

THE MANA EXPEDITION TO EASTER ISLAND (Rapa Nui): ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY IN LIGHT OF HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

The Mana Expedition was on Easter Island (Rapa Nui) from March of 1913 to August of 1915. It was the world's first privately organized and funded archaeological expedition to Rapa Nui, preceding Thor Heyerdahl's more celebrated Norwegian Archaeological Expedition by more than forty years. Expedition co-leaders Katherine and William Scoresby Routledge had intended to form a team that would include, in addition to themselves, an anthropologist and a geologist. The historical and interpersonal circumstances that prevented them from doing so are described here for the first time. The expedition went forward without scientific staff, and the conclusion is that archaeological fieldwork suffered as a consequence. Ethnographic work, in contrast, was carried out with higher standards and better results.

INTRODUCTION

Katherine Routledge (1866-1935) and her husband William Scoresby Routledge (1859-1939) were co-leaders of the Mana Expedition to Easter Island (Rapa Nui), 1913-15. Although not institutionally based, the Routledges affiliated themselves with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the British Museum, and the Royal Geographical Society. This paper describes interactions between the Routledges (Figure 1), archaeologist O.G.S. Crawford (Figure 2), and geologist Frederick Lowry-Corry. Among the original source materials employed are Crawford's recently derestricted, uncataloged papers on file at the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts.

THE ROUTLEDGES

In 1891 Katherine Routledge (née Pease) was admitted to Somerville Hall (now College), Oxford. Women students were allowed to take the same exams required of men in a limited range of subjects, but the degrees earned were withheld. Katherine's matriculation at Somerville coincided with intense efforts to gain degree recognition for women. One of the champions of this effort was R. R. Marett (1910, 1941), renowned scholar of comparative religion, Fellow of Exeter College, and founder of the Oxford University Anthropological Society. Marett was Katherine's mentor and friend, and his intellectual influence on her was substantial (Van Tilburg 2003).



**Figure 1. Katherine Routledge (left) and William Scoresby Routledge (right).
Both photos circa 1906, courtesy Peter Bucknall.**

**Figure 2. O.G.S. Crawford, the founder of "Antiquity," at Portsmouth, 1912.
Photo courtesy O.G.S. Crawford Photographic Archive, University of Oxford.**



Oxford's first diplomas in anthropology were not awarded until 1908, more than a decade after Katherine had departed and two years after Trinity College, Dublin, had granted her an *ad eundem* M.A. degree in modern history. Further, Katherine had no experience in surveying, excavation, museum studies, or artifact analysis. Finally, it must be noted that, although she was a brilliant and exceptional woman, Katherine also suffered from schizophrenia, a chronic, severe, lifelong disease. During this period of her life, however, symptoms were largely dormant to mild, and she implemented a variety of control techniques that provided stability.

William Scoresby Routledge was born in Melbourne and held an M.A. from Christ Church, Oxford. He trained as a surgeon at University College, London, where he received the Physiology prize in 1883 and, in 1888-89, won the coveted Erichsen Prize for Practical Surgery. He traveled and collected in British East Africa from 1902 to 1904 (Routledge 1906; Meinertzhagen 1957). The Routledges lived in Africa from 1906-1908, where Katherine acquired ethnographic expertise and Scoresby conducted minor excavations (Routledge and Routledge 1910; Leakey 1977).

MOUNTING THE EXPEDITION

The Routledges mounted the Mana Expedition at the suggestion of Thomas Athol Joyce, Assistant Keeper in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum. Joyce and A.W.F. Fuller, a London solicitor and later an internationally known collector of Pacific artifacts, believed that Rapa Nui's labyrinthine web of lava tubes and caves concealed priceless collector's items called *kohau rongorongo*, pieces of wood covered with tiny incised characters representing an elusive "script" unique to the Pacific. The source of this belief was Henry Percy Edmunds, the English manager of a sheep ranch on Rapa Nui owned by the *Compañía Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua*. Edmunds had excavated caves and other sites from about 1905, and sold artifacts and ethnographic objects to Fuller.

The Routledges framed four basic research questions: Who were the people who had discovered and settled remote and nearly inaccessible Rapa Nui? Where did they come from? What, exactly, was the significance of the statues? How are the statues linked to the present inhabitants of the island? Writing in 1920, Katherine anticipated the comparative strategy of historical anthropology used today in Polynesian studies. "In dealing with any scientific problem," she said, "the first step naturally is to find out all that can be discovered . . . while the second is to coordinate that material with similar examples elsewhere, so that knowledge which may fail from one source, can be supplied from another" (Routledge 1919: xi).

A wide range of political and organizational difficulties, the geographic isolation of Rapa Nui, and their own inexperience made the Mana Expedition "a much larger undertaking than had been contemplated" (*ibid.*: 4). By May of 1912 a state-of-the-art yacht was nearly complete and had been christened *Mana*. The name was a Polynesian word chosen at Marett's suggestion because of its spiritual meaning and good luck connotations. O.G.S. Crawford (1955: 81) was present that day, later noting that *mana* was an "untranslatable" word and that Katherine had "picked it up" from Marett in an effort to flatter him.



Figure 3. Henry James Gillam (left), O.G.S. Crawford, and Albert Light "on the schooner Mana in the trades [Atlantic]," 1913. Photo courtesy O.G.S. Crawford Photographic Archive, University of Oxford.

SAILORS AND SCIENTISTS

The most important ship's position was that of sailing master, and thirty-six year old Henry James Gillam was hired to fill it. Katherine flatly said that "the successful achievement of the voyage" was due to his skill (Routledge 1919: 9). Five other sailors formed the core crew, and other members joined or departed in various ports. Rapa Nui is small and absolutely isolated in the wide-open southeast Pacific, and Scoresby requested the loan of a navigator from the Admiralty. The first man he engaged is not known, nor is his reason for leaving the expedition. The second was Lieutenant R. Douglas Graham, Royal Navy. At Scoresby's request Graham took a course in plane-table surveying from the Royal Geographical Society. Graham clashed with Scoresby and Gillam over the chain of command, and was replaced by Lieutenant David Ronald Ritchie, Royal Navy.¹

Ritchie was twenty-six years old and single, a career naval officer just home from China. Born in Glasgow, he was the son of a wine merchant. He had joined the Royal Navy as a Midshipman in 1903, passed nine seamanship exams (including gunnery and torpedo), qualified as a navigator, and attained the rank of Lieutenant by 1908. Just four days before *Mana* departed Southampton for Rapa Nui, Royal Navy paperwork lending Ritchie for special service to the Mana Expedition for one year—on full pay—was completed.² This unusual arrangement was due to the fortuitous timing of the Mana Expedition, which overlapped with the increasingly tense, pre-World War I naval rivalry between Germany and Great Britain. The Germans, to the far-thinking Admiralty, might one day threaten merchant shipping on Pacific trade routes, and Lt. Ritchie's official business, in exchange for his services as a navigator, was to gather intelligence.

Katherine and Marett created a scientific advisory committee. Members included Marett and W.H.R. Rivers, a psychologist who had spent a year surveying in Melanesia in 1907-1908 and was one of the most influential figures in British anthropology; A. C. Haddon, a Cambridge scholar who had led an expedition to Torres Straits in 1898, and C. G. Seligman, a pioneer survey ethnographer. Unfortunately for Rapa Nui, T. A. Joyce of the British Museum told Scoresby that the Mana Expedition did not need an experienced archaeologist. There was, he said, "no need to use the care in excavation there that is necessary in Egypt; you don't expect to find stratified remains which it is possible to date by their position, & as for results I feel that you would do more with a spoon there than a spade elsewhere."³

The Routledges looked for men—women were not considered—with a broad knowledge of natural history. James H. Worthington, the son of a wealthy Liverpool ship owner, signed on very quickly after his father made the required contribution of 500 pounds sterling to the expedition. Worthington's consuming passion was astronomy, and he hoped to record a total eclipse of the sun in Rio de Janeiro. Scoresby sent Worthington to Marett to study anthropology and to the Royal Geographical Society to learn plane-table surveying. Worthington, who disliked Scoresby intensely, chose not to waste his time acquiring skills he didn't want and resigned.⁴ Scoresby promptly sued him.

In the late summer of 1911 Oxford geographer A. J. Herbertson recommended O.G.S. Crawford to Marett. Born in Bombay in 1886, Crawford was the son of a minor British civil servant. During his fourth academic year at Oxford he took up geology and met the archaeologist Harold Peake, who became a surrogate father and influenced him toward archaeology. When the Routledges met him Crawford was working as a Junior Demonstrator in Geography at Oxford. They tentatively accepted him on condition that he undertake a course in surveying, study with Marett, and pass the Diploma Examination in anthropology.

Crawford's financial circumstances were sharply limited, and Scoresby encouraged him to apply for a traveling fellowship at Queen's College, Oxford, but Crawford was not successful.⁵ Scoresby then reduced Crawford's required contribution from 500 to 100 pounds, and Crawford raised half of it. The agreement reached was that Crawford's expenses would be covered by the expedition and he would work off the other half of the contribution by assuming the duties of purser. Crawford (1955: 82) thought he had entered a "curious three-sided bargain by which Marett got a pupil for his course, Mrs. Routledge got an excavator for nothing," and he would gain field experience and three years' expenses.

Katherine was a wealthy woman with a strong university background and some field experience. She held feminist opinions and was outspoken about them. Both she and Crawford attended meetings of the Oxford University Anthropological Society, and she gave several papers there at Marett's invitation. She was often the only woman in the bare, shabby room filled with "underdressed, earnest men."⁶ From the start Crawford (1955: 77-78) was frankly dismissive of Katherine, saying that she had simply "come under the spell of Marett and was taking his course, or had taken it," and "picked up" from him an interest in anthropology.

The post of Mana Expedition geologist was filled by a twenty-three year old Cambridge man named Frederick Lowry-Corry. He also signed on as purser, with exactly the same job obligations as Crawford, and planned to join the expedition in Punta Arenas, Chile. Lowry-Corry and Crawford began a short surveying course with the Royal Geographical Society, and everything seemed ready to go. The expedition experienced numerous logistical problems and delays, however—most of which Crawford (1955: 77) attributed directly to Scoresby, a "gadget fiend." Finally, the expedition departed on March 25, 1913.

ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC: AN "ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIASCO"

After less than twenty-four hours at sea *Mana* was caught in a huge gale. All of the ship's bread was green with mold, and Crawford (1955: 81-90) said that "mutinous talk" began. Gillam led a deputation to speak to the Routledges. Their protest was ineffectual and Crawford (ibid.) "saw red rather than green." Lt. Ritchie steered a tense course for Puerto de la Luz, the harbor below the town of Las Palmas in the Grand Canary Islands. Squalls hit again, and when the rocky coast of Madeira came into sight it was decided to put in at Funchal.

Katherine needed to purchase provisions, and Crawford, as purser, was obligated to help her. After exploring, mountain climbing, and dining with Lt. Ritchie at a local hotel, Crawford finally found time to buy fresh vegetables. "I was cross-examined by Mrs. Routledge about the cost of each purchase," Crawford (1955: 85-66) wrote, "to make sure that I had bought at the cheapest rate; and after one there was a very careful counting of the change I handed back." Crawford (ibid.: 86) refused to do any more provisioning and had, he said, "the full moral support of everyone else on board except Routledge, who took no part in the affair."

Mana departed Funchal for Grand Canary Island (Figure 3). Lt. Ritchie and Crawford had time to get to know one another, and neither was impressed. Ritchie thought Crawford dreamy and impractical, and lectured that his chosen profession of archaeology was a lazy man's game that would never provide a living. Crawford, in turn, considered Ritchie to be "tactless and annoying."⁷ When *Mana* arrived at Grand Canary Island the hold was full of seawater and supplies were brought up on deck to dry out. Boxes of tea had to be opened and laid out on trays in

the sun. The crew now imagined themselves washing down moldy bread with seawater-sodden tea, and groaned in despair.

Mana was in port for three miserable weeks, and Crawford acted as if he were a lucky tourist disembarking from a cruise ship. He found the delay “rather nice as it will enable me to explore the island.”⁸ He refused to help with the provisioning and went off to climb mountain peaks, collect artifacts, and lunch with Lt. Ritchie at the British Club. As a Royal Navy officer on full pay, Ritchie had freedom from responsibilities not included in his role of navigator, while Crawford, on the other hand, was in a different position. Nonetheless, Crawford (1955: 87-88) “did not see why, if Ritchie could be allowed to enjoy himself in his way, I should not do so in mine.”

Five days before departure Crawford and ship’s engineer Frank T. Green got drunk on the local rum and were hauled on board by the watch. Scoresby was furious and there was a terrible row. Crawford said that he told the Routledges “things about themselves that I don’t think they knew,” including their “extraordinary lack of courtesy” and “appalling stinginess.”⁹ He demanded personal time in all ports of call and freedom from provisioning duties, on threat of resignation. Katherine negotiated a generous agreement that, essentially, gave him three or four days per week off duty.

From Grand Canary Island to St. Vincent (in the Portuguese colony of Cape Verde Islands) Crawford didn’t speak to the Routledges, meals were taken in uneasy silence in very close quarters, and tempers were stretched thin. Scoresby worried that Crawford had some secret agenda he didn’t know about—a pact with other researchers to benefit personally from the *Mana* Expedition—and obsessed over Crawford’s behavior. In fact, Crawford had agreed to collect objects, take photographs, and make observations for Henry Balfour. One night Scoresby crept stealthily on deck and angrily accused him of sitting down while on watch. Crawford lost his temper and told Scoresby that he had had enough and wanted to leave the expedition at St. Vincent.

A formal meeting was held to discuss the matter, attended by the Routledges, Crawford, Lt. Ritchie, and Gillam. Katherine sat at the table in the saloon and read a formal statement asking the men to forgive and forget. Crawford refused to apologize. Scoresby threatened to send out an accusatory, circulating letter—a gesture that would have damaged Crawford’s budding career—and dramatically entered “discharged” in the logbook after his name. Gossip swirled over the ship, and Crawford became convinced Scoresby was going to put him under house arrest. At St. Vincent Scoresby stiffly shook Crawford’s hand and said goodbye. Crawford asked the British Consul for help and wrote a hasty letter home:

I have had to resign my position on board the *Mana*. The behavior of the Routledges has been perfectly impossible & no one in my position would continue to tolerate it. Everyone on board completely agrees that I have taken the right course & wonder that I have put up with them so long. There is not a soul on board whom the R’s have not exasperated beyond bearing, but with the exception of Ritchie they are all in their pay & therefore clutches & unable to get out of it. Ritchie has told me that he wishes he could leave with me but he is not in a position to do so now. He has however consulted the consul here & he has practically decided to resign shortly when he has had time to make his preparations, unless things improve. He dislikes the Routledges as intensely as I do, & can hardly bear to speak to them.¹⁰

Crawford finally made his way to Liverpool on a cargo boat and told his story. Some of his friends were “in a condition of white-hot indignation,” and accused Scoresby of being “a sel-

fish brute to whom other people's careers are a matter of absolute indifference."¹¹ Katherine complained to Marett, who sensibly replied that he wished to hear both sides of the story. He felt "dreadfully sorry for having so strongly recommended a man who evidently wasn't the right man for the job," and reassured her that she was quite capable of doing the work herself, encouraging her to "go for" the caves.¹²

Other things—survey of islands, photographs of remaining monuments, descriptions of modern islanders, etc.—seem to me quite secondary compared with discovery and investigation of caves. There lie the treasured secrets—Good luck.¹³

Crawford avoided Marett, finally asking a mutual friend to intercede.¹⁴ He secured a post excavating in the Sudan (for which Marett recommended him) and eventually repaid his debt to Scoresby. The Routledges never referred to Crawford by name in any publication, but they were certainly aware of his subsequently distinguished career and founding of *Antiquity* (cf. Crawford 1921; 1953; Crawford and Keiller 1928). In 1937 Scoresby was a 79-year-old widower on the island of Cyprus. One night he ran into Crawford as both men entered the restaurant of the Nicosia Hotel. Scoresby was alone and might have liked company, but Crawford (1955: 239) thought "he was a terrible bore and had few friends, and it would have been difficult to avoid his company if we had made up the old quarrel."

Fredrick Lowry-Corry joined the expedition in Punta Arenas and, on January 14, 1914, *Mana* arrived in Talcahuano, Chile (Figure 4). Everyone on board was disgruntled, and Lt. Ritchie was nearing desperation.¹⁵ *Mana* departed Talcahuano for Juan Fernández Island on the unlucky day of Friday, February 13. Lowry-Corry had a slight fever that quickly developed into typhoid, and Scoresby came down with dysentery. *Mana* moored head and stern in Cumberland Bay, Juan Fernández Island, and then tossed for four miserable days in heavy squalls. Everyone agreed that the only hope was to turn around and race the 400 miles back to Valparaíso. Scoresby recovered and Lowry-Corry was transferred to the British and American Hospital. *Mana* departed again and, although Katherine held out hope that Lowry-Corry would rejoin the expedition, he was forced to return to England. The Mana Expedition was now without any scientific staff.

ETHNOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY ON RAPA NUI

Mana arrived at Rapa Nui and off-loaded a massive amount of cargo, as well as all of the negative feelings that had accumulated and festered on the voyage out. Two camps were established: one was at Mataveri, Percy Edmunds' base in the western part of the island and the other, called Camp Hotu Iti, was in the east. Frank T. Green took on the responsibility of expedition photographer.¹⁶ Henry MacLean, a Chilean citizen who joined the expedition on Juan Fernández Island, served as translator until August of 1914, when Scoresby fired him. Lt. Ritchie kept his distance from the Routledges, but his navigational expertise transferred well to the role of cartographer. Various other *Mana* crewmen participated in fieldwork. Some Rapa Nui men took crucial roles in Mana Expedition research, especially Antonio Haoa Pakomio and Juan Tepano, *jefe* or "headman" of Hanga Roa, the island's only village. Tepano, moreover, became Katherine's chief consultant, field assistant, and collaborator.

Preliminary work began at the important ceremonial site of Orongo almost immediately upon arrival and continued until July of 1914. There was then a long break until December,

when investigations were taken up again until March of 1915. Follow-up work continued daily until departure. Lt. Ritchie's first mapping task was the Puna Pau quarry, and he and Antonio Haoa completed the job in nine days. He then mapped the entire Orongo complex, including exterior plans of buildings 12-15 and an interior plan of building 22, with sections (Figure 5). Green not only took photographs but also cleared and "partially excavated" at least two of the Orongo buildings (and probably more). The Rapa Nui people always referred to the buildings as *ana* (cave) not *hare* (house), and they are, indeed, cave-like. Excavation procedures, unfortunately, didn't follow even Marett's perfunctory advice:

Fix a base line by means of a firmly moored tape, and with two sticks nailed across each other exactly at right angles you can plot out the ground plan in squares of a foot (or yds if a big cave, or better still, perhaps, meters). Then when each object is found put it in [a] separate envelope or packet and mark at time of finding the space in which it was found and the depth. In a big cave, of course, it may be impossible to cover the whole area, but in that case choose a likely spot and make a broad trench—broad enough to allow free work, *and* light—and carry it right across the cave, and down to the bottom, if you can reach it; get a perpendicular section, and examine it carefully for evidence of stratification. If different soils, bring away specimens of each (labeling each carefully). Bone, implements, etc. can be identified at leisure afterwards; but the man on the spot *must* locate *exactly*.¹⁷

Katherine excavated four Orongo buildings, made careful notes of pre-selected categories of information and then abandoned even the use of the word "excavation" and "dug" another three. Digging was shallow scraping of hard-packed floors and entry passages. Scoresby excavated four other buildings with more care, but his fieldnotes also exclude levels or locations of artifacts.

Katherine painstakingly traced genealogies connecting a family web of almost 200 people going back three or more generations (in a population at the time of 250). She secured the ethnographic baseline of Orongo ceremonies. All of her information was inconsistent, and she banished inconsistencies and discrepancies with corroboration. This was no small task, and she did it by obsessively going over and over the details, salvaging information that was within a hair's breadth of being lost forever.

Lieutenant Ritchie, working with *Mana* crewman Albert Light, produced a triangulated survey of Rano Raraku, the statue (*moai*) quarry, using a 4" theodolite loaned by the Admiralty. They measured the base of the volcano twice, once using 100 feet of steel chain, and Gillam helped map it and other landmarks from aboard the deck of *Mana*. Ritchie used a sextant and station pointer to begin a topographical survey of the southeast coast, locating the positions of statues and *ahu*. He also surveyed the interior of Rano Raraku, locating 117 statues (but missing 26 others).

When Ritchie departed to return to duty, he left the surveying equipment with Scoresby to complete the job. He didn't, however, use it, but relied upon a compass and his camera, taking photographs and orientations. Katherine created a large, very rough watercolor sketch of the southeastern portion of the exterior crater. She or a workman scrambled up and down slopes to find statues and then, using binoculars, pinpointed them on her sketch. She was able to "put in" about one-third of the known statues—38 of 104 on the slopes and another 38 of 135 in quarries—omitting the precipitous upper quarries (where there are another 15 statues). A Royal Geographical Society draftsman used spliced panoramic photos, compass orientations, field-notes, and

sketches to produce publication-quality diagrammatic sketches. Allowing for proportional discrepancies in distance and statue size, the results are acceptable for the time.

The goal of the Mana Expedition's statue inventory was to document the appearance of each statue at Rano Raraku. Katherine told her family that she was "having a happy time over final work on the statues—we have measured & described every one in the quarries—(7 measurements for each)."¹⁸ That was, unfortunately, an overstatement. Katherine assigned a preliminary number to each statue as it was mapped, but her journal refers to statues by short-hand descriptive names. To find the description of a particular statue in Rano Raraku, a list of statue names must be constructed from Katherine's journal. Then the numbers that she assigned during mapping must be located in a notebook and matched with the names. Coordinating that information with yet another re-numbered sequence that she later used at the pre-publication stage may lead to actually finding the statue listed in the measurement table.

In the first week of September, the Routledges covered all of Rano Raraku, interior and exterior, in an effort to "decide what statues to dig out."¹⁹ "Digging out" was frequently done with little or no supervision, and trenches were left open for weeks or filled in and then reopened or collapsed (Figure 6). This terrible situation was a function of time and labor shortages, but also of carelessness and the unfortunate belief that there was no stratigraphy. They dug twenty statues for certain but perhaps as many as ten more, and the locations of artifacts are impossible to pinpoint.²⁰

On September 21 Scoresby, Katherine, Antonio, and three other men dug two statues in the interior of the quarry that turned out to be, in Katherine's opinion, her single most important finds on the island. One of them was buried up to its chin and the other to mid-torso. Langitopa, one of Katherine's consultants, told her that one of the statues—or the nearby quarry wall from which it was carved—was called "Papa Haa Puré."²¹ He named the other statue "Papa's wife" as a joke. "Papa" was dug on two separate occasions—the second time was just so Green could take photographs (Routledge 1919: figs. 47, 64, 70, 71). The first excavation was made about four feet from the back of the statue, the second was about ten feet back and about sixteen feet deep.

At eighteen inches Katherine noted red pigment and a well-made stone carving tool (*toki*) near the statue's shoulder, and then more charcoal—some was burned sugar cane, used for body paint, and some the remnants of a grass fire. Intricate, bas-relief and incised carvings were cut into the backs of Papa and his companion statue (Routledge 1919: figs. 64, 65; Van Tilburg 1986; 2001). Katherine dubbed them "ring and girdle," one or two disks on either side of the spinal groove and a triple raised band below. She also noted a kind of stratigraphy of symbols: interesting secondary carvings had been superimposed after the "ring and girdle" was carved.

Details of designs once painted on the backs of children during Orongo rituals were similar to the "ring and girdle" and to ethnographic woodcarvings, and Katherine theorized that they meant similar things (Routledge 1919: figs. 114, 120).²² She concluded that the designs were the product of an integrated and long-lasting culture, and that the statues were the work of the ancestors of present-day Rapa Nui people. In this manner, she understood one of the basic principles of anthropology: that the meaning of cultural symbols may be discerned by exploring the range of contexts in which people use and communicate through them.

MANA EXPEDITION OUTCOMES

The Routledges gave illustrated papers at the 1916 Newcastle meeting of the British Association. Scoresby demanded that a large lecture hall be reserved for the massive crowds he expected to attend his presentation, but members of the Association—including O.G.S. Crawford's father figure Harold Peake—resisted.²³ Katherine (Routledge 1917a, 1917b) delivered papers to the Royal Geographical Society and the Folk-Lore Society, and in January, 1918, Scoresby spoke before the Geological Society of London. He also prepared (but didn't give) a presentation on fifty-eight Rapa Nui skulls, some decorated with incised lines, that he had asked Sir Arthur Keith to study.²⁴ Most were from the latter part of the nineteenth century, and Keith believed that they approached the Melanesian more than the Polynesian type. T. A. Joyce cautiously concurred, and serious questions about Rapa Nui origins were raised.

Katherine used ethnographic data and symbolic analysis to argue for cultural continuity (see also Routledge 1920). W.R.R. Rivers and others built on her evidence and Keith's suggestion of Melanesian connections to draw iconographic comparisons between Orongo designs and similar ones in the Solomon Islands. The discussion was shaped and influenced by the structure of professional and gender relationships and the nascent status of Pacific studies. Two scholarly camps formed: the first was made up of eminent academics with experience in Melanesia and the western Pacific, nearly all of Scoresby's enemies and most of O.G.S. Crawford's colleagues.

They suggested that non-Polynesian statue makers had arrived on Rapa Nui prior to the coming of the ancestors of the present-day Rapa Nui. Repercussions from this point of view would echo many years later, when attention turned to the supposed South American influence on Rapa Nui. The second camp included Katherine, Marett, B. G. Corney, and one or two others. They held that modern Rapa Nui people were descendants of the ancient statue makers and argued for cultural continuity.

The Mana Expedition examined nearly 1,000 archaeological sites, "dug" perhaps as many as 100, and described about 260 *ahu* (ceremonial structures). *Ahu* were assigned to one of three major categories on the basis of design attributes and then valid prototypes for two categories were drafted. *Ahu* that had once supported statues represented about one-third of the total. All *ahu*, they said, were once used for burials, but Scoresby overlooked all evidence of cremation. Clan or family identities were attached to *ahu* sites whenever possible, and 391 statues—about 44% of the actual total—were counted.

The paper trail the Routledges followed as they prepared their survey data for publication is well marked.²⁵ They made excellent progress through the "Northern" and "Western" divisions of the island, Orongo, and "Rano Kau and Adjacent Islets." When they got to Rano Raraku and the statues, however, the Routledges faltered. There are several explanations for this situation: they were unable to report their statue excavations with the degree of precision scholarly critics required; Keith's suggestion of a Melanesian influence in Rapa Nui skeletal remains was hard to argue or disprove without better documentation, and the Routledge marriage was compromised by Katherine's mental illness.

CONCLUSION

It is impossible to know what the Mana Expedition's legacy would have been had O.G.S. Crawford and Frederick Lowry-Corry remained on the crew. It is reasonable, however, to presume



Figure 4. Draft version of track of "Mana." Photo courtesy British Museum.

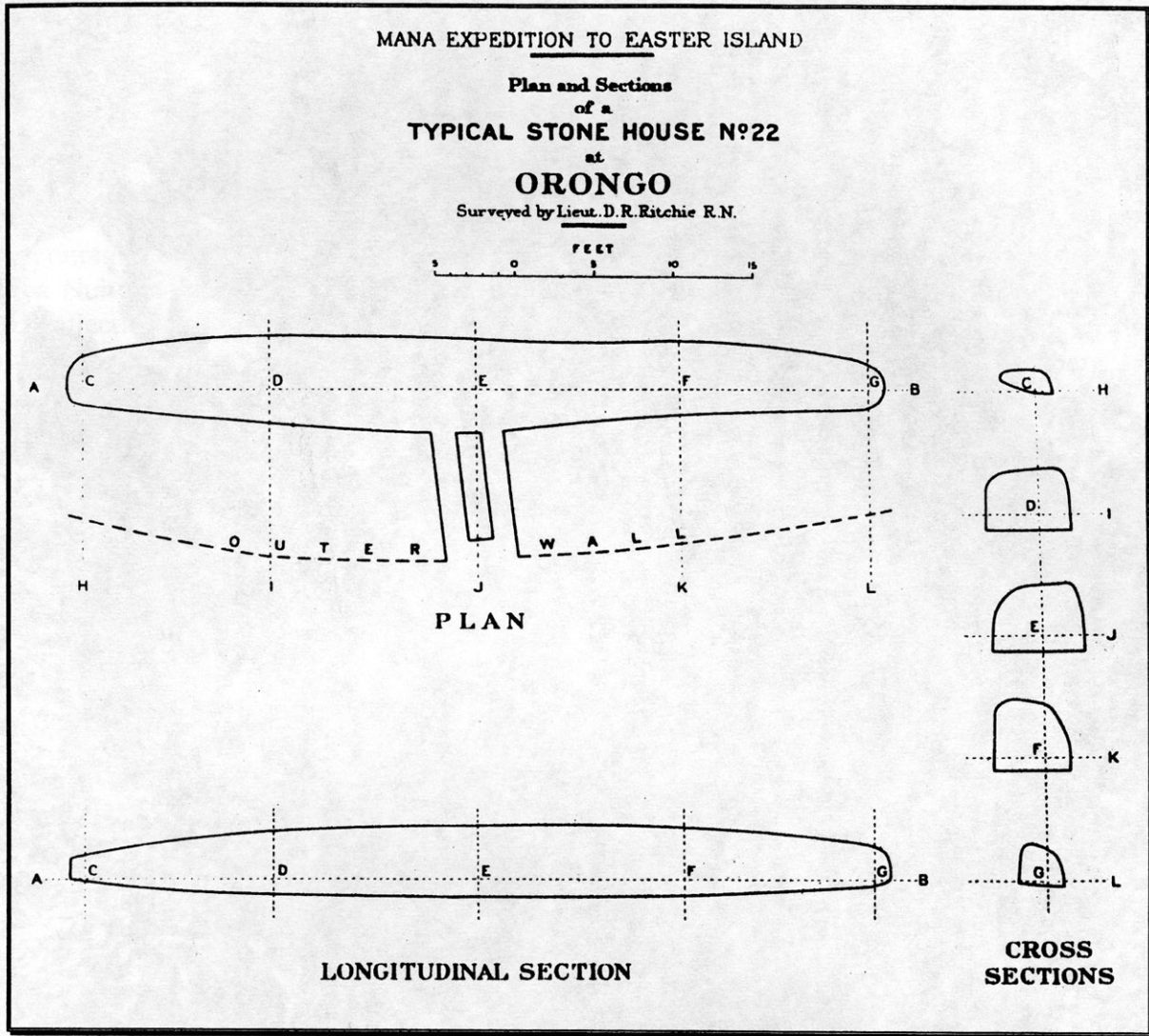


Figure 5. Plan and sections, Orongo building No. 22, by Lt. D. R. Ritchie, R.N., Mana Expedition to Easter Island. Photo courtesy British Museum.



Figure 6. Standing statue, Rano Raraku, Lt. D. R. Ritchie at right. Photo courtesy British Museum.

that excavations would have been more carefully conducted and recorded. Katherine was not an unscientific travel writer, but her fieldnotes are a polyglot of local vernacular, shorthand spellings, idiosyncratic phrasing, bad organization, and confusing internal cataloging. Careful analysis, however, reveals that Katherine Routledge's ethnographic methods were superior to the expedition's archaeological field procedures. She applied three tests of credence to her data: plausibility, consistency, and comprehensiveness. She avoided hearsay and evaluated information using reasoned speculation and reasonable presumption.

A major question, of course, is how did Katherine Routledge's mental illness impact her work, and what does that mean for contemporary research use of Mana Expedition fieldnotes? In the course of writing her biography I have compiled evidence (to be described elsewhere) that on Rapa Nui her illness was almost dormant and she was largely in control of its symptoms. The non-reflective and non-interpretive, objective content of her fieldnotes can be usefully separated from her subjective "written attempts to impose order on the external world" (Ottenberg 1990: 141).

ENDNOTES

1. Lowry-Corry-Crawford 20 June 1912; E. A. Reeves-Crawford 9 July 1912; Katherine Scoresby Routledge (KSR)-Crawford 13 Feb. 1913; Crawford-Lowry-Corry 8 June 1913; Graham-Crawford 1 Feb. 1914 with enclosure (BOD MS).
2. PRO ADM 196/50 PT 2 E. Routledge 1917:322 and Anon. [Sec. of the Society] 1918.
3. Joyce-William Scoresby Routledge (WSR) 13 Oct. 1911 (RGS WKR 4/1). This opinion was wildly held, and Crawford shared it (Crawford-WSR n.d. (BOD MS)).
4. RGS WKR. AR 143 #1 "Log Books of the Yacht Mana." Crawford (1955: 81); Worthington-Crawford 19 March 1912; Worthington-Crawford 8 Aug. 1913; Marett-Crawford 1 May 1912; Worthington-Crawford 29 March 1912; KSR-Crawford 13 Feb. (BOD MS).
5. Draft letter concerning application for Traveling Fellowship at the Queens College, Oxford, ca. June 1912 with related correspondence, Henry Balfour-Crawford, n.d.; Marett-Crawford 7 May 1912; Tracey-Crawford 28 April 1912; Lock-Crawford 6 June 1912 (postcard) (BOD MS).
6. D/GP 6, v. 27, p. 41.
7. C.M.A. Peake-Crawford 5 Mar. 1913[?]; Crawford-"All" 16 April 1913-20 April, 9 pp.; Crawford-G. A. Crawford, 2 postcards, 22 April 1913 and 5 May 1913 (BOD MS).
8. Crawford-"All" 16 April 1913-20 April 1913, 9 pp.; Crawford-G. A. Crawford 5 May 1913 (BOD MS).
9. Crawford-"All" 16 April 1913-20, April 1913, 9 pp. (BOD MS).
10. Crawford-"All" 18 May 1913, 2 pp.; 2 postcards Crawford-G. A. Crawford 27 May 1913 and 29 May 1913, one with photograph by Green (BOD MS).
11. C. Morley-Crawford 20 June 1913; Lowry-Corry-Crawford 17 April 1913; H. Dewett-Crawford 18 Sept. 1912 (BOD MS).
12. Marett-KSR 21 June 1912 (RGS WKR. 4/1); Graham-Crawford 9 June 1913; Graham-Crawford 4 June 1913; H.D. [Herbertson]-Crawford 25 Sept. 1913 (BOD MS).
13. Marett-KSR 21 June 1912 (RGS WKR. 4/1).
14. Crawford-Marett 23 June 1913 (BOD MS). The friend who intervened was Prof. E. A. Hooten.
15. Ritchie-Crawford Mar. 1914 (BOD MS) "I hope never to come across the Routledges again after leaving this job. I can't conceive of anybody that I could personally dislike so cordially for a combination of reasons & to get two of them together at the same time is really bad luck"; Graham-Crawford 1 Feb. 1914, with enclosure; Graham-Crawford 26 Mar. 1914; Green-Crawford, postcard, 11 Feb. 1914 (BOD MS).
16. Green ridiculed both Routledges constantly. Green-Crawford 19 Aug. 1913, 6 pp. "Mrs. R ... looked around with her fishy eyes;" "sitting in the deck house with a face like a Kilkenny Cat, mopping tears from her eyes with a hankerchief [*sic*] that would have been none the worse of some soap & water;" Green-Crawford 17 Feb. 1914; "Mr. R. taken ill also, but according to the quantity of food he eats he can't be very bad." Notes on the backs of two photographs, O.G.S. Crawford photo collection (Wilkins personal communication, 2002).

17. KSR's (1917a:342) first public statement of the number of houses was 46. She then gave "nearly fifty" (1919:255). Her fieldnotes show 45 (RGS WKR. 4/2/1, Section VI "Orongo Houses," p. 101). See also RGS WKR. 4/10/14, p. 9.

18. KSR-"My Dearests" Easter Sunday [4 April] but including to 15 June 1915 (RGS WKR. 4/10/34, 4 pp. double sided plus 1).

19. KSR journal 6 Sept. (RGS WKR. 4/0).

20. WSR-Joyce 4 Sept. 1925 (RGS WKR.). Objects collected by *Mana* crewmembers were considered property of the expedition (Crawford 1955: 87). PRM 14.1.02; WSR-Balfour 26 July 1934 (PRM) and PRM 1951. 10.21.1-34.

21. Papa is Statue I and No. 109; Routledge 1919: Figs. 17, 64. "Papa's Wife" is Statue II and No. 108. RGS WKR. 4/9 Mon. 21 Sept.-13 Oct.

22. The key to KSR's understanding of the "ring and girdle" design was the basalt statue Hoa Hakananai'a. Jotefa Maherenga Reva Hiva said that "Taurarenga was the name of the moai Hahakananaia" (RGS WKR. 4/3/2, p. 27), although "Taurarenga" was also given as the name of the house. RGS WKR. 4/9 26 May 1914; RGS WKR. 4/10 KSR-PE 17 Nov. 1914; RGS WKR. 4/21 draft survey ms. of 105 pp. Section III is "Rano Kao and Adjacent Islets," Section IV is "Orongo." Section VI "Orongo Houses." In Tahiti in 1923 KSR interviewed a Rapa Nui woman named "Kava ... Kio" who was 18 when she left Rapa Nui with Roussel. She was "8 or 10 years old when she participated in an Orongo ceremony ... drawings of designs on the backs" and "lips outlined." She told KSR that "Tau ra Hanga" was neither the name of the house nor of the statue but "a great artist for tattooing" (RGS WKR. 4/16; see also 4/8, p. 52 re Kapiera Maherenga). A sketch made by Lt. Harrison of H.M.S. *Topaze*, was recently found (Van Tilburg 2001). Hoa Hakananai'a was buried to his shoulders and had his back to the door and "looked at the island (quite clear on this)" (RGS WKR. 4/3/1).

23. Peake-Crawford 22 Oct. 1916, 13 Sept. 1916, 29 Sept. 1916 (BOD MS); "Easter Is. Report to Royal Society," begun 10 Sept. 1915, 47 pp. in WSR's hand with additions, edits, and corrections by KSR (RGS WKR. 4/10/42).

24. Preliminary Report on the Collection of Human Skulls and Bones Made on Rapa Nui by Mr. and Mrs. Scoresby Routledge" by Arthur Keith, M.D.F.R.S, 15 pp. typescript (RGS WKR. 4/10/45); Routledge 1919: 295.

25. RGS WKR. 4/2/3 has annotated bibliographies, references, and abstracts. Missionary accounts of the island were not consulted until 1917 (WSR to Ferreir 1 June 1917, Ferreir to WSR 13 July 1917 [RGS WKR. 4/2/3]); RGS WKR. 4/2/4; letters between WSR, Cambridge University Press, Bishop Museum, and A. Métraux over the use of maps and photos (RGS WKR. 4/19).

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