thighs and hands, a process that was far less painful than the deep geometric wedges of the male *pe'a* design (Penelope Schoeffel, pers. com., 12 November 1997).

17. This, too, is a cinematic fiction; it took six weeks in fact.

18. The making of dyes and turmeric (a sacred substance) and of certain medicines and cosmetics was the speciality of some women (Penelope Schoeffel, pers. com., 12 November 1997).

19. I do not want to do more here than allude to the controversy that erupted when Derek Freeman (1983) attacked Margaret Mead's work (particularly 1928) as fabulation.

20. *Moana* was rereleased with a musical soundtrack created by Flaherty's daughter Monica, who was three years old while they were in Samoa. She returned to Safune with

Leacock and there recorded naturalistic sounds of laughter, conversation, singing, and dancing. Leacock believes the latter sequences are immensely improved by sound and defends Monica, as he does her father, against claims of inauthenticity. These are not, as was alleged by some, Hawaiian songs, but old Samoan songs and as such "heavily influenced by the missionaries of the period. . . . There is no trace of any 'more authentic' music anywhere" (Leacock 1984–1985:5; cf. Flaherty Frassetto 1995).

21. Frances Hubbard Flaherty was heavily involved in the Flaherty seminars from their inception, along with other intimates and devotees like his editor Helen Van Dongen and Richard Leacock (see Zimmerman 1995). Whereas the programs at first were dominated by viewing and reviewing *Moana, Nanook, Man of Aran,* and *Louisiana Story,* over the past forty years the seminar has embraced some of the best films in the documentary tradition and has been beset, as have other film conferences, about the changed nature not just of the category of documentary or ethnographic film, but of questions such as who films whom, with what rights, and with what identity stakes.

22. Frances Hubbard Flaherty was a talented still photographer, and took over 1,500 photographs while on the island of Savaiʻi. These were important not just as still screen tests for actors but were a crucial part of preparation for filming. According to Nordström, her still photographs "profoundly influenced the shape of *Moana*" (1995:33) and indeed she wrote and directed the film in association with her husband, although she is not so named in the credits. Many of her images and words were later published under his name rather than hers (ibid.). Nordström also notes how the romantic images of the Flahertys may have influenced the young anthropologist Margaret Mead, who worked in Samoa soon after. She not only adorned her fieldwork house with Flaherty photographs, but used them in "picture tests" to elicit Samoan interpretations. In a later letter Mead acknowledged their influence on her and noted that the Samoan diorama she designed for the American Museum of Natural History in New York was based on a scene from *Moana* (Ruby 1980:446).

23. Ruby is at pains to present Flaherty not just as an early, if amateur, anthropologist but as a filmmaker who told it from the native viewpoint and who invited his subjects into collaboration. "He was a pioneer in participatory and reflexive cinema" (Ruby 1980:445). Ruby asserts this on the basis of his making of *Nanook of the North,* where Inuit were asked to view footage in the field, to comment and to criticize, and to collaborate with him in how they wanted to be represented. Ruby also claims that contemporary Inuit are proud of the way the film portrays their ancestors, with "strength and dignity" (ibid.:453). If Flaherty did engage in such collaborations in Samoa, I have found no evidence for it so far. Contemporary Samoans seem rather more critical of *Moana* both in terms of the accuracy of its ethnography and the romantic character of its representation (see Vercoe 1996 and notes 25 and 26 below).

24. His relations with his Samoan hosts were very bad at points. He spurned the beautiful maidens of his host village of Safune in favor of the *taupou* of the neighboring village of Sasina, their ancient enemies. She also proved unsuitable, and thus the young woman who plays Faʻangase was his third choice. Moreover, a later fracas involved his Samoan laboratory technicians, Samuelo and Imo, who killed a visiting youth who propositioned a missionary's daughter. In the ensuing struggle Flaherty had to bolt himself inside his bungalow and stand guard over his 240,000 feet of film, since filming was almost complete. Flaherty left, but in the wake of these events, Samuelo and Imo were imprisoned.

Flaherty's relations with local Europeans were also very bad. He had a very tense relationship with the German trader Felix David, a faltering depressive, who probably felt even more depressed with the arrival of this American millionaire. After Samuelo and Imo were imprisoned, countercharges were laid against the Resident Commissioner and Felix David for being homosexuals. The former committed suicide and the latter was exiled (Winston 1995). In his book Winston not only repeats all these scandalous details of local relations but emphasizes Flaherty's close links with capitalist exploitation, mining, and American expansion in Canada and the South Seas. Thus from the start, he alleges, documentary/realist film was tainted with imperialist values.

25. This point has also been made by Rony (1996) in a recent book that includes both documentary and feature films in a critical discussion of race and ethnographic spectacle. She also discusses both *Moana* and *Tabu*. Unfortunately, her book became available too late to integrate further discussion into the text of this article, but there are important affinities between our arguments. She stresses how both films, like other "racial films" of the 1920s and 1930s, constructed "primitive" others, although living as survivals of something long since dead. As well as this "taxidermic" impulse, she detects a sense of both loss and redemption, of holding onto the dying other and thus assuaging the remorse of colonial guilt (ibid.:131). In *Moana* she finds such redemption implicit, noting rather what I have stressed, the sense of a "lost Golden Age, a garden of Eden implicitly set in opposition to the troubled world of 'civilization' " (ibid.:132). She also notes how the opening shots, tilting from the tops of high palm trees, invite the viewer to fall back into Paradise, where Christianity and colonialism are absent, but earthly salvation is still possible (ibid.: 139–141). Whereas *Moana* emphasizes material culture and gesture in an observational mode, she sees *Tabu* as an allegory of desire and loss, with the actions of Reri and Matahi having a "choreographed, or preternaturally determined, air" (ibid.:151). She also notes how central writing is in depicting the coercions of law—in the decree of Reri's fate, the letters and ledgers of colonial officials, and the fraudulent bills of the Chinese merchants. But writing is also the way in which Reri communicates her desire to submit to her sacrificial fate. Rony's summation of the character of Reri in representing the figure of Polynesian woman is quite close to my own, although she stresses her victimhood: "Yet although Reri is portrayed as a figure with subjectivity and emotions, she is still an allegorical figure of a bipolar universe. She is ultimately the innocent human victim of both the rigid, despotic laws of authentic Bora-Bora and of the mercenary greed of French colonialism" (ibid.:152).

26. After I had completed the final draft of this article, I was given a wonderful commentary by Asenati Liki, a doctoral scholar in geography at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, presently doing fieldwork with Melanesian Samoans (descendants of indentured laborers who came to work on plantations). She told me that for her the film was more about representations of Samoan identity, about "race" and ethnicity than about gender, which I perhaps unduly privileged. I was also fortunate to watch a video interview with her, where she made a number of critical comments on the film. I will try to briefly distill these here, but cannot replicate either the detail or the nuance of her comments. In this interview Liki agreed that the way Flaherty represented the relation of "man" and "nature" as separate and opposed rather than as interconnected was very Eurocentric, as was the way in which he constructed the individuated loneliness of Moana's painful ordeal. Tattooing should never be done alone, one should always have a partner to "carry the pain together," she said. She also noted that the film omits the tattooing of women—a light patterning at the back of the knees that is done using a different technique and is not called by the same word as the male tattoo. In the representation of work in the gardens and in the

house Liki noted that there was a tendency to project a European ideal of a nuclear family, whereas a typical Samoan family is much larger and extended. In making tapa, for instance, it is rarely as represented in the film, just two women together, like a mother and a daughter, but typically a large women's group. Moreover, she noted, as I do above, how romantic and idealized is the representation of work. "What woman would cook wearing a flower?" she pondered. And who would dress up like that to go to the taro gardens? "Are they going to a dance afterwards?" She found the representation of the lovers utterly un-Samoan. She claimed that if lovers tried to dance in such an erotic way together they would be chased outside by their parents: lovers usually engage in very secretive affairs, meeting only at night. For her, such romantic aspects of the film tended to perpetuate nostalgic images of Samoa, the stuff of touristic dreams. She concluded the interview by reflecting on the way in which it would take generations to "decolonize our minds." European images of the Pacific, like European education, tended to project a confined view of small, isolated islands rather than the vast expanse of the ocean that connected people. She drew inspiration from the sense of this "largest ocean" connecting all Pacific peoples and from the celebrations of inclusive Oceanic identities in the recent writings of Epeli Hau'ofa (1993, 1998).

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NOT SO NICE COLORED GIRLS: A VIEW OF TRACEY MOFFATT'S *NICE COLOURED GIRLS*

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Nice Coloured Girls is Tracey Moffatt's first film. Produced in 1987, this seventeen-minute film describes a tradition that has been passed down from her grandmother's and great-grandmother's generation—that of "picking up Captain." Moffatt explains "since colonisation 'picking up Captain' has been a way for Aboriginal women to survive off white men." Rather than creating new and empowered Aboriginal heroines for the 1990s, Moffatt chooses to site her characters within a colonial continuum. Her tradition begins with postcolonial contact and it is clearly formed by cross-cultural experiences. This essay focuses on the narrative structure of *Nice Coloured Girls* and discusses the ways in which Moffatt problematizes the notions of victim/colonized and exploiter/colonizer.

THREE ABORIGINAL WOMEN go on a night out into Sydney's Kings Cross. They go to a bar. One leaves, while the other two pick up a white man, whom they call Captain. He takes them to a restaurant, then on to a nightclub, where he eventually collapses drunk. The women steal his wallet and run laughing from the scene to escape in a taxi.

Tracey Moffatt's 1987 short film *Nice Coloured Girls* tells the story of a certain relationship between white men and black women.[1] Moffatt speaks of a tradition that has been passed down from her great-grandmother's generation—that of "picking up Captain." Moffatt has said, "Since colonisation, 'picking up Captain' has been a way of Aboriginal women surviving off white men." This tradition, however, does not involve Aboriginal Dreamings; it does not incorporate notions of the secret or the sacred. This essay offers a reading of Moffatt's *Nice Coloured Girls* that focuses on the way in which its narrative

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structuring addresses themes of consent, conquest, and exchange between Aboriginal women and white men within both contemporary and historical contexts.

Throughout the film male colonial voices describe encounters between Aboriginal women and European men, always from the male's (or Captain's) point of view. These accounts were taken from eighteenth-century colonial diaries.[2] A series of subtitles describe the women's perspectives within these encounters. A number of nondiegetic scenes are inserted into the major narrative. Moffatt mimics documentary strategies of voice-over and subtitling as ways of representing Western and indigenous voices. Several shots involve framed pictures alluding to a colonial history. This dual narration raises a number of questions in relation to the representation of Aboriginal women and their interaction with white men in both the past and the present. Moffatt renders problematical the simple polarity of colonized/victim and colonizer/villain.[3] By highlighting the presence of consent and knowingness within this cross-cultural dynamic, she challenges the conventional stereotype of Aboriginal women as always passive and silenced.

Events constantly spill over and out of the frame. *Nice Coloured Girls* asks us to look beyond the frame, the frame of the main narrative, the camera's frame, and the constructed frameworks of history that the film references. By juxtaposing eighteenth-century narratives with modern-day points of view, Moffatt layers historical and contemporary readings of urban Aboriginal women's experiences with white Captains. In doing this she suggests there has been little change in white men's attitudes toward Aboriginal women or in the women's attitudes toward the men. Moffatt also questions authorized versions of colonial histories by exposing indigenous experiences in relation to colonial framings and inscriptions. She unearths the richly layered dynamics of cross-cultural engagement and stereotyping. *Nice Coloured Girls* represents "truth" through the layering of points of view.

The film opens with an aerial shot of present-day Kings Cross. Superimposed upon it is an extract from a colonial account: " 'One of them came into the water to the side of the boat, we ornamented this naked beauty with strings of beads and buttons round her neck, arms and waist' (William Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales*, 29 January 1788)." The camera pans down into the Cross. We hear oars rowing, heavy rhythmic breathing, and bird calls. As the camera draws nearer, cars can be heard and the heavy breathing becomes more pronounced. There is a certain ambiguity. It could be the sound of people rowing a boat or two people having sex. The relationships between sex, conquest, and exchange are central to the film's narrative. By combining this suggestion of sex with Bradley's text, Moffatt draws parallels between the colonial desire to possess "the land" and the

male's desire to sexually possess and conquer "the other." Contrasting the sounds of the past with those of modern-day Kings Cross, she draws a further analogy. This red-light district has been created to cater to the pleasures, fascination, and desires of tourists or visitors—it is another site of conquest and desire.

In the first voice-over a nineteenth-century Captain from the colonial period recounts his experiences with Aboriginal women. He describes them as consciously feigning coyness, flirting with the sailors in order to obtain gifts, and then, once "out of reach," acting in an uncouth manner: "If ever they deign to come near you to take a present, they appear as coy, shy, and timorous as a maid on her wedding night. But when they are as they think, out of your reach, they hollow and chatter to you, frisk and flirt and play one hundred wanton pranks equal in significance to the solicitations of a Covent Garden strumpet."

During this voice-over, the camera tracks three Aboriginal women walking through Kings Cross. We see them from the legs down. There are cut-aways to neon signs—"Les Girls" and "Exotic"—and to shop windows. On the words "Covent Garden strumpet" the camera pulls up to focus on the faces of the women, chatting happily as they walk along. The Captain's romantic and sentimental tone is offset by subtitles reflecting the women's perspective. Although dressed in white, they are hardly "maids on their wedding night," but neither are they "strumpets." Their words describe the strategy they will follow to secure the finances for their night out, underlining their consent in relation to the events about to be acted out:

> If we've got nothing else to do we usually go up to the Cross any night of the week.
>
> Friday and Saturday nights are the best nights.
>
> Most of the time we've never got any money so we pick up a Captain and make him pay for our good time.

Further subtitles link the women's attitudes with the early days of colonial contact:

> We call them Captains because that's what our mothers and grandmothers have always called them.
>
> Our relatives don't like us to follow in their footsteps this way, but how can we not when we've got no money?

The presence of a female perspective, an emic viewpoint,[4] undermines the colonial male narrative. By incorporating their motivations and expectations into her account of this cross-cultural dynamic, Moffatt empowers her female characters. She allows them to "speak" in the Spivakian sense, implying a position of knowingness and power (Spivak 1994).

The interplay of voices reflects the motivations and desires of both sides. In this dynamic choices are made by both parties, each expecting some form of reward or satisfaction: in the women's case a night out and in the Captain's, the company and attention of two black women. The women entertain no romantic or sentimental visions of the Captain, he is merely a means to an end. Just as Captain pursues them, they actively seek his company, encouraging him to lavish attention on them. There can only be one winner in this contest, however, and in this instance it is the women who emerge as victors and survivors.

As Moffatt weaves colonial and modern-day narratives, our understanding of the past becomes inextricably linked with our understanding of the present. Moffatt highlights the interdependency of colonizer and colonized. She presents an urban context in which the women adapt to their economic and social space by knowingly adopting certain stereotypical guises in order to obtain a desired outcome. In the subtitles the women tell us how they will act and what they hope to achieve: "They like to be seen escorting two black women down the street." "After a while we might talk the old bastard into buying us dinner." "We take him to the most expensive restaurant we can find." "They usually like to drink a lot and we like to encourage them." "This way they're more helpless and less likely to get nasty with us." "If you know what we mean." Clearly, Moffatt sees that Aboriginal women were and are not always helpless victims of white male desire and fantasy.

The Captain's narrations reflect his agenda and motivations. He has no desire to know the women and is prompted by his sexual desire to ensure the means to his end—which in this case is not fulfilled. The voice-overs refer to a range of stereotypes of Aboriginal women. There is an overriding sense of ambivalence in the colonial Captains' descriptions. Aboriginal women are cast as timid and coy, yet at the same time wanton and flirting; sensual and exotic, yet also primitive and wild; alluring yet calculating; but above all simple, childlike, and pitiable, objects of fascination and disdain. *Nice Coloured Girls* turns the tables on the conventional stereotype of the black woman as the debased, exploited, and often physically assaulted victim, for it is the Captain who ends up collapsed and robbed in the bar and the women who escape from the scene stating: "It has usually been a good night."

Homi Bhabha's ingredients of fixity, fantasy, repetition, and ambivalence are pivotal in the production and dissemination of stereotypes (1994). These

operate simultaneously for the women and the Captain alike. Fixity, defined by skin color, operates as the crucial determinant in the way that the Captain treats the women and the way they treat him.

For the women, the Captain represents a role that dates back centuries. This role has more to do with what Bhabha terms "that conjunction of infinite repetition"—the white man fixed as Captain played out or repeated by generations of Aboriginal women—than by his existence as an individual. For the Captain the women are "nice colored girls," objects of exotic longing, women to be seen with, products of a century-old colonial desire. The women and the Captain both essentialize each other. Ironically, the Captain who has traditionally assumed the role of colonizer—the exploiter of indigenous people/women—ends up being exploited in turn. Traditionally cast as passive victims, the women emerge as the victors.

By constantly linking the modern-day with the past, through voice-over and mise-en-scène, Moffatt suggests that this dynamic began with the very creation of the stereotypes involved. She implies that the ambivalence that the Captain feels for the women is mirrored in the ambivalence that they feel and have always felt for him. Neither the Captain nor the women want to learn from each other. Both are content to base their views on experiences learned from their respective cultural backgrounds, negotiating through stereotypes and projected desires.

Stereotypes can be knowingly adopted and projected in order to fulfill desires. The women's conscious adoption or mimicking of a cultural stereotype, like their projecting of a stereotype onto the Captain, reflects the complex and multilayered dynamic that the stereotype signifies. Unlike Frantz Fanon's archetypal black man whose body lies "sprawled out, distorted, recoloured, clad in the mourning in that white winter day" (1967:113), Moffatt's black protagonists leave the white Captain lying sprawled, robbed, and helpless stating: "We don't feel sorry for him because he should be at home with his family." "When we want to leave, we roll him and leave him for dead."

Moffatt inserts nondiegetic scenes into the film. They work to remind the viewer that the film is a fiction as opposed to "reality" while contributing to themes of consent, conquest, exchange, and colonization.

Several of these scenes consist of head-and-shoulder shots of an Aboriginal woman staring into the camera on an empty beach. She appears at the beginning and the end of the film. This anonymous woman watches on from an eye-of-god position. It is as if she is watching and responding to the story. She first appears when the women are approached by the Captain, and she appears concerned. The shot cuts back to the bar scene, as the Captain offers the women cigarettes and a light. The woman on the beach nods and laughs.

She seems to approve of their actions, their strategy. Perhaps it is familiar to her. The subtitle reads: "First they offer us smokes."

Toward the end of the film, when the Captain lies drunk and sprawled over a table and the camera zooms in on his pocket, to his wallet, we return to the woman looking on from the beach. She seems concerned and slightly sad. The shot cuts back to the bar as a black hand steals his wallet. The woman on the beach laughs approvingly and then runs off camera, foreshadowing the modern-day women's gleeful escape in the taxi.

The woman at the beach could be read in a number of ways. She could symbolize the modern-day women's ancestor or some kind of guardian. Her site—a deserted, rocky, wind-swept beach—is timeless. As an archetypal role-model figure for Aboriginal women, however, she presents contradictions. She is simultaneously concerned and amused, she seems distant yet directly engages with the narrative. She also appears to know the motivations of the women. By presenting such a figure, Moffatt challenges assumptions that as an author or a filmmaker she must provide only positive indigenous role models.

Another series of nondiegetic inserts are reenactments of various kinds of relationships between "Captains" and "nice colored girls." These shots are staged before framed colonial images.[5] In the first an Aboriginal woman secures a sailor's money pouch after a brief struggle, foreshadowing the end of the main narrative. In the background is a framed picture of Botany Bay in the early years of colonial contact.

The second reenactment finds three Aboriginal women climbing a rope ladder, presumably to board a European ship to exchange sex for material goods. The colonial voice-over recounts:

> Several girls protected in the settlement had not any objection to passing the night on board of ships, though some had learnt shame enough to conceal on their landing the spoils they had procured during their stay. They had also discovered that we thought it shameful to be seen naked, and I have observed many of them extremely reserved and delicate in this respect when before us, but when in the presence of only their own people perfectly indifferent about their appearance.

The image in the background is of a dry-docked bow of a ship, possibly from the first fleet. Flashing neon lights are reflected against the set. Car noises merge with the sound of lapping waves. It is as if the present were being reflected in the past.

In the third reenactment, an Aboriginal woman uses spray paint to obscure a picturesque European landscape, then smashes with a rock the glass protecting the image. The broken, blackened glass reveals the landscape completely undamaged: "A native woman had a child by one of our people. On its coming into the world, she perceived it different in its color, for which not knowing how to account, she endeavored to supply by art what was deficient in nature and held the poor babe repeatedly over the smoke of her fire and rubbed its little body with ashes and dirt to restore it to the hue with which her other children had been born." The notion of "breaking the frame" comes immediately to mind: the framing or colonization of the land, of indigenous peoples and cultural practices; frames of reference; the frame as facade; the frame as a depiction of the world; frameworks of histories; and the framing of colonial narratives. The landscape is the last framed image we see. The wall of the studio set falls backward to reveal a darkened theater, reminding us that we are watching a movie and encouraging us to take an active role, to consider the complex problematics of conquest, consent, and exchange in relation to the construction of colonial discourse. It's a Brechtian conceit.

Moffatt uses another type of nondiegetic insert to focus on the body and notions of cross-cultural inscription and intertextuality. There is a brief shot of a white man's hand clutching—possibly examining—a black woman's head. The voice-over recalls a Captain's horror and pity toward an Aboriginal woman whose head and body show evidence of sexual and domestic violence caused by Aboriginal men. Moffatt also inserts a shot of a white man's hand being placed on a black woman's back, sprinkled with gold dust and removed, leaving behind a black hand imprint outlined in the gold dust, and then a shot of a black woman's hand being placed on a white man's back, leaving behind a white hand imprint in the gold. By rendering hand imprints onto black women's and white men's bodies, Moffatt explores the idea of inscription and the body, alluding again to notions of ownership—another form of cultural cartography. Just as the male and female perspectives are presented in the major narrative, Moffatt presents white and black bodies inscribed with "the other's" handprint. The idea of intertextuality again emerges. Bhabha describes the body within colonial discourse as "inscribed with both the economies of pleasure and desire and the economies of discourse, domination and power" (1994:67). Within the narrative framing of the film, Moffatt highlights the strategies and expectations of both parties to expose the theaters of economics and desire and to make explicit the ways that the indigenous women and white men negotiate with each other in terms of projected stereotypes.

We end where we began, with an aerial shot of downtown Sydney. Now it is the early hours of the morning. Over this image we hear one last voice-over, providing an ironic conclusion:

> After this I never saw her but once, when I happened to near the harbor's mouth in a boat with Captain Ball. We met her in a canoe with several more of her sex. She was painted for a ball with stripes of red earth from head to foot so that she no longer looked like the same goridiana. We offered her several presents, which she readily accepted, but finding our eagerness and solicitude to inspect her, she managed her canoe with such address as to elude our too near approach and acted the coquette to admiration.

By referencing the events of the narrative with a traditional past, we see that the roles have not changed. The Aboriginal women are still cast as nice colored girls and the white male is still the Captain. Rather than creating new and empowered Aboriginal role models for the 1990s, Moffatt chooses to site her antiheroines within a colonial tradition, a continuum. She deals not so much with the colonial or indigenous experience but with the complex that emerges in the interstice—in the space between the colonized and the colonizer. By reinscribing colonial images and rewriting historical narratives, Moffatt creates hybridized narrations that challenge the linear, "authentic" accounts written in the colonial or master's voice. *Nice Coloured Girls* highlights the fact that colonial encounters cannot be understood in snug binaries of oppressor and oppressed.

NOTES

1. *Nice Coloured Girls,* 17 min., video, color. Produced, directed, and written by Tracey Moffatt. Distributed by AFI Distribution Limited, 49 Eastern Road, South Melbourne, Victoria 3205, Australia; phone 03–696–1844; fax 03–696–7972.

2. In the film credits Moffatt cites the following references to colonial texts: Watkin Trench, *A Complete Account of the Settlement of Port Jackson* (London, 1793); *English Passage: An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales,* vol. 1 (London, 1798); and *A Voyage to New South Wales: The Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley RN of HMS* Sirius, *1786–1792.*

3. Increasingly, writers dealing with issues of culture and representation are problematizing the notion that indigenous artists should only present their cultures in a positive light, as this denies the complexity and diversity of expression in the articulation of historical experiences. See Hooks 1992b and Hall 1996.

4. In this discussion, I use the term "emic" to refer to the position of looking or writing from the inside out. "Etic" refers to the position of looking or writing from the outside in.

5. Representations of landscape often function as visual metaphors for colonial possession and occupation. W. J. T. Mitchell describes landscape paintings as "a medium of exchange" and "a particular historical formation associated with European imperialism" (1994:5).

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"OLFALA PIJA BLONG NIUHEBRIDIS BLONG BIFO": OLD PICTURES OF THE EARLY NEW HEBRIDES (VANUATU)

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Noumea

The postcard offers visual and documentary access to the past. As products of the transient and permanent European presence in the Pacific, postcards contain insights on the colonial mentality, missions, early ethnography, tourism, and the progress of colonial administration. They also reveal personal doubts, joys and loneliness, and mundane details of travel, weather, accommodation, friendships, and jobs. The photographic images on the front are less explicit but leave tantalizingly obscure and confused messages on a similar range of understandings of the colonial past. Postcards have been ignored by historians but eagerly sought by collectors. The Max Shekleton Collection is therefore a remarkable archive and our purpose here is to publicize the diversity and value of the 657 postcards listed in the catalog for the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), so that historians might be alerted to a wonderful new mass of evidence upon which to construct or revise their interpretations of the history of colonial Melanesia.

THE PICTURE POSTCARD is a genre that attracts dedicated collectors. The worldwide market for early cards in particular has developed tremendously since the 1970s.[1] Historians as well cannot afford to ignore this type of document, which beyond its iconographic interest conveys implicit information on attitudes in given time frames (Figure 1). The visual message is par-

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FIGURE 1. ***Oui-Oui* crew, ca. 1909. This early card of the New Hebrides was published by Bergeret and Co. in Nancy, France. This schooner arrived from St. Malo, France, in October 1908 and her bearded master, Henri Gautier, seems quite contented staring at the camera, with his arms crossed. Renamed *Emile Mercet*, the ship was destroyed by fire in early 1910 after use for general cargo and blackbirding. The motley crew are New Hebrideans, New Caledonian Loyalty Islanders, and a lone Tonkinese.** (Max Shekleton Collection)

ticularly significant when a postcard bearing a caption and a message was actually posted. Unlike a plain photograph, a postcard is indeed a means of communication.

No systematic study of early New Hebrides postcards has been conducted to date. Our research is based on Max Shekleton's collection of such early New Hebrides postcards, painstakingly assembled over the past twenty years and representing an estimated 80 percent of all New Hebrides postcards published between 1900 and 1960.[2] This collection totals 657 different postcards, from 52 identified and 38 unidentified publishers. Our purpose is to study images of the New Hebrides as represented by the postcards and the implicit or explicit, voluntary or unconscious view portrayed of this former Franco-British Condominium.

In the future, the co-authors will ensure that this inventory is updated, and a complete catalog may be published in a few years. In order to achieve this goal, Shekleton will continue collecting actively, and we will attempt to enter into relationships with collectors around the world to complete our inventory and analysis.[3]

Because of the logistical difficulties and high costs involved in tracing and collecting such documents, this essay is limited to an overview, demonstrating the diversity of potential historical material as well as the importance of preserving this rarely studied record of our oceanic heritage. We will examine first the originality and diversity of early New Hebrides postcards, then the iconographic wealth of these mostly unknown images, and finally, the anecdotal interest and historical value of some of the rare significant messages crossing the seas on these small rectangular cards.

Background to a Reference Collection

Ever since the postal card was invented in Austria in 1869, it has been collectible. In France, a law of 20 December 1872 authorized handwritten documents to be sent without an envelope, and the first plain postcards began circulating in 1892. The first postcards showing French colonial scenes were published in 1895 and related to North Africa. French West African views were first published in 1898. These very first cards, published before 1900, caused quite a stir at the time and are referred to by collectors as "pioneers." The first seven New Hebrides postcards were published in New Caledonia in 1903 by Talbot. Others were published in Nancy, France, by Bergeret in 1904, at a time when retail trading between French and British interests became quite competitive; by Hume, with sixteen postcards in 1903; and by Maroney, with twenty-three postcards in 1905. Along with the New Caledo-

nian publishers, the first New Hebridean publishers, such as Talbot, Barrau, and Caporn, often conducted their business from New Caledonia.

Until 1904 postcards had undivided backs that were used for addresses only. The front of the card was used for correspondence, and the type and length of the message influenced the cost of postage (Abensur 1996). Text often overlapped the image. After 1904, the backs of postcards became divided, the righthand side being for the address and the lefthand side for a written message. This layout remains today. It not only has protected many images over the years but also offers historians access to contextual data in the personal written message.

For the New Hebrides, the golden age of this means of communication extended from 1905 to 1930. Postcards were popular for the documentary interest of their visuals as well as their offer of a rapid and reasonably priced way of communicating brief information to relatives back in New Caledonia or Australia. They often carried a precise message of social interest (Christmas greetings, birthday wishes, wedding or birth announcements). After World War I, typographic progress led to the establishment of printshops in neighboring countries and encouraged large-scale production of postcards. In the New Hebrides, however, the small number of traders, settlers, and civil servants did not allow production to reach figures as prolific as in Fiji (over 6,000 postcards) or New Caledonia (over 4,500 postcards).[4] Still, talented photographers such as the Hobart-based John W. Beattie contributed a variety of images to what today has become a remarkable documentary corpus of an estimated 800 postcards.[5]

In the days before the availability of telephones, millions of postcards traveled the world, and they became the fastest and safest way of establishing contact. No information on mail flows of letters and postcards between the New Hebrides and the rest of the world is available, but no doubt the number of postcards mailed was quite low. This becomes apparent when one attends major international postcard shows such as Bipex in London or Cartexpo in Paris, as Oceania cards are scarce, and one is fortunate to find even a few New Hebrides postcards.

During the 1900–1960 period, the New Hebrides were postally isolated from Europe, particularly during World War II. In reference to New Caledonia, Philippe Foucher mentions that "some cards were published during this period, their quality and interest being mediocre, for the use of U.S. troops who, quite naturally, mailed them all back to the U.S.A." (1984:5). In the New Hebrides they just used up existing stocks. With the introduction of telephones, radios, newspapers, and later television after the 1940s, postcards gradually lost their importance as a means of communication in the

New Hebrides. After 1960, as tourism and internal mobility grew, the local use of postcards increased again but for different purposes.

Collectors and Collecting

How were these fragile cards—used for private communication as well as to reveal the exotic surroundings in which one was living (Figure 2)—preserved? Since cards were not formally registered in archives and since most of the early publishers' records have disappeared, the only way was through the world of collectors. During the period between the world wars, when postcard collecting was popular, only one or two Condominium collectors sought out the magic of postcard images. Strangely enough, New Caledonian collectors posted New Hebridean postcards, published by New Caledonian firms (Talbot, Barrau, Gubbay, Ballande, de Béchade), to collectors in Europe, creating a related interest in the New Hebrides.

FIGURE 2. **"Santo ancestor worship." This Hume image is a typical anthropological and descriptive view. The English-language caption, shakily reverse-etched on the original glass-plate negative, suggests that, prior to postcard production, a limited number of photographic prints were made available to museums and collectors.** (Max Shekleton Collection, H26)

Postcard collecting waned after World War II, and by the 1970s very few collectors were interested in South Pacific islands. In New Caledonia, Max Shekleton became one of the first to begin collecting those from Oceania seriously, and the market really only became active in the 1980s, when descendants of British settlers from Fiji or French settlers from New Caledonia attempted to seek out their roots. Concurrently, collectors in the former Condominium partners began to show nostalgia for the colonial period. However, the ambivalent attitude of younger ni-Vanuatu toward colonial times combined with the exodus in the 1980s of the descendants of French and Australian settlers and the economic difficulties of an emerging nation meant a local market for early postcards did not develop. Thus, the rare collectors of early New Hebrides postcards are found not in Vanuatu but in New Caledonia, Australia, France, or Britain. Interest by philatelists in early New Caledonian and New Hebrides postcards did result in steep price increases for New Hebrides postcards, as European dealers anticipated a rise in demand that in fact never eventuated. Dealers sell ordinary postcards for $2.00 to $3.00, better quality and unusual postcards cost $10.00 to $15.00, and rare or topical postcards can reach $20.00 to $40.00. This cost structure explains why historians find it so difficult to gather these precious pictorial representations of the first half of the twentieth century.

Postcards are viewed as the poor relatives of iconography. To date they have not been given any prominence in British or French colonial archives or in Vanuatu's national archives.[6] If the New Caledonia Territorial Centre for Research and Pedagogic Documentation had not arranged to duplicate Shekleton's New Hebrides collection, this important corpus would not be available to students or academics.[7] All postcards in Shekleton's collection as of 1992 are available as transparencies from the center following an agreement allowing liberal access to historians.

Who are the collectors? Most dedicated postcard collectors concentrate on one or more thematic topics: islanders, traditional dwellings, colonial buildings, transportation. Their collections are arranged according to their favorite subjects. In order to have on hand a rational inventory, collectors often keep up a secondary listing using publishers' and printers' catalogs and captions. Only some cards carry publishers' numbers. Whereas philatelists can refer to detailed catalogs and manuals, the postcard collector must rely on cross-referencing all available data to manage and keep track of a collection.

The Shekleton collection is filed in two large black binders. The first binder contains 172 vertical cards; the second contains 485 horizontal cards. Nowadays we are accustomed to the size of 10×15 cm., which is larger than the Union Postale Universelle size of 9×14 cm. stipulated in 1878. All postcards in the New Hebrides collection are of the latter size. Most are black

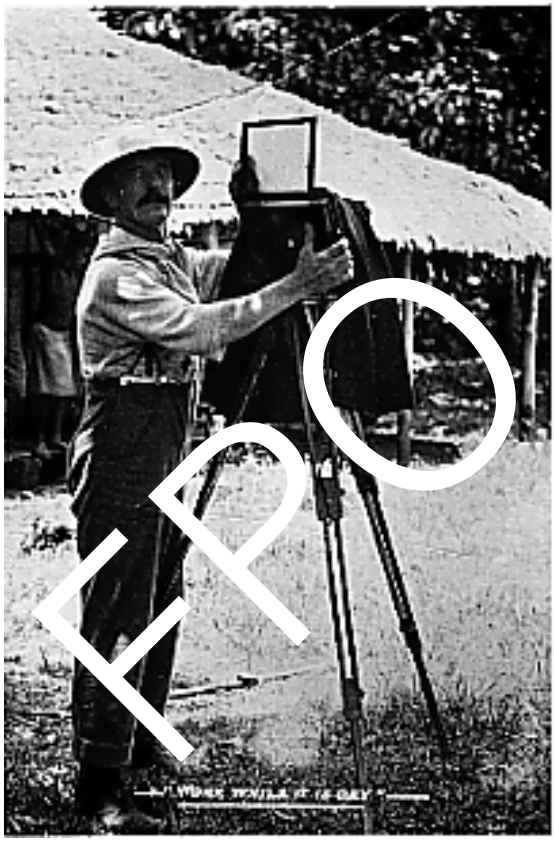

FIGURE 3. **"Work while it is dry." John W. Beattie was able to take remarkable photographs in the Solomons, Santa Cruz, Banks, New Hebrides, and Norfolk Island at the beginning of the twentieth century by gaining passage aboard the London Missionary Society's vessel, the *Southern Cross*. This self-portrait was taken on Mota in the Banks Islands in 1911. Hardly adapted to a tropical climate, the pith helmet and clothing are indicative of the period. The camera equipment may have been state of the art at the time.** (Max Shekleton Collection)

and white (72 percent). The rest are mostly sepia or green (24 percent), with a handful (4 percent) in color. In both albums, there is a geographic as well as a topical classification.

Publishers and Popularity

Merchants or publishers are identified on 68 percent of cards in our reference collection. Quite frequently they are photographers, such as J. W. Beattie, who incidentally is the only one to have left to posterity a self-portrait postcard, the reverse of which bears the following cryptic hand-written message: "Work while it is dry" (Figure 3). Some commercial firms chose postcards as a promotional tool. Examples include Gubbay's "General Store" in Port Vila and the New Caledonia–based coffee planters Les Cafés Jouve. One of their captions reads: "Kanaka family and their hut on the French New Caledonian coffee plantations (Café Jouve). All these native types, despite their primitive appearance, are most civilized and work on our plantations among white co-workers and ourselves." The card appears to be a New Caledonian postcard, destined for the home market in France (with advertising on the reverse side), but displaying a village scene in the New Hebrides. As Kanaks and ni-Vanuatu were easily distinguished, it would appear to be an intentional miscaptioning. The selection of the image may be the result of the firm's intentional voyeurism, as central to the bucolic image is a young, topless New Hebridean maiden wearing only a figleaf-type grass skirt.[8] The Messageries Maritimes shipping line used the same image. On another card an Ambrym slit gong is mistakenly captioned "New Caledonia. Kanaka tabous." The various missions also used postcards to disseminate information on their activities and achievements. There are a number of Protestant series (Melanesian Mission, Presbyterian Mission), but Catholic postcards are rare (Procure des Missions de Marie, Religieuses du T.O.R. de Marie, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel).

Fifty-two different publishers have been identified, of which twenty-three are known on the basis of one or two cards only (see Table 1). Thirty-eight publishers remain unidentified, stimulating our interest in sharing findings with other researchers.

Some publishers produced three or four series, using different caption type, borders, or backs. When these variations are taken into account, a total of 114 series are distinguishable. There are 228 index cards describing the inventory.[9] A future study will describe the different typefaces, artwork, and layouts.

The geographic distribution of the publishers is as follows: New Hebrides, 7; New Caledonia, 16; Australia, 8; France, 13; England, 10; New Zealand, 2;

TABLE 1. **Identified Publishers**

Catalog No.	Publisher	Number of Series[a]	Number of Postcards	Earliest Known Date
H1	Unis-France	1	21	1921
H2	La Maison d'Art Colonial	1	20	mint
H3	A. Bergeret et Cie, Nancy	1	17	1904
H4	J. Raché, ed., Noumea	1	23	1907
H5	L.B.F.	1	2	1909
H6	Coll. Barrau	1	15	1911
H7	D. Gubbay, Néa, Imp. Le Deley	1	9	1917
H8	G. de Béchade, ed., Noumea	4	35	1914
H9	W.H.C., Noumea	1	1	mint
H10	Café Jouve, Imp. Eymeoud, Paris	1	2	mint
H11	B & F	1	9	1914
H12	Maroney	3	23	1905
H13	C.F.N.H.	2	43	1925
H14	E.B.	1	23	1927
H15	(O'Connor)	1	33	1906
H16	Talbot	4	7	1903
H17	C.B. & Co.	1	5	1906
H18	J.C.	1	3	1907
H19	W. H. Caporn	2	4	1909
H20	Coll. H. Guérin	1	1	1916
H21	H & B	3	7	mint
H22	A. B. Shaw & Co.	1	1	mint
H23	The All British Picture Co.	1	1	1923
H24	J. W. Beattie, Hobart	2	21	mint
H25	Melanesian Mission, Britain	3	14	1914
H26	Hume	2	16	1903
H27	Presbyterian Mission Series	1	2	1909
H28	Melanesian Mission Series	1	2	mint
H29	T. J. McMahon	1	12	1923
H30	Empire Post Card (kangaroo in logo)	1	4	1910
H31	N.Z. Post Card	1	1	mint
H32	Miss. S. of Third Order Mary, Boston	1	1	mint
H33	Religieuses du T.O.R. de Marie, Lyon	1	2	mint
H34	Procure des Missions, Paris	1	2	1931
H35	École ap. P. Maristes Morhange	1	1	mint
H36	Oeuvre de la Prop. de Foi Fides	1	1	mint
H37	Polyn. Vic. Ap. des N.H.	1	1	mint
H38	Fung Kuei, Vila	2	16	1958
H39	John Lum et Fung Kuei	1	1	1960
H40	D. Gubbay	1	2	mint
H41	Braun & Cie, Paris	1	1	mint
H42	(Pentecost)	1	3	1943
H43	L.A., R. Domègue, ed., Perigueux	1	8	mint
H44	Messageries Maritimes	3	3	mint
H45	Melanesian Mission Pictorial	1	1	1906
H46	Cl. Agences Générale Colonies	1	1	mint
H47	Languedoc	1	2	mint
H48	Pamir, Port Vila	1	6	1978
H49	Souvenir des H. Hébrides	1	2	1951
H50	Photo Dunn	2	8	mint
H51	South Pacific Industry Co.	1	7	mint
H52	Bromarin (A. G. Steglitz, 1906)	1	1	mint
Total		72	447	

[a] Boat series, plantation series, and so forth.

Germany, 2; Japan, 1; United States, 1. Most were not headquartered in the New Hebrides but had some interests there. They include missionary stations (Melanesian Mission, Marist Mission), trading stores (Barrau, de Béchade), and semipublic organizations (La Maison d'Art Colonial). Other off-shore publishers appeared to have had distribution agreements in Port Vila (Maroney, O'Connor). Only six local publishers have been identified (11.5 percent) and these are all from after 1945. However, it can be assumed that many of the thirty unidentified publishers of indeterminate geographic origin were businesses in Port Vila.

New Caledonian publishers are the largest group (31 percent of all identified publishers and 49.5 percent of all postcards with identified publishers). This is easily explained by geographic proximity as well as strong commercial interests. Indeed, the New Hebrides for many years were considered by the French as an extension of their territory. The high number of identified French (25 percent) and British (11.5 percent) publishers is due to the Condominium status of these islands. The presence of Australian (13.5 percent) and New Zealand (2 percent) publishers confirms that locally influential Protestant missions had their rear bases in both these countries and that trade between the New Hebrides and the Australian continent was important. The origins of the 657 postcards are distributed as follows: New Hebrides, 28; New Caledonia, 221; Australia, 71; France, 80; England, 56; New Zealand, 3; Japan, 7; Germany, 2; the United States, 1; and indeterminate, 188.

Postcards produced at the beginning of this century were all in black and white, with the exception of a few hand-tinted cards. In the 1920s, two series of colored cards went on sale on behalf of Australian Protestant interests, but because of their high unit cost they were printed on low-quality paper. Color cards did not become readily available until the 1970s.

Only five postcards in the Shekleton collection are not based on photographs. Three are paintings, one is a drawing, and one is a map of the islands. The lack of diversity combined with the limited use of improved backs, ornamentation, logos, or specific text signifies the limits of the market and the absence of competition.

Postcards that are actual photographs mounted or developed on a postcard backing (referred to as "real photographs"; see Figure 4), rather than commercially printed reproductions with printed reverse (referred to as "picture postcards"), represent nearly 38 percent of the total number. Real photographs constitute 20 percent of postcards with identified publishers but 77 percent of unidentified postcards (as opposed to 79 and 22 percent, respectively, for the reproductions) and illustrate that, because of the narrow market, many cards were produced in small runs. Some of these real-photograph postcards were no doubt produced locally; specific research in Vanuatu

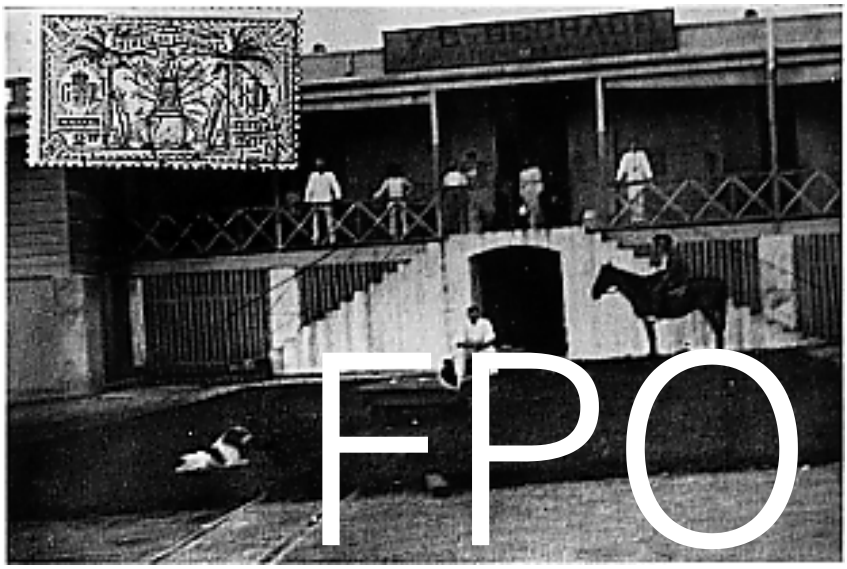

FIGURE 4. **De Béchade Store. The anonymous publisher of this real photograph with a Kodak postcard back was most likely the de Béchade store manager in Port Vila. Rail tracks allowed direct delivery of imported goods to the store from the nearby main wharf. The store staff had been asked to pose for the photographer.** (Max Shekleton Collection, HA33)

archives may reveal more information. Photographic studio cards are very rare. There are six or seven, all shot in New Caledonia (Barrau, W.H.C., J.C., Caporn). The presence in New Caledonia of an easily recognizable resident New Hebridean labor force afforded the photographic studios readily available models. New Caledonian publishers were well aware that such cards could be sold to New Caledonian clients as well as through retail outlets in Port Vila or Luganville.

Postal Cancellation

Dated postcards are the exception, occurring only in the case of an official ceremony (a visit by the governor of New Caledonia in February 1913, the inauguration in November 1924 of a World War I cenotaph), an exceptional occurrence (a visit by H.M.S. *Drake* in 1912, the sentencing of the murderers in the Clapault case in 1923 [Figure 5], a store burning in Port Vila in Feb-

FIGURE 5. **Trial of the murderers of the Clapault family, 1923. An anonymous publisher produced for immediate sale to Port Vila residents a postcard commemorating a shocking event. The accused appear in a deserted courtroom and their resigned looks would suggest that their fate is sealed: they are guilty.** (Max Shekleton Collection, HA31)

ruary 1928), or a natural catastrophe (the destruction of the Ambrym hospital during the December 1913 volcanic eruption, a cyclone over Port Vila in March 1909). Only on five postcards is the date included in the caption. Some cards, such as the four large series (of thirty-five postcards) covering the "*Kersaint* campaign," bear a caption implying their year of publication: this French warship visited the islands in 1913. Thus, New Hebrides postcards are not easy to date accurately; the alternative is to guess their date of issue by examining their style (size, color, artwork, caption, typeface) and the people or objects (costumes, buildings, vehicles) depicted. The active period of particular publishers and photographers can also be used for dating, but if this period is lengthy, data on output generated are rarely available to fix the date more precisely.

The best clue to dating postcards is the postal cancellation. On each postcard the date stamp is tangible proof that the card was issued somewhat earlier. Also, most senders dated their cards by hand, if only to let their correspondents know how long they took to arrive. That postcards were circulating in the early 1900s confirms that the postcards became of interest quite early to consumers in the New Hebrides and to publishers in neighboring countries.

A large proportion of postcards in the collection are mint (68 percent), that is, they were not posted. Before the widespread use of personal photography, travelers often purchased postcards as a memento of their trip or as souvenirs. Many collectors bought postcards for their beauty, their rarity, their topical interest, or their exotic content. Such cards were sent inside a letter, glued into a diary, or stored in albums and are much sought after by today's collectors and dealers. The Rev. Fr. Patrick O'Reilly was of the opinion that only a third of New Caledonian postcards had been postally cancelled (1973:153). For the New Hebrides the figure is reduced to 26 percent. Of 169 cancellations in the current collection, 7 cards were posted to local addresses in the New Hebrides, 88 posted overseas from the New Hebrides, 56 posted in New Caledonia, 9 in Australia, 6 in France, and 3 elsewhere.[10]

Location, Typology, and Categorization

A geographic classification by locations portrayed is generally the easiest classification method for a collector, since printing the place name or name of the island on the card is intrinsic to the genre (which does not always avoid ambiguities or error). However, this pattern cannot apply in the New Hebrides, where there is a high proportion of unlabeled "real photograph" and uncaptioned postcards.

A large number of the 289 postcards with an explicitly identified location

relate to the capital (31.8 percent) and to Efate Island (7 percent). There were fewer residents and visitors on the other islands, but a reasonable number of postcards are available for the better-known islands: Mallicolo because of its nearness, Santo for its plantations, Ambrym and Tanna for their volcanoes, but also the Banks. For this last group of islands we are thankful to the photographer John W. Beattie, who seems to have concentrated his photography on this small group.

When looking at the geographic location of postcards, one should bear in mind that at the beginning of the twentieth century, while cards were bought by visitors, often as souvenirs, residents also bought them as a practical correspondence medium. Civil servants and residents could acquire multiple views of Iririki Island, the seat of the British residency, and of commemorations or unusual events. For example, complete photographic series exist of the Port Vila church fire, the 1913 eruption of the Ambrym volcano, and the burning of a Port Vila store in 1928.[11] Residents tended to choose classic images of the town where they resided or surrounding curiosities. Among the "real photograph" cards, a "look where I am now" message adorns over thirty postcards. As Henry Belbéoch has noted, "all aspects of economic, social, and cultural life were used as subjects through the lens of the photographers. An irreplaceable documentary corpus that allows us to recreate, and for some to discover, the realities of life at the beginning of the Century. . . . This is not grand history but this history has a lived-in 'flavor' " (Belbéoch 1993:194).

A typology of the sites and subjects represented on cards yields the following figures:

Category	*Number of Cards*
Huts (houses, kitchens, etc. of New Hebrideans)	69
Seaside	63
Dwellings (of Europeans)	46
Agriculture (coconut, coffee, bananas, cocoa, rubber)	42
Drums and totems	40
Ships	40
Churches	37
Canoes	34
Urban life	29
Administration buildings	17
Eruptions	14
Bush	11
Horses	11
Monuments	7

Category	*Number of Cards*
Cyclones	6
Vegetables, yams	6
Cattle	5
Schools	4
Fishing	4
Horse-drawn carts	2
Automobiles	2
Bicycles	1

Except as background for views of commercial agricultural activities (Figure 6), scenic views, flora, fauna, and topography are poorly represented. However, note that the above typology represents central themes, and secondary visual elements have not been noted.

A topical classification is an arbitrary one. Apart from scenery and natural oddities, two main areas seem to emerge in the collection: one relates to the indigenous world and the other to the expatriate colonial world. On the one hand, the camera lens registers indigenous events and freezes the presumed authenticity of the location. This is a permanent and fixed world inhabited by men and women and characterized by their dwellings and activities such as laundering (Figure 7). On the other hand, the expatriate world takes shape through the symbols of its involvement (monuments, buildings accommodating institutions) and through technical, economic, or educational achievements suggesting change and progress.

The proportion of postcards relating to the indigenous world exceeds 80 percent, which corresponds to the imaging of the New Hebrides between 1900 and 1960 ethnographically as an isolated, colonial culture. New Hebrideans are shown as being primitive and gentle. Photographs of the period concentrate on folkloric effect, showing, for instance, bushmen wearing penian sheaths (in 97 cards), long after coastal Small and Big Nambas had progressed to the sarong (shown in 69 cards representing men and 18 cards representing women). Weapons, jewelry, and ornaments are also featured. Standing portraits of one, two, or a group of men dominate the cards featuring men—148 of 207 cards. Two-thirds of the men are adults, one-third children or teenagers. These images conform to the "native type" category popular in colonial imaging. As a reflection on the place of women in the New Hebrides, only 47 cards depict women, and very few are of young women. The few images of young girls (20 cards) and the larger number of images of young men (74 cards) might reflect the colonial interest in young men as a potential labor force.

Even in the absence of any written comment, the message of colonial-era

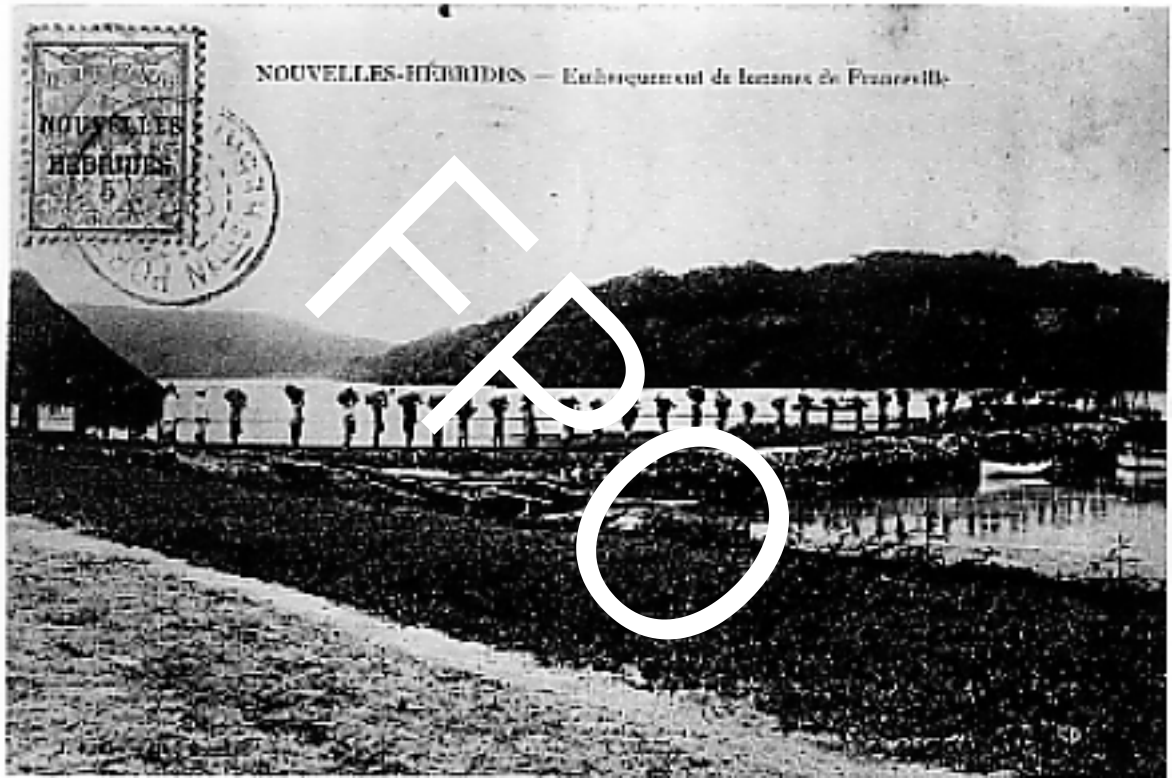

FIGURE 6. **"Loading bananas at Franceville." J. Raché, a Noumea postcard publisher, intended to demonstrate the success of time and motion management applied to productivity on French plantations in the New Hebrides. When this image was shown in 1996 to history students at the Université Française du Pacifique, their reaction was one of shock to the labor conditions close to slavery and to the disparity in clothing between the natives and their colonial masters.** (Max Shekleton Collection)

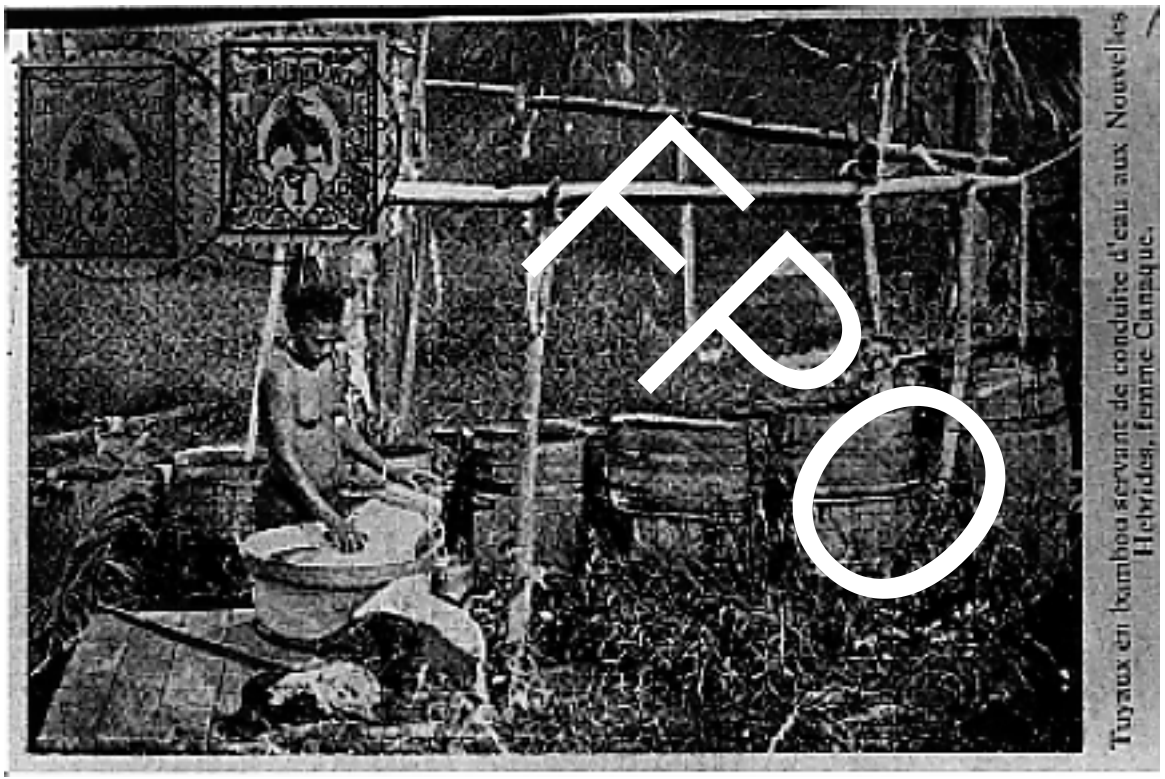

FIGURE 7. **"Bamboo pole water pipes in the New Hebrides, Kanaka woman." This well-framed Maroney image reveals a perceptive photographer who focused on what can be considered an everyday scene. A further interpretation would allow this composition to pay tribute to an identified character trait encouraged in the French world and known as "system D," *système débrouille* (resourcefulness).** (Max Shekleton Collection, H12bis)

postcards is quite clear. It related first to distance, geographic as well as that separating two different worlds. This duality, so often applied to the New Hebrides, resides also in the visual imaging, at once ethnographic and ethnocentric. The European, actor of modernity, is seldom featured in the imagery of this exotic forgotten land. It is significant that publishers from Port Vila are alone in affording some exposure to the settlers.

A Thousand and One Things to Say

Seventy-three percent of all New Hebrides postcards are captioned, a lower percentage than in Fiji and New Caledonia (Angleviel and Shekleton 1995). Only 31.5 percent of the "real photograph" postcards are captioned.

The vast majority of captions are in French (60 percent) or English (25 percent). Interestingly, the five publishers of French-English bilingual postcards are French (La Maison d'Art Colonial, W.H.C., O'Connor, Caporn, Dunn). Maroney published two series in French, but they are characterized by inaccuracies and misspellings that prompted us to include him among English publishers. There are also nine German-language and Japanese-language postcards, of which six have an English-language caption as well. Too frequently, the captions are bland and conventional. This frustrates the historian who seeks clear and even technical identification. By necessity, publishers published views and captions sufficiently general for their clients to identify with their habitual surroundings, seeking to interest the greatest number of buyers possible.

It would be interesting to study the veracity of captions and the reuse of identical or similar images. We thought that a Barrau postcard "New Hebrides (Tanna Island) Kanaka Chief in War Dress" had originated from a Noumea photographic studio. But a Raché postcard shows the same Melanesian wearing the same clothes and ornaments, together with another Melanesian, in a photographic studio postcard, captioned "13. Kanakas from Houailou." As the publisher Raché operated earlier and Barrau probably did not have its own photographic studio, one can surmise that Barrau's agent deliberately or involuntarily wrote an inaccurate caption. Talbot published several postcards showing the same pipe-smoking elderly Maori woman, alternately presenting her as Kanaka, a Tahitian, or a New Hebridean.[12] Bergeret, a French publisher from Nancy, produced three captioned New Hebrides postcards showing Fijians bearing weapons. Was this error caused by his distance from the Pacific, contempt for the integrity of the image, or ignoring the location in an attempt to use the image to shock? One of these Fijian postcards is obviously staged and bears an amazing caption: "New Hebrides. Cannibalism—Back from the Manhunt. Preparing the Feast."

When available, the message handwritten by the sender of a postcard becomes an integral part of the document. But what does it add? One must remember that until 1904 correspondence appeared on the opposite side from the address, in the margin by the image or even on the image itself, on which the stamp was often also affixed. Senders gradually began writing their messages on the address side, even before the regulations changed. Sometimes the text covers the entire back of a postcard that was mailed in an envelope so that the addressee could receive an exotic illustration as well as a confidential message. One New Caledonian writer who had been requested to forward some New Hebrides postcards to a correspondent in Rosny sous Bois, France, wrote: "I am sending you the only card of New Hebrides in my possession. It is quite old. If I don't send them in envelopes, my cards will never reach you."[13]

Postcard correspondence—which in a certain way is unconsciously influenced by the choice of the visual—adds text to an imaged vision of a country, society, or period. We have attempted a typology of postcards bearing texts. They offer considerable insight on the daily life of expatriate New Hebridean communities during the first half of the twentieth century.

We classified the correspondence on the back or margin of 239 postcards and found the following major categories: topical events (41 cards), family information (125), various wishes (46), and postcard exchange (27). The forty-one texts judged to be informative on topical issues cover mainly daily preoccupations: eight postcards relate to family life, six refer to transportation, and seven to the economy. One observes, however, the absence of any reference to politics or religion. This observation confirms that postcards, owing to the limited space for correspondence as well as their public nature, were not meant to convey critical opinion or commentary. Only a few provide evidence of historical events. Still, Condominium residents commenting on their daily lives and private family correspondence from the beginning of the twentieth century can provide useful historical insights.

One writer refers only to mundane events: "I am writing on some photos, they will increase your collection. On the first one both my houseboys are holding a flying fox that one of them shot in my garden because it was eating my paw-paws."[14] Several postcards are adorned with descriptive handwritten captions. Resident L. Dumont captions one card "The Post Office, three French militia, the Postmaster and myself."[15] Another classic is a Port Vila resident who marks with a cross "my bedroom."[16] Photographer John W. Beattie personally hand-captioned several postcards addressed to the Comte de Fleurieu, a serious collector. On one he wrote: "Vila—Sandwich Island or Efate. View taken from the front of the French Residency. British Residency shown on the left hand side of picture. Presbytarian [*sic*] mission in back-

ground, on Vila Island. French New Hebrides Cons Store in the foreground."[17] Others commented on recent events, such as a warehouse fire in Port Vila in 1928: "Scene of the fire taken the following morning at 9, the fire broke out on the 17th at 9 p.m. Coprah and cocoa kept burning for 4 days after."[18]

Cyclones are important news. In 1939 a recent arrival indicated: "Our new country, despite its bad reputation in France, is pleasant to live in. On board ship we were warned of fevers, malaria, bilious attacks. Up to now nothing of all that. A high temperature 33°C in a draft at home, 50°C in the sun; very humid, torrential rains that we can hear 5 minutes before it reaches us because of the heavy foliage. Very frequent cyclone warnings: extremely strong wind, blowing in all directions, removing roofs, uprooting trees and causing much damage."[19] In 1960, a tourist notes on a postcard of Port Vila: "Well, this place is a hell of a wreck. Every single house is damaged and many of them are flattened."[20]

Fragmentary Evidence: Conclusion

The small things that make up daily life are documented in this spontaneous correspondence, written quickly, avoiding the constraints of official wording and the self-censure and artificial construction of the tale. The statements are partial and disjointed, but their sincerity appeals to us. A settler writes: "You can see in this photograph the results of our hunting and fishing trip and the boat we went on. Fishing with dynamite there is no need to wait for the fish to bite. All you need to do is pick them up and there were many."[21]

Although critical economic comments and information on plantation life are notably absent, we learn that in 1929 ships en route from Noumea to Batavia via Rabaul called at Port Vila: "Having left New Caledonia a week ago with a cargo of chrome ore, a little nickel, coprah, coffee, cotton and cocoa we are topping up here with coprah, sandalwood, mother of pearl and cocoa."[22] A settler informs us that in the 1930s copra "is selling for 2500 francs a ton in the country. I would have liked to come here 30 years ago and take[n] over some land. I would have made a fortune by now."[23] Finally, an anonymous European writes: "I have been told that trading wasn't what it was in the Hebrides, the profit margin is only 10% now when it used to be 50 to 80%, it would seem that the Debéchade subsidiary have spoilt the prices."[24]

Several cards include comments on travel, particularly on passengers' perceptions of their travels by sea. A young man writes: "I arrived in Vila after a rather emotion fraught trip. The *Pacifique* went aground at 5.30

in the morning only 5 or 6 miles out of Vila. It was not funny at all and even though land was only about 200 meters away, I thought for a while that we might remain stuck there."[25] A few cards are useful in tracking visits of one or another vessel: "I have received your long letter, I was delayed by all the festivities on this week on the occasion of the visit by the cruiser *Australia.*"[26]

The New Hebridean native is the object of ethnographic commentary. Strangely enough, all these descriptions are based on utilitarian or caricatured iconographic representations. On the back of a postcard captioned "Marchands de porcs. Pig dealers" can be found the following information: "In the New Hebrides the natives raise pigs and take particular care of their teeth. They manage to grow on them long curved teeth which are much sought after."[27] On the back of a card captioned "Tanna tribe going to a *pilou-pilou,*" the description states: "The *pilou-pilou* is a native dance. The Kanakas dance it dressed as you can see on the other side. The *pilou-pilou* is now forbidden. The dancers were unable to calm down. They became excited and ended up fighting."[28]

A postcard about the *Kersaint* campaign captioned "Tanna natives on board" is adorned by the following comment: "We could do with some of these savages against the Germans."[29] During the same year, 1914, another correspondent jotted on the back of a postcard of an elderly Fijian captioned "1. A cannibal": "There are still some man-eating Kanakas inland in the New Hebrides but their number is decreasing daily as we are hunting them down most determinedly."[30]

These snippets of correspondence bring us a living and spontaneous view of the manner in which the European population perceived Vanuatu in the years from 1900 to 1960. Much is obviously left unsaid. Postcards offer very little personal reflection on political or religious policies and events and limited information on travel or the world of the indigenous people of the New Hebrides.

Subsequent study of postcard collections will no doubt afford the opportunity to integrate these images and words with archival materials and the words of New Hebrideans. At the same time it would be of interest to contrast the diversity of the postcard view of the New Hebrides with comparable views of other islands of Oceania. Postcards are fragmentary evidence of the past, suggestive but also frustrating in that they leave so much unsaid. As Corre has noted: "The unsaid means that we don't say but that we leave keys so that our successors may rediscover. It was not the intention to deprive of a past. But has this right to temporary forgetfulness not deprived the emergence of an identity quest?" (1996:30–31).

NOTES

1. Note the evolution of annual catalogs by Neudin in Paris or International Postcard Market in London. Books on postcards are proliferating. Gérard Neudin listed twenty-six new titles for 1995–1996.

2. Shekleton, a travel agent by profession, is a fourth-generation Anglo-Caledonian. He is a member of the Société des Océanistes and of the Société d'Études Historiques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie. His collecting interests cover books, drawings, engravings, maps, and related ephemera. His main collecting interest, however, is early picture postcards of New Caledonia and other Pacific islands.

3. To the best of our knowledge, there is one major collection in the New Hebrides (Reece Discombe), two in New Caledonia, and possibly three or four in Europe. In the rest of the world, some thematic collections are likely to include New Hebrides postcards, particularly in the areas of ethnography, transportation, and missions. To achieve recognition one must be in possession of at least one hundred to two hundred postcards and actively seek out and acquire additional material as well as being knowledgeable in at least one cartophilic area. In the past, at least three collectors took an interest in collecting New Hebrides postcards, as revealed by the existence of their personal collector's marks: the Comte de Fleurieu (a small circle surrounding a stylized sun), Mr. Alain (a small circle), and one other, represented by an illegible signed small mark. The only French publication (Desbois 1996) attempting to list any collectors is obviously incomplete. Only two listings appear for New Hebrides postcard collectors: Jean-François Aubry in Reunion Island and Max Shekleton in Noumea.

4. A catalog of New Caledonia postcards was privately published in 1984 by Philippe Foucher. A catalog of French Polynesia postcards was privately published in 1992 by Dr. Michel Pierre. Dr. Elsie M. (Pat) Stephenson's exhaustive manuscript on Fiji postcards was published by Caines, Jannif in Suva on 9 October 1997. Regional cartophilic publications provide insight on some islands of Oceania: see *Australian Cartophilic Society Newsletter* and *Bulletin of NSW Postcard Collectors Society.*

5. The quality of work by amateur photographers was high, but not that of travelers, patrol officers, tourists, and family members. There were not enough professional studios and photographers to maintain supply, but from all sources an amazing number of quality, inexpensive cards were published.

6. Very few libraries, archives, or other repositories keep separate collections of postcards. They are usually subsumed under photograph or document collections arranged by country. The few identifiable card collections are small, often numbering ten to twenty cards.

7. At the CAOM (Centres des Archives d'Outre Mer in Aix-en-Provence) there is a carton containing Pacific postcards: CAOM 52 PA, carton 1, albums 1 and 2. Fewer than fifteen relate to the New Hebrides. A government-produced colonial album contains postcards relating to the entire French empire: CAOM 5F1, postcards, index updated in 1990. The French Embassy in Vanuatu acquired a complete set of New Caledonian Centre transparencies in 1992, to allow this young nation to regain part of its memory. The plan is to donate them to the new cultural center opened in 1995.

8. The same card, tinted and slightly enlarged, was published in New Caledonia by Caporn under the fantasy caption "Natives of La Conception."

9. There are two index cards per series. The first one shows a photocopy of both sides of a representative card, usually the first one of the series we came across when studying the reference collection. This index card is useful for classification by publisher and by series. For classifying anonymous publishers, the layout of the back of these postcards is used: the typeface of "Postcard" or "Carte Postale," the contents and typeface of any other text, the size and layout of dividing lines, and possible logos or artwork.

The second index card, known as the inventory card, contains the following types of data: (1) format (vertical or horizontal); (2) date or cancellation ("mint" refers to a postcard used without cancellation); (3) identification number; (4) color; (5) cross-references to duplicates in another series; (6) whether the card is a "real photograph"; and the caption, our description, and any handwritten description that appears on the card.

10. In some cases cancellations are authentic, but only an address is written down. Others are canceled but do not bear an address, showing that they were sent in an envelope in order to ensure their safe delivery. A number of postcards are adorned with canceled stamps. These have been cataloged as postally canceled cards, but possibly these stamps were stuck on after the event, as the cancellation on the stamp does not carry over onto the card. This practice, which today would depreciate a card, proves that collectors during the 1910–1920 period preferred postcards that had been posted.

11. This type of series is found worldwide.

12. The same deliberate fabrication occurs on a Caporn Kanaka postcard (H19bis) where the New Caledonian *bagayou* is quite different from the New Hebridean penian sheath. The postcards of an elderly New Hebridean Melanesian couple (H16, H16ter) by Talbot were published later by J. Raché and captioned "Kanaka couple from the La Foa area." When one realizes that four or five other postcards show the same elderly woman close to a typical hut of the La Foa (New Caledonia) area, it is understood that Talbot had deliberately miscaptioned the original card, no doubt in order to be the first to offer for sale a view of the New Hebrides.

13. Correspondence from Rachel Reboulet to E. L. Memet, Noumea, n.d., Album MS.H2, publisher H15, postcard captioned "Cueilleurs de café. Coffee pickers."

14. Anon., correspondence to his sister, New Hebrides, HA25, postcard no. 3.

15. Correspondence from L. Dumont, Port Vila, n.d., Album MS.H2, publisher HA12, handwritten caption on back.

16. Correspondence from L. Dumont to ?, Port Vila, n.d., H21.

17. Correspondence from John W. Beattie to the Comte de Fleurieu, n.d., H24.

18. Correspondence from L. Dumont to ?, Port Vila, 18 February 1928, HA38.

19. Anon., correspondence to Jeannette, 1 March 1939, MS.H2, publisher H13, postcard no. 111.

20. Correspondence from Max Shekleton to his parents, Port Vila, 3 January 1960, MS.H2, publisher H39, postcard captioned: "Looking down the main street of Port Vila."

21. Correspondence from Louis to his sister, New Hebrides, n.d., HA14.

22. Anon., correspondence to his cousins, Port Vila, 21 February 1929, MS.H2.

23. Correspondence from Francis to his "beloved," New Hebrides, n.d., HA14.

24. Correspondence from illegible to ?, New Hebrides, n.d., Max Shekleton's duplicates.

25. Correspondence from A. Gall to "Miss," Vila, 31 May 1911, Max Shekleton's duplicates.

26. Correspondence from illegible to Moizard, Noumea, 28 November 1911, H15.

27. Anon., correspondence to Odette Verdier, New Hebrides, n.d., H8bis.

28. Anon., correspondence to Berthe, Port Vila, 14 September 1929, HA33.

29. Anon., correspondence to anon., 17 August 1914, geographic origin unknown, H8bis.

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PACIFIC ISLANDS COLLECTIONS AT THE CALIFORNIA MUSEUM OF PHOTOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA–RIVERSIDE

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More than twenty thousand photographs in the collections at the California Museum of Photography, University of California–Riverside (UCR CMP), document a century of history in the Pacific region. Most were taken between 1870 and 1930, many by a corps of unnamed photographers dispatched by stereographic companies to collect images for commercial purposes. There were also individuals like Harry Pidgeon, who crossed the Pacific documenting all aspects of life in the region. The Pacific images in two of the principal stereographic collections at UCR CMP, the Keystone-Mast Collection and the Harry Pidgeon Collection, are described. These collections have not been cataloged, yet for those willing to brave the idiosyncratic filing systems established by the original stereographic companies as well as Pidgeon himself, they are well worth the time and effort. For the archaeologist, anthropologist, and historian working in the region, the collections provide a wealth of information that complements and illustrates other research materials. Represented are traditional activities and occupations, rituals, crafts, architecture, monuments, and other material culture elements, along with images of burgeoning development and "modern" industrial societies.

FROM "SAVAGE MANEATERS of New Guinea" to "Samoan Maidens," perhaps twenty thousand or more of the nearly half-million photographs housed in the collections at the California Museum of Photography, University of California–Riverside (UCR CMP), document a century of history in the Pacific region, with the majority of images taken between 1870 and 1930. Most of the photographs were produced by stereographic companies that dispatched vast

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armies of photographers to collect images of all kinds for commercial opportunities in educational and home entertainment markets. But there were also people like Harry Pidgeon, an adventurous soul who crossed the Pacific in a small handmade boat to document all aspects of life in the region. Represented are images of remnant traditional activities and occupations, rituals, crafts, architecture, monuments, and sundry other material culture elements, as well as images of burgeoning development and "modern" industrial societies.

For the archaeologist, anthropologist, and historian working in the Pacific, the collections provide a vast wealth of information that complements or supplements other, more conventional research. Many of the photographs are particularly useful in establishing a context within which to view and interpret the less well understood elements or artifacts of material culture across the Pacific. Before entering these collections, however, one should be forewarned that very little, if anything, has been cataloged. Still, these underutilized collections are available for use by anyone willing to brave the stacks and contend with the idiosyncratic filing systems established by the original stereographic companies.

Background

The nineteenth century was an extraordinary period in every way. The face of human affairs was changing at an accelerated pace, particularly among the Western industrialized nations, where the machine age had arrived in full bloom with its dynamos, steam engines, iron-clad ships, telegraphs, wireless radio, photographic devices, mechanical printing, and machine-making machines for vast mechanized factories. This change in the West would soon spread, a mere trickle at first, but building quickly to a tidal wave that would touch the farthest corners of the globe, where many societies were barely more advanced technologically than their stone-age ancestors.

In the West an appetite for the new and novel was being fed and encouraged immediately and directly. The invention of photography in 1839, in particular, and its rapid progress from a quaint amusement to a burgeoning industry of cheap pictures and cheap apparatus for the masses in little more than a decade created a new sense of things, both spatially and emotionally. Populations, especially in the United States and Europe, were on the move, from the countryside to the city and from country to country in search of new opportunities for jobs, wealth, or just a general improvement in the quality of their lives. Change was in the air, awakening feelings that would introduce a new era of exploration and expansion—especially of the mind and experience. Ordinary people were gaining increased access to goods, includ-

ing many things that until then had been exclusive to the more affluent in society. Even distances seemed to diminish, as people became exposed to more of the world through traveling museum exhibits, world's fairs, inexpensive photographic images, cheap books, and especially newspapers. Printed matter in particular achieved wide success and in turn fueled the public's ever-growing need to be amused, tantalized, and astonished by scenes of the new or exotic, allowing millions of people to travel the world at least in spirit if not in body. Travel books were all the rage, as was fiction depicting exotic settings in far-off lands or imaginary places. Names like Jules Verne, Jack London, Mark Twain, and H. G. Wells led the list of authors whose reportage or tales of high adventure captured the minds and hearts of millions everywhere.

Adding greatly to this mood of excitement was the stereograph, a 3 × 6 inch card with two nearly identical photographic images mounted side by side (each recorded from a slightly different perspective). When viewed through a stereoviewer, the images combine to create the illusion of three dimensions. The stereograph was first produced experimentally in the 1840s, but by 1850 it was being produced commercially and quickly became one of the most popular means of armchair travel. Very early on, companies were offering cheap views of all manner of exotica (Figure 1), natural and man-made wonders, world leaders and popular figures, disasters large and small. Remember the U.S.S. *Maine*? There are stereographs of the ship before and after its sinking. Then there are the images of battlefields—the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, the Sino-Russian War, the Boxer Rebellion in China, to mention but a few. Just about any event or theme, large or small, that might capture public attention—from royal coronations in Great Britain or Russia to shoe manufacturing in one place to tobacco growing in another—found its way onto sterographic cards. Advertisements published by Keystone View Company, one of the leading publishers of stereographs, proudly quoted Carl Sandburg, the author and a member of their advisory editorial board at the turn of the century, who proclaimed that "the best substitute for intelligent travel is intelligent use of stereographs." And such was the popularity of stereographs that in short order nearly every Victorian parlor had a stereoscope and a selection of views at hand for the enjoyment of family and friends. The stereoscopic photograph persisted for nearly a century, between 1850 and 1950, and was nearly as pervasive in its time as television has become in ours.

To understand the utility of these images and how they can expand or at least shape our interpretation of the past, it is useful to know a little something about the terms of their production. As a publishing venture, the business of stereographic documentation was primarily a commercial undertaking.

FIGURE 1. **"Hula dancer," in front of painted backdrop of Diamond Head, O'ahu, Hawai'i.** (Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside)

Legions of mostly nameless and faceless photographers, both professional and amateur, some independent and some employed by the publishing companies, scoured the world to capture images ranging from the exotic to the mundane. The quality, as you might expect, varied according to the talents of the photographer, the conditions in which the photographs were made, and the advantages and disadvantages of raw luck.

The photographer generally lugged around a heavy two-lens camera and other cumbersome equipment, though few went with the advantages of light

meters or long lenses. Sometimes the camera would not even have a shutter. Often, too, a photographer was obliged to carry the means for developing the pictures, such as a dark box or perhaps a photographic tent, as well as chemicals and other accessories.

Today, the stereograph is a mere relic. Gone are the publishing companies. Gone are the armies of photographers. The photographic records have survived, however, perhaps countless thousands hidden away in attic boxes, held in private collections, or scattered among museum holdings here and there. But, by far, the richest and most expansive collection held in one location is housed at the University of California, Riverside, in its California Museum of Photography.

The Keystone-Mast Collection

Since 1978 most of the world's surviving stereographic negatives and prints have been housed at UCR CMP, as the result of a gift to the museum from the Mast family of Iowa. Known now as the Keystone-Mast Collection, it consists of over thirty tons of original stereoscopic negatives (mostly glass), cards, record books, and salesmen's catalogs from several publishers—Keystone View Company, Underwood and Underwood Company, B. W. Kilburn Company, H. C. White Company, Universal Photo-Art Company, American Stereoscopic Company, W. H. Rau, T. W. Ingersoll, and Berry, Kelley and Chadwick—most of whom were bought out by Keystone View Company by 1920. "After 1920, for all practical purposes, Keystone View Company was the only major producer of stereographs in the world," writes William C. Darrah in his book *The World of Stereographs.*[1] He goes on to say, "With the passing of years has come a growing recognition of the invaluable record provided by Underwood and Keystone View Company, perhaps unwittingly, as they documented the modernization of the world."

Indeed, the collection at UCR CMP holds the bulk of that production, nearly 140,000 cards and 350,000 negatives covering more than 40,000 titles as listed in the various and unsystematic filing systems of the stereographic companies (made all the more confusing by the recataloging efforts of the Keystone View Company when it bought up the stores of the other companies). One might find, for example, images of Hawai'i filed under "Samoa" or "Guam," images of Fiji under "Australia," or images of New Guinea under "Philippine Islands." Many of the stereographic file cards include useful handwritten or typed notes by the photographer or by company editors that describe the subject. Indeed, some notes go further, providing additional information such as the problems faced by the photographer in the field and, occasionally, the name of the photographer. There are also grade stamps,

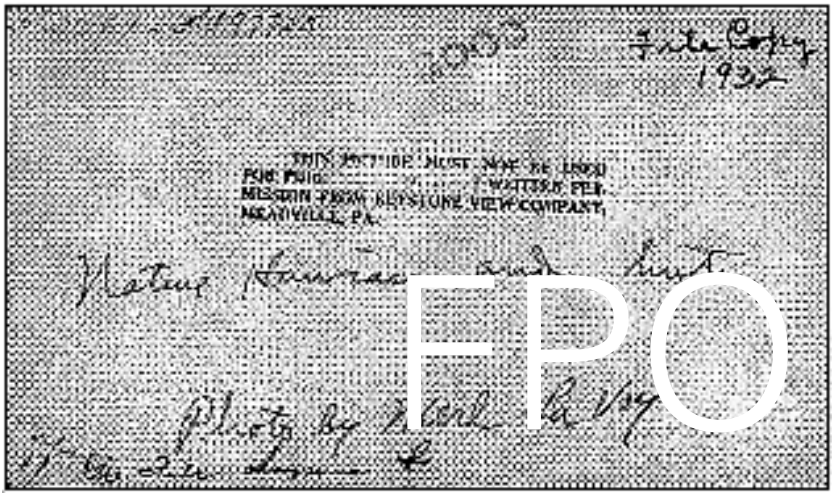

FIGURE 2. **"Native Hawaiian and hut," card back.** (Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside)

presumably applied by the editors, noting the quality of image and its degree of utility in the commercial scheme (Figure 2).

Edward R. Beardsley, the museum's founding director, described the collection as a vast omniform literature that is accessible to everyone, regardless of interest, language, or habit. Joe Deal, former UCR CMP curator, described it as a wide, unknown, and essentially untapped literature where one could conceivably pick a subject, any subject, and it would undoubtedly be depicted in some form. The stereographic images of the Pacific alone amount to roughly 20,000 images filed under various categories (mostly broad geographic groupings). The following is just a rough selection of categories I have identified as useful to Pacific scholars:

- Australia
- Guam
- Hawai'i
- New Guinea
- Samoa/Fiji
- Philippine Islands
- Outlying Possessions of the United States
- Chicago's World's Fair (1893)
- Miscellaneous Racial Types, with a subcategory of South Sea Islands
- Australia Collection, covering Australia, Fiji, Hawai'i, New Zealand, New Guinea (this is in addition to the categories listed above)

- Industry files, covering topics such as fishing, shoes, clothing, stone, and quarries from around the world.

The geographic categories may be classed as ports of call. Each area is within the major shipping lanes and belies the probable mode and course of travel for many or most of the photographers crossing the Pacific (as deck passengers on steamers or as hands on freighters). Classification of these images as port-of-call photographs lends the potential researcher a broader view of the scope of travel by these photographers and offers clues as to which Pacific islands are apt to be represented.

The stereographs in the collection are in good to excellent condition. Among the glass negatives or on the printed cards can be found views of traditional activities (poi pounding, for example) and occupations (fishing, sailing), rituals, crafts, architecture, monuments, and sundry material culture elements that once dominated the daily lives of the indigenes (Figures 3, 4), as well as views of the modern, burgeoning development in many of the ports and towns across the Pacific (people, architecture, street scenes, industries, natural vistas). Admittedly, some shots have been manipulated or exaggerated (a studio shot of a Hawaiian dancer posed against a painted backdrop of Diamond Head, for example; see Figure 1), but overall the introduction of foreign elements into an image does not appear to be a routine practice (at least when compared with Native American portraits in the Southwestern United States, where the subject was often made to look more "Indian-like" by the addition of costume elements from other, geographically distant tribal cultures). As the photographers were fanning out across the Pacific, one has to ask if they would include all sorts of accoutrements and decorative devices for their pictures of exotic people and places in their already voluminous baggage of camera, developing equipment, and photographic accessories.

My selections from the Keystone-Mast Collection shown in this article have been made with archaeological issues in mind, especially the elements that might shed light on material culture of the indigenous populations and how those elements play into the context of current archaeological interpretation.[2] To this end, close examination of these photographs can show how an item was used or worn, what it looked like in its complete form, and, in some cases, how it was fashioned. As a supplement to standard archaeological interpretation, the photographs establish a context and, in some cases, suggest alternative explanations. Shell rings, for example, have been recovered in both fragmentary and complete forms from archaeological contexts across the Pacific. Within the literature, the rings have often been described as bracelets or bangles. Yet, images from New Guinea suggest their use as elements in a necklace or as breastplates (Figure 5). As an alternative explana-

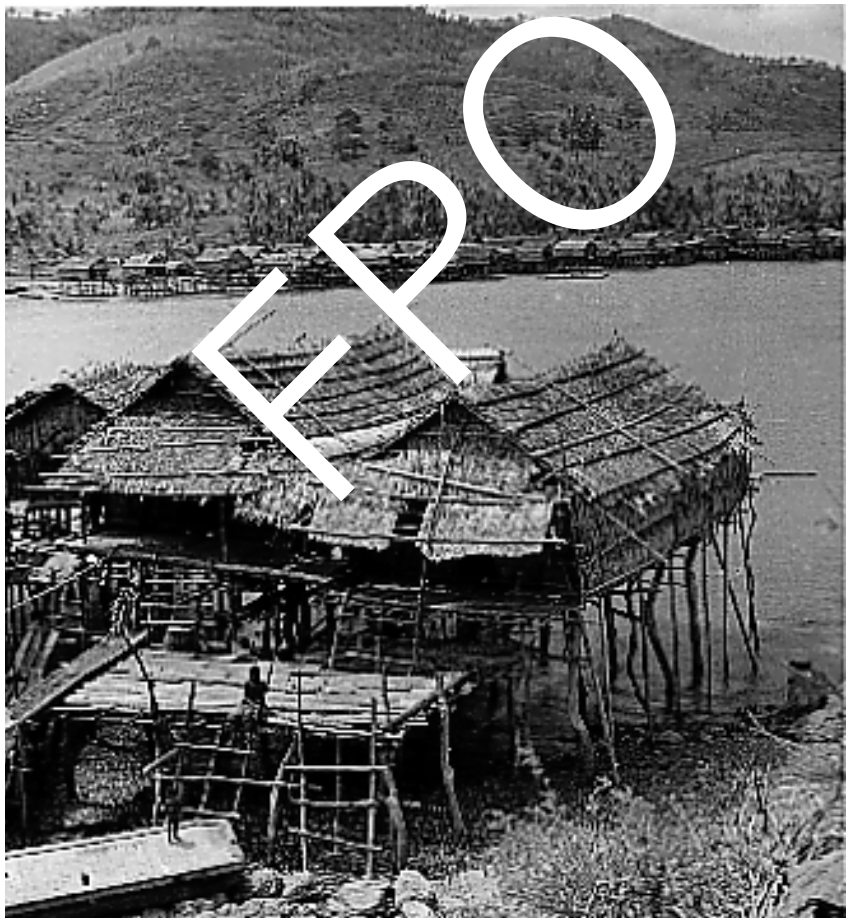

FIGURE 3. **"Native houses on piles, Port Moresby, British New Guinea. This gives a splendid idea of the style of construction."** (Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside)

tion, this possibility should be added to the list of potential interpretations. Of course, the body of ethnographic literature is another routine source of information that adds to the interpretation of material culture items such as shell rings; however, nothing can supplant the power of the visual image to suggest the manner in which something was worn, displayed, used, or made.

Architecture is another area that benefits from the availability of a visual image. Stone and coral foundations are common features in the archaeolog-

FIGURE 4. **"An up-to-date sailing craft" [Fiji?].** (Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/ California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside)

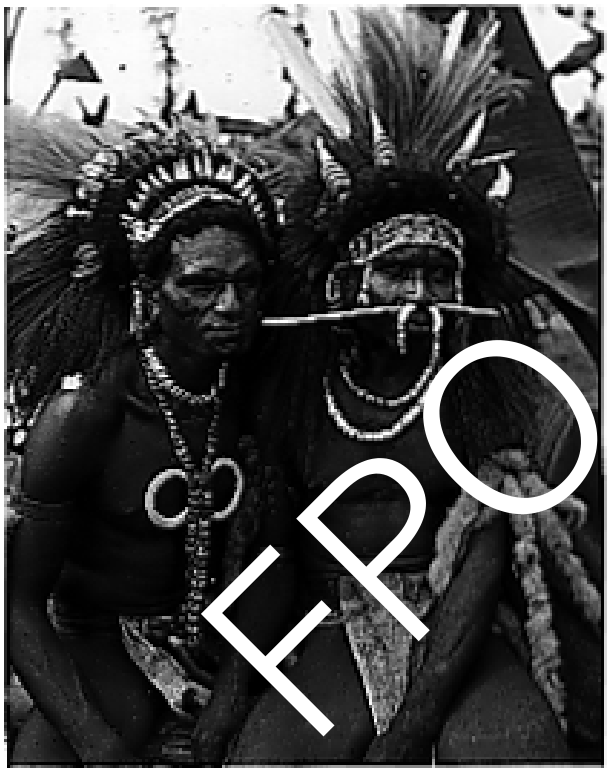

FIGURE 5. **"Savage maneaters of New Guinea in their warpaint, British New Guinea."** (Keystone-Mast Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside)

ical landscape throughout the Pacific and pose another fundamental line of inquiry. The question most often asked—What sort of structures were raised on or adjacent to such foundations?—can find some resolution in the stereograph images, which, deliberately or inadvertently as part of the background, portray the complex of structures that make up a village or, for that matter, isolated field housing, boathouses, cooking houses, and sundry other structures and architectural features. The stereographs add a kind of substance to the archaeological remains. For architecture in particular, the visual image offers a range of interpretations that can assist in resolving the confusion over structure type, use, appearance, and even construction techniques and methods.

The Harry Pidgeon Collection

Donation of the Keystone-Mast Collection stimulated other donations to the archives of the UCR CMP. One of these donations was a series of over 1,500 negatives (mostly glass, with a few of acetate) produced by Harry Pidgeon, an amateur photographer who traveled around the world twice (a feat that few had successfully completed at the time) in a boat he built himself after the age of fifty. As a child Commander Robert Mohle of Manhattan Beach, California, had known Pidgeon and was to become the unlikely beneficiary of his photographic industry. Around 1924 or 1925, sometime after completion of his first trip around the world, Pidgeon left his negatives with Mohle's father. The negatives remained with the Mohle family when Pidgeon set out to sea for his second trip; Pidgeon maintained that it was easier to leave his negatives in one place so he would always know where they were. Robert Mohle more or less inherited the negatives from both trips, as Pidgeon died in 1954 (at the age of eighty-six) without leaving instructions for their disposition, and Pidgeon's widow, Margaret, declined to claim them.

Pidgeon was apparently rather modest, unassuming, soft-spoken, and almost frail. Nonetheless, he seems to have been a man driven by the spirit of adventure, and from all indications he was welcomed everywhere he went (Figure 6). A telling story recounts how, at the age of eighty-one, Pidgeon, who was a vegetarian, and a nephew climbed Mount Whitney, each carrying a watermelon to the top, presumably as sustenance. The climb was simply for the adventure; it was something he had not yet done but was determined to accomplish. In his younger days he traveled by pony cart from Mexico to the Canadian border for no other reason than to see what it would be like to make such a journey. It is recorded in museum documents that he also practiced a variety of occupations, but the role of photographer seems to have been his constant interest. Among the Pidgeon artifacts are photographs he made in the lumber camps of California and the Pacific Northwest, as well as photographs of miners, camps, and towns in Alaska during the gold rush of 1898. And, upon his return to the lower forty-eight, he traveled down the Mississippi River, documenting life in the towns and rural areas along the river corridor.

Finally, in about 1920, Pidgeon embarked on the first of two voyages around the world in the *Islander,* a boat he had painstakingly built himself. He had never sailed before, so he set about reading all he could on the art of sailing while at the same time building the *Islander.* His first trip was initially to be a voyage to Hawai'i and back. From Hawai'i, however, he traveled to various islands in the South Pacific, and then on to Australia.

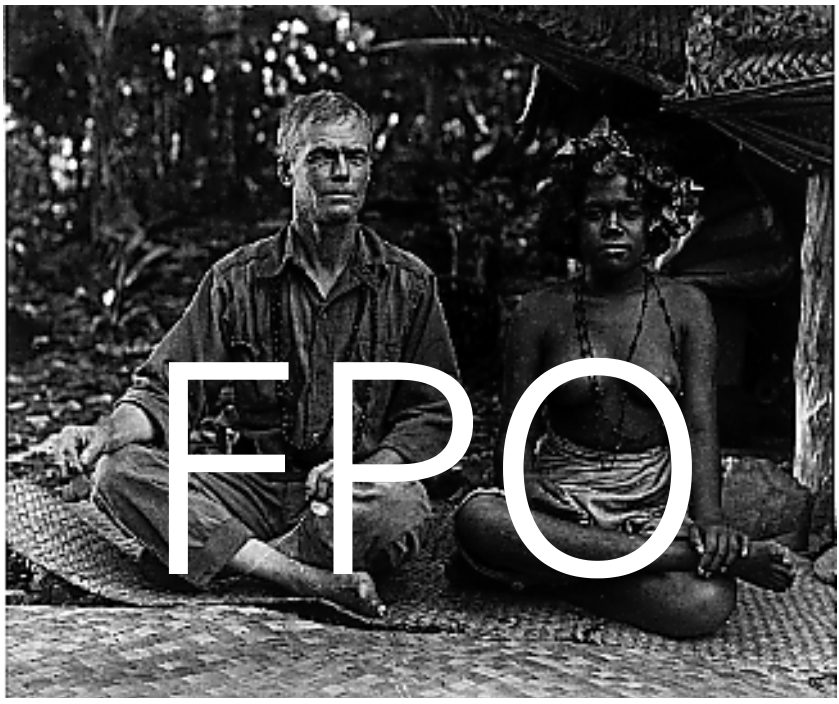

FIGURE 6. **"Poli and me," Society Islands.** (Harry Pidgeon Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside)

Instead of returning the same way he had come, he decided the most expeditious course would be simply to continue around the world.

This self-taught sailor had few charts and no motor on his boat, and for ballast Pidgeon used nuts and bolts from the San Pedro shipyard, which were later traded for food, coconuts, and other items on his voyage, with sand used to replace the ballast. Sadly, on his second voyage he lost the *Islander* in a typhoon off Espiritu Santo. It is worth noting that Pidgeon developed his own photographs during the voyages, using a makeshift darkroom in the forward cabin of his boat.

Of particular interest to Pacific researchers are the nearly 300 photographs of Pacific Island subjects made over the course of Pidgeon's two circumnavigations of the globe—the first undertaken about 1920, the second made roughly during the 1940s; Pidgeon was planning a third voyage in the 1950s but died before getting under way. Among Pidgeon's ports of call

FIGURE 7. **"Street scene at Harahetau on Uapu Island, Marquesas. Houses surrounded with breadfruit trees."** (Harry Pidgeon Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside)

were Hawai'i, the Marquesas, Samoa, the Society Islands, New Guinea, the New Hebrides, Fiji, and the Tuamotus.

Images from this group portray a wide array of subjects, such as architecture, people, antiquities, traditional villages, crafts, traditional occupations and activities, monuments, and port towns and cities. Some of the photographs of villages, for example, provide excellent information about elements of construction, such as the pattern of house posts and arrangement of structures, the remnants of which have been encountered frequently in archaeological investigations (Figure 7). To be able to draw comparisons between what at first seem like randomly arranged clusters of post molds and wall foundations and actual images of structures raised on poles or walled platforms significantly enriches the archaeological record. The images not only suggest possible structure types that could have rested on the poles or platforms, but also the spatial patterning of these structures and their potential functions.

Among Pidgeon's images are depictions of tapa cloth manufacture and painting (Figure 8), as well as pictures of weaving and even tattooing. The details of his images provide information on patterns of plaiting and weaving

FIGURE 8. **Aged Samoan artist painting tapa.** (Harry Pidgeon Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside)

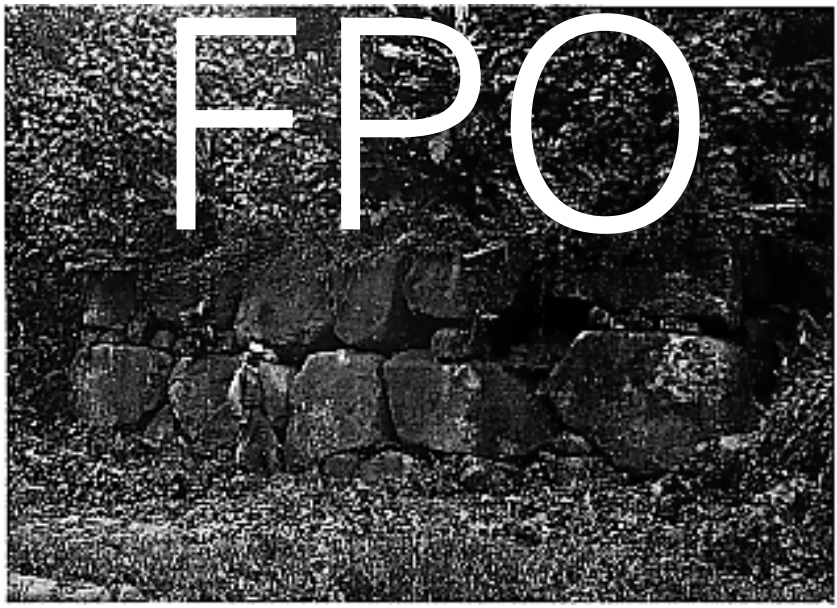

FIGURE 9. **"Pai Pai [platform] on the Coeka called 'Vahakekua'. Melville looked with wonder on these stones" [Marquesas].** (Harry Pidgeon Collection, UCR/California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside)

in mats and in wall construction (evidence of crafts that have mostly faded from the material record, owing to the extremes of climate, the ravages of global wars, and, not least of all, the effects of borrowing, adaptation, and "Westernization"); illustrate design themes common to a group of people and displayed in the ethereal arts of painting and tattooing; and show evidence of construction methods employed in the now-abandoned stone walls and platforms of historical sites in several important regions of the Pacific (Figure 9).

Summary Comments

This article is but a very brief introduction to the Pacific collections housed at UCR CMP. I have attempted only to illuminate the potentials inherent in this vast, interesting, and underutilized resource. The Pacific photographs in both the Keystone-Mast Collection and the Harry Pidgeon Collection provide rich interpretive tools for many fields including anthropology, archaeology, and history. It needs to be emphasized that these collections have

been only roughly cataloged, which means that anyone using them must spend a significant amount of time just wading through many thousands of images (both negatives and photographic cards) to identify those from the Pacific. There is a real need for a complete cataloging effort, including annotations, not just for the Pacific images but for the many more thousands of images represented in the several collections. In the end, such an effort would be greatly rewarded by the reappearance of images from a very active and interesting time in global history. Many surprises await, as most of these images have not been viewed in nearly half a century.

NOTES

The small curatorial staff at UCR CMP, particularly Edward Earle, former senior curator, and Steve Thomas, collections manager, deserve a great deal of praise for their enthusiasm and their tireless and often under-rewarded efforts. They not only provided me access to the collections, but also dusted off collection files and a variety of other background materials, all of which aided in enriching the underlaying fabric of this essay. My husband, Edward R. Beardsley, founder of UCR CMP, also deserves much credit, as he read, reread, and edited various versions of the essay. And Herbert Quick, photographer, developed the photographs selected for publication from the CMP negatives. I gratefully acknowledge all of their assistance and take responsibility for the content, notions, and comments contained here: they are mine alone and do not reflect the opinions or policies of UCR CMP or the reviewers.

1. William C. Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* (Gettysburg, Penn.: W. C. Darrah, Pub., 1977), 50.

2. I have sorted the images into three broad categories: architecture and monuments; implements and utensils, including weapons; and ornaments. As more work is done with the collections, these categories will likely be refined.

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