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JOSEPH BANKS'S FORTY BRASS PATUS

JEREMY COOTE

Introduction

That the naturalist Joseph Banks had replicas of a Maori *patu onewa* made in brass (Figure 1) to take with him on James Cook's second famous voyage to the South Seas is well-known to contemporary museum ethnographers in general and readers of this Journal in particular. The example in the founding collection of the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum has been on display with a selection of Maori hand-weapons in the museum's upper gallery since it reopened to the public on 17 May 1995,[1] and the example held by the British Museum has been on display, with a selection of Polynesian artefacts collected during Cook's voyages, in a case in the new Enlightenment Gallery since it opened on 12 December 2003. Moreover, a second example in the collections of the Pitt Rivers Museum was loaned to the Captain Cook Memorial Museum in Whitby for the *Curiosities from the Endeavour* exhibition in 2005 and to the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts at the University of East Anglia for the *Pacific Encounters* exhibition in 2006. The catalogues for these two exhibitions included illustrations and brief accounts (see Coote 2004a: 14, fig. 16; Hooper 2006: 141),[2] while Jenny Newell has illustrated the British Museum example and briefly discussed Banks's brass patus in general in these pages once (Newell 2005: 82) and elsewhere twice (Newell 2003: 252, 2006: 41). In addition, and also in these pages, in 2005 Adrienne Kaeppler illustrated and discussed the example then held at the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution, since 'repatriated' to the Umatilla nation (see Kaeppler 2005; see also Burgess and Billick 2004, Anonymous 2005). This recent efflorescence of interest in Banks's brass patus calls for explanation, and later I attempt to offer some suggestions as to the reasons for it. First, however, it is important to distinguish between the brass patus that are the subject of this paper and other metal versions of Maori hand-weapons, examples of which have been referred to in the literature from time to time.[3]

The idea of making metal versions of Polynesian artefacts actually seems to have pre-dated Cook's first famous voyage. For we know from Cook's own account of his stay at Tahiti in 1769 that he had with him on the voyage a replica Tahitian adze—that must have been copied from one collected during Samuel Wallis's visit to Tahiti in the *Dolphin* in June 1767—supplied to him by Philip Stevens, First

Figure 1. Two of the forty brass patus made for Joseph Banks at the foundry of Eleanor Gyles and engraved at the workshop of Thomas Orpin; 365 and 363 mm long; Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford: top, donated by Royal Society (1932.86.1); bottom, founding collection (PRM 1884.12.280). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Secretary to the Admiralty.[4] If Cook did not already know from Wallis how interested Polynesians were in metal, he soon found out when a prominent Tahitian named Tutaha visited the *Endeavour* when it was moored in Matavai Bay on 1 May:

> This morning Tootaha came on board the Ship and was very desireous of seeing into every Chest and Drawer that was in the Cabbin. I satisfied his curiosity so far as to open most of those that belong'd to me, he saw several things that he took a fancy to and collected them together, but at last he cast his eye upon the Adze I had from Mr Stephens that was made in immitation of one of their Stone Adzes or axes, the moment he lay his hands upon it he of his own accord put away every thing he had got before and ask'd me if I would give him that, which I very readily did and he went away without asking for any one thing more, which I by experence knew was a sure sign that he was well pleased with what he had got. (Cook, in Beaglehole (ed.) 1968 [1955]: 86).

As Nicholas Thomas notes of Tutaha in his account of this event, 'it is symptomatic that what he valued above all else was not an exotic object, but an improved version of a familiar one' (Thomas 2003: 66); a point generalized by Newell in her claim that 'European things were not always captivating for their exotic qualities…they were frequently assigned worth for being more status-laden versions of local objects, already possessing a clear place in the value system' (Newell 2005: 83). We do not know whether this was the only such replica brought by Cook on his first

voyage to the Pacific, but it was presumably Tutaha's visit, and similar experiences, that inspired Banks to commission the brass patus for the second voyage, as well as inspiring Cook to have his armourers make further replicas from time to time on all three voyages.[5]

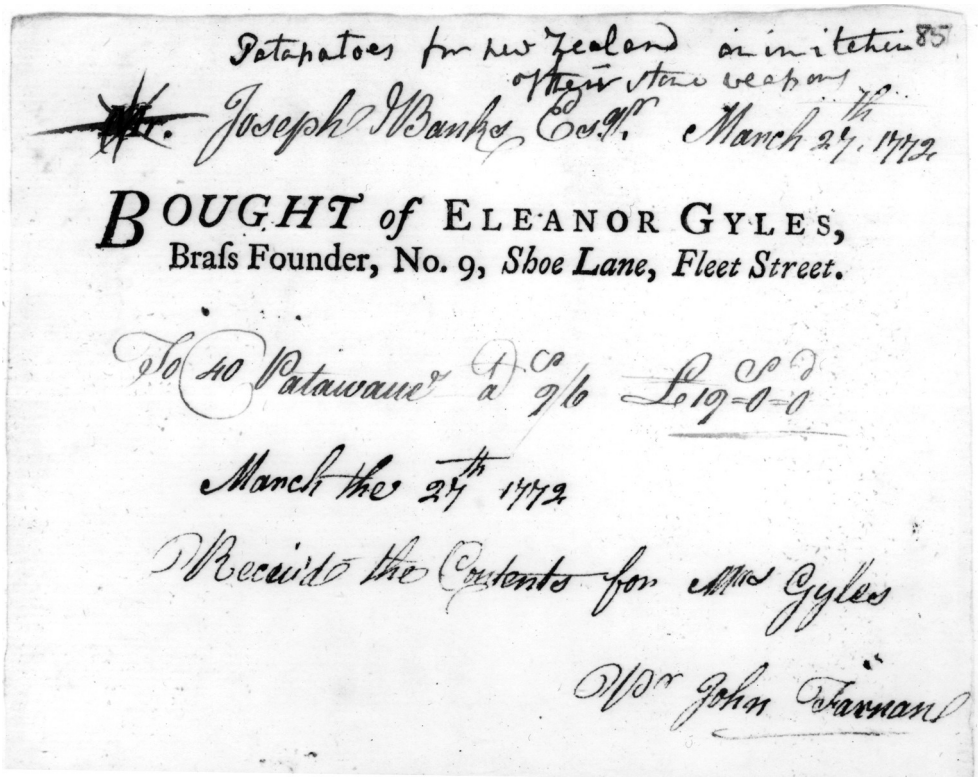
Apparently, however, the English were not the only people to make metal versions of Polynesian tools and weapons: Polynesians made them too. For example, the prospective settler John Liddiard Nicholas described seeing a *patu* made of iron when accompanying the missionary Samuel Marsden on a journey to Whangaroa in the North Island of New Zealand in December 1814 (Nicholas 1817: 134). This was in the possession of the chief Te Puhi who, Nicholas asserts, 'had beat it out of some bar iron' and polished it.[6] More generally, in 1924 the ethnographer Elsdon Best noted that 'in modern times *patu* have been occasionally fashioned from a piece of iron' (Best 1924: 254), while three years later Harry Beasley related how in 1907 he purchased three cast-iron *mere* (a form of *patu*), all of which had 'at one time been painted green in imitation of jade' (Beasley 1927: 298).[7] Some of these, and other examples mentioned in the literature, may in fact have been made for, or on, one of the early voyages, not necessarily one of Cook's, or they may indeed have been made locally as Best asserts. Whatever the case, they are a separate body of material from the patus made in brass for Joseph Banks that I discuss here.

History

Early references to Banks's brass patus are sparse and, in hindsight, generally misleading in ascribing them to Cook. The earliest reference seems to be in John Rickman's account of Cook's third voyage. According to Rickman, second lieutenant on the *Discovery*, the following occurred on 23 February 1777 while Cook's *Resolution* and its consort the *Discovery*, commanded by Charles Clerke, were in Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand:

> in the morning, the old Indian who had harangued the Captains, when they approached the shore, came on board the Discovery, and presented the Captain [i.e. Clerke] with a compleat stand of their arms, and some very fine fish, which were kindly received; and, in return, the Captain gave him a brass pata-patow, made exactly in their manner, on which were engraven his Majesty's name and arms, the names of the ships, the date of their departure from England, and the business they were sent upon; he gave him likewise a hatchet, a few nails, a knife, and some glass ornaments, which he highly prized, though of small value. (Rickman 1781: 67–8)[8]

While Rickman is quite specific about the nature of the engravings on the patu, I find it difficult to believe that what Clerke presented on this occasion was not one of the forty brass patus made for Banks. Of course, it is not impossible that Cook had with him another set of engraved brass patus, or that some of Banks's were


Patapatoes from New Zealand in imitation of their stone weapons
Joseph Banks Esqr. March 27th 1772.

BOUGHT of ELEANOR GYLES,
Brass Founder, No. 9, *Shoe Lane, Fleet Street.*

No 40 Patawaues @ 9/6 £19-0-0

March the 27th 1772

Recd the Contents for Mrs Gyles

p/pr John Yarman

Figure 2. Invoice from Eleanor Gyles to Joseph Banks, dated 27 March 1772; item 23 in Series 06: 'Voluntiers, Instructions, Provision for 2d. Voyage', being papers concerning Banks's preparations for the second Pacific voyage in HM Ships Resolution *and* Adventure*, James Cook, 1768, 1771–1773; Sir Joseph Banks's papers, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. Courtesy and copyright, Sir Joseph Banks Electronic Archive, State Library of New South Wales.*

additionally engraved as described by Rickman. No doubt there were men on board who would have been able to add to Orpin's original engraving, but all in all I find it difficult to conclude that Rickman's account is anything other than a slightly confused account of the presentation of one of Banks's patus.

The earliest 'scholarly' reference to the patus, seems to be in Elsdon Best's *The Maori* where, in a discussion of Maori hand-weapons, he comments, 'It is on record that, on one of Captain Cook's later voyages, he brought out some brass weapons fashioned in the form of the *mere,* he having noted how that weapon was prized. I am not aware that any of these brass *patu* are to be met with nowadays' (Best 1924: 257). Unfortunately, Best gives no indication as to where this 'is on record'. Three years later, in his contribution to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* already mentioned, Beasley discussed the example in the founding collection of the Pitt Rivers. Despite the fact that, as he states, Henry Balfour, the Museum's then curator, had informed

Figure 3. Invoice from Thomas Orpin to Joseph Banks, dated 10 April 1772; item 22 in Series 06: 'Voluntiers, Instructions, Provision for 2d. Voyage', being papers concerning Banks's preparations for the second Pacific voyage in HM Ships Resolution *and* Adventure*, James Cook, 1768, 1771–1773; Sir Joseph Banks's papers, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. Courtesy and copyright, Sir Joseph Banks Electronic Archive, State Library of New South Wales.*

him that it was clearly stated in Pitt Rivers's own catalogue that the patu was 'made by Sir Joseph Banks to take out to New Zealand, with his arms engraved upon it' (Beasley 1927: 297; see Lane Fox [Pitt Rivers] 1874: 78, cat. no. 455), Beasley was unconvinced. Noting, presumably following Best, that 'it is on record that Cook took some out as trade objects' (ibid.)—and under the impression that it was made of gun-metal, the use of which was restricted to the Royal Navy—Beasley gave it as his opinion that 'they were cast in the Royal Dockyards for Cook's particular use' and that Banks had obtained *one* 'as a memento' (ibid.) and had it engraved.

By the 1970s, it had become generally known that the patus had in fact been made at Banks's instigation for him to take on what we now refer to as Cook's second voyage. However, it was at this time assumed that they had been made at the Birmingham factory of the well-known Enlightenment figure and acquaintance of Banks, Matthew Boulton. This was a perfectly reasonable assumption to make, as Banks and Boulton

were known to have been friends, and Boulton is known to have been commissioned to make other 'trinkets' for Banks to take on the second voyage; including replicas in metal of Maori *hei tiki*, though only one of these 'Grean Gods' was successfully produced (Westwood 1926: 8). In 1978, the brass patu then in John Hewett's private collection was exhibited in the *'Artificial Curiosities'* exhibition at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu and listed and illustrated in the accompanying publication (Kaeppler 1978: 6, cat. no. 17, 9, fig. 12). Adrienne Kaeppler was then under the misapprehension that the patu had been made by Boulton and discussed it accordingly. Unsurprisingly, it was also the supposed connection with Boulton that led Jane Peirson Jones to request the loan of one of the examples at the Pitt Rivers to the City Museums and Art Gallery, Birmingham for the exhibition *Captain Cook's Voyages* in 1979.[9] And, it was the restoration of Boulton's Soho House as a branch of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery that sparked Jane Legget's interest in the patus (and related material) and a call for information in the October 1994 issue of MEG's *Newsletter* (see Legget 1994).

Already in 1988, however, Banks's biographer Harold Carter had mentioned in passing (Carter 1988: 258) that Banks had had forty *patu onewas* cast in brass 'by Mrs Eleanor Gyles of Shoe Lane', and slowly this information filtered through to myself and others. Indeed, it was Carter who personally drew the attention of interested parties to the existence in the Banks archive at the Mitchell Library in Sydney of the invoices for the work of making and engraving the patus (see Figures 2 and 3).[10] As can be seen, the forty 'patawane' (perhaps a corruption of 'patu onewa'?) were made at the brass foundry of Eleanor Gyles at 'No. 9 Shoe Lane, Fleet Street', at a cost of nine shillings and sixpence each (i.e. £19 in total) and engraved by 'Thomas Orpin, Engraver, at his shop opposite Northumberland Court, in the Strand, London' at a cost of one shilling each (i.e. £2 in total).

Eleanor Gyles's brass foundry has long gone, but in July 2007 I had the opportunity of making a time-travelling research visit to a late eighteenth-century brass foundry during a trip to Virginia on museum business. Jane Hohensee, Registrar at the Jamestown–Yorktown Foundation, kindly took me to meet her husband Roger at the reconstructed James Geddy Foundry in Colonial Williamsburg, where I was able to learn at first hand from professional re-enacters Roger and his colleagues how each patu would probably have been cast in a unique two-part mould, which would have been destroyed in the process, made of sand and clay from a 'pattern'. Each patu would then have been filed, sanded, and polished, before being sent off to be engraved. Given the marked variation in size of the examples held in museum collections, ranging from 370 to 352 mm in length and from 101 to 89 mm in width, it seems clear that Banks must have supplied two or more *patu onewa* to be used as 'patterns'.

Joseph Banks and the Maori Patu

During his voyage to the South Seas on the *Endeavour* with James Cook from 1768 to 1771, Joseph Banks was very impressed with the hand-weapons of the Maori he met.

He recorded in his journal his first sighting of one near Poverty Bay on 11 October 1769. Some seven canoes had come out to the *Endeavour* and trading was brisk:

> they had many presents given to them notwithstanding which they very quickly sold almost every thing that they had with them, even their Cloaths from their backs and the paddles out of their boats; arms they had none except 2 men, one of whom sold his *patoo patto* as he calld it, a short weapon of green talk of this shape [sketch] intended doubtless for fighting hand to hand and certainly well contrivd for splitting sculls as it weigh not less than 4 or 5 pounds and has sharp edges excellently polishd. (Banks in Beaglehole 1963, I: 406).

When the *Endeavour* was ready to leave New Zealand waters more than six months later, on 30 March 1770, Banks began writing in his journal a summary of the country and its inhabitants. In this he noted:

> *Patoo patoos* as they calld them, a kind of small hand bludgeon of stone, bone or hard wood most admirably calculated for the cracking of sculls; they are of different shapes, some like an old fashiond chopping knife, others of this [sketch of what appears to be a *patu onewa*] or [sketch of a *kotiate*] always however having sharp edges and a sufficient weight to make a second blow unnecessary if the first takes place; in these they seemd to put their cheif dependance, fastning them by a strong strap to their wrists least they should be wrenchd from them. The principal people seldom stirrd out without one of them sticking in his girdle, generaly made of Bone (of Whales as they told us) or of coarse black Jasper very hard, insomuch that we were almost led to conclude that in peace as well as war they wore them as a warlike ornament in the same manner as we Europeans wear swords. (ibid., II: 27).

During the *Endeavour*'s circumnavigation of New Zealand, Banks acquired—amongst many other things—a number of *patu* in wood, stone, and bone, later selecting a representative sample to give to his old Oxford college Christ Church (see Coote 2004a: 13, figs 11–15; see also Coote 2004b). From those he collected, Banks must also have selected two or more from which replicas could be made to take on a second voyage to the South Seas, the plans for which were begun soon after the *Endeavour*'s return to England in 1771. Presumably, there were good technical reasons to select basalt *patu onewa* for this project rather than organic examples of wood or bone—though Banks might have had other reasons for doing so. What we can safely conclude, however, is that two or more *patu onewa* belonging to Banks were used as models for the production of forty replicas in brass.[11]

Banks's plan to return to the South Seas was thwarted when his plans for additional accommodation for himself and his entourage on the *Resolution* were ultimately rejected by the Admiralty. Banks withdrew himself, and his entourage, baggage and supplies, from the voyage. It is not known what Banks immediately did with the patus—and the other materials prepared for the voyage—after his withdrawal, but they were presumably removed to his house in London. What we do now know is that some if not all of the patus were later given by Banks to his friend Charles Clerke

(whom he had to get to know well when the latter served as master's mate on the *Endeavour*), to take on Cook's third voyage in the *Discovery*. Even without any documentary evidence, we could assume that this is what happened as examples were later sighted in both New Zealand and on the north-west coast of America (which Cook visited only on the third voyage), but we also have Banks's word for it (or at least Archibald Menzies's word for Banks's word). For, in the journal he kept while serving as naturalist on Vancouver's expedition of 1791–6 to the north-west coast, Menzies discussed his own earlier sighting of a brass patu in 1787 (see below) and commented how, 'On mentioning this circumstance to Sir Joseph Banks when we arrived in England after that voyage, he informd [*sic*] us that he had given several of these instruments to Capt Clarke when he went out on his last voyage' (quoted in Anderson 1927). Clerke duly distributed some of the brass patu in New Zealand and on the Pacific north-west coast of America (and perhaps elsewhere). Unfortunately, there is no reliable record of when and where Clerke gave them out, apart from Rickman's account, but there are a few recorded sightings of the patus in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that are worth detailing here.

Sightings

The first reported sighting of one of Banks's brass patus was in Hecate Straits, the channel separating Queen Charlotte Islands from the mainland, visited by the *Prince of Wales*, captained by James Colnett (who had sailed with Cook on his second voyage), on a fur-trading voyage in September 1787. Extraordinarily, three eye-witness accounts of this sighting have come down to us. According to the journal account of the captain himself, this happened on Sunday 16 September when the Tsimshian chief Seax (Sa'oks)—'a very respectable old man'—visited the ship:

> one of the Chief's attendants had a weapon made of Brass exactly resembling the New Zealand Pattoo, with 'Joseph Banks'…engrav'd on it & a coat of Arms but the letters were difficult to discern, it seem'd to be of no great Value among them, Iron being the most desirable article, & what they had very little of (Colnett, in Galois (ed.) 2004: 145; see also Moeller 1966: 15, Wells 2002, 2006)

A second account of the same occasion survives in the manuscript journal of the third mate Andrew Bracey Taylor:

> In one of the Canoes was a piece of brass with Sir Joseph Banks name on it, whether it had been left, by Capt. Cook on this side of the Coast, or whether it found its way across the Continent from Hudsons Bay was a matter of doubt, probably it was left on the Labrador Coast for experiment. (Taylor, in Galois (ed.) 2004: 146)

The third and most detailed account, though perhaps not the most trustworthy, is that of Archibald Menzies (1754–1842), surgeon on the voyage, who was also collecting

botanical specimens for Banks. On his return to England, Menzies wrote to Banks from the Prince of Wales, anchored off the Isle of Wight, on 14 July 1789:

> On the west coast of America, in a remote corner inland, the natives had a short warlike weapon of solid brass, somewhat in the shape of a New Zealand *pata-patos*, about fifteen inches long. It had a short handle, with a round knob at the end; and the blade was of an oval form, thick in the middle but becoming thinner towards the edges, and embellished on one side with an escutcheon, inscribing Jos. Banks, Esq. The natives put a high value on it; they would not part with it for considerable offers. The inscription, and escutheonal embellishments, were nearly worn off by their great attention in keeping it clean.…To commemorate this discovery I have given your name to a cluster of islands, round where we were then at anchor. (quoted in Smith 1911: 141; see also Dunbabin 1956, Galois (ed.) 2000: 356, n. 285, Carter 1988: 258)

This last report is odd, as the accounts of Colnett and Taylor do not suggest the sighting took place 'in a remote corner inland', nor that 'the natives put a high value on it'. Given that Menzies owed his participation in Colnett's voyage 'to Banks's intercession' (Galois 2004: 10) and was seeking further patronage from him, we might safely conclude that Menzies was deliberately enhancing his account for Banks's benefit.[12]

The second recorded sighting took place the following summer at Nootka. The explorer John Meares was taken aback when on Wednesday 11 June 1788, in return for a present, a senior local man whose name he recorded as 'Callicum' and whom he described as being next in rank to the chief Maquilla

> surprised us with three pieces of a brassy metal formed like cricket bats, on which the remains of the name and arms of Sir Joseph Banks, and the date of the year 1775 [*sic*], were very evident. On one of them the engraving was not so much injured as to prevent the whole of it from being very intelligible; on the others, part of these distinct marks was worn out. But these tokens of regard were returned to the amiable chief, to continue the remembrance of the original donor of them (Meares 1790: 133)

So, we may conclude, at least four of the patus were left by Clerke during his stay at Nootka in April 1778, three still being in the vicinity ten years later, while one had been gifted or traded as far as Hecate Strait by 1787.

How many of the patus had earlier been left in New Zealand is not known. We know from Rickman's account that Clerke presented at least one to an 'old Indian' at Queen Charlotte Sound on 23 February 1777, and he presumably presented others to chiefs and other people he considered important, but there is no evidence for when and where else he might have done so. I have been able to gather reliable documentation for only two later sightings, though evidence for others may lie buried elsewhere in the published and unpublished literature; and, indeed, in the soil, as such striking objects, becoming heirlooms, may well have been buried with their owners.

The first recorded sighting appears to have been on 24 April 1801 when, during a canoe excursion, two London Missionary Society missionaries, James Elder and

Charles Wilson, observed a brass weapon 'with the name of Joseph Banks, Esq.r engraved on it' in the possession of an old man who 'appeared to be a Chief' on the east coast of the Firth of Thames, New Zealand.[13] The second sighting is difficult to date precisely, but was 'some time' before 10 July 1816 when the missionary Thomas Kendall wrote to Banks to tell him that, 'Some time ago, being visited by some natives from the River Thames [Waihou River], one of them produced a brass maree, or war club, bearing "Joseph Banks, Esq." and your coat of arms engraved upon it.… The possessor would not consent to part with it for any consideration whatever' (quoted in Smith 1911: 142, n. 1; see also Dawson (ed.) 1958: 485).

Reliable sightings of six out of forty is perhaps disappointing, but hardly surprising.14 And at least there are the four still in museum collections (two at the Pitt Rivers, one at the British Museum, and one at the Museum of London) and the two others whose present whereabouts are known: the example recently 'repatriated' from the Smithsonian Institution to the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation,15 currently being held at the tribe's Tamátslikt Cultural Institute, and the other formerly in John Hewett's collection and still in private hands (see Appendix for details). As for those in museum collections, their documented history is limited.

The example in the British Museum was donated by Harry Beasley in 1936. He presumably acquired it after 1927, the date of his contribution to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* about the example in the founding collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum, which was apparently the first he had seen. Perhaps further information about when and where Beasley acquired it will come to light. As for the example in the Museum of London, I have been able to establish that it once belonged to the eccentric collector Thomas Layton (1819–1911), though it is not known when he acquired it.16

As for the two examples at the Pitt Rivers, one was in the Museum's founding collection and is known to have been in General Pitt Rivers's possession by 1874 when he sent it for display at Bethnal Green. It is not known when or where Pitt Rivers acquired it. The other came to the museum from the Royal Society, to which it was given in 1908 by a Bristol dealer and self-styled 'geologist and archaeologist' named F. Ellis. Comparing the current condition of the two patus at the Pitt Rivers (see Figure 1), one is tempted to conclude that one might never have left England, whereas the other might have had more of an eventful life, the fact that it turned up in the major trading port of Bristol perhaps indicating that it had been brought back from overseas. Of those that are in museums today, I suspect those in good condition may never have gone to sea, while those that have suffered serious surface damage may well have come 'home' from New Zealand or the north-west coast.

Intentions

How best can we understand Banks's motivations for having these brass patus made? Clearly they were made to be taken on the next voyage, but for precisely what purpose? And why in this form, with this engraving? In 1978, Kaeppler noted

that 'basalt *patu* were greatly admired because of the amount of work necessary to manufacture them with stone tools. Indeed, Banks so admired them that he had replicas made in bronze…which he planned to take with him as gifts…on Cook's second voyage' (Kaeppler 1978: 190). More recently, Jenny Newell (2003: 252) has written of Banks's intentions to hand out 'his brass tokens himself to chiefs and other people of significance across Polynesia'. More explicitly, in these pages, Newell described how, 'When Joseph Banks was in New Zealand during Cook's first visit, he was often frustrated by the frequent unwillingness of the Maori to give up their ancestral *taonga* for the beads and other "trinkets" he had to offer' (Newell 2005: 83; see also Newell 2006: 41). She goes on to explain how 'metal objects had proved more consistently effective as trade objects though' (ibid.), and of the brass patus comments how Banks 'would have expected them to be fine trade and gift items, being appealing metal versions of an already valuable type of object' (ibid.). In her paper in this Journal, Kaeppler again refers to the brass patus as having been made 'to give as gifts to the Maori' (Kaeppler 2005: 152). Most recently, Steven Hooper has commented how 'Banks intended to take them as presentation items on Cook's second voyage' (Hooper 2006: 141) and that 'they are a testament to Banks's admiration for the form of the *patu onewa*, and also his appreciation of the importance of exchange' (ibid.).

Interestingly, none of the authors of these brief accounts seems to have been tempted to make wider points about Western appropriation of indigenous cultural forms, about the imperial or colonial project, or about the agency of objects. In my view, this is a good thing—it is refreshing how all three authors have grounded their comments in Banks's experiences on the *Endeavour* voyage and his ideas about what Maori would value as an exchange object. We can perhaps go a little further, however, without becoming ungrounded. It does seem that Banks identified the *patu onewa* as a valued material form and that he appreciated the Maori interest in metal. I would agree particularly with Kaeppler and Newell's use of the term 'gift' and Hooper's use of the term 'presentation items'. The patus were not intended as 'trade' items in the sense that they were to be exchanged for foodstuffs; it would seem that Banks intended to use them as gifts and presentation items, to initiate and respond to ceremonial exchanges that would create and maintain relationships (thus, of course, making 'trade' possible).

But, arguably, all this could have been done without having the patus engraved with his name, crest, and the date 1772. Before looking at Banks himself for an answer to this question, we should note that having brass objects engraved in this way was not unusual at the time. As it happens, the item chosen to illustrate the entry on the production of brass in eighteenth-century England in the thirty-four volume *Dictionary of Art* is a tobacco box in the Victoria and Albert Museum engraved with the name, crest, and date of its owner (see North 1996: 341). It seems that this aspect of Banks's brass patus, at least, would have been quite fashionable in eighteenth-century London. To go further, however, we need to focus on Banks's personality. First, we need to remember that in March 1772 he was still a young man. Indeed,

one of Banks's biographers, the best-selling author Patrick O'Brian, has commented how 'in 1771 Banks was…an unusually young man for his age; he had spent three of his twenty-eight years shut up in a small bark [ship] with little in the way of ordinary social intercourse; and much of his time between fourteen and twenty-five had been devoted to botany' (O'Brian 1997: 155). And, with reference to his demands for extra accommodation on the *Resolution* and his subsequent withdrawal when it was removed, O'Brian continues, 'certainly Banks behaved in a somewhat juvenile, self-important way in the spring of 1772' (ibid.). Thus we can see that the man who had these patus made was a person of independent means, generous, adventurous, but perhaps with a rather overdeveloped ego. At this time he did not actually even have a coat of arms, which was not registered until 1781 (Carter 1988: 176), although—as I understand it—it was not wholly improper for him to use the family crest or 'shield of arms' in the way he did (it also appeared on his book-plate; see Carter 1987: pls 2 and 3).

Banks was also by no means a shy, retiring Englishman. During the *Endeavour* voyage, he had allowed himself to be dressed in barkcloth in Tahiti and involved himself in many aspects of Tahitian life. The opportunities to interact with Maori had been fewer, but I see the personalization of brass versions of a Maori hand-weapon and his decision to clothe himself in a Maori cloak for Benjamin West's portrait of 1771–2 (see, for example, Coote 2004b: 112, pl. 1) as two aspects of Banks's desire to enter into, or—if you will—appropriate Maori and, more broadly, Polynesian culture.

Finally, if a little prosaically, I find it suggestive that Banks's sister Sara Sophia was a great collector of ephemera and, in particular for my purposes, of visiting cards. I have noted before (Coote 2004a: 14) that 'the fact that Banks had these particular items engraved with his name and crest…suggests to me that they were intended as a form of permanent visiting card that would serve as evidence to posterity of his activities on the second voyage'. As it happens, he did not go on the voyage, but at least some of the patus went on Cook's third voyage and—as we have seen—in different ways, at different times, did indeed 'serve as evidence to posterity' of Banks's activities, contacts, and connections. As, indeed, they still do.

Conclusions

I referred above to the recent efflorescence of interest in Banks's brass patus, which calls for some explanation. The fact that they have been repeatedly exhibited and published—especially in recent years—suggests that they are particularly intriguing, especially perhaps to museum ethnographers. Why should this be so?

To start with, there is, of course, the association with Cook's voyages and with Cook himself. As is well known, Cook's iconic, celebrity status leads to anything associated with him being especially valued, not least commercially. In her earlier contribution to this Journal, Kaeppler commented that 'anything associated with

Cook's voyages has acquired a sacred *mana* in the Pacific' (Kaeppler 2005: 153). And not just, one might add, in the Pacific. As Steven Hooper points out, a 'Cook-voyage' provenance for a Pacific artefact 'creates a tenfold increase' in its commercial value; indeed, there is apparently a maxim in the trade, 'If it's a Cook piece, add a nought' (Hooper 2003: 6). While Banks is nowhere near as famous as Cook, it is probably the case that items associated with him as well as Cook are even more valuable. For museum ethnographers, however, for most of whom commercial value is of only minor concern, the interest of the brass patus must have other aspects.

For those of us concerned with documentation, it is of course extremely satisfying that we now know when and where they were made and engraved, and for how much—and have the documents to prove it. Few historic ethnographic artefacts in museum collections are so well documented. The sightings in New Zealand and on the north-west coast add to this sense of well documented history, with the unusual situation in which each patu seems to participate in the history of each other example. So, for instance, as the person responsible for the curation and interpretation of the two examples at the Pitt Rivers Museum, I feel that the history of the sightings—and of the repatriation of the example from the Smithsonian to the Umatilla Nation—is also part of *their* history. Moreover, there is the potential expansion of this rich history through the prospective discovery of other examples and/or of other historic sightings. The story of the brass patus is already complex, with the potential of becoming even more so. Banks's brass patus are, somehow, multiple instances of a single object.

We can add to this the general fascination of replicas—along with fakes and forgeries, with their implications for notions of authenticity and originality;[17] the reproduction of an exotic form in a European medium; the engraving, which for museum ethnographers perhaps acts as a sort of indelible label; and the personalization of a manufactured—if not quite mass-produced—object. In these and other ways the brass patus seem to be multi-classifiable objects. Unlike the 'anomalous' ethnographic objects that do not fit categories, discussed recently in these pages by Christopher Wingfield (2006: 60), Banks's brass patus seem to be 'multi-typical'—English *and* Maori (*and* Umatilla?), personal *and* communal, unique *and* multiple, weapon *and* gift. Moreover, rather than being characterized by 'out-of-placedness' (ibid.), they seem to be 'at home' everywhere: in the Pitt Rivers, the British Museum, the Museum of London, and the Smithsonian; in the Firth of Thames, the Wairou River, and the Bay of Islands; at Nootka and in the Hecate Straits; and even, perhaps—*pace* Kaeppler (2005), in the Tamátslikt Cultural Institute of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation

In discussing the iron *patu* that Nicholas saw at Whangaroa in 1814, the historian James Belich comments, 'If museums were to choose one object to symbolize the Maori response to contact, Te Puhi's iron patu might be it' (Belich 1996: 149). Similarly, Banks's brass patus have in recent years come to function as symbols of the British response to contact. Perhaps one day it will be possible for a museum to

juxtapose in a single display one of Banks's brass patus with an indigenously made metal *patu*. In the meantime, I expect that the brass patus made in London in 1772 will continue to accrue meaning and resonance, and to intrigue museum ethnographers and museum visitors alike.

Appendix

Brass Patus whose Present Whereabouts are Known, and their Histories

Note: I have personally examined the two patus in the Pitt Rivers Museum and the example in the Museum of London, and have seen the example in the British Museum on display in the Enlightenment Gallery. I have not examined the example formerly in the Smithsonian Institution nor the example formerly in John Hewett's collection and still in private hands.

1. Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, 1884.12.280; 363 mm long, 101 mm wide, 2389 gms. Acquired by Augustus Henry Lane Fox [later Pitt Rivers] by 1874; given by Pitt Rivers to the University of Oxford, as part of the founding collection of the Pitt Rivers Museum, in 1884. Exhibited: Bethnal Green Museum, 1874–8 (see Lane Fox [Pitt Rivers] 1874: 78 (cat. no. 455)); South Kensington Museum, 1878–84; possibly, permanent display [details unknown], Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, 1884–?; *Captain Cook's Voyages*, at the City Museums and Art Gallery, Birmingham, 23 August to 11 November 1979; permanent display of Polynesian hand-weapons, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, 1995–. Published: Beasley 1927, Coote 2004a: 14, fig. 16.

2. Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, 1932.86.1; 365 mm long, 102 mm wide, 2608 gms. Purchased by F. Ellis in Bristol in 1908; given by F. Ellis to the Royal Society, London, also in 1908; lent by the Royal Society to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1932 (via the Committee of Management of the Lewis Evans Collection; see Gunther 1967 [1932]: 441); donated by the Royal Society to the Pitt Rivers Museum, on 25 July 1979. Exhibited: possibly, permanent display [details unknown], Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, 1932–?; *Curiosities from the Endeavour—A Forgotten Collection*, Captain Cook Memorial Museum, Whitby, 6 March to 31 October 2004; *Pacific Encounters: Art & Divinity in Polynesia, 1760–1860*, Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, University of East Anglia, 21 May to 13 August 2006 (see Hooper 2006: 141, cat. no. 88).

3. Tamátslikt Cultural Institute of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation; 352 mm long, 89 mm wide, 2122 gms. Said to have been excavated in a grave on the shore of the Columbia River in Oregon, opposite Umatilla, by Mrs Helen Kane Kunzie between 1865 and 1895; purchased from Mrs Kunzie for $25.00 by the Division of Archaeology at the National Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution in April 1897 (Smithsonian Institution, acc. no. 00031875, cat. no. A174002); 'repatriated' to the Umatilla Nation in 2005 (see Anonymous 2005, Burgess and Billeck 2004). Published: Kaeppler 2005: 152–7; see also Wickersham 1895, Imbelloni 1930: 334–6, Metcalf 1972.

4. British Museum, AOA, Oc1936.0206.1; 365 mm long, 100 mm wide, 38 mm thick. Acquired by Harry Geoffrey Beasley between 1927 and 1936; donated by Beasley to the

'ethnographical sub-department' of the British Museum in 1936 (see Joyce 1936). Exhibited: Enlightenment Gallery, British Museum, 2003–. Published: Newell 2003: 252, 2005: 82, 2006 41; Wells 2002: 215; see also Greenwood 2003 and <http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/online_tours/britain/enlightenment_discovery/replica_of_a_maori_hand_club.aspx>.

5. Museum of London, O.2543; 365 mm long, 98 mm wide. Acquired by Thomas Layton between *circa* 1850 and 1911; bequeathed to Layton Trust, 1911; loaned to London Museum in 1959; vested to Museum of London in 1975 (see also note 16 below).

6. Private collection; 370 mm long. Acquired by James Hewett (1919–94) by 1978. Exhibited: *'Artificial Curiosities': Being an Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.*, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 18 January to 31 August 1978 (see Kaeppler 1978: 6, cat. no. 17, and 9, fig. 12).

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Notes

1. As I write (January 2008), this display is being extended. The revised display will include a new label for the brass patu accompanied by reproductions of the two receipts reproduced here as Figures 2 and 3.
2. For the record, by mistake the example illustrated in the catalogue of the *Curiosities from the Endeavour* exhibition is in fact the one in the founding collection (PRM 1884.12.280) rather than the one exhibited (PRM 1932.86.1).
3. Throughout this paper, I have purposely used the unitalicized term 'patu', and the Anglicized plural 'patus', when referring to Banks's replicas of a Maori cleaver, retaining the italicized term *patu* and more specialist terms such as *patu onewa* for referring to Maori productions. In using the term 'cleaver' rather than 'club', I am respecting the advice and personal request of Maori scholar Ngahuia Te Awekotuku.
4. While Cook does not specify that the replica was made of metal, it is clear from the context that it must have been, as Beaglehole notes, of iron or steel (Beaglehole (ed.) 1968 [1955]: 86, n. 2).
5. An iron replica of a Tahitian adze, said to have been made by 'the armourer of Captain Cook's ship, for a Taheitean in imitation of his own of basalt', was formerly in Samuel

Meyrick's collection of weapons at Goodrich Court (Skelton 1854: pl. CLXIX).
6. One cannot but wonder if the object in Te Puhi's possession was in fact one of Banks's patus, though it seems unlikely that Nicholas would not have been able to tell the difference between iron and brass.
7. There are two metal versions of Maori cleavers in the Beasley collection at the British Museum, these presumably being two of the three purchased by Beasley in 1907. In the same contribution, Beasley mentions Nicholas's account already discussed and goes on to state that 'Elsdon Best, *Dominion Museum Bulletin*, No. 4, p. 85, refers to the Tuhoe people grinding iron *mere* (*patupora*). Heke is also said to have possessed an iron *mere* beaten out of an iron bar, but unfortunately I have not the reference by me' (Beasley 1927: 298). I have not yet tracked down the latter reference; nor, unfortunately, is there any reference to iron *mere* in *Dominion Museum Bulletin* number 4 (Best 1922), which does not have a page 85.
8. An anonymous contributor to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Anonymous 1927) quotes a variant version of this account without specifying the source, which I have yet to identify.
9. See Jane Peirson Jones's letter of 21 May 1979 to Bryan Cranstone (Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Loan Files).
10. J. C. Beaglehole had earlier drawn on Banks's 'bills, duly receipted' to compile a list of what Banks had gathered together in preparation for the second voyage, including 'forty iron [*sic*] "Patapatoes for New Zealand in imitation of their stone weapons' (Beaglehole 1963: 69), but did not pursue the matter.
11. As yet no *patu onewa* of the right shape and size has been identified in any museum collection as being a likely candidate for the models used to make the moulds from which the brass patus were made. The originals may, of course, have been damaged in the process or for some other reason not returned to Banks; or they may remain to be identified in one of the institutions holding Banks-related collections. An intriguing possibility is provided by the *patu onewa* found during a trial excavation by the Southwark and Lambeth Archaeological Excavation Committee in August 1978 at a site in Hendre Road, Southwark, London SE1 (TQ 3336 7865) 'in a dumped layer of brick rubble and clay, deposited in the late 19th century or later' (Gathercole 1989: 70). As yet, I can only speculate as to how a *patu onewa* given to Eleanor Gyles to use to make moulds for the patus might have ended up in a 'dumped later of brick rubble and clay' in Southwark. However, an initial comparison between the drawing published by Gathercole (ibid.: 71) and the extant brass patus suggests that it must at least be considered a possibility that the Southwark *patu onewa* was indeed one of the models.
12. One might also wonder about Menzies's claim to have named the island for Banks; as I understand it, it was not the duty of a ship's surgeon to name islands. It would of course have been the captain, Dixon, who named the island (which is after all in Dixon Entrance (!) to Hecate Sound) after Banks (see Marshall and Marshall 1967: 96). Probably, however, this was at Menzies's suggestion or instigation.
13. The missionaries' account is preserved in the manuscript 'Missionaries Journal in the Royal Admiral from Port Jackson to Matava Taheite' (School of Oriental and African Studies, London, CMS Archives Journals, South Seas, 1796–1803). In her discussion of this event, Anne Salmond (1997: 263) remarks how 'this weapon must have come from either Uawa on the East Coast or from the South Island, for these brass patu were given as gifts only during Cook's second and third voyages'. I know of no evidence that any brass patus were taken on the second voyage.

14. In an unpublished typescript, Peaches Eaton (2002) refers to a number of other examples of Banks's brass patus that she has seen, heard, or read about. Unfortunately, I have not been able to independently verify or otherwise document any other 'sightings' beyond those discussed in this paper. My files also contain unsupported references to, or perhaps more accurately rumours of, the existence of an example in 'a museum in Vancouver', a sighting in an antique shop in London in the 1980s, etc. etc.
15. For the official repatriation assessment, see Burgess and Billeck 2004. For an 'executive summary', see <http://anthropology.si.edu/repatriation/reports/regional/plateau/patu.htm>.
16. The club now in the Museum of London is known to have been at Brentford Public Library and Museum some time after 1948. The word 'Banks bronze patu' are written against the entry for Brentford Public Library and Museum in the margin of a copy of the *Directory of Museums and Art Galleries in the British Isles* (Markham 1948) once owned by the ethnographic art dealer Kenneth Atholl Webster. According to information provided by James Marshall, Local Studies Librarian at Hounslow Library, until the 1950s Brentford Public Library housed a large and miscellaneous collection of antiquities and books assembled by Thomas Layton (1819–1911). Layton bequeathed his collection to the people of Brentford along with his house by Kew Bridge. Temporary accommodation was provided for the collection by (successively) Brentford Urban District Council, Brentford and Chiswick Borough Council, and the London Borough of Hounslow. In 1959 the collection was loaned to the London Museum, now the Museum of London. The books, maps, prints, etc. have stayed in the borough, belonging now to the Thomas Layton Museum Trust and are housed at Hounslow Library, which opened in 1988. On Layton, see Whipp and Blackmun 1977.
17. In this context it is worth noting that, according to Helen Clifford, 'in the eighteenth century, the idea of imitation was central not only to the practice of art, but also a crucial stimulus to design and consumption' (Clifford 1999: 250). She goes on to quote Sir Joshua Reynolds to the effect that the true aim of the artist was to enter into a competition with originals 'and endeavour to improve what he is appropriating as his own work. Such imitation is so far from having anything in it of the servility of plagiarism, that it is a perpetual exercise of the mind, a continual invention' (ibid.). Reynolds would probably not have recognized the brass patus as works of art, but Clifford's account provides an interesting insight into a world in which imitations were valued positively.

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About the author

Jeremy Coote has worked at the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum since 1994 and is currently Joint Head of Collections. Since joining the Museum, a major focus of his research has been the University's early Pacific collections, especially those that can be traced to Cook's voyages.

Address for correspondence

Jeremy Coote, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, South Parks Road, Oxford OX1 3PP; jeremy.coote@prm.ox.ac.uk.