

# *Notes and Queries on Anthropology:* Its influence on Pacific prehistoric archaeology at the turn of the 20th century

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## ABSTRACT

Instructions for travellers on the collection of archaeological objects were published in the first 1874 edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*. The archives of the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal Anthropological Institute, and the British Museum were searched to investigate what influence *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* had on pioneering field archaeologists in the Pacific at the turn of the 20th century, and how this contributed to the beginnings of prehistoric archaeological practice. This paper assesses the archaeological legacies left to us from the expeditions of three early pioneers: Frederick William Christian (1867–1934), William Scoresby Routledge (1859–1939) and Katherine Routledge (1866–1935).

*Keywords:* field methods, specialisation, history of prehistoric archaeology, Pacific collections, questionnaire

## INTRODUCTION

*Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (henceforth N&Q) contained some of the earliest archaeological instructions for British explorers making field collections. The contributions of scholarly travellers to the Pacific at the turn of the 20th century to the development of prehistoric archaeology as a discipline have often been overlooked. Such travellers were responsible for numerous ethnographic and archaeological artefacts being returned ‘home’ to Europe for scientific study – artefacts that remain archaeological resources in British museums today. This article examines to what extent three English explorers, Frederick William Christian (1867–1934), William Scoresby Routledge (1859–1939) and Katherine Routledge (1866–1935), were influenced by the questionnaire N&Q and whether this contributed to field practices for investigating prehistoric archaeology before the professionalisation and specialisation of the discipline occurring after the Second World War.

Central to these questions are several key institutions: the Anthropological Institute (henceforth RAI<sup>1</sup>), the Royal Geographical Society (henceforth RGS), the Pitt Rivers Museum and the British Museum. It is likely Christian and the Routledges were aided by the N&Q publication or were at least aware of its existence during their Pacific expeditions (1894–1896 and 1914–1915 respectively) be-

cause of their affiliations with these institutions. Christian was English born and attended Eton College near Windsor, and then studied philology at Oxford University. After he left Oxford in 1889 he continued to pursue philology and became a field collector (Christian 1899b:169). He joined the RAI in 1899 after his expedition to the Pacific (1894–1896). He is not listed as a Fellow after 1902.<sup>2</sup> He was also a Fellow of the RGS and delivered several papers to the society in 1899 (e.g. Christian 1899b, 1899c). Christian wrote and published two books about his journeys to the Pacific (Christian 1899a and 1910).

William Scoresby Routledge, born in Melbourne Australia, had moved to England when he was about eight (Van Tilburg 2003: 49). He received his Master’s degree from Christ Church College, Oxford University in 1882 and studied medicine at University College Hospital in London (Van Tilburg 2003: 50). He did not complete his medical studies, preferring geology and ethnography (Van Tilburg 2003: 50–51). He was elected to the RAI in 1883 and he became a Fellow of the RGS in 1900 (Van Tilburg 2003: 50; RAI: B/D). In 1906 he married Katherine Pease.<sup>3</sup> Katherine was born in Darlington, County Durham and grew up a Quaker family (Van Tilburg 2003: 3). Katherine was one of the first women to study for the Diploma of Anthropology at Oxford (1911–1912), but did not sit her final exams; she was not elected as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society until 1924 when women were first permitted to join.<sup>4</sup>

Under the British Association for the Advancement of Science (henceforth BAAS) a joint committee of RGS and RAI members headed by Augustus Henry Lane Fox

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(later Pitt-Rivers) (1827–1900), the archaeologist and collector who donated the founding collection to the Pitt Rivers Museum, began drafting the questionnaire in 1872 and published *N&Q* in 1874 (Petch 2007: 21). The first three editions included a section by Lane Fox for ‘ARCHAEOLOGY’ in ‘Uncivilised Lands’ such as the Pacific Islands. I examined primary archival material in the Christian and Routledge collections held in the United Kingdom at the British Museum, RGS and RAI to investigate the influence of *N&Q*’s first four editions (1874, 1892, 1899 and 1912) on their archaeological work.

Evidence was sought that Christian and/or the Routledges used *N&Q* because the development of anthropology can be traced through the first four editions (1874–1912) in contrast to its emerging sub-discipline, prehistoric archaeology. This gradual development of field methods had a lasting effect on British anthropology (Urry 1972: 45). The *N&Q* questionnaire, although a seminal BAAS publication, has been largely ignored until recently for its contribution to the development of anthropology as a discipline (Petch 2007: 21). Consequently, *N&Q*’s contribution to prehistoric archaeological practice at the turn of the 20th century has also been largely disregarded. The first edition of *N&Q* had the section ‘XIX. ARCHAEOLOGY’ authored by Lane Fox at page 28 under ‘PART II – CULTURE’. This section covered ‘Inquiries into the monuments and other relics of a past age, with the ideas of the people concerning them’ (*N&Q* 1874: vi). The text under ‘ARCHAEOLOGY’ is identical in the first (1874), second (1892) and third (1899) editions of *N&Q*.

The 1892 edition of *N&Q* has ‘XLVI. ARCHAEOLOGY’ at page 176 under ‘PART II – ETHNOGRAPHY’. John George Garson (c. 1861–1932) doctor and anthropometrist, and Charles Hercules Read (1857–1929), Keeper of Ethnography at the British Museum, the editors of the second edition, changed Part II from ‘Culture’ to ‘Ethnography’ and rearranged the subheadings ‘with a view of bringing into greater prominence the queries which present the least difficulty to those whose special knowledge may be slight’. This change in semantics has also been identified as an intellectual shift because ‘Uncivilised Lands’ was dropped from the title of the publication (Petch 2007: 23; Coote 1987: 261).

#### FIELD NOTES AND QUERIES ON ARCHAEOLOGY

Neither Christian nor the Routledges explicitly reference *N&Q* in their field notes or publications. Importantly, *N&Q* was developed before archaeology was highly specialised. Its intended audience was extensive and included untrained travellers and scientific amateurs; with many copies of the first and second editions being distributed to missionaries around the globe (Urry 1972: 49). It can be considered the most basic standard set of requirements:

The object of the work is to promote accurate anthropological observation on the part of travellers, and en-

able those who are not anthropologists themselves to supply the information which is wanted for the scientific study of anthropology at home (Lane Fox 1878: A2).

The first and second editions of *N&Q* were in existence before Christian’s first expeditions (1894–96) to the Pacific Islands. The demand for *N&Q* increased greatly between 1892 and 1899, with reprints required; it was a popular and highly sought-after publication during this period (Urry 1972: 49; Petch 2007: 27). The timing of the Routledges’ expeditions to the Pacific post-1912 makes their engagement with the publication and its authors an interesting case study for the development of archaeological field methods after the establishment of formal training (e.g. the 1905 Diploma in Anthropology at Oxford, which included the subject of Prehistoric Archaeology taught at the Pitt Rivers Museum) and the division of anthropology and prehistoric archaeology, as each required separate specialised skillsets. Collections from Christian and the Routledges are held in the British Museum and Pitt Rivers Museum: both museums were influential in advising on field collection methods in *N&Q*.

I examined the archival records of these English explorers to investigate their relationships and associations with *N&Q* and its expert authors. Before the rise of scientific specialisation at the end of the 19th century, the role of the gentleman scholar was greatly respected because their perceived independence gave their observations credible objectivity (Vetter 2011: 129). It is easy to place Christian and his 1894–1896 Pacific expeditions in this category. After this point in history we see the power-knowledge categories change from a reliance on lay observations to a rejection of such participation and a rise in specialisation resulting in the domination of experts (Gooday 2008: 449; Urry 1972: 50). This makes it more challenging to categorise the work of the Routledges on Easter Island.

#### FREDERICK WILLIAM CHRISTIAN

Christian wrote that he ‘... took a school boy’s fancy to visit the islands of the Pacific, one of the pardonable ambitions of youth...’ (Christian 1899b: 169). During his journeys (1894–1896) he travelled to the Caroline Islands especially to see the ruins of Nan Madol on Pohnpei, he also went from New Zealand to Tahiti, and to the Marquesas group. After Christian returned he sold 155 Pacific objects to the British Museum in 1899.<sup>5</sup> Christian did not identify himself as a prehistoric archaeologist, but rather as an aspiring philologist. He only references archaeology once in his two published books: ‘[in] Sydney I met Louis Becke ... who told me of an ancient island Venice shrouded in jungle, an enchanted region of archaeology ... Micronesia ... that promised rich results to the student of folk-lore and philology.’ (Christian 1899a: xii). Christian imagined:

a fine, wide, new field for original research in the tabu-

lating of these elusive, yet fascinating Polynesian dialects ... I also determined to collect all the folk-lore and bits of early history obtainable which might throw light upon the migrations of the mixed races occupying the wide Pacific area. (Christian 1910:17).

It is likely that Christian referred to the directives that Max Müller (1823–1900), Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford, had sent to the Colonial Office on the collection of philological data, rather than to N&Q (Urry 1972:56). Christian considered he was doing scientific work, like his colleagues in the recently-formed Polynesian Society of New Zealand, and praised the work of ‘Professor Max Müller of Oxford, Dr Middendorf and Professor Van Martius of Leipzig, and other Teutonic savants’ (Christian 1910:16). This work included finding links to Aryan roots and Caucasian elements in the Polynesian languages. Christian’s field notes reveal that his work on Ponape sought to establish Japanese links to the island.<sup>6</sup>

Christian did not emphasise the collection of stone tools during his expeditions. The N&Q ‘ARCHÆOLOGY’ section focuses on stone objects, ‘Most of the stone implements received from Australia and the Pacific Islands are of recent manufacture, and but little evidence has yet come to hand to throw light on the origin and duration of the stone period of culture in those regions’ (N&Q 1892:176). The introduction concluded:

It is very desirable that, when opportunity offers, the river-drifts and cave-deposits should be examined for the relics of a past age, and that the attention of travellers should be directed to the debris scattered on the surface and in the surface soils turned up by cultivation for the vestiges of a more advanced stone period. The ancient tombs and tumuli should also be examined, and their relics preserved whenever it can be done without offending the superstitions of the people. (N&Q 1892:177)

Christian did investigate tombs on Ponape but does not address the N&Q list of 43 questions and further instructions under the subheadings *Palaeolithic Period (River-drift)*, *Caves*, *Neolithic (Surface) Period*, *Megalithic Monuments*, *Tumuli – Burial-places*, *Ancient Intrenchments*, *Lake Habitations*, *Inscriptions*, and *Ancient Habitations* (N&Q 1892). Nor did he write referring to the other cross referenced sections under the subheadings *Ancient Intrenchments (XLII WAR)*, *Inscriptions (LXXXVI)*, and *Ancient Habitations (LXXVI HABITATIONS)* (N&Q 1892).

There is no evidence that Christian followed the instructions under Pitt-Rivers’ chapter ‘ARCHÆOLOGY’, beautifully illustrated by Arthur John Evans (1851–1941) Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. Evans’ illustrations of principal types of stone implements found in drift-gravels and Neolithic stone flakes span pages 179 to 185 (Figure 1).

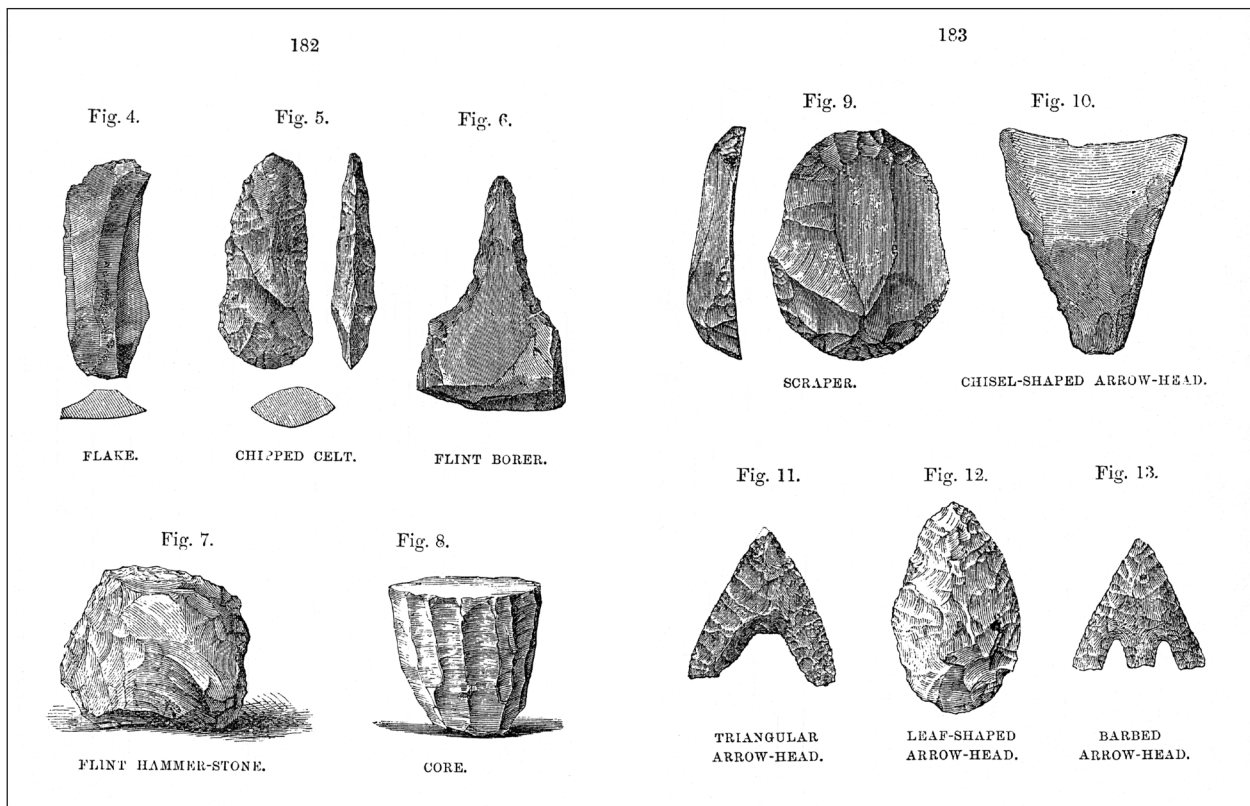


Figure 1. Stone flakes illustrated by Evans’ in the ARCHÆOLOGY chapter (N&Q 1892:182–183).

The illustrations are neatly bookended with point 22: ‘The traveller before starting should make himself thoroughly acquainted with these forms from original specimens at the British Museum or elsewhere; and also with the appearance of stone flakes, bulbs of percussion, facets, &c., and he should be able to distinguish the drift-types from the surface-types as they are known in this country.’ (Pitt-Rivers N&Q 1892:185).

Important instructions are also located at Question 20: ‘Preserve as many specimens as possible, and *label them all at once*, by writing with ink (or preferably lead pencil) upon the stones if possible; take measurements and make outline drawings of any that cannot be carried away, and notice what animal remains are found with them.’ (Pitt-Rivers N&Q 1892:181).

Christian’s field notes do not refer either to the N&Q section on ‘XIII STONE IMPLEMENTS’ also authored by Pitt-Rivers. The latter begins with: ‘The study of the stone implements of modern savages is of interest as a means of explaining the uses and mode of fabricating those of pre-historic times.’ (N&Q 1892:107). There are 38 observational questions listed under this section about the manufacture and use of stone implements, with a cross-reference to archaeology at Question ‘35. Are stone implements used as a medium of exchange in lieu of money? (See also No. XLVI ARCHÆOLOGY)’ (N&Q 1892:107).

Christian collected objects of enough intrinsic interest that they were purchased by the British Museum. He identified himself as a good collector of curios:

The people of Omoa [Marquesas]... are also very clever at chasing with the chisel many beautiful designs ... But curios of this kind are harder to obtain every succeeding year, for, as the skilled native artificers die out, no one trains up others to take their place, and specimens are now scarcely to be found save by careful search in some European museum, or they may be brought to light amongst the dust and cobwebs in some obscure corner of a private collection. Still I was fortunate enough to secure one *Kokaa* or round bowl and one *Umete* or oblong dish, both carved in curious and elaborate patterns. They are now in the British Museum (Christian 1910:138). (Figure 2).

Christian did not intentionally pursue all the objects he collected; he was also given objects that ended up in the British Museum. ‘I carefully stowed away all my luggage and curios, including a large bundle of *tapa* cloth and a small *Tiki* or stone idol of great antiquity and surpassing ugliness that the chief Puku, my Atuona [Marquesas] landlord had presented me with as a farewell gift.’ (Christian 1910:150) (Figure 3). Christian primarily wrote about his philological pursuits. Objects he collected, such as bread-fruit pounders, only received a brief mention, just enough to indicate a collection provenance from a particular island. On page 156 Christian begins explaining his expedi-



Figure 2. Marquesan *Kokaa* or round bowl collected by F.W. Christian and sold to the British Museum (BM Oc.1899,-.158) (Christian 1910: opposite 138)

tion to Washington Island (Ua Huka) aboard *La Corse* and later he casually mentions, ‘I carefully packed my curios, amongst them some fine specimens of basalt pestles used for mashing bread-fruit, and early one calm morning we set forth’ (Christian 1910:176).

The British Museum purchased objects from Christian in 1899 upon his return to the United Kingdom with funds left by the ethnologist, banker and collector Henry Christy (1810–1865). Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826–1897), former Keeper, was the Trustee of the Christy Fund and C. H. Read (1857–1929) was the current Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum. Both Franks and Read were key contributors to N&Q. Letters show that Christian was in direct correspondence with O. M. Dalton (1866–1945), assistant to the Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities, over the price and sale of the objects after they had been exhibited at the RGS. In fact, Christian had revealed his entrepreneurial spirit in a paper read at the RGS:

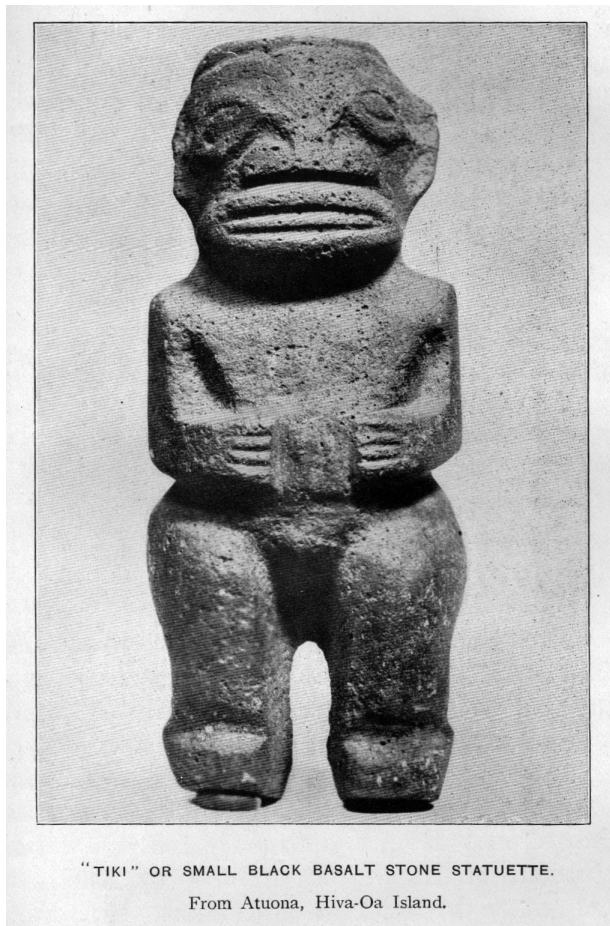


Figure 3. Marquesan small *Tiki* or stone idol collected by F.W. Christian and sold to the British Museum (BM Oc.1899,-.155) (Christian 1910: opposite )

our Government at home ... look[s] tamely on and do[es] nothing [in the South Seas]. Let us wake from this torpor like men of business and try what we can do. Surely where the French, Germans, and Norwegians can make money, we can make money too! (Christian 1899b:175)

Christian was clearly not purposefully pursuing archaeological field investigations. His interest was overwhelmingly in philology, and the ethnographic observations and archaeological objects he collected were secondary evidence to support his assertions; for instance, using art to identify Javanese and Japanese influences in the Pacific Islands (Christian 1910:93). Both *N&Q* and *Hints to Travellers*, this latter published by the RGS, contain instructions on photography and the collection of specimens for museums. Christian may, therefore, have carried other questionnaires such as *Hints to travellers*, the fifth (1883) edition being the most current before his 1894 voyage. This edition included a chapter on Anthropology

by Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917) Keeper of the Oxford University Museum of Natural History, who recommended and cross-referenced *N&Q* in the text (Tylor 1883:224). I think it more likely however, that Christian took the advice of fellow travellers, including anthropologists on what to collect as well as being the fortunate recipient of gifts from the local people he visited.

Christian was knowledgeable across several disciplines, but he primarily associated archaeology with stone monuments. In a paper on his travels to the Caroline Islands, delivered to the RGS in December 1898, he identified:

The special interest ... is fourfold –

1. To the geographer ...
2. To the student of history ...
3. To the archaeologist, for the existence of certain massive structures of stone upon the islands of Ponape and Kusaie<sup>7</sup>, to the eastward of the chain.
4. To the philologist ... (Christian 1899c:106).

Further evidence that Christian was not overly interested in stone tools for archaeological study and did not have *N&Q* to refer to directly is seen in correspondence dated 1919. Christian was somehow misinformed about observing cave deposits for stratigraphic sequencing as described in *N&Q* at point 11. ‘... note the relics in each stratum. In limestone caverns, note the thickness of any stalagmite coating upon or beneath the floors.’ (*N&Q* 1874:31). Christian, while working as head teacher on Mangaia Island, had sent some stalactites to the British Museum and received a rejection letter from C. H. Read, which stated:

I cannot imagine we want anything your natives are now making. They could be so much trained with civilized ideas as to be useless or worse, as far as my department is concerned, the only remains that would be of great interest are those from ancient native burials or from caves. If you can obtain any of the former, then make sure that every specimen from the grave is secure. Objects from caves are apt to be in a bad state, but still they may be very desirable. I do not fancy stalactites from caves are of any interest to anyone...<sup>8</sup>

Christian used ‘the science of Comparative Philology’ to pursue the origins and ‘history of Primitive Man’ (Christian 1910:16). It is therefore incorrect to class him merely as a lay observer, especially for his time. It is unfortunate, however, that his unsupervised investigations of the burials at Nan Madol on Ponape, Caroline Islands, were conducted without first seeking more advice or at least following *N&Q*. Archival research has not revealed anything of the collection methods he used at this site. His ‘Ponape’ notes record only philological and architectural observations, in which he identified a Japanese influence.<sup>9</sup>

## NOTES &amp; QUERIES 1912 EDITION

The contribution of N&Q to the Routledges' work may be assessed differently because they worked after the c.1912 intellectual shift in anthropology, when 'ARCHÆOLOGY' was no longer a chapter in N&Q. The specialisation of sub-disciplines saw the fracturing of scientific anthropology's branches evident in the difference between the third and fourth editions of N&Q. Pitt-Rivers' 'ARCHÆOLOGY' section had remained the expert guidance in N&Q for thirty-eight years until the fourth edition omitted it. Archaeology is not referred to at all in the fourth edition of N&Q. The preface by C. H. Read rationalised these changes as follows: 'The needs of anthropology are no longer quite what they were; the methods by which they are to be satisfied are more precise and exacting; and the standpoint, even of the untrained observer, has shifted perceptibly' (N&Q 1912: iv).

Read acknowledged the role of experts in certain 'technical' anthropology branches and this was used to explain omissions from the fourth edition: 'investigations into language, anatomy, physiology, psychology, and medical matters, which necessitate a high degree of technical knowledge in the investigator should be excluded or very slightly excluded ... narrative form should as far as possible be substituted for the old lists of "leading questions" ... care should be taken to define technical terms and provide precise English nomenclature for the chief classes of processes and things which anthropologists have to describe' (N&Q 1912: v).

Archaeology was clearly intended to be excluded by John Linton Myres (1869–1954), a key contributor to the fourth N&Q edition, who himself was an archaeologist and historian. He certainly had the qualifications to include archaeological instructions as the Wykeham Professor of Ancient History at Oxford (Petch 2007: 29; Urry 1972: 55). Furthermore, Henry Balfour (1863–1939), first curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum who taught Prehistoric Archaeology at the museum as part of Oxford's Diploma of Anthropology from 1905, also contributed to N&Q in 1912 and 1929, but again did not seek to include instructions on archaeology (Petch 2007: 30). 'Material Culture' became a section of N&Q Part III in 1929 but did not provide instruction on archaeological approaches to its study.

If the Routledges carried the current 1912 edition of N&Q it, therefore, would not have helped them much with archaeological investigations. Myres had rewritten the majority of sections that referenced archaeology in previous editions. The previous section on stone monuments was greatly reduced and incorporated with earthworks, retitled as 'STONE MONUMENTS, AND EARTHWORKS CONNECTED THEREWITH'. Monuments from many parts of the world are described as 'rude monuments ... of uncertain age and purpose' and it is stated that 'mere size has clearly nothing to do with antiquity'.

The section on 'STONE, BONE, IVORY, SHELL and OTHER HARD MATERIALS' that explained stone imple-

ments was abridged by Myres to 'The processes employed in making stone implements by those who still use them are worth careful study, because they are found to throw much light on the manufacture of stone implements in earlier ages,' followed by a list of 'leading questions' (N&Q 1912: 93–94). This restructure demonstrates that the omission of archaeology was indeed purposeful. The only remaining question that slightly hinted at archaeology asked, 'Do the people ever find stone implements in the ground? if so, what account do they give of them?' (N&Q 1912: 94). However, this question was arguably more directed at anthropological interests because it enquired about people's beliefs.

## THE ROUTLEDGES

The Routledges' left for Rapanui aboard *Mana* on 25th March 1913 from Falmouth to conduct an archaeological survey for the British Museum. Their expedition appeared a somewhat disorganised research mission. Van Tilburg (2003: 196) observed critically that their pre-expedition planning lacked scientific hypotheses and goals, and that there were only four major questions of interest:

Who were the people who had discovered and settled remote and nearly inaccessible Rapa Nui? Where did they come from? What, exactly, was the significance of the statues? How are the statues linked to the present inhabitants of the island? (Van Tilburg 2002: 66).

Although they were not institutionally based, the Routledges were *au fait* with the latest developments in the discipline of archaeology through their associations with the BAAS, RGS, RAI and British Museum (Van Tilburg 2003: 196).

The Routledges received various letters containing advice and requests before beginning the expedition to Easter Island. The Routledge collection at the RGS contains numerous items of correspondence concerning the Easter Island expedition, including suggestions on where to go, which seeds to plant on Easter Island from Suttons and Sons seed company, and on digging and sieving techniques from Alice Grenfell (1842–1917), expert on Egyptian amuletic scarabs and hieroglyphs. She was the mother of Bernard Pyne Grenfell (1869–1926), who had excavated in Egypt in 1893–94 with W. M. Flinders Petrie (1853–1942), pioneer in archaeological field methods and Egyptologist.<sup>10</sup>

Christian wrote to the Routledges on 22 December 1910, offering phrase and grammar books for their trip to the Eastern Pacific, and referred them to his two books from his own journeys there:

Dear Sir,  
Whilst calling at the Royal Geographical Society the other day I am told that you are making a yachting-voyage out to the Eastern Pacific. – As I have spent

a good many years in the South Seas exploring and gathering ethnographical material for the Polynesian Society of New Zealand, of which I am a corresponding member and having done a lot of grammar and dictionary-making and philological work in Polynesian languages, I thought perhaps I might be able to give you some helpful information.<sup>11</sup>

Thomas Athol Joyce (1878–1942), an anthropologist then working at the British Museum as C. H. Read’s assistant, wrote:

Dear Routledge,  
... the only place I feel certain you would do something epoch-making is Easter Island ... no need to use care in excavation there that is necessary in Egypt; don’t expect to find stratified remains which it is possible to date by their position, and as for results I feel that you would do more with a spoon than a spade elsewhere.<sup>12</sup>

Joyce did not believe the *Mana* Expedition required a trained archaeologist because Easter Island was not as rich in archaeology as Egypt. On Marett’s recommendation however, O.G.S. Crawford (1886–1957) was appointed to carry out the archaeological work because he had studied archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum during his Diploma at Oxford. Unfortunately, the Routledges did not get along with Crawford and he left the *Mana* in Chile (for details see Van Tilburg 2002, 2003: 97). No replacement was found so Marett sent further archaeological instructions to Routledge: ‘Other things – survey of islands, photographs of remaining monuments, descriptions of modern islanders, etc. – seem quite secondary compared with discovery and investigation of caves. There lie the treasured secrets – Good luck.’<sup>13</sup> (Marett 1912, cited in Van Tilburg 2003: 97).

#### WILLIAM SCORESBY ROUTLEDGE

Survey of Scoresby’s notebooks in the RGS indicated he used N&Q (first, second or third edition) more than was observed in Katherine’s documents. Interestingly, the notebooks of Scoresby Routledge contained rough notes and outline-tracings of stone tools with local names. In contrast to Christian, he followed Pitt-Rivers’ instructions for recording XII STONE IMPLEMENTS (N&Q 1892:107) and particularly stone tools in the XLVI ARCHÆOLOGY chapter at Question 20 ‘take measurements and make outline drawings of any that cannot be carried away’ (N&Q 1892:181). His notebook contains records about the stone tools, mostly adzes, being collected in the field for the British Museum.<sup>14</sup>

Before the expedition Scoresby visited the Cambridge Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology and the British Museum, where he collected postcards with images of Easter Island objects on them, made notes and drew

sketches of objects.<sup>15</sup> Again, this followed the instructions from N&Q’s ‘ARCHÆOLOGY’ chapter at ‘Question 22’ advising travellers to visit and become familiar with original specimens at the British Museum or similar before beginning an expedition (Pitt-Rivers N&Q 1892:185). Katherine Routledge visited Hoa Hakananai’a, the Easter Island Statue collected in 1868 by HMS *Topaze*, at the British Museum many times before the voyage but she did not note visiting any other archaeological collections or examining stone tools (Routledge 1919:166, 187).

Importantly, it was Scoresby who was most interested in prehistoric archaeology, seeking out caves and stone tools. As a result many of the Routledges’ 464 objects acquired by Joyce at the British Museum in 1920 were stone tools (including 30 adzes from Easter Island). This also applies to the 372 objects from Easter Island in the Pitt Rivers Museum collection (some selected by Balfour in c. 1916, the rest donated in 1951 by Scoresby’s heir John Charles Dundas Harington (Van Tilburg 2003: 251)). Katherine found the subject of stone tools ‘somewhat cold’ and while on Easter Island she criticised Scoresby for writing ‘elaborate essays on the subject of stone chisels’ (Van Tilburg 2003: 179). However she is credited for the field collection of 92 objects in the British Museum collection that include stone tools.

Scoresby was also experienced in collecting objects for the British Museum from his 1902 expedition to live with the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya; the British Museum acquired 43 objects from him in 1904. Further evidence of N&Q (second or third edition) is found in Scoresby and Katherine’s 1910 publication *With a Prehistoric People: The Akikuyu of British East Africa*. The contents follow fairly closely the headings under PART II on Ethnography (N&Q 1892). For instance the Routledges’ chapters on ‘Dress–Land and Agriculture–Flocks and Herds–Food and Cookery–Arts and Crafts–Family Life–Social Customs and Ceremonies–Dancing–Games–Political Life–Sacrifice to God–Snake Worship–Morals–The Medicine Man–Kikkuyu under the English’ can be compared with N&Q’s ‘Clothing–Pastoral life–Agriculture, Training of Animals–Food–Morals–Convents–Laws–Customs–Government–Taboo–Circumcision–Initiation Ceremonies–Games and Amusements–Religion and Fetishes–Contact with Civilised Races.’ The British Museum received a further 119 Kenyan ethnographic objects from the Routledges in 1910.

#### KATHERINE ROUTLEDGE

Katherine was knowledgeable within one or two specialities from her training at Oxford where she would have met N&Q contributor Balfour. She was primarily taught the Diploma of Anthropology at the Pitt Rivers Museum by another N&Q contributor, social anthropologist Robert Ranulph Marett (1866–1943), who was a student of evolutionary anthropologist E. B. Tylor (1832–1917). Katherine received anthropological training, but did not study ar-

chaeology and never received any formal training in surveying, excavation, museum studies or artefact analysis (Van Tilburg 2002:66, 2003:37). She only received brief instruction on excavation before the 1913 expedition to Easter Island from Marett, who provided her with ‘a few rules on a single sheet of notepaper, and she carried it as a talisman in the pocket of her field jacket’ (Van Tilburg 2003:37). Given his affiliation with the RAI, Marett could have extracted the information from the pages on archaeology in the third edition of *N&Q*.

It is difficult to identify any specific reference to the use of *N&Q* for archaeological investigations in Katherine’s field notes at the RGS. Katherine spent a significant time on Easter Island without Scoresby, who had suffered acute dysentery and returned to Chile on the *Mana* (Van Tilburg 2003:176). Van Tilburg’s (2002, 2003:37) analysis identified Routledge as a ‘messy’ field archaeologist:

Katherine boldly – and quite messily – plunged into excavating forty or more Easter Island statues and many other archaeological sites. In the beginning she approached the work with some order and discipline. Rather soon however, she abandoned herself into hasty and ill-conceived rummaging that, when confronted today in the pages of her field notes, causes a modern archaeologist to cringe.

Katherine’s training at Oxford would have made her aware of the increasing specialisations across the anthropological disciplines. Perhaps she saw the earlier (first, second and third) editions of *N&Q* as out-dated; it fits that she did not follow Scoresby’s use of the questionnaire as they disagreed on many points (Van Tilburg 2003). Instead she preferred to rely on the up-to-date information from her connections at Oxford: Marett and Balfour.

There are some beautiful line drawings of stone tools among the Routledges’ notes in the RGS.<sup>16</sup> These drawings are published as ‘STONE TOOLS (Toki)’ fig. 52’ and ‘fig. 53’ on page 180 in Katherine’s book *The Mystery of Easter Island* (1919) and credited to ‘H. Balfour’<sup>17</sup> (Figure 4). This is the only time stone tools are mentioned in her book; they are identified as the tools used to produce the statues (*moai*) at the quarries. Again, Katherine had relied on the expert advice of Balfour rather than Scoresby on the subject of stone tools but they were written about ethnographically rather than archaeologically. Routledge, like Christian, associated archaeology primarily with monumental stone ruins; however, she was following Marett’s advice.<sup>18</sup>

Katherine attempted to make an original contribution to the archaeology of Easter Island. Experts such as Joyce however, did not accept the level of sophistication in her ideas on cultural continuity and the indigenous development of the Easter Island people; namely, that the Rapa Nui ‘are the makers of the statues’ and that there was a Melanesian element in Rapa Nui culture (Routledge

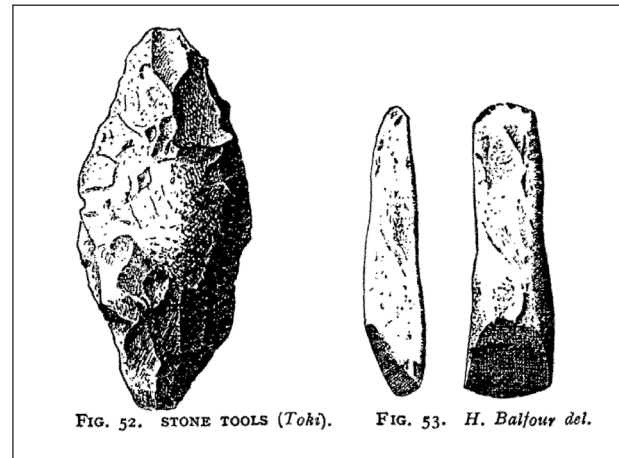


Figure 4. Henry Balfour’s illustrations of ‘STONE TOOLS (Toki)’ ‘fig. 52’ and ‘fig. 53’ (Routledge 1919:180).

1919:183; Van Tilburg 2003:199; Van Tilburg 2016 pers. com.). An earlier wave of people was thought to have been responsible for the construction of the statues, not the current population (Van Tilburg 2003:199). Katherine’s idea, therefore, was in contradiction with the findings of Arthur Keith, Museum Conservator at the Royal College of Surgeons, observed in his *Preliminary Report on the Collection of Human Skulls and Bones Made on Easter Island by Mr and Mrs Scoresby Routledge*:

it was inferred [previously] that Easter Islanders were Polynesians with a certain admixture of Melanesian blood. [In this study] ... there is clearly a recognisable Polynesian element. ... Their nearest relatives are still to be sought in the stenocephalic Melanesian type of the West<sup>19</sup>

Upon her return to England, Routledge sought further expert advice about the origins of the current Easter Islanders. With the assistance of Balfour, she linked the Polynesian bird-cult witnessed on Easter Island to similar iconography seen in the Solomon Islands in Melanesia (Routledge 1919:298). She pursued this idea by drawing links to similar statues to the north on Mangareva Island as quoted in a newspaper account:

This culture seems to be very closely allied to that of the Solomon Islands, and ‘it seems likely that the symbolism of many of the ideographic signs employed in the Easter Island script may be explained by a study on the spot of closely similar designs still used in the Solomon Islands, the symbolic significance of which might be ascertained before it is too late.’ Thus a survey of the materials collected by Mr. and Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, interpreted by the wide ethnographical knowledge of Mr Henry Balfour, seems to bring us at last within reach of a solution of the mystery of Easter Island.<sup>20</sup>



This use of material culture was in contrast to the evidence Katherine Routledge used to establish the links between the contemporary Rapanui and the Easter Island statues (*moai*). She had looked at the stylistic continuities but also conducted and documented several interviews with local people, especially older people, to collect oral histories and folklore which linked current descendants to ancestors who carved the statues. Routledge’s indigenous development theory based on her first hand observational evidence is close to current theories about the origins and continuity of development of Rapanui people (e.g. Rainbird 2002; Kjellgren et al. 2001; Van Tilburg 1994).

#### LEGACIES FOR PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE PACIFIC

The contribution of N&Q to the Routledges’ work can be seen in their field notes, and although Christian did not use it for his collection of objects in the field, he did interact with many N&Q contributors upon his return from the Pacific. Nonetheless, the fieldwork of Christian and the Routledges did impact on the spread of new archaeological knowledge. As put by Gower (1997: 5) scientific method and reasoning plus the spread of new knowledge give validity to field results and contribute to the success of individuals:

If we wish to explain the success of the work of scientists we will have to refer to the methods ... [and] the reasoning they use to justify their new knowledge ... but it is also important when we turn to the distribution of that new knowledge.

Christian’s fieldwork collections, in contrast to his philological work, did not make a particularly sensational impact on the newly emerging discipline of prehistoric archaeology. He delivered his results through the usual channels of presenting and publishing papers at the RGS (e.g. Christian 1899b, 1899c). He was much more influenced by philological studies that were then loosely connected with but separate from the emerging discipline of prehistoric archaeology at the RAI. His conclusions, however, reached the wider public sphere through the publication of his two books, papers and his series of lectures.

Christian’s motivations and ideas fit very well into the colonial processes of collecting and museum making (see Rainbird 2004; Welsch 2000; Gosden & Knowles 2001). Interestingly, there is some documentation of indigenous agency (i.e. giving gifts) in Christian’s writings, but overall he was part of a larger competitive collector culture, which ‘confuse[d] and confound[ed] these processes that shaped all early museum collections no matter whether made by scholar, sea captain or visiting sailor’ (Welsch 2000: 156–57). While Christian may not have been as popular in Britain as the Routledges, he was well regarded by the Hawaiian Historical Society and the Polynesian Society of New Zea-

land (Hawaiian Historical Society 1900; Polynesian Society 1898).

The Routledges published papers in a range of disciplines: folklore, ethnography, anthropology and geology. The most striking contrast between Scoresby and Katherine Routledge was Katherine’s popularity in the press. This also accounts for the credit Katherine was given over Scoresby for the archaeological work carried out on Easter Island. When her book was published in 1919 it was widely reviewed in newspapers around the world. There were numerous articles reporting the discoveries on Easter Island, and Katherine argued her theories and dismissed other popular myths in newspaper interviews.<sup>21</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The methods Christian used to acquire archaeological objects were not pioneering, and he did not refer to N&Q; rather he was a fortunate collector. Scoresby, through his association with the RAI and RGS, had access to N&Q and was able to make a contribution to prehistoric archaeology, a field he was not specifically trained in. Katherine Routledge, in contrast to Scoresby and Christian, consulted her contacts at Oxford for advice on current techniques and for help in developing her interpretations about the origins of Pacific peoples. Credit must be given to Katherine for her persistence when left to undertake the fieldwork alone while Scoresby was away on the *Mana*, and her speed in learning; she was a pioneering scholar of her time.

The Routledges’ engagement with N&Q (third and fourth editions) and its authors in relation to Easter Island has meant that their work has produced a greater archaeological legacy than Christian’s, particularly when considering the collections in the RGS, Pitt Rivers Museum and British Museum.<sup>22</sup> Importantly, however, the Routledges did not deposit their field notes with the objects at the museums, because they had intended to use them to write publications.<sup>23</sup> Reuniting the field notes held in the RGS with the museum collections has only recently revealed the full significance of these collections as archaeological legacies (e.g. Van Tilburg 2003).

The significance of Christian’s and the Routledges’ contributions to Pacific studies has not been exhaustively explored here through their works. Rather, the paper has examined their engagement with N&Q and investigated the field methods they used to obtain objects during their journeys through the Pacific. Although these artefacts were not acquired using modern archaeological field techniques or documented as rigorously as we would expect today, they were accepted by the museums as exemplary specimens and remain resources to be studied. Several researchers have visited the Routledge and Christian collections in the Pitt Rivers Museum and the British Museum in more recent times to extract more knowledge from these objects (e.g. Figueroa & Sanchez 1965; Carreau 2012). There is thus an ongoing contribution from these

collections to the construction of Pacific archaeological knowledge.

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### Endnotes

- 1 'Royal' was not added to the title until 1905 (Petch 2007:35).
- 2 Royal Anthropological Institute. Biography Database.
- 3 *ibid*
- 4 *ibid*
- 5 There are also 52 objects in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford and 26 objects at the National Museums Scotland, Glasgow from F.W. Christian's Pacific expeditions.
- 6 Royal Anthropological Institute. MS 161 'Ponape Notes'.
- 7 Ponape is now known as Pohnpei and Kusaie is now Kosrae.
- 8 British Museum. Department of Prehistory and Europe Correspondence 1919. Received letter from F. W. Christian dated 18/8/19; Outgoing letter to F. W. Christian, Esq. The Mission House, Mangaia Island, 21st October 1919 from C. H. R.
- 9 RAI. MS 161 'Ponape Notes'.
- 10 Royal Geographical Society. WSR/4/1/2 'Letters to Routledge 1910'.
- 11 RGS. WSR/4/1/2 'Letter from Frederick W. Christian to (Routledge) 22 Dec 1910'.
- 12 RGS. WSR/4/1/2 'Two letters from T.A. Joyce to Routledge: 19 and 25 July 1910 with copy of letter A.W.F. Fuller to Joyce 23 July 1910'.
- 13 RGS. WSR/4/1/2 'Five letters from R.(R.) Marett to Mrs. Routledge: 31 May, 3 June, 7 June, 21 June and 8 Dec, 1912'.
- 14 RGS. WSR/4/14 'Collection of notes, chiefly in hand of W. Scoresby Routledge, on Easter Island statues etc'.
- 15 *ibid*; RGS. WSR/4/20/1 'Catalogue of objects from Easter Is. Vol.1. (39 objects listed in a ruled cash notebook)'.
- 16 RGS. WSR/4/17/8 'Nine pages of ink sketches of carvings and stone tools'.
- 17 It is most likely Balfour illustrated these two stone tools after the objects were presented to the Pitt Rivers Museum. Other examples of Balfour's stone tool illustrations can be seen for instance at page 448 of Balfour's notes on the

Westlake collection in the Pitt Rivers Museum accession books [PRM 1934.83].

- 18 RGS. WSR/4/1/2 'Five letters from R.(R.) Marett to Mrs. Routledge: 31 May, 3 June, 7 June, 21 June and 8 Dec, 1912'
- 19 RGS. WSR/4/10/42 'Preliminary Report on the Collection of Human Skulls and Bones Made on Easter Island by Mr and Mrs Scoresby Routledge' (report by Arthur Keith).
- 20 RGS. WSR/4/13 'The World's News Saturday 14 December 1918'
- 21 RGS. WSR/4/13 'Collection of news cuttings referring to the Scoresby Routledge expedition to Easter Island: *The World's News Saturday* 14 December 1918'.
- 22 The ethnographic objects and their legacy require a separate assessment. It should also be remembered that Scoresby kept many objects in his home museum that were donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum and the British Museum at a later date.
- 23 RAI. 70/1/10.11 'Letter from W. Scoresby Routledge to the RAI Re: The Estate of the late Mrs. K.M. Routledge dated 11.8.37'

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## **Notes and Queries on Anthropology: influence sur l’archéologie préhistorique du Pacifique au tournant du 20ème siècle.**

**RÉSUMÉ :**

Dans la première édition de 1874 de *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* furent publiées des instructions aux voyageurs pour la collecte d’objets archéologiques. Les archives de la Royal Geographical Society, du Royal Anthropological Institute et du British Museum ont été consultées pour étudier l’influence que *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* a pu avoir sur les premiers archéologues de terrain dans le Pacifique au début du XXe siècle, et comment ceci a pu contribuer à la mise en place de la pratique archéologique préhistorique dans la région. Cet article évalue l’héritage archéologique laissés par les expéditions de trois pionniers de l’archéologie océanienne: Frederick William Christian (1867–1934), William Scoresby Routledge (1859–1939) et Katherine Routledge (1866–1935).