

# COLLECTING IN THE SOUTH SEA

*The Voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux 1791-1794*



edited by

BRONWEN DOUGLAS, FANNY WONU VEYS

& BILLIE LYTHBERG

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Back cover; Top and spine: Kanak *bwar* (*hache-ostensoir*), ceremonial axe, collected in New Caledonia, Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne (V/B-025). Photograph Yves André;

Middle: handle of a Māori *toki poutangata*, adze, collected in Aotearoa-New Zealand, Universitetsmuseet, Bergen (BME 10). Photograph Svein Skare

Bottom: Fijian *sedri ni waiwai*, oil dish, collected in Tonga, Museum Volkenkunde – Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Leiden (RV-34-21). Photograph Irene de Groot

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*Bronwen Douglas, as ever, dedicates this book to Charles, Kirsty and Ben, Allie and Andrew, Jean and Owen, whose enduring love and support make everything possible*

*Wonu Veys dedicates it to her mum and grandmother, to Paul, and to her colleagues and mentors whose enthusiasm, patience, and support made this project possible*

*Billie Lythberg dedicates it to her family, collaborators, and mentors, without whose unwavering curiosity and generosity such projects would simply not eventuate*



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## CHAPTER 12

### Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne

CLAIRE BRIZON, CLAUDE LEUBA, AND LIONEL PERNET

WITH

FANNY WONU VEYS AND BRONWEN DOUGLAS

~

The Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (Cantonal Museum of Archaeology and History) in Lausanne, Switzerland, holds an important collection of ancient Pacific materials. We are reasonably certain that at least some were acquired during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition—two clubs, two fine mats, a fly whisk, a basket, and two combs from Tonga; and a club, an adze, and an *hache-ostensoir*, ceremonial axe, from New Caledonia. These and other objects were donated by Jules Paul Benjamin Delessert to the Musée cantonal in Vaud on 3 November 1824. Perhaps at the same time, he gave the botanical section of the museum 'numerous samples of exotic seeds and fruits from the two Indies, resulting from the voyage round the world of Labillardière'.<sup>1</sup> Delessert was the earliest known supplier of Pacific materials to the canton's ethnographic collections, begun in 1779 at the Académie de Lausanne.<sup>2</sup> This donation raises the tantalizing question of how Delessert, renowned for his natural history collections, procured such ethnographic pieces.

#### **Objects, inventories, iconography**

All 11 objects can be readily identified in two undated inventories preserved in the Archives cantonales vaudoises (Cantonal Archives of Vaud). One specifically catalogues about 40 ethnographic items 'offered by' Delessert to the museum (Figure 12.1). A total of 21 objects are explicitly provenanced to the Friendly Islands (Tonga), New Caledonia, Santa Cruz, or the East Indies—all places visited during the expedition. The rest are either attributed generically to 'savages' or merely described.<sup>3</sup> The other list is a general inventory which includes about 50 objects attributed to Delessert under the heading 'Amérique et Australasie' (America and Australasia).<sup>4</sup> Several items—all still extant in the collection—are cross-referenced to engravings of 'Effets' (effects) in the naturalist La Billardière's *Atlas* of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, another engraving in the *Atlas* (see Figure 17.2) depicts a woman dancer wearing a shaggy mat

Objets offerts par M<sup>r</sup> Benj. Delessert au Musée  
du Canton de Vaud: le 3 Nov. 1824.

(Hautmont) 2. Napue d'un habitant de l'île de l'Amir  
ou 4/117 1. Bouet, instrument de mot de sauvage de la Nouvelle  
Calédonie.  
(non) 0 1 roulan de Kattou de sauvage.  
ou Catalogue N° 4/24. 1 Mouchoir de bonne descos de habitant de l'île de l'Amir.  
ou 0 1 Napue de sauvage de la Nouvelle Calédonie  
ou 0 1 - flûte de l'Inde orientale.  
ou 0 1 autre flûte de l'Inde orientale dans la mer du sud.  
(non) 0 1 fusil de flûte de sauvage.  
+ ou 0 1 arc; \* deux flûtes; \* un arc brisé.  
+ ou 0 2 fusils de flûte en Bombou.  
4/52 0 1 étagère ou lanne de l'Inde orientale.  
(Denture) 0 2 Hameçon en bois?  
ou 0 1 Cap tête arrondi en bois rouge  
ou 0 1 Cap tête angulaire en bois noir.  
ou 0 un hache en serpentine  
relève 4/26 0 un instrument destiné à creuser de fente ou biseau.  
4/54, 4/55 0 2 joules chinois (qui sont des antiquités)  
ou N° 4/37 0 un sac de sauvage de la Nouvelle Calédonie  
ou 0 lanne de habitant de l'île de l'Amir.  
ou 0 sort de Bonnet formé de paille de l'Amir.  
ou 4/92, 4/93 0 2 signes de habitant de l'île de l'Amir (de l'île des antiquités)  
ou 0 Plusieurs paguts de Cordou & tait.  
+ 0 ~~Bois de Guine Cantonnaire~~  
0 2 vases de Calabasse (Cecropia Lujete)  
ou 0 un petit panier en natte  
ou 0 un panier en natte à double fond.  
+ 0 ~~Polygones flexibles (Cestrodium)~~

Figure 12.1. List of 'objects offered' by Benjamin Delessert to the Musée cantonal in Vaud, 3 November 1824, held in the Archives cantonales vaudoises (KXIII 60 2 187).

which might be of Samoan origin and resembles one of those held in Lausanne.<sup>6</sup> Only the Kanak adze cannot be correlated specifically with an artefact engraved in the *Atlas*.

The most spectacular object is the *hache-ostensoir* (V/B-025; Figure 12.2)—the only item named and described in detail in both inventories. The Delessert list calls it 'Nbouet, death-dealing instrument of the Savages of New Caledonia'.<sup>7</sup> The general inventory gives more information and parenthetically references the *Atlas*: 'Axe called Nbouet which the savages of New Caledonia use to scalp the skull of their prisoners. It is a large disk of sharp-edged jade, borne by an ironwood haft. (Atlas du voyage de la recherche de la Peyrouse N<sup>o</sup>. 38, f. 19)' (Figure 12.3).<sup>8</sup> The striking visual congruence between museum specimen and engraved object—as with another Kanak *hache-ostensoir* held in the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac and the sketch of an 'Nboot' by the Bruni d'Entrecasteaux voyage artist Piron—makes it highly probable that both axes were among several received during the expedition's visit to Balade, New Caledonia, in April–May 1793.<sup>9</sup> It is plausible to infer that the Lausanne example served as model for the engraved drawing, attributed in the *Atlas* to La Billardière himself.<sup>10</sup> No such object is reported in the literature of Cook's stay at Balade 19 years previously.

Both inventories describe the other items in more cursory fashion, emphasizing generic aspects of form, motif, materials, or techniques of manufacture and assembly. However, as with the *hache-ostensoir*, the powerful resemblance between the iconography of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage and all but one of the remaining 10 objects make it highly likely that they were collected during his expedition. Comparison with materials held in other collections discussed in this book reinforces this assessment.

The two Tongan clubs, described in the general inventory as 'elongated' and 'elegantly sculpted', are classic late 18th-century types. One, an *apa'apai*, club (V/C-018), with a lozenge-shaped head, is of a type also represented in the collections in Middelburg (3600-BEV-Z-81; see Figure 10.2), Amsterdam (TM-A-1627), and Bergen (BME 1; see Figure 6.7). The other, a *pakipaki*, paddle club (V/C-019), resembles objects held in Middelburg (3600-BEV-Z-80; see Figure 10.1), Amsterdam (TM-A-1626-b), and Leiden (RV-34-1; see Figure 16.3). The two *helu*, comb (V/C-027, V/C-028)—attributed to 'Otahyté' (Tahiti) in the general inventory but to the 'Friendly Islands' (Tonga) in the Delessert list—comprise coconut midrib prongs secured with neat weaving. They are very like others held in Dunkerque (BA.1772.00.1365.1–4; see Figure 5.1), Leiden (RV-34-24–25; see Figure 8.10), and the Musée du quai Branly – Jacques Chirac (72.84.237.4; see Figure 8.8). One is analogous to an example engraved in the *Atlas* (see Figure 8.9).<sup>11</sup>

The Tongan *fue kafa*, 'fly whisk made from coconut fibre' (Figure 12.4), and the small Tongan basket woven with a striped pattern (Figure 12.6) are of particular interest, as no equivalent pieces feature in the other Bruni d'Entrecasteaux collections. However, an identically labelled fly whisk (Figure 12.5) and a similar striped basket (Figure 12.7), figure in the *Atlas*. Comparable objects were also collected during Cook's voyages.<sup>12</sup> The mats (I/G-0266, I/G-0085; Figure 12.8), described in the general inventory as 'square mats with fringes, tight fabric', parallel specimens held in Dunkerque (BA.1972.00.1372, BA.1972.00.493; see Figure 5.5).





Figure 12.2. Kanak bwar (hache-ostensoir), ceremonial axe, from New Caledonia, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne (V/B-025).

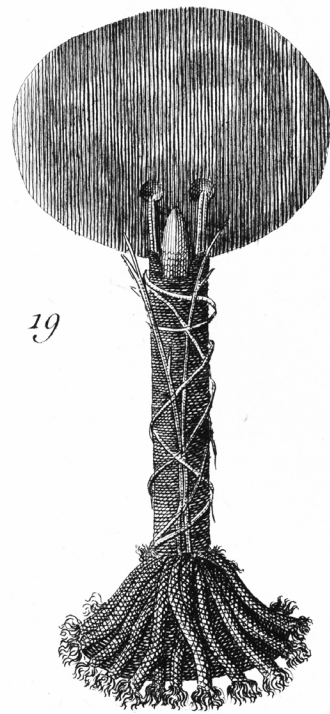


Figure 12.3. Fig. 19 of plate 38 of La Billadière's *Atlas* depicting a Kanak ceremonial axe closely resembling, if not identical to the hache-ostensoir in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne. La Billadière, 'Nbouet ...', 1800, engraving.



Figure 12.4. Tongan fue kafa, fly whisk, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne (V/C-025).

Figure 12.5. Fig. 32 of plate 33 of La Billadière's *Atlas* depicting a Tongan fly whisk closely resembling one held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne. Anon., 'Emouchoir de bourre de cocos', 1800, engraving.

The Kanak club (Figure 12.9)—called 'Club of the Savages of New Caledonia' in the Delessert list and 'Hard wood axe, in disk form' in the general inventory—is analogous to one engraved in the *Atlas* (Figure 12.10) and one held in Bergen (BME 5). The Kanak adze (V/B-027) is described in the general inventory as an 'Instrument in the form of a little axe, to which is added a sharp-edged jade blade, which is used to hollow out canoes'. This object is missing its blade, like a similar object in Bergen (BME 9) but unlike a superb complete example held in Leiden (RV-34-10; see Figure 8.1) and one depicted in a Cook voyage engraving, the original of which has apparently not been located in an existing artefact collection.<sup>13</sup> Roger Boulay sourced the Leiden adze to Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition and adjudged it 'the oldest ... thus far identified in collections'.<sup>14</sup> Since the Lausanne and Bergen adze hafts were also probably acquired during the same expedition, they may be equally as old. Indeed, every Kanak item cited in the Delessert inventory must have been originally collected during either Cook's or Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's visits to New Caledonia in 1774 and 1793, respectively, since



Figure 12.6. Tongan kato, basket, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne (V/C-021).

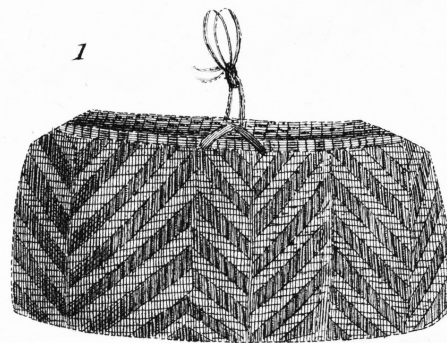


Figure 12.7. Fig. 1 of plate 31 of La Billadière's Atlas depicting a Tongan basket resembling one held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne. Pérée, 'Paniers ...', 1800, engraving.



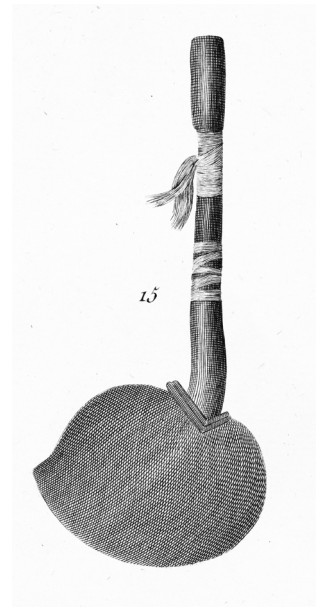
Figure 12.8. Tongan ngafingafi, fine mat, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne (II/G-0266).





Figure 12.9 (left). Kanak club from New Caledonia, probably collected during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Lausanne (V/B-031).

Figure 12.10 (right). Fig. 15 of plate 37 of La Billadière's Atlas depicting a Kanak club very similar to one held in the Musée cantonal d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de Lausanne. Anon., 'Massue', 1800, engraving.



no other significant assemblages of Kanak material culture were gathered before 1824, the year of the Lausanne donation.<sup>15</sup>

### The collector Benjamin Delessert

Born in France but with Swiss connections in the Canton of Vaud, Delessert was steeped in Enlightenment thinking from a very young age. His mother Madeleine-Catherine and his instructor Jean-Jacques Rousseau initiated him early to botany, in which he was a lifelong expert amateur.<sup>16</sup> The adult Delessert was above all a businessman—banker, regent of the Banque de France, politician, philanthropist—but he concurrently built extraordinary collections in botany, malacology, and conchology and an exceptional library. He employed two assistants to manage his holdings. One of them, Antoine Lasègue, published a book on Delessert's botanical collection, comparing it to those of eminent predecessors such as Gessner, Woodward, and Sloane and tracing its history through samples of plants that had belonged to the great travelling botanists Linnaeus,

Commerson, and La Billardière.<sup>17</sup> By opening his collections to interested savants of the era, Delessert ensured the international renown of his specimens and placed himself at the heart of ‘the international network of scholarly communication and co-operation’.<sup>18</sup>

It was presumably through these networks that Delessert amassed non-European ethnographic materials, though no direct connections have yet emerged. The considerable literature devoted to Delessert focusses almost entirely on his natural history collections, eliding the intimate liaison between natural history and ethnographic collecting in the late 18th century but highlighting the priority then assigned to ‘natural’ products over ‘artificial’ human creations, especially in France.<sup>19</sup> Lasègue consigned ‘curiosities’ to a mere five lines at the end of a chapter on Delessert’s ‘Botanical galleries’: ‘Diverse curiosities brought back from far off countries are displayed in the same gallery. Most comprise vegetable products. Several originate from the various recent voyages of exploration’.<sup>20</sup> It is highly likely that those ‘recent voyages’ included Bruni d’Entrecasteaux’s, given the suggestive linkages traced here between the expedition and objects in Delessert’s Lausanne donation. However, it remains unclear how, when, and from whom he obtained these materials (see feature). Perhaps he did so in conjunction with his purchase in 1803 of the botanical collections of Louis-Guillaume Le Monnier, which included a substantial herbarium gathered in Syria in 1787–88 by Le Monnier’s protégé La Billardière.<sup>21</sup>

## Conclusion

Delessert’s ethnographic donation to the Musée in Vaud has important implications for this book. The nature and quality of the items, the presence of objects unrepresented or poorly represented in Bruni d’Entrecasteaux collections elsewhere, and the compelling parallels with engravings in the *Atlas* suggest that they might have been procured by La Billardière himself. Ceded to the expedition’s new leader Hesmivy d’Auribeau under duress in Java and eventually returned to La Billardière from British sequester thanks to his fellow naturalist Banks,<sup>22</sup> La Billardière’s natural history and ethnographic collections underwrote the production of his *Atlas*.

This handful of exotic objects and their ambiguous provenances were largely ignored at the time but speak to several entangled histories: of Pacific material cultures; of Indigenous encounters and exchanges with European voyagers; and of the Enlightenment ambience in cities like Lausanne, where rich patrons, naturalists, and savants collaborated to produce knowledge of the world and materialize it in museums.



## Notes

- 1 Daniel Alexandre Chavannes, 'Notice historique sur le musée cantonal', *Journal de la Société vaudoise d'Utilité publique* 2<sup>e</sup> série, 9:100–1 (1841):16.
- 2 Alexandre César Chavannes, 'Livre destiné à tenir en note tout ce que l'Académie de Lausanne possède ou acquéra en fait d'antiquités et objets relatifs à l'histoire naturelle', 1779, Musée monétaire cantonal de Lausanne.
- 3 ACV, 'Objets offerts par M<sup>r</sup>. Benj. Delessert au Musée du Canton de Vaud: le 4 Nov. 1824', n.d. (KXIII 60 2 187).
- 4 ACV, 'Ustensiles, armes, habillements et donateurs', n.d. (KXIII 60 2 188).
- 5 La Billardière, *Atlas ...* (Paris, 1800): plates 31–3, 37–8. See Figures 1.6–1.10.
- 6 *Ibid.*: plate 27.
- 7 ACV, 'Objets offerts par M<sup>r</sup>. Benj. Delessert'. See Chapter 4, feature, for linguistic identification of the Kanak term 'nbouet'.
- 8 ACV, 'Ustensiles, armes, habillements et donateurs'.
- 9 See Chapter 4, feature; Boulay, 'The Ceremonial Axe called "Monstrance" of the Kanaks of New Caledonia', *Tribal Art* 13:52 (2009):70.
- 10 Lionel Pernet, ed., *Révéler les invisibles: collections du Musée cantonal d'archéologie et d'histoire Lausanne, 1852–2015* (Gollion, 2017):78.
- 11 La Billardière, *Atlas*: plate 32 (fig. 21).
- 12 Cf. a striped basket and a flywhisk held in the Cook-Forster Collection at the Universität Göttingen (University of Göttingen). NMA, 'Basket *Kato*'; 'Flywhisk *Fue kafa*', in *Cook's Pacific Encounters ...* (Canberra, 2018):Oz 121; Oz 149.
- 13 Record after Chapman, [Ornaments, weapons, &c. at New Caledonia], in Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World ...* (London, 1777), II: plate 20; Kaeppeler, 'Artificial Curiosities' ... (Honolulu, 1978):246.
- 14 Boulay, 'L'herminette-genou', in *Kanak: l'art est une parole* (Arles, 2013):76.
- 15 See Chapter 4.
- 16 Hoquet, 'Botanical Authority: Benjamin Delessert's Collections between Travelers and Candolle's Natural Method (1803–1847)', *Isis* 105:3 (2014):508–39.
- 17 Lasègue, *Musée botanique de M. Benjamin Delessert ...* (Paris, 1845).
- 18 Bödeker, 'Communication Structures among European Scholars in the Age of Enlightenment', in *James Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 2009):40–3.
- 19 For example, Hoquet, 'Botanical Authority'; see Bertrand Daugeron, 'La paradoxale disparition des objets de type ethnographique rapportés par les Français du Pacifique (1766–1842)', *Journal of Pacific History* 46:1 (2011):59–74.
- 20 Lasègue, *Musée botanique*:52; see also Cap, *Benjamin Delessert: éloge* (Paris, 1850):21.
- 21 Guillemin, *Archives de botanique ...* (Paris, 1833):467; Lasègue, *Musée botanique*:53–7; Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique ...* (Paris, 1986):226; Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs oubliés de la collection d'ethnographie océanienne du Muséum du Havre: le chevalier Antoine Raymond Joseph Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, le commandant Charles Vesque et le président de la République Félix Faure', *Haute-Normandie archéologique* 18 (2015):58–60.
- 22 Chapter 1.

## Absent objects, Muséum d'Histoire naturelle du Havre

*Thierry Vincent*

In October 1847, at a private venue in Le Havre, the French businessman-traveller Eugène Delessert exhibited a large collection, mostly assembled during visits to New Holland, New Zealand, Tahiti, and the Philippines.<sup>1</sup> The 3,000 objects displayed included numerous 'native weapons and tools'.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps among them were items collected during the South Sea expedition of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux and recently inherited by Delessert from his cousin Jules Paul Benjamin Delessert. This banker and renowned natural history collector also built a significant, but virtually ignored ethnographic collection, which included Indigenous artefacts gathered during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage.<sup>3</sup> It is unclear how and when Benjamin Delessert acquired these objects. However, he donated several such items to the Canton de Vaud, in Switzerland, in 1824 (see this chapter) and might have purchased others when the collections of the naturalist La Billardière, who sailed with Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, were sold after his death in 1834.<sup>4</sup>

The following January, the Le Havre municipality purchased 204 weapons and artefacts from Eugène Delessert for its newly opened Musée-Bibliothèque (Museum and Library).<sup>5</sup> It is almost certain that this transaction included objects from Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's voyage: a brief handwritten note in the Archives municipales (Municipal Archives) refers to the 'Dentrecasteaux Collection acquired by M. Delessert and bought by the city of Le Havre some 50 years ago'.<sup>6</sup> Thus unwittingly acquired by the Musée-Bibliothèque, these 18th-century objects blended indiscriminately with materials gathered by Eugène Delessert himself.

The story of this elusive Bruni d'Entrecasteaux linkage is frustratingly imprecise and complicated by Le Havre's fractured museum histories.<sup>7</sup> In mid-1877, the Paris-based anthropologist Ernest-Théodore Hamy paid several visits to the Musée-Bibliothèque.

His conclusion that among 'the trophies of the Delessert collection [are] curiosities received by the Entrecasteaux expedition' was recorded in the daily summary of museum business by the municipal librarian and museum curator Jules Amédée Baillard.<sup>8</sup> Hamy published the explicit statement that 'Le Havre has the Delessert collections, which include pieces from d'Entrecasteaux's voyage', and later recalled that he had recognized these objects 'thanks to their quite specific origins'.<sup>9</sup> He mentioned them to fellow members of the Société de Géographie (Geographic Society), which in 1888 requested the loan of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux items from Le Havre for a forthcoming exhibition commemorating the centenary of La Pérouse's voyage. Thirty-four Oceanian objects were despatched to Paris, advertised in the exhibition catalogue as 'Collection of objects from the expedition of d'Entrecasteaux', and subsequently returned. However, it is impossible to ascertain which, if any, actually originated with Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition.<sup>10</sup>

At the end of the century, with exotic artefacts again attracting scientific and public interest, the neglected ethnographic collections of the Musée-Bibliothèque were transferred to Le Havre's Muséum d'Histoire naturelle. The curator Gustave Lennier appreciated their value, though unaware of his friend Hamy's earlier identification of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux items. After Lennier's death in 1905, his successors largely ignored the ethnographic materials. They were described in the early 1940s by Marie-Charlotte Laroche, Oceanic curator at the Musée de l'Homme, as 'a jumble of objects of every origin, in dusty display cases, consigned to the attics'.<sup>11</sup> Disregard and ignorance soon gave way to catastrophe. Unable to organize systematic evacuation of the museum's collections, the wartime curator André Maury belatedly took a few Oceanian and African objects from display cases for transfer to a safe location, packed randomly in six crates.<sup>12</sup> These items alone escaped the incineration of the museum and its holdings in lethal Allied bombing raids in September 1944, during which more than 5,000 civilians died, much of Le Havre was badly damaged, and the city centre obliterated.<sup>13</sup>

The salvaged objects attracted little attention until the mid-1960s when Laroche returned to Le Havre while undertaking a national survey of provincial museum collections. Her incomplete inventory attributes some 30 objects to the Delessert collection but does not mention Bruni d'Entrecasteaux.<sup>14</sup> In 1974, the ethnographic holdings were again opened for public display in the rebuilt Muséum d'Histoire naturelle. Within a decade, however, changing politics and intellectual fashion again condemned them to oblivion, on grounds of repugnant colonialist associations. Packed in crates without inventory, the objects were stored in a basement which was flooded for several days in 1984. Charged with a salvage operation, I oversaw their removal, inventory, cleaning, and shelving in a properly heated and ventilated store, where they remained accessible to specialists until the mid 2000s.<sup>15</sup>

Since 2006, researchers have been denied access to these materials on internal policy grounds, camouflaged as conservation concerns. The tantalizing prospect that they might still include a few rare objects acquired during Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition demands scientific confirmation—perhaps by comparison with similar objects recently identified in other collections featured in this book.

## Notes

- 1 Delessert, *Voyage dans les deux océans atlantique et pacifique 1844 à 1847 ...* (Paris, 1848).
- 2 Anon., 'Collection d'objets d'arts, d'histoire naturelle et de curiosités du monde Antarctique', *Journal du Havre commercial et politique* 1321 (13 Oct. 1847):2–3.
- 3 Richard, *Une grande expédition scientifique ...* (Paris, 1986):226–7; Vincent, 'A Forgotten Collector of Australian Ethnographic Objects in the Muséum d'histoire naturelle of Le Havre: Eugène Delessert', *French Australian Review* 60 (2016):49–52.
- 4 Personal communication, Edward Duyker, October 2015; Duyker, *Citizen Labillardière ...* (Melbourne, 2004):244–5, 320, note 7; Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs oubliés de la collection d'ethnographie océanienne du Muséum du Havre: le chevalier Antoine Raymond Joseph Bruny d'Entrecasteaux, le commandant Charles Vesque et le présidente de la République Félix Faure', *Haute-Normandie archéologique* 18 (2015):56–61.
- 5 Anon., [Vente de la collection E. Delessert à la Ville du Havre], 1848, AMH, Fonds moderne (R2 C7 L5, Chemise 4).
- 6 Anon., [Note], n.d., AMH, Fonds contemporain (R2 C4 L4).
- 7 Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':62–6, 76–80.
- 8 Alphonse Galbrund, 'Peinture, sculpture, gravures, et dessins', 1871–, Archives du Musée d'Art moderne André Malraux, Le Havre, reproduced in Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':63, Figure 6.
- 9 Hamy, 'Rapport sur le développement et l'état actuel des collections ethnographiques ...', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 6<sup>e</sup> série, 20 (1880):361, note 1; *Les origines du Musée d'Ethnographie ...* (Paris, 1890):37, note 3
- 10 'Description sommaire des 34 objets exposés pour la commémoration de l'expédition La Pérouse', in Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':64, Table 1; Estampes, 'Catalogue descriptif et méthodique de l'exposition organisée par la Société de Géographie à l'occasion du centenaire de la mort de J.-F. de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 7<sup>e</sup> série, 9 (1888):392.
- 11 Laroche, 'Pour un inventaire des collections océaniques en France', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 1 (1945):56.
- 12 The Oceanian materials belonged to the Le Mescam, Vesque, Faure, and Delessert collections; the African objects to the Thierry, Le Roux, and Archinard collections.
- 13 Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':64–5, 78–9; 'Sauver les fonds patrimoniaux de la Ville du Havre durant la seconde guerre mondiale ...', *Cahiers havrais de recherche historique* 73 (2015):101–40.
- 14 Laroche, 'Collections océaniques du Muséum d'Histoire naturelle du Havre', *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 22 (1966):77–93; Vincent, 'Trois grands pourvoyeurs':65.
- 15 Vincent, 'A Forgotten Collector':57–60.

