MAKING HISTORIES: THE TORRES STRAIT EXPEDITION OF 1898

Elizabeth Edwards
Pitt Rivers Museum
University of Oxford

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 "re-enactment"; 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

Pacific Studies, Vol. 20, No. 4—December 1997

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

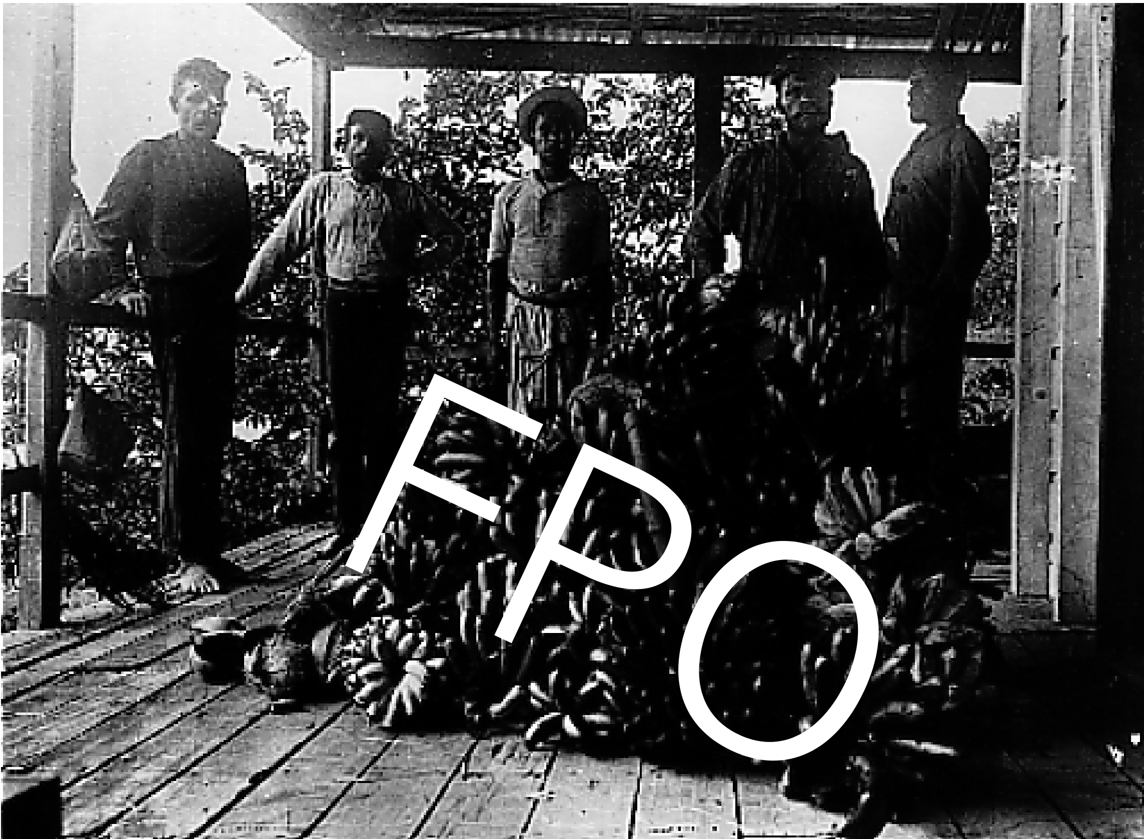

FIGURE 2. **"Present of food," Mer. Photographer A. Wilkin, from original dry gelatin plate, 5″ × 4″.** (CUMAA T.Str. 233; P.918.ACH1)

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).

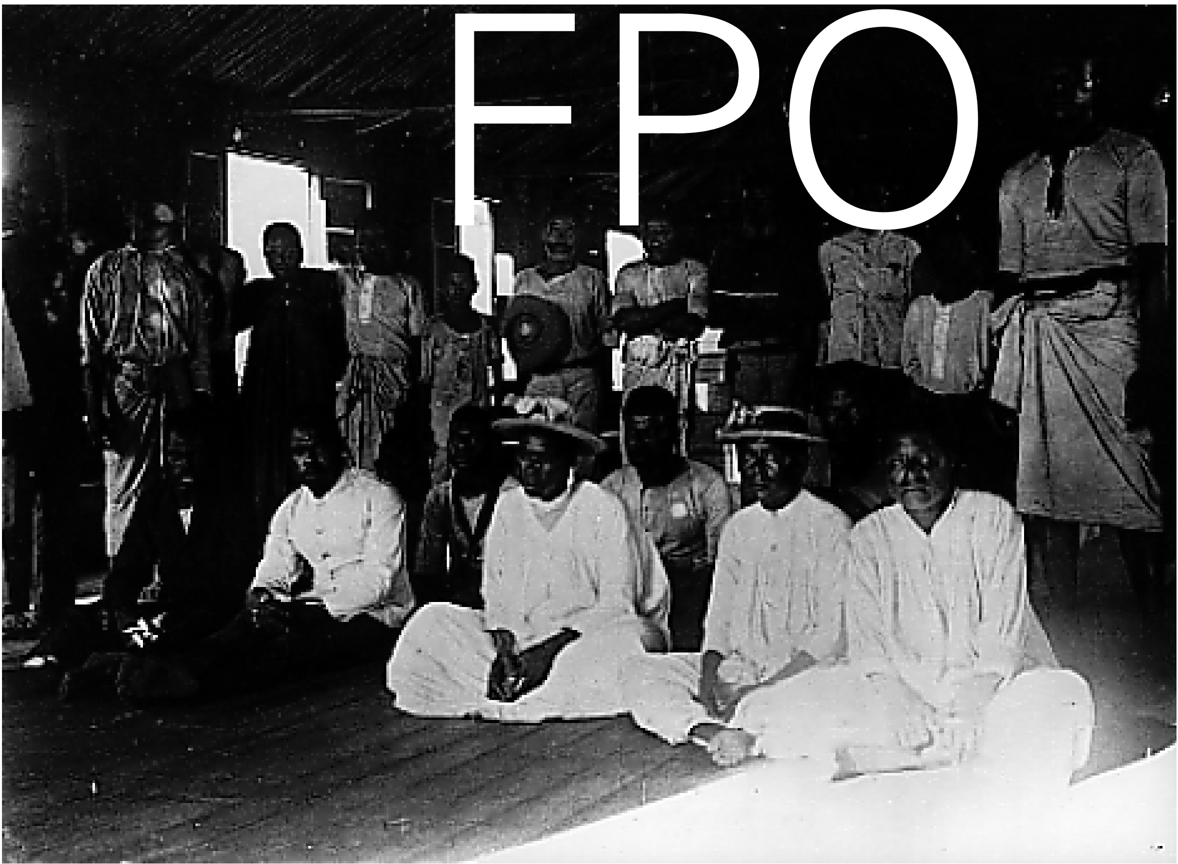

FIGURE 3. **"The wedding of Jimmy and Aba," Mer. Photographer A. Wilkin, from original dry gelatin plate, 5″ × 4″.** (CUMAA T.Str. 222; P.907.ACH1)

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.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

CULSC Haddon Papers, Cambridge University Library Special Collections.
CUMAA Torres Strait Expedition Photographs, Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
MMA Department of Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, Photograph Study Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. A. Wilkin Albums.

REFERENCES

Barthes, Roland
[1980] 1984 *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography.* Trans. S. Heath. London: Fontana.

Beckett, Jeremy
1987 *Torres Strait Islanders: Custom and Conflict.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Berger, John
1980 *The Uses of Photography.* London: Writers' Cooperative.

Clifford, James
1986 On Ethnographic Allegory. In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography,* ed. James Clifford and George Marcus, 98–121. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Coonan, Steven
1994 The Joly and McDonough Colour Processes. *History of Photography* 18 (2): 195–196.

Coote, Jack H.
1993 *The Illustrated History of Colour Photography.* London: Fountain Press.

Crary, Jonathan
1990 *The Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Davies, Alan
1985 *The Mechanical Eye in Australia.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Dening, Greg
1991 The Poetics of History. In *Clio in Oceania,* ed. A. Bierseck, 347–380. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Denoon, Donald
1996 W. H. R. Rivers and Fin de Siècle Colonial Cultures. Unpublished paper given at the Pacific History Association Conference, University of Hawai'i, Hilo, July 1996.

Edwards, Elizabeth
1994 Visuality and History: Diamond Jenness's Photographs of D'Entrecasteaux Islands, Massim, 1911–1912—A Case Study in Re-engagement. *Canberra Anthropology* 17 (2): 1–26.
1995 Visualising History: A Contemplation on Two Photographs by Captain W. D. Acland. In *Picturing Paradise: Colonial Photography of Samoa, 1875–1925,* ed. C. Blanton, 49–58. Daytona Beach: Southeast Museum of Photography.

Fabian, Johannes
1983 *Time and the Other.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Gathercole, Peter
1977 Cambridge and the Torres Strait, 1888–1920. *Cambridge Anthropology* 3 (3): 22–31.

Gosden, Christopher
1994 *Social Being and Time.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Gruber, Jacob W.
1970 Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology. *American Anthropologist* 72:1289–1299.

Haddon, Alfred C.
1897 The Saving of Vanishing Knowledge. *Nature,* no. 1422 (vol. 55): 305–306.
1898 *The Study of Man.* London: John Murray.
1901 *Head-Hunters, Black, White and Brown.* London: Methuen.

Haddon, Alfred C., et al.
1898 The Necessity for the Immediate Investigation of the Biology of Oceanic Islands. In *British Association for the Advancement of Science: Report of the 67th Meeting, 1897,* 352.
1901–1935 *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits.* 6 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Herle, Anita, and Sandra Rouse, eds.
1998 *Cambridge and the Torres Strait: Centenary Essays on the 1898 Anthropological Expedition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

Holm, Bill, and George I. Quimby
1980 *Edward S. Curtis in the Land of the War Canoes: A Pioneer Cinematographer in the Pacific Northwest.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Jacknis, Ira
1984 Franz Boas and Photography. *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 10 (1): 2–60.

Jones, E.
1921 *Florence Buchanan: The Little Deaconness of the South Seas.* London: Central Missions Board.

Landau, Paul
1994 The Illumination of Christ in the Kalahari Desert. *Representations* 45:26–40.

Langham, Ian
1981 *The Building of British Social Anthropology: W. H. R. Rivers and His Cambridge Disciples in the Development of Kinship Studies, 1898–1931.* Dordrecht: D. Reidel.

Le Goff, Jacques
[1977] 1992 *History and Memory.* Trans. Steve Rendall and Elizabeth Claman. New York: Columbia University Press.

Long, Chris, and Pat Laughren
1993 Australia's First Films, Facts and Fables. Part Six: Surprising Survivals from Colonial Queensland. *Cinema Papers* 96:32–36.

Quiggen, A. H.
1942 *Haddon the Headhunter: A Short Sketch of the Life of A. C. Haddon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Russell, Martin
1988 *Newman and Guardia Ltd.* Chester-le-Street: Emanen.

Schwartz, Joan M.
1995 We Make Our Tools and Our Tools Make Us: Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics and Poetics of Diplomatics. *Archivaria* 40:40–74.

Sillitoe, Paul
1977 To Mer, Mabuiag, Muralug and Moresby: The Torres Strait Expedition. *Cambridge Anthropology* 3 (2): 1–21.

Slobodin, R.
1978 *W. H. R. Rivers.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Stocking, George
1983 The Ethnographer's Magic: Fieldwork in British Anthropology from Tylor to Malinowski. In *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork,* ed. George Stocking, 70–120. History of Anthropology 1. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
1989 Romantic Motives and the History of Anthropology. In *Romantic Motives: Essays on Anthropological Sensibility,* ed. George Stocking, 3–9. History of Anthropology 6. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
1995 *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888–1951.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Taussig, Michael
1993 *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses.* New York: Routledge.

Tonkin, Elizabeth
1992 *Narrating Our Pasts.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Urry, James
1993 *Before Anthropology: Essays on the History of British Anthropology.* Camberwell: Harwood Academic.