The Thomas Layton Collection:
Reassembling the 'Artificial Curiosities' of a Victorian Antiquarian

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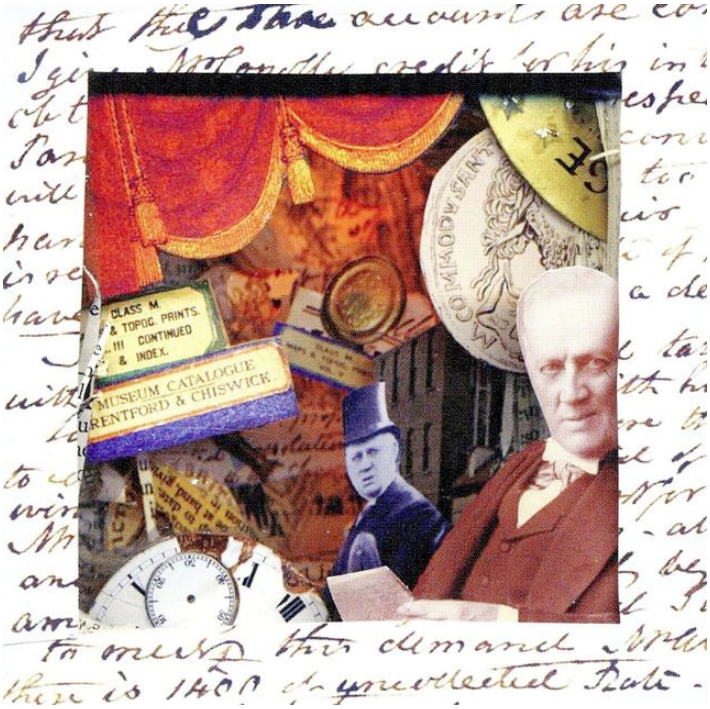

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UCL INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

"The place through which he made his way at leisure was one of those receptacles for old and curious things which seem to crouch in odd corners of this town and to hide their musty treasures from the public eye in jealousy and distrust. There were suits of mail standing like ghosts in armour here and there, fantastic carvings brought from monkish cloisters, rusty weapons of various kinds, distorted figures in china and wood and iron and ivory; tapestry and strange furniture that might have been designed in dreams. The haggard aspect of the little old man was wonderfully suited to the place; he might have groped among old churches and tombs and deserted houses and gathered all the spoils with his own hands. There was nothing in the whole collection but was in keeping with himself; nothing that looked older or more worn than he."

Charles Dickens
The Old Curiosity Shop

Abstract

This dissertation is a study of the little-known London antiquarian Thomas Layton (1819 – 1911). Layton has received little critical academic study in the past, and I seek to re-evaluate his 'fetishistic' collecting habit, in order to better understand his material legacy. Layton is contextualised within a Victorian collecting milieu, to assess whether he was influenced by contemporary scientific theories and approaches to collecting. A case study is made of his ethnographic collection and specifically the Oceanic material. By applying an 'archaeological sensibility' in regards to analysis of the collection, it is proved that Layton was not influenced by evolutionary ideas. However, it does reveal his collections were subject to many agencies including that of Victorian salesrooms and auction houses. This study proves that its methodological approach allows us to engage 'entangled' collections within the museum in new ways and extract meaning from them.

Acknowledgments

Firstly I would like to acknowledge my supervisor, Dr Paul Basu, for his help and encouragement in allowing me to develop my research topic over many months. Thanks also to Dr. Sarah Byrne (Horniman Museum – formerly UCL) for her support and for allowing me to read chapters of her forthcoming edited book: *Reassembling the collection: indigenous agency and ethnographic collections* (2012).

I would especially like to acknowledge the support of the Museum of London, for whom I would otherwise not have been able to undertake this MA. In particular I would like to thank Francis Grew for his continual support and especially for allowing me time to undertake the research and writing of this dissertation. I would also like to thank Julie Hawkes and David Ramage for their assistance in accessing the Layton materiel stored at Mortimer Wheeler House. The Museum of London's Photographers: John Chase, Torla Evans and Richard Stroud also took time out of an extremely busy schedule to produce some fantastic images of the ethnographic material (Appendix 3).

The following have provided me with guidance and advice with researching Thomas Layton, as well as a host of other collectors and ethnographic collections: Val Bott (Layton Trust), Jeremy Coote (Pitt Rivers Museum), Jon Cotton (formerly Museum of London), Vanda Foster (Gunnersbury Park Museum), Francesca Hillier (British Museum), Bryn Hyacinth (Cuming Museum) and James Wisdom (Layton Trust).

Lastly, and by no means least, special thanks to Kathryn Creed for her support and encouragement throughout.

Contents

The Thomas Layton Collection:
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1. Introduction

This dissertation will re-evaluate an enigmatic Victorian antiquarian, Thomas Layton (1819 – 1911) and his collection. Layton's vast accumulation of antiquarian objects date from the C17th to the early C20th and are now spread over multiple London sites, the core of which (including the archaeology and ethnography) is on long-term loan to the Museum of London.

Thomas Layton has been described as one of the "most enigmatic and fascinating characters of London archaeology and yet one of the least well known" (Whipp & Blackmore 1977: 90). Layton's obscurity arises from a number of factors including: his private nature regarding collecting during his lifetime; little surviving documentation relating to Layton or his collection and a collection which, for the most part, is kept in storage – the "heart" of the museum (Byrne 2012). This combination of factors has limited the ability of curators and stakeholders to provide access to the collection, and by association, its collector.

Due to such sparse information this dissertation will take a multi-faceted approach in combining an array of sources in an attempt to understand Layton's collecting habit. Importantly, Layton has never been critically contextualised before "as a product of his society" which is essential to understanding his motivations and method of collecting (Teague 2001: 112). Layton has been described as "misguided" and "enigmatic" but without such critical consideration, is this really this case?

My research is intended as a pilot study for how we may approach an antiquarian collection within a museum context and, using the most recent theories of study, how we may be able to re-evaluate and draw meaning from collections that are bereft of object biographies (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden & Marshall 1999).

Section 1 will briefly review the literature pertaining to Thomas Layton and then discuss the methodological approaches for his re-evaluation. Section 2 will introduce Layton and explore his collecting habit, as well contextualising him within the London 'collection scene' of the C19th. Section 3 will provide an overview of the 'collection' and Section 4 a case study of the ethnographic assemblage – objects that I have deliberately entitled with the misnomer 'artificial curiosities'. Section 5 will synthesise collector and collection. Discussion of how this pilot study could be further developed into doctoral research is discussed in the conclusion – Section 6.

Literature Review

A literature review of Thomas Layton and his collection is brief. The most comprehensive study is Galer's (2007): *Layton's Legacy: Thomas Layton of Brentford and his Collection*. This study of Layton and his 'legacy' was produced in response to a HLF *Your Heritage* project – a two year project that resulted in exhibition of part of Layton's collection at Kew Bridge Steam Museum and Gunnersbury Park Museum (see Heal 2007 for a brief review). Although a website exists (http://www.thomaslayton.org.uk/) it is questionable what tangible legacy the project has achieved.

Beyond Whipp & Blackmore's (1977) brief review, only limited attention is paid to Layton as an antiquarian collector (see Read 1912; Turner 1922: 179ff.; Henrey 1946: 11-12, 83; Hume 1956: 23-25; Levine 1986 15, 23; Cotton 2001: 68-69). His collection, the material legacy, has also received little academic investigation. Greatest attention has been paid to the British prehistoric archaeology (see Smith 1910; Smith 1918; Turner 1922ff.). Part of this assemblage is displayed in the Museum of London's *London Before London* gallery (see http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/archive/lbl/pages/toursCollectors1.asp).

1.2 Methodology: Unpacking and Reassembling

My methodological approach to re-evaluating Layton and exploring his collection has been heavily influenced by the recent work of Byrne (*et al* 2011) and Harrison (*et al* 2012). Their studies have focused on ethnographic museum collections and the concept of 'agency', which is explored through a variety of sources. Their notion of an 'archaeological sensibility' has helped me formulate understanding of the agency that has transformed Layton's collection over time, until eventually ending up (for the most part) in a museum storeroom (Byrne 2012; Harrison 2012: 19-30). Treating the collection as an *assemblage* has appealed to my own archaeological sensibilities as a Museum Archaeologist, which is borne out in the case study of Layton's ethnographic objects.

Byrne *et al* (2011) have been influenced by the social theorist Bruno Latour (2005) and his work on Actor-Network Theory (ANT). In my contextualisation of Layton, like many others, my study applies the metaphor of a 'network' as a "methodological tool, not as a theoretical maxim" (Larson *et al* 2007: 217; see also Byrne 2011: 10 and Harrison 2011: 58). Academics such as Harrison have also been influenced by the work of the social anthropologist Alfred Gell (1998) who proposed objects should be treated as 'social actors'. Harrison has further developed Gell's idea to discuss the *material* agency of objects (Byrne 2011: 9; Harrison 2010: 522). Gell's theories in a particular have had a great effect on how we interpret ethnographic objects and their agency (Hooper 2006: 28).

Byrne's study of the collector Alfred Court Haddon has directed my approach towards Layton's ethnographic collecting. I too have tried to discover 'traces': "any evidence found within the collection that reflects human agency" (Byrne 2011: 308). These traces revolve around creator communities, 'collectors' (a very broad term) and curators (Table 1 below).

The act of unpacking Layton's collection in this way is to "probelmatise" it as a "material and social assemblage" (Byrne *et al* 2011:4). To 'reassemble' the collection is to attempt to reconceptualise how we may present both Layton and his collection within the 'museum' (Harrison 2012: 1-2).

Creator Community

- Production
- Use/Display
- Gifting/Selling
- Withholding/Hiding

Field Agent/Collector

- Collecting
- Stealing/Taking
- Selecting/Disposing
- Classifying, Recording, Storing, Publishing
- Exhibiting
- Gifting/Selling/Exchanging

Museum Curator

- Selecting/Disposing
- Exchanging/Selling
- Classifying, Recording, Storing, Publishing
- Exhibiting
- Re-engagement with creator communities (repatriating/acquiring things and knowledges)

Public

- Visiting/Not Visiting
- Viewing
- Learning
- Passing on Knowledge/Contesting
- Circulating References/Images

Table 1: Examples of multiple kinds of agency that contribute to museum collections. (Byrne *et al* 2011: 7).

2. The Collector

2.1 Biography of Thomas Layton

Thomas Layton (1819 – 1911) was a Victorian councillor, who lived in West London. During his entire adult life he played a highly active role in his community, both politically and socially, and was a respected figure (Whipp & Blackmore 1977: 90). Little documentation survives, but that which does gives a good overview of his public life, especially in regards to his involvement in community affairs (Galer 2007: 3-6, 26ff.). Layton's private profile, however, is quite enigmatic and the picture we do get is in disaccord with his public profile as a politician and businessman.

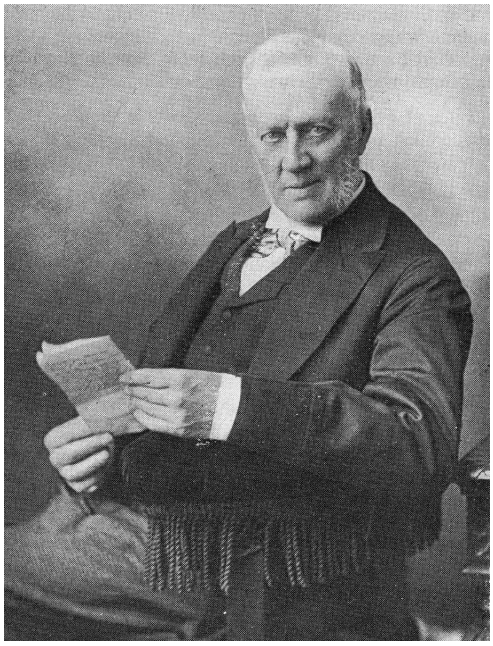


Fig. 1: Thomas Layton (1819 – 1911).
(Whipp & Blackmore 1977: 91)

Layton lived all his adult life in the property known as 22 Kew Bridge House, Brentford with his mother Mary nee Filkin (1779 – 1853) and father Thomas (1783 – 1870) as well as three siblings (Seaton 1992: 1). He was a businessman, working as a coal merchant and lighterman and was also involved in river dredging (Galer 2007: 34; Cotton 2001: 68). He played a prolific role in community affairs beginning as early as 1837 when, aged 18, he became a member of the Board of Guardians charged with poor relief (Galer 2007: 3).

His private life reveals that he was an insatiable antiquarian whom amassed a huge collection during his lifetime which included books, prints, drawings, archaeology, geology, natural history and ethnography (Turner 19: 179ff.). This collection today is much reduced, a

considerable quantity of material having been sold off through auction a few years after Layton's death in 1914.

Layton's 'collecting phase' is extremely long, estimated at 70 years, beginning in the early 1840s (Read 1912: 232). Previous study of Layton as a collector has ignored his collecting habit, that is, the motivations and process by which Layton acquired objects (Pearce 1992: 68ff.; also Macdonald 2011: 89-91). Without critical analysis of Layton's collecting habit, he has been characterised as eccentric and his motivations for his collecting not discussed (Henrey 1946: 11-12). This is in part due to studies focusing on Layton's collection at the end of his life – its *deposition* to coin an archaeological term. In no way has anyone attempted to analyse his *process* of collecting. By firstly providing a critique of Layton as a collector we will be in a far more considered position to undertake evaluation of his collection.

2.2 Layton's Collecting Habit

Personal Archive

It is of first importance to understand why Layton began collecting. From a narrative perspective of collecting Bal (1994: 101) emphasises the 'starting point' of a collection as "the accidental acquisition of the initial object". Only study of Layton's personal accounts will provide evidence of such beginnings.

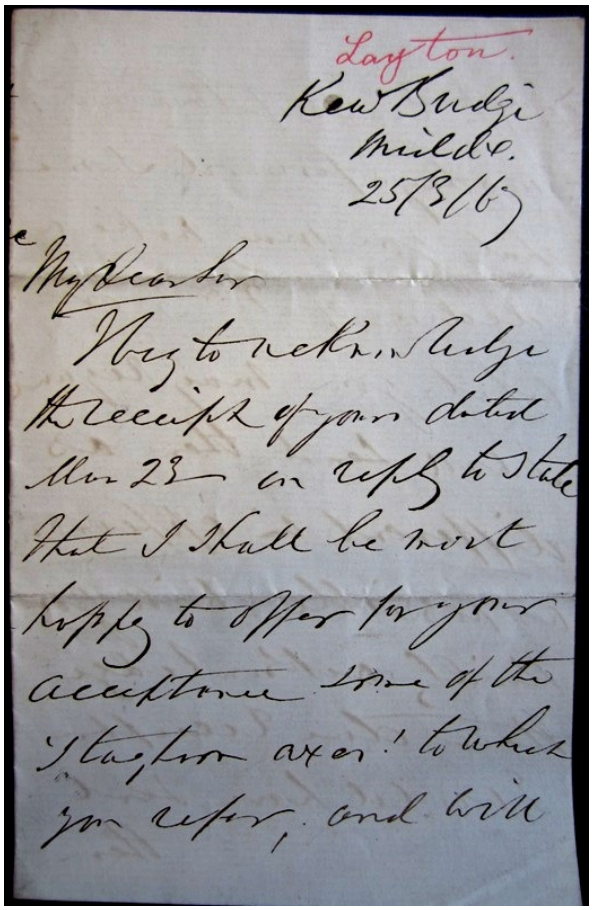
Little personal correspondence concerning Layton survives. That which does – one diary from 1839 and personal correspondence addressed to Layton – is held by Hounslow Library (Galer 2007: 4). However, during research into Layton as part of a Collections Documentation Report, a number of letters were discovered in the British Museum's manuscript archive *from* Layton, previously unknown (Currie *et al* 2011: 47; see also Hasell 2004: 122). What is of further interest is that three of these letters are scribed by Layton's father, Thomas Jewell Layton or Layton Senior, discernable through their notably different handwriting styles (Layton 1866; 1867 and 1869).

Although the letters are few, they add volumes to a paltry personal archive. Galer notes that "one of his [Layton's] books is inscribed with his father's name and dated 1794, so perhaps Layton inherited the taste for collecting from him, along with whatever his father collected" (Galer 2007: 2). The letters to the British Museum clearly indicate Layton Senior was acquiring objects, perhaps through his job as a lighterman and coal merchant in relation to the river. If Layton Senior also had a personal collection, this would be an interesting impetus that might have inspired his son's collecting habit.

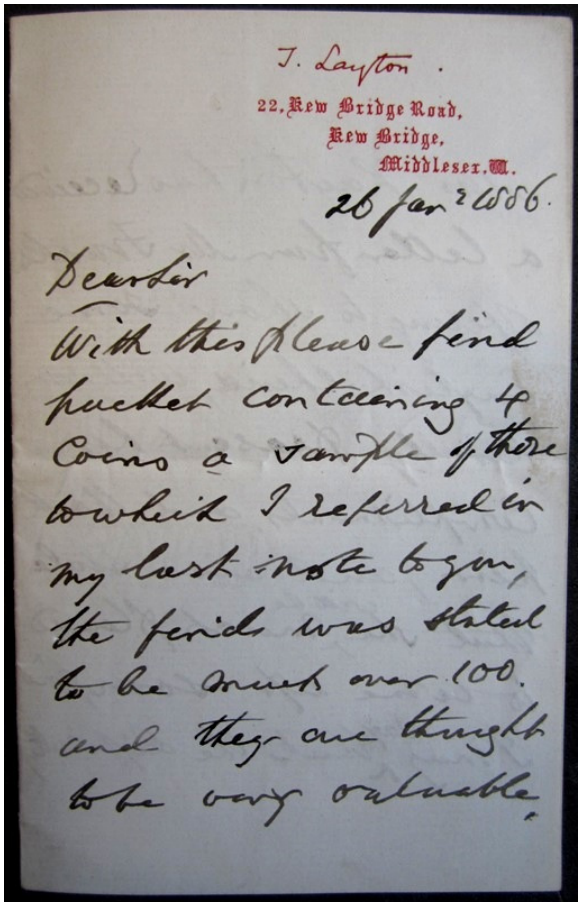
Collecting Impetus

When Layton started to collect and what influenced him are driving factors in understanding the material he acquired. Although it has previously been acknowledged that Layton's father may have been a collector, it certainly hasn't been considered that Layton and his father were contemporary collectors or that they may even have been collecting *together*. One of Layton Senior's letters to the British Museum explicitly states the discovery of objects including axes (presumably prehistoric) and bronze spears (Layton 1869). This letter occurs one year before Layton Junior's admission to the Society of Antiquaries, London and notoriety of the collection may have assisted his membership (Galer 2007: 7). Layton Senior also enquires of Franks, the British Museum's Assistant in the Department of Antiquities: "is it possible to purchase the same anywhere as I should like to do [so]" (Layton 1869). Despite limited evidence, we can suggest that it is more than likely that Layton's father was a collector at this time. Some of the prehistoric artefacts that Layton exhibited to the Society of

Antiquaries, and which are now prized by the Museum of London and displayed in the *London before London* gallery, may in fact have been collected by Layton Senior. How Layton then inherited the collection and his motivation to collect are interesting. In this regard the Laytons are akin to the London collectors the Cumings (see Section 2.3).


Layton.
Kew Bridge
Middx.
25/3/69

My Dear Sir
Beg to acknowledge
the receipt of yours dated
Mar 23rd in reply to state
that I shall be most
happy to offer for your
acceptance one of the
'Clayton axes' to which
you refer, and will


J. Layton.
22, Kew Bridge Road,
Kew Bridge,
Middlesex. M.
26 Jan 1886.

Dear Sir
With this please find
packet containing 40
Coins a sample of those
to which I referred in
my last note to you,
the finds were stated
to be much over 100.
and they are thought
to be very valuable.

Fig. 2 (left) & 3 (right): Examples of handwriting.
Left: Thomas Layton Senior (Layton 1869: 1); Right: Thomas Layton Junior (1886: 1).

An important part of this reassessment of Layton as a collector is to ascertain if he has been misrepresented as a "misguided antiquary" (Hume 1956: 25). It has been said of Layton that "the precise origin of the objects was not important to him" (Whipp & Blackmore 1977: 90). This statement is based upon the fact that Layton did not catalogue his collection and did not seem to apply any order to it. It is in fact erroneous to believe that Layton had absolutely no interest in his objects' context or provenance. Cotton (2001: 69) notes that the "early Layton material" (the prehistoric material) is "tolerably well recorded". An example of such labelling is an adze labelled "Stone implement from New Zealand, North Island" (Acc. No. LT228). If Layton was attaching labels to these objects it is entirely possible, over some seventy years

of collecting and a further sixty-five years since first transferring to the Museum of London that original labels could have been lost.

Fig. 4: Maori Adze. Acc. No. LT228.
The label on the left is potentially an original.

Unfortunately the rest of the collection and especially the ethnography, discussed later, have hardly any provenance or associated documentation. However, this lack of provenance may not be a result of Layton's "misguided" curation. If we take the ethnographic assemblage (almost 500 objects) as an example, we must ask where Layton acquired this material. The answer lies in London's auction houses and salerooms frequented by many Victorian collectors. The detailed provenance of objects being sold through these hundreds of establishments was of little interest unlike today (Geismar 2001: 26). Equally provenance was much less a concern of the collectors, even those working for museums, such as Augustus Franks (King 1997: 139; see also Cook 1997: 121) or in the process of forming a private museum such as Pitt Rivers (Petch 2001: 247).

What was of importance to these collectors were the methods of display of their collections. The display and organisation of collections, both privately and publically, was of major importance since early European collecting (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 23ff.; Pearce 1995: 109ff.). How Layton applied a system (or not) to his collection will tell us a great deal about him as a collector.

There are scant sources that reveal how Layton organised his material. It is known that by the end of his life he had built thirty additional sheds on his property to house his collection (Read 1912: 232; Hume 1956: 23). The local librarian, Fred Turner, who catalogued Layton's collection upon his death, provides a damning report as to the conditions of the house and the sheds (1922: 184, 185).

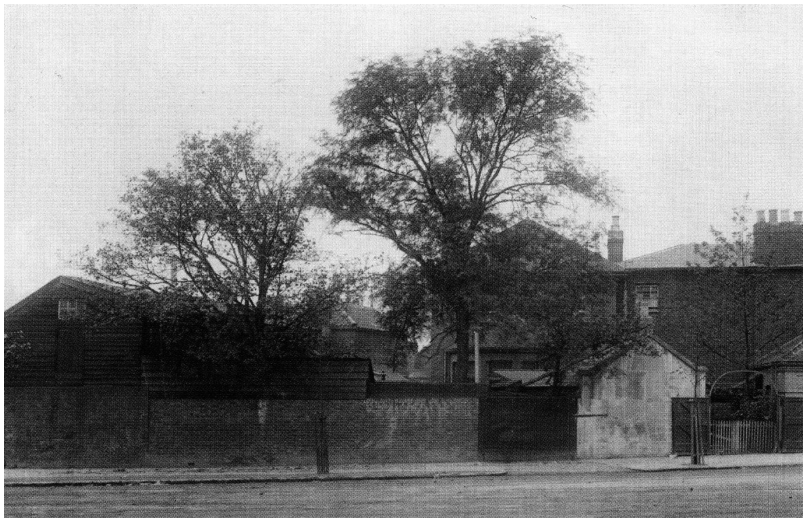


Fig. 5: 'Layton House'. The only know photograph of the property, which also shows the additional sheds and outhouses. (Galer 2007:3).

Our few sources that describe Layton's collection always focus on these sheds, no doubt to emphasise the enormity of the collection and deride the collector. However, what would be of far greater interest would be to know what Layton actually kept in his house – of all the thousands of objects he acquired, which of those did he want to keep close to him? Sigmund Freud provides an interesting parallel here for comparison. Freud is well known for his collection of antiquities, as well as his theories on the psychology of collecting (Gamwell 1996:2-6; Pearce 1992: 73). Of some 2000 objects Freud collected, forty figurines occupied his desk. Gamwell (1996: 12) believes that examination of these objects reveals "his need for colleagues during his early years of professional isolation and his lifelong struggle for the acceptance of his theories." Such psychoanalysis of a collection can be debated, but it would be undoubtedly interesting to know if Layton had a favourite object, amongst the many thousands, which had some personal or deeper meaning to him.

We appear to have only one reference to the interior of Layton's house, by a local novelist the Rev. Robert Henrey (1946):

"Some of these things Mr Layton kept in large sheds in his garden, but many were housed indoors, and the dining-room was filled with swords, spear-heads and axes, together with tusks of Asiatic elephants and the ribs of hippopotami discovered at various times in the London clay between Kew Bridge and Gunnersbury. As these things had a musty smell, and as Mr Layton allowed his five dogs to be unmannered, the atmosphere offended my nostrils; but the house was picturesque..."

(Henrey 1946: 12)

This very brief description emphasises the amount of material that Layton stored in his house and especially the 'dining room'. The display of such objects would be in keeping with Victorian practice as many objects were sold precisely for the purpose of 'public' display (Larson 2009: 11). Torrence & Clarke (2011: 37) reference an ethnographic sales catalogue of Webster with such an example: "A large variety of inexpensive weapons in stock suitable for decoration of Halls & Billiard Rooms". To some degree then, Layton may have applied some form of display and order to his collection.

Pearce (1992: 68) has studied the collecting habit in regards to people "constructing a relationship with the world" and distinguishes three broad modes of collection: 'souvenir', 'fetishistic' and 'systematic'. Layton would very much appear to be fetishistic as the composition of his collection suggests "obsessive nature of the act of collection, and partly the lack of an intellectual rationale by which the material and its acquisition was informed" (Pearce 199: 78). This mode of collecting also empathises "the relationship between the objects and their collector, in which the collection plays the crucial role in defining the personality of the collector, who maintains a worshipful attitude towards his objects." Layton's private nature regarding his collecting and an assumed reluctance to allow others to observe it accords well with Pearce's definition of 'fetishistic collecting'.

Belk (1994: 317-318) provides another analysis of the collecting habit and according to his rationale Layton would be a "non-collector" and an "accumulator" with a tendency towards obsession and compulsion. Layton's obsession may be detected in his relationship with his objects, especially the prehistoric material acquired from the Thames. Personal correspondence between Layton and Charles Read (1857–1929), Keeper at the British Museum, emphasises this. Layton had allowed the British Museum to display part of his prehistoric collection in 1890 (Layton 1890a). When asking for its return he states: "I should like to have the opportunity of looking at them *when* I may feel disposed to do so in their *proper place my own house*" (Layton 1898 – Layton's emphasis). To provide a balanced view however, it should be realised that Layton agreed, in 1890, to loan his material for one year and his request for its return (if the letter is describing the same collection) comes eight years later (Layton 1890a; Layton 1898). Additionally, Layton was aware that the material loaned was no longer "on view" at the Museum, when he originally asked to for the loan to be displayed in a "good and prominent position" (Layton 1898; 1890a). Aside from this exhibition at the British Museum, Layton also exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1872 (Read 1912: 232). As such Layton does not appear to have been a total "recluse" or "extremely reluctance to allow outsiders to see his collection", the correspondence held at Hounslow Library and the British Museum revealing that he actively invited people to see his collection (Hume 1956: 24; Galer 2007: 2; Whipp & Blackmore 1977: 90).

Layton's Legacy

Layton may not have applied a rational system to the arrangement his collection, but he does appear to have had a fundamental purpose for acquiring – to create a museum. A letter dated 1886 from Layton's friend Canon William Greenwell to S G Perceval reads: "Mr Layton is still...intending to build a museum, but he will never do it, or indeed arrange his collection in any order. He is quite hopeless." (Quoted in Galer: 2007: 4). We know Layton also threatened to withdraw his collection from public donation after electoral defeat in 1898 (Galer 2007: 26). It is hard to determine if Layton collected simply in response to his compulsion or whether he was continually collecting with an altruistic agenda of creating a public museum, rather than using it as a justification for his habit.

The rationale to leave one's collection to a museum or indeed establish one's own museum was a common occurrence from the second half of the C19th, a catalyst perhaps being the Great Exhibition of 1851 (King 1997: 149; MacGregor 1997: 26; Hyacinth 2006: 16). Whatever his agenda, Layton, with the help of Charles Read, drew up provision in his will for the establishment of a public museum. Despite such stipulation however, and the allocation of monies, Layton's vision of a museum was never realised due to the will's contest by his nephew (Galer 2007: 4, 9).

I have so far discussed Layton's collecting habit as a fixed method and it should be reiterated that Layton collected for over seventy years. It would be strange to believe that Layton's motivations remained unchanged over such a long lifetime. Formanek (1994: 334) has noted "changes in collecting interests and behaviour over time" create problems when studying collectors. Layton's character, as an eccentric in *later* life, is also in disaccord with his long devotion to his community (Whipp & Blackmore 1977: 91). His house may already have been adorned with collections during his father's lifetime. How did those that he lived with, such as his wife Alice nee Symonds (1833 – 1888), engage with his collecting? Although a broad psychological approach to understanding Layton's motivation for collecting is valuable, we should be careful not to reduce his collecting habit to a "singe motive or cause" and we should also study a collector's "historical context" to provide greater understanding (Macdonald 2011: 89-90).

A study of such a man with so little documentary evidence will always raise more questions than it can answer. I will now contextualise Layton within a contemporary Victorian collecting milieu – the historical, social and cultural agency that may have informed his collecting habit.

2.3 The Victorian Collecting Milieu: Social Evolution, Societies and Salerooms

In Victorian Britain Layton was not unusual for his collecting. Since the C16th century, across Europe, interest in collecting had become a "passion" (Pearce 1995: 109). In Victorian Britain "collecting art, books or antiques was advocated for all homeowners as an informative hobby that cultivated good taste, need not be expensive, and might prove to be prudent investment" (Larson 2009: 11; also Teague 2001: 128-129). Before the C19th, collecting had been the preserve of the elite but the Victorian age saw a "rise of the middle classes" (Gosden & Larson 2007: 54). Antiquarians, historians and archaeologists – amateur and professional – were also on the rise during this period, 1837 – 1901 (Levine 1986).

Archaeology & Ethnography

In the Enlightenment period the epistemological study of artefacts gained major impetus after the voyages of Captain James Cook (1768 – 1779). 'Ethnographic' objects were being acquired under a 'scientific' criterion at this time and were classified as natural (*naturalia*) or artificial (*artificialia*) curiosities (Newell 2003: 246; Henare 2005: 49ff.; Owen 2006: 9; Kaeppler 1978: 37; Henare 2005: 27ff.; Thomas 1991: 126ff.) However, in the Victorian period we witness the development of the discipline known as ethnography as a response to "colonialism and imperialism" (Harrison 2011: 7). The development of ethnography and archaeology were intimately connected in the C19th, but only in the C20th would they become academic disciplines (Chapman 1989: 23).

One individual, who is central to the rise of ethnography and archaeology as a scientific discipline and the change in mode of collections display, is Lieutenant General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (1827 – 1900). Pitt Rivers was an amateur archaeologist who amassed a collection of some 20,000 objects over his lifetime, which he eventually donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1884 (Gosden & Larson 2007: 44). His first public display of his collection was at the Bethnal Green Museum in 1874 where he gave the following address:

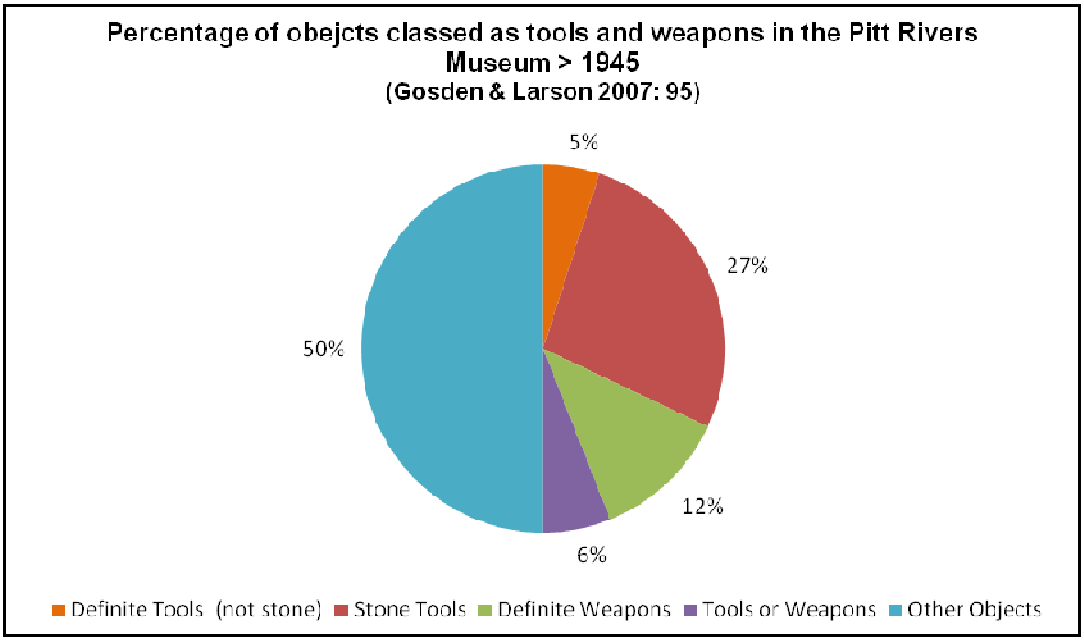
"The collection does not contain any considerable number of unique specimens, and has been collected during upwards of twenty years, not for the purposes of surprising any one, either by the beauty or value of the objects exhibited, but solely with a view to instruction. For this purpose ordinary and typical specimens, rather than rare objects, have been selected and arranged in sequence, so as to trace, as far as practicable, the succession of ideas by which the minds of men in a primitive condition of culture have progressed from the simple to the complex and from the homogenous to the heterogeneous..."

(Quoted in Petch 2001: 26)

Pitt Rivers' concern with instruction was a common Victorian sensibility (Bennett 1995: 25-33; Henare 2005: 149; also Stocking 1987 214ff.). His method of display, however, represented a fundamental change in anthropological thinking of the period.

Pitt Rivers had been influenced by the works of Charles Darwin and other "biological schemes" such as the Linnaean system. The concept of typology was central – arranging objects in a series, that is, a specific order that would be 'read' according to form or function versus provenance. (Chapman IV.5.26; Petch 2001: 242; Gosden & Larson 2007: 23). Prior to Pitt Rivers' introduction of an 'evolutionary scheme' as a mode of display, museums, including one of the earliest displaying 'ethnography' – the Ark – and later, the British Museum and Horniman Museum, had commonly used a 'geographical system' (Chapman 1982: IV.6.27, 29; King 1997: 145; Teague 2001: 126).

The *Relational Museum Project* at the Pitt Rivers Museum has discovered that Pitt Rivers' founding collection was dominated by archaeology (versus ethnography) and that the collections comprised thousands of stone tools – almost 49,000 (Gosden & Larsen 2007: 94). Pitt Rivers was concerned with studying the "evolution of human culture" and stone tools and weapons were an obvious artefact or 'specimen' that could be use to visualise his theories (Gosden & Larson 2007: 47, 96).



For Pitt Rivers "the cultural 'age' of a group was more important than their historical age, so that all people who used stone tools, whether prehistoric times or today, were classified together in academic discourse." (Gosden & Larsen 2007: 93; also Chapman 1989: 28). As

such archaeological and ethnographical objects could be displayed together as part of the same 'series' (Gosden & Larsen 2007: 94).

Writers of the period such as Herbert Spencer, Edward Taylor and John Lubbock "adopted Darwin's theory of natural selection and endowed it with social significance" (Larson 2009: 88). It was through their writings, such as Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, that the acquisition and use of artefacts in this way "underpinned prevalent late-nineteenth century philosophies of empire and justified Western appropriation of indigenous lands, culture and society." (Owen 2006: 20). Darwin's theories now appear to be a rupture upon Victorian society that we could suggest from part of an 'effective history': "a view of the past that emphasises discontinuity, rupture, displacement, and dispersion." (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 10). Although Gosden & Larsen (2007: 108) believe the dichotomy between evolutionary and Biblical understanding of the world is "overstated".

Weapons had been collected since the voyages of Captain Cook and were already a favoured commodity due to the "imperialistic interest" of collectors (Teague 2001: 126). With the advent of Pitt Rivers scheme, weapons and tools became a common bias in Victorian collections (e.g. West 1996: 43; Newell 2003: 249; Harrison 2011: 70. Although depending on the type of 'collector' there can be exceptions e.g. Cadbury 2008: 110).

Fig. 6: Weapons from Wellcome's Collection laid out in the British Museum. 1955.
(Larson 2009: 276)

Duplicates of objects became an important feature of the typological scheme and its technique of seriation. Duplicates could be used to help "fill in the gaps of collections"

although it should be noted Pitt Rivers, just like Layton, is not known for having traded any of his collection (Waterfield & King 2009: 8; Galer 2007: 7; also King 1997: 141, 148 and O'Hanlon 2000: 27). Coupled with this new collecting paradigm became the concern of 'salvage archaeology': "salvaging the authentic in the wake of the modernisation of the tribal world" (Harrison 2011: 61; also Franks 1997: 140; Küchler 1997: 46; Byrne 2011: 312, 322; Wingfield 2011: 122-123).

Contemporary Collectors

To contextualise Layton further, I will briefly mention three contemporary London collectors. Henry Solomon Wellcome (1853 – 1936) was a 'self-made man' who earned his fortune through pharmaceuticals. Wellcome was influenced by Pitt River's "comparative approach" in regards to his collecting habit and "craved ownership over an encyclopaedic vision of the past" (Larsen 2009: 86, 88). Like Layton, Wellcome didn't publish any academic work, apart from two short papers (Larsen 2009: 90), however unlike Layton he was working towards a "specific academic collecting tradition" affected by the contemporary "Victorian philosophical milieu" (Larson 2009: 87-89). Wellcome's collection was of such enormity that some objects such as the weapons, can be measured in 'tons' rather than number of items (Larson 2009: 2). Wellcome was in effect trying to "collect the world" and his brief mention here is to simply observe one end of the collecting spectrum, to show that Layton was by means the only collector with a compulsive collecting habit.

Fig. 7: Henry Solomon Wellcome c.1900. (Larson 2009: 31).

Fig. 8: Frederick John Horniman (Teague 2001: 120)

Two other London collectors that offer an interesting comparison are Frederick John Horniman and the Cumings: Richard Cuming (1777 – 1870) and Henry Syer Cuming (1817 – 1902). These men collected huge ethnographic collections, unlike Layton, and both could be considered "compulsive collectors" much like Welcome. Frederick's father, John Horniman, collected, although we do not know what. Likewise, Richard and Henry Cuming collected together. Both left their collections to the public with Horniman explicitly stating they were for "recreation, instruction and enjoyment" (Teague 2001: 111).

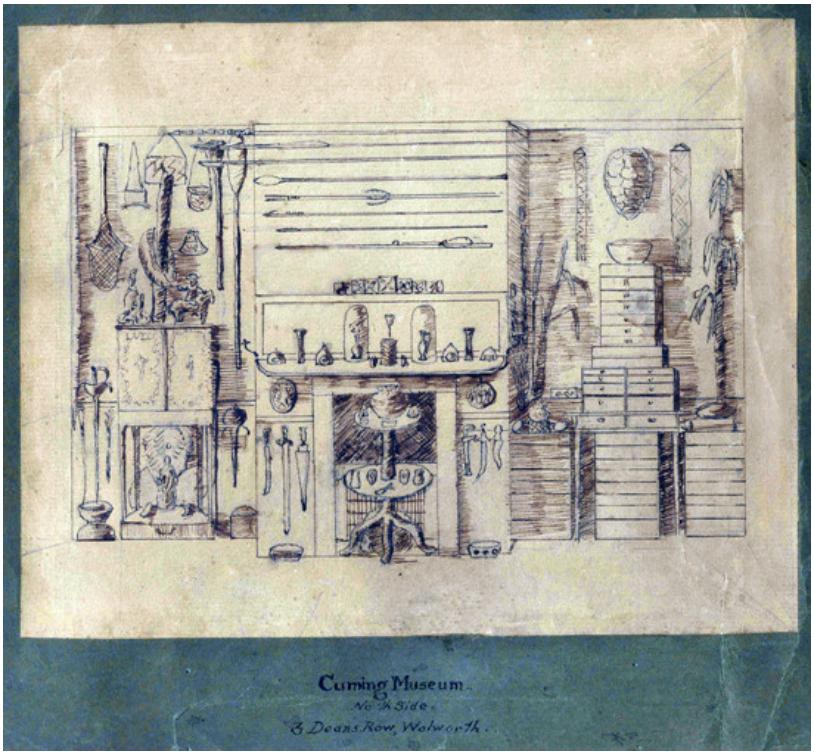


Fig. 9: Cuming Museum 3 Deans Row, Walworth. Drawing by Henry Cuming.
(Hyacinth 2006: 12)

Although in their collecting habits they were compulsive like Layton, these men were far more systematic. They all applied a system of organisation to their collections (although it could be argued how 'rational' these systems were) and Henry Cumming in particular created detailed inventories, no doubt used to help guide his acquisitions. Horniman is known to have bought from the usual mix of collectors as well as the London dealers such as Oldman and Webster in addition to acquiring from exhibitions (Teague 2001: 118). Likewise the Cumings bought from this similar network of dealers and traders.

These three collectors acknowledge a major issue with research. Wellcome's personal archives have allowed Larson (2009) to produce an extensive survey of Wellcome and his "social relationships" (2009: 5-6). Far less has been written about Horniman,

although archives exist (Teague 2001). Hardly anything has been written of the Cumings, although again an illuminating personal archive exists (Hyacinth 2006). An apparent lack of information is potentially why Horniman and the Cumings did not form part of Waterfield & King's (2009) study of ethnographic collectors (2009: 8).

Networks of Collecting: Societies & Salerooms

During the C19th century, alongside the increase in amateur and professional antiquarians, historians and archaeologists there was an increase in the number of societies that connected these like-minded people (Levine 1986). These societies were not only social networks but also "intellectual networks" that acted as a "vehicle for their ideas and ambitions" (Owen 2006: 20; Chapman 1989: 35). Chapman (1989) has made extensive study of the London societies of the second half of the C19th in relation to Pitt Rivers and the development of archaeology as a discipline. Pitt Rivers was a member of an array of organisations including: the Geographical Society, Ethnological Society of London, Society of Antiquaries of London, Archaeological Institute, British Archaeological Association and Anthropological Society of London. Pitt Rivers alongside John Evans, Augustus Franks of (the British Museum) and John Lubbock (later Lord Avebury) were a cohesive group who used the Society to promote their anthropological theories (Chapman 1989: 35).

Some of these societies, especially the Society of Antiquaries, may have acted more like a "private club" and importantly Layton was part of this social network, having been elected to the Society in 1868, on the same day as his fiend Canon William Greenwell (Chapman 1989: 25; Galer 2007: 7). The C19th allowed the 'collecting scene' to open up to a much broader section of society, however the Society of Antiquaries still had an air of elitism to it (MacGregor 1997: 6; also Stocking 1987 211ff.; Belk 1995: 45-46;). Charles Roach Smith (1807 – 1890), a celebrated London based archaeologist and antiquarian, was almost refused election to the society because he was "in business" (Levine 2009: 21). Despite being in business himself, Layton became a member and through the Society's minutes he is known to have been an active (Galer 2007: 7).

Layton's presence within these networks is important as he would have been exposed to the intellectual thinking of the time and when exploring his collection we should consider if these scientific and philosophical discourses had any agency upon his collecting habit.

A major question we have to ask concerns where Layton was acquiring his objects from. Layton would have acquired much of his British prehistoric archaeology from the River Thames, from 'middle-men' or secondary sources. Hume notes: "He [Layton] was well known to every Tom, Dick and Harry who had the slightest connection with that stretch of the

Thames [Richmond to Wandsworth] and as soon as a relic was found the cry would go up, "Take it to Mr. Layton", and Layton never let them down." (Hume 1956: 23). Obviously Layton's close connection with the river through his occupations would have facilitated his collecting habit for prehistoric objects. Other objects, such as ethnographic pieces, may also have been purchased directly at the London docks (Galer 2007: 16; also Giles 2008: 103; Waterfield & King 2009: 10, 11)

The *major* source of Layton's collection must have been the auction houses and salerooms of London. Much attention is normally paid to the more well-known auctioneers such as Christie's, Sotheby's and Phillips however there were also a host of other salerooms, many now unknown, that would have traded, especially ethnography (Cooper 1979; Wainwright 1989: 27). Sale catalogues were produced for the auctions, being easy and cheap to make from the start of the C19th, and they reveal the most about these collections (Wainwright 1989: 30; MacGregor 1997: 10; Waterfield & King 2009: 14). In addition to these establishments London was strewn with many shops, and perhaps even itinerant trades-people, known as brokers or 'nicknackitarians' (Wainwright 1989: 33-34). Wainwright notes that we have little evidence of what these establishments may have looked like and how they may have operated, drawing on Charles Dickens's fictitious Old Curiosity Shop as an example. In Henry Cuming's personal archive there is a manuscript entitled *Our Old Curiosity Shop* which details a very real emporium that was based on the Walworth Road (TN05693; Hyacinth 2006: 17; Hyacinth 2008: 134) .

One auctioneer stands out as being representative of the type of establishment Layton may have collected from. Stevens' auction rooms were established in 1776 and became highly reputed (Allingham 1924; Cooper 1979: 172-173; Larson 2009: 79ff.; Waterfield & King 2009: 13). J. C. Stevens sold all manner of objects and from the early C20th became a leader in the sale of ethnography (Larson 2009: 79). For collectors, including Layton, salerooms such as Stevens would have been the major source of their antiquities as many antiquaries were 'armchair collectors', acquiring their ethnographic specimens through 'secondary collectors' (Wingfield 2011: 123). 'Collectors' is a very broad category and can include voyagers/explorers, missionaries, administrators, traders, whalers and military personnel (Hooper 2006: 48ff; Waterfield & King 2009: 9).

In her study of Alfred Court Haddon (1855 – 1940), advisory curator to the Horniman Museum (1902 – 1915), Byrne states that "a man of Haddon's standing was even more of a rarity in the London auction houses of the day" (2011: 318). This statement may be erroneous as many C19th and early C20th private and institutional collectors are known to have acquired from a multitude of London auction houses. Pitt Rivers has been connected with 236 institutions and individuals, through study of his founding collection (Gosden &

Petch 2007: 49; also Waterfield & King 52-53). He is notable for having acquired through "dealers, auctions and middle-men", so is similar to Layton in this respect (Gosden & Larsen 2007: 30).

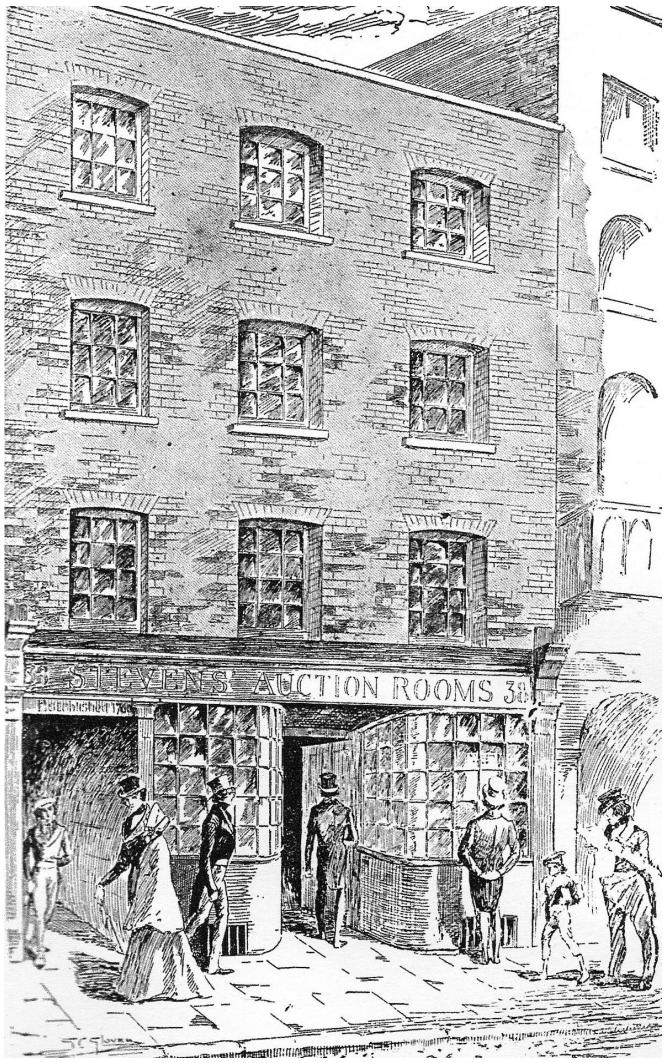


Fig. 10: Stevens Auction Rooms, 1760.
(Allingham 1924:41)

A "trick" of the auctioneers was their ability to "group" lots, but they may also have divided them as well (Larson 2009: 83). A good example of this agency by an auction house would be the division of the 'Broadness hoard' – a group of bronze spearheads dredged from the Thames off Broadness in 1892. This 'hoard' was intentionally split and three collectors are known to have acquired portions of it: William Greenwell, William Lloyd and Frank Corner (Smith 1910: 160-161; Cotton 2001: 69). Canon William Greenwell, a notorious barrow digger and friend to Layton and Pitt Rivers, was a renown collector with an "occasionally

unprincipled fashion" towards his method of collecting (Kinnes & Longworth 1985: 12; also Cotton 2001: 68).

This divided and grouping of objects for purposes of sale by auctioneers shows an important form of agency at work that has previously gone unrecognised. It demonstrates they are not merely "filters" as part of a system of simple transference but are an active agent in their own right (Byrne 2011: 313). In analysing Layton's ethnographic collection, it will be interesting to observe whether such 'traces' of agency can be observed.

Fig. 11: The 'Broadness Hoard' group at the Museum of London (courtesy Jon Cotton)

Levine has described antiquarians as "displaying a remarkable faith in the importance of collective work" (Levine 1986: 20). This may be so in regards to a society's historical work, but this is completely contrary in regards to the salerooms (Larson 2009: 92). Such competiveness in the salesroom is no different from today where "the kinds of knowledge necessary to make a successful purchase, and the subsequent ambiguities involved, require membership of a complex social group that negotiates and enforces such value systems as price" (Geismar 2001: 39).

Whereas many collectors no doubt operated critically in the salesrooms, trying to purchase specific lots, Layton's collection would suggest a lack of critical judgement. If he was not influenced by contemporary trends in collecting and had no specific intellectual rationale for what he collected, we may wonder what motivated him to buy certain objects. An interesting notion might be that the objects themselves were not the ultimate reason for acquiring, but rather the process of purchase acted as a psychological 'fix' (Belk 1994: 319). Layton may

have retained the objects he bought as souvenirs. Souvenirs have long been known to act as mnemonics: "involuntarily triggering significant personal memories" (Pearce 1992: 69; Stewart 1993:136; Byrne 2011: 12; Harrison 2011: 61). In Layton's case, maybe it is the memory of the actual fix, at the moment of acquisition, as well as the memory of the sale that is triggered through the objects he retained. The idea that Layton created a 'narrative' around his purchases may be farfetched. The ability to repeat the same experience is also counter to the theory of souvenir collecting (Pearce 1992: 72), although 'separation' of the object is central to the formation of the object (Stewart 1993: 148-149; Harrison 2011: 62).

The description of the Walworth emporium by Henry Cuming's highlights an important aspect of the salesrooms – the sheer volume of material that was being sold. The emporium's owner, Thomas Henry Wright, had been employed by Stevens for many years. It was also from Stevens that White purchased his emporium's stock and ultimately "within a week or two after his decease [in 1865] the old stock was removed to Steven sale-rooms and there disposed" (Cuming date unknown). It is not inconceivable that Layton also bought from Stevens' salesrooms, and in a similar fashion, it was Stevens that sold the majority of his collection that wasn't retained in 1914. Stevens was at the centre of a major network and no doubt many objects, in regards to their biographies, may have passed through the salerooms on more than one occasion (e.g. Hyacinth 2008).

What becomes apparent through reading an array of literature dealing with Victorian collections and the agency of traders and salesrooms is that there was a phenomenal amount of 'stuff' moving through the London market over a sustained time period. The circulation and *re-circulation* of collections and individual objects highlights the importance of the social networks. Layton was only one individual, buying perhaps indiscriminately, amongst "thousands of ordinary people whose small, individual collections were cumulatively vital" (Gosden & Larson 2007: 53).

3. The Collection

This following chapters will explore Thomas Layton's material legacy, known as the 'Layton Collection'. It will begin with an overview of the history of the collection applying an 'archaeological sensibility' to explore the process which transformed the collection upon Layton's death into the museum collection or 'assemblage' we have today. I will then discuss the ethnographic assemblage of which the Oceanic objects will form a case study.

3.1 Collection History

Galer (2007: 9-15) has provided a concise history of the Layton Collection, so I will not regurgitate this as a simple biographical history of storage and movement. Rather, as with Byrne (2012: 16), I want to draw attention to the collection as an assemblage and specifically the process of re-assemblage as both a "physical and conceptual movement of the objects within the collection".

The assemblage in this sense is simply a "group of artifcats which are found in association with one another" (Harrison 2012: 21). The archaeological theory of taphonomy - site formation, or in this case, collection formation – helps us appreciate the transformation of the collection over time. The assemblage is dictated by "agency through which objects became separated from source and deposited" (Byrne 2012: 9). Harrison uses the terms 'cultural' and 'natural' transformations in applying the metaphor. Natural transformations could include "biological and chemical weathering and decay" and cultural transformations "intentional or non-intentional discard, recycling or re-use" (Harrison 2012: 21). The table below documents the transformation of Layton's Collection to that of various assemblages. I have included 'N-transforms' and 'C-transforms' which contribute to the process of 'museum site formation' (Harrison 2012: 21).

The most important N-transform is the agency of Fred Turner and others (including Charles Read of the British museum) who effectively formed the 'collection' (the assemblage) we have today (Turner 1922: 180). Turner has always been seen as "rescuing the collection" but it has been overlooked that his agency has a major bearing on the study of the collection as an assemblage – we should perhaps call the Layton Collection the 'Turner Collection'. An example of Turner's agency concerns the bibliographic material. Although already reduced through decomposition in Layton's time, Turner catalogued 22,000 books and disposed of 10,000 which he considered "duplicates and useless" (Turner 1922: 181). Through additional C-transforms this number has been further reduced to 8000.

The importance of applying the archaeological sensibility and thinking of the collection in terms of an assemblage and the museum as a field site has hopefully foregrounded the many agencies involved in transforming the collection over time.

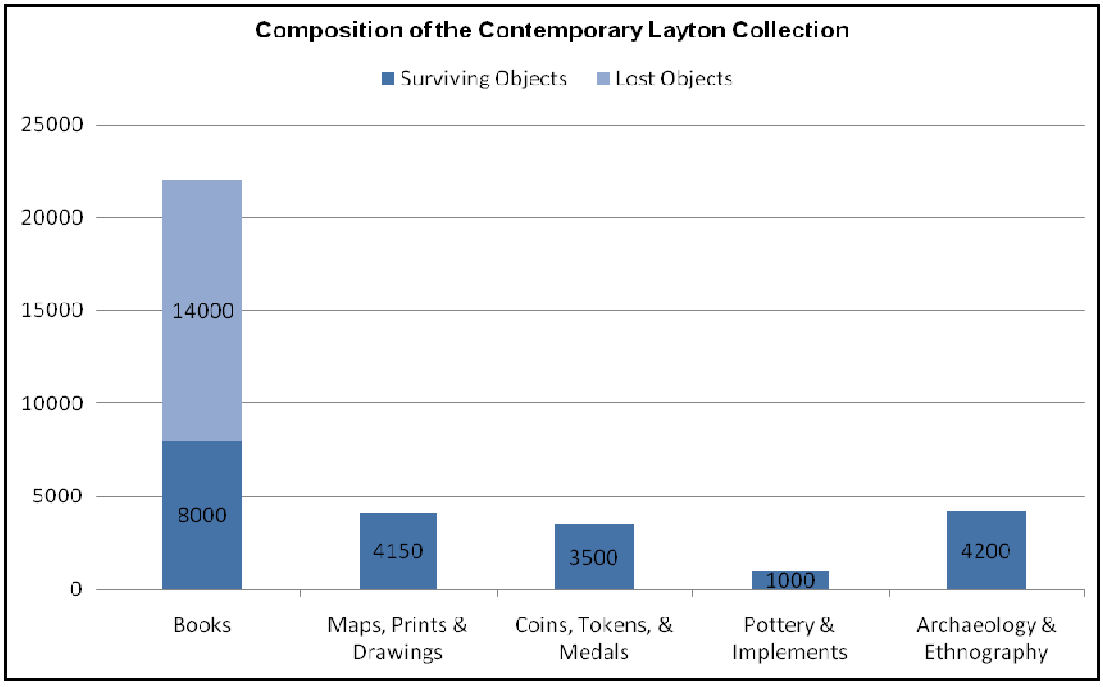
Date	Event	C-Transform	N-Transform
1840s-1911	Layton inherits and accumulates his collection	Multiple social agency	Poor storage of collections over time results in loss and damage of objects
1911 – 1914	Death of Layton	Fred Turner inventories the collection. 'Collection' is transformed into an 'assemblage'.	
	Division and sale of Layton collection		
1930	Assemblage stored in multiple sites in Brentford including Chiswick Library		Poor Storage results in damage to objects
1940s	Second World War		Bomb damage to parts of collection
1950s	Assemblage moved to Gunnersbury Park Museum		
	Part of assemblage moved to St. George's Church, Brentford		Poor Storage results in damage and loss of objects
1959	Part of assemblage (including archaeology and ethnography) placed on long-term loan to the London Museum.		
	Prints and maps conserved and moved to Brentford Library		Conservation stabilises objects; Poor Storage results in damage and loss of objects
1965	Books, prints and maps moved to Chiswick Town Hall		Poor Storage results in damage and loss of objects
1976	London Museum merges to form Museum of London. Loaned assemblage moves to new stores		
1988	Books, prints and maps moved to Hounslow Library		Improved storage stabilises objects
1990s	Books conserved		Conservation stabilises objects
2000s	Different parts of assemblage stored and displayed in a variety of museum contexts	Multiple social agency	

Table 2: History of the Layton Collection applying an 'archaeological sensibility'.

3.2 Collection Composition

Layton's collection, upon his death in 1911, formed a myriad of subjects "gathered together from multiple locations, by multiple agencies at multiple times" (Byre 2012: 9). The collection as it now stands is located in many areas including Hounslow Library, the Museum of London, the British Museum and Gunnersbury Park Museum.

Fred Turner was the first to catalogue Layton's "veritable treasure house of remarkable things" and divided the collection into the following categories: "(1) Books; (2) Prints, Engravings and MSS; (3) Coins, Tokens and Medals; (4) Prehistoric Implements, and Metal objects of later times; (5) Ancient and Medieval pottery; and (6) Miscellaneous objects." (Turner 1922179; 181). Later assessment of the collection has for the most part retained these categories (Whipp & Blackmore 1977: 92-93; Galer 2007:16). Although the objects (excluding the bibliographic, prints, drawings etc) have had digital records created by the Museum of London, these are directly transcribed from Turner's original museum registers and as such are problematic. The ethnography is the exception having been studied in the late 1980s, although it still has major issues regarding its digital records (see below and Appendix 4).



The graph above shows the quantities of these basic categories. What is immediately obvious from this visual display is that books form two thirds of the entire collection. Emphasis has always been placed on the objects (especially archaeological) in the Collection and this may have propagated a bias in regards to understanding Layton's

collecting habit and his motivation. Although Galer (2007: 19) states that "in true Victorian fashion he [Layton] probably had ideas about what people should read, rather than considering what they wanted to read", it has not been considered that Layton assembled his library in order to support his own collection.

Book collecting became hugely popular in the C19th and many antiquaries were acquiring libraries which could display "a striking degree of uniformity" (Levine 1986: 15-16; Larson 2009: 78). Layton's accumulation of books and manuscripts is the most obvious symbol of his fetishistic collecting habit and here he is not unlike collectors such as Henry Wellcome, or Sir Thomas Phillipps whose collection was estimated at 60,000 manuscripts and 50,00 printed pamphlets and books (Levine 1986: 15-16). Turner noted many duplicates in the collection, which again draws attention whether Layton understood what he had already collected (Galer 2007: 16). Only about 8000 books remain in the collection today (Galer 2007: 16). These cover a very wide range of subjects, including foreign travel (these focus on the Americas, Africa and India). Only ten books in the collection, studied at Hounslow library, focused on the Pacific (Currie *et al* 2011: 80).

Fig.12: Books concerning Pacific culture in the Layton Collection (Currie *et al* 2011: 80).

Little work has been undertaken on the sale catalogues that should effectively reveal the full extent of the Collection at the point of Layton's death, if added to Turner's inventory. What becomes apparent from a brief overview is the agency of Turner and others. The surviving assemblage comprises no natural curiosities or specimens, however, the sale on the 12th May at Stevens salerooms reveals that Layton had a substantial collection of 'Exotic Lepidoptera' (moths and butterflies), and taxidermy (Table 3 below). Greater understanding of Layton's original collection could be gained if these numerous catalogues were quantified and qualified in relation to the contemporary collection

Date of Sale	Title of Catalogue	Auction House	Address
21st, 22nd & 23rd January 1914	'A catalogue of valuable miscellaneous books…[and] the property of the late Thos. Layton, F.S.A. (removed from Kew, by order of the executor), including English topography and road-books, books relating to London, curious books and pamphlets on uncommon subjects, topographical views and engravings, county maps, portraits suitable for extra-illustrating.'	Hodgson & Co	115 Chancery Lane, London
5th May 1914	'A Catalogue of Curiosities including the First Portion of the Collection of Curiosities formed by the late T. Layton, Esq., of Kew, Ivory Carvings and Netsukes, Native Curios, Japanese Porcelain and Cloisonne.'	JC Stevens	38 King Street, Covent Garden, London
12th May 1914	'A Catalogue of Exotic Lepidoptera (set specimens and in paper) including many rarities in splendid condition. Birds mounted in Glass Cases, Animal Skins, A variety of polished Agates, Fossil woods and Animal Remains etc.'	JC Stevens	38 King Street, Covent Garden, London
19th May 1914	'A Catalogue of Curiosities including a further portion of the Collection of China, &c. formed by the late T. Layton, Esq. also weapons, miniatures and pictures'	JC Stevens	38 King Street, Covent Garden, London
26th & 27th May 1914	'Catalogue of the whole of the remaining contents of the residence. Comprising: An extensive and miscellaneous collection of antiquities, oriental curiosities, Japanese china, fossils, prehistoric flints, pottery shells and early English tobacco pipes.'	Allan Booth & Dampney	'Layton House' No.22 Kew Bridge Road, Brentford.
9th June 1914	'A Catalogue of Curiosities including Burmese carvings, flint and bone implements, a collection of Japanese sword furniture, canton enamel, Satsuma vases, bronzes, etc, etc, pictures and prints. Pewter and plated articles etc.'	JC Stevens	38 King Street, Covent Garden, London
7th July 1914	'The remaining portion of the Collection of Curios formed by the late Thomas Layton, Esq., of Kew Bridge.'	JC Stevens	38 King Street, Covent Garden, London

Table 3: Sale Catalogues detailing Layton's collection not retained by Turner *et al*.
(Copies held by Hounslow Library)

4. The Ethnographic Assemblage

In the next sections Layton's ethnographic assemblage and in particular the Oceanic material are explored in an attempt to further understand Layton's collecting habit. By applying an 'archaeological sensibility' as a method for analysing this material I hope to also expose traces of agency. Ethnographic objects in particular have been "subject to an array of different re-assemblages: passing through the hands of collectors, dealers, traders, missionaries, auction houses until the point of entry into the museum" (Byrne 2012: 16). The little documentary evidence we have for Layton requires such an exploration of his material legacy. This is in contrast to Gosden and Larson (2007: 10) who had sufficient documentation of Pitt Rivers' collection to undertaken analysis simply from collection records.

Museum Ethnography

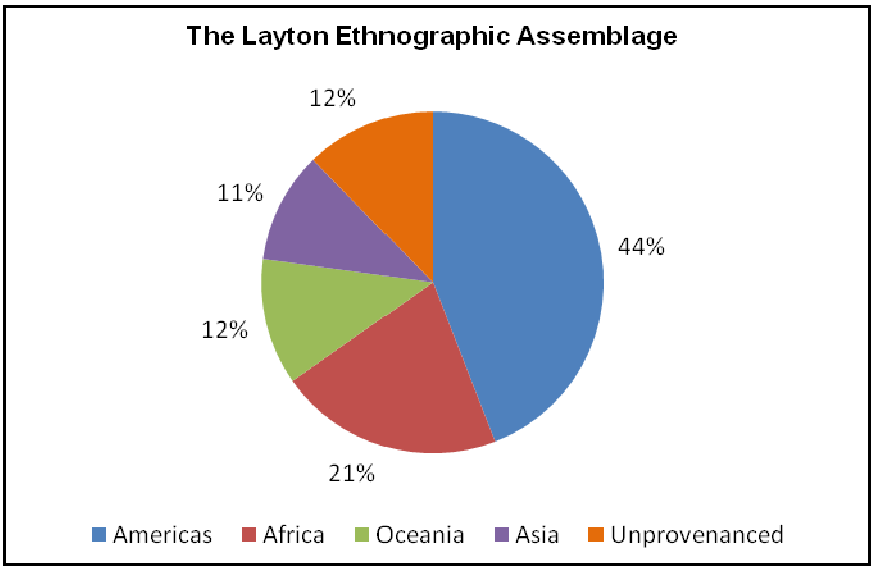
I have assumed a simple definition of ethnography for purposes of this research: "the study of a particular race, people, or area by any or all of the methods of anthropology" (Penniman 1965: 9). However, we may be looking at a collection that "gives an insight into the perception of what is now regarded as an ethnography collection at the time the material was assembled" (West 1996: 37). Although I am studying an independent collection, it exists in a museum context. It should be acknowledged that a defining concept of museum ethnography is its recontextualisation that often concerns objects' original "detachment" from a cultural people (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 387; also O'Hanlon 2000: 2 and Harrison 2011: 61). Much museum ethnography is studied through a post-colonial lens, but it should be noted that my study is not concerned with the "politics of representation" within the museum (Harrison 2012: 1).

The Ethnographic Assemblage

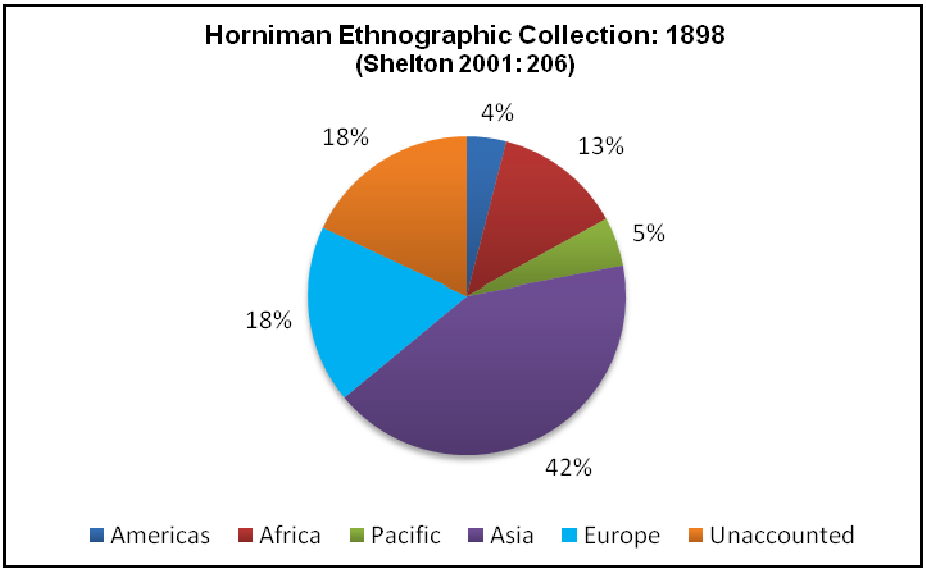
Layton's ethnographic assemblage numbers 476 objects (Green & Merriman c.1988; also Appendix 2) and when presented visually it becomes clear there are some biases in the collection. The graph below reveals that American objects dominate and that African objects are also more prevalent than those from Asia and Oceania.

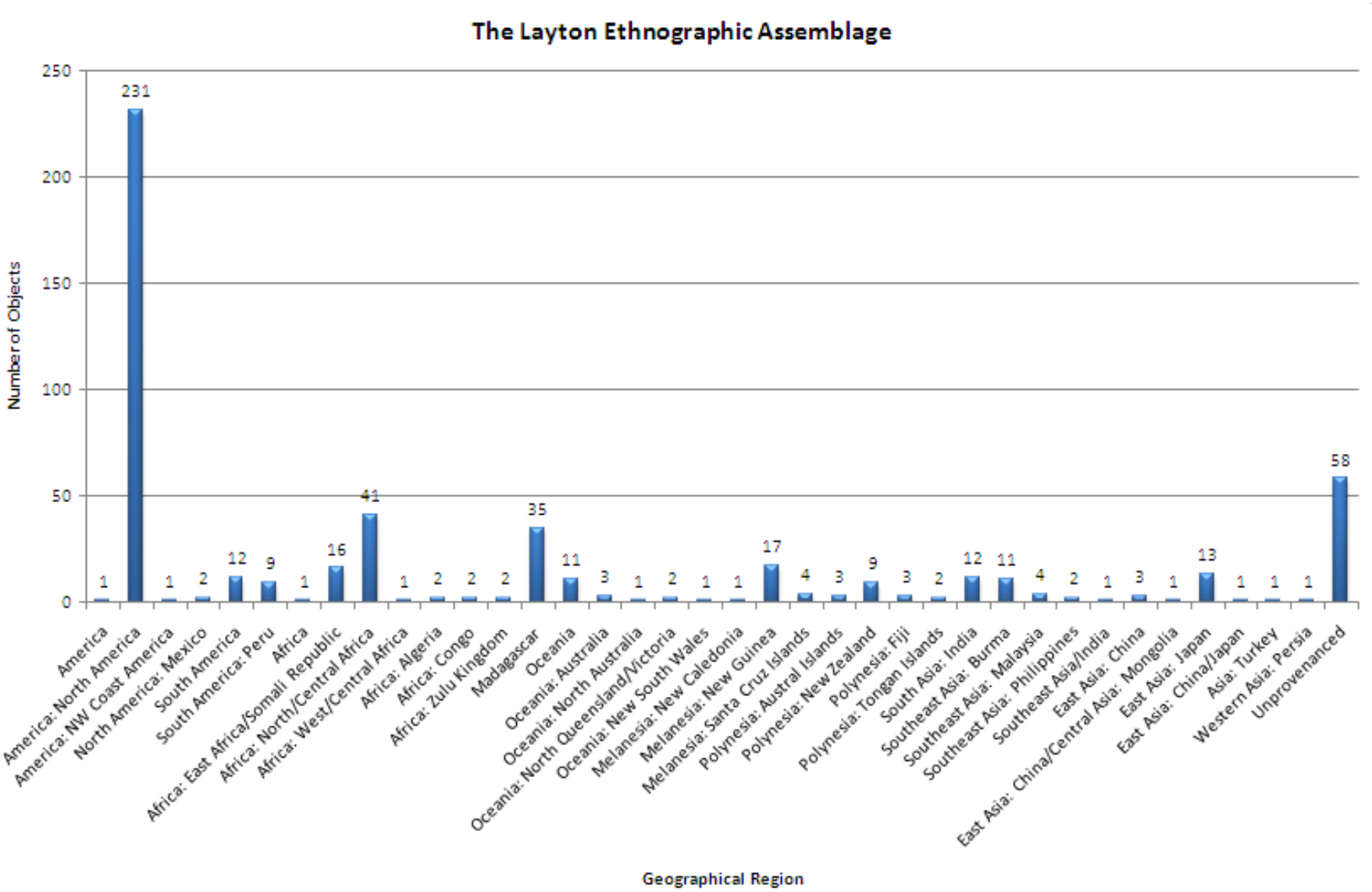
Just under two hundred North American arrowheads account for 33% of the entire assemblage and are a clearly a bias in the graph below. This may be accounted for by Layton's interest in stone tools, however, we don't know if these we acquired as one purchase or collected individually over many years. African collections are dominated by just under forty spears which account for 7% of the collection. 'Weapons' as a general object type dominate the assemblage and in this respect it is very typical of the time, for reasons discussed above (Section 2.3). Thirty-five objects from Madagascar are apparently from a

previous collection (the Briggs-Royston collection) and is the only known instance of a single collecting event (Green & Merriman c.1988: 5). African material may have dominated the commodities market, in relation to Oceania, due to the longer period of colonial contact and major difference in land size.



I have highlighted these distinctions as personal interest is of course fundamental to any collection, inclusive of agencies at work. Frederick Horniman's collection serves as a suitable contrast. Horniman's collection includes little material originating from Polynesia and the Americas "strengthening the supposition that the illustration of technique and fine craftsmanship provided a significant motivation underlying his collecting activities" (Shelton 2001: 208). Just as we may detect Horniman's agency upon his own collection, I will now evaluate Layton's Oceanic material to observe similar traces.




The Layton Ethnographic Assemblage
Number of Objects
250
200
150
100
50
0
1
231
1
2
12
9
1
16
41
1
2
2
2
35
11
3
1
2
1
1
17
4
3
9
3
2
12
11
4
2
1
3
1
13
1
1
1
58
America
America: North America
America: NW Coast America
North America: Mexico
South America
South America: Peru
Africa
Africa: East Africa/Somali Republic
Africa: North/Central Africa
Africa: West/Central Africa
Africa: Algeria
Africa: Congo
Africa: Zulu Kingdom
Madagascar
Oceania
Oceania: Australia
Oceania: North Australia
Oceania: North Queensland/Victoria
Oceania: New South Wales
Melanesia: New Caledonia
Melanesia: New Guinea
Melanesia: Santa Cruz Islands
Polynesia: Austral Islands
Polynesia: New Zealand
Polynesia: Fiji
Polynesia: Tongan Islands
South Asia: India
Southeast Asia: Burma
Southeast Asia: Malaysia
Southeast Asia: Philippines
Southeast Asia/India
East Asia: China
East Asia: China/Central Asia: Mongolia
East Asia: Japan
East Asia: China/Japan
Asia: Turkey
Western Asia: Persia
Unprovenanced
Geographical Region

4.1 Oceanic Objects

The Oceanic objects have been selected as a case study for several reasons. The first is that they form one of the smaller groups of regional objects in the overall assemblage. Coupled with this, Oceanic ethnography and 'art' has received much academic attention in recent years, in part due to indigenous cultures wanting to understanding their own identity and culture (Specht & Bolton 2005: 58). Byrne (2011: 308) notes that "Ethnographic collections largely remained unfashionable until a renewed interest in the 1980s when academics called for a 'process of *recontextualization* or redefinition'." A major survey of Oceanic ethnography was conducted in 1979, cataloguing Oceanic objects held in museum collections worldwide (for the British inventory see Gathercole & Clarke 1979). Specht & Bolton (2005: 63) have provided a review of these surveys, having noted a lack of use of the actual data. Although West (1996: 34) has stated that Oceanic ethnography is "easier" to catalogue as it includes "material from native peoples of all islands, including archaeology" this is entirely relative and Oceanic material within the museum still presents issues of interpretation.

Turner (1922: 202) failed to describe the ethnographic material, as it was inconsequential, and labelled it all 'miscellaneous'. Celoria (undated: 6), curator at the London Museum, described the assemblage as "ethnographic debris" and Green & Merriman (c.1988: 5) thought it "only to be of secondary importance". As such it is not unsurprising that Galer (2007: 24) states "Layton is not known for his ethnographic pieces". It is the oversight of the ethnography that is my final impetus for its study. Does this seemingly redundant material have anything to say about Layton?

Discussion in the next section relates to the catalogue of Oceanic objects discussed in Appendix 3. These objects have been researched in regards to establishing broad provenance and date. I have attempted to highlight 'traces' of agency where appropriate (Byrne 2011: 308). Due to the complete lack of documentation no object biographies can be established but hopefully discussion below will still prove that these objects are not "static and isolated" (Gosden & Marshall 1999: 170).

5. Discussion

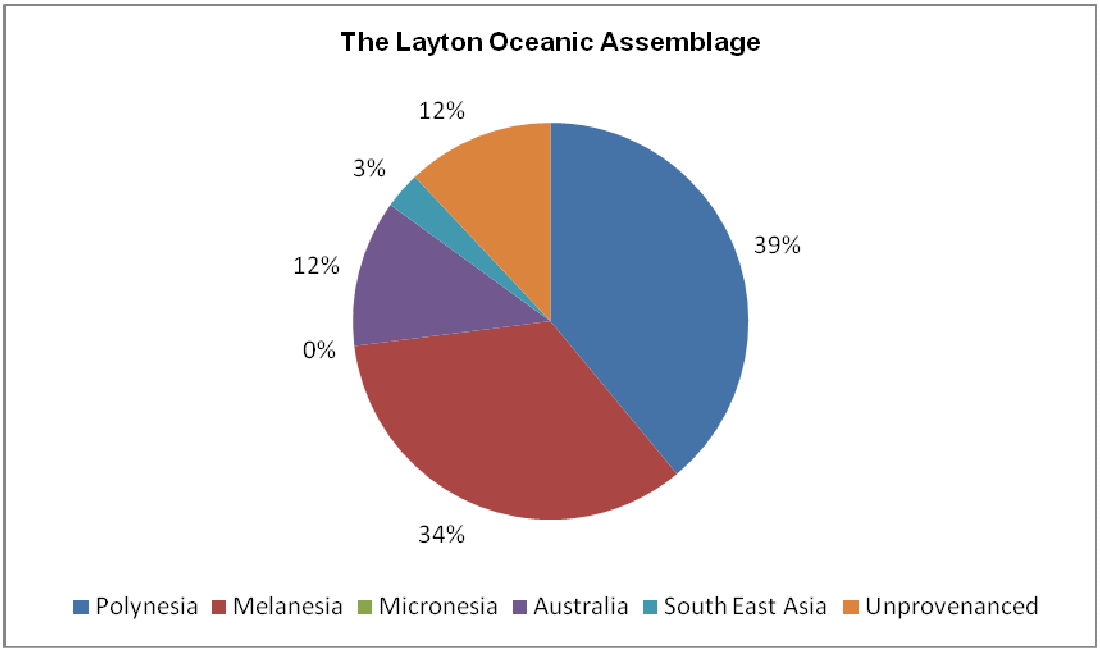
From research into the collection I would agree with Green and Merriman's (c.1988: 5) initial assessment that the ethnography comprises material that seems to have been "produced for tourists and probably dates to the turn of the century". I would refine this as I believe the collection (and not its acquisition) belong to the second half of the C19th.

Assemblage Comparison

The material studied in the catalogue has been tabulated below so that comparison can be made with other known data sets, in order to further analyse the assemblage:

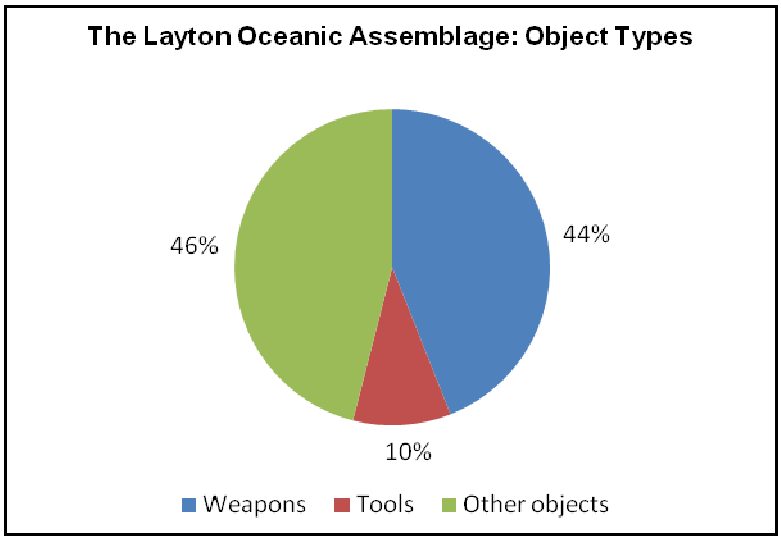
Region	Provenanced Objects	Objects Not Located	Objects with Possible Provenance	Total	Percentage of Oceanic Assemblage
Polynesia	19	3	1	23	39%
Melanesia	4	14	2	20	34%
Micronesia	0	0	0	0	0%
Australia	2	5	0	7	12%
South East Asia	2	0	0	2	3%
Unprovenanced	-	-	-	7	12%
Total	**27**	**22**	**10**	**59**	**100%**

Table 4: The Layton Oceanic assemblage.



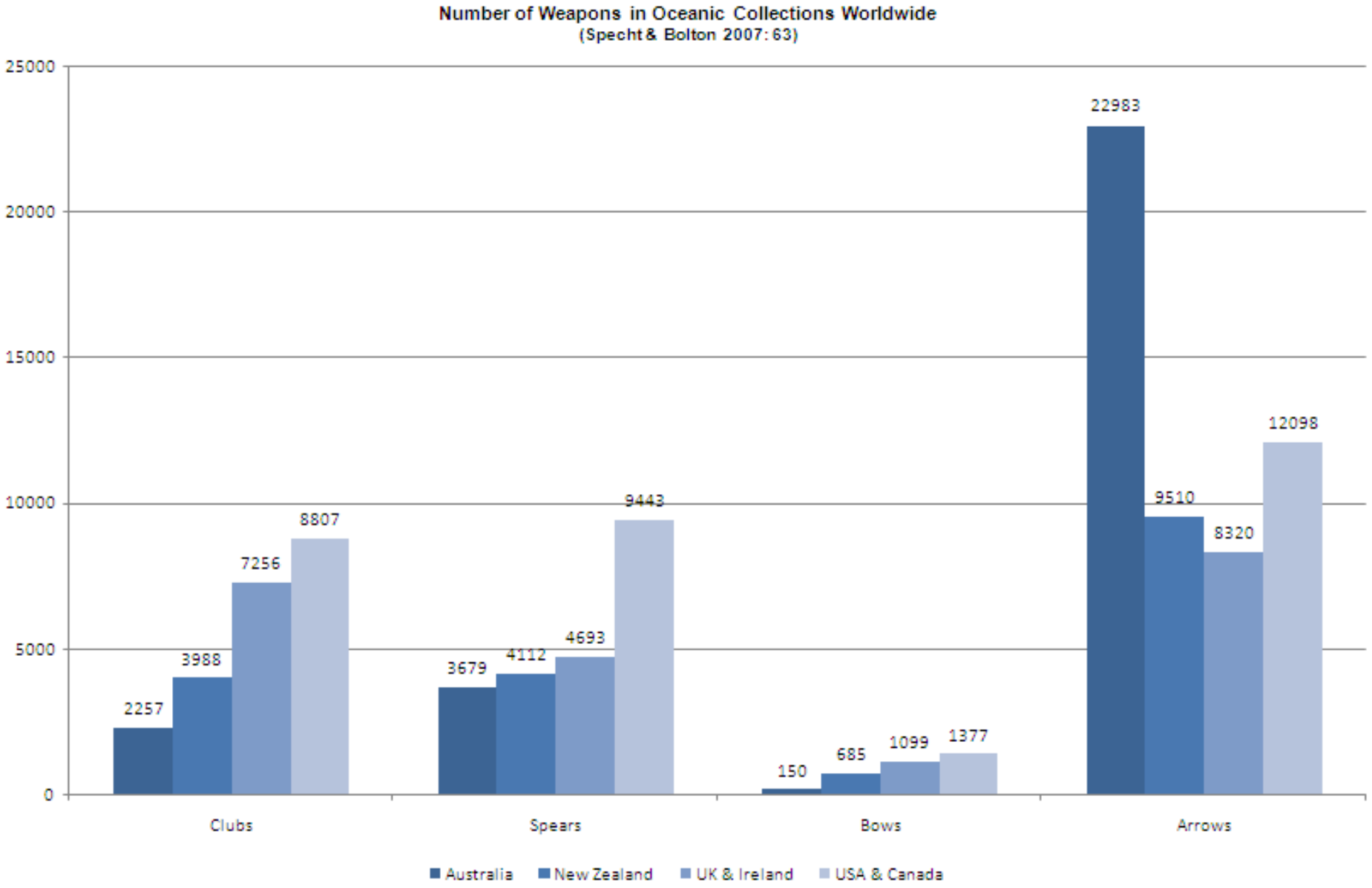
Polynesian and Melanesian objects dominate, accounting for almost three quarters of the assemblage. Although Polynesia objects account for 39% of the assemblage, 19% are potentially from New Zealand. Of the Melanesian material, 25% is potentially from New Guinea, with the majority of these objects being 'fish spears' (20%).

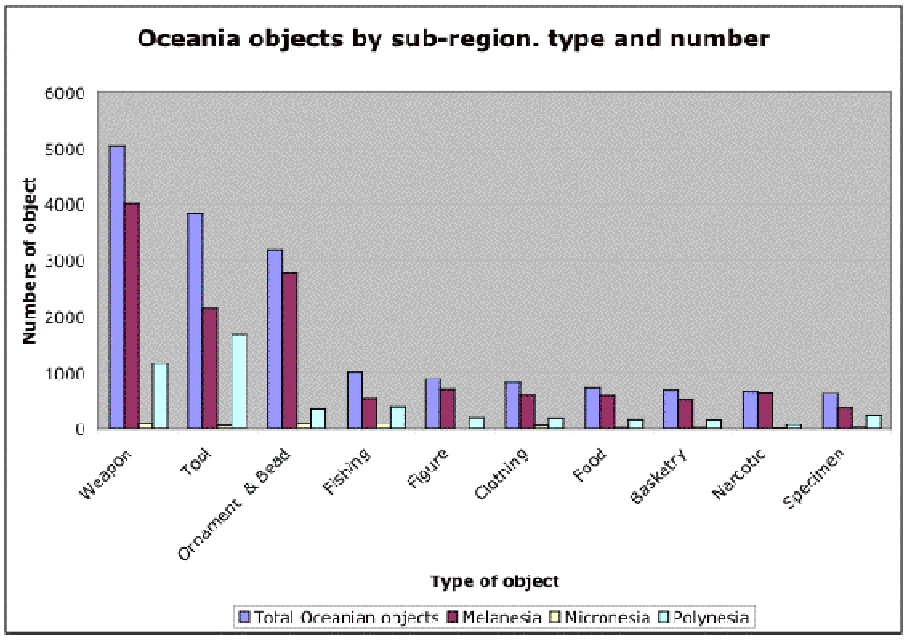
In regards to object type, the collection is dominated by weapons and tools which comprise 54% of the assemblage:



This object composition is comparable with Specht & Bolton's (2005) research of the UNESCO survey data which revealed an "obsession" with weapons and revealing "one in every five artefacts in the six countries surveyed is a club, spear, bow or arrow." (Specht & Bolton 2007: 63 – see graph below). They conclude that this material must have been produced by indigenous people specifically for sale to "visiting Europeans" (Specht & Bolton 2007: 64). Layton's Oceanic material would compare with this.

Work by the *Relational Museum Project* has also produced similar results and importantly has shown that in the Pitt Rivers collection (up to 1945) Oceanic weapons were much more collected than tools (see graph below, p.39). This is a reversal of "global trends" where "stone tools represent a massive proportion of the total collections" (Relational Museum Website: http://history.prm.ox.ac.uk/page_27.html).


Number of Weapons in Oceanic Collections Worldwide
(Specht & Bolton 2007: 63)
25000
20000
15000
10000
5000
0
2257
3988
7256
8807
3679
4112
4693
9443
150
685
1099
1377
22983
9510
8320
12098
Clubs
Spears
Bows
Arrows
Australia
New Zealand
UK & Ireland
USA & Canada



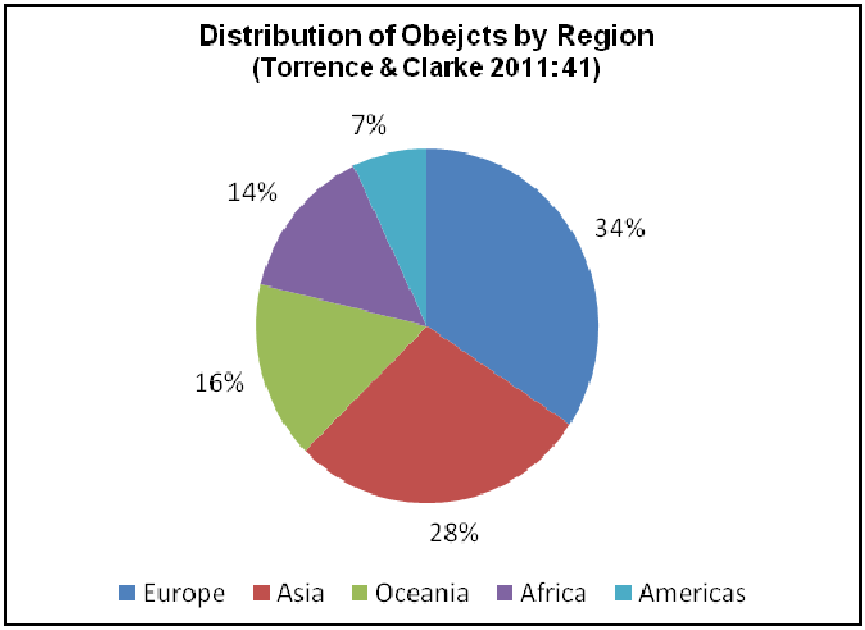
Comparison of geographical statistics regarding the Pitt Rivers Museum's collections up to 1945 (http://history.prm.ox.ac.uk/page_27.html).

Torrence & Clarke (2011) have also compiled an important data set, which can be used for comparison, from C19th – C20th sale catalogues concerning ethnography. They consider these catalogues to be a form of "ethnographic assemblage" in themselves and argue that they provide a record of how "indigenous artefact makers and traders actively participated in the material transactions that were an integral part of colonial society" (2011: 31). Their assessment (see Table 5 below) considered three London-based firms dealing in ethnography (Webster, Oldman and Stevens) covering the years 1895 – 1939 (Torrence & Clarke 2011: 35ff.):

Catalogue	Dates	Years	Volumes	Total Objects
Webster	1895 – 1901	7	31	5323
Oldman	1901 – 1913	14	115	6637
Stevens	1885 – 1939	47	3	59101
Totals	-	-	**209**	**71061**

Table 5: Study of sale catalogues (1895 – 1939).
(Torrence & Clarke 2011: 35)

A breakdown of the objects by provenance revealed the following distribution:



It is noted that although Oceanic material comprises only 16% of the total, this is a high percentage considering the "very small portion of the globe made up by the Pacific Islands" (Torrence & Clarke 2011: 41). Melanesia dominates the group representing 10% of the total and Polynesia only 3%. This is accounted for through the historical context of the catalogues, in that these objects were being acquired and sold in the earliest days of the Melanesian colonies. Layton's assemblage is somewhat different in that the Polynesia and Melanesian objects are of equal weighting. If we consider the variety of object *types*, then Layton's Polynesian objects are far more diverse as the Melanesian group is biased towards fish spears (20% of the total).

Torrence and Clarke further studied their data to look at "the proportion of the total number of entries from each region that occur as a maximum or minimum priced object" (Torrence & Clarke 2011: 42). They observe that although Polynesian material makes a small contribution to the catalogues a very significant percentage falls into the highest priced bracket. The ten most expensive objects include a Polynesian (New Zealand) paddle, war canoe prow, gateway of a *pa* and an adze. Melanesia is notable for its contribution of objects to the *lowest* price bracket with the least expensive objects including New Guinean arrows.

Agency

Indigenous agency by 'creator communities' has been of major research recently and has demonstrated that it is not simply a case of "exploitation of the 'natives' by the colonialists or as cultural loss through the impact of an overwhelming and avaricious capitalism" (Gosden &

Marshall 1999: 174; also Thomas 1995; Byrne *et al* 2011). Austral Island paddles, discussed in the catalogue, provide such an example. They "outnumber all other categories recorded for this island group" in collections, which is certainly the case with Layton (Specht & Bolton 2007: 63). Torrence & Clarke (2011: 43) suggest that "after over a 100 years of contact, the Polynesians, and especially the New Zealanders, had developed their artefact trade to focus on profits achieved from making and marketing elaborately carved status items."

It has been noted that Layton had a passion for prehistoric tools and weapons (Section 2.2). It is therefore surprising that such objects do not make up the larger part of his ethnographic collection. We could assume that Layton was only interested in British material and if this was the case, an important point of note is that Layton may not have known he was acquiring ethnographic (non-British) material. A good example would be an adze in the collection (Acc. No. O553 – not included in the catalogue), which has a Thames (London) provenance. This adze has recently been re-examined and proven to be made of New Zealand nephrite – *pounuma* (Sheridan *et al* 2011: 422). Sheridan (*et al* 2011:423) notes the "perennial" issue of Museum mislabelling, but in this case the object may have been deliberately mis-provenanced in order to sell to Layton, who was known to value river finds (Hume 1956: 23).

A final form of agency has previously been discussed – that of the London auction houses and salerooms. I believe the Layton Oceanic assemblage lends weight to the hypothesis that these agents had a major bearing on how such material was sold to collectors. The Layton Oceanic assemblage contains erratic duplication. This may be explained by auctioneers selling such objects as one lot. Even if Layton was interested in one particular object, he may have acquired an entire lot with total disinterest for the rest of the material acquired. To foreground this I will quote the sale items from Samuel Stutchbury's (a naturalist and voyager) private collection, sold at auction in London in 1827:

"...the final twenty-one lots consisted of the ethnographic pieces he had purchased or otherwise acquired: *paddles*, canoe-bailers, a *kava bowl*, fly whisk, a *stone adze* and tools, fish hooks, a feather war-cap, a *barkcloth beater*, a cuttlefish lure, along with *clubs*, a *wooden box*, and *fish hooks from New Zealand*, a neck ornament from the Marquesas, and a lamp, drums and the figure now standing in the Pitt Rivers Museum"

(Giles 2008: 102)

I have italicised those objects which are representative in Layton's collection. This excludes material represented in the 1914 sale catalogues, which included textiles and other objects. I

wish to emphasise that Layton's collection is not so much representative of a certain collector's taste but that it is representative of a general auction sale of ethnographic objects. Layton's collecting period may have lasted some 70 years. Although he may have methodically acquired ethnographic material over this time, he could also have purchased his entre Oceanic assemblage through one visit to a London salesroom, on one day. Unfortunately for us, we know nothing of such 'acquisition events' (Wingfield 2011: 127).

Seriation and Duplication

Considering the style of Layton's Oceanic objects, they were perhaps not the most expensive objects one could purchase in C19th salerooms. Some objects are far more aesthetic than others, such as the Philippine shields and Western Polynesian weapons. This is at odds with other large groups of material such as African spears which dominate the entire ethnographic assemblage. Although on the surface Layton's Oceanic assemblage appears to be stereotypical of material that could be acquired at reasonable cost in the C19th we also need to understand the effect of contemporary scientific theories regarding seriation.

There are a number of objects classes that are duplicates, such as the Napa dance clubs and Austral paddles but these in no way form a type series. The Western Polynesian weapons are all different, however, of the known types in collections they form a limited series. The aestheticism of Layton's ethnography appears diverse. Although for collectors such as Pitt Rivers aestheticism of objects was not a founding criterion for their acquisition they did have to adhere to a defined typology (Petch 2001: 246). Layton's Oceanic objects cannot be said to ascribe to any form of seriation, and his duplication of objects appear random.

Object Absenteeism

Discussion of the Oceanic assemblage must conclude with an acknowledgment of what is absent from the collection as this may provide further insight (Torrence & Clarke 2011: 41, 47). Considering the bias towards Maori objects, it is surprising that Layton had no smaller carved items, especially of coveted greenstone, such as *hei tiki* pedants (Allingham 1924: 212; Hooper 2006: 133; Torrence & Clarke 2011: 40). This perhaps reveals something of Layton's collecting taste? Alternatively, the agency of creator communities may again be at work, in the retention of specific objects (see e.g. Küchler 2002; also O'Hanlon 2000: 21). Specht and Bolton note that 'arrows' were the most numerous type of object in Oceanic museum collections (see Graph page 38). Although these at first appear absent from Layton's Oceanic assemblage, we see that large number of bundles of arrows were sold at auction after the dispersion of the collection (Appendix 3).

The 1914 sale catalogues present a major issue in regards to the analytical approach I have taken towards the surviving Oceanic assemblage. It could be argued that we are not directly observing the agency of Layton as a collector, but the agency of Turner *et al* who retained the collection based on their own criteria. Perhaps then the ethnographic assemblage is representative of what 'curators' thought was important at the very start of the C20th. The sale catalogues hint at a great range of material including textiles, another notable absenteeism form the remaining collection. Little of the lots are described in detail and only a few objects are provenanced. The "11 New Guinea bone daggers" make obvious issue of my statistical analysis as they would raise the percentage of Melanesian objects in the collection. Such 'groups' of objects do, however, enforce the idea that Layton bought 'managed' lots in the salerooms.

This study of a small aspect of Layton's ethnographic collection has shown that the assemblage is disparate and I would argue that Layton bought most of his ethnographic objects *en mass* at auction rooms rather than specialist ethnographic traders such as William Webster (1868 – 1913), whom other collectors such as Horniman are known to have bought from (Teague 2001: 118; Waterfield & King 2009: 55ff.). Layton may not have had any interest in the provenance or even the aesthetics of the objects; they may have appeased his collecting 'fix' in the saleroom (Belk 1994: 319). I would also suggest agency on the part of salerooms is detectable through the apparently random groups of objects. The *erratic* duplication in the collection at the very least would suggest Layton could not remember what he had bought; again suggesting he was no 'systematic' collector. Neither was Layton influenced by the 'scientific' approach to ethnography of the period to which he was directly exposed, through attendance at Society meetings.

By applying an archaeological sensibility: "an object-centre, assemblage-based approach common to archaeological research", I hope to have provided a refreshing approach to the study of Layton's "most confusing private museum" (Torrence & Clarke 2011: 33; Read 1912: 232). Although this method of analysis has its drawbacks, e.g. concerning the house-sale catalogues, I hope its application has proven to be worthwhile in regards to how we can attempt to unpack and reassemble a collection, and how it has further defined Thomas Layton's collecting habit.

6. Conclusion

This dissertation opened with a quote from Charles Dickens' *Old Curiosity Shop*. The image of the anonymous antiquarian has been at the forefront of my mind as I researched Thomas Layton, attempting to re-evaluate the collector to understand if he had been unfairly labelled a "misguided antiquary" (Whipp & Blackmore 1977: 90).

In some ways I have shown that Layton was not atypical of his time. Although his collecting method had no rationality or guiding system and that we could label him 'fetishistic' in his collecting, this by no means renders him unusual among his contemporaries. However, analysis of Layton's ethnographic assemblage has corroborated the view that he was an 'antiquarian' with all its negative connotations (Shanks 1992: 99). His potential lack of interest in his ethnographic objects suggest he may have treated them more as artificial curiosities, a term harking back to an early age, rather than 'specimens' in a time where they were core to the development of burgeoning scientific disciplines. Layton's collecting phase lasted his entire adult life and perhaps for some time he was in control of his collection. However, by the end of his life we observe quite the opposite. E. W. Cooke's *The Antiquary's Cell* provides an emotive image of how Layton, at the end of his life, was enslaved to his collection, the armchair at the centre defining his life's method of collection.

Fig. 13: *The Antiquary's Cell*. E. W. Cooke, 1835.
(Wainwright 1898: 40)

The process of unpacking and reassembling Layton, and a small part of his collection, has shown that although no new evidence has been produced, much like Larson's study we can observe Layton from a "new perspective" (Larson *et al* 2007: 221). I have shown to some limited degree, how we may start to un-entangle an extremely poorly provenanced and documented collection and, more importantly, make meaning from it.

By exploring Layton's material legacy through a comparative and contextual method, he can very much be seen to fit into a 'network' of collectors. Of greatest value has been the understanding of placing Layton within his historical, social and cultural context. By doing so we have observed that Layton was part of a highly intricate London 'collecting scene', which permeated different levels of society through many different social gatherings.

I hope my study has proved a worthwhile re-assessment of this obscure antiquarian for major stakeholders of the Collection including the Layton Trust and Museum of London. I hope it in some way supports their efforts in generating a deserving legacy for Thomas Layton.

Further Research

This dissertation has acted as a pilot study regarding how we can approach antiquarian collections, unpack them and then reassemble them. In regards to further research it would be easy to suggest that we could extend this dissertation's method of analysis to the rest of the Collection. However, I do not believe the results produced would be worthy of the considerable time than would have to be spent. Rather than quantify the collection further, a number of different research topics should be engaged with:

- In regards to Layton, attention should be paid to the sale catalogues, which would provide a much better understanding of what the Collection originally comprised before its diffusion. Study of Layton's bibliographic and manuscript collection would also be illuminating in trying to contextualise the rest of the collection.

- Rather than focus our attention on a collection with a major historical void, it would be far more productive to undertake this study on a collection that has supporting documentation. The Cuming Collection (London) is one such. Not only is there a substantial and important personal archive, but the ethnographic collections were documented with acquisition dates and provenances.

- The milieu of London's salerooms & auction houses and their potential agency as 'secondary collectors' have been overlooked. Their operation of an ethnographic, and wider, goods market would be of great benefit to collection studies and would be appropriate for doctoral study.

- The benefit of further research on individual collectors and their collections is matter-of-fact (Cotton 2001: 70). Of greater interest to a wider academic community would be the investigation of collecting networks. A similar study to that of Larson (*et al* 2007) could be applied to the London clubs and societies. Network analysis would potentially reveal the extent of social relationships between collectors. Network diagrams also have the potential of revealing 'cliques', that is, clustered connections that may allude to otherwise unknown social relationships betweens collectors and institutions.

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Rethinking Pitt Rivers: analyzing the activities of a nineteenth-century collector
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Te Papa: Museum of New Zealand (Collections Database)
http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/

The Thomas Layton Collection
http://www.thomaslayton.org.uk/component/option,com_frontpage/Itemid,1/

Appendix 1.1: Letter dated 22nd February 1866

From: Thomas Layton Senior.

To: A. W. Franks

Kew Bridge
Middlesex
W
22 Feb 1866

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of yours dated feb 19 and in reply to state that I shall be pleased to show you the Antiquities to which you refer on Thursday afternoon/

next Mar 1 at ½ past 3 if convenient to yourself or if you prefer some evening after 9 o clock can perhaps spare more time and on receipt of a line from you can make an appointment for that purpose.

[?] [?]
Yours most respectfully
Thos Layton Snr

A. W. Franks Esq

Appendix 1.2: Letter dated 30th March 1867

From: Thomas Layton Senior

To: A. W. Franks Esq.

My Dear Sir
I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your [favour?] dated 27 March and am glad to hear that the [basket?] of bones [?] [?], to hand concerning the specimen to which you refer, shall be pleased/

to offer it for your acceptance [?] others attempt not exactly similar I enclose a rough illustration with description as to locality [?] [?] of 2 articles lately discovered here which I though you [...] [...] would like [to see?]

[?] most respectfully
T. Layton Sr

Kew Bridge
30/3/67

A W. Franks Esq

Appendix 1.3: Letter dated 25th March 1869

From: Thomas Layton Senior
To: A. W. Franks

Kew Bridge
Middx
25/3/69

My Dear Sir
I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours dated Mar 23 in reply to state that I shall be most happy to offer for your acceptance some of the 'Staghorn axes' to which you refer, and will/

in the course of tomorrow Tuesday forward some that you may make a selection of 2 or 3 or what you may require I will send them as different in appearance as possible Will you kindly acknowledge their due receipt for I would have sent them/

to day but was delayed to be from home. I presume you [?] before the Society of Antiquaries relating to certain Antiquaries from my neighbourhood [?] published is it possible to purchase the same any where as I should like to do [so?] While on the subject/

of the 'staghorn axes' I forget to mention that some 2 or 3 weeks [?...?] [?]
was dredged from the Thames in the [locality?] known here, and to you, as ['Strandhill'?] and also thereabout, 2 bronze spear heads to [?...?] [?] as to make. I will take care that you see them

[?] Yr most respectfully
T. Layton Sr

AW Frank Esq

Appendix 1.4: Letter dated 26th January 1886

From: Thomas Layton Junior

To: Rev. Canon Greenwell

22 Kew Bridge Road
Kew Bridge
26 Jan 1886

Dear Sir,
With this please find packet containing 4 coins a sample of these to which I referred in my last note to you, the [finds?] was stated to be much over 100 and they are thought to be very valuable/

Mrs Layton has received a letter Mr Franks offering to show some English china, will you kindly present her compliments and thank him, and also state that she will be much pleased to [?] [?] wife soon, and I may say that the difficulty/

as to when rests with me, at present I am unable to say any earlier date than about the 9 feb [?]

[?] [?]
Yours truly
Thomas Layton

Rev Canon Greenwell

Appendix 1.5: Letter dated 10th April 1890

From: Thomas Layton Junior
To: A. W. Franks

Kew Bridge
Middlex
10 April 1890

Dear Mr Franks,
In reply to your note recently received as to objects for exhibition from my collection, in the first place I beg to thank you for your kind offer to allow me to exhibit, and which I shall be quite willing to do say for a year, and to consent of a good portion/

of my specimens in stone and bronze as may be arranged and of course I should like to know that they would be placed in a good and prominent position.
I have just a very few good things that I should like you to see, one of bronze is very curious in form circular and about 3 inches deep - and perhaps from rim to rim 12 of 14 inches/

in width, the bottom is figured, and with letters in addition, it seems to me part of a pair of scales and ~~the~~ the few other specimens that I have are also good.

Awaiting in due course your reply
[?]
Yr very truly
Thomas Layton

A. W. Franks Esq F.S.A

Appendix 1.6: Letter dated 9th May 1890

From: Thomas Layton Junior
To: A. W. Franks

Kew Bridge
Middlesex. W.
9 May 1890

Dear Sir,
I have yours of this date to hand and I must ask you to kindly excuse delay in replying to your previous note, but I may say that I have had so much on hand lately that I have found it quite impossible to make an appointment in the matter/

of the Thames antiquities, and having regard to the ensuing week I expect on one or more days, to have to attend before a committee of the house of commons and therefore can only propose to be in the way to meet you in the later part of the day say any time after 5 oclock p.m if Wednesday or Thursday May ~~13~~ 14 or 15 will suit your convenience I will take care that the/

various objects are ready for inspection and I should like to know whether you require both stone and bronze. I am sorry to hear that you have been unwell and I hope that by this time ~~that~~ you are restored to health.

Yr very truly
Thomas Layton

A. W. Franks Esq F.S.A

Appendix 1.7: Letter dated 7th January 1892

From: Thomas Layton Junior

To: A. W. Franks

Kew Bridge
Middlesex. W.
7 January 1892

Dear Sir,

In reply to yours of Jany [5th] I may say that I shall be pleased to receive my collection of Thames bronzes, when it may suit your convenience to send them on to me, there is of course no immediate hurry.

I hope you are quite well and that you have escaped the troubles/

Of the present trying winter as to health.

Yr very truly
Thomas Layton

A. W. Franks Esq
F.S.A

Appendix 1.8: Letter dated 9th February 1898

From: Thomas Layton Junior
To: C. H. Read

Kew Bridge
Middlesex. W.
9th Feb 1898

Dear Sir,
I hope you will excuse my troubling you, but it is to say that as my collection of Bronze Weapons [?], has been at the British Museum on loan for some few years, and as a I believe is not now on view, that I shall be glad to have them returned to me at your very earliest convenience, and I may/

first mention that I have promised a few persons to inspect them at my house, with other curios, and without the trouble or going to London to do so, and I may add that personally I should like to have the opportunity of looking at them when I may feel disposed to do so in their proper place my own house. Your kind attention to the mater will much oblige, Dear Sir.

Yrs very truly
Thomas Layton

C. H. Read Esq
F.S.A

Appendix 1.9: Letter dated 10th July 1905

From: Thomas Layton Junior

To: C. H. Read

Kew Bridge
Middlesex
10 July 1905

Dear Mr Read,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of yours dated 3 July 05, and in reply to state that I will look up all that I can find for your inspection, with such other articles as I think you would like to see.

If convenient perhaps Thursday 20 July 05 may suit, say about 3.30 pm/

but if that date does not suit you lease name a latter.

Yours very truly
Thomas Layton

C. H. Read Esq F.S.A

Appendix 1.10: Letter dated 13th July 1905

From: Thomas Layton Junior

To: C. H. Read

22 Kew Bridge Road
Kew Bridge, Middlesex
13 July 1905

Dear Mr Read

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of yours dated 11 July 05 and regret that I cannot attend the date as suggested but shall be pleased to see you in [September?], next, on hearing from you with prospered date of your visit

Yrs very truly
Thomas Layton

C. H. Read Esq F.S.A

Appendix 1.11: Letter dated 15th September 1905

From: Thomas Layton Junior

To: C. H. Read

22 Kew Bridge Road
Kew Bridge, Middlesex
15 Sept 1905

Dear Sir
In reply to yours of Sept 8. 05, I beg to say that I have found it rather difficult just now to name a date for you to call, until a later one than you suggest I think how ever subject to your convenience that/

that Wednesday Sept 27- 05 at on near 3 p.m may and it will give me much pleasure to do what i can for you in the matter.

Yours faithfully
Thomas Layton

C. H. Read Esq. F.S.A

Appendix 2: Layton Ethnographic Objects

Extracted from Green & Merriman c.1988: Appendix 1-2.

Location	Object	No. of Objects	Total for Region
America	Ploughshare	1	**256**
America: North America	Pipe	2	
	Bone Object	2	
	Adze	1	
	Arrowhead	199	
	Tool	1	
	Weapon	1	
	Axe	22	
	Hammerstone	1	
	Pebble Hammer	1	
	Large Waisted hammer	1	
America: NW Coast America	Ceremonial Paddle	1	
North America: Mexico	Pottery	2	
South America	Weapon	2	
	Pottery	10	
South America: Peru	Pottery	9	
Africa	Bowl	1	**100**
Africa: East Africa/Somali Republic	Spear	16	
Africa: North/Central Africa	Powder Horn	1	
	Spear	38	
	Weapon	2	
Africa: West/Central Africa	Tool	1	
Africa: Algeria	Dagger Sheath	1	
	Vase	1	
Africa: Congo	Weapon	2	
Africa: Zulu Kingdom	Weapon	2	
Madagascar	Tourist Item	12	
	Basket	6	
	Bag	2	
	Mat	8	
	Textile	3	
	Purse	2	
	Tray	1	
	Shell	1	
Oceania	Wooden Object	11	**60**
Oceania: Australia	Polished Stone	3	
Oceania: North Australia	Hammer	1	
Oceania: North Queensland/Victoria	Weapon	2	
Oceania: New South Wales	Sharpening Stone	1	

	Weapon	1	
Melanesia: New Caledonia	Pottery	1	
Melanesia: New Guinea	Weapon	14	
	Sago-Stirrer	1	
	Adze	2	
Melanesia: Santa Cruz Islands	Weapon	4	
Micronesia/East Indonesia/New Guinea	Shield	2	
Polynesia: Austral Islands	Paddle	3	
Polynesia: New Zealand	Adze	1	
	Axe	1	
	Box	1	
	Carved Object	1	
	Flax Beater	1	
	Stone Object	1	
	Weapon	3	
Polynesia: Fiji	Bowl	1	
	Weapon	2	
Polynesia: Tongan Islands	Weapon	2	
South Asia: India	Votive Object	6	**48**
	Weapon	6	
Southeast Asia: Burma	Bronze Object	5	
	Copper Container	1	
	Elephant Tusk	2	
	Weapon	3	
Southeast Asia: Malaysia	Dagger	4	
Southeast Asia/India	Manuscript	1	
East Asia: China	Figure	1	
	Pair Shoes	1	
	Plaque	1	
East Asia: China/Central Asia: Mongolia	Bow	1	
East Asia: Japan	Cloisonne Panel	2	
	Dish	1	
	Figure	7	
	Netsuke (?)	1	
	Spear	2	
East Asia: China/Japan	Sword	1	
Asia: Turkey	Bowl	1	
Western Asia: Persia	Knife	1	
Unprovenanced	Arrowhead	1	**36**
	Axe	2	
	Blade	1	
	Bow	1	
	Buckle	1	

	Bracelet	1	
	Charm Basket	1	
	Club	2	
	Harpoon	3	
	Knife	1	
	Laddle	1	
	Paddle	9	
	Pottery	3	
	Spade	1	
	Spoon	1	
	Spear	1	
	Spearhead	4	
	Staff	1	
	Swagger Stick	1	
Unprovenanced (Eastern Objects)	Box	1	**22**
	Dagger Handle	1	
	Figure	3	
	Lamp	2	
	Lid	1	
	Soapstone Pot	1	
	Stone Implement	9	
	Wig Curler	4	
Total		**522**	

Appendix 3: The Oceanic Object Catalogue

Oceanic History

Introductions to the history of Oceania and its material culture can be found in many of the catalogues, but Thomas (1995) and Kaeppler (2008) offer the most succinct and academic overviews. Differences and similarities abound between the different regions. It should be noted that Polynesia has been divided into two distinct areas: Western and Eastern Polynesia and that Fiji is a transitional area between Polynesia and Melanesia (Moyle 1990: 5; Hooper 2006: 15-16). This has a major impact when studying objects that have conjectural provenance.

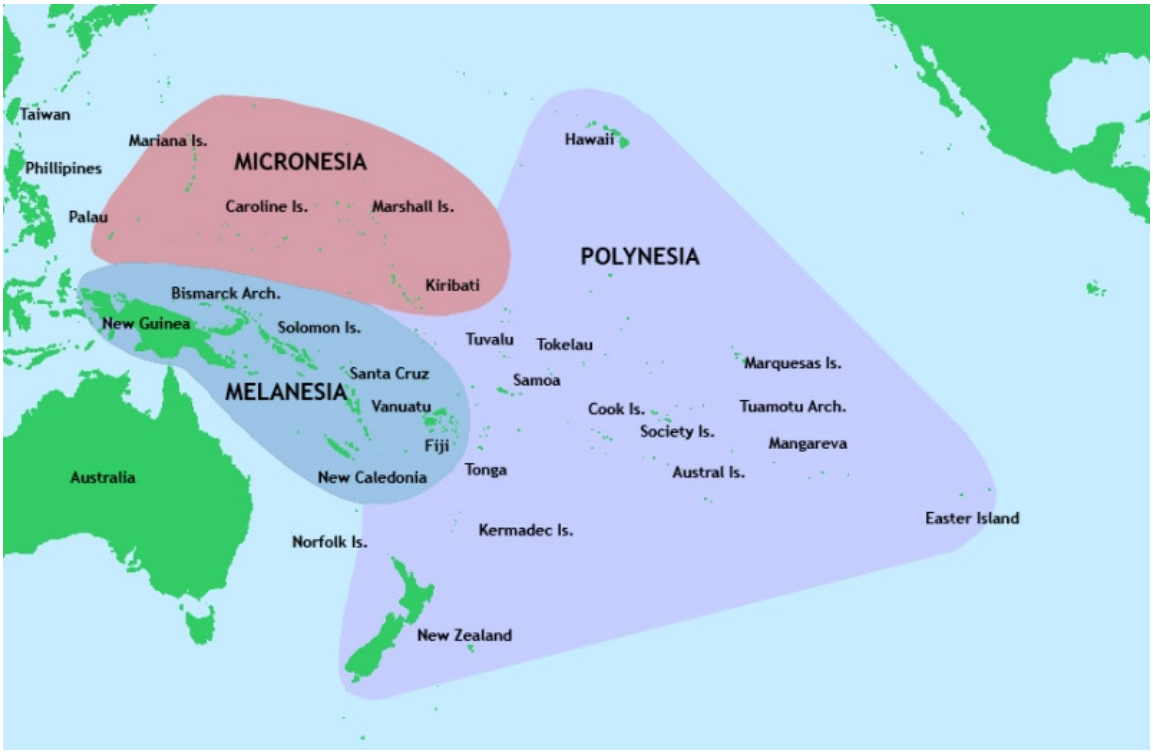


Fig. 14: Map of Oceanic
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Pacific_Culture_Areas.jpg

Method

The Oceanic objects stored by the Museum of London were accessed through use of Green & Merriman's original catalogue as well as digital records on the Museum's Collections Management System – MIMSY XG. Not all the objects were locatable, but for those that were I undertook comparative study through use of the following: online museum collections databases (e.g. Te Papa Tongarewa Museum and Pitt Rivers Museum); published collections catalogues (e.g. Geary 2006; Hooper 2006; Kaeppler 1978; Kjellgren 2007; Neich

2010) and visiting Museum's with ethnographic displays including the British Museum (London), Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge) and Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford).

I have concentrated on establishing objects' identification and provenance to a known cultural Oceanic group and their creation dates. This will always be difficult as "it is never possible to know if an object obtained on a voyage was made the day the ship sailed or had been in the local community for generations, or indeed was a local exchange item or trophy acquired from elsewhere" (Hooper 2006: 76). My primary concern has not been with the aesthetics of the objects and I do not refer to them as 'art' as "there is no indigenous category corresponding with 'art' in the Western sense" (Thomas 1995: 26).

The layout of the catalogue is geographical, following the presentation of many of the other catalogues consulted. I have included all regions of Oceania including, Island Southeast Asia which should be considered a "standard part" alongside Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Australia, as the indigenous peoples all share a common ancestry (Capistrano-Baker 1994: 13; Kjellgren 2007: 3).

Polynesia (the 'many islands')

Aotearoa (New Zealand)

- Q100: Treasure Box (*wakahuia*). C19th

This treasure box was the subject of a major research report by UCL students, including the author (Currie *et al* 2011). Treasure boxes (also known as Feather Boxes) held sacred possessions of Maori chiefs and contained bodily adornments such as combs and feathers. These objects were considered *tapu* ('sacred') and contained *mana* – 'divine power' (Hooper 2006: 37). By association these boxes were comprised of *mana* and were as such considered sacred treasures – *taonga* (Kaeppler 2008: 47-48).

Treasure boxes are fairly common Maori objects within collections (e.g. Neich *et al* 2010: 43-49). Neich (2002: 254) estimated that over 600 could exist in both public and private collections worldwide. A study of C19th sale catalogues reveals their commonality, which reflects the consumer demand for carved objects (Currie *et al* 2011: 70-72; also Allingham 1924: 27, 213, 214, 300).

Layton's treasure box is unusual for a number of reasons including its form and decoration. Two forms of Maori decorative 'art' are found on the box. Its sides are carved with a pattern known as *koru (*Barrow 1984: 43ff.), also known as *kowhaiwhai* in the different medium of abstract scroll painting. Carved *kowhaiwhai* is rarely found and Neich (1994: 77-78) identified only four known examples of treasure boxes with such decoration.[1] The base of the box is carved with a typical pattern called *rauponga* (Neich 1996: 89). Although these are well-established forms of Maori decoration, their combination on one object is exceptional. As such, this may infer that the object has been influenced by European contact

[1] This connection with Maori *kowhaiwhai* and design elements used in wood carving was not explicitly discussed during the iconographic research of the treasure box. I believe this adds weight to the object being interpreted as a purpose-made object for the curiosity market in the C19th.

and perhaps even made specifically for trade ('tourist art') and has therefore been dated to the C19th (Currie *et al* 2011: 68).

- Q101: Fish Hook (*matau*). C19th

- Q102: Fish Hook (*matau*). C19th

- Q103: Fish Hook (*matau*). C19th

These three fish hooks were previously unprovenanced, simply labelled as ‘South Seas’. They are in fact trolling lures (*pa kahawai*) from New Zealand (Hooper 2006: 130; see also Furey 2004: 39, 45-46). All have a wood or bone body with a shell (*paua*) inlay, which acts as the lure. Two have a barbed bone hook and one (Q102) a metal hook. These hooks are fastened by New Zealand flax (*harakeke*) and a length of string (the line) is attached to the ends. Oceanic fish hooks are exceptional common objects found throughout collections and these most likely date to the C19th. Comparative examples are on display in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (Acc. No. 1923.87.84) and the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Acc. No. Z5241).

- LT228: Adze

Adzes were made throughout Polynesia and are extremely common objects. By 1945 over a quarter (c. 48, 900 objects) of the Pitt Rivers collection was comprised of stone tools (Gosden & Larsen 2007: 94-96). Adzes in New Zealand were made since first settlement (Furey 2004: 40ff.) however, it is extremely difficult to date singular pieces outside of an archaeological context. This is one of a very few Layton ethnographic objects that has been published (1912: 58), but a conclusive date cannot be established.

- LT232: Hand Club *(patu onewa*)

- O1135: Hand Club *(patu onewa*)

These objects are known as *patua onewa* (*patu* = weapon; *onewa* = dark grey), classic Maori hand-weapons and a common object in museum collections. The material is New Zealand basalt or greywacke (Gathercole 1989: 70; Hooper 2006: 140). They were initially highly prized because of their labour intense production (Kaeppler 1978: 190). Rarer examples in whalebone (*patu paraoa*) and especially greenstone (*mere pounamu*) exist (Hooper 2006: 138). Te Papa Museum holds numerous examples of these stone weapons; however it is difficult to determine the age of these objects but the form of Layton's could date to the C19th.

- O1136: Beater? (*patu muka*?)

Made of similar greywacke stone as the two *patus*, this object was originally interpreted as a beater for barkcloth. Barkcloth production was common across Polynesia including e.g. Tahiti, Hawaii, Tonga and Fiji (Kooijman 1988:15-16; Hooper 2006: 189). Beaters from these

regions are more commonly made of wood and are very similar to each other in appearance – oblong with lateral carved ridges and a shaped handle (e.g. Te Papa Acc. No. OL000295/7). Stone beaters from New Zealand are described as *patu muka* (flax fibre beater) but are typologically more akin to a pestle (e.g. BM Acc. No Oc1854,1229.70). This object's morphology is unusual and does not easily match any known examples. As such could have been purposefully produced for a 'tourist' market.

- NN23220: Flute (*koauau*). C19th

This broken wooden 'carving' was previously interpreted as a possible *uhi*. An *uhi* is actually a chisel used in Maori tattooing (*tatau*) and this term has probably been confused with the pigment container for the tattoo ink – an *ipu ngarahu* (e.g. BM Acc. No. Oc1944,02.809).

I believe this object is actually the broken end of a *koauau* or flute. The carving appears typically Maori (Simmons 1985), and the object is similar to flutes in both the British Museum (Acc. No. Oc1896,-.32) and Te Papa Museum (Acc. No. WE000797). The hole beneath the mouthpiece is probably for the attachment of a carrying cord (so the flute could be worn) rather than a finger-hole (Moyle 1990: 51). Oceanic flutes are fairly common objects, again popular because of their small size and detailed carved decoration. This object doesn't appear as finely carved as some examples and could be of C19th date.

Austral Islands

- NN23195: Paddle (*hoe*). C19th (1820 – 1840)
- NN23196: Paddle (*hoe*). C19th (1820 – 1840)
- NN23201: Paddle (*hoe*). C19th (1820 – 1840)

- NN23285: Paddle (*hoe*). C19th (1820 – 1840)

Hooper states that Austral Island (Ra'ivavae) paddles were "perhaps the most collected object in the Pacific in the first half of the nineteenth century" with over one thousand existing in collections (Hooper 2006: 216). It is believed they were made during a period of intense production between 1820 and 1840 and that they cannot be "reliably" dated before this (Hooper 2006: 216). Terrance (1979: 20) does however suggest that those with a square shaft and flat (versus rounded) handle might be earlier. Paddle NN23285 is one of these 'square' types – the others are all 'rounded'.

These paddles are always intensely carved with geometric designs. Geary (2006:140) states that they were "chipped in low relief with metal tools". Although metal tools were adopted by Pacific cultures after Western contact, this may be erroneous in regards to the Ra'ivavae carvers (Thomas 1991: 146). An account by Samuel Stutchbury, who visited Ra'ivavae in 1826, notes that: "The carved paddles (of which I have procured several), which are so much admired are carved principally with sharks teeth, shells and stones, they still preferring these rude instruments to any of European manufacture." (Quoted in Giles 2008: 101; also Kjellgren 2007: 304). It is debatable whether these paddles had an "indigenous precedent" and as such an "indigenous function" (O'Hanlon 2000: 31; Kaeppler 2010: 133). Those made in the C19th have been interpreted as an indigenous response to Western demand and perhaps also a response to the cessation of manufacture of religious objects after conversion to Christianity (Hooper 2006: 216) – either way they would have been functionally unsuitable as practical paddles (Kjellgren 2007: 303).

Fiji

- NN23197: Club (*geta*). C19th

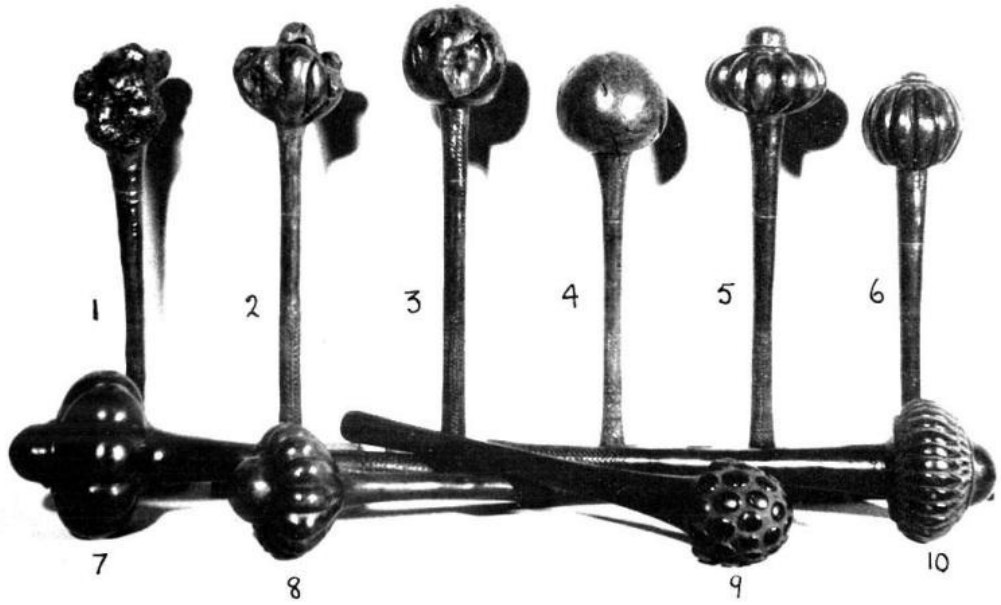
- NN23199: Club (*sali*). C19th

- NN23224: Throwing Club (*ula driwa*)

Research such as Mills (2009b see below) has not been conducted for Fijian clubs, although an early attempt at classification and typology was conducted by Derrick (1957). One problematic aspect to their dating and provenance is that “Fijian clubs have been collected in Tonga, and Tongan clubs have been collected in Fiji” (Derrick 1957: 395). All the types above are common and found throughout British museum collections.

Fijian Clubs, for Cutting. (Spurred or "Gun-stock" type.
1 and 2, Dance clubs (*kiakavo*); 3 and 4, *Nggata* clubs; 5-7, *Thali* or *Sali* clubs.
(By permission of the Trustees of the Fiji Museum.)

Fig. 15: 'Cutting Clubs' from Fiji (Derrick 1957: Plate 3).

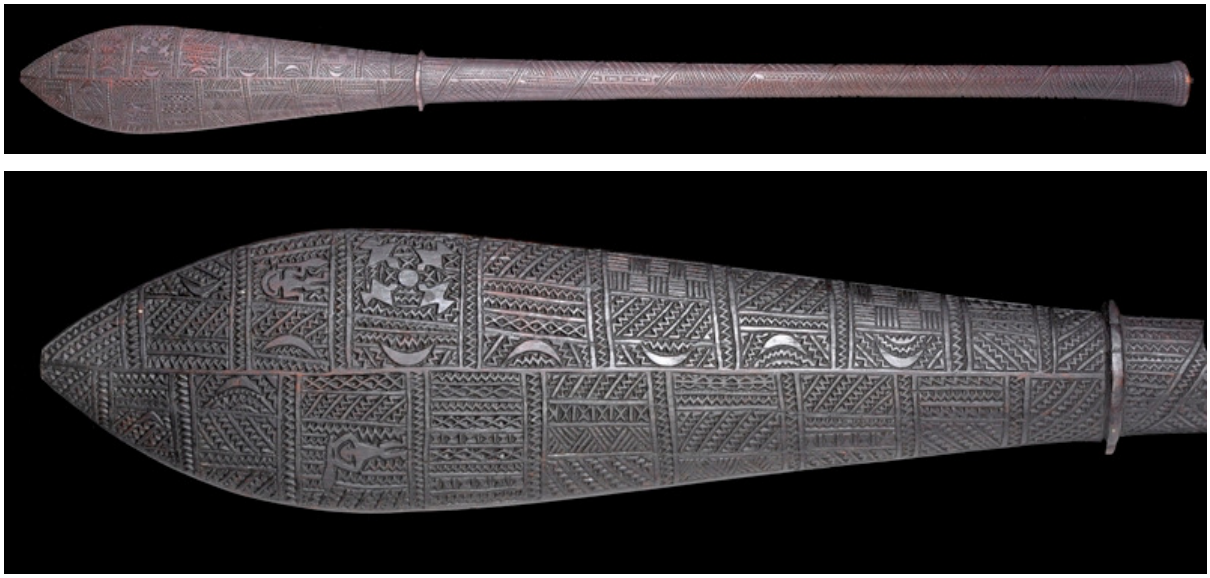


Missile or Throwing Clubs from Fiji.
1 and 2, Natural root Clubs; 3 and 4, Mace-headed (spherical) Clubs; 5-10, Mace-headed (carved or fluted) Clubs. (By permission of the Trustees of the Fiji Museum.)

Fig. 16: Missile/Throwing Clubs from Fiji (Derrick 1957: Plate 5).

Tonga

- NN23198: War-club (*pakipaki*). C19th



This highly decorated club accords with Mill's *'Akau* typology *Family* A: "rhomboidal head section, with the arch-pointed blade tapering from its widest point smoothly into the cylindrical handle" and the feature of a single 'collar' identifies it as a Mills type A1 (2009b: 20). Type A1 is the commonest *core type* of the most common *Family* (A) (Mills 2009b: 20).

- NN23208: War-club (*culacula*). C19th

This distinct club accords with Mils *'Akau* typology of Family I, and far less common forming only 3% of Mill's research sample (Mills 2009b: 30). Probably of C19th date, provenance is difficult to establish for this club type as they occurred both in Tonga and Fiji (Hooper 2006: 268; Mills 2009b: 30)

Mills (2009b) study offers both a "contextual synopsis" and a typology of the most commonly collected Tongan artefacts in the C18th (Kaeppler 1978: 238). The shallow engraving (*tongi*

'akau) of these clubs is not discussed, but a brief study has been undertaken by Weener (2007).

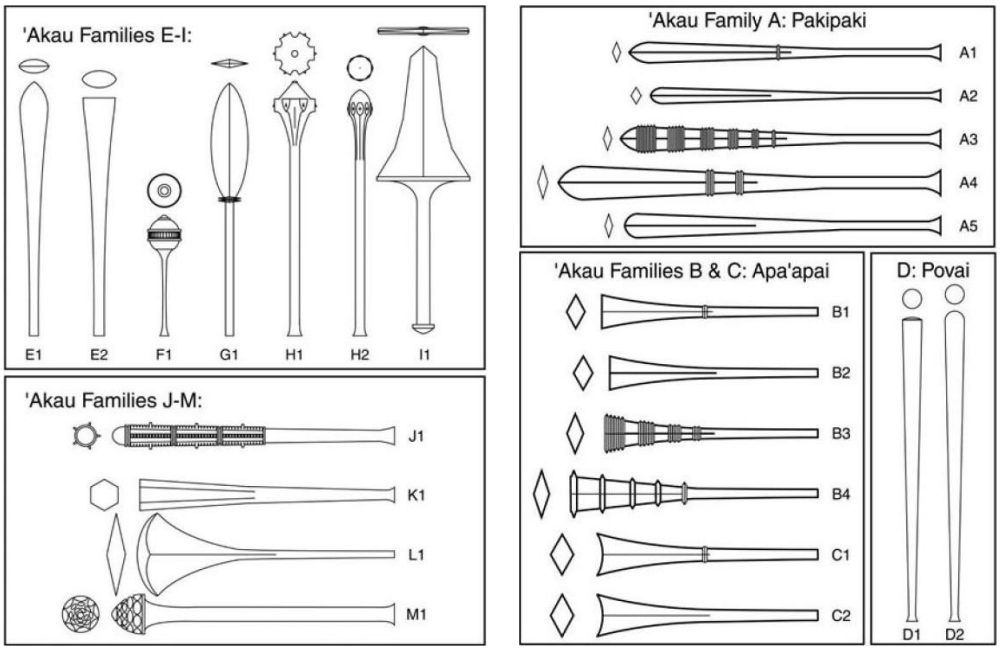


Fig. 17: Mills *'Akau* typology (Mills 2009b: 21).

Niue

- NN23205: Club (*katoua*). C19th

Previously identified as a 'paddle' this as actually a club from the Island of Niue in the Pacific (Smith 1902: 210-211). Te Papa holds a number of these, a close parallel being Acc. No. FE002988. Thomas (1995:91) describes an interesting exchange system through which these objects may have been acquired.

Fig. 18: *Katoua* from Niue. Te Papa Tongarewa. Acc. No. FE007925.

Melanesia (the 'black islands')

Santa Cruz Islands

- NN23369: Napa Dancing Club. C19th

- NN23370: Napa Dancing Club. C19th

- NN23371: Napa Dancing Club. C19th

- NN23372: Napa Dancing Club. C19th

These clubs are notable for not being used in warfare, unlike many of the other 'clubs' in the collection. Waite (1983: 141) states that "these dance clubs have been collected from many parts of the Santa Crux Islands" and Layton is notable for having four. Comparative examples can be found in the British Museum (Acc. No. Oc1891C2.4964) and Te Papa Museum (Acc. No. FE001184).

Micronesia (the 'small islands')

No Layton objects have been provenanced to Micronesia.

Australia

- NN23373: Club/War Pick/Malga. C19th

Originally described as a war pick, this object has also described as a "boomerang shaped club" (e.g. Pitt Rivers Acc. No. 1886.1.1599). The British Museum holds a number of examples (e.g. Acc. No. Oc,St.820). These types of clubs are notable for forming part of Pitt Rivers' typology of Australian weapons (Gosden & Larson 2007: 109-113).

FIG. 19: Club (War Pick) from Australia. British Museum. Acc. No. Oc1921,0616.22..

- NN23283: Club (n*ulla nulla*). C19th

Comparative examples of this mace-like club can be found in the Pitt Rivers Museum (e.g. ACC. No. 1921.93.384) and Te Papa Museum (Acc. No. FE000492). Te Papa's examples date to the later C19th and some have nails inserted into the mace head, instead of carved spikes. The British Museum also stores several with the head carved smooth (e.g. Acc. No. Oc1901,1221.3).

FIG. 20: Club (*Nulla Nulla*) from Australia. Te Papa Tongarewa Museum. Acc. No. FE000492.

Island Southeast Asia

Philippines

- Q104: Shield. C19th

- Q105: Shield. C19th

When originally assessed by Drs. Hitchcock & Teague, two "wooden painted dancing shields" in the collection were noted for being of especial interest and presumed to originate from "Micronesia/Eastern Indonesia/New Guinea" (Green & Merriman c.1988: 5). Huge numbers of shields from Oceania occur in collections but "In Micronesia and Polynesia, the use of shields was not characteristic of warfare...the preferred combat technique in Polynesia was hand-to-hand engagement with clubs" (Kaeppler 2005: 259-260). As such Micronesia was discounted as a possible provenance. These two shields actually originate from the Philippines (an 'Eastern Indonesia' identification being correct), specifically from the region of Northern Luzon.

The shields have been "little studied" and a "definitive morphology" of northern Luzon shield types has not been produced, however, five basic types are known (Capistrano-Baker 1995: 57-58). The two shields in the Layton collection are of two distinct 'types': Q104 can be identified as a Tinguian shield (Capistrano-Baker 1995: 59, 69). Q105 is the Kalinga type (Capistrano-Baker 1995: 60, 68; also Barbier 2000: 138). Neither of these two shields are "dancing shields" but used in warfare. The geometric designs ('hourglass' or 'rice-mortar' motif) are associated with headhunting and warfare (Barbier *et al* 2000:138). Headhunting was a common and important practice before being eliminated in the 1930s by the US. The lower two prongs of the shield would be used to pin a fallen enemy's head, which could then be removed with a head-axe. It is not known how common these shields are in collections, but the Pitt Rivers Museum has only one (Acc. No. 1929.71.2), collected in the early C20th. Both Layton examples are likely to be C19th in date.

Unprovenanced

The following are assumed to be of an Oceanic context from their overall style but no comparative examples have been found in the literature or museum collections. This is primarily due to the fact that these objects have no major distinguishing features.

MOL Accession Number	Object	Possible Provenance
NN23202	Paddle	
NN23203	Paddle	
NN23204	Paddle	
NN23206	Paddle	
NN23207	Paddle	
NN23209	Sago Stirrer	Melanesia: New Guinea?
NN23216	Model Canoe	
NN23222	Pedestal (/Dish)	
O677	Axe	Polynesia: New Zealand?
O675*	Axe	Melanesia: New Guinea?

Not-located

The following objects have been ascribed a possible provenance through their digital record (based on Turner's and Green & Merriman's cataloguing) but are 'not in place' in the Museum of London's Stores.

MOL Accession Number	Object	Possible Provenance
E63	Bottle	Melanesia: New Caledonia?
E70	Kava Bowl	Polynesia: Fiji?
LT170	Sharpening Stone	Australia : New South Wales?
LT231	Tomahawk	Australia: New South Wales?
O675	Adze Haft	Melanesia: New Guinea?
O725	Hammer	Australia: Northern Australia?
NN23200	Club	Polynesia: New Zealand?
NN23283	Club	Australia: North Queensland?
NN23286; NN23288 - NN23298	Fish Spears (x12)	Melanesia: New Guinea?
NN23374	Club	Polynesia: Fiji?
49.107/715	Axehead	Australia?

The Sales Catalogues

Although we have the sale catalogues that detail the remainder of Layton's collection not sold at auction, these catalogues are problematic as they "contain the least information...price information is not published and the descriptions of the ethnographic objects are generally basic and short." (Torrence & Clarke 2011: 37-38).

Additionally we do not know Turner's (1922) rationale of retention and disposal in regards to the Layton collection. Some of the Oceanic ethnographic objects that I have highlighted below do not seem dissimilar (in their very basic description) from objects that were retained. These catalogues can therefore only offer a tantalising glimpse at the entire collection. From the study above it is clear that many objects were mis-provenanced and as such it would be futile to attempt to guess what 'South Seas' objects may have actually been sold at auction.

Date of Sale	Page	Lot	Description of Lot (Oceanic material italicised)
5th May 1914	7	94	"***Two New Guinea boar's tusks, shell breast ornaments and wooden food bowl***."
5th May 1914	7	96	"Model canoe, with oars, and ***11 New Guinea bone daggers***."
5th May 1914	7	98	"Large ***New Guinea wooden food bowl on four legs*** and heavy wooden shield."
26th & 27th May 1914	9	77	"...a ***Fiji carved bowl***..."
26th & 27th May 1914	20	213	"...a box containing ***specimens of Australian woods***..."
26th & 27th May 1914	22	247	"***Two South Sea paddles***, and a bundle of weapons and shields and Crimean water bottle."
26th & 27th May 1914	275	269	"***Two South Seas*** *dishes*, three ladles, and a bundle of arrows."
26th & 27th May 1914	29	343	"A bundle of ***South Sea Island bows and arrows***."
26th & 27th May 1914	38	395	"...***two South Sea trays***..."
26th & 27th May 1914	34	409	"A box containing ***several South Sea Islanders' garments***, a ***bundle of ditto spears***, and a bow of cowrie shells."
26th & 27th May 1914	39	488	"A collection of ***South Sea Islanders' carvings*** – Gods, ditto of a leopard, and three pill glasses in mahogany box."

Appendix 4: Issues with Access

The Layton collection has been a somewhat frustrating collection to access – not only in regards to documentation but also in regards to its physical storage at the Museum of London.

Documentation

The ethnographic material, which forms a case study in this dissertation, has been particularly difficult to access due to contrary documentation. The assemblage was first documented when it entered the London Museum in 1959, to a low standard which included a basic description of object type and in some cases a *possible* provenance.

In the late 1980s Drs. Hitchcock and Teague from the Horniman Museum provided a more robust inventory of the material, at the request of Merriman & Green (c.1988). Ethnographic material from two collectors (Thomas Layton and William Lloyd) was assessed but not identified separately in their catalogue. This catalogue has been reproduced in Appendix 2 for greater clarity.

In addition to this listing, catalogue cards were compiled and these were transcribed to the Museum of London's digital Collections Management System (CMS) – MIMSY XG. Layton's ethnographic objects were then grouped and exported from the CMS to form an ethnographic catalogue in Microsoft Word format. Through my research I discovered this 'catalogue' was not complete. Material currently on display in the Museum of London: Docklands' *Sailor Town* gallery is missing from the catalogue. In addition, some material on the original Green & Merriman catalogue does not appear to be listed.

Green & Merriman report the Lloyd collection comprised forty-three ethnographic objects; however, a search of the MIMSY database only produced thirty results. Originally it was stated that the entire Lloyd ethnographic assemblage "consists of stone tools and weapons, mostly of North American origin" (Green & Merriman c.1988: 3).

A further issue with the ethnographic assemblage is a result of the Museum of London having to catalogue material that it would not normally acquire as part of its collections policy. The responsibility of the ethnographic collection is split between the two curatorial departments in the Museum: The Department of Archaeological Collections & Archive (DACA) and the Department of History (DOH). The separation of material has been based on their use by curatorial divisions and has become somewhat mixed and misunderstood.

All stone material has been dated as 'prehistoric' presumably because of its association with the assemblage of British prehistoric archaeology – not dissimilar to Pitt Rivers in the later C19th (Gosden & Larsen 2007: 94). This material falls under DACA's

remit. All non-stone material is effectively treated as 'Social & Working history' and dated to '1800 – 1899?'. This material is under DOH's remit. As such, two objects of similar cultural provenance such as the Maori *patu* (Acc. No. O1135) and the carved *koauau* (Acc. No. NN23220) are curated by two entirely different departments. As such different curators require consulting in order to study this material.

Storage and Access

The ethnographic material is also split between three museum sites and is stored in a variety of conditions, some much better than others.

- Small ethnographic objects are for the most part stored in the Museum's General Store located at London Wall.
- All 'pottery' is stored in the Museum's Rotunda Store (at the London Wall site), which is highly inaccessible due to physical limitations as well as having limited documentation. Although objects are catalogued on the CMS, they are only given a general location code. They do not specify which of the tens of boxes, specific objects are located in.
- Large ethnographic objects have recently transferred from the Museum of London to its stores at Mortimer Wheeler House.
- Lastly, a small group of ethnographic objects are also on display at the Museum of London: Docklands. The material in the gallery does not completely correspond with the CMS digital records and no further documentation of what objects are displayed exists.

I have discussed these issues of access not to deride the Museum of London's methods of curation and storage but to emphasise the difficulties in undertaking research of the material. Museum of London staff have provided me with great assistance in overcoming these barriers. Ultimately, the collection *can* be accessed, unlike many other ethnographic collections stored around the country (Byrne *et al* 2011: 4).