Hunting the Collectors

Pacific Collections in Australian Museums, Art Galleries and Archives

Edited by

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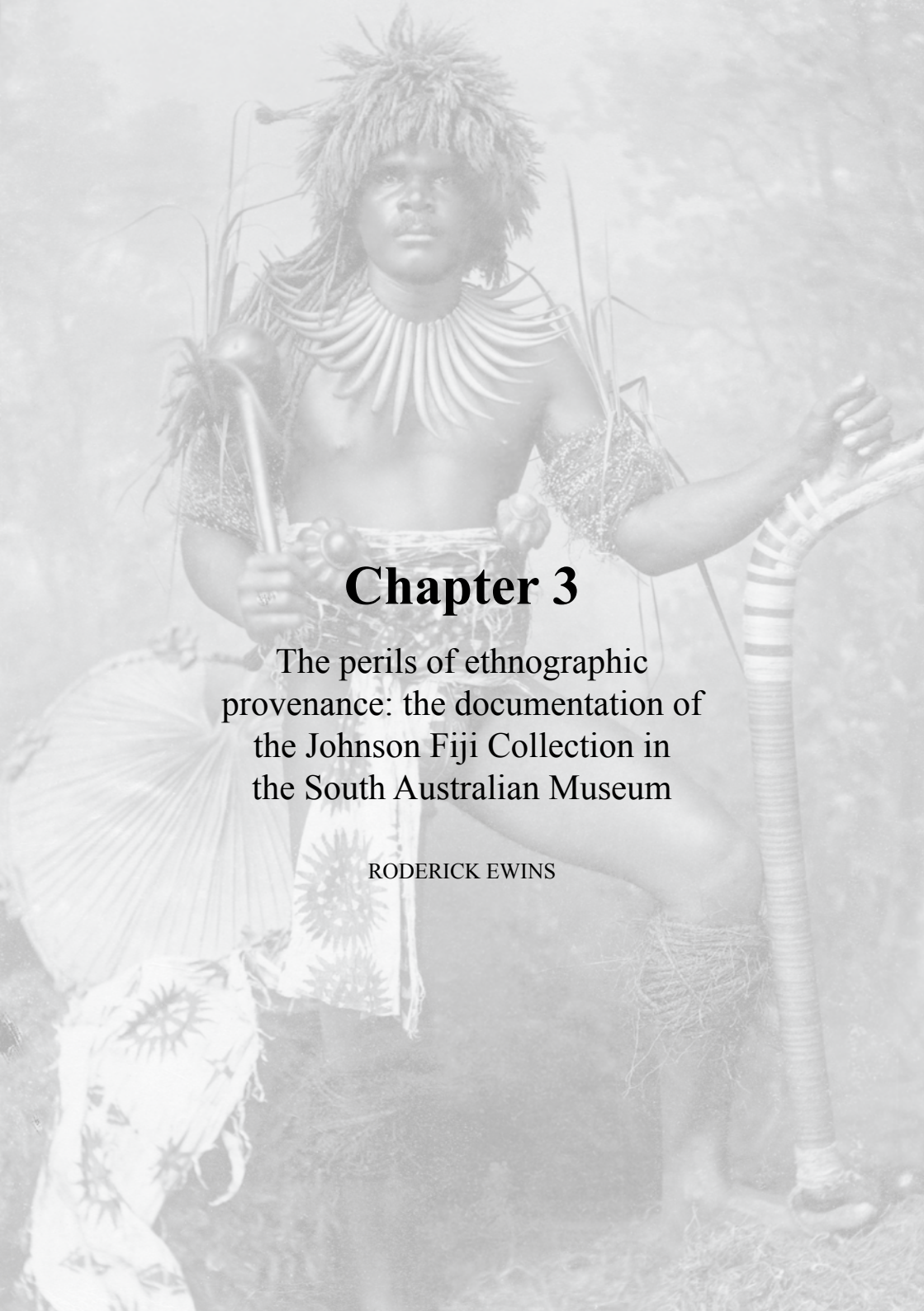

Chapter 3

The perils of ethnographic provenance: the documentation of the Johnson Fiji Collection in the South Australian Museum

RODERICK EWINS

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This essay addresses the vexed questions of provenance and authenticity of objects that have been collected and made accessible for study. It calls for an exploration of the way in which these have often been uncritically accepted solely on the basis of notes and comments made by the original collectors. The difficulty is that the authority with which collectors were able to speak varied enormously, and even when the collectors obtained objects personally from the original owners, it cannot be assumed that they understood clearly the names, purposes or provenance of the objects they obtained.

The case investigated here is that of a collection of Fijian artefacts that were assembled over a fairly short period in the late 19th century by a school headmaster in Fiji, D Garner-Jones, and then bought from him for the South Australian Museum by an Adelaide philanthropist, JA Johnson. The collection came with a set of notes describing the objects, giving their Fijian names and their uses and social significance. It was unusual in completeness and its detail, and having come direct from a Fiji source added to its appeal. It was used from that time on as the basis on which most of the South Australian Museum's Fijian objects were subsequently understood and catalogued. Unfortunately, as this paper will detail, the collector's notes were, to borrow Clive James's evocative phrase, an "unreliable memoir", full of errors, assumptions, misunderstandings, urban myths and late-Victorian mindsets. They provide a basis on which to understand not so much the collection as the collector, the period, and the ethnocentricity that coloured much early ethnographic endeavour, and which still hovers around much writing. This case should prompt curators and other material culture scholars to critically scrutinise all documentation accompanying collections, and closely interrogate their quality of scholarship rather than accepting them on the basis of age or place of origin alone.

> The problem with things is that they are dumb .... And if by some ventriloquism they seem to speak, they lie once removed from the continuity of everyday uses in time and space and made exquisite on display, stabilised and conserved, objects are transformed in the meanings that they may be said to carry.[1]

The significance of these factors has been brought home to me very forcefully throughout the 25 years during which I have been studying Fijian material in museums all around the world, and was reinforced yet again during a period of research in the South Australian Museum in 2001. I had undertaken to survey the entire collection of over 900 objects catalogued as coming from Fiji (as well as to look for objects described as coming from elsewhere, but actually Fijian). Most were collected during four decades, two before and two after the turn of the 20th century. Most collectors had made little or no effort to establish exactly where, or by whom, they had been made or used. And second, a few of these collectors had passed on notes with the objects, ranging from terse to quite expansive, about the names, nature and uses of the objects in their originating society. Such notes were, as usual, carefully transcribed into the catalogues of the Museum, and thence onto labels identifying the objects in display cases, to give them some voice and overcome their dumbness.

The trouble with all of this transcribing and labelling was that in many cases the ventriloquist's voice did indeed lie. Most dangerous was the case where the lie was mixed with smatterings of truth. Non-specialist visitors and observers in the Museum, if they read these labels carefully (as I have observed many doing), were given a range of false impressions and thus attitudes, even convictions. They were no longer, as they were when entering the museum, merely uninformed. They were now *mis*informed, and took away with them erroneous and misleading information on which to base future judgements, and to pass on to others.

I well understand the problem curators face, having discussed this from Sydney to Berlin, London to New York, and many stops in between.[2] Curators have in their possession documents sometimes dating from about the time the objects were alienated from their originating societies, as is the case for some of the Fijian material in the South Australian Museum. These speak with an authority that is difficult for curators to question or disregard, even at the time of the donation, let alone over a century later. The temptation to accept what the documents say without question is very strong—after all, no curator can possibly hope to be an authority on all of the cultures whose material world is represented in their collections. Also, it is clear that reference to contemporary accounts is critical to researchers attempting to establish the ways in which societies functioned historically, and how the objects they used functioned within those societies. The other way is extrapolation, either from similar cultures or from the same culture at other dates, or from information derived from indigenous sources today. The curator may have little access to any of these options except the notes that accompanied the objects when they came into the collection.

The problem is the nature and reliability of those sources. Some collections certainly did come from impeccable, and impeccably documented, sources. Garner-Jones managed to assemble what was fairly typical of the sorts of assemblages that

existed in a number of households, but there were far more comprehensive and remarkable Fiji collections. Notable were the great collections assembled by Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, Governor from June 1875–January 1880, and by Baron Anatole von Huegel. Both collections ended up mainly in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, with some objects finding their way into the British Museum, and some of Gordon's into the Mareschal College in Aberdeen, with which his family had a long connection. Baron von Huegel was a highly-educated and cultured man who travelled extensively in Fiji for two and a half years between 1875 and 1877, immediately following British annexation, with the express purpose of observing the social and cultural mores of the Fijians. He documented these objectively with painstaking notes and drawings, and collected artefacts. It was a major anthropological enterprise at a time when that discipline was barely nascent. His social status gave him privileged access to the new governor of the Colony (Sir Arthur Gordon) and his administration, and through them access to any corner of Fiji to which he wanted to go. With the authority of the new government behind him, he had information given to him most carefully and fully, and was able to secure some remarkable objects, which he subsequently lodged in the CMAA when he became its first and long-time curator in 1884. He was arguably the most reliable source of ethnographic information in Fiji at the time, and his notes may be relied upon in reference to the objects in this collection and to matters of Fijian society and culture generally. Unfortunately, the Baron is the rare exception among Fiji collectors.

In other countries there were similar examples of scrupulously careful documenters of the societies and cultures they encountered, and their legacy is likewise invaluable to researcher and curator alike. But it must be acknowledged that most of the material in museums around the world comes from a motley array of collectors of various periods, ranging from quite serious assemblers of a large amount of material to those who casually picked up objects that took their eye, transported them away, and sometimes later labelled them with the limited knowledge at their disposal, romantic notions, and fickle memories. This is not to gainsay the fact that these were objects of great value and ethnographic importance.

There is a fairly large assortment of Fijian objects in the South Australian Museum (SAM). It is known as the "Johnson Collection" in acknowledgement of the donor. While not insubstantial, it is a collection remarkable less for its contents than for the exceptional personalities of the two men who were responsible for bringing it into the collection of the South Australian Museum. Mr James Angas Johnson, an Adelaide philanthropist, bought the collection and presented it to the South Australian Museum in l900.[3] He obtained it for "over £200" from the Fiji-based collector D Garner-Jones, then headmaster of the Levuka Public School in what had once been the capital of Fiji.

Exactly why Johnson chose to acquire this material is not known.[4] It is possible

he became interested in Fijian material culture through looking at the already significant amount held and displayed in the South Australian Museum. In the late 19th century there was a vogue for primitive exotica, and it was noted that "the Pacific Island ethnological material had so increased by 1898 that it occupied the whole of the wall-cases on the southern side of the Museum."[5] Fiji, being relatively close geographically and with numerous trading, missionary and shipping connections to Adelaide, became a frequently-tapped source of material. The Museum already held an earlier collection of comparable size to the Jones/Johnson collection, donated by Adelaide notable William Owen (1815–1869). Owen was, for a time prior to Cession, the British Consul to Fiji, and would almost certainly have been known to the Angas family. Nor was this large Pacific display the only one in South Australia at the time. The Gawler Institute also maintained a display that included much Fijian material. Further, exactly how Johnson learned of the availability of the Garner-Jones collection is unknown. It is doubtful that he ever went to Fiji himself. An obituary recorded he had been ill for an extended period, and died less than two years after this gift. He did carefully paste a number of professional photographs of Fiji and Fijians into an album, also held in the SAM archives, but these may have been included by Garner-Jones as part of the sale.

The collection consisted of over 140 articles of average to good quality and ethnographic value, which were shipped directly from Fiji to the Museum. Possibly at the request of Johnson, Garner-Jones numbered the objects and provided a set of notes which described 133, and usually provided names in the Bauan language (now called Standard Fijian). Frequently, he also provided notes about the uses of the objects, and in a couple of cases identified (though never by name) the Fijian owner from whom he had procured them. It was an unusual document to accompany any collection, and was seized upon by those who prepared the catalogue of the Fijian collection in the Museum. Further, the SAM very frequently extrapolated from his notes to describe other objects in the collection that were believed (not always justifiably) to be effectively identical to those he described. It was a heavy reliance to place on a document which, though framed in the most authoritative language and tone, can now be seen to be actually a blend of some truth and some almost-truth with a lot of myth, exaggeration-for-effect, and simply inaccurate information. So riddled is the document with inaccuracies that it must be regarded with great caution if not downright suspicion.

How could the notes have been prepared so diligently but inaccurately? Garner-Jones was headmaster of Fiji's oldest public school, a post he had held since 1894. He was a teacher and scholar and respected resident in the Colony, in a town which had until recently been the capital of Fiji, and was located immediately adjacent to an old and politically important Fijian village. It was less than three decades since the European-initiated Kingdom of Viti had operated out of Levuka (June 1871–October

1874), and that government had appointed the extremely powerful high-chief of the Kubuna Federation based in Bau, Rātū Seru Cakobau, as titular King of Fiji. Cakobau had moved his primary residence to Levuka during that time. Surely someone who occupied such an important position in the community and was widely recognised as a remarkable man, living in such a focal-point of not only Fiji-European but also indigenous Fijian affairs, could be trusted to provide reliable information about the people and the artefacts that he had obtained? To answer this question one must look at the person, the time and the place. In what follows, I should stress that this is not an isolated or aberrant example. I have seen numerous pieces of collector- and donor-derived information appended to Fiji items in museums around the world, and they are not more reliable or accurate. Garner-Jones's documentation was not exceptionally bad, but fairly typical, and being typical makes his notes an important case-study.

The *Cyclopedia of Fiji*[6] provided a substantial biography of D Garner-Jones, including the following information: He was born David Garner Moore-Jones in the border-country of Wales in the 1860s, and educated at Hanley and Cheltenham. He held English and colonial educational certification, and took honours in chemistry, theoretical and applied mineralogy and assaying. He held a number of teaching posts in Britain before emigrating to New Zealand in 1886, where he also taught. In 1894, he accepted appointment as Headmaster of the Levuka Public School, a post he would occupy with distinction for the next 26 years. A handsome, charismatic and forceful man with a splendid handlebar moustache, Garner-Jones (as he chose to call himself, rather than Moore-Jones) was a polymath who possessed considerable abilities. He was admired and respected by both his pupils and the wider community of Levuka. That he was a humane and imaginative administrator and educator, with some policies well ahead of his time, is suggested in this note in the *Cyclopedia*: "The general school discipline ... rests in the hands of and is maintained by elected corporals ... Corporal punishment is abolished. The 'age of reason' seems to have been successfully enthroned, for the discipline of the institution is acknowledged to be exceptional."[7] The town of Levuka, with its motley collection of residents from many parts of the globe and virtually every social level in their native lands, provided an appropriate stage for his personal flamboyance. Len Usher noted that:

> Throughout his 36 years at Levuka, ending with his death in 1930, Garner-Jones dressed in only one style. On his head he wore a white topee of the type familiar in photographs of Queen Victoria's generals. A strap across the peak could be brought under the chin on windy days. A white shirt and white trousers were given colour by a scarlet cummerbund, but this was not visible except when he was indoors because it was only then that he removed a white jacket buttoned up to the neck [seen in the photograph here]. White socks and shoes with a strap from the trousers under the instep completed his attire. He carried a walking stick, and in later years he wore a monocle. Even when

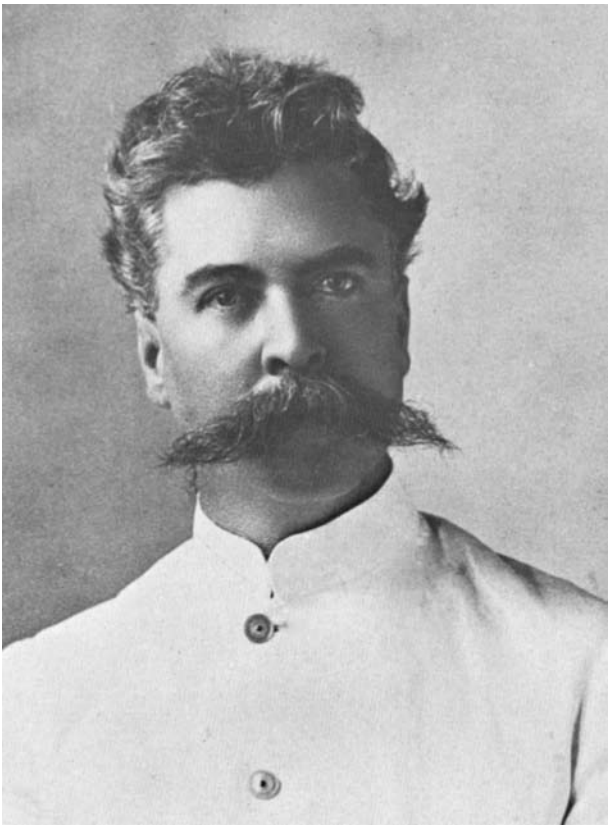

Figure 1. D Garner-Jones in 1905. Photo: J Bolton Stinson, from *The Cyclopedia of Fiji* p. 269.

> he travelled to New Zealand to see his family his clothes remained the same and ... [on one occasion he] was given special honours by Auckland police because they thought from his appearance that he must be at least the Governor of Fiji.[8]

His flamboyance and vice-regal air did not prevent or diminish—may even have contributed to—the praise he earned from successive inspectors who came from Victoria (Australia) to review the standard and operation of the school. One was to write in 1913: "He has established himself in [his pupils'] imagination and won their admiration and they will follow him with confidence wherever he may lead". But a little less comfortably, he went on, "He is not a personality of whom you may

knock off corners; the corners in his case are an essential part of his personality."[9] Those corners resulted, on occasion, in official criticisms relating to his disregard for procedure and protocol, sloppy book-keeping and intemperate language, and, in later years, his drinking. He was a larger-than-life figure and not one to readily entertain the possibility of error or deficiency on his own part. His social behaviour is irrelevant to our considerations here, but his contempt for procedure, his sloppy record-keeping, and his large ego provide important clues to his attitude to information, knowledge and documentation, and help explain at least some of the errors and omissions in the notes accompanying his collection.

At the time of the sale of his collection of Fijiana to Johnson, Garner-Jones had been in Fiji for less than six years. Although it is noted that at that time "many of the children came to school speaking only Fijian"[10] there is no evidence of Jones having ever mastered the indigenous language himself. As that was the rule among urban Europeans throughout the colonial era, a deficiency that Fiji shared with the colonies of many European countries, perhaps the linguistic and phonetic vagaries in his Notes should not really surprise. Although few urban Europeans ever mastered Fijian well enough to declaim even a full sentence in that language, most were wont to sprinkle their conversation with words that were often incorrect in form, pronunciation, and/or meaning, their fond delusion being that this showed them to be "in the know".[11] Many of the incorrect names and suggested pronunciations in Garner-Jones's list show him to have been afflicted with this conceit.

That he had been able to assemble a fairly large collection in such a short space of time is noteworthy, but should not be seen as exceptional. There had been, since the earliest contact, a lively trade in Fijian artefacts, particularly weapons that were associated in the minds of the collectors with the warfare and cannibalism for which the islands had a reputation.[12] By the time Garner-Jones got to Fiji, all that remained of warfare and cannibalism was the vicarious thrill available from the grisly objects once associated with them. These were therefore widely collected and proudly displayed by many, if not most, European householders. That Garner-Jones should have enthusiastically embraced the craze is unsurprising given his enquiring mind.

Unlike other extensive and enormously important collections, by his own statements, Garner-Jones's collection was put together at a time when it was thought many objects might vanish out of their parent culture. So how did he acquire his collection? It is very probable that it came from other collectors who had "spares".[13] It was also likely that he bought direct from Fijians who made their way to the principal population centres for the express purpose of selling things to earn some much-needed and hard-to-come-by cash. He also documented obtaining some material in northern Vanualevu, to which he had evidently travelled, though he did not give the reason for this trip. Even these sources were limited—it is clear from his wistful remarks that there were some things he coveted but was simply unable to obtain.

At that time, various photographers based first in Levuka and later also in Suva did a lively trade in postcards and *cartes de visite* of natives, which featured many artefacts, objects of clothing and personal adornment that the photographic studios had assembled and used again and again.[14] During the late 1800s, at least some of these photographs were reasonably reliable ethnographic documents. Many of the Fijians they photographed were close enough in time to have either used, or seen used, the objects they were given to brandish. Also, many living in the Levuka *koro* (Fijian village) would still have worn the garments and adornments, if not in daily life, certainly in rituals and ceremonies that local Europeans could see, and which the photographers could use as a guide. It is also possible that at least some of the studio subjects came equipped with their own adornment and props. (Fig 2)

Into the 20th century, as distance dimmed memory and photographers' licence became more gIaringly obvious in contrast to living reality, many of the posed photographs of both men and women became almost laughable. Most of the town-based photographers had neither much contact with, nor any real wish to seek out, Fijians living what was still, for the most part, a remarkably traditional village life. Although they sometimes still used fine old objects as studio props, how these were deployed often depended more on the photographer's fancy and imagination than on any living or historical verity. By the 1920s and 1930s many of the warriors in these pictures handled their weapons diffidently and looked as though they were eager to return to their jobs as shop assistants after the photo-shoot. Those who had handled weapons before would only have done so when performing dances or posing for photographs—their lives would never have depended on their defensive or offensive skills. Similarly, the women in early photographs offered evidence of self-assurance when pictured weaving mats, making barkcloth or pots, or other accustomed tasks. Later, they looked as though they had never before held a potter's paddle or a barkcloth-beater—which probably was the case, if they were "townies".

The urbanisation of a small proportion of Fijians contributed disproportionately to the confident declarations by settlers about knowledge lost by a race they had come to believe was in terminal decline. Belief in the ultimate disappearance not only of primitive cultures but even of the races themselves pervaded the Western imagination at that time. In 1908, Basil Thomson, a senior government official who had some anthropological education, wrote: "for more than a generation they have been crawling upon the stumps of their old customs propped by ragged fragments of European innovations".[16] In a climate where that was the widespread view, it was tempting for members of the local European population to make up appealing or hair-raising stories about the Fijians, for shortly who would there be to contradict them? Many gave in to the temptation, and the "lies, damned lies, and statistics" that emerged spread rapidly in Levuka's and Suva's watering-holes, clubs, and the Societies with vaunted scientific aspirations. Many of these yarns quickly assumed

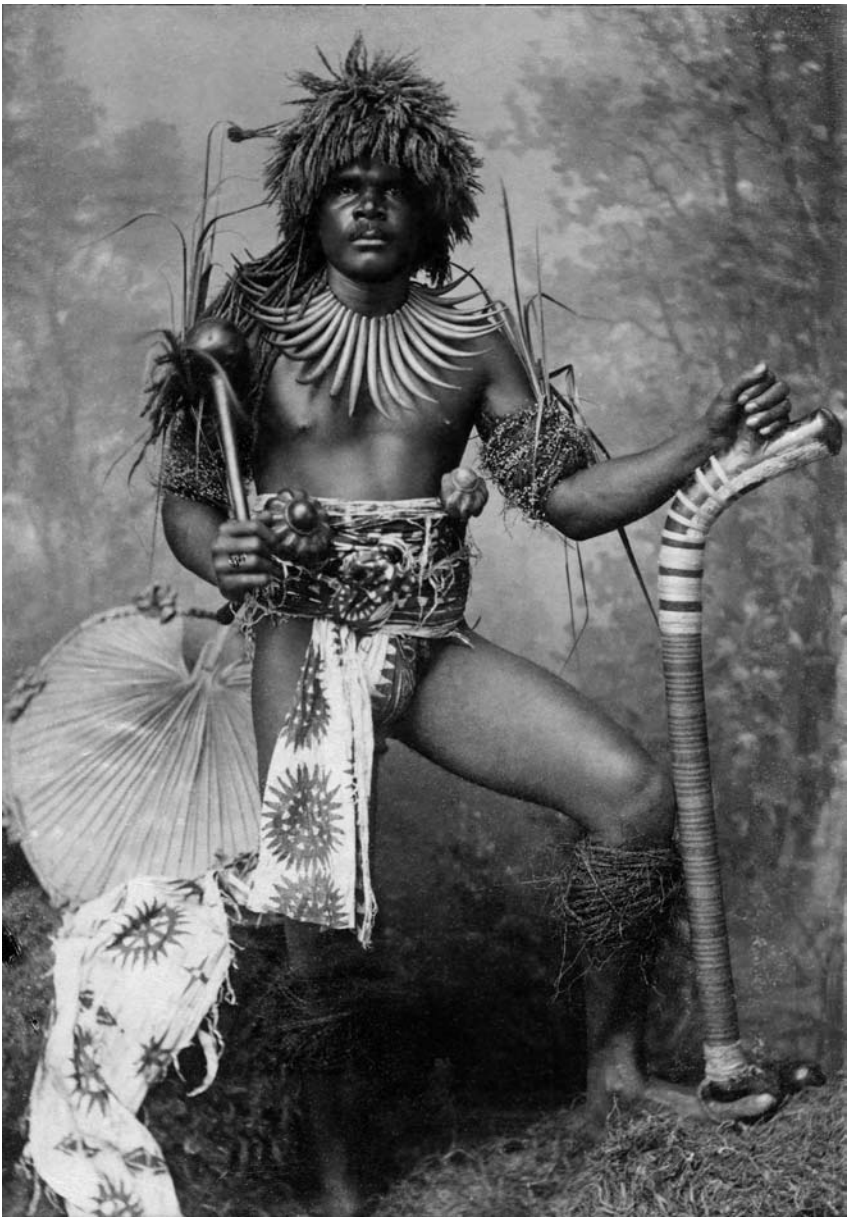

Figure 2. "Fijian warrior." Johnson Collection, SA Museum Archive #3692. Photographer not identified, but perhaps J Waters.[15]

mythic status—many are still peddled by locals, and they crop up repeatedly in books about Fiji. So the neophyte Garner-Jones absorbed some of these myths and guilelessly reiterated them in his Notes. Though the *koro* was only a few hundred metres from the centre of Levuka, Jones would not, any more than most of his fellow collectors, have spent much, if any, time there, nor would he have deemed it necessary to verify the stories or facts he was given by other Europeans by reference to the people themselves. The young discipline of anthropological method was not among his many accomplishments, and many of his fellow-collectors, from whom he probably obtained some, if not most of his material, had been in Fiji before it was a Colony. They answered his questions with great authority, whether or not they possessed it.

What of the quality of the material Garner-Jones collected? Fijians responded enthusiastically to the trade in their material culture from a very early date. It was actually a natural extension of their traditional practices, in which particular groups, islands, and regions had specialised in licensed manufactures of every sort, and traded these to others in defined trade networks.[17] Even when contact with Westerners was still rare and sporadic, makers of such wares showed an understandable eagerness to extend this trade to Westerners, as the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838–1842, discovered:

> Captain Hudson['s ship] ... stopped at the small village of Vatia [actually Vutia, in Rewa] to purchase some earthenware; this is a village of potters. They were at once surrounded by several hundreds of the inhabitants, all pressing their wares on them.[18]

Already by the time of Fiji's Cession to Britain in 1874, a large number of ships were regularly calling in to Fiji with passengers keen to obtain curios, as one of them wrote of a stopover in Kadavu in that year:

> Some native craft (canoes with outriggers) dotted the surface of the bay, the occupants of which, girls and men, with their hair profusely adorned with gaily-coloured flowers, came aboard with baskets of cocoa-nuts (sic), oranges, and pine-apples for sale; others had Fijian clubs and curios of all sorts, while model canoes were eagerly purchased by the Australian-bound passengers of the City of Sydney.[19]

While initial contact between Westerners and islanders was open-minded and non-interventionist, subsequent contact involved an asymmetrical entanglement, resulting in the alienation of artefacts, and the deconstruction of their indigenous significance and their reconstruction in terms of European consciousness. The first transactions unquestionably involved items from the Fijians' daily lives that they regarded as disposable or at least replaceable. Later, this included the huge numbers of weapons that were rendered obsolete by the edicts of *Pax Britannica.* These were

eagerly sought by male collectors in a project of self-construction, defining their own manliness by lining their walls with the clubs and spears of some of the world's fiercest warriors.

In a remarkably short time, as allegedly occurred among indigenous people all over the world, Fijians started producing objects intended to satisfy these external customers. Sometimes this was a matter of simply increasing the normal production of goods they would be making anyway. But usually over time they came to produce purpose-made objects which possessed, sometimes even caricatured, those features found to be most sought-after, whether or not these had any significance in the objects' original roles. At least during the early years, these objects were still made by those who had always made them, using the same materials, tools and techniques they had always used, but issues of authenticity were, and remain, far from clearcut. It could be quite reasonably argued that these objects were authentic, but their function had shifted from utilitarian to commercial. This was not a rationale applied by collectors. As Garner-Jones's notes clearly show, since quality and authorship could often not be reliably distinguished, authenticity came to be associated not with whether the objects were actually made by the appropriate makers in traditional forms, but rather whether they had actually been used within the society, preferably for a long time. That too was not easy to be sure about, particularly since the Fijians were quite astute enough to observe that the collectors favoured articles with lofty provenances, clubs with kill notches and inlaid human teeth and/or whale ivory. They were perfectly capable of obligingly providing these in the objects they were producing, which in their eyes were not simulacra but merely their traditional productions. By the last years of the 19th century, the trade in such objects was brisk, coming from various districts to the inviting market that existed in Fiji's two main centres of European population, the old and new capitals of Levuka and Suva. Therefore, objects acquired during that period should not necessarily be presumed to have histories back into the pre-European era, even though with the patina of a hundred years they appear very old and seem to carry an appropriate aura. But provided the quality is good, one should ask, does that really matter?

Certainly I would not question that Garner-Jones sold this collection in good faith, or that he believed what he said about it. But a responsible ethnologist should not lose sight of the fact that, well before Garner-Jones was collecting, the original Fijian owners of objects had come to recognise that they had a strong financial interest in meeting the expectations and fantasies of the collectors, and, if not actually facsimilating them, at least talking up their possessions.

There is no doubt that the circumstances that saw Garner-Jones assemble a reasonably large and diverse collection of Fijian material culture, and then to sell this collection on to a philanthropist who promptly passed it to the South Australian Museum, were highly fortuitous from the South Australian Museum's perspective.

It added significantly to their holdings, and also made a valuable contribution to the stock of Fijian material that students today can study and compare with other objects collected at different times and places, in scores of museums around the world. Some of the Jones/Johnson objects are uncommon in collections, and one or two of them are *very* uncommon. The old, the then-new but excellent, and the third-rate or evidently facsimilated objects are all of interest as historical documents that allow us to chart the changing social scene and relationships in the colonial era, and the transfer of Fijian material into non-Fijian hands. Therefore, we should all be grateful to Garner-Jones for his enthusiasm for collecting, and to Johnson for his generous gift to posterity.

The notes that accompanied the collection are an interesting time capsule. Having grown up in Fiji during and following World War II, half a century after Garner-Jones was writing, I know many misconceptions and myths were still doing the rounds during my childhood. Finally, because his information came from old hands, Garner-Jones's notes are evidence of what a feeble comprehension of Fijian language, customs, values, and certainly productions, most of the colonial European population of Fiji really had. They shared their new colony with the Fijians and Indians, but each remained remarkably impervious to the others' culture and practices. It was an ignorance that persisted through and beyond the colonial era. That even most modem Fijians lack historical ethnographic knowledge (it is not part of Fiji's Western-derived school curricula) gives unlimited licence to tourism promoters, handicraft shops and sellers on eBay.

Those who engage with the subject as professional investigators, historians and theorists must develop more critical thinking or seek out more reliable sources. In order to not repeat the errors of the past, when using museum material or studying current practice, researchers need to be mindful of the personalities, capacities and limitations of the original collectors and informants, and the place, time and fashions in which they were operating. It is important to scrutinise both carefully and critically any data and opinions that they may have appended to their beloved objects. To this list of often unreliable memoirs, of course, should be added the helpful notes added by others to Museum catalogues from time to time, on very variable authority—but that's another story.

Appendix

Some examples from the "Catalogue of Fijian specimens"

[Source: Archive # AA298, South Australian Museum Special Lists 1885-1921, Nos 101-216. Journal pages 137 on].

There is insufficient space here to detail all of the 133 objects Garner-Jones listed, so the 10 entries that follow are intended to convey some of the issues described above. Garner-Jones's notes are transcribed verbatim in italics, with my comments in Roman script and/or in square brackets. South Australian Museum catalogue numbers are in square brackets, wherever these could be identified reliably. Garner-Jones's highly personal punctuation and spelling is retained. Then-common but now obsolete is the use of *ai,* conjoining the common article *na* (often abbreviated to *a* at the beginning of an utterance) and the noun-prefix *i-*, which is frequently used to transform a verb into a noun.

> 1 to 6 inclusive. [A7088, A7090, A7094, A7092-3, ?] *Clubs—variety known as "KiaKava" [kiakavo]. The usual weapon of the rank and file. The stroke is delivered to hit object with the inside of the curve [baluna].*

This description of *kiakavo* as the usual weapons of the rank and file requires some consideration. First, Wilkes suggested that among their clubs "that which they favour most for their fights is the *maloma"* [actually *malumu*].[20] This was another name for the *vunikau* rootstock club, a fact that is put beyond doubt by Wilkes providing a small illustration of one. The two foremost works devoted primarily to

Figure 3. Club dance group. This early 20th century group are described as "Group of Fijian fire walkers at Hagley Park". This park is in Christchurch, New Zealand, and it is clear that this travelling troupe did a club dance as part of their performance. All of their clubs are *kiakavo*. Photographer unknown, postcard in author's possession.

Fijian weapons and war[21] described *kiakavo* as dance clubs, rarely, if ever, used for fighting. I followed their lead in my own *Fijian Artefacts*.[22] After more extensive research I would be more equivocal, and allow that many *kiakavo* probably did see service in warfare, and might even have been the most common club of the Fijian footsoldier, as Garner-Jones suggests.[23] Many to be found in early collections are beautifully fashioned of dark and heavy hardwoods and bear similar marks to other war clubs. Garner-Jones's *kiakavo* fall into the dance-club category, and are not war clubs. They are not skilfully carved, are rather gross in size and proportion (particularly the massive A7088), and all are made of light-coloured and softer woods that would not have been used for weapons. Also, some have pandanus matting on the handles, which is not found on war clubs, which had sinnet binding if any. It is possible that the "pure dance-club" *kiakavo* was a post-contact artefact, made after most of their original war clubs had been removed by Western collectors. With dance and ceremony still important, they still needed clubs as performance props, but it was far easier to make these out of softwood. Initially, they were still made by experienced carvers and so were convincing facsimiles, and were collected by people like Garner-Jones either because they could not tell the difference, or simply because they were all that remained.[24]

> 7 [A7168] *War drum Nat. "Lali," made of hard wood "vesi." Used by striking the inside [actually the edge of the lip] of the hollowed wood alternately with wooden "beaters" which have [to] be frequently replaced. The sound can be heard enormous distances, the larger drums giving out a deep sonorous note. According to the rhythm of the stroke so its significance. In fact so called "tunes" are "knocked out" of it by expert players. "To feed" "To war" and now-a-days "to Church" is directed by the "lali." In Levuka the Police-camp "Lali" beats the hours.*

Garner-Jones is right in stating that this trough-gong is made of the hardwood *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga*), which is still the wood most commonly used for *lali*.[25] It is very unlikely that it was used in war. The great war-gongs of Fiji were on occasion so large (some over 2m in length—see Fig 4) that men could stand inside them to beat them. This one is small (L=758cm), and would probably have been the smaller of a tuned pair. It would even be unlikely to serve as a solitary village announcement drum, calling villagers to church, school, or other meetings as Jones describes. Its only role in war would be if taken on board a war canoe to rouse the marines and instil fear into their enemies. Even there, it is more probable that a large *lalinimeke* would have been used, which Garner-Jones did describe as a canoe drum. So although he designated this a war drum, that sounds like a collector's overstatement, with pride in his collection perhaps overriding accurate provenancing.

19 [A7084] *Club – The club of a chief—Nat. "Totokia."*[26] *Made of Ironwood.*[27] *The plant is grown and made to take the form required. Very rare. Have only seen two in seven years. The sharp point is the striking spot.*

These beaked battle-hammers are undoubtedly among the most fearsome-looking weapons in the Fijian arsenal.[28] However, appearance and fine craftsmanship aside, there is no real justification for Garner-Jones's description of it as the club of a chief. The preferred weapon of any particular chief was, as is usual in such matters, a matter of personal preference. For instance, Cakobau presented his favourite club to Queen Victoria when Fiji was ceded to Britain, and it was a *bōai* baseball-bat-shaped club, not very spectacular-looking until it was decorated with silverwork and returned to Fiji to serve as its Parliamentary mace (a role it still plays). If any clubs deserved to be thought of as *the* clubs of chiefs, surely they would be the great broad-bladed *kinikini* and *culacula* paddle-clubs, referred to as exclusive to chiefs

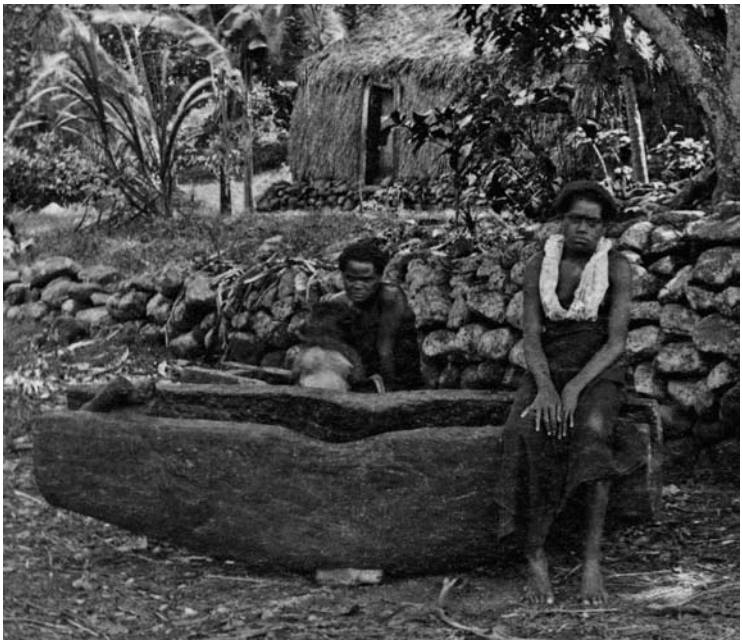

Figure 4. A large old village *lali* that may well have functioned as a war-drum in previous decades. Note the wear on the lips from constant beating. The drumsticks sit on the left end of the drum. Unknown photographer. Johnson Collection photograph, SA Museum Archives.

by many observers, including Bellingshausen in 1820[29] and Wilkes in the 1840s.[30] Those could be regarded as accoutrements of office, though they were not purely ceremonial, since they could indeed be used both as offensive weapons and possibly as shields against arrow-hail.[31] Garner-Jones did not own any of these, indeed may not have seen or even, perhaps, known of them at his relatively late collecting date.

20 [A7108] *Club—A unique specimen. Is known throughout Fiji. It has a name of its own "Ivi lala" which means "The empty ivi-nut" literally; but to the Fijian is "The*

Figure 5. Man carrying a *tōtōkia* that is unusually short, but has a massive head. Artist unknown. Old Russian postcard of a 19th century wood-engraving, possibly after Bellingshausen. Author's collection.

emptier of towns" = "The desolator ." Is in a collection unreplaceable [sic] and invaluable. The head is shaped like the half of an ivi nut. It is the "God club" of the Mucuata [Macuata] people from whose "Roko" (King) I obtained it. In old times it had its own house, where it was consulted on important occasions, its swaying from its point of suspension being recognised as replies, wh. were duly interpreted by the attendant priests. When Mucuata [sic] became allies of Bau, the supplied the latter with spars of ironwood for their canoes. On a message being received that such were required, "Ivi lala" was brought out, and used to kill a man placed at the foot of the chosen tree as a suitable offering to its majesty, and thus ensuring good fortune to the spar. It must have thus killed hundreds. Note although of the hardest ironwood, that the design on the head is almost worn away.

Garner-Jones's estimation of the importance of this specimen may possibly be justified, as typologically it is unusual though not unique,[32] and from his account it appears to have occupied a special place in its parent society. The description of it as being shaped like [the terminal] half of an *ivi*-nut (Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus fagiferum*) is apt enough, though it is not perfectly conical but flattened somewhat. The *ivi* is one of the trees associated with sorcery in Fiji,[33] which may have influenced the maker's choice of that form. It seems possible that *ivi* might in fact be the generic name for this type of club; I do not know of any other. *Ivilala* does mean "empty *ivi* [nut]," but *lala* is also an adjective implying depopulation, as Garner-Jones stated. Fijians love word-play, and the fact that *Ivilala* possessed this *double entendre* would have been appealing. (Fig 6)

Favourite weapons could indeed be given names, reportedly often quite obscene ones to enhance the humiliation—as important as the annihilation—of their victims. Weapons that had killed were generically referred to as *gadro*, and as Garner-Jones suggests, those associated with imposing histories of ownership, battles and/or particular victims, would be hung in the temple of a *kalou-vū* or founding spirit and thenceforward referred to as *i-sigana.*[34] Such weapons could function as shrines or vessels (*waqa*, or *waqawaqa*) within the temple, carrying the spirits of their deities, who could be consulted at will and thus influence the life of the group.[35] If a club was kept specifically for killing the sort of sacrificial victims Garner-Jones describes, it would probably derive its power from a war-god. His "hundreds of victims" is almost certainly a wild exaggeration, intended to magnify the weapon's significance.

The reference to the pattern on the head being almost worn away is relevant. This type of club may have been an old design, their rarity in collections perhaps due to their being obsolete by the 19th century. Oldman illustrated two,[36] one believed to have been taken to England by Captain Vancouver in 1795, very early for Fiji.

If we can accept that the provenance was genuine and not merely the old chief obligingly telling Garner-Jones what he wanted to hear (a phenomenon familiar to all fieldworkers), that would make this club historically important, even eminent,

among the dozens of Fijian weapons in the South Australian Museum.

Garner-Jones's equating of the term *Roko* with "King" is inaccurate. In that part of Fiji, *Roko* or *Rokotui* was not a traditional title (as it was in Bau and Rewa, for the spiritual king, as distinct from their *Vunivalu* or warrior king). But by Garner-Jones's time the term *Rokotui* (in those days usually written *Roko Tui,* and frequently shortened to *Roko*) had been adopted by the Government to apply Fiji-wide to their appointed provincial administrators who became effectively career civil servants.[37] These officials would invariably act as hosts to visiting VIPs, as Garner-Jones would have been deemed to be. Though invariably drawn from chiefly ranks, often these administrators originated from a part of Fiji altogether different from the place where they were serving. Sometimes a paramount chief or king (*Tui*) was appointed to this post to manage his own area, and that was actually the case in Macuata, where there

Figure 6. A7l08 *lvi* (Tahitian chestnut club).
Photograph: Rod Ewins.

were three *Rokotui* during the time Garner-Jones was collecting, all quite old and thus fitting his account—Katonivere, Rātū Isikeli Kaiatea, and Rātū Veli.[38]

In most situations, each of these would have been known to Fijians by the title *Tui Macuata,* rather than the far less prestigious administrator title of *Rokotui* or *Roko*. However, European arrogance tended to regard their official appointments as superordinate to all pre-existing titles, and a European new chum such as Garner-Jones would probably not have understood how the Fijians regarded the hierarchy of titles or roles, even had he known the difference. Had he done so, it might have lent greater weight to his claims.

Had the *Rokotui* merely been someone appointed from outside the area, it is highly improbable that the local people would have entrusted either the club or knowledge to him. However, since in this case he was the hereditary paramount chief of the area, it would be quite possible that he had assumed default control/ownership of a club of such history and importance, following Christianisation and the collapse of the temples of the Old Religion. He would also know any stories attached to it. However, it can still not be ruled out that he could have simply been spinning Garner-Jones a yarn to obtain a good price for the club.

21 [A7069] *A fine specimen of a special form of the "Ula" (vide 13 to 18); Ironwood.*

This object is relatively slim and short, and its special form may be that of a wife-beating baton—some men did keep such objects in their arsenal.

22 to 29 [A7121(#22), A7122 (#23), A7120 (#24), A7115(#25), A7118 (#26), A7123(#27), A7127(#28), A7124(#29).] *Clubs. The throwing "ula." Is thrown so that the end of the handle strikes the object, the large head giving impetus, so driving the handle into its objective. The Fijian never used a shield, but guarded himself from spear-thrusts with this club carrying it in the left hand.*

The description of their use is largely fanciful. The idea that the handle goes "into the objective" is another urban myth popular in Garner-Jones's day. It is as silly as a proposition that a throwing knife should incapacitate by striking butt first. As anyone who has thrown either knows, the heavy end ends up leading—in the case of the *i-ula,* the head, in the case of the knife, the heavy blade. In fact, eyewitness accounts describe the heads of throwing clubs striking their victims with explosive force. Shields were not part of the Fijian armoury, but I have never read any accounts of the throwing-club being used to parry blows, and it is difficult to see how such a small object in the left hand would be sufficient to ward off a spear-thrust. It might be capable of deflecting a thrown spear. However, as children, Fijians played games in which they became incredibly adroit at dodging thrown missiles—a far more reliable defence than attempting to hit and deflect a spear at the last moment before being

impaled. Also, Garner-Jones implies a warrior would use something one-handed in his right hand, but slings, bows and arrows, large clubs, and spears all required both hands. Parrying club-blows with large clubs, holding the handle and the head in the two hands, was a recognised manoeuvre in fighting, called *sābaya.* It frequently resulted in crushed fingers that were amputated in the field.[39] The force of such fierce blows would not be fended off with a small throwing-club.

> 40 to 44 [A7317, A7316, A7320, A7315, A7329] *"Kali" native name of "pillow" (vide 48 to 54) or head rest. The hair of a Fijian is his glory, occupying a great deal of his spare time in cleaning, oiling and training. When once in good condition no effort is spared to keep it so, and no inconvenience evaded, hence this uncomfortable neck-breaking structure, which, supporting the neck keeps the hair from coming in contact with anything. The Govt. adopt the course of cutting all prisoners hair off which is a fearful punishment in itself. The pride, conceit and fearful waste of time caused the missionaries to persuade converts to reduce their hair to reasonable length - and now a long-haired man (say 2ft [60cm] straight out) is a representation of a bygone time, in fact is known as a 'devil man" Nat. "Kidivoro" to distinguish him from his Christianised brother. To replace hair accidentally destroyed—wigs were used. I have never been able to secure one.*

This whole description is a series of almost-truths. It is true that headrests are called *kali*, but Garner-Jones's assertion that the *kali* was devised to preserve the Fijians' elaborate hairstyles is in line with what most writers on Fiji since very early in the 19th century recorded. Who first made that observation is difficult to determine. Certainly Wilkes endorsed the idea[40] and so did a parade of subsequent writers. In *Fijian Artefacts*[41] I expressed reservations. True, *kali* would have helped preserve the careful tonsure of Fijian men from being disarranged. It might even be argued that it would not have been possible to *develop* such elaborate hairdos without their use. But head-rests of similar or comparable form appeared in many other parts of the world where hair was worn short. Whatever compelling reason caused their use in many societies, it lay elsewhere than with tonsorial considerations. Perhaps it relates to the view held in many cultures of the head as the special, even sacred, part of the body, that should therefore not be allowed to touch the ground, just as the feet of sacred personages have frequently been prevented from touching the ground by red carpet equivalents.[42]

Technically, *kali* do not support the neck as Garner-Jones asserts, but are placed at the junction of the neck and head, supporting the base of the skull. Useful papers on headrests are Dhyne[43] and Meyer.[44]

Wigs were undoubtedly worn on occasion to replace lost hair[45] but that was not their principal role. For any whose own hairstyle was not sufficiently imposing, wigs were also used as a matter of style. Since, as he pointed out, tonsure was a source of vainglory, a wig ensured it. Early Western observers frequently referred to Fijian men, either with carefully tonsured hair or with wigs, as dandies. One name for wigs, *ulumate,* translatable as "dead head," perhaps relates to the fact that the hair would almost certainly have been taken from the heads of slain enemies. The wearing of it would have been perceived as a perpetual insult to them, similar to the use of an enemy's skull-cap as a *yaqona* cup. The ability to mock one's enemies even *after* death gladdened the heart of Fijian warriors. The other name for wigs, *uluvati*, is more prosaic, since *vati* relates to wicker-working, obviously referring to the light cane frame upon which these wigs were constructed.

Finally, the term for devil is *tēvoro* not *divoro*. By *Ki* perhaps Garner-Jones means *kai,* a term that specifies one's origin (thus *kai Suva* means a native of Suva). However, *kai tēvoro* is grammatically wrong—the expression is simply *tēvoro*, putatively recalling behaviour of the pre-Christian past, or *gauna ni tēvoro*.

45 [A7313] *"Kali" let in [ie inlaid] with ground down "tambuas" (whale teeth) see 8, 9. Belonged to Tanoa King of Fiji—Cakabau's [sic.] father; is of great value intrinsically and historically. Note the wearing of the ironwood, and this by skin friction, a good criterion of age.*

This is a nicely made and finished *kalimasi yavalolo vonotabua,* or bow-legged pole-headrest with ivory inlays. It is not a reproduction piece, and such an object probably belonged to a chief or priest. If the suggested provenance is accurate, it is indeed

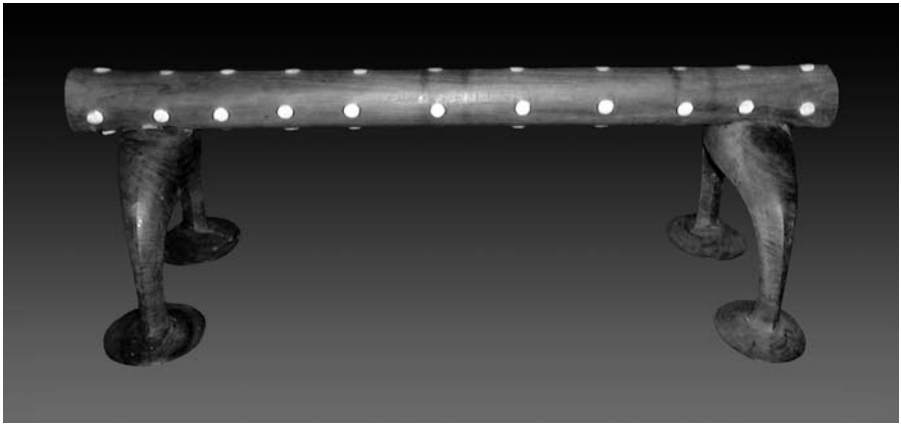

Figure 7a. A7313 *Kalimasi yavalolo vonotabua*. Photograph: Rod Ewins.

as important as Garner-Jones believed. Cakobau lived in Levuka and it is possible he disposed of some of his inherited possessions there (and *kali* were heirloom objects). While definitely not the same one, this piece is very similar in form and size to the *kali* in the portrait of Cakobau made during the voyage of the HMS *Herald* that is the frontispiece of *Fiji and the Fijians*,[46] the chief differences being that the latter has no ivory inlays, and so far as we can trust the lithographer's translation of the original drawing, its bandy legs appear to be squared-off instead of the rounded ones on the Garner-Jones example here. Another beautiful *kali* from Bau is illustrated in Roth and Hooper,[47] the legs of which seem to be a hybrid between these two options. It was given to Baron von Huegel in 1876 by Adi Arieta Kuila, daughter of Cakobau.[48] The similarity between the three invites the speculation that all three of these examples may possibly have been made by the same craftsman (probably a Tongan), attached to the Court of Bau.

Figure 7b. Rātū Tanoa Visawaqa, *Vunivalu* of Bau, in 1840. From *Narrative of the US Exploring Expedition*, Wilkes 1845: f.p.56.[49]

> 69, 70 [A7257, 8] *"Tika." The national game of a Fijian. The game is to throw the "weapon" to as great a distance as possible, the ricochetting being considered [ie taken into account]. The end of the cane is held in the right hand [or left, if one was left-handed] by means of a loop of string not tied—it is held perpendicularly as seen in the photo herewith forwarded. The one end of the 6 in. [l50mn] of string is held firmly and as the "weapon" is shot forward the loop uncoils itself The heavy head striking the ground a good distance off ricochets [like a skipping-stone on water] on and on in a series of lessening bounds. The victory is to the longest shot. Men play. Towns challenge towns and tribes. The game may extend an afternoon, day, week or even month and till food supplies "play out." The hardwood head is the valued part—the reed often breaks.*

The game was indeed called *tika* in Polynesia, but in Fiji it was *veitiqa* (pronounced "vay-teeng-ga"), though often shortened just to *tiqa,* the verb for throwing the dart or spear from the end of the forefinger. The game was played on a level piece of

ground (*i-tiqatiqa*) "either bare or with short grass, anything between one and three hundred yards [metres] long by about 10 wide, that was found outside most villages. The young men practised regularly "and on feast-days challenges [were] sent out to the neighbouring villages and matches [were] played."[50]

The wooden objects presented here are called *ulutoa,* commonly mis-translated as "chicken head",[51] which would be *ulunitoa.* In fact, the name of the dart-head probably derives from the early Fijian/Polynesian word *toa/doa* meaning Casuarina or heartwood, and *ulu* for head.[52] Each was attached to a reed shaft about four feet (1.4m) long, called *i-kaso.* Garner-Jones's remark about the head being the valued part is borne out by the observation that "Good players regard their ironwood heads almost as golfers do their favourite driver, but they cut the reed shafts from the roadside as they want them."[53] The heads were well-oiled with coconut-oil before each contest.[54]

The dart or spear thus formed was flung with force. Garner-Jones's reference to the *"end of the cane ... held in the .. hand by means of a loop of string not tied"* is interesting. His suggestion that they were used in *veitiqa* is supported by a short

Figure 8. Veitiqa players. This same picture is reproduced in Brewster 1922: 64, with the following caption: "The annual game played at the sprouting of the yams. The reeds used then have hard wood heads called *ulutoa,* a relic of ancient phallic worship." Johnson Collection photograph, SA Museum Archives.

comment by the anthropologist Hocart: "a loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt [of the reed]".[55] This was clearly an application of a spear-throwing cord, or *i-cori*, that was used in Fiji. Clunie cites the Fiji Museum Catalogue for 1916 to elaborate on how it was used: "A short piece of sinnet was used with a small loop at one end which encircled the first finger of the right hand, and a knot was made on the other end. The sinnet was wound round the spear, and when it was thrown it not merely accelerated the flight, but gave it a revolving motion like a rifle bullet." From experiments, Clunie estimated these cords could quadruple the effective range of a thrown spear. It would similarly enhance the flight of the dart in *veitiqa,* and Clunie described the modified version of cord-thrown darts used in still-current boys' games in Fiji, using an *i-cori* made of cord fishing-line.[56]

As the dart was launched from the tip of the index finger, the player took a short run and put all of his force into the throw, the objective being to achieve the greatest distance, each successive longest throw being greeted with a chant from the assembled onlookers of "Sau! Sau! Sau! Uē!"[57]

As suggested by AB Brewster, there were various sexual undertones relating to both the objects and their origins. This is immediately apparent in the fact that the *ulutoa* projectile heads were gendered. These Garner-Jones examples are called *ulutoa yalewa* or "female dart-head." Each has a fairly small-diameter butt end with a completely hollow cavity recessed into it, into which the reed shaft (*i-kaso*) of the dart is pushed. These contrast with two other male dart-heads in the SA Museum collection (A13009 & A130l0). Each has a broader butt and a long spike within the cavity, on to which the reed was pushed. These are called *ulutoa tagane* ("male dart-head"). The sexed dart-heads were even ceremonially "mated" on occasion.[58] Also, *ulutoa* were sometimes made from whale-tooth ivory, the possible sexual connotations of which I have explored elsewhere.[59]

80 [A72701 *Necklace of vertebrae of a snake "gata".*

This is in fact *not* a necklace, it is a far more significant item than Garner-Jones realised he possessed. The entire vertebral column (*suitū*) of a single snake, almost certainly the Pacific Tree Boa (*Candoia* or *Enygrus bibroni*), has been smoked and bones strung in correct order. Tippett documented in detail snake worship in Kadavu and detailed how it was connected to very ancient highland Vitilevu cults that had in turn been transmuted into Degei worship.[60] At the time of first Western contact, Degei was held to be the most widely-revered *kalou vū* or founding spirit of Vitilevu, and was believed to manifest as a giant boa. In all of these places, the living snakes were not a totem as in some other parts of Fiji, but the shrines or vessels (*waqawaqa*) of the deity. Under special circumstances and after formal propitiation of the god, snakes could be captured, ritually killed and eaten by the priest and high

chiefs, to acquire strength or efficacy (*mana*) from the deity. After consumption of every other scrap of the snake, the bones were preserved and strung in their correct order and hung on the wall of a chief's house, not as an ornament but as a charm. This particular example has also been smoked, a practice associated with objects of particular spiritual significance. Witnesses claimed that the charm could also enhance proficiency at climbing trees (it being a tree snake), and accidents such as broken bones could be healed by fastening the bones to the body of the victim.

92 [A7239] *Native Cloth "Masi" or "tappa" made from paper-mulberry bark (vide 32, 33, 34) pieces are stuck together with Fijian arrowroot the variety of which grows in some districts to enormous size—Used for hair.*

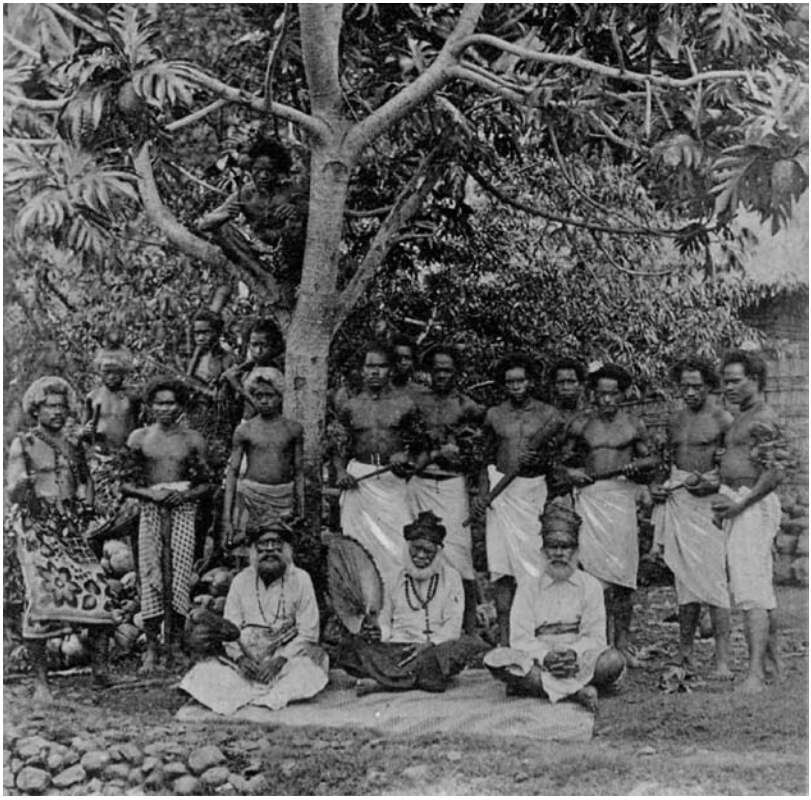

Figure 9. "Chiefs and natives at the foot of a breadfruit-tree."[54] Detail of a postcard. Photographer unknown. Published by A. Bergeret & Cie, Nancy (France) (this firm only published Fiji cards between 1903-6). In Author's possession.

Garner-Jones's curious punctuation and phrasing make it seem as though he was referring to the arrowroot being used for hair. In fact he was referring to the *masi*, meaning that this piece was a chiefly hairscarf or *i-sala*, often but somewhat misleadingly described as a turban (since most of its bulk came from the bushy hair under the relatively small hair-covering, not from the bulky windings such as there are in an Eastern turban). What he did not comment on was that this piece was smoked to a rich brown colour, called *kuvui,* so this object should be called *i-sala kuvui. Kuvui* stained cloth was exclusive to chiefs, as were hairscarves, though by far the majority were white, making this doubly special in its embedded symbolism.

> 94 [A7240] *Native Cloth "Masi" painted. Designs are stamped on with "type" arranged or made with the midribs of cocoanut leaves. In some cases a stencil is made out of banana leaves. The black paint is from the calcined shells of the candle-nut "Lauci."*

As usual when he ventured into the realm of process and technique, Garner-Jones had virtually every part of this wrong. The coconut-leaf-midrib printing tool he describes is the Tongan/Samoan-derived *kuveji.* This is actually a rubbing plate, placed under cloth while a paint-laden swab is rubbed over the *masi*, very like doing a brass-rubbing with paper and crayon.[62] It is nothing like printing from type. Another method of printing was done using stencils that could be cut from banana leaves, or other leaves depending on the type of motif that was to be cut.[63] The great problem is that this piece of cloth was not figured using either of the methods he mentioned. Garner-Jones had a rare piece of *masibola* from Cakaudrove Province, northeast Fiji. It derived its name from the fact that it was "divided up" (*bola*) by drawing, and the solids then painted in using a brush (a dried-out segment of a pandanus fruit) and a coconut-leaf as a frisket.[64] The width and length (860cm x 3.86m) pronounce this a post-missionary wearing-cloth of double-width (*matairua*) *masi.*

Finally, Garner-Jones stated that the black paint was from the "calcined shells of the candle-nut", which implies they were baked or burned down to a residue that was used. Black pigment *was* traditionally made by burning candlenuts, but it was not the ash but the soot, caught by propping a piece of broken cooking-pot or a clam shell over the burning nut, that provided the black pigment. He also fails to point out that this had to be mixed with a binder—an infusion made in the region where this cloth originated by scraping the bark of the candlenut tree itself and boiling that in water to make a thick liquor into which the soot is stirred.

NOTES

1 Crew & Sims 1991: 159.

2 The related issues of provenance and authenticity are understandably of considerable concern to museologists. A quick search of the Internet reveals a number of institutions with substantial projects devoted specifically to these issues, particularly in relation to paintings and sculptures, including the giants the Metropolitan and MoMA in New York. There are many reasons (not least economic) for such a preoccupation, and it is fair to say that it is an important issue also for curators of ethnographic collections. But while such projects are no doubt valuable in validating the authorship and collecting pedigree of Western paintings, their applicability to ethnographic collections is, while still of great importance, less cut and dried.

3 Much of what is publicly known of JA Johnson today relies upon his obituary. It reminds us that his middle name is still an illustrious one in Adelaide, his maternal grandfather George Fife Angas having been regarded as "the Founder of South Australia", in particular playing an important part in founding the settlements in the Barossa Valley, and fostering Australia's earliest and still one of its most important wine-growing districts. [http://www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/angas.htm, last accessed l0/04/06]. This heritage helped shape young James. From the age of five when he immigrated from England with his mother in 1848, he lived in his grandfather's home at the settlement the family had established in 1841 on their holdings, and called Angas Town (later Angaston). He was privately educated there before going on to a private school, St Peter's College. He then joined his grandfather in business, and became a prominent and successful businessman himself. While his industrious grandparent had a sharp focus on personal economic advancement, he was also keenly aware of his social responsibilities, and that sense was well-developed in his grandson. What is of most interest to this study is the very active role James Johnson played in public and charitable affairs. He was well known in financial circles in the city, was a director and trustee of the State Bank and one of the directors of Elder, Smith, & Co. He served on a couple of the committees of the Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society, was a life member of the Children's Hospital, and a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. On several occasions he was urged to offer himself as a candidate for Parliament, but owing to the pressure of business he felt he could not devote sufficient time to enable him to perform legislative duties properly. Philanthropy obviously became a vital part of his life. Public benefaction is less common in the history of Australia than in other countries. His several generous gifts to the Museum in the last few years of his life were greatly to that institution's benefit. It is consistent with the picture that emerges of this fine man that he customarily stipulated that his many acts of charity not be publicly acknowledged, notwithstanding which the Museum has always appended his name to the Fijian material he donated.

4 His grandfather was noted for his interest in Aboriginal welfare at a time when that was not commonplace, and Johnson's gift of a gramophone recording machine to the Royal Society's 1901 Spencer-Gillen Expedition to record stories and songs suggests he may have had an interest in anthropology.

5 Hale, 1956: 81.

6 Allen (1907)1984: 269-70.

7 Allen (1907)1984: 270.

8 Usher 1979: 17.

9 Usher, ibid.

10 Usher 1979: 13.

11 In Fiji these observations could be extended to Hindustani, in which hybrid language competence was almost completely restricted to employees of the Colonial Sugar Refining Co (CSR) and their children, since that company employed by far the greatest number of subgroups from the Indian subcontinent throughout the Colonial era. Few ever took the trouble to really learn, let alone study, the language beyond a rudimentary level. Fiji Hindi, like Fiji English, absorbed many Fijian words, but they are frequently incorrect, and certainly do not indicate cross-cultural linguistic proficiency.

12 The debate about the existence or extent of Fijian cannibalism has most recently been given new life by the debate between Obeyeskere (1998) and Sahlins (2003). No scholar who has made a sustained and detailed study of Fijian history, oral history or language, could conceivably arrive at any view other than at the time of Western incursion into Fiji, the Fijians were, in most if not all parts of the archipelago, not only engaged in almost constant armed conflict, but were singularly cruel and habitual cannibals. Indeed, warfare and cannibalism were implicit in every aspect of their religious belief and practice, as well as their language, and consequently influenced every aspect of their social lives (see Brantlinger 2006).

13 This "stamp-collecting" attitude persisted for decades, and in terms of provenance it could be disastrous. In the 1930s, my father offered as a gift to the Fiji Museum a large collection of weapons and other objects assembled by his father, William J. Ewins, during a career around the turn of the century as a District Magistrate in various remote parts of Fiji. These objects were given to him by known individuals and he had kept extensive documentary notes. The gift was declined by the then keeper of the Fiji Museum, Allport Barker, on the grounds that they had "lots of this sort of thing." Discouraged, my father gave the whole collection away to a collector who took them overseas, and there is no further record of them. My grandfather's notes were also lost by uninterested descendants (before my time, sadly).

14 d'Ozouville 1997, Stephenson 1997, Ewins 2000-2006.

15 This is an excellent example of a studio photograph from about the time when Garner-Jones was collecting. It is typical in providing a display of material culture, and many of the objects are represented in the Jones/Johnson Collection. It depicts a man wearing a *masi tutuki* printed barkcloth loincloth with a chief's long train (*i-tini yara*) behind and draping on the ground to his right. He also wears a bleached wig (*ulumate*) with long dreadlocks, and a superb split-whale-tooth *wasekaseka* gorget (though it is highly unlikely that he would have worn such a valuable article into battle). He has fibre and bead arm and leg decorations (*vesa*). There are two lobed throwing-clubs (*i-ula tavatava*) stuck in his cummerbund (*i-oro*), though the one on his left side looks so small that it might actually have been a child's learning club (these were often as elaborate as the real thing). He carries a third throwing-club in his right hand (a simple ball-headed

i-ula drisia), and props on his left foot a double-handed spurred club bound with sinnet (*kaikavo vividrasa*). A chief's war-fan (*iri masei*) leans against the set behind him.

16 Thomson (1908)1968: 389.

17 see Ewins 2009: 222-47.

18 Wilkes 1845: 126.

19 Stonehewer-Cooper 1880:18-19.

20 Wilkes 1845: 342.

21 Clunie 1977, Tippett 1968.

22 Ewins 1982a: 38.

23 Capell's Dictionary describes it as "the common war-club" (1941: 96), which may or may not be a trustworthy notation. His predecessor Hazlewood, in his dictionary of 1872, written while warfare was still rife, was less specific, describing the *kiakavo* simply as "one kind of club."

24 A point worth reiterating relates to the frequent labelling of these spur-clubs in collections as "gunstock" or "musket" clubs (including the SAM, despite Garner not having proposed this name). If this arose from a perceived vague physical resemblance, it is a regrettable sobriquet since it is totally misleading. If it arose from an ethnocentric view that Fijians must have been naively trying to imitate guns in wood, that is very condescending. These are an ancient type long pre-dating the incursion of Westerners and the introduction of the first flintlocks to Fiji.

25 Ewins 1986.

26 Rather surprisingly, Garner did not refer to this *tōtōkia* by the common though erroneous name of "pineapple club", so-named because of the large spiky ball behind the "beak." His caution, if it was that, was commendable as the pineapple was introduced from South America by Europeans. In fact the reference object had always been the fruit of the pandanus. *Tōtōkia* should, therefore, be referred to either by their proper name or as pandanus clubs or more generically as beaked battle-hammers. The beak was to peck a neat hole in the skull of adversaries, and if the top of the skull could be retained intact, it could be used as a *bilo* or kava-cup, to the eternal humiliation of the victim. This may have been impossible in fierce hand-to-hand combat. Once felled, the enemy could be dispatched with the beak.

27 Garner-Jones shared the still-widely-held belief among many Westerners that virtually all Fijian clubs were made of ironwood (*Casuarina* sp., usually *Casuarina equisetifolia*). In fact, a considerable number of species of timber trees were used, generally very hard. Many clubs bore as either their sole or their alternative names the names of the wood from which they were made. For example, the *gadi* pole clubs first identified by him as being made of ironwood were named after the large flowering tree of that name from which they were generally made (*Storckiella vitiensis*). This should be born in mind not only in relation to Garner-Jones's notes, but in many descriptions of Fijian warclubs. It would be safer to say simply "hardwood " unless it can be established by testing that it is indeed *Casuarina sp*., either by analysis or as in the case where one of the particular club's alternative names was *uto ni nokonoko* "heart[wood] of Casuarina." For a fuller discussion, see Clunie 1977.

28 So fearsome is the appearance of the *tōtōkia* that film director George Lucas made absolutely faithful reproductions of them to arm his "Tusken Raiders " in *Star Wars*! He re-named them *Gaderffii* (*Gaffi*) *Sticks— http://www.nasm.si.edu/exhibitions/ StarWars/ sw-unit3.htm* also *http://www.nasm.si.edu/exhibitions/StarWars/images/BookImages/ sandman.jpg* both last accessed 20 March 2006.

29 Debenham 1945: 307, 310.

30 Wilkes 1845: 342.

31 Clunie (1986: 185) suggests that the chiefly exclusivity of these objects may have related to their use as shields against arrows by their exalted owners, because chiefs and priests had to lead in battle and were particularly vulnerable to these missiles. He makes reference to having read early accounts of these clubs being covered in arrow-scars. I do not question his assertion, but I have not personally seen such scarring on any clubs.

32 Cf. Clunie 1977: Fig.8e, and Oldman 1943, 2004: P1.54.

33 Tippett 1944

34 This recalls the revered Japanese swords and armour that are still today housed in shrines such as that on the island of O-Mishima.

35 see Fison 1904: xx; Tippett 1968: 68-76; Capell 1941/1973: 67

36 Oldman, 1943/2004: P1.54.

37 The following delightful anecdote about the confusion caused by this action of the Government was related by Rātū Deve Toganivalu (himself a distinguished Rokotui) to the Fiji Society: "The title *Roko Tui* is a stranger to those of the Province of Bua [next-door to Macuata], as it was not the title of their position according to the customs of the land ... a certain old man of Nadivanua in the district of Nadi in the Bua Province ... thought the *Roko* was something from the land of the white man, which had been presented by the Government to the Province of Bua ... When the people of the District of Nadi were all assembled in the public square, Ratu Tevita Suraki, the [government official] *Roko Tui* Bua, was seated on a raised seat, and this old man asked in a whisper from some of them: "Where is the *Roko? "* and then someone replied to him: "Don't you see him seated there? " Then the old man appeared astonished and said: "Oh! cripes! The *Roko* is a man forsooth; I thought it was some metal thing." (Toganivalu 1925, cited in France, 1969: 108).

38 Pers.comm. Paul Geraghty.

39 Clunie 1977: 51-2.

40 Wilkes 1845: 345.

41 Ewins 1982: 63

42 When Queen Elizabeth visited Tonga in 1953, the whole road from the wharf, where she came ashore from a flying-boat, to the Royal Palace, was covered with bark-cloth, so that even the 'feet' of the royal car should not touch the road!

43 Dhyne 1999.

44 Meyer 2004.

45 For example: "The usual outward sign of mourning is to crop off the hair or beard, or very rarely, both. Indeed, they are too vain of these appendages to part with them on trifling occasions; and as the hair, if cut off, takes a long time to grow again, they use a wig as a

substitute. Some of these wigs are beautifully made, and even more exact imitations of nature, than those of our best perruquiers." (Wilkes 1845:101). It is interesting that today, because the fashion for men is short hair and a clean-shaven face, Fijians have reversed the mourning tribute, and following a bereavement neither cut their hair nor shave, until a "lifting of mourning" ritual at which both are performed by prescribed Others (see Ewins 2009: 196-9).

46 Williams 1858 (1982): Frontispiece.

47 Roth and Hooper, 1990: 341 (Pl.45b).

48 Without diminishing his undoubted historical importance, while Tanoa was indeed Cakobau's father, and like him the *Vunivalu* or Warlord of the Confederation of Bau (and in light of that entity's particular internal politics, could loosely be termed King of Bau), he could never have been styled "King of Fiji." The title of *Tui Viti*, long coveted by Cakobau but never bestowed by his fellow high chiefs (who would certainly have rejected the suggestion out of hand), was finally given to him by Western settlers when they set him up as titular head of the only constitutional non-Colonial government to exist prior to 1970, the Government of the Kingdom of Viti. Garner-Jones was making two unjustifiable assumptions, first that Cakobau could be termed the King of Fiji and second that this title must therefore have also applied to his father.

49 Rātū Tanoa is dressed in full chiefly fashion. He wears an *i-sala* hair-scarf of white *masi* over his large head of hair, giving the appearance of a turban, and an extremely fine and massive *civavonotabua* breastplate of black-lipped pearl shell inlaid with whale-tooth ivory. This breastplate is currently in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (see Clunie 1983). In his right hand he holds his chiefly staff of office (*matanakilagi* or *i-titoko*) while in his left he appears to hold the handle of a club. Around his upper arms he wears *vesa* armbands, perhaps of small white cowry shells, also chiefly symbols. He wears not a loincloth, but a Tongan-style wrap-around *i-sulu.*

50 Thomson 1908 (1968): 330.

51 Such as Rougier 1916: 26

52 Linguistic information pers.comm. Paul Geraghty. As well as resembling similar examples from other Pacific Islands, these darts and their wooden heads physically resemble the Aboriginal *weet-weet* of Southwest New South Wales.

53 Thomson, Op.cit.

54 Rougier, Op.cit.

55 Cited by Clunie 1977: 67.

56 Clunie 1977: 68.

57 Rougier 1916: 27.

58 Clunie 1986: 160 (#111, 112).

59 Ewins 2009: 122-5.

60 Tippett 1944 and 1954.

61 This early photograph (about 1900) shows three chiefs seated on a sleeping-mat, and all wearing smoked barkcloth *i-sala kuvui* hairscarves. Other chiefly trappings are the flywhisk (left) and war-fan (centre). Also notable are the crucifixes and rosary-beads of the centre chief and several men, proclaiming them Catholics—this photograph

may well have been taken by the French priest in the area. Behind the chiefs stand the warriors and budding warriors of their village, most carrying weapons, *their* symbols of office and these are not studio props. The youth in the checked skirt (*i-sulu*) holds a large wooden food-pounder (*i-vutu*), a male manufacture and ceremonial gift item; the two youths behind him both shoulder pole clubs, the one on the left a massive *bōai* baseball-bat-shaped club; the youth perched up in the tree holds a small ball-headed throwing club (*i-ula drisia*) in his right hand; the white-skirted man nearest the tree cradles the head of a larger *i-ula drisia* in his left hand; the man behind his left shoulder carries a lobed throwing-club (*i-ula tavatava*); the two men further away from the tree each hold *bōai;* the two men on the far right of the picture also hold ball-headed throwing clubs. Several of the men wear vine and bead *vesa* upper-arm decorations.

62 This analogy was noted by missionary Fison (1904: 162) describing the use of the *kuveji:* "the cloth being tightly stretched thereupon, the colour is rubbed over it, after the manner of rubbing brasses."

63 Ewins 2004: 178

64 see Ewins 1982:16, fn.58.

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