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'Old Stones for Cash'. The Acquisition History of the Pitcairn Stone Tool Collection in Auckland Museum

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Abstract

Auckland Museum has approximately 20,000 stone tools from Pitcairn Island in the south east Pacific Ocean. Indisputably it is the largest collection from the island held in any museum. The history of the acquisitions in the 1930s–1940s from residents on the island will be explored and put in the context of the disruptions in the Pacific during World War II and the acquisitive aspirations of Auckland Museum. Correspondence in Museum archives provided a comprehensive record of the acquisitions, some of which have not been catalogued. The collection is an understudied assemblage from a technological, geological and functional perspective, just as the history of Polynesian occupation of the remote island is largely unknown. The assemblage is placed in the context of the known archaeology of the island.

Keywords

Pitcairn Island; museum collecting; Auckland Museum; basalt; archaeology; Polynesia.

INTRODUCTION

The remote Pitcairn Island is well known as the final destination of the mutineers from *HMS Bounty*. It was unoccupied in 1790 when the mutineers arrived, accompanied by Tahitian women and men, although there was evidence of former Polynesian occupation such as *marae*, standing *tiki* figures, rock carvings, adzes, cooking stones and plants such as taro, ti, and breadfruit that Polynesians transported during voyages of settlement (Erskine 2004: 37). Like other islands in the wider south eastern Pacific, the island was occupied by Polynesians by the 12th–13th century (Molle and Hermann 2008). When the island was abandoned by Polynesians is unknown, but it is believed that the small land area and limited resources, coupled with remoteness, meant that occupation could not be sustained long-term after inter-island sailing networks broke down (Weisler 1996).

This paper examines how Auckland Museum acquired the substantial collection of stone artefacts from Pitcairn. Director Gilbert Archey, and later ethnologist Victor (Vic.) Fisher and associate ethnologist Olwyn Turbott, corresponded with various residents on the island and these communications are held in the archives of Auckland Museum. While there was a small number of Pitcairn adzes gifted in 1911, the acquisitions relevant to this paper began in the 1930s, with most of the correspondence and exporting of artefacts occurring during the years of WWII (1939–45). The effects of the war, and the financial hardships experienced by

residents of Pitcairn, due to a diminished shipping traffic and tourist trade, was the likely motivation for the transactions with Auckland Museum. David Young, Nelson Dyett and Henry (Harry) and Honor Maude are associated with the majority of acquisitions either as sellers or donors.

The extensive and varied Pitcairn material in Auckland Museum is relatively unresearched. A descriptive analysis of the adzes and adze roughouts, from a technological perspective is the only in-depth examination of the collection (Turner 2010). This paper sets out the history of the Pitcairn acquisitions and the role Auckland Museum played in obtaining such a large and significant collection of stone tools in all stages of manufacture.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Pitcairn Island is situated 25° south of the Equator and is the southernmost of the four islands making up the isolated Pitcairn Group. Other islands are Henderson, a raised limestone island, and Oeno and Ducie which are coral atolls. Pitcairn is a young volcanic island approximately 5 sq. km in area, and is better resourced with fresh water, good quality fertile soils suitable for gardening and basaltic geology highly suitable for tool production. Henderson, the only other island in the group with evidence of Polynesian occupation (Weisler 1995), is approximately 170 km to the north east of Pitcairn. Nearest neighbours outside the Pitcairn Group are Mangareva (400 km) and

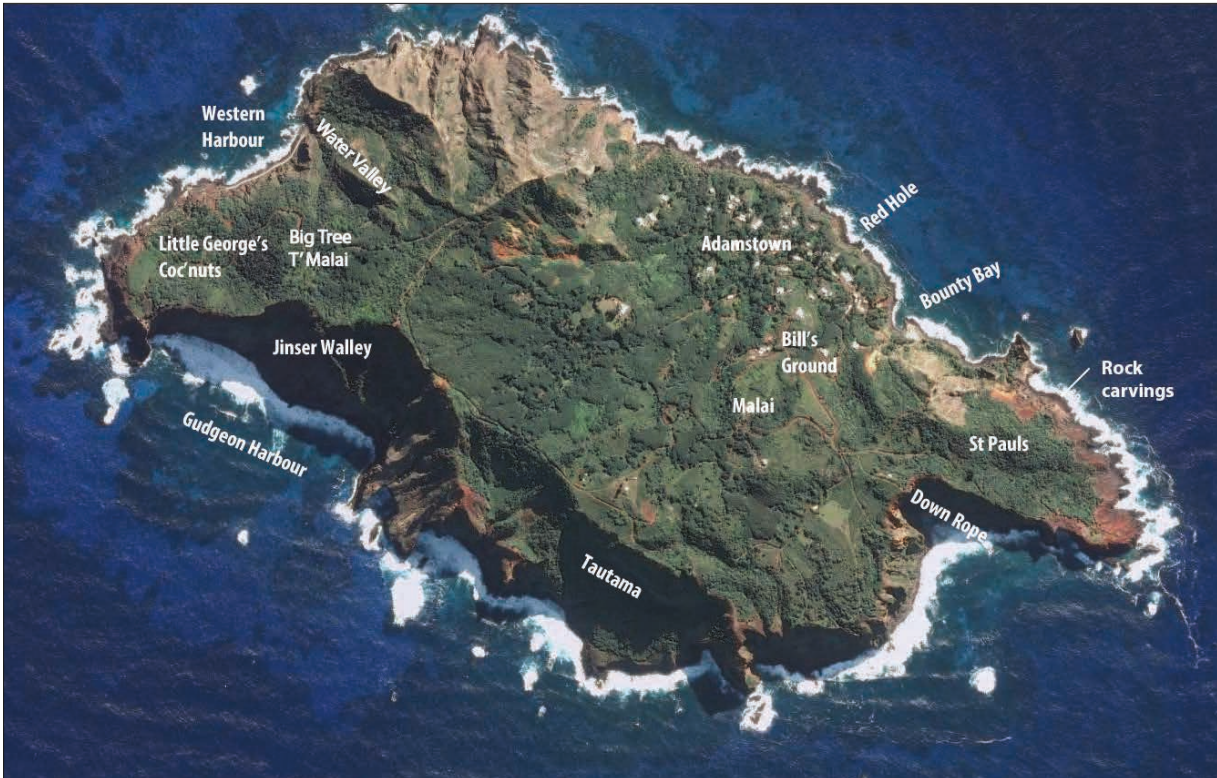


Figure 1. Pitcairn Island showing places mentioned in the text.



Figure 2. Bounty Bay in 1940. Maude Digital Archive, Part II, Series 4: Section 12. Courtesy of Rare Books and Manuscripts, The University of Adelaide Library.



Figure 3. Adamstown in 1940. Maude Digital Archive, Part II, Series 4: Section 12. Courtesy of Rare Books and Manuscripts, The University of Adelaide Library.

Rapanui Easter Island (1600 km). The nearest islands in the Society Island Group, and the Marquesas Group, are 1980 km and 2310 km respectively.

Pitcairn is a single volcano with the north side eroded away exposing the interior basin (Fig. 1). The highest elevation on the rim is about 360 m (Gathercole 1964). The coastal margins are steep, particularly on the south and western sides, and prone to erosion. There is no encircling reef, no harbour, and only two safe landing places for small boats in rough seas: Bounty Bay on the north coast (Fig. 2) and Gudgeon Harbour on the south west coast. In calm seas small boats can access nearly all of the coastline but access to the land is restricted by steep coastal cliffs (Gathercole 1964: 86). The island has undergone significant changes with land slips on the coastal cliffs and erosion of soils on the steep slopes. In some places cultural material is buried under up to one metre of recent sediment (Weisler 1996: 152). Flat land is restricted to only 8% of the land area, and 34% is steeply sloping (Cowell 1965). There is no permanent running water but there are three semi-permanent springs (Erskine 2004: 41). The north-facing basin, where Adamstown is situated (Fig. 3), has alternating ridges and valleys that in heavy rain become channels for runoff from the high slopes (Erskine 2004: 37).

GEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

There is a complex geology of interbedded tuffs and lava flows around the rim of the volcano (Gathercole 1964: 87). The rock within the crater is mainly vesicular basalt and is generally unsuitable for tool manufacture. High-quality basalt, found at Tautama, is chemically distinct from other basalt sources in south east Polynesia due to a low alkaline composition with enriched mid-Z elements (Weisler 1996: 156). It is also one of the best flaking quality basalts in Polynesia (Molle and Hermann 2008: 76). Blocks of basalt that fell from the cliff were worked into tools at the base of a talus slope, leaving piles of stone flakes up to 1 m in depth (Cowell 1965). Also present at Tautama were smooth beach boulders from a nearby coastal area used as hammer stones and anvils used as hammer stones and anvils (Gathercole 1969: 40). Mounds of flakes were near large vesicular blocks used as anvils, but there were few adze roughouts or broken fragments visible. The assumption was that the roughed out preform shapes were removed to settlement sites, with final shaping and finishing occurring at that location (Gathercole 1969). Turner (2010) alternatively suggested broken roughouts were repurposed into other tools. However the enthusiastic collecting activities of the Pitcairn Island residents in the 1940s cannot be discounted as being responsible for the apparent surface absence of roughouts. Analysis of Gathercole’s excavation material in Otago Museum may reveal whether the absence of roughouts is replicated in lower deposits.

A large part of the island is composed of tuff varying from lapilli to a finer pumiceous material. There are also tuffs with a distinctive red coloration derived from fragments of vesicular lava (Carter in Gathercole 1964) used for tool and statue manufacture. Red tuff

from Jinser Walley (Ginger Valley) Cave on a cliff was identified as the main source of abrading stones and described as ‘a red volcanic rock of gritty texture carrying small crystals of a black mineral, perhaps augite’ (Gathercole 1964). The tuff was mined from the cave walls by prising out blocks approximately 10 x 10 cm using flaked basalt tools with the appearance of broken adzes, examples of which were found on the floor of the cave (Gathercole 1964: 49–54; Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965). Additional sources of red tuff include one at Red Hole near Bounty Bay and one to the east of Rope with similar characteristics to the fragment of statue in Otago Museum (Gathercole 1964: 92).

A volcanic glass, technically an ignimbrite, erodes as cobbles from the cliffs at the west end of Rope Beach (Down Rope) and has been found at various settlement sites on the island (Weisler 1996). The chemically distinctive glass also occurs in occupation sites on Henderson Island, suggesting that, despite its poor quality, it was a valuable resource in the region.

RESEARCH ON PITCAIRN

Little archaeological research has been carried out on Pitcairn and the history of Polynesian settlement is poorly understood. The island was abandoned prior to the 18th century, but settlement probably occurred around the 12th century, at the same time as island groups in the wider south east Pacific region (Molle and Hermann 2008; Sear *et. al.* 2020). Basalt, obsidian and oven stones were exported from Pitcairn and materials including coral and pearl shell imported through regional voyaging networks (Weisler 1997; Weisler *et. al.* 2004). These local networks, encompassing Henderson, Pitcairn and Mangareva, broke down around the mid-1400s (Molle and Hermann 2008; Weisler 1997: 167). Wider distribution of stone materials is evidenced by the presence of Pitcairn obsidian in the 14th century site of Atiahara on Tubuai in the Australs Group, and basalt in the Tuamotu group (Molle and Hermann 2008).

Although visitors to the island in the 19th century removed adzes as souvenirs, some of which found their way into museum collections, the Polynesian history of the island wasn’t explored until Katherine Routledge, English anthropologist and archaeologist, visited in 1915 following a year on Rapanui where her research included cataloguing *ahu* and excavating *moai* (statues). During her short five day visit to Pitcairn, Routledge described the location of three *marae* and the entire population of Pitcairn participated in digging them over (Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965a: 5; Routledge 1919; van Tilburg 2003). The 72 adzes recovered are now in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, along with 25 tools donated by Pitcairners (Hamilton *et. al.* 2013). The British Museum has an unknown, but lesser, number of adzes and other tool types from the island attributed to Katherine’s husband, William Scorseby Routledge (Richards 2019). Adzes collected in 1897 by Lieutenant Gerald Pike of *HMS Comus* are described in Brown (1900), and some of these are now in the Pitt Rivers Museum (Hamilton *et. al.* 2013: 569). Emory (1928)

described 17 privately owned adzes collected in 1920. The small number of adzes and other tools in each institution makes the collection in Auckland Museum all the more significant.

Henri Lavachery (archaeologist) and Alfred Metraux (anthropologist), members of the Franco-Belgian expedition to Rapanui, also spent two days on Pitcairn in 1935 recording petroglyph sites, collecting information on the destroyed *marae* and interviewing islanders who recalled what they had looked like about 50 years prior. Adzes were also collected during their visit and are in Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels and the Musée de l'Homme in Paris (Gathercole 1964: 100). One of the *marae* statues, fashioned from red tuff, was subsequently acquired by Otago Museum (Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965a: 5–6).

The Norwegian Archaeological Expedition in 1956, led by Thor Heyerdahl, conducted small excavations in two caves, and tools were acquired through surface collections or from islanders (Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965a). The visit was brief, and results of the research not comprehensively written up, but the 75 adzes and 23 other described tools are in the Kon-Tiki Museum (Figueroa and Sanchez 1965; Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965b).

Peter Gathercole's 1964 expedition was part of the wider Polynesian Culture History Programme organised from the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Hawaii, supported by the National Science Foundation. Over three months the team of seven surveyed the visible archaeology, identified stone sources from which artefacts were made, and excavated 209m² across 10 locations (Gathercole 1964; Weisler 1997: 152). In addition, local place names and visible archaeological features were recorded. While Gathercole was aware of the stone material in Auckland Museum, it is evident he did not know of its quantity, referring only to the Maude collection which is a small part of the overall assemblage. Unfortunately, apart from a brief report, Gathercole's investigations have not been written up.

A small 5 m² excavation near Adamstown in 1971 with a pit and postholes, and over 5,000 flakes of Tautama basalt, adze roughouts, awls, abraders, scrapers and fish hooks was interpreted as an 'adze workshop' (Sinoto 1983: 61), and reinterpreted as an occupation site occupied in the 12th–13th centuries (Weisler 1995: 152). Other small excavations were conducted by Weisler (1995) at Water Valley and the Edge near Adamstown, and samples of Tautama basalt and volcanic glass collected for geochemical analysis. Pitcairn-derived stone material was present in the lowest layers of HEN-10 site on Henderson Island, dated around the 1100s, suggesting Pitcairn should have a similar, or even longer history of occupation (Weisler 1995: 389). Most significantly, adzes and other tools from Pitcairn, along with volcanic glass and oven stones, ceased being imported to Henderson around 1450 AD despite continued occupation of Henderson until the 17th century (Weisler 1995).

Technological aspects of the adzes in Auckland Museum have been discussed in Turner (2010). The ability to make adze types with predominantly thin

rectangular cross sections is possibly due to fracture lines in the stone. The slabs required little shaping and grinding, and polishing was minimal. Sourcing of adzes in the British Museum and Pitt Rivers Museum using X-ray Fluorescence produced some surprising results. While the adzes are predominantly from Pitcairn, the results suggest several of the adzes can be geochemically sourced to the Marquesas (Richards 2019). A larger sample of adzes needs to be assessed to determine if there is a significant presence of externally sourced stone on Pitcairn.

Pitcairn's pre-*Bounty* history has been inadequately addressed despite the investigations carried out, and the technological aspects of stone working in a Polynesian context is largely unknown. Pitcairn is widely acknowledged as having some of the best-quality basalt in Polynesia which is reflected in the shape of some of the objects made.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

Although first sighted and named in 1767 by crew of *HMS Swallow* under the command of Captain Carteret, landing on the apparently unoccupied Pitcairn was not possible due to the rough sea conditions. The plotting of the island's position was inaccurate, and while the latitude was correct, the 3° error in longitude (320 km) meant the island was not relocated by subsequent ships (Erskine 2004) using the Carteret map published in Hawksworth (1773). The isolation of the island and incorrect plotting was fortuitous for the *Bounty* mutineers, for although there were attempts to find them based on known locations of islands, they were not discovered and held to account for their actions.

The 1789 mutiny by Fletcher Christian (master's mate) and sailors on *HMS Bounty* who cast Captain Bligh and 18 of the crew adrift in a small boat is well known (Erskine 2004: 13, 24–26; Maude 1958). The mutineers sailed to Tubuai where they negotiated a place to settle. The *Bounty* then sailed to Tahiti for supplies, returning to Tubuai where there was a violent altercation. The mutineers abandoned the idea of settling there and returned to Tahiti where some of the mutineers left the ship. After travelling to the western Pacific including Tongatapu and the Lau Group, the *Bounty*, carrying the nine Englishmen (Fletcher Christian (leader), John Adams, William Brown, William McCoy, Isaac Martin, John Mills, Matthew Quintal, John Williams, Matthew Quintal and Edward Young); twelve Polynesian women including Teehuteatuaoroa (Jenny), Mauatua (Isabella), Teraura (Susannah) Toofaiti (Nancy) and Mareva (Prudence), Teio, Vahineatua and Tevarua; six Polynesian men (including Teirnua, Manarii, Tinatoruea and Taroamira); and a female child, eventually arrived at Pitcairn in 1790 more than 18 months after the mutiny (Maude 1958, 1959; Langdon 2000). The Polynesians had been kidnapped during the final trip to Tahiti, although one (Taroamiva) was from Tubuai and sailed voluntarily with the ship.

Conflicts soon arose and after a plot to kill the Englishmen was discovered, two of the Polynesian

men were killed. Six of the mutineers (Christian, Mills, Martin, Brown, McCoy and Williams) were murdered in 1793, and the remaining four Polynesian men killed in retaliation. McCoy committed suicide in 1799 after a heavy drinking session, and in the same year Adams and Young killed Quintal who, in a drunken state, threatened to kill them. Young died in 1800. The isolation of the community was broken in 1808 when the American whaler *Topaz* visited. After a visit by *HMS Briton* and *HMS Tagus* in 1814 it was reported that the island was inhabited by John Adams, the sole surviving mutineer, several Polynesian women and a lot of children. Adams by this time had undergone a religious conversion and was not charged for his crimes. He died in 1829.

The small island has been subjected to major weather events. In historic times a drought, and reduced crop yields in 1831 was the catalyst for the population to move to Tahiti, where the previously isolated Pitcairners' were exposed to illnesses, and after many fatalities the 65 survivors returned to the island the same year (Maude 1959). Several decades later, again after crop failure and loss of marine resources due to landslides after fierce storms, the entire population of 194 moved to Norfolk Island in 1856 (Erskine 2004: 242). Several families returned to Pitcairn between 1858–64 and the current population are their descendants.

ACQUISITION OF THE COLLECTION

Auckland Museum holds the most extensive collection of stone objects outside of Pitcairn Island. There are 11,703 catalogued and over 7,066 uncatalogued stone tools. Except for a few items clearly associated with the post-*Bounty* settlement, the majority are stone tools of Polynesian origin collected from unknown locations on the island. While there are large numbers of most tool types in various stages of manufacture, there are very few stone flakes indicating that the collectors were selectively choosing objects that Auckland Museum was prepared to pay for. The bulk of the museum's collection was amassed by individuals during the years of WWII with the large spike in acquisitions post-war (Fig. 4), attributable to the deposits by Dyett and Maude.

Acquisition records identify individuals who contributed to the Museum collection. Some were Pitcairners, with significant large collections attributed to non-Pitcairners. David Young (1876–1945) was the first to correspond directly with the museum and sent hundreds of stone tools. He actively encouraged others to collect and sell tools to the museum and names are listed in the appendix. Roy Clark (1893–1980), who had lived on the island for most of his life and held multiple roles including teacher and postmaster, also contributed.

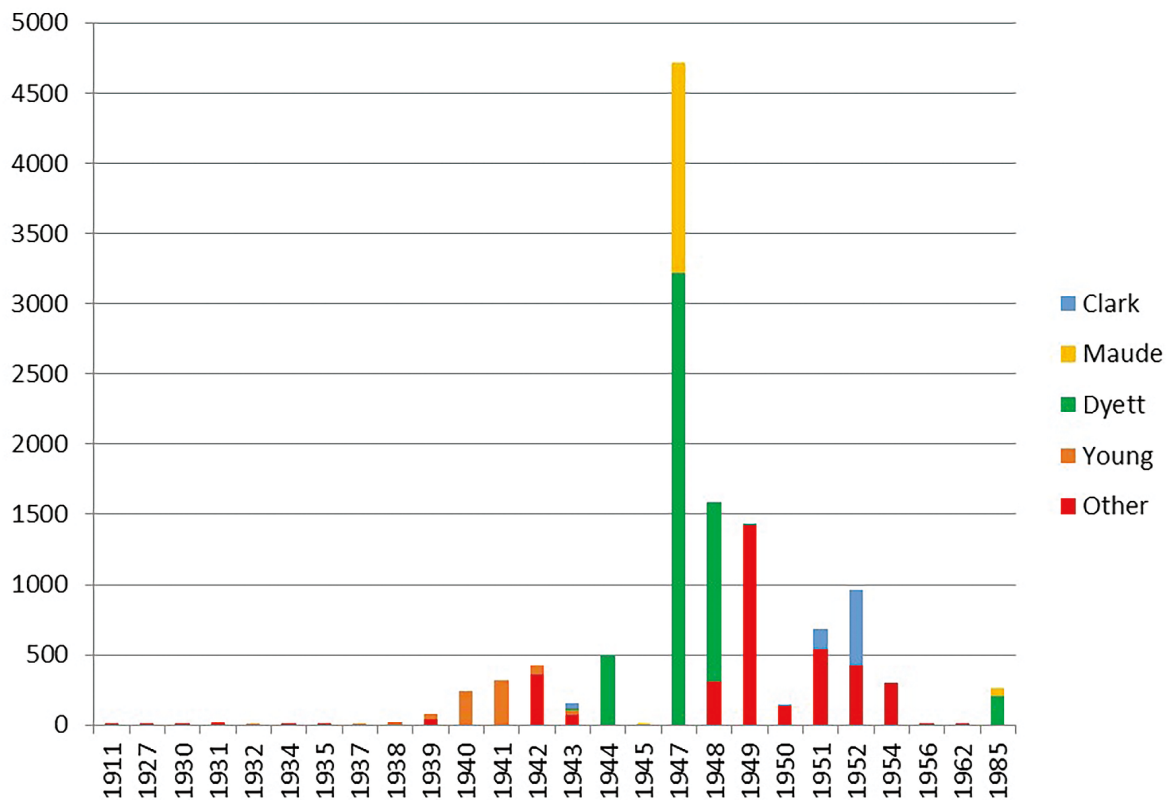


Figure 4. Acquisitions by year and donor.

Nelson Dalmain Dyett (1913–2011) was a New Zealander married to Pitcairner Maude (nee Young) and was living in Wellington when he volunteered in December 1939 to be a coastwatcher on the island (Gillespie 1952). He was later employed as a Government Wireless Operator for the duration of the war. Harry Maude (1906–2006), an administrator in the British Colonial Service, was seconded to the Western Pacific High Commission as Deputy Secretary in 1940 (Woodburn 2003). Maude and his wife Honor (1905–2001) collected stone tools during their relatively short official stay on the island. Their collection was initially deposited in Auckland Museum, then gifted some decades later.

Correspondence files in the archives of Auckland Museum are relatively comprehensive with letters over a period of 12 years from David Young on Pitcairn, Nelson Dyett during his time on the island and after he returned to Wellington, and from Roy Clark also resident on the island. Information derived from the Museum archives has been supplemented with letters from the archives of Canterbury Museum in relation to the eventual purchase of Dyett's collection.

Auckland Museum moved in 1929 from cramped inadequate accommodation in Princes St, Auckland, to the purpose-built neo-classical building in the Domain funded by the people of Auckland as a War Memorial. Gilbert Archey was the director of a small staff that increased in 1930 with the employment of Vic. Fisher as Assistant Ethnologist (promoted to Ethnologist in 1938). The museum at that time was in an acquisitive mode looking to expand the Māori collections and encouraged wealthy individuals to donate money for purchasing objects which would be attributed to them. Several major collections of Māori material came into the museum in the early 1930s, including Oruarangi (Furey 1996), with museum staff condoning the activities of curio hunters provided the museum was the recipient of the material, or staff participated in digging themselves. Archey was also identifying other opportunities for the Museum and he took the first steps to acquire more Pitcairn artefacts, perhaps inspired by Emory (1928).

David Young

Between 1911 and 1931 the museum obtained the first 20 objects from Pitcairn. Two were obtained from Captain Gaunt of the Royal Navy survey ship *HMS Challenger* that stopped at Pitcairn in 1911 (*The Sydney Morning Herald* 15 Feb 1911: 9), but the 1931 acquisition of the W.E. Cole Collection, containing 18 Pitcairn tools (Fig. 5), along with European and English archaeological material, was the catalyst for Gilbert Archey's approach to David Young:

We have recently received as a gift to the Museum a very fine collection of archaeological and ethnographical specimens from the late Mr. William M. Cole... and included among this collection is a splendid series of stone adzes and borers from Pitcairn Island. These are the ones which apparently you sent to him in 1928...

It has occurred to me that you may since have found other specimens, not only of adzes and borers but perhaps of pounders and other implements. You might also like to continue adding to the series which we now have in the Museum through your earlier collecting and Mr. Cole's bequest. (Archey to Young, 29 June 1931)

Young replied by return mail that he had not found any of the objects requested, and opened the negotiations in an off-hand way for what was to be a lengthy correspondence and shipping of a large number of items:

...and as for contributing to the museum it has not occurred [sic.] to me if I care to do so or not, it benefit me nothing and I do not suppose it will benefit me anything, but if I happen to find any of such articles I can forward it to you providing it does not cost too much as you know that the rate for parcels & letters now are so high, and it is hard to earn money from ships now. (Young to Archey, 24 July 1931)

The rapid turnaround of correspondence suggests both parties were keen to establish a working relationship. Pitcairn's isolation meant there was no regular postal delivery to the island, instead relying on passing ships travelling between New Zealand and the Panama Canal. Initially letters were exchanged on a monthly basis but the infrequency of ships stopping at the island sometimes led to lengthy periods of silence.

I am glad to know that you would favourably consider our request. Of course, we could not allow you to be put to any expense in connection with the matter, and, if you are able to send us any specimens, we should be very pleased not only to remit you the full cost of collection and forwarding the specimens, but also to send you articles from Auckland which might be of use to you. Would you be so kind as to let me know what we might send you: I had thought of some books for your library or some gramophone records; but you may be able to help us with other suggestions in this respect. (Archey to Young, 11 August 1931)

Although Young replied that he had nothing to send as he had only found a broken adze, and didn't want anything, Archey (letter, 25 September 1931) indicated that he was happy to receive even broken adzes, 'for a fragment very often tells us what we want to know...', and persisted with trying to establish an exchange that Young might find attractive. After Young sent him a couple of broken adzes (acquisition 1931.590), Archey provided further encouragement and urged Young to identify anything which could be gifted in return. At Young's request several musical records of a religious nature were sent.

They [adzes] are most interesting and I can assure you that anything of a like nature that you care to send to us will be very welcome. These crude



Figure 5. Pitcairn adzes acquired from W.E. Cole. Auckland War Memorial Museum 16515.3, 17016.4, 16514.1, 16515.5.

apparently valueless articles are often of greater importance than the well made ones, and, as I said in my previous letter, anything at all that has been worked by the unknown previous inhabitants of Pitcairn Island would be gratefully accepted by us. (Archey to Young, 29 December 1931)

Young did not respond for several months but then sent a box of nine ‘stones’ in the care of the ship’s purser, which required Archey to collect them from the wharf on arrival (1932.167). Archey sent a positive and encouraging reply:

I was very pleased indeed to get... the very fine set of adzes which you so kindly sent to us. These are very acceptable, particularly, of course, the very fine one you mentioned in your letter. I do hope that you will be able to get some more of them so that your collection in the Auckland Museum will be a really fine one. The ones you have sent will be placed on exhibition and marked as having been presented by you...It has occurred to me, however, that you should not be put to any expense with regard to postage. So long as you can send them in care of the Purser it will be no expense either to you or to the Museum and all will be well, but if you have to post them I would notice that there were stamps on the

parcel and would refund the stamps to you. (Archey to Young, 14 May 1932)

Each time Young sent tools, whether complete or broken, Archey responded that each item was ‘exactly what we want’, and requested more. Further religious records and needles for a gramophone were sent, as requested by Young, and when some records arrived in a damaged state, Young sent them back for replacement. There is little mention of individual objects, although Archey referred to a ‘four-sided piece of stone which seems to have been for winding a fishing line (Fig. 6). From its general appearance I should imagine that it was made shortly after the arrival of the “Bounty”.’ (Archey to Young, 28 September 1932)

Of the four acquisitions of 1931 and 1932, Young gifted 15 objects and the museum purchased two. Communication ceased from the end of 1932 to 1936 when Young contacted Archey again after hearing from a ship’s purser that Auckland Museum was now willing to pay for items sent. Young speculated that there were no more tools on the island although he would continue to look (Young to Archey, 21 January 1937). The museum provided further enticement:

I am sorry that no more adzes have been found...we would be very glad indeed to reward them [islanders]



Figure 6. Ground and flaked item Archey likened to a fishing line holder. There are several similar-sized ground or flaked blanks present in the Pitcairn collection, and are undoubtedly of pre-Bounty origin and probably used in wood-working. Auckland War Memorial Museum 18810.

for their hunting, and if you would be so kind as to act for us, we should be very glad to pay what might be regarded as a suitable amount. The Museum Ethnologist, Mr Fisher, who during the coming year will continue our correspondence, considers that half a crown for a broken piece, and say, 7/6 for a perfect adze with perhaps 10/- for an exceptionally large and well finished one might be a fair thing, and I should like to have your opinion of this. I think it simpler for us if we were to buy them, as it were, direct from you and you could arrange whatever you liked with the young people who happened to find the adzes. It would be quite proper for you to give the finder less than you received from us, because after all an agent should receive a commission and in any case it might not be advisable to let the young people have too many shillings all at once. (Archey to Young, 11 February 1937)

Young found this arrangement very satisfactory and all following correspondence from Fisher includes accounts of objects received and value assigned. For a time Young corresponded with Fisher, and to ensure full accountability of the money, Young was required to sign and return a receipt for the postal notes received. Under Fisher's authorship the tone of the correspondence shifted from strictly transactional to more personal, with enquiries after the health of Young and his family, and conversational sharing of information about the weather,

so that when Archey resumed the communication in 1939 (due to Fisher's absence on study leave) he also continued in the same vein. The frequent response from Young was that there were not many objects to be found, but in 1939 Young enlisted his wife Mrs Edna Young (Fig. 7) and son Vernon, and the acquisitions became more frequent.

Young's letter to Archey on 19 May 1939 reported that there had been a storm on 7th May resulting in 10–12 landslips, one of which damaged fishing boats at Bounty Bay, and the alternative landing on the western side of the island was covered with large rocks and earth. A positive outcome, according to Young, was that many artefacts were exposed.

From 1940 the number of items received from Young increased substantially in number. There were 234 in that year compared to 61 in 1939 and 23 in 1938. Children and adults, many of whom were related to Young (https://www.library.puc.edu/pitcairn/pitcairn/Pitcairners_Young.shtml), were collecting objects and delivering to Young under whose name the acquisition was recorded, but transaction receipts were issued to Master Douglas Warren, Jenny Warren, Lyndon Warren, Burley Warren, Kate Young, Andrew Young, Joy Charles and Burley Butler. Young complained to Olwyn Turbott, assistant ethnologist, that several Pitcairners were grouping their objects to get around having to pay him the 2/6 packing fee, but the number of objects he was sending from himself, and on behalf of others, increased significantly in quantity although few were complete. In contrast to earlier purchases where paperwork is clear, for the later transactions it is difficult to match the receipted items to the acquisition information.

After the November 1940 sinking of the New Zealand Shipping Company passenger liner *Rangitane* by a German vessel (<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/liner-sunk-german-raiders>), the shipping schedules in the south east Pacific became more erratic. With few vessels passing the island incomes from selling souvenirs were substantially reduced and Young began asking Fisher to purchase particular items (e.g., a case of Hellaby's corned beef, tins of milk and rubber sheeting), arrange shipping and deduct the sum from the amount owed to him from the previous sale (letter, 15 June 1940). Increasingly Young commented on the fact that the post office had little cash to convert the postal notes sent from Auckland. Pitcairners were still travelling to New Zealand, and instructions were given to send postal notes to local addresses, to place the money in bank accounts in New Zealand, or to settle invoices from businesses engaged in exporting goods to Pitcairn. The transactions became even more complex for the Museum when Young requested that the 2/6 packing fee be deducted from the balance owed to the finders and credited to Young.

There were increasingly long intervals between ships from New Zealand stopping at Pitcairn, possibly because of a route change due to war activities. Instead, a faster and more efficient way of sending mail and money to Pitcairn was to send it to the British Consul at Panama, awaiting more frequent ships travelling across



Figure 7. From left: Harry Maude, David and Edna Young, Edith (Young's sister) and husband Thornton Christian, Arthur Fuller (Western Pacific High Commission) at cave below Cathedral Rock (to east of Bounty Bay). Note the rock carvings in the wall behind Fuller. Maude Digital Archive, Part II, Series 4: Section 12. Courtesy of Rare Books and Manuscripts, The University of Adelaide Library.

the Pacific in the direction of the island (Young, 11 Sept 1942). The United States had not entered the war at this stage and ships flying the American flag were considered neutral and could travel safely (Woodburn 2003).

From 1932–1943 Young was central to the transactions with Auckland Museum, either on his own account or through encouraging other islanders to collect items which he sent to Auckland and took a commission as well as a packing fee. Catalogued items attributed to Young number 942, although at least 420 other objects were transacted through him.

Nelson Dyett

In late 1942 the collector scene changed when Nelson Dyett, the wireless operator, contacted Auckland Museum.

Mr H.E. Maude who is known to yourself and whose acquaintance I made when he was on official business at the island last year explained that at any time I found any of these “stones” they could be forwarded to your museum for sale...

If you have any special requirements in the types of stone required to complete your collection you might state them and if possible I will keep a watchful eye open to get the specimens desired – a sketch will help. (Dyett to Fisher, 14 September 1942)

Young was upset at the potential competition from Nelson Dyett. Although he blamed Dyett directly, other

correspondence from Dyett and Maude made it clear that Maude made the introduction to Auckland Museum.

You will see that another man will be sending stones to you, he saw the address on the last case I sent to you and copy it off now he is collecting stones and telling some of the people that Mr H.E. Maude gave him your address when he was here...

I think that you should tell him if he want to send any stones to you, to save [...] he must do like the rest of the people, send it through D.A. Young. Mr Nelson Dyatt [*sic*] is the wireless operator for the Navy boards from Wellington, and if he could get his hold on anything, he will try to get you out of it and let him come in, that is what he is trying to do with my business with you, trying to get you to do business with him instead of me. (Young to Turbott, 4 October 1942)

Young sent no more letters or objects after 1943, although acquisitions continued from other Pitcairners. Dyett advised the Museum of Young's death in 1945.

While Fisher was absent on active war service in the Pacific (Auckland Museum Annual Report 1942–43) Olwyn Turbott continued the correspondence. The first acquisition of 11 items from Dyett was purchased, and a pounder [1943.43, 26528] attracted special mention due to its rarity in the collection. Turbott requested any examples of particular types of artefacts (Fig. 8) including:



Figure 8. The 'pencil like' tools referred to by Turbott are chisels or gouges of circular cross section but different diameters. Auckland War Memorial Museum 30141.9, 28398.1, 23873.1.

thin, flat ones ... or any with small "horns" on the back at the top; also for any pieces about 1/3" diameter of 8 sided or cylindrical shape like pieces of pencil perfectly symmetrical and carefully polished. We have from time to time received sections of such pieces but [sic] have never seen them complete, so I cannot give you much idea what the objects originally looked like. Even the fragments might one day give us the clue when we have them in sufficient numbers.

As you probably know the people have been sending us specimens from the island for some time and regard the sale of them as a kind of home industry, although they are really of very small monetary value. With their help we are gradually completing our collection. (Turbott to Dyett, 25 November 1942)

There was in some cases a delay of some months or even a year between the arrival at Auckland Museum and the date the material was given an acquisition number. The processing of new acquisitions slowed down with Fisher away on war duties, and there were more pressing priorities within the museum. Fearing an invasion or aerial strike by Japanese, staff time was diverted to packing objects away and sandbagging key items such as the waka taua 'Te Toki-a-Tapiri' for safe keeping (Auckland Museum Annual Report 1941–42). The shortage of staff at the time, and the lack of formal documentation undoubtedly contributed to the legacy of uncatalogued items from Pitcairn.

Dyett, in addition to providing stone objects, was also sending sought-after Pitcairn stamps which Turbott passed on to a collector, possibly in England, and credited the converted NZ pounds to Dyett's bank account. He also corresponded with A.W.B. Powell (assistant director and malacologist at Auckland Museum) and sent land snails. However, between 1943 and 1946 only the one transaction of 11 objects was purchased and catalogued under Dyett's name. In a letter dated 24 February 1944, Olwyn Turbott alluded to his intention to retain his collection, but expressed a desire that in the future Auckland Museum may be the final repository. Several months later, he again corresponded:

Just recently I went through my collection and after a lot of work and debating decided to classify it under three headings – complete specimens, "heads and tails" and mid-sections bracketed with hopelessly broken specimens. The latter I have thrown out and you may or may not be pleased to learn that I have forwarded by the same ship as this letter two cases of "heads and tails" which include 100 complete specimens which for the sake of a name I call awls. I have retained approximately eight hundred good specimens in my collection and as I have stated before these will probably be placed on deposit with you upon my return to N.Z. (Dyett to Olywn Turbott, 23 May 1944)

Fisher on his return to the Museum assessed the two cases of objects as being worth £63.13.0. The financial inventory lists 491 objects, of which 120 were 'reamers' costing at 2/6 each (Fig. 9). The Ethnology Register attributes the objects to J.C. Entrican, an Auckland merchant and elected member of the Auckland City Council (<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc02Cycl-t1-body1-d1-d52-d7.html>), although Dyett is identified as the source in the acquisition records (1944.130). Several noteworthy objects included a side hafted adze (Fig. 10).

Up until this date there were 502 purchased items attributed to Dyett. An additional £62.2.0, for 615 objects, was paid on 23 April 1946 but there is no record of this acquisition being processed. Subsequent letters by Dyett referred to the finding of more objects, with the observation that they were now scarce and that the Pitcairners were also not finding any in their cultivations.

In 1945 Roger Duff, ethnologist (and later director) of Canterbury Museum, entered the Pitcairn collecting scene that, up until then, was exclusively the domain of Auckland Museum. Dyett advised of his interest in a letter to Powell (12 October 1945):

Somehow or other the Christchurch Museum has learned of the existence of my collection of stone impliments [sic] and Mr Roger Duff has been hot on my trail for the privilege of classifying it/purchase same for Christchurch Museum. I have written explaining that it was my intention to deposit it with Auckland... By the way Duff is talking of coming up here first chance but Im [sic] afraid he will work very hard to dig out very many more good specimens.



Figure 9 (above). Stone point/awls. Auckland War Memorial Museum 28968.2, 28326.4, 30155.

Figure 10 (right). Side hafted adze. Auckland War Memorial Museum 28359.

Duff had, on one or more occasions, visited Auckland Museum and seen Pitcairn material. He proposed an exchange of items in 1943 so Canterbury Museum could have Pitcairn adzes of a particular shape. Turbott (letter, 15 March 1944) responded the museum could only exchange two Pitcairn adzes (and one Tahitian adze), and no 'rimers' '[for] ...we do not feel we can part with any more of the Pitcairn material'. Although on the surface all the museums in New Zealand acted collegially, there was intense rivalry to position their institutions as having the best collections in New Zealand (Furey 1996).

The Annual Report of Canterbury Museum (1945: 21) reported that Duff, at very short notice, had been able to sail from Auckland to Pitcairn where he spent only 24 hours before returning. He 'completed arrangements with Mr Nelson Dyett for a share with Auckland Museum of a large and important collection of stone implements which have now been received on deposit.' The distance and time spent travelling across the Pacific in order to meet Dyett for such a short time indicates how keen Duff was to obtain Pitcairn material.

While Duff was on the island, Dyett wrote to Fisher (17 November 1945) advised that 16 cases of his collection (the result of five years' work) had been dispatched:

I have instructed [Duff] to deliver them to you on the understanding that the collection is to be shared out equally between Auckland and Canterbury Museums where in each case it is to remain as a deposit in my name. I feel that the collection is sufficiently large to justify this division and I leave it to you and Roger Duff with full confidence to decide the division as you see fit. ...

I naturally claim the complete liberty to withdraw the collection on demand which I understand is the implication of a museum loan or deposit.

I trust that the collection which has been forwarded in the trust of Roger Duff will be the means of helping to establish cooperation between N.Z. Museums.

Although Powell sent a neutral response to Dyett, the attitude of Auckland Museum to the attempt by Duff to interfere is clear:

If, however, at some future time you desire to realise upon the collection, I should like to know if your previous promise to give the Auckland Museum first refusal still holds good. We are not seeking to spoil Canterbury's chances of acquiring a representative collection by coveting the lot, and I am sure that they are not endeavouring to cut us out. (Powell to Dyett, 14 December 1945)

However only 15 of the 16 promised cases arrived in Auckland, which Fisher and Duff shared out for each institution. Powell advised Dyett that one case was missing, and he replied in his next letter that a case had been lost during transfer from the longboat to the ship, but had been salvaged and sent to Auckland on a later ship. Duff had paid Dyett £6 towards the salvage costs, so although the original intention was for all the objects to be shared between the two museums, Duff had effectively acquired exclusive rights to that case, and Dyett had left it to Duff to decide whether it should also be shared.

There is no surviving correspondence from Fisher to Duff on the matter. However, Duff belatedly provided an explanation:

It was lost in 90 feet of water when we were loading the schooner, and I did not discover its loss in time to check up on its number. As it might well have been valuable (and I had no means of knowing

before reaching Auckland) I asked Nelson to offer a reward of £1 for the discovery of the box and £5 for its recovery. Apparently the reward worked, and the box has been forwarded to me c/o Auckland Museum ... I will leave it to you to decide whether it is worth splitting its contents (and the reward) or whether we [Canterbury Museum] should take it over and the reward. (Duff to Fisher, 1 February 1946)

Fisher was adamant that Auckland Museum would share the contents, and contributed half the cost of salvage (letter, Fisher to Duff, 7 March 1946). Canterbury's share of the 16 cases amounted to over 1,800 objects (figure collated from pers. comm. Emma Brooks, Canterbury Museum; Moira White, Otago Museum; and notes supplied by Roger Fyfe, Canterbury Museum 2016). Auckland's share was 1,854 objects (1947.50) (letter, Fisher to Dyett, 23 December 1946). A further four cases for deposit, numbering 1,308 items (1947.51), arrived later in 1946 (letter, Fisher to Dyett, 23 December 1946) and were retained at Auckland Museum. Up until that time Dyett had sold 1,126 stone tools valued at £125/15/-. The additional deposits (3,162) took the total objects which can be accounted for in Auckland Museum records to 4,288.

In a letter to Powell (20 August 1946), Dyett noted that Duff had not corresponded with him since leaving the island, and that Otago Museum had also contacted him requesting a share '...but I don't intend at the present time to alter the arrangement as it now stands'.

When Dyett left Pitcairn in 1948 he personally delivered the remainder of his collection to Auckland Museum. The deposit of 1,273 tools (1948.154) were valued by Fisher and itemised lists sent to Dyett. These included finished and unfinished adzes, broken fragments, finished objects of unusual shape (usually tanged), reamers (stone points and awls) stone fish hooks, rasps, grind stones, spheroid and flattened stones (hammerstones), and stone flakes. An undated report (likely to be 1953), written by Fisher for the Auckland Museum Trust Board to authorise final purchase of Dyett's collection, numbers the deposited items at 7,009. The catalogued items fall short of the accounted for number by several thousand and it is likely the remainder are in the unaccessioned or uncatalogued backlog.

There is little correspondence from Dyett between 1948 and 1953. He wrote to Duff in May of 1953 advising that overseas museums were interested in his entire collection and he wished to sell it for £1,800. Duff commented to H.D. Skinner, director of Otago Museum, (letter, August 1953) that the price was inflated, and considerably more than the valuations provided by Auckland and Canterbury Museums. He went on to suggest that the four metropolitan museums (Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin) jointly purchase the collection, or alternatively that the Government purchase it and distribute it to the four museums. There is no correspondence in Auckland Museum files related to this suggestion, but Duff, in a letter to Fisher, requested that he (Duff) be consulted before Auckland negotiated to purchase the Dyett collection. Fisher responded that

he would '...follow this course if you agree that we establish the principle that our respective museums do not compete for collections already held on deposit.' (Fisher to Duff, 4 December 1946). The tone suggests that Fisher was suspicious that Duff would try to reach a deal favourable to Canterbury Museum at Auckland's expense, and may reference Duff's actions in originally obtaining Pitcairn material from Dyett.

Duff revised the offer for Canterbury's share from the £600 Dyett requested to £300. He pleaded with Dyett to take pity on the poor South Island museum, after acknowledging that Auckland Museum was prepared to pay more than their original valuation. An alternative option to retain a selection of 28 objects for £100 was also proposed. He concluded, 'well, I can do no more but leave you to consider these propositions and trust that, by adopting one or the other of them, you will seal the initial act of generosity when I stepped ashore at Pitcairn in December 1945.' (Duff to Dyett, 27 October 1953)

Agreement between Canterbury Museum and Dyett was reached in July 1954 for £300, with the condition that a small representative sample was to be returned to Dyett. Duff was reminded over a year later in October 1955 of the condition, and the 29 objects were finally selected by Duff in November 1955. He wrote: "It is certainly small, but if you realised how little of the first rank material remains with us after Auckland's 2/3 and Skinner's 1/6, you will appreciate it is the best I can do." It is not clear whether H.D. (Harry) Skinner, Curator at Otago Museum, approached Duff to obtain a selection of the Pitcairn material, or vice versa, but Otago contributed £125 of the £300 Canterbury Museum had negotiated with Dyett (file notes from Fyfe, 2016) and obtained over 400 objects (Moira White, pers. comm. 2019).

Meanwhile, after some face to face negotiation, Dyett sold to Auckland Museum the full number of deposited objects in November 1953. Fisher had travelled to Wellington by overnight train, visited with Dyett, who was then living in Wellington, and returned to Auckland on the train the same day. The following month the Council of Auckland Museum finalised the purchase of 7,009 items for £900 (Fisher, n.d.).

Harry and Honor Maude

Harry and Honor Maude's large collection of 1,497 items was deposited between 1945–47 (1945.82, 1947.54) and subsequently gifted (1985.46). Maude was at the time seconded to the Western Pacific High Commission and was sent to Pitcairn in 1940–41. His role was to overhaul the system of government on Pitcairn and to establish a post office with its own stamp issue to raise revenue. In addition to rules around how the island was to be governed, and day to day activities, there were provisions for the protection of historic relics including *Bounty*-related items (for which there was a lucrative trade) and fencing around the petroglyphs to protect them (Maude 1941). All adult Pitcairners were signatories to the regulations.

Maude was a long-time correspondent of Gilbert Archey, and Kenneth Emory of the Bernice P. Bishop

Museum in Hawaii, and Emory's (1928) paper on Pitcairn adzes was familiar to Maude. The Maudes' posting to Kiribati (Gilbert Islands) between 1929–39 allowed regular visits to New Zealand for leave, and they deposited Kiribati material with Auckland Museum on several occasions (Woodburn 2003).

Although sent to Pitcairn for three months on official duty in 1940, the enforced stay of eight months enabled Maude to collect valuable information on the island and the residents. Their extended visit was due to reduced shipping passing the island, and because of the perceived danger from enemy vessels, none were prepared to carry Honor Maude and their young son Aleric (Woodburn 2003: 167).

In a letter to Miss Titcomb (Emory's secretary) on 20 January 1941, Maude described how he obtained stone tools:

I have been spending all my spare time studying the archaeology of the island, which interests me far more than the history of the present inhabitants. You ought to see our collection of adzes and other stone material -- Dr Emory would be particularly interested in them. Many of the islanders had been collecting the old stones they pick up when working in their gardens for years and I have purchased every private collection for spot cash. On top of that practically the whole island has been digging frantically for six months to earn good money while it lasts. As a result some good caches have been unearthed and we have now a collection of about 1,500 implements or worked stones of various kinds. Of course much of this is what we call junk - bits and pieces of all shapes and sizes - but among the lot are over 100 complete, or nearly complete, adzes of a great variety of types. I have hopes that this in many ways unique collection of Polynesian material will result in settling several questions with regard to the former Inhabitants of south eastern Polynesia. [https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2240/105816.Part1_SeriesJ_Section14_1941\(6\).pdf](https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2240/105816.Part1_SeriesJ_Section14_1941(6).pdf)

Maude's purchases, and the implication that some islanders had been amassing material for some time, can be examined against the activities of Young and Dyett. David Young was encouraging Pitcairners to look for stone material, with him taking a commission on the transactions, but there are a limited number of individuals referenced in the museum registers and many of these are related to Young (https://www.library.puc.edu/pitcairn/pitcairn/Pitcairners_Young.shtml). Dyett collected objects himself (Gathercole 1964) but also purchased from Pitcairners (letter, Clark to Fisher, 14 July 1948).

Maude on the other hand was a neutral outsider and his official role may have been advantageous in acquiring objects. He observed that there were factions and rivalries amongst the islanders ([https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2240/105816.Part1_SeriesJ_Section14_1941\(6\).pdf](https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2240/105816.Part1_SeriesJ_Section14_1941(6).pdf)) and the trade

in cultural material may have been influenced by this as Young and Dyett operated within their own social and familial spheres.

Maude, who had read anthropology at Cambridge University before joining the Colonial Service, believed the artefacts were evidence of temporary occupation by Tuamotuans, who visited Pitcairn specifically to fell trees for canoes (Maude 1964; Woodburn 2003: 165). There was no substance to this interpretation, although he may have been influenced by Buck (1938) who held similar views. However Maude may have inadvertently identified the function of the tools as Turner (2010) concluded that many were used for construction and maintenance of canoes for local use.

Other individuals

Between 1948 and 1956 there were an additional 31 acquisitions of Pitcairn material. All 2,203 objects were purchased from Pitcairners, and Roy Clark the postmaster. Some of these were delayed acquisitions due to the war disruptions at Auckland Museum, but new material continued to arrive. Clark, who first sent stone material in 1943 had been selling objects through Dyett, then began trading on his own account between 1948–1952, and sold 758 objects. Acquisitions between 1948 and 1952 were funded from the E.E. Vaile Trust Fund and the Sir Cecil Leys Bequest, recognised in the Auckland Museum Annual Reports, but the Pitcairn Island individuals are named in the documentation (see appendix). An acquisition in 1950 [1950.37] was belated paperwork for objects received in 1940 from 'Pitcairn Islanders' possibly through David Young. There is no correspondence with any of the individuals.

Many of the names on acquisition records are associated with David Young and his wider family, but the presence of other names reinforces the interpretation that collecting of stone tools was a local past time providing an income. In total there are 55 names associated with the wider collection (see appendix).

There are also thousands of uncatalogued Pitcairn stone items in the Museum. This can be explained by the bulk of the material arriving during the war years when Auckland Museum was short staffed, but also, the time-consuming task to process such a large number of objects may have been overwhelming. Many boxes have retained the original documentation providing clues to source (Fig. 11), or accession number. Familiar names such as Young, Dyett and Maude are identified, along with the names of Pitcairn Islanders who appear in earlier acquisitions. The uncatalogued material is mostly represented by broken roughouts, stone points, undiagnostic flaked tools and a small amount of historic material. Objects that were considered interesting at the time were separated out and catalogued.

The uncatalogued backlog makes it difficult to ascertain accurate numbers of objects from each of the main contributors and this research has gone some way to reconciling the paperwork with actual object numbers. Fisher's final numbers for the Dyett collection differ in each document, which may be accounted for by

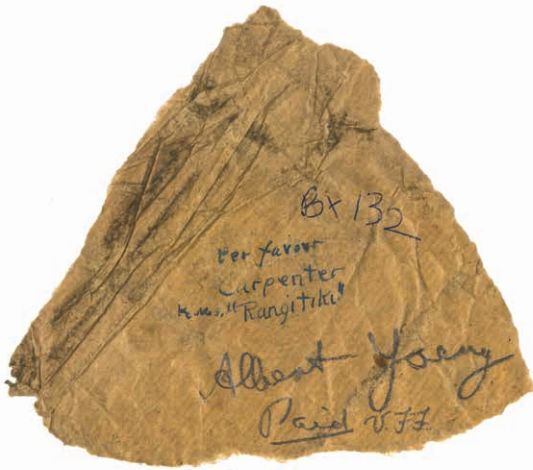


Figure 11. Label in box of uncatalogued objects identifying them as being from Albert Young, delivered 'Per favour Carpenter H.M.S. "Rangitiki"', and receipted as 'Albert Young Paid' by Vic. Fisher (V.F.F.).

the catalogued items, plus the additional uncatalogued objects. The Maude collection suffers from similar inconsistencies and final numbers from Turner's (2010) analysis differ again. A recent inventory of all catalogued objects in the museum's collection database has provided a more accurate number for each individual, and a standard terminology of object names has been applied. Further, the uncatalogued material has been sorted into object type and source where known with an accurate box count.

Collectors' letters provide little information on where the items were obtained. Maude refers to items found while gardening, narrowing the locations down to the flatter or gently sloping land in the Adamstown Basin. Roy Clark collected at Malai, and on the outskirts of Adamstown. He also collected numerous awls from Little Georges Coc'nuts (Gathercole 1964: 17,70). The stone fish hooks (based on where Clark was collecting) may have been obtained from Bills Ground III, where the Gathercole expedition also uncovered the only pearl shell fish hook found on the island. An analysis of the entire collection may also provide information on where tools were collected: in addition to the dark grey basalt tools there are many with a reddish-brown weathered rind with dark grey interior. The localised material from the Gathercole expedition may be useful in narrowing down where these tools came from. Maude purchased items from Pitcairners, but also the hunt for stone tools provided a pastime for the family while waiting for a ship to take them from the island. The ease with which the residents recovered stone material from their gardens and Gathercole's observation that there was evidence of occupation everywhere supports his statement that the whole island could be considered a site.

CONCLUSION

The extensive collection of Pitcairn objects in the museum comprising adzes, roughout, chisels and gouges, fish hooks, hand-held tools, points, abraders, pounders, flaked edge tools, hammerstones and some flakes, primarily relate to the Polynesian, pre-*Bounty* inhabitants. Rectangular-shaped abrading tools known as *yolla* stones (coconut graters), (Fig. 12) have been identified from similar stones taken to Norfolk Island when Pitcairn was evacuated in 1856 (Janelle Blucher, Norfolk Island Museum, pers. comm. 2016) and may relate to post-1790 occupation. Other tool types equate with those characterised in Gathercole (1964) and Heyerdahl and Skojosvold (1965). It is a biased collection in the sense that collectors were deliberately selecting items of sale value and avoiding flakes without additional modification, but Auckland Museum was willing to pay for broken items in all stages of manufacture. The large range of tools, some of which are not known elsewhere in Polynesia, makes this collection unique.

The exchange of correspondence is interesting from the perspective of the changing tone of the letters with Young in particular, and he, Maude, Dyett and Clark each made visits to Auckland Museum when they were in New Zealand. The museum treated the relationships as more than just transactions of money for artefacts by also providing additional services for the Pitcairners such as purchasing requested goods or paying money to suppliers on their behalf. This level of cooperation is not evident in correspondence relating to other large acquisitions in the museum. Collectively a large sum of money was paid. At any stage the museum could have changed its policy of collecting and declined



Figure 12. *Yolla* stone made from vesicular basalt. Examples in Norfolk Island Museum show the stone was attached to a wooden stool in a similar way to pearl shell coconut graters (<http://www.norfolkonlinenews.com/non-heritej-nyuus-heritage-news/yolla-stone-by>). Auckland War Memorial Museum 28593.

payment for broken adze roughouts and worked flakes, yet incrementally it acquired well over 20,000 items, and even in the 1950s Fisher was sending sketches of types of tools he wanted. There may have been several reasons for this: possibly the hope that something unusual would be found and sent to the museum, or the desire to acquire the largest collection of Pitcairn material in the world, but it wouldn't need 20,000 items to achieve that status. Another possibility relates to the fact that collectors were by and large resident on an isolated island in the Pacific Ocean with few resources and little opportunity to earn money, and there may have been an element of museum benevolence in helping out during the war years when few other sources of income were available. Young (letter, 19 May 1939) wrote thanking the museum for providing financial assistance "as I find it [life] very hard in regard to cash". Young, in particular, could be interpreted as having a more personal relationship with Fisher and wrote even when he was not on Pitcairn.

Although the collection has little information on where individual items were found, the overall size and representation of object types make it a highly valuable assemblage. Turner described the majority of the adzes as being flaked, or ground only on the blade, and fully ground adzes rare. Many of the items are discarded roughouts, either because of breakage across the body or the flaking resulted in an irregular shape which could not be rectified by further flaking. Overall complete examples represent 8% of the total adzes (n=207). These range in size from 40–305 mm in length, with a mean length of 120 (Turner 2010: 136). The indiscriminately collected assemblage from the island can be viewed against Pitcairn adzes collected during Heyerdahl's expedition, which are mainly large, ground all over and unusually shaped, suggesting that there may have been a degree of collector bias. This is further indicated by the unusually large Types 3 and 4 (300–500 mm range), which Molle and Hermann (2008: 77) interpreted as ceremonial adzes, contrasting with the same adze types in Auckland Museum's collection with 97–283 mm and 142–302 mm length respectively (Turner 2010: 141).

Artefacts in all stages of manufacture, use, condition and size are present in Auckland Museum and analysis of such a large sample of any one type of artefact opens avenues for research on technological adaptation, use, breakage patterns, stone properties, geochemistry, and mobility of Polynesians between island groups at the centre of Polynesia and those at the margins. There are however few stone flakes. There is no correspondence to the effect that flakes were not wanted, and islanders must have recognised that some of the points were made on flakes. Locals may have recognised the flakes had little value and were not worth collecting, but some unmodified stones with no value were being sent to Auckland and were discarded. Many object shapes are unique to Pitcairn and demonstrate the high level of skill of the stone workers, coupled with what is technologically possible with fine-grained basalt. What is intriguing is that so many artefacts were made on the

island yet so few Pitcairn basalt tools have been found elsewhere. This suggests Pitcairn basalt, because of the geographic isolation, was not a major source of stone distributed widely and regularly through the south eastern Pacific.

The collecting history is an example of past museum practices. The continual encouragement to find and sell objects indicates a belief that the best place for them was in a museum, albeit far from the island. The discipline of archaeology did not reach East Polynesia in the 1940s, and in New Zealand was very different to what it is now: it was still primarily a hunt for artefacts masquerading as archaeology. Islanders were unaware of what could be learned from context, and with no connection to the Polynesian past of Pitcairn there was no emotional or spiritual relationship to the sites. This is best illustrated by the willingness to dig over the marae sites for Routledge. Despite its collecting history and lack of context it is still a remarkable collection of artefacts with huge potential to contribute to understanding Polynesian stone working technology.

ENDNOTES

1. Defined as born on the island and descended from the *Bounty* mutineers.
2. H.E. and Honor Maude also donated a large collection of ethnographic material from Kiribati (formerly Gilbert and Ellis Islands) accumulated during his career in island administration from the late 1920s.
3. It was the practice of the museum to use wealthy benefactors (Entrican in this case) to purchase objects on the museum's behalf. Among other philanthropists were E. Earle Vaile who also paid for Pitcairn acquisitions, presenting 3,006 Pitcairn items in 23 acquisitions from various Pitcairners between 1948–56, and the Sir Cecil Leys Bequest paid for acquisitions from five Pitcairners in 1952 (158 items, 1952.92,114–118).
4. Although Duff delivered the cases to Auckland Museum and spent probably several days with staff sorting and dividing the objects in the 15 cases, he neglected to mention that one case had been lost overboard and that by paying salvage costs Canterbury Museum had rights over the contents.
5. A precedent was set in 1948 of the purchase of the Oldman Collection by the New Zealand Government for £44,000 and objects distributed among the four major and some smaller provincial museums (Neich and Davidson 2004).

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APPENDIX 1: Names recorded in Auckland Museum Pitcairn acquisitions

Pitcairners or significant collection sources

Brown, Len

Charles, Joyce

Christian, Clement

Christian, Angela

Christian, Caroline (Mrs)

Christian, Ivan

Christian, John

Christian, Lucy

Christian, Mabel (Mrs)

Christian, Myrtle

Christian, Thomas C.

Christian, Verna

Christian, Virgil

Clark, Hyacinth

Clark, Norma

Clark, Roy

Dyett, Nelson

Grant, Edward

Jacobsen, Norma

Maude, Harry

Maude, Honor

Neil, Norma

Warren, A.G.

Warren, Burley

Warren, Douglas

Warren, Jennie

Warren, Lucy

Warren, Lyndon

Warren, Mima (Mrs)

Warren, R. (Mrs)

Warren, Wilis

Young, Albert

Young, Bruce

Young, Caroline

Young, David

Young, David (Mrs) (Edna)

Young, Edna

Young, Henry

Young, Hilda (Mrs)

Young, Kate

Young, Leona

Young, Lillian

Young, Norma

Young, Ralph

Young, Robert

Young, Vernon

Other sources

Cole, W. Collection

Commish, J.D. (Captain)

Gaunt, Captain

Holden, Charles

Milwaukee Museum

Ross, Harriet

Saunders, E.

Tyrell's Ltd

Watt, A.H.

