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# THE COOK-VOYAGE COLLECTIONS AT OXFORD, 1772–2015

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*Introduction*

Oxford is a long way from the sea. It is thus not surprising that, so far as we know, no one from the city or county served on any of Cook's three famous voyages to the Pacific.[1] As is well known, however, three men with connections to the University sailed with Cook and made important collections:[2] Joseph Banks on the *Endeavour* on the first voyage (1768–1771), and Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Johann George on the *Resolution* on the second (1772–1775).[3] Both Banks and the Forsters sent to Oxford—to Christ Church and the University's Ashmolean Museum respectively—significant parts of the collections of 'artificial curiosities' they had brought back; and since the 1880s these have been housed at the University's Pitt Rivers Museum (hereafter PRM).

In this paper I provide an account of the history of these collections since they arrived in the city. The focus is on what has been done with them in Oxford, rather than on providing a detailed account of the individual objects, their meaning, and significance, further information about which is available in the relevant records in the museum's database (available online) and in a dedicated website.[4] A few other objects in the PRM's collections that can be traced to—or are otherwise associated with—Cook's voyages are dealt with below in an Appendix.

So far as I have been able to establish, none of the natural history specimens collected on the voyages came to Oxford.[5] It appears that at least two skulls collected on the voyages were given to Christ Church,[6] but I have been unable to find any record of any natural curiosities collected on Cook's voyages anywhere in the University or in any of its associated colleges. I was intrigued recently to come across a reference to 'Captain Cook's "Kongeroo"' being exhibited at 'the Dancing School in Ship Street' in the late eighteenth century (Munby 2013: 76), but this turns out to be a reference to an exhibition in November 1790 of 'Natural Curiosities from Botany Bay' that included 'the surprising, singular, curious Animal the Kongerrow as described by Captain Cook' (Munby 1992: 264). That a kangaroo and other 'natural curiosities from Botany Bay' were being exhibited in Oxford as early as 1790 is remarkable, but not a matter to be pursued here. Instead, I focus on the 'artificial curiosities' sent to Oxford by Banks and the Forsters and on setting out as far as is possible what has been done with them since their arrival in the city in the late eighteenth century.

## *The First-Voyage 'Banks' Collection*

Effectively, the history of the Cook-voyage collections at Oxford begins with Banks sending objects acquired on the first voyage.[7] Unfortunately, we do not know exactly when he sent the collection, nor its full extent. We can be sure that Banks sent a collection, however, because his friend Thomas Falconer (1738–92), classical scholar and Recorder of Chester, wrote to him on 16 January 1773, remarking 'I was highly entertained at Oxford with a sight of some curiosities you sent from Otaheita and new Zealand'.[8] Moreover, the collection—or at least part of it—survives. I have discussed the collection and its history in detail elsewhere (Coote 2004a, 2004b; see also Coote in press a [2016]), so provide only a summary account of it here.

From Falconer's letter we know that Banks sent a collection to Oxford before 16 January 1773, and that it contained objects that were recorded in some way as being from Tahiti and New Zealand. We also know that twenty-seven objects from the collection survive at the PRM. That there was such a collection, or that any of the twenty-seven objects had been collected on Cook's voyages, was not known to scholars or museum staff until 2002 when its existence was 'discovered'. So far as I have been able to establish, Banks sent the collection to Christ Church, where he had been an undergraduate, or perhaps particularly to John Parsons who had been a close friend during Banks's undergraduate days and who as holder of the position of Lee's Reader and University Lecturer in Anatomy had set up the Anatomy School at Christ Church by the Spring of 1768 (Bill 1988: 315).

Banks visited Oxford on 21 November 1771 to receive, along with his friend and co-voyager Daniel Solander, an honorary degree. It seems likely that Banks would have taken the opportunity to visit his old college and to meet up with Parsons, who no doubt would have shown him the new Anatomy School; and it may well have been as a consequence of this visit that Banks sent the collection. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find any record of the receipt or later existence of the collection at Christ Church, either in the college's own records or in accounts of the college and its history. In contrast to Trinity College in Cambridge where the first-voyage collection given by the Earl of Sandwich seems to have been regarded with some interest by the library's staff and visitors (see Salmond 2015 (this volume): 52), I have found no evidence that anyone at Christ Church—or anyone elsewhere for that matter, aside from Thomas Falconer—took any notice of Banks's collection.

What we know about the collection's later history begins almost a century later in 1860, when sixteen of the twenty-seven surviving objects were transferred—along with the college's anatomical and pathological collections—to the new University Museum. In accordance with a University decree, a printed label reading 'Dr Lee's Trustees, Ch. Ch.' was attached to every specimen, making each object on which such a label survives instantly identifiable (Figure 1).[9] When the Pitt Rivers Collection arrived at the University Museum in 1885, these objects were incorporated into it, along with the rest of the 'ethnographic' material already in the University Museum.[10] We also know that in 1886 the other eleven surviving objects were transferred directly from Christ Church to the University Museum where they also were incorporated into the Pitt Rivers Collection.

None of the twenty-seven objects is associated with any documentation suggesting an association with Cook's voyages in general or with Banks in particular. It was only

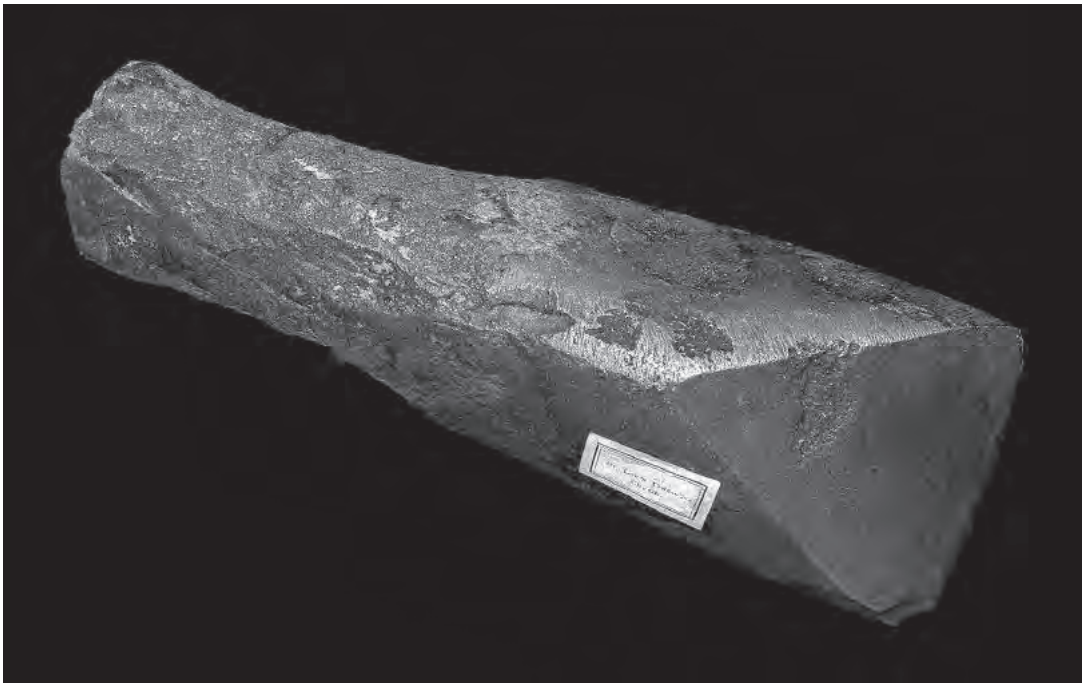

*Figure 1.A* faoa*, adze blade, of basalt, 17.5 cm long, from the Society Islands (probably Tahiti), part of the collection from Cook's first voyage given to Christ Church by Joseph Banks, on loan to the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (1887.1.10); from a photograph taken for the Museum by Malcolm Osman (image no. PRM000012423). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

in 2002 that it was realised that they had all once been at Christ Church, that they comprised a collection, and that they could well be the 'curiosities...from Otaheita and new Zealand' that Banks had sent to Oxford and that Falconer had seen. Although no further documentary evidence has been discovered, close attention to the objects themselves and to the way in which they form a collection has convinced me that the twenty-seven objects do constitute a first-voyage collection and that they comprise the collection sent by Banks.[11] I have discussed this in some detail elsewhere, so will just reiterate a couple of important points here.

First, there are close visual similarities between a number of the objects and those illustrated for Banks by John Frederick Miller in 1771. For example, the Māori weaving-peg (1887.1.715) and the two canoe balers—one Māori (1887.1.381) and one Tahitian (1887.1.380)—bear striking resemblances to those illustrated by Miller.[12] It has crossed my mind that there would have been a certain logic to Banks having Miller prepare detailed drawings of the objects he was giving away, as a record for future reference, but I have not been able to persuade myself that the objects now at the PRM are those drawn by Miller; they are very similar, but apparently not identical. Similar doubts surround the apparent resemblance of the *kaitaka* cloak in the Banks collection at the PRM (1886.21.20; Figure 2) to the one worn by Banks in Benjamin West's famous portrait of 1771–72 (Figure 3). They are certainly similar, but apparently not identical, and in fact it has not been possible to trace the later history or present whereabouts of any of the objects depicted in that portrait (Coote in press a [2016]).

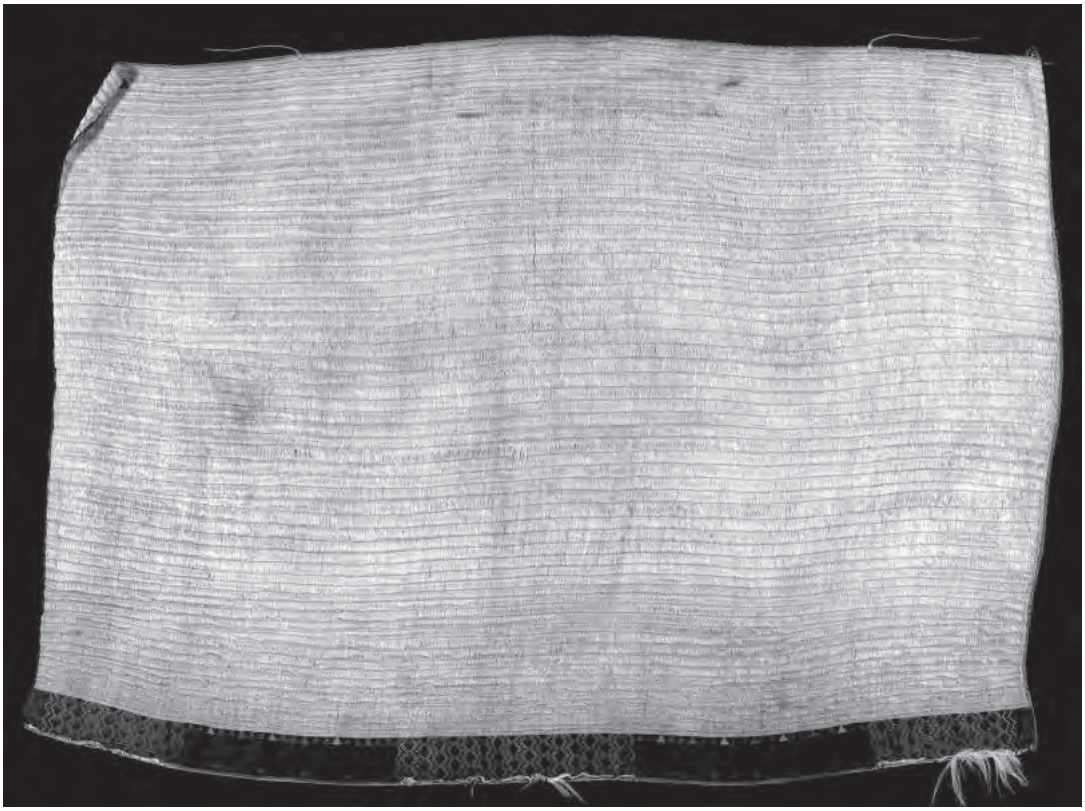

*Figure 2. A Māori* kaitaka, *cloak, of flax, dog-hair, dog-skin, and plant fibre, 178.0 cm maximum width, from New Zealand; part of the collection from Cook's first voyage given to Christ Church by Joseph Banks, on loan to the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (1886.21.20); from a photograph taken for the Museum by Malcolm Osman (image no. PRM0001345915179). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

Secondly, there is the way in which the twenty-seven surviving objects may be regarded as comprising a systematic collection: examples of four types of Tahitian barkcloth, of different colours and thicknesses (1886.21.16, 1886.21.17, 1886.21.18, 1886.21.29), along with two distinctive examples of Māori cloaks (1886.21.19, 1886.21.20) and three distinctive examples of Māori belts (1886.21.2, 1886.21.3, 1886.21.4); one Tahitian (1887.1.380) and one Māori canoe-baler (1887.1.381); one Tahitian (1887.1.378) and one Māori shark/fish-hook (1887.1.379); one Tahitian barkcloth beater (1887.1.383) and one Māori weaving-peg (1887.1.715); five distinctive examples of Māori hand-weapons (1887.1.387, 1887.1.388, 1887.1.389, 1887.1.393, 1887.1.714); and so on.

Taking these observations together, I am confident in maintaining that the twenty-seven objects that survive at the PRM comprise what remains of a first-voyage collection that, as we know from Falconer, Banks had sent to Oxford before 16 January 1773. The original collection may have been larger; further objects may have been lost or destroyed, and it remains possible that there may be others awaiting identification in the PRM's historic collections. For more than two centuries the collection may be said not to have existed at all, and its history could thus be regarded as starting—or restarting—with its 'rediscovery' in 2002. My account of it thus continues below in a discussion of recent work.

*Figure 3. Portrait of Joseph Banks, by Benjamin West, 1771–72, oil on canvas, 234 x 160 cm. Courtesy and copyright, The Collection, Art and Archaeology in Lincolnshire (Usher Gallery, Lincoln).*

*Figure 4. Double portrait of Johann Reinhold Forster and Johann George Forster, by John Francis Rigaud, 1780; oil on canvas; 126 x 101 cm; private collection. Courtesy and copyright, Hans-Jörg Rheinberger.*

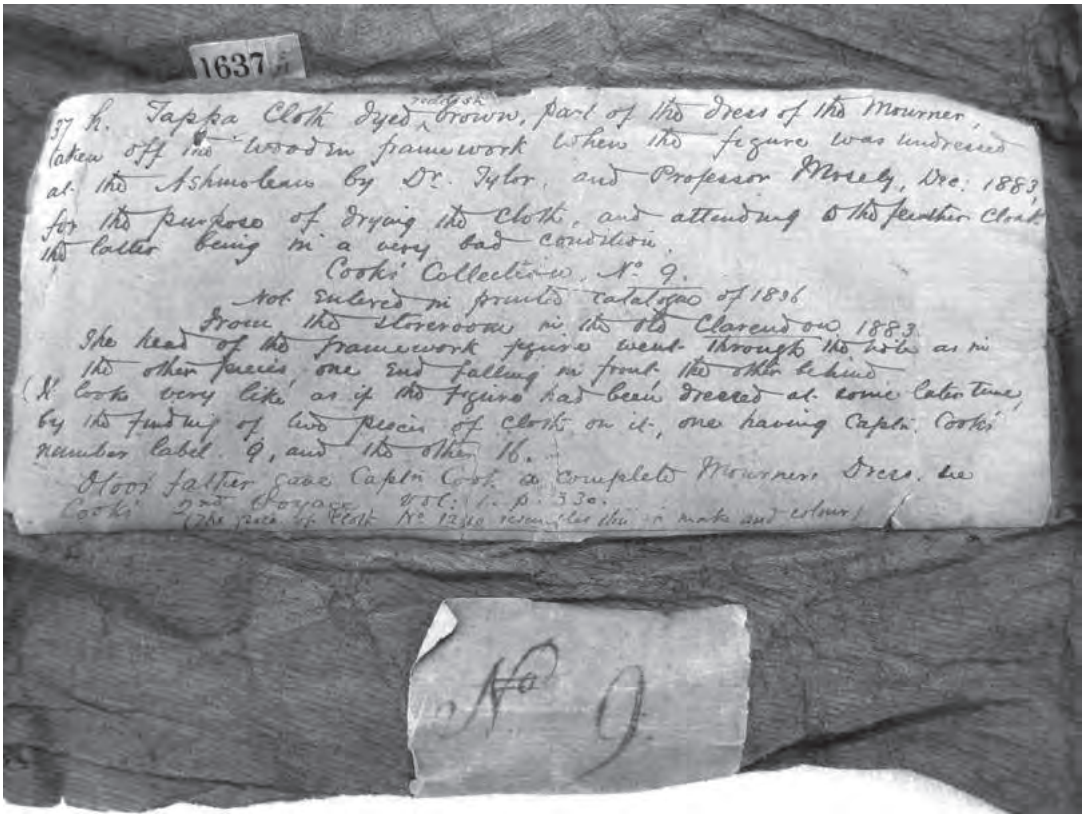


*Figure 5. Close-up view of three labels on a* tiputa*, a Tahitian barckloth poncho, in the Forster collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum (Forster 9; 1886.1.1637.8); from a photograph taken for the Museum by Jeremy Uden (image no. PRM0001301417179). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford. At the bottom is a label inscribed 'No 9'. This is in the hand of George Forster and identifies the barkcloth as being one of three listed in the 'Catalogue of Curiosities sent to Oxford' (the others being nos 10 and 11): 'belonging to the Mourning dress, & put on one over the other, beginning with the white, the red next & the brown over all'. Above is an extensive label, in the hand of Edward Evans, detailing what was known of the object in the early 1880s, including the fact that it was 'taken off the wooden framework when the figure was undressed at the Ashmolean by Dr Tylor and Professor Moseley'. Above this is a small label with the printed number '1637' (given to the mourner's dress as a whole), along with the handwritten suffix 'h', this number being translated into the PRM's numbering system as 1886.1.1637.8.*

## *The Second-Voyage, Forster Collection, I: At the Ashmolean, 1776–1886*

In contrast to the lack of original documentation for the Banks collection, the Forster collection from the second voyage is arguably the best documented of all the Cook-voyage collections. As is well known, Johann Reinhold Forster and Johann George Forster (Figure 4) made extensive collections on the voyage and sent a selection from what they had collected to Oxford.[13] Each object or group of objects in the collection sent to Oxford was labelled with a handwritten number (Figure 5) and then listed in a manuscript 'Catalogue of Curiosities sent to Oxford' in George's hand (Figure 6). Organized geographically, the 'Catalogue' has 177 entries (for numbers 1 to 175, plus 55a and 101a), but lists far more than 177 objects as many of the entries are for multiple

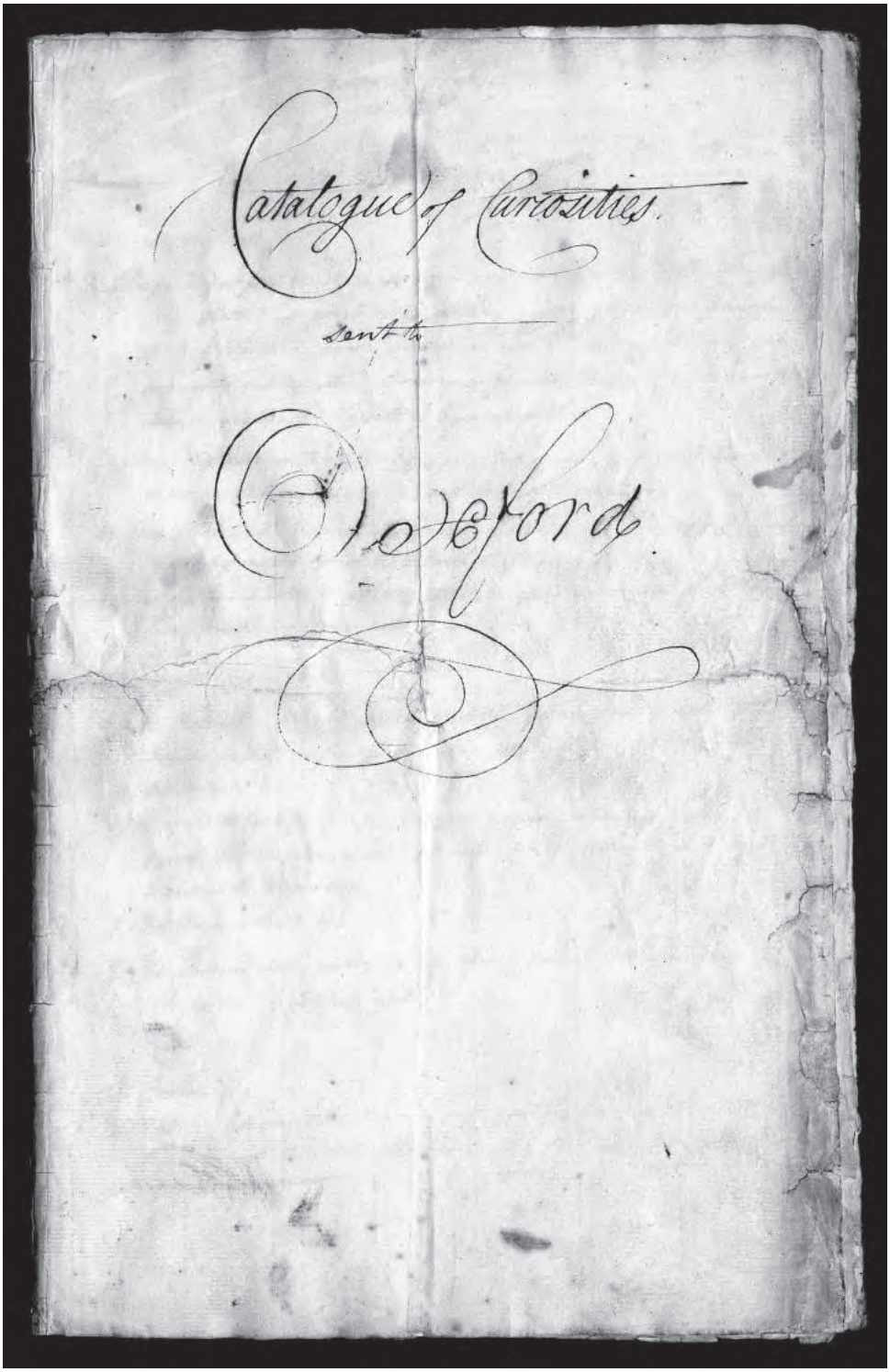


*Figure 6. The title page of the 'Catalogue of Curiosities sent to Oxford' listing the objects in the collection donated by Johann Reinhold Forster and Johann George Forster to the University of Oxford in January 1776; in the collections of the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum (Manuscript Collections, Pitt Rivers Museum Papers, Box 3, Item 1); from a photograph taken for the Museum by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

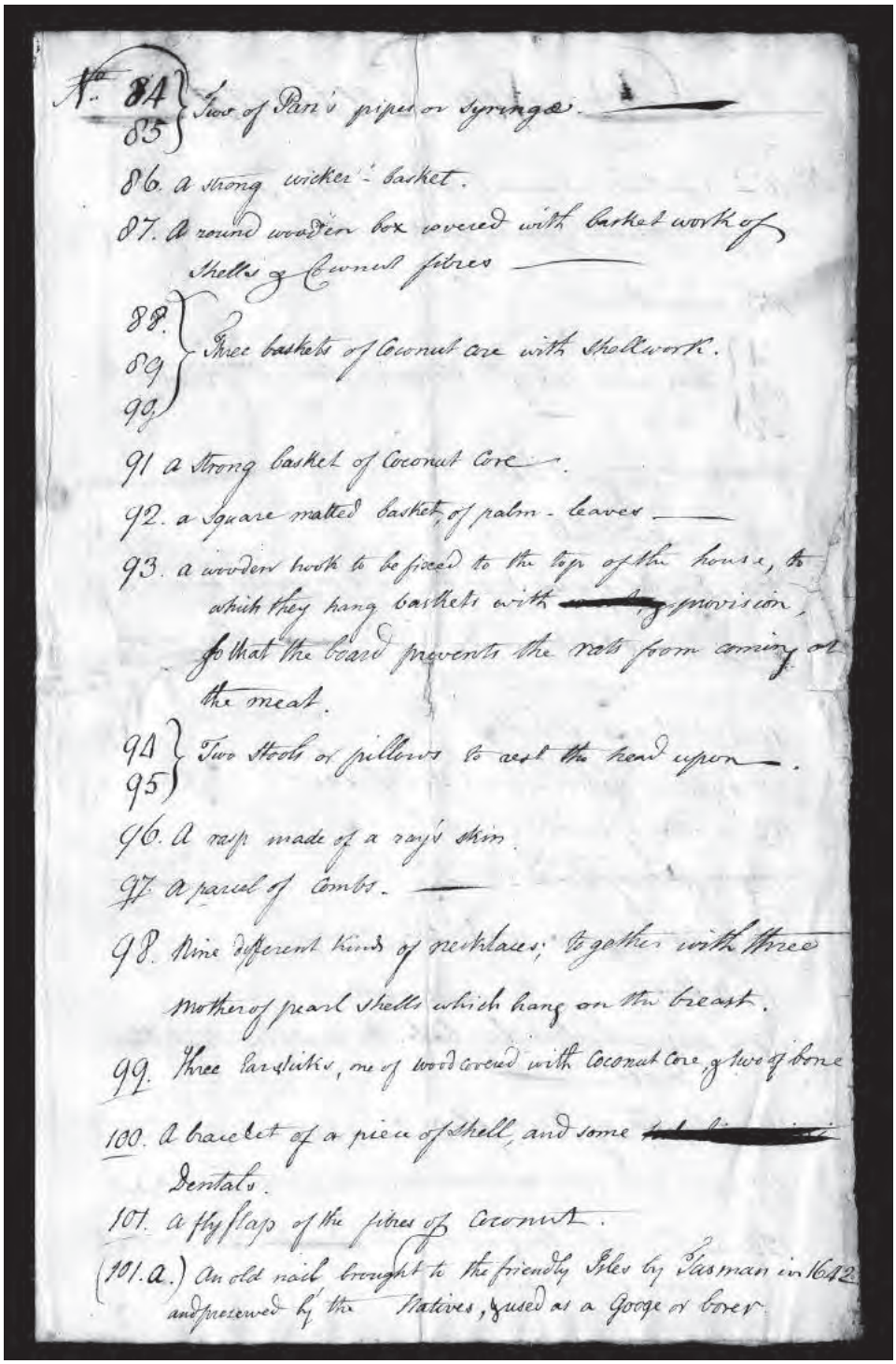
84 } Two of Pan's pipes or syringes.
85 }
86. a strong wicker - basket.
87. a round wooden box covered with basket work of shells & Cocoa nut fibres
88. }
89 } Three baskets of Cocoa nut are with shellwork.
90 }
91 a strong basket of Cocoa nut Core.
92. a square matted basket of palm - leaves
93. a wooden hook to be fixed to the top of the house, to which they hang baskets with provision, so that the board prevents the rats from coming at the meat.
94 } Two stools or pillows to rest the head upon.
95 }
96. a rasp made of a ray's skin.
97. a parcel of combs.
98. Nine different kinds of necklaces; together with three mother of pearl shells which hang on the breast.
99. Three handsticks, one of wood carved with Cocoa nut Core, & two of bone
100. a bracelet of a piece of shell, and some [redacted] Dentalis.
101. a fly flaps of the fibres of Cocoanut.
(101.a.) an old nail brought to the friendly Isles by Tasman in 1642 and preserved by the Natives, & used as a Gouge or Borer.

*Figure 7. The fourth page of the 'Catalogue of Curiosities sent to Oxford' listing numbers 84 to 101a (all from 'The Friendly Isles', i.e. Tonga) in the collection of objects donated by Johann Reinhold Forster and Johann George Forster to the University of Oxford in January 1776; in the collections of the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum (Manuscript Collections, Pitt Rivers Museum Papers, Box 3, Item 1); from a photograph taken for the Museum by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

objects; for example, number 98 reads: 'Nine different kinds of necklaces; together with three mother of pearl shells which hang on the breast' (Figure 7). Puzzlingly, the 'Catalogue' does not seem to have been made use of by anyone at the Ashmolean between the arrival of the collection in 1776 and its transfer to the PRM in 1886, nor at the PRM from the time of the transfer of the collection until the manuscript's 'rediscovery' by Adrienne Kaeppler in the back pocket of one of the PRM's accessions book in 1969.[14] That such an important document remained unused for almost two hundred years is extraordinary, but so is the fact that it has survived.

That Banks gave a collection from the first voyage to his old Oxford college needs little if any explanation. That the Forsters gave a collection to the University of Oxford perhaps does. Like Banks and Solander, the elder Forster was given an honorary degree by the University in November 1775. This may have been in expectation that a donation would be forthcoming, or the collection may have been given as an expression of gratitude. Taking a longer and wider view, however, may be helpful. The elder Forster had longstanding relationships with a number of people at the University, since at least 1767 when he had 'spent eight crowded days visiting the botanical gardens and the Ashmolean Museum' (Hoare 1982: 29). Although he had apparently told his students at the Warrington Academy that the Ashmolean had a 'poor dirty & ill-arranged collection' (ibid.: 33), he counted both William Huddesford, Keeper of the Ashmolean from 1775 to 1772, and William Sheffield, Keeper from 1772 to 1795, among his friends.[15] Moreover, at the request of the Delegates to the University Press, in 1770 Reinhold had drawn up a catalogue of the Coptic manuscripts in the University's Bodleian Library (see Gordon 1975: 103). It is clear that the elder Forster was held in some regard; indeed, more than a third of the eighty-five subscribers to his *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World* were Oxford dons (Forster 1778: unnumbered page; see also Forster 1996: 377).[16] Taking these factors into account, along with the fact that at the time of the donation the Forsters' prospects of forging successful careers in England seemed particularly good (Coote et al. 2000a: 182–3), it is not at all surprising that they gave such an extensive collection to Oxford.

Our knowledge of what was done with the Forster collection after its arrival in the Ashmolean is sketchy. From an account left by the Danish scientist Thomas Bugge (1740–1815), however, we know that at least some of the material was on display by 11 October 1777, probably in the 'Natural History School': 'There are costumes and other curiosities from the South as well as from Otaheite. A man dressed for war, and another figure in mourning. They correspond exactly to the drawings found in Cook's voyages' (Pedersen and de Clerq (eds) 2010: 124–5). One would love to know more, of course, and to have a series of detailed sketches like those made by Kenelm Digby in Trinity College, Dublin (see Hand 2015 (this volume)), but we must settle for the idea that the display of 'A man dressed for war' corresponded in some way with the figure in Plate 61 in the official account of the second voyage (Cook 1777: pl. lxi, facing 342), published five months earlier in May 1777, and that of 'another figure in mourning' corresponded in some way to the figure in Plate 44 (ibid.: pl. xliv, facing 185). Indeed, given that we have no evidence that the Forsters or anyone else advised the Ashmolean on how to exhibit the material, it seems likely that the staff drew on illustrations in the published accounts of the voyages in arranging the displays.

Of the later history of the collection, we hear only bits and pieces. In May 1825, the then keeper John Shute Duncan (1769–1844) reported to the Ashmolean's Visitors (its

governing body) that he could find no catalogue entries relating to 'Otaheitan Dresses' (see Ovenell 1986: 192; see also MacGregor 1997: 600), suggesting that he was aware of the existence of the 'Cook' collection—and perhaps of its significance—and had attempted to find some sort of list (and clearly failed to find the Forsters' 'Catalogue of Curiosities'). Five years later, in an account of the history of the museum, and in particular of the additions to its collections since its foundation, Duncan's successor, his younger brother Philip Bury Duncan (1772–1863)—who as a boy 'had delighted in Sir Ashton Lever's private museum in London, the Holophusikon' (Bell 2004: 248)—referred to 'Mr Rheinhold [*sic*] Forster's collection of the dresses and various instruments of the natives of the South Sea islands' (Duncan 1830: 11–12), demonstrating at least some awareness of the extent and nature of the collection. In the museum's printed catalogue of 1836, Forster's name and/or initials appear against only some fourteen entries, and even then some of these relate to objects that are certainly not part of the collection (Ashmolean 1836: 184). Moreover, as the historian of the Ashmolean, R. F. Ovenell, notes:

> The fact that the German scientist Johann Reinhold Forster, who with his son George had presented to the Museum the so-called 'Cook Collection' of objects from the South Seas, was described in the catalogue as 'Capt. Reinhold Forster, R.N.' is some measure of the carelessness, or haste, and lack of research with which this part of the catalogue was compiled. (Ovenell 1986: 207)

Some twenty years later, in 1857, one item (the Māori *putorino*; Forster 116, 1886.1.1153) was among at least nine objects loaned by the Ashmolean to the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition. Unfortunately, the vast contemporary literature seems to contain not a single clue as to how the objects loaned by the Ashmolean were displayed or regarded, and as a result we do not know whether the *putorino*'s Cook-voyage provenance was significant for the exhibition's organizers or its visitors.[17]

Having apparently been closed for building work, the Ashmolean Museum reopened to visitors in June 1864, when, again according to Ovenell (1986: 219): 'On the staircase leading to the basement there is some evidence that he [i.e. 'the visitor'] would have found, *inter alia*, the collection of objects from the South Seas presented by Reinhold Forster'. Presumably not all the Forster material was on display at this time, however, because in July 1866 Charles Dodgson (aka Lewis Carroll) was able to borrow the Māori knife (Forster 110; 1886.1.1161), the Tahitian gourd (Forster 35; 1886.1.1409), and a Tongan mat (Forster 55a; 1886.1.1177) and necklace (Forster 98; 1886.1.1575)—along with a 'mischmasch' of other 'ethnographic' objects—for a photographic session in his studio near Christ Church with the eight-year-old Ella Monier-Williams (see Coote and Morton 2015). Fortunately, all the objects were returned to the Ashmolean, and all survive at the PRM.

It was also in the 1860s, according to Ovenell, that the Ashmolean underkeeper George Augustus Rowell (1804–1892; see Bailey 2004) began a reorganization of the museum's archaeological and ethnographic collections: 'Many of the objects which had been stored away for safety were brought back for exhibition, but many others remained for several years in the obscurity of the lumber room and the Clarendon Building attics' (Ovenell 1986: 224). According to his own account, Rowell set about cataloguing the Ashmolean's collections in his own time. He does not refer specifically to 'the Cook-voyage collection', but it is clear from the surviving notebooks that the

Cook-voyage material was a particular focus, both for Rowell and for his assistant, and later successor, Edward Evans.[18] In a letter to the then keeper John Henry Parker, dated 3 May 1879, Rowell claimed that the cataloguing was carried out 'at a time when I had no assistant' (see Rowell 1879: 8). If this is true, it would have been before 1872 when Edward Evans (1842?– post 1894?) was appointed as Rowell's assistant. Perhaps it would be reasonable to conclude that Rowell set about his cataloguing project in the mid 1860s and had made significant progress by the time Evans was appointed to assist him. As Rowell was at pains to make clear, the work was his own and carried out in his own time and at his own expense. In a letter to Parker dated 17 February 1879, Rowell stated:

> the manuscript catalogues now in the Museum were got up by myself, not in Museum hours, but almost entirely in my own time, and they are not mere lists of the articles, but the result of much reading and research…. I may also state that, at my own cost, I have made several journeys to London with articles from the Museum, to ascertain their localities or names by comparisons in the British Museum, the Christy collections, and, when it existed, in the Museum of the London Missionary Society. (ibid.: 5–6)

It would be good to know which 'articles' Rowell took with him to London to compare with objects in the British Museum and elsewhere and whether his 'comparisons' were limited to what was on display or whether he arranged to be given access to material that was not on display and to consult with the relevant curators.

What survives of this work is the set of notebooks held at the Ashmolean. These appear to be Rowell's work, though from another letter he wrote to Parker on 21 February 1879, it appears that the entries were originally recorded on loose sheets of paper (which do not appear to have survived) and then copied into the notebooks by a 'Mr Bailey': 'The paper was my own, my journeys to London in reference to them was at my own expense, and the only cost to the Museum was that of the books into which they were copied, and the payment to Mr. Bailey for copying them' (ibid.: 8). It appears that Rowell worked through the displays systematically, doing his best to fill the gaps in the available information by referring to the available literature:

> In the process of cataloguing these objects, many of which lacked labels, Rowell consulted whatever relevant literature he could find, and claimed that in doing so he had with the help of the 1777 illustrated edition of *A Voyage toward the South Pole* established the connection of the collection presented by Reinhold Forster with Cook's second voyage of discovery. (Ovenell 1986: 224)

At first sight, this is an odd remark, for it surely was not necessary to refer to Cook's *A Voyage toward the South Pole* (Cook 1777) to connect the Forster collection with Cook's voyage. What I think is meant is that Rowell made *specific* connections by comparing the objects in the Ashmolean's collection with the objects figured in the engravings that illustrated Cook's account. Rowell would also have been able to consult copies of both George Forster's *Voyage* (G. Forster 1777; see also G. Forster 2000) and Reinhold Forster's *Observations* (R. Forster 1778; see also Forster 1996), but neither of these was illustrated, whereas the plates in Cook's account included engravings of a number of objects in the collection the Forsters gave to Oxford. For example, plate 19 (Figure 8 here) comprises two views of the *toki pou tangata*, or Māori adze (Forster 109;

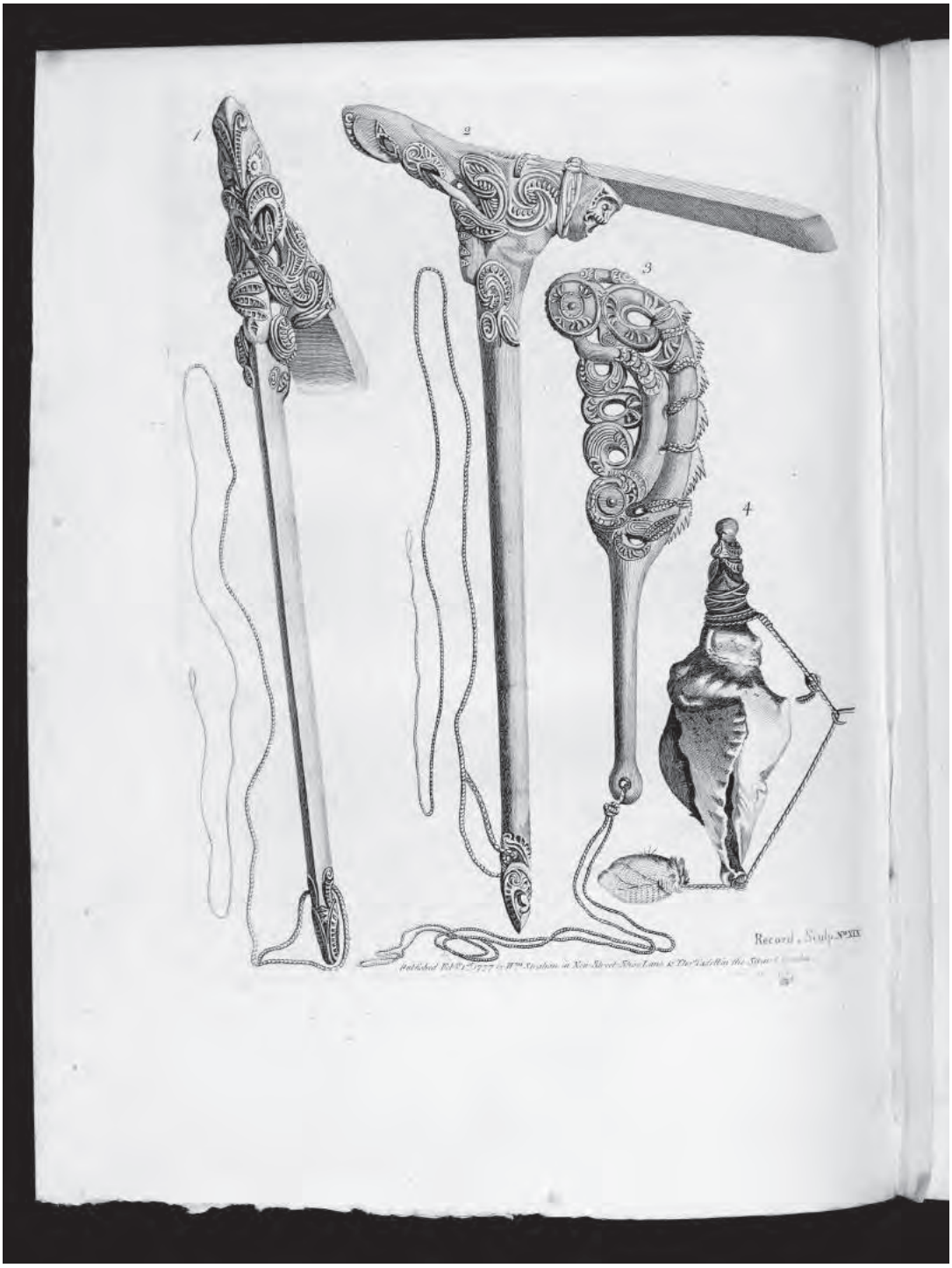


*Figure 8. 'Specimens of New Zealand workmanship', plate 19 in a copy of the official account of Cook's second voyage (Cook 1777) in the collections of the Bodleian Library (900 s. 12 (vol. 1), Plate XIX). The* toki pou tangata, *adze, shown from two views, and the* maripi, *knife, are in the Forster collection at the PRM; the* putatara, *shell trumpet, is in the collections of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge (1925.374). Courtesy and copyright, The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.*

1886.1.1159), and a view of the *maripi*, or Māori knife (Forster 110: 1886.1.1161), in the Forster collection at the PRM (along with a view of the *putatara*, or Māori shell trumpet, that the Forsters gave to Thomas Pennant and which survives in the University of Cambridge's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; see Salmond 2015 (this volume): 41, fig. 2).

As this work continued, the Ashmolean's Visitors turned down in 1878, 'on statutory grounds' (surely 'Oxford-speak' for 'no grounds at all'), a request from the Société de Géographie of Paris to borrow some of the Cook-voyage material for its exhibition commemorating the centenary of Cook's death in Hawai'i in 1779 (Ovenell 1986: 247). Five years later, however, at their meeting in March 1883 the Visitors approved a request from the Dutch government for the temporary loan of specimens from 'Captain Cook's South Sea objects' to be exhibited in the Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling, which was held in Amsterdam from 1 May to 31 October 1883. Twenty-six items were exhibited together in 'Vitrine No. 100' (Serrurier 1883: 214–18; see also Bloembergen 2006) and the Ashmolean was awarded a diploma and silver medal as a result (Ovenell 1986: 247).

Thanks to notes on a few surviving labels, we also know that in December that year particular attention was paid to the Tahitian mourner's dress. This work was carried out by—or, at least, under the auspices of—two senior figures from the University Museum: Henry Nottidge Moseley (1844–1891), Linacre Professor of Human and Comparative Anatomy, and the anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917), who had recently taken up the post of Keeper. According to the surviving notes, the mourner's dress was 'undressed' from its wooden framework 'for the purpose of drying the cloth, and attending to the feather cloak, the latter being in a very bad condition' (see Figure 5 above). Like much of the rest of the Forster collection, the mourner's dress had been in store in the Old Clarendon Building (adjacent to the Ashmolean in Broad Street) and had only been retrieved earlier in the year. Given his wide-ranging anthropological concerns, Tylor's interest in the mourner's dress needs no explanation. The reason for Moseley's interest may be less obvious, but he had in fact spent a good deal of time in the Pacific when he served as naturalist on the voyage of HMS *Challenger* (1872–1876), making important collections—parts of which had been loaned to the Amsterdam exhibition in 1883 (Serrurier 1883: 222–4), and much of which was later passed to the PRM. We do not know what Tylor's and Moseley's specific intentions were in carrying out this work, though they may have been assessing whether the dress could be made suitable for display at the University Museum.

By this time the University had become aware of the need to rationalize its scientific and historical collections, a need made more pressing by the imminent arrival of the Pitt Rivers Collection, negotiations concerning the donation of which were well advanced by May 1882. In 1884, the newly appointed keeper of the Ashmolean, Arthur Evans, arranged for a catalogue of the Ashmolean's ethnographic collections to be drawn up in preparation for their transfer to the University Museum. The work was carried out by Rowell's successor as underkeeper Edward Evans (no relation). Drawing on Rowell's and his own earlier work, Evans produced a fair-copy two-volume manuscript catalogue,[19] which in and of itself is an extraordinary testament to his—and Rowell's—careful and painstaking work. At the same time he prepared new labels, with almost identical wording to that used in the catalogue, that he stuck on to the objects (see Figure 5 above), often it seems on top of pre-existing labels prepared by Rowell (or perhaps Bailey).

Also in 1884, Arthur Evans drew up a 'Scheme for Unifying the Archaeological Collections and Transfer of Anthropological Collections to the New Museum' (Evans 1884: 4–9) in which he discussed the anthropological collections in the Ashmolean that were to be transferred to the University Museum. Second in importance only to the seventeenth-century Tradescant collection in Evans's opinion was 'The Cook Collection':

> The extremely valuable series of Ethnological objects collected from the South Sea Islands by the naturalist Rhienhold [*sic*] Forster during Captain Cook's second voyage (1772–1774 [*sic*]). Of these it is sufficient to say that a selection exhibited in the Ethnographical Section of the Amsterdam Exhibition in 1883, excited considerable attention amongst foreign savants, to whom they were almost unknown, and have won for us the diploma conferring on us a Silver Medal. (ibid.: 6)

Evans went on to argue that the integrity of 'the Cook Collection' should 'continue to be respected' in its new home; that is, that it should be kept together, so as to retain 'the historic and geographic value which it now possesses' (ibid.: 7). As it happens, this is what has been done—more or less—ever since.

### *The Second-Voyage, Forster Collection, II: At the PRM, 1886–1970*

Though a few pieces now identified as being part of the Forster collection had been transferred earlier in the year, the bulk of what was referred to at the time as 'Captain Cook's Collection' was transferred to the University Museum on Monday 19 April 1886. There it was incorporated—along with the other ethnographic material already in the University's collections—into the newly arrived Pitt Rivers Collection, to house which a new museum was built on to the back of the University Museum. As is well known, from the PRM's beginnings and throughout its history its displays have been organized primarily by type and function, rather than by geographical or cultural origin (O'Hanlon 2014). Through the earliest decades, objects were arranged typologically—that is, in evolutionary series from 'simple' to 'complex'—though later these series were dismantled and the displays reorganized to illustrate and celebrate human creativity and ingenuity cross-culturally rather than to demonstrate supposed evolutionary sequences. Right from the start, however, and as Evans had argued, the 'integrity' of 'the Cook collection' was maintained. Of course, quite what 'the Cook collection' comprised—its nature and extent—was not known, but it was recognized that there was a collection and that its 'integrity' should be respected. Indeed, we know from a letter Moseley wrote to William Gamlen (Secretary to the Curators of the University Chest) that by 1 November 1886 'that portion of the objects received from the Ashmolean Museum which is known as "Captain Cook's collection" has been arranged in a case formerly used for ethnological objects in the General Museum not a new one purchased for the purpose'.[20] Previously, this has been taken to mean that a 'Cook-voyage' display was mounted in the 'General Museum'—that is, the University Museum—rather than the PRM,[21] but I now think it should be taken to mean that a case that had previously been used in the University Museum for 'ethnological objects' was reused in the PRM. Indeed, I take it to be the display visible in Figure 9, which was located just inside the entrance to the PRM, where it would have been visible to 'Members of the University,

*Figure 9. View of part of the display of the Forster collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum, headed '[COLLECT]ED DURING VOYAGES OF CAPT. C[OOK]', in about 1900; from a glass plate photograph taken for the Museum by Alfred Robinson (B67.N19). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

and Visitors introduced by them' when the ground floor (or 'Court') was first opened in February 1887.[22]

This continuing idea that 'the Cook collection' should be treated differently and kept together was set out by the PRM's first curator Henry Balfour in a letter to F. C. Conybeare on 20 December 1895. Returning to Conybeare a copy of Alexander Shaw's *A Catalogue of the Different Specimens of Cloth Collected in the Three Voyages of Captain Cook* (Shaw 1787) that he had borrowed (see Appendix below; see also Kaeppler 2015 [this volume]: 286, fig. 17), Balfour wrote:

> I return you your copy of Cook's Tapa book, and thank you very much for the loan of it. If at any time you should think of parting with it, let me suggest that it would find an excellent home with the fine series of specimens brought home by Capt. Cook, which is in this Museum under my care, & which is kept in a series by itself instead of its specimens being scattered throughout the cases in the Museum. These things are so interesting that I thought it well to keep them all together at any rate until a complete catalogue can be published of them.[23]

Balfour's application of the term 'series' to the culturally and materially varied objects in the Forster collection seems odd today, but made perfect sense at a time when everything else was organized in (evolutionary) series. Quite what Balfour meant by 'so interesting', however, is unclear.

Fortunately, he explicated his position in print two years later, remarking how 'the objects collected during the voyages of Captain Cook…are kept together as being interesting not only as a memorial of the great navigator, but also as to some extent illustrating the condition of indigenous culture of certain savage races before the advent of the white man' (Balfour 1897a: 54). From the surviving photograph of what appears to be half of the display (Figure 9 above), we know that the 'memorial' aspect was integral to its title '[Collect]ed during voyages of Capt. C[ook]'. Leaving aside any comment on his choice of vocabulary, the fact that Balfour regarded the display as 'illustrating the condition of indigenous culture of certain savage races before the advent of the white man' may be taken as evidence of his awareness of the importance of the collection for understanding Pacific cultures before contact with Europeans—and, perhaps, of the fact that the vast majority of the ethnographic material in the museum, from across the world, had been acquired after long and extensive contact.

In his annual report for the year 1896, Balfour (1897b: 623) discusses changes to the displays in the museum and notes that 'some important additions were made to the collection of objects obtained in the Pacific during the voyages of Captain Cook' but, frustratingly, without saying what they were. This might be taken to mean that he had identified the first-voyage objects in the collection transferred from Christ Church, but there is no evidence that he identified any of this material as having been collected on Cook's voyages, or that any of it was included in that display. What probably happened is that he found a way of adding to the display more of the objects in 'the Cook collection' transferred from the Ashmolean.[24]

Whatever the case, so far as we know, no further change was made to this display until 1940 when, according to another annual report, due to the danger of damage being caused by bombing 'some of the very rare old collections' were 'divided into several places' to lessen the chances of their all being destroyed (Penniman 1942: 242). The collections remained in Oxford, however, so that they could be checked on from

*Figure 10.View of the display of part of the Forster collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum, in 1964; from a photograph taken for the Museum by Peter Narracott (PRM negative 64.7.19). Courtesy of the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

time to time (ibid.). Indeed, it is clear from an exchange of letters in October 1944 between PRM staff member Beatrice Blackwood and Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) concerning the Tahitian mourner's dress that it at least was close at hand.[25]

No mention is made in the annual reports of the return of the collection after the war, though it was presumably returned soon after the end of hostilities in 1945. It is also clear that it was not put back on exhibition as a collection, though space may have been found in which to add particular pieces to existing displays. It would not, of course, have been easy to find space for such large items as the Tahitian mourner's dress and warrior's helmet or *fau*. In 1951/1952, however, museum technician H. F. Walters 'found time to make a large new display case for one of the enormous head-dresses from the Society Islands brought back by Captain Cook, and to find a suitable place to show it' (Penniman 1953: 554). This can be seen to the left in Figure 10, a photograph taken in 1964 before the displays in this area were dismantled in order to create a shop and reception area in conjunction with a new special exhibition gallery (Coote and Morton 2000). As the photograph demonstrates, the mourner's dress was also displayed in this area, along with a second mask and breastplate from a mourner's dress with an unknown history (1886.1.1637.3.2, 1886.1.1637.2.2; see Appendix below). It is not clear from what Penniman says in his annual report, but these may have been put back on display at the same time as the *fau*.

Although this small series of displays must have been very striking, it was not a display of 'the Cook collection', which, unlike his predecessor Balfour, Penniman does not seem to have been concerned to keep together. As Ernest Stanley Dodge (Director of the Peabody Museum in Salem) noted after his visit to Europe in the

summer of 1961 to survey the Cook-voyage collections across the continent, 'because of the typological arrangement of material at the Pitt-Rivers, the specimens, of which there are outstanding and unique examples, are scattered throughout the collections' (Dodge 1966: 9). Penniman did, however, arrange for a separate list of the collection to be prepared. According to another annual report, it was to deal with the visit of an interested researcher, presumably that of Irmgard Moschner of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna in May 1956,[26] that Beatrice Blackwood compiled 'a special card index…of objects in the Cook collection' (Penniman 1957: 656).

### *The Second-Voyage, Forster Collection, III: At the PRM, 1968–1994*

So matters rested until 1968 when Peter Gathercole, newly appointed lecturer in ethnology at the PRM, was charged by Bernard Fagg, Penniman's successor as curator, with mounting a special exhibition of 'the Cook collection' as the museum's contribution to commemorating the bicentenary of the voyages. This was to be the second in a series of special exhibitions in the newly constructed space at the entrance to the museum. The first, *Art of the Guinea Coast*, had been designed to show off some of the riches of the collection and to demonstrate what it would be possible to do in the new museum that Fagg wanted to build (see Coote and Morton 2000). Similarly, Fagg conceived of a special exhibition of 'the Cook collection' as an opportunity to demonstrate the importance of the PRM's collections to prospective donors and to the wider university. I have discussed Gathercole's exhibition in detail elsewhere (Coote 2005), so provide only a brief account of it here.

Gathercole's starting-point for his work on the collection was the card index that Blackwood had compiled. Fortunately, within a year this important but partial and limited resource was supplemented by Kaeppler's 'discovery' in August 1969 of the Forsters' manuscript 'Catalogue'. Access to the Forsters' list transformed understanding of the nature and extent of the collection. It was no longer a somewhat vague 'Cook' collection, it was 'The Forster Collection'—listed and numbered in a contemporary manuscript compiled by the very people who had collected the objects 'in the field'. Though the wider context of Cook's voyages was still relevant, of course, it was now possible for Gathercole and his colleagues to focus on exhibiting a *particular* collection. A number of items could not be found, and there was a degree of uncertainty about the identification of others, but the preparatory work and the exhibition itself were now focused in a way that could not have been imagined before the discovery of the manuscript 'Catalogue of Curiosities'.

Entitled *'From the Islands of the South Seas, 1773–4': An Exhibition of a Collection Made on Capn Cook's Second Voyage of Discovery by J. R. Forster*, the exhibition opened on 1 May 1970 (Figure 11). It was accompanied by the 'pocket quarto' *A Short Guide* (Gathercole no date [1970]) containing an annotated transcription of the Forster manuscript, and Kaeppler gave a special lecture (published as Kaeppler 1971). By the time the exhibition opened, however, Gathercole knew that he was to be leaving the PRM later in the year to take up the post of Curator of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (as it then was). Thus, although he continued to take a particular interest in the collection, an important paper on 'The Significance for Polynesian Ethnology of the Forster Collection at Oxford', given in Canberra in

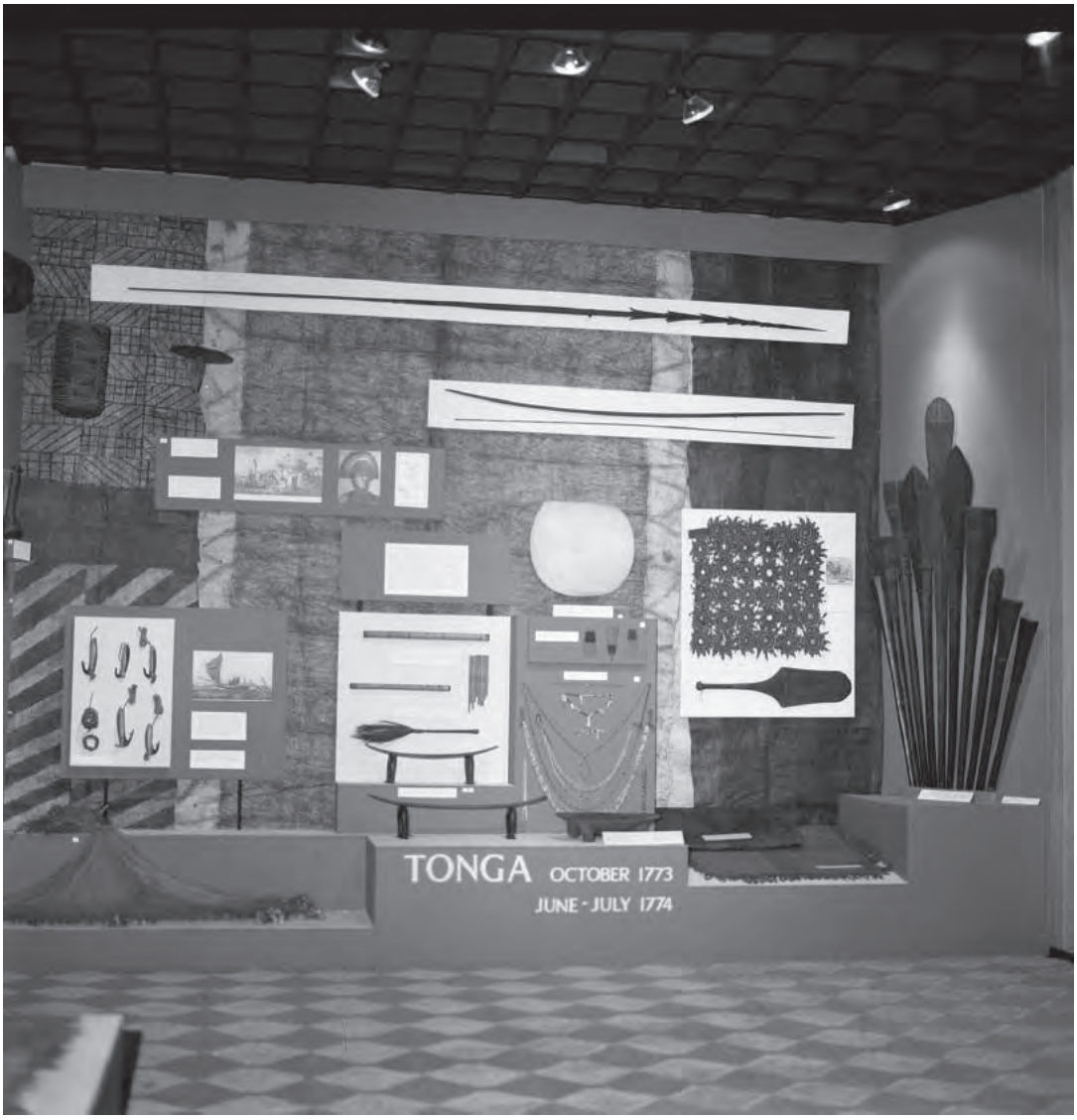


*Figure 11. View of the Tongan section of the exhibition* 'From the Islands of the South Seas, 1773–4' *(1970–1971); from a 35 mm colour transparency taken for the Museum by Peter Narracott (image no. PRM000074581). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

January 1971, remained unpublished until 2004 (Gathercole 1971, 2004)—and with the passing of time the prospect of a catalogue of the PRM's Forster collection being published became ever-more remote.

The special exhibition was dismantled some time towards the end of 1971 and a smaller 'permanent' version installed on the lower gallery. Once again, therefore, the PRM's 'Cook' collection had its own place among the displays that were otherwise organized by type. After Gathercole's departure, however, the collection was no longer a focus of research for any member of the museum's staff, though it continued to be drawn on by researchers and curators elsewhere. In 1972, for example, ten items were loaned to the Musée de l'Homme in Paris for the exhibition *La Découverte de la Polynésie*

(see Société des Amis du Musée de l'Homme 1972). In 1978 five objects were loaned to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu for its *'Artificial Curiosities'* exhibition and, of course, Kaeppler listed everything in the Forster manuscript—including things that were 'missing'; that is, that could not then be found in the PRM's collections—in the accompanying catalogue (Kaeppler 1978). The following year, five objects were loaned to the British Museum for its *Captain Cook in the South Seas* exhibition at the Museum of Mankind (see Newell 2015 (this volume): 22), and in 1989 the mourner's dress was loaned to the National Maritime Museum for its exhibition *Mutiny on the Bounty, 1789–1989* (see Prenctice 1989: xiii, no. 69). Through these exhibitions and related publications, the Forster collection began to become well known to both researchers and the wider public.

## *The Cook-Voyage Collections at the PRM, 1994–2015*

So matters stood until the mid-1990s. When I joined the staff of the PRM in early 1994, I knew little about the 'Cook' collection but quickly realized its potential for taking forward my own interests in documentation and the history of collections. As it happened, I was also at the time working with Gathercole on the coverage of the Pacific in the Grove/Macmillan *Dictionary of Art*, for which he was the Area Adviser and I was the Area Editor. Generously, but characteristically, Gathercole encouraged my interest, which was stimulated further by a visit to the PRM by Anne D'Alleva in June 1994 during her doctoral research on eighteenth-century collections from Tahiti (see D'Alleva 1997), for which the Forster collection was of course extremely important—and a visit in November from Māori scholar Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, who taught me how much I had to learn about the importance of the Māori collections. Thus I began to pick up the threads of the work that Gathercole and Kaeppler had begun in the late 1960s; and, thanks to a series of successful grant applications, it was possible to begin to take things forward once again. Thanks to work funded by grants from the Hulme University Fund and the South Eastern Museums Service, in 1996 a small, full-colour 'concertina-format' booklet was published by the museum (Coote 1996), in 1996–97 all the paper records for the collection were computerized (see Coote et al. 1999: 56–62), and in 2000 a new account of the original documentation was published (Coote et al. 2000a; see also Coote et al. 2000b).

As quoted above, in 1895 Balfour had told Conybeare that 'these things are so interesting that I thought it well to keep them all together at any rate until a complete catalogue can be published of them'. There is nothing in the PRM's records to suggest that Balfour made any attempt towards publishing 'a complete catalogue'. Nor, it seems, did Penniman. In 1970, however, Gathercole and Kaeppler did plan to publish a catalogue of the Forster collection. This was signalled in the PRM's annual report for 1969–1970 (Fagg 1971: 122) and noted in various publications (see, for example, Gathercole no date [1970], Kaeppler 1972: 196, n. 4). Gathercole's move to Cambridge and the demands of his new job made this impossible and, of course, both Gathercole and Kaeppler went on to make major contributions to the study of Cook-voyage collections in different ways. By the late 1990s, I had begun to think about the possibility of publishing the collection myself, but decided to seek to do so online rather than conventionally. The new digital technology seemed to offer the opportunity

to publish a *working* catalogue that could be amended, enhanced, and developed over time, and which could be far more copiously illustrated than a conventional publication. With funding from the Jerwood/MGC Cataloguing Grants Scheme 1997–98, my PRM colleague Haas Ezzet and I worked with the University's Humanities Computing Development Team (HCDT) to develop *The Forster Collection* website (Coote (ed.) 2001–2012). The 'heart' of the site was a database of the Forster collection, but the site also provided information about the collectors, the history of the collection, numerous illustrations, a digitized version of the 'Catalogue of Curiosities sent to Oxford', further readings, a bibliography, and links to related websites.

In the meantime, in June 2000 I received a proposal from artists Christine Hellyar and Maureen Lander to research the Forster collection and to create a related art installation in the museum. Given the quality of the concept and the work, and the fact that the PRM had been collaborating with visual artists since the mid-1980s, it was not hard for me to convince my colleagues that we should respond positively to their proposal. Entitled *Mrs Cook's Kete* (2002–3), Hellyar's and Lander's installation comprised objects from the collection that Cook's wife Elizabeth had acquired, unbeknownst to scholars, on the *Endeavour* voyage, which had recently been found in some *kete*, Māori flax bags, in the attic of her home in Clapham. In a dispersed installation that commented on and gently questioned the undeniably male-gendered nature of the Cook-voyage collections in general and those at the PRM in particular (as well as the related literature), colourful bags, drawings, plant specimens, and string figures were placed around the museum, inside permanent displays, on top of and around other cases, as well as being exhibited more formally in two dedicated cases (see Figure 12).[27]

The prospect of working with Hellyar and Lander on *Mrs Cook's Kete* was one of the things that inspired yet a further application, in August 2001, to the Innovation Awards Scheme of the Arts and Humanities Research Board for 'Pacific Pathways: Multiplying Contexts for the Forster ("Cook-Voyage") Collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum'. The aim of this project was to take forward, enhance, and update the work already carried out for the *The Forster Collection* site and to work with the HCDT again to develop a facility that would allow anyone with access to the Internet to add their own 'paths'—comprising texts, images, audio, and video—to the site, thus providing the means for others to comment on and interpret the collection, its history, meaning, and contemporary significance. To launch the new resource, paths were commissioned from Vanessa Agnew, Anne D'Alleva, Peter Gathercole, Christine Hellyar, Adrienne L. Kaeppler, Maureen Lander, Rosanna Raymond, and Patricia Wallace.[28] All the contributors made impressive use of the opportunity to create image-led paths, 'Postcards from the Antipathies'—Lander's inventive collaboration with Tom Mackrell (Lander and Mackrell 2003)—attracting particular attention (Robins 2013: 111–13); and both Agnew and Raymond made use of the facility to provide access to audio files. Agnew provided recordings of specially organized performances of some of the songs from the eighteenth-century pantomime *Omai, Or a Trip Round the World* (Agnew 2003); while for her path 'A Piece of their Brown Cloth', Raymond commissioned a sound track from the Māori group Wai to use as atmospheric background to her recitation of her poem *Ode to a Pale Sina* inspired by a Tongan barkcloth in the Forster collection (Forster 52; 1886.1.1225), supported visually by her own digitally enhanced images of it (Raymond 2003; see Figure 13 here).[29]

*Figure 12.View of one of the cases that formed part of the installation of the* Mrs Cook's Kete *exhibition at the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum (2002–2003); from a photograph taken for the Museum by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

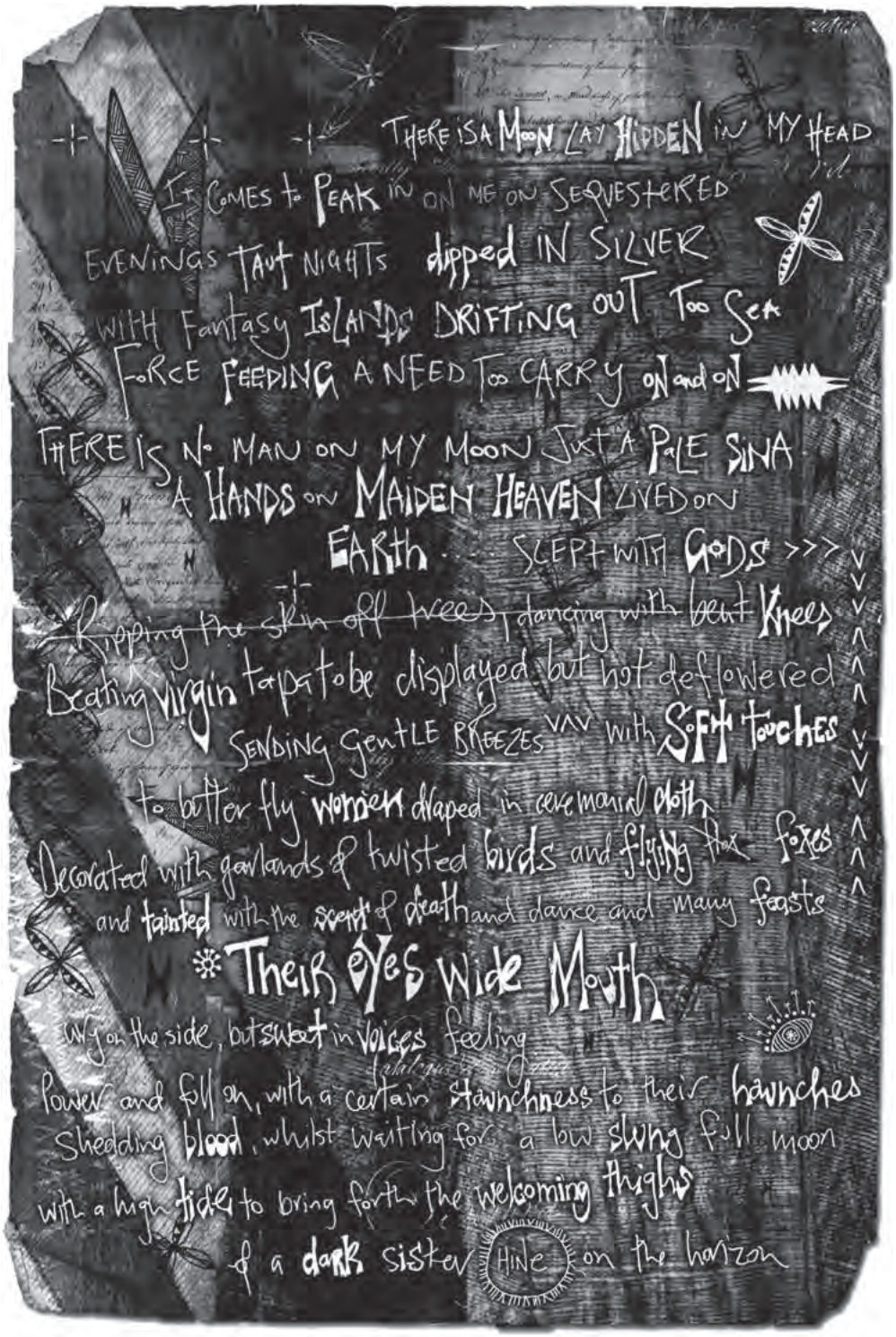


*Figure 13. Image of a piece of Tongan barkcloth in the second-voyage collection at the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum (Forster 50; 1886.1.1226), digitally coloured and inscribed by Rosanna Raymond as part of* Ode to a Pale Sina, *part of her contribution to the 'Pacific Pathways' project (Raymond 2003). Courtesy and copyright, Rosanna Raymond | Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

Both *The Forster Collection* and the *Pacific Pathways* websites were experimental attempts to use new technology to provide the research community and the wider public with access to the Forster collection and related information, as well as an opportunity for scholars, curators, and artists to present new commentary and interpretation. As many others have found, however, the pace of technological change can often lead to digital resources becoming 'mothballed' or 'frozen'. In this case, it became increasingly difficult to add new information to the site or to add new pages, and it quickly became frustratingly difficult to manage and maintain. After the server was hacked in 2012, it was decided to take both websites offline.[30]

In the meantime, work continued on researching the history of the collection as a whole and on the attempt to identify individual objects that had been recorded as 'missing' in 1970. The records for those items that had been identified by Gathercole as part of the collection, but only after the 1970 exhibition had opened and the *Short Guide* had been published, were suitably annotated and updated; for example, only two days before he left for Cambridge, Gathercole had written a note for the object file about the newly identified 'Shaggy Great coat' from New Zealand (Forster 107; 1886.1.1124). In some cases, revisiting the objects and their documentation led to revised identifications; so, a piece of worked *pounamu* (1886.1.1150) previously thought to be Forster 119, 'a piece of green nephritic stone, shaped for a hatchet', was reidentified as Forster 115, 'a pattou-pattou of green nephrite stone'—that is, a *mere pounamu*. Further identifications and reidentifications have been made in the years since. Most importantly, perhaps, 'The Tamow, or Headdress of platted hair' (Forster 40; 1886.1.1686) was found inside the mourner's dress, where it had apparently been 'hidden' since the dress was first mounted for display at the Ashmolean in 1776/1777 (see Coote and Uden 2013). More recently, ongoing work in the reserve collections has led to the locating of 'an Otaheitean fisherman's petticoat of colored threads |filaments| of bark' (Forster 36; 1886.1.1179) and one of 'four clubs, variously shaped' from New Caledonia (Forster 156–9; 1886.1.1455), as well as the identification of an object—previously thought to be a 'peg', possibly 'Eskimo', from the collection made by F.W. Beechey on the voyage of HMS *Blossom* (1825–1828)—as 'an ornament for the ear' from the Marquesas (Forster 138; 1886.1.707).

A number of objects known to have been given to Oxford by the Forsters remain missing, some forty in all, but to some extent at least this frustrating state of affairs has been offset since 2002 by the discovery of the existence of the Banks collection from Cook's first voyage. Unsurprisingly, the discovery of the first-voyage collection created a great deal of interest. While a preliminary report was being prepared for publication (see Coote 2004a), the PRM agreed to loan the collection to the Captain Cook Memorial Museum in Whitby for a special exhibition entitled *Curiosities from the Endeavour* (see Coote 2004b). In 2005, the *taumi*, a Tahitian breast ornament, was loaned to the National Archives in Kew for its exhibition *Captains, Pirates and Castaways: Battles and Voyages of Nelson, Cook and Bligh* (along with the *hei tiki* from the Forster collection (Forster 120; 1886.1.1167)); and in 2006 the *tiheru*, or Māori canoe baler (1887.1.381), was loaned (along with six objects from the Forster collection) to the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts for its *Pacific Encounters* exhibition (see Hooper 2006: 129, no. 65). In 2009 eighteen objects from the collection were loaned to the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn for the exhibition *James Cook und die Entdeckung der Südsee / James Cook and the Exploration*

*Figure 14. Artist Michel Tuffery and the author discussing the* tiheru, *Māori canoe baler, in the first-voyage 'Banks' collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum (1887.1.381), in the visiting researchers area at the Museum, during the filming of a documentary about Tupaia by Island Productions Aotearoa on 3 July 2011; from a photograph taken by David Paul. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

*of the Pacific* (subsequently shown in Vienna and Berne; see Kaeppler et al. 2009; see also Uden 2011a); and in 2014, sixteen objects from the collection were loaned to The Collection Museum, Lincoln, for the exhibition *Joseph Banks: A Great Endeavour—A Lincolnshire Gentleman and his Legacy* (Chambers (ed.) in press [2016]). Meanwhile, one of the two cloaks (1886.21.19) in the Banks collection attracted particular interest from Māori scholars, being published by Patricia Wallace (2007: 18) and Margery Blackman (2011: 93); as well as by Paul Tapsell (2009), whose intriguing speculation that the cloak may have been given by Māori to the Raiatean priest-navigator Tupaia and only acquired by Banks after Tupaia's death in Batavia on the voyage home has proved to be a powerful idea. Undoubtedly, the idea that the collection given to Christ Church by Banks and preserved at the PRM might contain *taonga* given to Tupaia—though undoubtedly speculative—has deepened interest in it, leading to coverage in the press (see, for example, Ansley 2006) and in popular literature (Druett 2011), as well as to visits to the PRM by a number of Pacific academics, artists, and researchers, as well as the makers of the forthcoming television documentary *Tupaia's Endeavour* (Figure 14).

This phase in the history of the PRM's Cook-voyage collections culminated in 2009 in the dismantling of the 'permanent' display of the Forster collection in order to enable the PRM to loan sixty-one objects—eighteen from the Banks collection and forty-three from the Forster collection—to the Cook exhibition that toured to Bonn, Vienna, and Berne. Following the dismantling of the display, it was decided to seek funding for a new case, in which the Banks and Forster collections could be 'permanently' redisplayed together. In the meantime, small displays focused on different parts of the collection that

*Figure 15. View of part of the installation of the 'blown-up' Tahitian mourner's dress, in which each component part was displayed separately, on display in the Museum from 23 January 2012 to 27 July 2014; from a photograph taken for the Museum by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*


*Figure 16. View of part of the installation of the 'blown-up' Tahitian mourner's dress, in which each component part was displayed separately, on display in the Museum from 23 January 2012 to 27 July 2014; from a photograph taken for the Museum by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

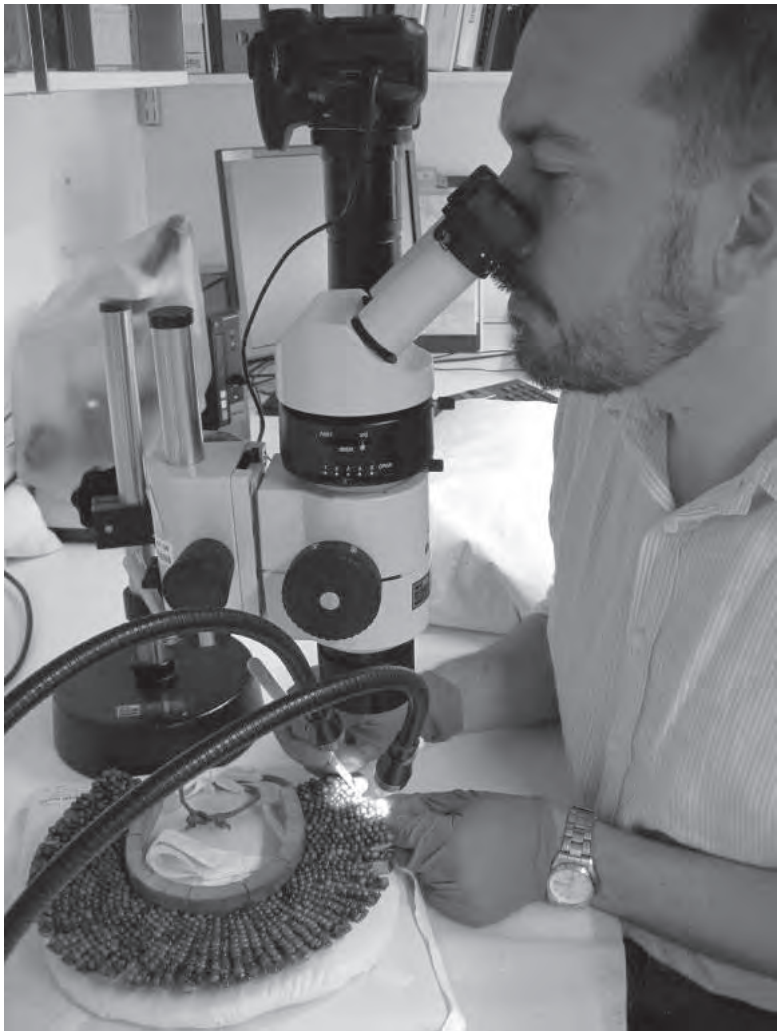

*Figure 17. Jeremy Uden (Deputy Head of Conservation) extracting a sample of resin from a* tahi poniu*, or breast ornament, from the Marquesas Islands, in the second-voyage 'Forster' collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum (Forster 133; 1886.1.1269), for analysis by Richard Evershed at the University of Bristol; from a photograph taken for the Museum by Heather Richardson on 12 September 2012. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

were not out on loan were mounted in that part of the display-case (Figures 15 and 16) that did not have to be used for storage.[31] It was also decided to seek funding to carry out long-overdue conservation work on the collection. Although the documentation of the collection and its history had been taken forward since the 1990s, it had been more than forty years since it had been possible to examine the objects in detail and carry out detailed conservation work and analysis.

An application to the British Academy for funding for a project focused on the mourner's dress was unsuccessful, but it was decided to dismantle the dress anyway (Uden 2014; see also Uden 2011b). This led to the discovery of the *tamau*, or headdress of human hair, that was known to form part of the Forster collection, but had long been missing, illustrating how important it was that the collection should be reinvestigated.

*Figure 18. View of the mock-up of the new 'Cook-Voyage Collection' permanent exhibition in the display-preparation area at the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum, in which most of the objects in both the first-voyage 'Banks' collection and the second-voyage 'Forster' collection are presented in five sections (from left to right): Tahiti and the Society Islands, Marquesas and Rapa Nui, Tonga, Vanuatu and New Caledonia, and New Zealand (in front of which Chris Wilkinson (Deputy Head of Technical Services), who designed the display with his colleague Alan Cooke, is adjusting the positioning of the* taiaha *in the Forster collection); from a photograph taken for the Museum by Malcolm Osman on 18 November 2015. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.*

Then in 2011 my colleague Jeremy Uden was awarded a Conservation Fellowship by The Clothworkers Foundation. This enabled him to spend two years (1 January 2012 to 31 December 2013) working on the PRM's Cook-voyage collections.[32] A major part of his work was devoted to improving the museum's records for the materials out of which the objects are made and the processes used to make them. The literature was drawn on where relevant, but much greater progress was made through careful, comparative visual analysis. He also worked with specialist colleagues in other institutions. For example, samples of adhesives and coatings were provided to Richard Evershed, Professor of Biogeochemistry at the University of Bristol, for scientific analysis (Figure 17; for the results, see Judge 2013); and samples of plant fibre and hair were provided to Caroline Cartwright in the Department of Conservation and Scientific Research at the British Museum for analysis (see Cartwright 2014). All the information generated by the project, including numerous detailed and microscopic photographs, has been made available on a new dedicated website that has replaced the earlier *Forster Collection* and *Pacific Pathways* sites (Coote and Uden (eds) 2013–).

Finally, in early 2015 the PRM was awarded a grant by the DCMS Wolfson Museums and Galleries Improvement Fund towards the cost of a new case in which to display its Cook-voyage collections. With additional funding from the PRM's Friends organization and The Clothworkers Foundation, a new display has been prepared in which the vast

majority of objects in the collection will be on 'permanent' exhibition on the lower gallery from February 2016 for the foreseeable future. Arranged by island group—Tahiti and the Society Islands, Rapa Nui, Marquesas Islands, Tonga, New Caledonia, Vanuatu, and New Zealand—the new display includes the vast majority of the objects in both collections, contextualized by reproductions of contemporary imagery and quotations from the Forsters' writings (Figure 18). In keeping with the PRM's overall style, it is object-rich and interpretation-light, though those members of the public who wish to know more will be directed to the dedicated website and the wider resources that it makes available.

## *Conclusions*

The Cook-voyage collection at the PRM is extensive and significant. Even if it were locked away in one of those 'dusty vaults' that museums are supposed to have, it would be important. What gives the PRM's collection its particular value, however, is the fact that it is relatively well documented (the Forster collection particularly so, of course) and that large parts of it have been on permanent public display for so long. Although the Banks collection may have been 'forgotten' for 200 years, at least some of the Forster collection was on display at the Ashmolean from 1777 to the 1880s and then at the PRM from 1886 to 1940, from 1951 to 1964, and from 1970 to 2009. Moreover, even when there was no dedicated 'Cook-voyage' display, at least some of the collection was on display amongst the museum's series. Since the 1990s, there has also been a series of small, temporary displays—including the art installation *Mrs Cook's Kete*—and three dedicated online resources have been created. As I write, a new display is being installed.

Through the new display, the dedicated website, and related publications, the PRM's Cook-voyage collection and everything now known about it is made available to the museum's various publics—visitors, researchers, and the descendants of the original makers and users. For the first time, the whole collection—from the first and second voyages—is available for inspection, education, inspiration, and reflection. As for the future, further archival research may throw more light on the collection and its history,[33] further work in the PRM's reserve collections may lead to the identification of additional Cook-voyage objects, and continuing close attention to materials and processes may throw further light on the provenance, use, and signficance of individual objects. Members of the PRM's curatorial, collections, and conservation staff are well placed to carry out aspects of this research, but they do so in the expectation that the wider research community around the world and in the Pacific in particular will continue to raise more questions, provide more context, and reinterpret the collections deep into the future.

Oxford is still a long way from the sea. Given the availability of the PRM's Cook-voyage collection online, the efficiency and speed with which communications about it can take place across the globe, and the frequency with which Islander academics, artists, makers, scholars, and students have visited the collection in recent years, however, it does not always feel that far from the Pacific.

## *Appendix: Other 'Cook-Voyage' Objects and Associated Materials at the PRM*

There are a number of other objects in the PRM's collections that have been claimed—at various times, by various people, on various grounds—to be traceable to Cook's voyages. I do not attempt to deal here with every object in the collection transferred from the Ashmolean to the PRM that has been said at one time or another to form part of the Forster collection. Those objects that have been positively identified as part of the collection are recorded as such in the PRM's database and are included in the dedicated website. Given the list the Forsters provided in their 'Catalogue of Curiosities sent to Oxford', we know what has yet to be identified, if it survives, but until more positive identifications can be made little point would be served here in listing all the possibilities. I thus do not discuss here those items in the collection transferred from the Ashmolean in 1886—notably barkcloth and fish-hooks—that may have been donated to the University by the Forsters in 1776, but which are difficult, if not impossible, to identify positively. Rather, the focus here is on objects that have reached Oxford via different routes. Before setting aside any further discussion of the Forster collection, however, it is worth drawing attention to the second breastplate and mask from a mourner's dress that were included in the Ashmolean transfer (1886.1.1637.2.2, 1886.1.1637.3.2; see Figure 10 above). There is nothing in the Forsters' 'Catalogue' to suggest that they included a second breastplate and mask in their gift, nor do either of the objects bear labels with Forster numbers. However, there is no record of anyone else donating such objects and it seems likely that they did arrive with the other components of the mourner's dress. It may be that further research will throw light on their status; for the time being, however, their history remains a puzzle.

Before considering the few other pieces in the Ashmolean transfer that may be traced to the voyages, it is worth considering what was included in the PRM's founding collection, given by General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers to the University in the mid-1880s. Given that Pitt-Rivers had been collecting since the early 1850s, that he made substantial purchases from other collectors, dealers, and auction houses, and that the collection he gave the University comprised more than 26,000 objects, it is perhaps surprising that so little in his collection can be associated with the voyages.[34] One might have thought, for example, that at least a few ex-Leverian pieces (see Kaeppler 2011, 2015 (this volume)) would have ended up in his collection. However, Pitt-Rivers was not particularly interested in the provenance and history of individual objects. Though he did record such information occasionally, his focus was on the objects themselves and what he could learn from them about the evolution of ideas, which was the primary focus of his work. Thus, although it may be that there are other objects in the founding collection originating in the voyages, there are only two whose documentation suggests any association with them.

The first is a Tahitian bamboo nose flute (1884.111.31), acquired by General Pitt-Rivers by 1874, and bearing a partially legible label reading 'A nasal flute...Otaheitean...during Capt Cook's first voyage. It is...through one nostril, the other being stopped by the thumb…. The...finger of the left hand and middle finger of the right are applied to the stops, Presented by Mr George [?] Buckland'. Unfortunately, this is the only item in Pitt-Rivers's collection associated with George Buckland and he remains unidentified.[35] So far as I know, the flute has never been published, but it has been exhibited a number of times. It was exhibited with the rest of the Pitt-Rivers collection at Bethnal Green from 1874 to 1878 and then at South Kensington Museum from 1878 to 1884, when it was transferred with the rest of Pitt-Rivers's collection to Oxford. No record exists of it being displayed at the PRM, but it is likely that it was. It was certainly displayed in the Music Makers Gallery at the museum's Balfour Building from its opening in 1986 to its dismantling in 2007 (La Rue 2007). Kaeppler did not list it in *'Artificial Curiosities'* (either because she did not know about it or because she and Gathercole had discounted the documentation). However, Anne D'Alleva did include it her 'Catalogue of Society Island Objects with Secure Eighteenth-Century Provenance' in her doctoral thesis (D'Alleva 1997: 566–7): 'Bamboo, closed at one end open at other, with blowing hole near closed end, finger hole below this, another smaller finger hole nearer to other end. All three holes pyroengraved, and lined up. Area of wear, flaking

surface near lower finger hole—possibly wear from use?' My current view would be that the Cook-voyage provenance is unproven, clearly, but that the possibility should not be discounted while George Buckland remains unidentified. Kaeppler (1978: 142–3) lists only six Tahitian nose flutes in *'Artificial Curioisities'*, so the addition of another example to this small corpus would be significant, especially if it could be shown to be another first-voyage example—to be added to the example in the collection Banks gave to Christ Church, now at the PRM (1903.130.20).

The only other object in the founding collection associated with the voyages is one of the forty patus that Banks had made in brass to take with him on the second voyage (1884.12.280). In the partial catalogue of his collection published in 1874, Pitt-Rivers recorded it as 'Pattoo-pattoo of the same shape in gun metal. Made by Sir Joseph Banks to take out to New Zealand, with his arms engraved upon it' (Lane-Fox 1874: 78). I have discussed Banks's brass patus in general and the history of this example in particular at length elsewhere (Coote 2008), so need say no more about it here.

As for the Ashmolean transfer, there are only three objects beyond those in the Forster collection that appear to be traceable to the voyages. First to be considered are two small pieces of barkcloth (1886.1.1258, 1886.1.1259). These two items have a particularly intriguing history, which it *might* be possible to trace back to Cook's first voyage. As discussed above, in 1883 the Ashmolean loaned some of 'Captain Cook's South Seas objects' for exhibition in Amsterdam, and it was as a direct result of this that the museum was presented with the two small pieces of barkcloth. As recorded by Evans in his manuscript catalogue, they were 'Given by Captain D. E. E. Wolterbuk [*sic*] Muller, Dutch Royal Navy Service (pension) Voorburg, near the Hague. Holland Sep. 23rd 1883. In consequence of having seen the objects belonging to Captain Cook's collection 2nd voyage belonging to the Ashmolean museum Oxford, exhibited at the International Exhibition at Amsterdam in 1883'.[36]

I am confident that the donor may be identified as D. E. E. Wolterbeek Muller, who is listed as a participant in the Sixth Congress of Orientalists held in Leiden from 10 to 15 September 1883,[37] where he is recorded as 'D. E. E. Wolterbeek Muller, colonel de marine en retraite, Voorburg' (see Liste 1884: 8), and was also apparently a significant donor of Indonesian material to the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden.[38] Kaeppler did not list the pieces in *'Artificial Curiosities'* (either because she did not know about them or because she and Gathercole discounted the tentative documentation). However, Anne D'Alleva did include them in her 'Catalogue of Society Island Objects with Secure Eighteenth-Century Provenance' in her doctoral thesis (D'Alleva 1997: 468–9), describing them respectively as 'Very pale brown bark cloth, beater mark 12 lines/cm' (1886.1.1258) and 'Thick, felted, off-white bark cloth, one red edge. One side shows beater mark 5 lines/cm, the other 8 lines/cm.' (1886.1.1259). According to correspondence surviving at the Ashmolean Museum,[39] Muller inherited the two pieces of tapa from his father, who had inherited them from his father, both of whom, like Muller himself, served in the Dutch navy. My current view is that, although the Cook-voyage provenance is unproven, there seems to be a strong possibility that these small pieces of barkcloth are from Cook's first voyage, probably having been taken from larger pieces. They are certainly worthy of further investigation.

The only other object in the collection transferred from the Ashmolean to the PRM in 1886 that appears to be traceable to Cook's voyages is a *hoe*, or Māori paddle, that is part of the collection given to the University by Robert Henry Ramsden in 1878 (1886.1.1157). As with the rest of the Ramsden collection, it is undocumented, but as pointed out by Nicholas Thomas after a visit to the PRM in July 2013, the carving of the *manaia* motif at the grip (between the blade and the shaft of the handle) is in the highly distinctive style found on the members of what is believed to be a set of paddles acquired by people on board the *Endeavour* from Māori living in or just south of Poverty Bay on 12 October 1769. These paddles and their acquisition are discussed elsewhere in this volume by Amiria Salmond (2015: 52–7) and Leslie Jessop (2015: 230–33). Without a paper trail, it would perhaps be precipitate to conclude that the paddle is definitely one of the set, but the physical evidence is certainly suggestive. Unfortunately, little work has yet been done on the Ramsden collection (but see Coote 2014: 414, 417–18, n. 20).

Before leaving consideration of the Ashmolean transfer, mention should be made of the figure from Rapa Nui (1886.1.1271), given to the Ashmolean by George Griffith in 1863, that has long been said to be a representation of Captain Cook. This has been published numerous times (see database entry for details) without anyone yet establishing why, when, and by whom it was first said to represent Cook. So far as I can tell, there really is no reason to think it was intended by its original maker as a figure of Cook; however, the frequent repetition of the suggestion in the literature—and the inclusion of the figure in the *'From the Islands of the South Seas, 1772–1774'* exhibition (see Coote 2005: 18, pl. 9; 28, n. 13)—means that it is difficult to ignore it in any account of the Cook-voyage collections at the PRM.

Beyond the founding collection and the Ashmolean transfer, there are a few later acquisitions that are worth mentioning here. I have already mentioned the copy of Alexander Shaw's book of barkcloth that Conybeare donated in 1908 (1908.28.1; Shaw 1787; see also Kerr 2015, Kaeppler 2015 (this volume): 286, fig. 17)).[40] This was first loaned to the museum, or perhaps to the curator Henry Balfour, in early 1890s by F. C. Conybeare, who later donated the book in October 1908. The inscription 'J. J. Conybeare 1809' inside the front cover enables us to trace the book's history back to the donor's great uncle, the 'geologist, antiquary, and Church of England clergyman', John Josias Conybeare (1779–1824; see Torrens 2004a), whose brother, the 'geologist and dean of Llandaff' William Daniel Conybeare (1787–1857; see Torrens 2004b) was an associate of Joseph Banks.[41] There is no record of the book having been researched, published, or exhibited, either at the Pitt Rivers or elsewhere, until 2006, when it was loaned to the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts for the *Pacific Encounters* exhibition (see Hooper 2006: 38, fig. 15) and then to the Musée de quai Branly for that institution's installation of the same exhibition in 2008.

In 1932 a second example of a brass patu was loaned to the PRM by the Royal Society, via the Committee of the Management of the Lewis Evans Collection (later the Museum of the History of Science); the loan was converted into a donation in 1979 (1932.86.1; see Coote 2008).

Mention should also be made of a *putorino*, a Māori flute, purchased by the PRM on 7 August 1920 for £15 from the Oxford dealer Archibald E. Godfrey of 50 St Giles (1920.89.1). According to the accession book entry, this is 'said to have been brought back by Captain Cook', though it is not clear who said so—presumably the dealer or perhaps the person the dealer acquired it from. There is no record of the flute ever being researched or published, though it was included in the displays at the Music Makers Gallery from 1986 to 2007 (when they were dismantled), with a label mentioning the fact that it was 'Said to have been brought back by Captain Cook'. However, as the accession book entry also makes clear, the flute is 'elaborately carved all over with human form & linear designs', which makes it quite inconsistent with a Cook-voyage provenance. In this case, I think any suggestion of a Cook-voyage provenance can be safely set aside.

Matters are more complicated with the Richard Bright collection, comprising seven objects (1915.30.1–.7) given to the museum in 1915 by the Reverend James Franck Bright, DD (1832–1920; see Johnson 2004), historian and former Master of University College, Oxford. The collection comprises an adze (1915.30.1), three paddles (1950.30.2–.4), and a large fish-hook (1915.30.5) from the Cook Islands, and a Māori cleaver of the *wahaika* type (1915.30.6) and a weaving-peg or *turuturu* (1915.30.7). In the first of two letters relating to the donation, dated 19 October 1915, Bright asks the then curator of the museum (i.e. Balfour), 'Would some South Sea articles which have been in the possession of myself and my family for very many years be of any use to you?' And goes on to relate how 'there is a family tradition that they were given to my grandfather Richard Bright of Bristol by Capt. Cook. I cannot substantiate it, but it is probable enough for he was intimate with the travellers of the time and the men of science'. Unfortunately, the museum does not hold a copy of Balfour's reply, but he must have responded immediately and positively because two days later Bright writes again: 'I am glad the things will be of use, I have ordered them to be sent at once. I don't suppose I shall be able to make sure of their origin. All [illegible word] must be dead years & years ago, but I think it is really pretty certain'.[42]

James Franck Bright was the third son of the physician and amateur geologist Richard Bright (1789–1858; see Berry 2004), who was in turn the third son of the dissenting merchant Richard

Bright (1754–1840). It is difficult to see that the 'family tradition' that the objects were given to Richard Bright senior by Captain Cook can be sustained—at least not for the whole collection. Cook did sail through what were later named the Cook Islands on his second voyage, noticing the three islands that he later named the Hervey Islands in the Lower Cooks on 24 September 1773, and noticing and naming Palmerston Island on 17 June 1774; but on both occasions he 'saw no people or signs of inhabitants' (see Beaglehole (ed.) 1961: 241). He returned to the area on the third voyage, visiting Mangaia on 30 March 1777, and Atiu, Takutea, Manuae (in the Herveys), and Palmerston in the first half of April. However, there was limited contact with Islanders and there is no record of anything being acquired. Moreover, the three paddles in the collection attributed to the Cook Islands are quite clearly of later, early nineteenth-century date. In 1997, Gathercole commented that 'they are carved in a much later style' and stated that 'the intricately incised design work is characteristic of pieces produced in a traditional style for the tourist trade which had begun by the 1830s in Polynesia'; indeed, one of the three (1915.30.2) was included in the museum's recent *Made for Trade* special exhibition as an example of such early tourist production (see Nicholson and Belsey 2012). Gathercole was not so dismissive of the possible Cook-voyage origins of the Cook Islands adze (1915.30.1) and fish-hook (1915.30.5), but it would seem to me to be likely that they form part of a collection with the paddles and are thus probably of equally later date.

Of the two Māori objects, the intricate carving on the weaving-peg (1915.30.7)—which can only have been done with metal tools—suggests it is also of early nineteenth-century date. However, the carving on the *wahaika* is more restrained and may well have been carried out with stone tools. In his account of the Māori collections at Cambridge, Wilfred Shawcross (1970: 315) pointed out the resemblance between the Bright-collection *wahaika* and the first-voyage example in the Sandwich collection (D 1914.58; see also Tanner 1999: 34), as well as the second-voyage example in the Forster collection at Oxford (Forster 113; 1886.1.1151). On formal, stylistic grounds alone, the *wahaika* should perhaps be considered a possible Cook-voyage object.

As for the family history, this needs further investigation. The donor said that according to family tradition the objects had been given to his grandfather by Captain Cook. However, his grandfather was born in 1754 and would thus have been only twenty-three or twenty-four when Cook died on 14 February 1778 and only twenty-one or twenty-two when Cook set sail on his final voyage in February 1776. As it happens, Richard Bright senior was educated at Warrington Academy, where Reinhold Forster taught from 1767 to 1770 and George Forster was a student (see Hoare 1976) and was also in later life known to Joseph Banks (Kark and Moore 1981: 120)—as indeed was his son (see Bright 1993: passim), so it is perfectly possible one or other or, indeed, both of them had Cook-voyage curiosities. Until such time as more documentary evidence is forthcoming, this is probably all that can be said. It seems to me extremely unlikely that anything in the collection other than the *wahaika* might prove to have a Cook-voyage provenance. However, it would be interesting to know more of the history of all of the objects in the Bright collection, and it is to be hoped that further information might one day be discovered in the Bright family papers.

The museum also holds a number of prints of engravings that were used to illustrate both official and unofficial accounts of Cook's voyages. All but one of these were donated to the museum by the widow of the well-known collector Harry Beasley (see, for example, Waterfield 2006, Carreau 2010). Her donation comprises 171 prints (collection 2013.28). I have yet to study these in detail, but 63 appear to be copies of the prints published in the official account of Cook's second voyage (Cook 1777) and 87 appear to be copies of the prints published in Anderson's *Voyages* (see Anderson 1784–86).[43] The other item came to the museum as part of the founding collection and is a print (1884.117.103) of the composite engraving, apparently by J. Eastgate, of Māori and Tahitian objects collected on Cook's first voyage that first appeared opposite page 435 in Anderson's *Voyages* (see Anderson 1784–86). Finally, the museum also holds a print of the engraving by Johann Friedrich Bause of a portrait in oils by Anton Graff of Johann Reinhold Forster. This was acquired by the museum from a local dealer in 2009 (2009.138.1).

Finally, there is one last curious item in the PRM's collections that might be mentioned here. This is a model of a knife, comprising a shark tooth set in a dog's jawbone that is inscribed in ink 'Model based upon Capt. Cook's description of shark's teeth set in dogs' jaw-bones for use as knives v. Cook & King "Voy" X p. 239'. Apparently made or commissioned by Balfour to illustrate a type of knife that was described in the official account of Cook's third voyage (see Cook and King 1784, II: 239) but was not present in the collection—and was therefore 'missing' from the relevant typological series, the object was 'found unentered' and accessioned in 2004 (2004.218.1).

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*Notes*

1. There is nothing in the appendixes devoted to the ships' companies in J. C. Beaglehole's edition of Cook's Journals (Beaglehole (ed.) 1955: 588–601, 1961: 871–95, 1967: 1,457–80) to suggest that any of the voyagers were from Oxfordshire, or had connections to the city or county.

2. At least one undergraduate had—unfulfilled—ambitions to sail with Cook; or, rather, with Banks. On 24 December 1771, the University's vice-chancellor, Nathan Wetherell, wrote to Banks recommending 'my little Oxford Friend' George Shaw of Magdalen Hall 'to be your Amanuensis in your next voyage' (Chambers (ed.) 2009: 61; see also ibid.: 77). Nothing came of the recommendation, and of course Banks anyway withdrew from what later became known as Cook's second voyage, though Shaw (1751–1813; see Woodward 2004) went on to pursue a career as a popularizing natural historian.

3. Lieutenant James King (1750–1784) of the *Resolution*, and subsequently of the *Discovery*, on the third voyage, also had connections to the University. It has been suggested that while his younger brother Walker was a student at Oxford (Brasenose, then Corpus Christi), James stayed with him, possibly pursuing some unofficial studies, and got to know Thomas Hornsby, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, who recommended him for Cook's second voyage (see Beaglehole (ed.) 1967: 1,462; Laughton 2004). King's latest biographer, Steve Ragnall (2013: 30), however, casts doubt on the story. What is known for sure is that *after* the voyage James spent

some time with another brother, Thomas, at Woodstock, north of Oxford, and that some of his work on the official account of the third voyage (Cook and King 1784) was done there. Along with his parents and siblings, King is memorialized in St Mary Magdalen in Woodstock, where Thomas was Rector (for details of the memorial, see Ragnall 2013: 227). King's collections went elsewhere, of course, to Trinity College Dublin in particular (see Hand 2015 (this volume)), though it now appears that two skulls collected by King were in the collections of the Anatomy School at Christ Church in December 1785 (see note 6 below). This raises the possibility that some of the objects I have identified as having been given to Christ Church by Banks were given by King after the third voyage. This continues to seem unlikely. Apart from anything else, if this were the case one would expect the collection to contain objects from Hawai'i and the Northwest Coast.

4. The records for the individual items can be accessed at <http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/databases.html>. For the dedicated website, *Cook-Voyage Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum* (launched November 2013; see Coote and Uden (eds) 2013–), visit <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/cookvoyages/index.php/en/index.html>.

5. Having said that, there were some items in the collection donated by the Forsters, which do not survive at the PRM, that may have been regarded as 'natural' rather than 'artificial' curiosities and may thus have been passed from the Ashmolean to the University Museum or the Botanic Gardens. My attempts to locate these have only just begun. They include: from Tahiti, 'a piece of the perfume-wood' (Forster 43), 'a string of oily nuts, used as candles' (Forster 44), 'a tail of particcoloured feathers, being a Warrior's ornament' (Forster 46); from Tonga, 'a bracelet of a piece of shell, and some [words obliterated] Dentals' (Forster 100); from New Zealand, 'a bundle of their flax' (Forster 118), 'a chissel of green stone' (Forster 121), 'a headdress of feathers' (Forster 130), 'bunch of leaves, which the New Zealander use to stick in their ears' (Forster 172); and from Tierra del Fuego, 'a necklace of shells'. One can imagine any such items that had lost their labels being treated as natural history specimens and being transferred to the new University Museum in the 1860s. According to Edward Evans, underkeeper at the Ashmolean, some material may have been transferred from the Ashmolean to the Botanic Gardens at the same time. In a note on some cordage made of barkcloth (1886.1.1142), Evans writes 'The four specimens of the tree from which the cordage is made...are not now in [the] collection, probably they were sent to the Botanical Gardens, at the time the objects of Natural Science were moved from here at the building of the Museum in the Parks'; University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Collections, Manuscript Catalogues, 'List of Anthropological Objects Transferred from the Ashmolean to the Pitt Rivers Museum' (2 vols) (compiled by Edward Evans, 1884–6)', Vol. 1, p. 15.

6. During a visit to the Anatomy School at Christ Church on 28 October 1785, the Dutch anatomist Pierre/Petrus Camper (1722–1789) drew 'two strange heads from Otaheiti and St. Georges Sounds situated somewhere between Kamchatka and Alaska' (see Nuyens (ed.) 1939: 193, and plates 15 and 16); that is, the skull of a Tahitian and of a young man from Nootka Sound, which Camper (1794: 8, 23) tells us elsewhere were collected by Captain King. The present whereabouts of these skulls is unknown, and neither seems to be identifiable with another skull from the Christ Church collection that does survive and that has been said in the past and on unknown grounds 'to have been brought back by Capt. Cook'. Transferred on loan to the Department of Comparative Anatomy at the University Museum (UM), the latter was on loan to the PRM (where it was given the accession number 1905.82.1) from 1905 to 31 May 2002, when it was returned to the UM. During the time it was held at the PRM, it was identified as being Tasmanian and as being Polynesian, but it was never clear on what grounds it was thought 'to have been brought back by Capt. Cook'. The history of the collections of human remains in the museums and departments of the University and its associated colleges is immensely complex, but I hope it will be possible in due course to report some progress in identifying what may have happened to the two skulls sketched by Camper, and to ascertain why what appears to be a third skull has been thought to have been collected on Cook's voyages.

7. There is an extensive, and ever-growing literature on Joseph Banks (1743–1820) and his collections. For his *Endeavour*-voyage Journal, see Beaglehole (ed.) 1962. For the most up-to-date and comprehensive account of his first-voyage collections, see Chambers (ed.) in press [2016], including Coote in press a [2016]; see also Carter 1987, 1988.

8. The original of this letter is in the Banks Correspondence in the Library of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (B.C.: I.32), while a copy exists in the Dawson Turner Copies at the Natural History Museum, London (D.T.C.: I.49–50). So far as I know, the first published reference to Falconer's account of having seen Tahitian and Māori artefacts in Oxford is in Warren W. Dawson's *Calendar* of Banks's correspondence, where the contents of the letter are recorded (Dawson 1958: 318–19) and it is noted that Falconer 'has seen at Oxford some of the curiosities brought by B[anks]. from Otahiete and New Zealand'. That previous students of the collections made on Cook's voyages missed Dawson's reference to the letter is understandable, but it is very puzzling that no one—including me—seems to have paid much if any attention to the quotation from the letter in Bernard Smith's highly influential *European Vision and the South Pacific* (Smith 1960: 87).

9. 'Dr Lee's Trustees' were the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church who had responsibility for the Lee Readership and the related collections.

10. For the early history of the PRM, see, e.g., Gosden and Larson 2007, Larson 2008, and references therein. See also the wide range of relevant resources made available online by the project 'The Invention of Museum Anthropology, 1850–1920: Scoping the Local Material Resources for an Intellectual History of a Global Discipline' (2012–2013); at <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.html>.

11. The status of this material as a first-voyage collection has been accepted by a wide range of scholars (see, e.g., Henare 2005: 46, n. 4; Wallace 2007: 18; Kaeppler 2009a: 56; Tapsell 2009). For a claim that the evidence is 'tenuous and circumstantial', see Paulin 2010: 28; for a response, see Coote in press b [2016].

12. British Library, Add. MS 15508, f.28 (no. 30) (see Joppien and Smith 1985: 218, no. 1.167; see also Coote 2004b: 32, fig. 24).

13. There is a wealth of published information on Johann Reinhold Forster (1729–1798) and Johann George Forster (1754–1794). For Reinhold Forster's voyage Journal, see Hoare (ed.) 1982. For the Forsters' published accounts of the voyage, see George Forster 1777, 2000 [1777]; J. R. Forster 1778, 1996 [1778]; see also Jakubowska 2014. For Reinhold Forster, see Hoare 1976, 1982; see also Gordon 1975. For the Forsters' botanical collections, see Nicolson and Fosberg 2004; for their ethnographic collections, see Kaeppler 1994, 2009b; see also Hauser-Schäublin and Krüger (eds) 1998.

14. For the rediscoverer's own account, see Kaeppler 1972; see also Coote et al. 2000a, 2000b. As Kaeppler (1972: 145) argues, because of the existence of the manuscript the Forster collection at the PRM is 'the best-documented second-voyage collection' and 'the only ethnographic collection made on Cook's voyages with undisputed original documentation of provenance and use'.

15. I continue to remain unsure about Sheffield's role in the University's acquisition of the Cook-voyage collections. Soon after his appointment as Keeper of the Ashmolean, he provided his friend, the famous naturalist Gilbert White, with an extended account of a visit he had made to Banks's house in New Burlington Street where he had seen the curiosities that Banks had acquired on the first voyage. Introducing it as 'a perfect museum' and 'this immense magazine of curiosities', with every room containing 'inestimable treasure', he went on to describe some of the weapons and clothing in particular (see Holt-White (ed.) 1901, I: 210–212). This does not appear to be feigned interest, and thus it may be safe to assume that Sheffield played a significant role in encouraging the Forsters' gift of objects from the second voyage to the Ashmolean. Indeed, in a letter relating to the gift, the Forsters state that the objects had been sent 'to the Reverend William Sheffield, most deserved custodian of the Ashmolean Museum'

(see Coote et al. 2000a: 178). It was presumably also Sheffield who arranged for at least some of the collection to be put on display. What is then puzzling is that there is no evidence of Sheffield making any effort to acquire any of the objects from the third voyage. Ovenell (1986: 160) describes Sheffield as 'a shadowy figure on the University stage', noting (ibid.: 161) 'there is little evidence of any active interest on his part in the Museum's welfare'. His role in all this is unclear.

16. Rather dismissively, Michael Dettelbach (1996: xx) claims these were 'Oxford divines interested in his philological work'. In this context, it is also worth noting that Thomas Hornsby, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, whom Reinhold had known and corresponded with since at least 1772, corrected the English in George's manuscript of the *Voyage* (see Gordon 1975: 226).

17. For the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition, see Pergam 2011. Despite the excellence of Pergam's study, little is yet known about the displays of ethnographic material at the exhibition; see Coote 2012.

18. University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Ashmolean Manuscript Series, AMS52 'Manuscript Notebooks and Catalogues Compiled by George Augustus Rowell and Edward Evans, c. 1860s–1880s'. These notebooks and catalogues have yet to receive the degree of attention they deserve. They may well be 'untidy, hastily compiled, incomplete, uncoordinated and quite unsatisfactory' (Ovenell 1986: 224), but they are of enormous value for unpicking the history of the collections and their documentation at this time. Moreover, at least some of them were compiled display-by-display in the museum, so provide information about which objects were exhibited together. For an initial attempt to utilize them in the historiographical analysis of a particular (though not a 'Cook-voyage') object, see Coote 2014: 401–2. Evans's undated attempt at drawing up a list of 'the Cook collection' as well as his undated notes on his readings on the voyages also survive at the PRM: University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Manuscript Collections, Pitt Rivers Museum Papers, Box 3, Item 2, 'The Portion of Captain Cook's Collection in the Ashmolean' (2 pp.); Item 3, 'Notes from Captain Cook's Three Voyages' (31 pp.),

19. University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Collections, Manuscript Catalogues, 'List of Anthropological Objects Transferred from the Ashmolean to the Pitt Rivers Museum' (2 vols) (compiled by Edward Evans, 1884–6).

20. University Oxford, University Archives, University Chest files, UC/FF/60/2/; Moseley to William Gamlen, 1 November 1886.

21. For the suggestion that this display was in the University Museum, see the relevant page in the 'Events Index' in the website of the 'Scoping' project (see note 10 above), at <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/sma/index.php/events/events-index/45-events-1886.html>.

22. See the announcement on page 238 of the *Oxford University Gazette* for 25 January 1887 (Vol. 17 (no. 573)); see also Petch 2007.

23. University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Object Collections, Related Document Files, 1908.28.1.

24. It is puzzling that W. T. Brigham, director of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu makes no mention of any of the Cook-voyage material in his admittedly brief accounts of his visits to the PRM during his 'journey around the world undertaken to examine various Ethnological collections' in 1896 (Brigham 1898: 52–3) or his 'journey around the world to study matters relating to museums' in 1912 (Brigham 1913: 33–6, 307). Although the focus throughout his reports is on Hawaiian material (and there is, of course, no Hawaiian material in the first- and second-voyage collections at Oxford), he has a lot to say elsewhere in the reports about both Polynesian material in general and Cook-voyage material in particular in the other museums he visited. He also gives a very useful listing of the 'Principal Groups of Specimens' (or 'series' in Pitt-Rivers's and Balfour's terms) in the PRM (ibid.: 35–6) but with no mention of 'Cook'.

25. University of Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, Manuscript Collections, Papers of Beatrice Mary Blackwood (1889–1975), Box 1 (Correspondence A–D), Envelope B1, Letters 66–9.

26. As note 25; Pitt Rivers Museum Papers, Box 4, Item 4, notebook 'Visitors, II, 1954–1966'.

27. *Mrs Cook's Kete* ran from 2 November 2002 to 27 April 2003. For commentary, see Kim 2007, 2009: 331–8; Robins 2013: 108–13. Both Hellyar and Lander drew on the work they had done for the PRM installation in later work. For example, Lander drew on it for her contribution to the *Pasifika Styles* exhibition at the University of Cambridge's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (see Herle 2008: 65–6), and Hellyar drew on it for her *Mrs Cook's Kete—Thought Trays* (2003) in the collections of Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki; see <http://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/14063/mrs-cook-s-kete-thought-trays>.

28. For the record, the paths created for the 'Pacific Pathways' site were as follows: Vanessa Agnew, 'The Pantomime "Omai, or a Trip Round the World"' (Agnew 2003) and 'Eighteenth-Century Encounters with Musical Otherness'; Jeremy Coote, 'From the Islands of the South Seas'; Anne D'Alleva, 'Form and Meaning in the Mourning Dress', 'Patterns of Change: Society Islands Printed Barkcloth', and 'Who Wore the Chief Mourner's Dress?'; Christine Hellyar, 'New Zealand Flax Travels Well'; Adrienne Kaeppler and Rob Leopold, 'Baskets', 'Koloa: Mats and Barkcloth', 'Ornaments', 'The Forster Ethnographic Collection from Tonga', and 'Tongan Dance, Music and Musical Instruments'; Tim Mackrell and Maureen Lander, 'Postcards from the Antipathies' (Mackrell and Lander 2003); Rosanna Raymond, 'A Piece of their Brown Cloth' (Raymond 2003); and Patricia Wallace, 'Ko maru, te timatanga: Beginnings of Māori Clothing'.

29. Raymond describes her involvement in the 'Pacific Pathways' project, her first experience of working with a 'western' museum, as starting 'a new working pattern for me, one which has brought much enjoyment and creativity' (Raymond 2011: 153; see also Raymond and Stevenson 2010: 22).

30. Both 'The Forster Collection' and 'Pacific Pathways' sites were hacked in December 2012 and have not been relaunched since. A 'flattened' version of the 'Forster Collection' site is available at <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/forster/>, but with limited content. A 'flattened' version of the Pacific Pathways site can be found at <https://web.archive.org/web/20060218143512/http://projects.prm.ox.ac.uk:8080/pcs/view_com_paths.php>, though with very limited content. I hope it will be possible to rescue at least some of the content and make it available on the new 'Cook-Voyage Collections' site, or elsewhere, in due course.

31. From July 2009 a few objects from the collections that were not being loaned to Bonn, Vienna, and Berne were displayed under the title 'The "Captain Cook" Collection'. This was followed, from 23 January 2012 to 27 July 2014, with a special display of the Tahitian mourner's dress, in 'blown-up' form—that is, each part being displayed separately but in appropriate relation to each other (see Figures 15 and 16 above).

32. For further information, see the project report (Richardson et al. 2014; including Charlton 2014), Uden et al. in press [2016], and the 'Conserving Curiosities' blog at <http://conserving-curiosities.blogspot.co.uk>, which contains a wealth of further information and images.

33. It seems likely that a comprehensive study of Rowell's and Evans's notebooks (see note 18 above) would throw further light on what was done with the Forster collection at the Ashmolean and may even make it possible to identify further objects. It is also not yet been possible to make use of the papers relating to the Forster collection donated to the PRM by Peter Gathercole before his death in October 2010. I am grateful to Sarah Mathews, a 'collections placement' student from the University's Department of the History of Art, for her contribution to the cataloguing of this collection in 2014–2015 (see Mathews 2015).

34. For Pitt-Rivers, see the website of the project 'Rethinking Pitt-Rivers: Analysing the Activities of a Nineteenth-Century Collector', at <http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/ rpr/index.html>. See also 'Rethinking Pitt-Rivers and his Legacy', a recent special issue of *Museum History Journal* (Vol. 7, no. 2, July 2014; edited by Jeremy Coote and Alison Petch).

35. I am grateful to Jim Kennedy, former director of the University Museum, for confirming that George Buckland does not appear to be a known relative of the famous Oxford geologist, and friend of Joseph Banks (see note 41 below), William Buckland.

36. As note 19; Vol. 2, p. 75.

37. It *may* be relevant that a number of Oxford scholars are also listed as participants at the Congress, including F. Max Müller, A. H. Sayce, and Monier Williams (see Liste 1884: 8).

38. See pages 13 and 14 of *De Mens in Beeld: Verzamelde collectieprofielen Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden*, a document available online as a downloadable PDF at <http://volkenkunde.nl/sites/default/files/Collectieprofielen.pdf>.

39. University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Ashmolean Accessions Register, 1875–1884.64, p. 242.

40. Another copy of Shaw's book is held by the University of Oxford's Bodleian Library. This is part of the collection of books and manuscripts bequeathed to the library by Francis Douce (C subt. 198) and is listed under 'COOK, (captain James)' in the published catalogue (Catalogue 1840: 72).

41. W. D. Conybeare is represented, along with his friend William Buckland, 'taking leave of Sir Joseph Banks' in his study at 32 Soho Square in May 1820 in a sketch by Count Breüner (see Gordon 1894: 39; see also Carter 1988: 537).

42. As note 23 (1915.30.1–.7).

43. I am grateful to Sophia Martin-Pavlou, Emma McKinlay, and Rosemary Turner, 'collections placement' students from the University's Department of the History of Art, for their work on this collection in 2012–2013.

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