

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/314948239>

Captain Duniam's Nineteenth Century Worldwide Enterprises

Article in *Journal of the History of Collections* · November 2016

DOI: 10.1093/jhc/ffw031

CITATIONS

0

READS

45

3 authors:



Christopher Carter

Australian National University

13 PUBLICATIONS **77** CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)



Flora Vilches

University of Chile

20 PUBLICATIONS **67** CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)



Calogero Santoro

University of Tarapacá

174 PUBLICATIONS **2,198** CITATIONS

[SEE PROFILE](#)

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



Cultural landscapes and paleoenvironmental change at the end of the Pleistocene: exploring and explaining the earliest peopling of the Atacama Desert, FONDECYT 1160744 [View project](#)



2017-2019 Poblamiento, movilidad y reorganización cultural: explorando la inicial dispersión humana en la cuenca del río Uruguay medio entre 14,000 - 11,000 años cal. AP PEOPLING, MOBILITY AND CULTURAL REORGANIZATION: EXPLORING THE INITIAL HUMAN DISPERSION IN THE BASIN OF THE URUGUAY RIVER BETWEEN 14,000 - 11,000 CAL BP [View project](#)

South American mummy trafficking

Captain Duniam's nineteenth-century worldwide enterprises

Christopher Carter, Flora Vilches, and Calogero M. Santoro

Nineteenth-century fascination for the exhibition of mummies from around the world promoted the trafficking of cultural objects from remote places including, as reviewed here, the Atacama Desert in northern Chile. While well-funded and organized expeditions travelled the world seeking this material, independent sailors and traders also returned to Europe and beyond with items of exotica for sale. The Macleay Museum, at the University of Sydney, has the well-preserved remains of a human female in its collection, with no record of its provenance. The remains may correspond to two Peruvian mummies brought to Australia by Captain George Duniam in 1851. Besides mummies, his worldwide enterprises included the trafficking of slaves from Polynesia to the coast of South America, and camelids out of Peru – practices still current in the twenty-first century.

MUSEUMS in the nineteenth century formed key features in the scheme of urban life promoted in the United Kingdom. They were considered 'as necessary for the mental and moral health of the citizens as good sanitary arrangements, water supply and street lighting'.¹ Besides, pre-modern museums 'were more concerned to create surprise or provoke wonder' than with education,² and nineteenth-century Australia, populated with British stock, shared this fascination with ancient objects. Interest in mummies permeated several fields at this time – not least in literature, as exemplified by Edgar Allan Poe's short stories, *Some Words with a Mummy*.³

Museums in most states of Australia collected antiquities from the 'hot spots' of the world, including Egypt and the Near East. The South Australian Museum, established in 1856, has Egyptian mummies in its collection which, since the time of its foundation, have proved favourite exhibits for visitors. The Nicholson Museum, at the University of Sydney, was founded in 1860 with a donation of over 1,000 artefacts from the Mediterranean, the Near and the Middle East, and from Europe, by Sir Charles Nicholson, Chancellor of the University. Today, thousands of primary and secondary students participate in the Museum's education programmes, which include such topics as 'mummies', 'mummification' and 'death and burial in ancient Egypt'.⁴ This high level of

interest and enthusiasm shows no sign of diminishing, as demonstrated by an exhibition at the Queensland Museum in May 2012 titled 'Mummy: Secrets of the Tomb'. Among its attractions were several Egyptian mummies from the British Museum's collection.⁵ The numbers visiting this exhibition were the largest ever recorded for such an exhibition at the museum.

While Egyptian mummies were perhaps the most familiar, those from South America held a similar fascination. These were collected from at least the seventeenth century and examples are today housed in museums around the world. The case presented here concerns two Peruvian mummies brought in 1851 from Arica, then in southern Peru, to Australia; they are currently at the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney. Since no full records of these items exist, we suggest they were not the products of one of the quite organized expeditions that travelled the world seeking such objects, but rather that they derive from the illicit trafficking carried out by independent sailors and traders. Besides feeding the public appetite for mummies within nineteenth-century Western societies, some of these traders were also involved in the trafficking of people from China and the Pacific Islands to South America, and camelid exportation from Peru to Australia. These activities, although unlawful since middle of the nineteenth century, continue to be perpetrated in the twenty-first century.

Background

The Arica region (today part of northern Chile) is an area that is archaeologically very rich. Interest in its archaeology stretches back for centuries, and the collection of items of natural and cultural history – antiquities and mummies in particular – continues to hold a fascination today.

During the sixteenth century Egypt emerged as a source of mummified human remains that were traded to collectors as curiosities or to apothecaries as material that could be ground up for medicinal purposes.⁶ By the eighteenth interest in the antiquities of the Classical world became more widespread, with collectors retrieving antiquities in earnest from the 1750s. Napoleon was one of the first to recognize the value and importance of Egyptian antiquities and the reports, drawings and collections he commissioned fuelled an industry that continues to flourish today.⁷

Meanwhile, in the New World, various countries not only attracted European expeditions seeking mummified remains such as those to be found in Arica, but they also supported a significant local community of antiquities collectors. It has been observed that following the Wars of Independence several members of the élite in Peru and Chile owned objects of pre-Hispanic origin.⁸ They collected these antiquities or bought them from the travellers, sailors and traders mentioned earlier, while developing networks of their own that aimed to establish the objects' meaning, origin, and monetary value. Although the majority of these networks operated within the private realm, some collectors were associated with the newly founded national museums, including the Museo Nacional de Peru (1826) and the Museo Nacional de Chile (1830). Unlike the northern hemisphere, however, the Latin-American nation-states began to invest more aggressively in public collections only at the turn of the twentieth century. In that context, and in the absence of effective control of the export of antiquities, several fine private collections were sold in the course of the nineteenth century, mostly to Europe and the United States.⁹

The mummy at the Macleay Museum

Alexander Macleay (1767–1848) was appointed Colonial Secretary for New South Wales, Australia, in 1826. Previously, he had assembled in England an

extensive collection of insects, which accompanied him to Sydney when he took up his appointment. At that time Macleay's was one of the largest privately owned insect collections in the world, subsequently growing to more than half a million specimens. Alexander's son, William Sharp Macleay (1792–1865), became one of Australia's leading nineteenth-century naturalists and continued to add to the collection. Eventually the collection passed to William Sharp's cousin, William John Macleay (1820–1891), on condition that ultimately he was to donate it in William Sharp's name to either the University of Cambridge or the University of Sydney with a view to promoting the study of science. The collection duly arrived at the University of Sydney in 1887 and was housed in the building it still occupies today. The Macleay Museum was named in honour of William Sharp Macleay and the collection has grown continually since that time to include cultural material as well as specimens of natural history.

Amongst the museum's extensive collections are the well-preserved remains of an adult human female (Fig. 1). The body is preserved in a flexed position and is relatively intact, although its mandible is missing; a paper tag attached to the body reads 'Peruvian mummy'. The body is naked, but impressions of textile on the skin in the vicinity of the buttocks and arms indicates that it was once clothed in a textile bundle. The scalp retains traces of hair. Fingers and toes have clear prints, but dehydration has resulted in the nails shrinking below the cuticle line and the distal phalanges of several toes are missing. The misshapen feet suggest that the body was tightly bound, resulting in the toes curling back. The feet were probably deformed when the body was originally wrapped and the action of unwrapping the body may have resulted in further damage to them. The maxilla lacks all its teeth. The cranium is not attached to the spinal column and has become disarticulated *post mortem*.

In 2002 the mummy was examined by CT-scanning and x-rays (Fig. 2). The results show that the mummy was a 'strong young woman about 148 cm tall'.¹⁰ Muscle attachments on the upper arms were well-developed, suggesting that she was used to heavy work; her spine was in excellent condition and showed no sign of degenerative disease. Major organs remained intact. Fully-formed third molar sockets (teeth lost *post mortem*) and the fusion of wrist-bones indicate that she was a young adult. The orbits contained evidence of

cribra orbitalia – a common condition among people in the Atacama Desert since Archaic times; many individuals also show evidence of porotic hyperostosis.¹¹ Some 10 per cent of Peruvian skulls from a collection held by the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, are reported to have shown evidence of scurvy;¹² it is suggested that cribra orbitalia might have been the result of deficiencies of this kind, and not necessarily due to lack of iron, a condition often judged to be the cause of such lesions.

In 'normal' human skulls (that is to say, those not, or not grossly, artificially deformed), the inner and outer bony tables of the cranium follow the same contours, and closely parallel one another, with cancellous bone (diploë) between the outer and inner tables. The radiographic image reveals that the two tables approach one another in the anterior frontal region,

constricting (possibly eliminating) the diploë; toward the posterior frontal, the outer table is raised, forming a prebregmatic eminence, with increased expansion of the diploë space. There is a flattening of the nuchal surface, in such a way that the angulation between nuchal and occipital scales of the occiput is rounded off. This overall pattern corresponds to what Anton refers to as the 'circumferential' type of artificial cranial deformation,¹³ resulting from the binding in infancy of the head by wrapping it with textiles around the cranial vault. A radiocarbon date of 1205 ± 165 BP (SUA 1388) was obtained from a fragment of textile adhering to the body.

Captain Duniam and his mummies

A collection record card dated 5 March 1964 contains some catalogue details. While the card records that the mummy was collected by George Duniam, there is no information on how exactly the mummy came into the museum's possession. The records further disclose that on 19 October 1851, George Duniam had arrived in Sydney aboard the ship *Walter Claxton*.¹⁴ Duniam had sailed from San Francisco and had two 'Ancient Peruvians' in his possession. Shipping intelligence stated that this vessel was carrying passengers and general cargo including '1 case specimens natural history' which belonged to Duniam. By 3 November these 'perfect specimens' were on public display at the Royal Hotel, Prince Street, Sydney.¹⁵ The price of admission was 1s. (equivalent to £38 13s. at present-day value).¹⁶ Later newspaper reports summarize a lecture at the Royal Hotel on 21 November given by Dr Aaron, a well-known figure in nineteenth-century Sydney,¹⁷ on the 'manners and customs of the Peruvians'.¹⁸ The report states that the lecture was illustrated with mummies recently found by Captain George Duniam at 'Chaca Leuta' [Chacalluta] near Arica (Fig. 3). There were two mummies – an adult female and a child about seven years old – both in a seated position and well preserved. Together with the mummies, other exhibits included 'implements, utensils, clothing and provisions'.¹⁹ Several further items used to illustrate the lecture included a number of skulls and drawings of skulls supplied by Mr Wall, a curator from the Australian Museum. Due to the popularity of this lecture, a second was scheduled for 28 November, after which the exhibition would be closed.²⁰ Admission to the second lecture was set at 2s.



Fig. 1. Peruvian Mummy, inv. no. 0.619. Macleay Museum. Photograph: C. Carter with permission from the Macleay Museum.

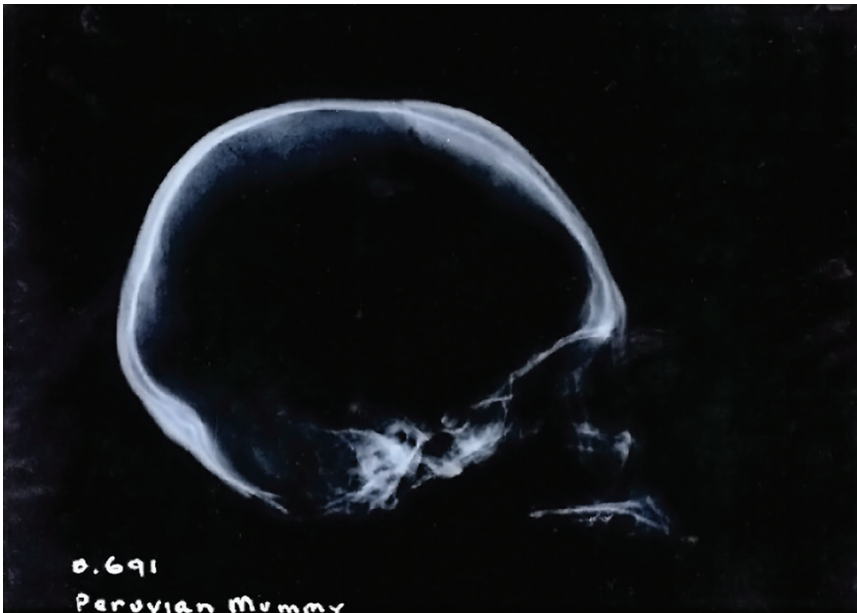


Fig. 2. x-ray of cranium.
Courtesy of the Macleay
Museum.

During November 1851 Duniam began negotiations to sell the mummies to the Australian Museum. On 8 November a note offering them to the museum was dispatched to the chairman of the Australian Museum Committee of Management, Captain Phillip Parker King (1791–1856). In reply, the museum requested that Duniam set a price for them; he responded by asking for £200 for the mummies and ‘various implements, utensils, provisions &c’. This was a considerable sum but Duniam supported his claim with the following statement:

The law of Peru strictly prohibits under severe penalties the exhumation and exportation of these relics and the native inhabitants venerating the dead to an extreme would not hesitate to commit the greatest violence on the party attempting to remove them from the soil – so that the great risk incurred in digging them up (which could only be done at night) and getting them off the coast [was] coupled with the heavy expense of bringing them on to Sydney.²¹

Duniam was unsuccessful in getting the museum to approve the purchase directly, but the committee did agree to a public subscription to raise the necessary funds. During January and February 1852 several advertisements appeared in *The Empire* newspaper, stating that ‘the greatest curiosities ever brought to Australia’ were on display at the Australian Museum on Mondays and Fridays.²² The notice also stated that William Wilkins had been appointed to

collect subscriptions for the purchase of the mummies. Further correspondence between Duniam and the museum shows that after six weeks only £35 had been raised.²³ Duniam then indicated that he would accept £115 for the mummies. There is no record of the museum’s reply, but a public notice appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 17 February 1852 stating that the mummies had been claimed by J. K. Leydon, a licensed pawnbroker of King Street, Sydney, to satisfy an unpaid loan of £25 to Duniam. A note added to the letter from Duniam to the museum, dated 29 November 1906 and signed by a senior curator, R. Ethridge, stated that the purchase was ‘probably never carried out: No knowledge of these things? burnt’. There are no records held by the Australian Museum to indicate what became of either the mummies or the items that accompanied them, following their seizure by Leydon.

Duniam’s mummies were held by the Australian Museum late in 1851 and early in 1852, but after passing into the hands of the pawnbroker their fate is unknown. No records have been found to suggest that anyone else brought a Peruvian mummy into Australia in the nineteenth century. The question remains as to whether that now held by the McLeay Museum is one of the two brought to Sydney in 1851 by Duniam. One clear link between the two institutions is that George Macleay was on the committee

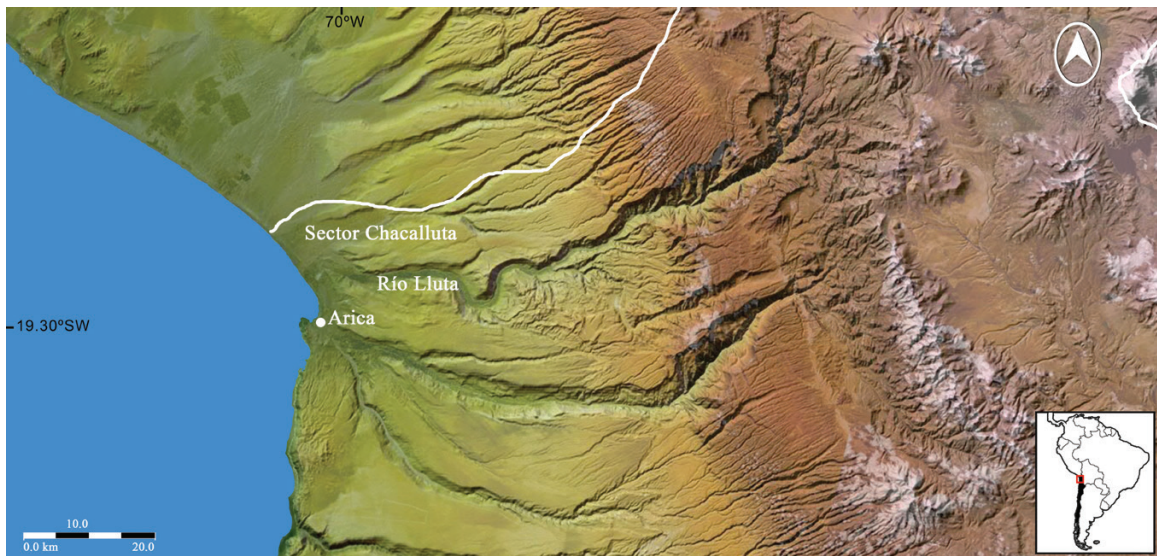


Fig. 3. Location map. Drawn by P. Salgado and C. Carter.

of the Australian Museum when the purchase of the mummies was discussed, and William Macleay was noted as the chairman of the committee on 20 January 1852.²⁴ Both George and William Macleay were involved with the management of the Macleay Museum and active with museum acquisitions. They were in a position to purchase the mummies or satisfy the loan and take possession from the pawnbroker – possibly at a lower sum than was being asked for. It is not beyond the realms of possibility however, that other mummies entered Australia by similar means since Australia had regular maritime contact with the west coast of South America.

Who was George Duniam?

George Bleakie Duniam was a character with a chequered history. He was born in Dublin on 1 January 1817²⁵ and in 1842 arrived in Australia from Ireland in command of the vessel *Dublin*, which docked at Melbourne on 13 December.²⁶ The passenger-list for that voyage included the Revd John Ham, his wife Anne and their four children, one of whom was named Jemima. Captain Duniam married Jemima Ham in Melbourne on 15 December 1842, two days after they had arrived there, and before continuing on to Sydney on board the *Dublin*. On 10 October 1843 the *Dublin* was cleared for departure from Sydney to London with both Captain and Mrs Duniam on board. The

Port Phillip Gazette of 22 May 1844 reports that on the voyage Duniam allegedly assaulted one of the passengers, a charge that was later proven. The victim left the ship in Capetown and was given passage to London at Duniam's expense, he having raised the sum via a 'bottomry bond' (pledging the ship, or part thereof, as security). In 1845 Duniam found himself in trouble again when he was charged with assaulting a sailor on board the *Kingston* while sailing from Guyana; he was found guilty and fined £5.²⁷ Duniam left England for Australia on 31 July 1848 in command of the *Penyard Park*;²⁸ his family was with him, including a son, Thomas, who was only twelve days old. Jemima Ham died on board on 5 September 1848; the rest of the family continued on to Sydney but Thomas died at the home of his grandfather, the Revd Ham, in Sydney on 22 January 1849.

Shipping records show that Duniam was involved in antiquities trafficking during the first half of the nineteenth century. He regularly sailed from England to western South America during the late 1830s and early 1840s. In March 1842 he was in command of the *Actaeon* when it arrived in England from Lima on 10 March.²⁹ Earlier reports have him in command of the *Thomas Worthington*, disembarking in Liverpool on 22 March 1839 after sailing from Arica.³⁰ Interestingly the cargo manifest listed, *inter alia*, two mummies. In May 1839 Dr William Wilde presented a paper to the Royal Irish Academy in which he described a mummy

brought to Ireland by Captain Duniam and purchased by the Academy. Wilde stated:

Captain Duniam, a gentleman in the South American trade, having been informed that a colony of Irish had settled on the western coast some years since, determined on visiting them; and having been hospitably received, was brought on a day's pleasure to a wild spot on the shore where the party, for his amusement, commenced digging up several mummies, the most perfect of which he brought away. In a letter he says: 'This mummy was dug up from the sloping ground, about two miles and a half south-east of the Morro of Arica facing to the south-west on the coast of Peru ...'³¹

The mummy itself was on display when Wilde read his paper. He stated that it had originally been wrapped in textiles. These had been removed in the presence of a number of members about two weeks prior. The mummy was in a sitting position with its knees drawn up and its hands on its chest. Wilde's description indicates that

... the cranium was deformed, although to what extent is difficult to gauge. The textiles described included a 'wampum' belt and several bags – one containing a brown powder and the other fragments of leaf, probably 'cocco' [coca]. The mummy was wearing leather sandals held in place by leather thongs. Its hair was parted centrally and had several long plaits.

It attracted enough attention to require a second showing a week or two later and further descriptions appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Interest in the mummy must have passed quickly as in 1841 the mummy was purchased by 'a gentleman' for the sum of £9 and presented, as a gift, to the Royal College of Surgeons Ireland (RCSI).³² The mummy, along with some of the goods that accompanied it (including some pottery, 'darts' and a painting in its wrapped state) were held by the RCSI for some time but none of the material seems to have been on display for any length of time. In 1997 the mummy was offered to the National Museum of Ireland by the RCSI. The museum accepted the mummy but as of July 2012, its long-term fate has yet to be decided.³³ The mummy is not Irish nor was it discovered by an Irish archaeologist and, as such, it does not comply with the museum's collecting policy. The ethical considerations of human remains have resulted in the repatriation of several items held by both the RCSI and the National Museum and this Peruvian mummy may be dealt with in a similar manner.

By the 1850s, George Duniam appears to have been able to operate in the 'right' circles and to have well-respected academics contribute their skills to his enterprises. Dr Aaron was able to draw many to his lectures and Mr Wall, of the Australian Museum, contributed

by providing a range of other specimens. Duniam was able to approach the museum via Captain King, perhaps because of his links to the sea. It may be noted that Duniam did not use the title 'Captain' in his correspondence with the museum: for reasons unknown, he no longer had authority to command a vessel.

But was he a man of means? It seems not, although he may have tried to make it appear so. From the address given on his correspondence with the Australian Museum, he was resident at the Royal Hotel in Sydney while the exhibition was running and possibly for a time thereafter. This was a popular hotel and certainly would not have been the cheapest accommodation available, but by January 1852 Duniam 'had an urgent need for money' and appears almost to have been pleading with the museum to purchase the mummies for a reduced fee.³⁴ Perhaps that was why he had needed a loan and resorted to using the only collateral he had – the two mummies.

There is no record that his endeavours were fruitful, although an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* certainly reveals Duniam's previous involvement in similar a venture.³⁵ The article described how he was appointed by Messrs Mort & Brown to travel to Peru to select suitable specimens of alpaca and to take charge of them for the return voyage to Australia. A 'public subscription entered into by a large number of gentlemen' raised in excess of £1,500 and the barque *Julia* was chartered specifically for the purpose. Shipping intelligence reported that the *Julia*, under the command of Captain Le Croix with 'Captain' Duniam listed as a passenger, had departed for 'Africa' that day.³⁶ It seems likely that the destination 'Africa' was a typographical error and meant to be 'Arica'. The article further states that the venture failed because the Peruvian authorities forbade the exportation of alpaca. Another article about alpaca appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 7 April 1856, discussing the importation of alpaca into Victoria:

The same thing was discussed some years ago but nothing came of it . . . Much will depend on the type of person you may entrust with the management of your business. We suffered from the fact of the matter having been initiated upon the statements of a Captain Duniam – the same man who bolted with the funds raised by public subscription for the purchase of a couple of Peruvian mummies which he had imported and which he had secretly pledged to a Sydney 'uncle' while the subscription was going on. It was scarcely likely that anything very practical could result from the statements of such a man, however well-founded.

While George Duniam had failed in his attempt to acquire alpaca in Peru, his actions indirectly assisted the first importation of the animals into Australia. In November 1858, Charles Ledger arrived in Sydney from Chile aboard the *Salvadora* along with 256 alpaca, llama and vicuña.³⁷ Ledger had sailed from Chile, since it was unlawful to export the animals from Peru: he had brought the animals overland from Peru, driving them through Bolivia and Argentina before sailing from Chile. In an attempt to capitalize on the value of their wool and break a Peruvian monopoly, alpaca had been taken from Arica to Britain in 1844, but of 400 animals only three survived that voyage.

Ledger was an Englishman who had settled near Tacna in southern Peru, approximately 50 km north of Arica: he was a trader in wool and skins and, over time, had established a herd of alpaca. In early 1851 Duniam arrived in Arica aboard the *Julia* and, as we know, was unable to procure any alpaca, so the ship sailed with no animals on board. Duniam's visit to Arica may have been the prompt that resulted in the British consul contacting Ledger to discuss the exportation of alpaca.³⁸ In January 1852, the consul wrote to Ledger outlining Duniam's failed attempt. The letter stated that Her Majesty's *chargé d'affaires* in Lima was 'of the opinion that it would be very beneficial to the interest of the said Colony [New South Wales] that the views of the Company [represented by Duniam] should be carried out.' Ledger was requested to provide information concerning the procuring of large numbers of alpaca, how best to export them and the cost of such an exercise. Subsequent correspondence indicates that Ledger met with the *chargé d'affaires* in Lima to discuss the venture and was asked to take charge of the project;³⁹ as a result, Ledger continued to build on his herd of alpaca and then devised a plan to circumvent the laws of Peru in order to export the animals to Australia.

It is assumed that Duniam did not return to Australia on the *Julia* but stayed on to eventually return on board the *Walter Claxton* from California in October 1851. There is no record of Duniam leaving Australia in 1852, nor any of him returning. In 1862, George 'Black' Duniam was recorded as an immigration agent in Peru and on 22 November 1862 he left Callao (Lima) on board the *Empresa de Lima*. Duniam's role was to 'recruit' Polynesians to provide

labour in Peru for which he was to be paid 5 'piastres' per recruit.⁴⁰ Early in 1863 the commander of the *Empresa*, one of the several ships that operated from Callao to illegally capture people of all ages and both sexes from the Polynesian islands to be sold in Peru for the exploitation of seabird dung (*guano*) and farm labour. Captain Detert reportedly kidnapped twenty-six islanders, but it seems that Duniam disagreed with the tactics employed by Detert, who was later alleged to have said 'but for those two scoundrels [Duniam and William Carr, the supercargo] I should have had 200 kanakas at Nukuhiva [Marquesas]'.⁴¹ The captain locked the 'two scoundrels' in the cubbyhole without food and water for three days before marooning them on offshore rocks in the Marquesas group. The two men were rescued and later gave evidence in Lima in the trial of Captain Detert, who was found guilty and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. Duniam appears to have been a resident of Lima when he embarked on this venture, for there is mention of correspondence from a wife in that city, suggesting that he had remarried and settled there. No records have been found to indicate whether Duniam stayed in Peru or moved on. The authors have made enquiries with the both the British cemetery and the main public cemetery in Lima to no avail. Telephone records in Lima list seven subscribers with the paternal surname Duniam and four with Duniam as the maternal surname: it is not a common name, and it may be that even if George Duniam did not remain in Peru, he may have had children whose descendants are still resident there.

In sum, George Duniam was entrepreneurial, if not devious, and seemed quick to take advantage of circumstance wherever possible. His visit to Arica in 1839 was fortuitous in that he was able to obtain a mummy and subsequently found a buyer for it. His later visit to Arica in 1851 was for the purpose of transporting alpaca to Australia, but when that venture foundered he took advantage of the situation by obtaining the mummies with the hope that he would find a buyer back in Australia. But, what of George Bleakie Duniam? From what is known of his life, we can say he was an adventurer and while he may have been the master of several vessels, 'Captain' Duniam may be better described as Mr Duniam – a journeyman, continually seeking, but unable to claim mastery of his chosen pursuits.

Mummies of northern Chile

As far as archaeology is concerned, early interest in the Arica area centred on the collection of antiquities and – once their presence became common knowledge – the collection of human remains in the form of mummified corpses increased. From the beginning of the eighteenth until well into the twentieth century, numerous visitors to the region, whether on ‘official’, well-funded and organized expeditions or arriving as independent private travellers, sailors and traders, like George Duniam, collected or commented on the mummies that were found there. In any case, they returned to Europe and beyond with a wide variety of items, whose histories of origin, transportation and display are often now lost, ignored or downplayed.

In 1713 the French naturalist Amédée-François Frézier described naturally mummified human remains that he had excavated in Ilo Peru, north of Arica.⁴² The expedition of Alessandro Malaspina, with the Spanish Navy, between 1789 and 1794, landed on the coast of Arica, where excavations were carried out; some incomplete mummified human remains were taken back to Spain. Three drawings by Felipe Bauza show disturbed remains and a fisherman on a sea-lion raft, have subsequently been published by the Museo Naval in Madrid.⁴³ Another French naturalist, Alcide D’Orbigny, who stayed in Arica between 22 April and 1 May 1830,⁴⁴ excavated human remains south of the city (from an area now known as El Laucho or Playa Miller). The Peabody Museum at Cambridge, MA, houses an extensive collection of material from Arica: it was collected in 1836 following the excavation of a cemetery about 2 km to the south of the town by John Blake. Blake described the bodies as being in a sitting position, knees drawn up with their arms crossed over their chests.⁴⁵ J. J. Tschudi spent five years in Peru in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁶ In 1844 de Tschudi spoke before the Ethnological Society of London, outlining his observations of the ‘Ancient Peruvians’ with detailed descriptions of cemeteries, tombs and mummies. While he covered Peru quite broadly, he specifically commented that ‘Captain Banckley . . . could obtain any quantity of mummies at Arica’.⁴⁷ Between 1849 and 1852 the US Naval Astronomical Expedition carried out archaeological excavations in Arica and Maipo, in the central part of Chile.⁴⁸ William Bollaert also excavated and described human burials found near the Morro of Arica.⁴⁹ In November 1856 Lieutenant Rising of HMS *Tribune*, which had made

land in Arica, visited a burial area south of the city and found strange items placed in the orbits of buried skulls: these were later found to be the dehydrated eyes of cuttlefish.⁵⁰ T. J. Hutchinson,⁵¹ British consul in Peru, stopped in Arica in 1871 and was told by the vice-consul there of the impact on ancient mummies made by the earthquake and tsunami of three years earlier; he saw and received several antiquities excavated in the Arica region. ‘At all events, many bodies have been found here; and they are constantly being exhumed through the search of treasures all through the Arica country to Tacna’.⁵² A witness of a similar disaster in 1868 recorded that:

Many have refused to credit the story of mummies thrown up from the earth. It is, however, entirely true. Near the foot of the ‘morro’ the mummies were seen in great numbers – some thrown completely out of the ground, and sitting upright; while some were partially, and others were wholly underground. No one had ever heard of there being any thing of the kind in Arica, and the supposition is that they were buried there in the time of the Incas, and had been preserved by some process known to that people. We carried one on board our ship [the US steamer *Waterree*] and boxed it up, afterwards sending it to the United States’.⁵³

Later, more focused collections were made by specialists who were either commissioned by museums or were collecting artefacts with the idea of selling them on, either to individual collectors or to public institutions. Between 1893 and 1903 Adolpho Bandelier continually visit Peru and Bolivia in order to collect relics for the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York.⁵⁴ In July 1894 Bandelier was sailing from Trujillo to Mollendo (Peru) when weather forced the vessel to continue on to Arica.⁵⁵ While he was waiting for the weather to abate, Bandelier

. . . at once made arrangements for visiting a site near this town, where a great many bodies have been exhumed a short time ago . . . We found the graves completely disturbed, dug up, but to our surprise the handsomest textile fabrics, entire garments etc. were still scattered over the surface. The diggers had paid no attention to such valuable remains, and had left them, taking with them only the bodies and whatever objects of silver, copper, and other material that struck their fancy . . .⁵⁶

Bandelier then made arrangements with a ‘trustworthy individual’ to collect more antiquities from a place known as Vitor, located on the shore about 9 miles south of Arica. Bandelier’s schedule allowed him only one day at Vitor, but he was able to collect sufficient material to dispatch four crates to the AMNH containing, among other things, four mummies, one with a

feather head-dress, a 'splendid flint knife', pieces of cloth, fishing implements, needles, pottery and wooden implements. In May 1917 a Swedish expedition for a biological survey of the Chilean Pacific Islands, stopped in Arica. Carl Skottsberg, a reputed Swedish biologist and explorer, mentioned in his report that 'having obtained permission to make a few excavations and to collect for Swedish museums he proceeded'.⁵⁷ Apart from his report, the remains were forgotten about and not rediscovered until late in the twentieth century.⁵⁸ The situation regarding the collection of human remains in this region is well summed up by the comments of Oswald Evans when he visited the north coast of Chile:

Nothing struck me more forcibly on my arrival than the number of opened graves; for miles along the coast bleached and crumbling fragments of human bones 'knaved out of their graves' bear witness to the ignorant curiosity or avarice which has ransacked these poor resting places of the despised 'infidels'.⁵⁹

As a result of these activities, many museums throughout the world (including the AMNH, the Peabody Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, the British Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford and the Swedish Museum of Ethnography) have mummies collected from northern Chile and/or southern Peru. Interestingly, we must note that the Chilean state joined in their recovery excavation only in the aftermath of one of the most important political conflicts in nineteenth-century Latin American history: the War of the Pacific (1879–83).⁶⁰ Indeed, winning the war meant that Chile annexed the region of Tarapacá, a significant portion of former Peruvian southern territory – including the city of Arica. Gänger argues that from that event onwards, 'both the incorporation of archaeological remains and the appropriation of Peruvian archaeology helped insert Chile into international scientific debates, and that this effect was, if not intended, at least conducive to the priorities of the emerging nation-state'.⁶¹ As a matter of fact, following the footsteps of European nation-states, Chile – as well as other Latin American countries – relied heavily on archaeological imagery to forge national identity as instruments of state power.

Archaeological investigation

Radio-carbon dating of a fragment of textile from the mummy at the Macleay Museum indicates that

it is in the region of 1,200 years old. Duniam stated in his first letter to the Australian Museum that he retrieved the mummy from 'Chaca Leuta'. Chacalluta is a locality 5 km to the north of Arica. There is a settlement there straddling the Rio Lluta which flows from the highlands through to the coast. In 2004 the authors carried out a site survey along the coastal terrace between Chacalluta and the outskirts of Arica. A number of tombs were located in several groups on natural terraces flanking the Rio Lluta in the vicinity of Chacalluta. No intact mummies were found although human remains were observed scattered across the surface adjacent to tombs. Three tombs were examined in some detail and they all contained human remains: in each case, the skeletal remains had been disturbed, most likely by looters looking for items that could be sold.

The remains from one tomb were sufficiently intact to indicate that the body had been wrapped in a textile bundle in a seated position and placed centrally on the tomb floor. While disarticulated, the cranium contained signs of artificial deformation. A sample of bone taken from these remains returned a radiocarbon date of 635 ± 30 uncalibrated years BP (human tooth, ANU-27638). Stable isotope levels suggest a terrestrial diet ($-16.83 \pm 0.544 \delta^{13}\text{C}$). The date indicates that the burial occurred during the Late Intermediate Period, some 600 years later than the Macleay Museum mummy. While the remains are in poor condition, there are several similarities to the mummy described by Wilde in 1839. There are also similarities with the mummy at the Macleay Museum. All three were flexed when placed in their graves, all were wrapped in textile, and all appear to have deformed crania. The mummy in the National Museum of Ireland had plaited hair, as did one of the mummies located by the authors at Chacalluta.

Considering that more than 9,000 years of funerary practices are represented in the archaeology of the region, a wide array of burial arrangements is represented in Arica. The position of interred corpses display important differences between the funeral rites of hunter-gatherers and those practised by later, farming-pastoralist societies. Coastal and highland hunter and gatherers are distinguishable: they placed the dead in a horizontal position, mostly extended on their back. Variants include bodies with legs flexed or hyper-flexed.⁶²

In the Arica region, the 'foetal' or flexed squatting position is a feature that distinguishes mortuary

rituals among agriculturalist/pastoralist societies that emerged from c. 4,000 years ago. Another difference with previous treatment is the use of more than one layer of [camelid] woollen textiles. Tombs, both collective and individual, also contained a range of objects carefully placed as offerings inside or outside the wrappings. To keep the contents together, wrapped bodies were tied by plant or camelid fibre cords to form a bundle containing the naturally mummified body. People in the Arica region in particular, and northern Chile in general, practised three main patterns of cranial deformation: tabular erect, tabular oblique, and circular.⁶³ All three types were common in the interior among agriculturalist and pastoralist peoples. The circular type, however, was first practised by the Chinchorro people, from the late Archaic and was continued for some time, along with tabular forms.⁶⁴ A study by Manríquez shows that cranial deformation increased through time, both in frequency, and intensity. During the Late Intermediate Period, more than 90 per cent of the population displayed cranial deformation, with the pseudo-circular shape being the most common, while in the Archaic period a minor fraction (less than 30 per cent) received the treatment.⁶⁵

Conclusion

As shown in Duniam's correspondence with the Australian Museum, there were already strict regulations in place to protect the cultural and natural patrimony of Peru. Specifically, the law forbade the excavation of human and archaeological remains, as well as their removal from the country. It was also forbidden to export Andean native animals, including camelids (llama and alpaca).⁶⁶ As Avalos Matos pointed out, general regulations regarding the destruction of heritage stemmed from colonial *Ordenanzas* ('... es para el servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y de S. M. conservar los campos y Guacas de los naturales de este Reyno en la forma y manera que está ordenado . . . se debe declarar, y que nos pertenece lo que se hallare, y descubriere de tesoros en ellas y en otras Guacas o templos').⁶⁷ Peruvian intellectuals like Hipólito Unanue specifically complained about pre-Columbian tomb destruction:⁶⁸ 'The accursed hunger for gold brought desolation to the graves, that being the last refuge of mortals, even as ashes, were not respected by the law of the people'.

Similarly, in the course of the nineteenth century African slavery was abolished and the trafficking of people moved to China and the Pacific Islands – against the wishes of the international community.⁶⁹ European expeditions, as well as isolated travellers and sailors like Duniam, however, found ways to circumvent these regulations. Duniam stated that the excavations in Arica were secret/underground operations that needed to be carried out at night. While Duniam was successful in smuggling the human remains from Arica, as were several European naturalists' expeditions, he was unable to take the alpaca out of Peru.

In Arica, according to the British vice-consul, regulations forbidding archaeological excavation were not always complied with, and this region gained such a reputation among naturalist-explorers that they increasingly stopped in Arica to search for archaeological remains. Visitors started to excavate or to purchase finds as early as the seventeenth century, and the recipient countries showed little concern with the legality of the operations; on the contrary, as in the case reported here, the arrival and exhibition of the mummies was publicly and widely announced and much appreciated.

Moreover, these operations took place prior to the War of the Pacific, when Arica became part of the Chilean state. From that point onwards, the Chilean government promoted archaeological exploration of the Tarapacá area in the service of national institutions such as the Museo Nacional,⁷⁰ while making a clear statement of national sovereignty or 'chilenización'.⁷¹ In this context, protective legislation concerning cultural artefacts was tightened.

Regarding Duniam, as mummies were being retrieved for amusement, to 'provoke public surprise and wonder',⁷² it appears likely that neither the authorities nor the local population had much interest in such actions, even if they were considered unlawful. The response to the mummies' exhibition at the Royal Hotel shows that these were novelty items of a type rarely seen in Australia, supported by the museum's claim in 1852 that the mummies were 'the greatest curiosities ever seen in Australia'. The link between the Australian Museum and the Macleay family suggests that the mummy now housed in the museum is likely to have been one of those brought to Australia by Duniam; the fate of the other mummy remains unknown. This case may serve to highlight the importance of collaboration in the conservation of ancient

cultural heritage and in the better understanding of the circumstances in which the mummy was acquired.

In sum, since the eighteenth century Arica has been a place where commerce, excavation and speculation concerning ancient artefacts, including mummified human remains, was common in both discourse and practice. There is no question that almost any visitor to the region could have acquired mummified human remains. If George Duniam was able to acquire them, so too could other visitors. The history of collecting mummies in this region does not support Duniam's claim that that he took considerable risks in obtaining the mummies. In fact, this was neither his first visit to Arica nor the first mummy that he had obtained there. Such spurious claims were made simply to justify the price he asked for these mummies in Sydney. Given the antecedents of collecting from this area, it is certainly possible that other mummies may have been brought from Arica to Australia and other parts of the world during the nineteenth century.

Unfortunately, the unlawful trafficking of cultural heritage material it is still a huge global activity that remains very lucrative despite the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and other regulations.⁷³ More shocking is the fact that people, as slaves, from different continents – women, men, girls and boys – are still illegally trafficked and sold, leaving the impression that there has been little change in these matters since the introduction of nineteenth-century 'new urban life'.⁷⁴

Addresses for correspondence

Christopher Carter, Australian National University, School of Archaeology and Anthropology, Canberra, ACT 0200 Australia.

christopher.carter@anu.edu.au

Flora Vilches, Universidad de Chile, Ignacio Carrera Pinto 1045, Santiago, Chile.

floravilches@gmail.com

Calogero M. Santoro, Universidad de Tarapacá, Antofagasta 1520, Arica, Chile.

calogero_santoro@yahoo.com

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank staff of the Macleay Museum, particularly Jude Philp, for their assistance. Andrew Duniam, a descendant of George Duniam, provided family background. Colin Groves provided comments on cranial deformation and the x-ray of the cranium. After her initial surprise, Maeve Sikora of the National Museum of Ireland, located the mummy that was held in storage

and provided access to it along with correspondence relating to its acquisition. William Roberts must be acknowledged for the original research he conducted in 1979 for a Diploma of Museum Studies at the University of Sydney. Thanks to Paola Salgado for producing the map, and Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica's Programa de Investigación Asociativa (PIA), Anillo Código SOC1405.

Notes and references

- 1 T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London, 1995), p. 18.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 3 E. A. Poe, 'Some words with a mummy', *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* (reprinted Oxford, 1975).
- 4 <http://sydney.edu.au/museums/education/education-programs.shtml>.
- 5 <http://www.southbank.qm.qld.gov.au/Events+and+Exhibitions/Exhibitions/2012/04/Mummy+Secrets+of+the+Tomb#.V6lab66Tz9A>.
- 6 N. Daly, 'That obscure object of desire: Victorian commodity culture and fictions of the mummy', *Novel: a Forum on Fiction* 28 no. 1 (1994), pp. 24–51 at p. 24. As early as 1485, in Rome, the discovery and opening of a sarcophagus that contained the well preserved body of an 'ancient girl' is said to have resulted in 20,000 people visiting the site in a single day: C. W. Ceram, *A Picture History of Archaeology* (London, 1959), p. 17.
- 7 J. Cordova and J. Bernal, 'Fascinación por las momias, reformamiento de la vida', *Chungara Revista de Antropología Chilena* 33 no. 1 (2001), pp. 91–3; K. Sowada, G. E. Jacobsen, F. Bertuch, T. Palmer and A. Jenkinson, 'Who's that lying in my coffin? An imposter exposed by 14C dating', *Radiocarbon* 53 no. 2 (2011), pp. 221–8; See Bennett, *op. cit.* (note 1).
- 8 S. Gänger, *Relics of the Past. The collecting and study of pre-Columbian antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1837–1911* (Oxford, 2014).
- 9 *Ibid.*; S. Gänger, 'Conquering the past: post-war archaeology and nationalism on the borderlands of Chile and Peru c. 1880–1920', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51 no. 4 (2009), pp. 691–714; H. B. Lindskoug and A. Gustavsson, 'Stories from below. Human remains at the Gothenburg Museum of Natural History and the Museum of World Culture', *Journal of the History of Collections* 27 (2015), pp. 97–109; R. Rebecca, *The Return of the Native. Indians and myth-making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham, NC, and London, 2007).
- 10 H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise: the Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864* (Canberra, 1981).
- 11 V. G. Standen, C. M. Santoro and B. T. Arriaza, 'Síntesis y propuesta para el período Arcaico en la costa del extremo norte de Chile', *Chungara Revista de Antropología Chilena*, volumen especial (2004), pp. 201–12.
- 12 D. J. Ortner, E. H. Kimmerle and M. Diez, 'Probable evidence of scurvy in subadults from archeological sites in Peru', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 108 no. 3 (1999), pp. 321–31.
- 13 S. C. Anton, 'Intentional cranial vault deformation and induced changes of the cranial base and face', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 79 no. 2 (1989), pp. 253–67.
- 14 *Sydney Morning Herald* 20 October 1851.

- 15 *Sydney Morning Herald* 3 November 1851.
- 16 <https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php>.
- 17 W. D. Roberts, 'The investigation of a South American mummy in the Macleay Museum', Unpublished dissertation submitted for Diploma of Museum Studies, University of Sydney, 1979.
- 18 *Sydney Morning Herald* 24 November 1851.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 *Sydney Morning Herald* 28 November 1851.
- 21 Letter dated 8 November 1851 and signed by George B. Duniam. Archives of the Australian Museum, Sydney.
- 22 *The Empire: Sydney journal of news, politics and commerce* 1 (1852); 3 (1852); 8 (1852); 14 (1852); 23 (1852); 27 (1852).
- 23 Letter from Duniam to Australian Museum, 16 January 1852.
- 24 Minutes of the Committee of Management, 27 November, 1851.
- 25 <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=Search&includedb=&lang=en&ti=&surname=duniam&stype=Exact&given=george&bplace=&byear=&brange=0&dplace=&dyear=&drange=0&mplace=&myear=&mrange=0&father=&mother=&spouse=&skipdb=&period=All&submit.x=Search>.
- 26 *Port Phillip Gazette* 15 December 1842.
- 27 *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* 3 December 1845.
- 28 *Sydney Shipping Gazette* 6 January 1849.
- 29 *Caledonian Mercury*, 10 March 1842.
- 30 *The Liverpool Mercury* 22 March 1839.
- 31 W. Wilde, 'Peruvian mummy, recently opened in Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 17 (1839), pp. 305–9, 312–15.
- 32 Royal College of Surgeons Ireland, Minute Book, 1 February (1841).
- 33 M. Sikora, personal communication to first author.
- 34 Letter to Australian Museum, 16 January 1852. Archives of the Australian Museum, Sydney.
- 35 *Sydney Morning Herald* 20 September 1851.
- 36 *Sydney Morning Herald* 6 January 1851.
- 37 B. Andrews, 'Charles Ledger (1818–1905)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 5 (1974).
- 38 G. Gramiccia, *The Life of Charles Ledger (1818–1905). Alpacas and Quinine* (London, 1988); A. Coote, 'Science, fashion, knowledge and imagination: shopfront natural history in 19th-century Sydney', *Sydney Journal* 4 no. 1 (2013), pp. 1–18; J. Mitchell, 'Alpacas in colonial Australia: acclimatisation, evolution and empire', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 12 (2010), pp. 55–76.
- 39 Gramiccia, op. cit. (note 33).
- 40 Maude op. cit. (note 10).
- 41 Ibid., p. 35.
- 42 A. Frézier, *Voyage to the South-Sea, and along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the years 1712, 1713, and 1714: Particularly Describing the . . . Inhabitants, as well Indians as Spaniards* (London, 1713).
- 43 A. Malaspina, *La Expedición Malaspina, 1789–1794* (Barcelona, 1906).
- 44 A. D'Orbigny, *Viaje a la América Meridional, Realizado de 1826 a 1833* (1835–1847, reprinted Buenos Aires, 1945).
- 45 J. H. Blake, *Notes on a Collection from the Ancient Cemetery at the Bay of Chacota, Peru, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1878).
- 46 J. J. von Tschudi, 'On the ancient Peruvians', *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* 1 (1848), pp. 79–85, at p. 79.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 T. Ewbank, 'A description of Indian antiquities brought from Chile and Peru, by the U.S. naval astronomical expedition', in *U.S. Naval Astronomical Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere during the years 1849, 50, 51, 52*, ed. J. Gillis (Washington, DC, 1855).
- 49 W. Bollaert, 'Observations on the geography of southern Perú, including survey of the province of Tarapacá, and route to Chile by the coast of the desert of Atacama', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 21 (1851), pp. 99–130.
- 50 R. N. Rising, 'On the artificial eyes of certain peruvian mummies', *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 4 (1865), pp. 59–60.
- 51 T. J. Hutchinson, 'Explorations amongst ancient burial grounds (chiefly on the sea-coast valleys) of Peru. Part 1', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 3 (1874), pp. 311–26.
- 52 Ibid., p. 313.
- 53 E. W. Sturdy, 'The earthquake at Arica', *Scribner's Monthly* 5 no. 1 (1872), pp. 22–31.
- 54 C. Mead, 'Archaeology of northern Chile', unpublished report held by American Museum of Natural History, New York (1946).
- 55 A. F. Bandelier, *The Island of Titicaca and Koati* (New York, 1910).
- 56 Letter from Bandelier to the AMNH, 1894. Archives of the American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- 57 C. Skottsberg, 'Notes on the old Indian necropolis of Arica', *Meddelanden från Geografiska Föreningen i Göteborg* 3 (1924), pp. 27–78, at p. 27.
- 58 M. Gustafsson, 'How is it that Chinchorro has become part of the Western Swedish cultural heritage?', *Chungara, Revista de Antropología Chilena* 33 no. 1 (2000), pp. 103–5.
- 59 O. H. Evans, 'Notes on the stone age in northern Chile, with special reference to Taltal', *Man* 6 (1906), pp. 19–24.
- 60 Gänger, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 691–714; L. Alegria, 'Las colecciones del Museo Histórico Nacional de Chile: ¿"Inventación" o "construcción" patrimonial?', *Anales del Museo de América* 15 (2007), pp. 237–48; L. Alegria, S. Gänger and G. Polanco, *Momias, cráneos y canibales. Lo indígena en las políticas de "exhibición" del Estado chileno a fines del siglo XIX*. doi:10.4000/nuevomundo.53063.
- 61 See Gänger, op. cit. (note 9), p. 693.
- 62 B. T. Arriaza, *Beyond Death. The Chinchorro Mummies of Ancient Chile* (Washington, DC, 1995); See Standen et al., op. cit. (note 11); V. G. Standen and C. M. Santoro, 'Patapatane-1: temprana evidencia funeraria en los Andes de Arica (norte de Chile) y sus correlaciones', *Chungara* no. 26 (1994), pp. 165–183. Idem, 'Patrón funerario arcaico temprano del sitio Acha-3 y su relación con Chinchorro: Cazadores, pescadores y recolectores de la costa norte de Chile', *Latin American Antiquity* 15 no. 1 (2004), pp. 89–109.

- 63 Following Dembo and Imbelloni, J. Munizaga, 'Esquema de la antropología física del norte de Chile', *Chungara* 6 (1980), pp. 124–36.
- 64 Ibid.; P. Soto-Heim, 'Evolución de deformaciones intencionales, tocados y prácticas funerarias en la prehistoria de Arica, Chile', *Chungara* 19 (1987), pp. 129–214.
- 65 G. Manríquez, F. E. González-Bergás, J. C. Salinas and O. Espouey, 'Deformación intencional del cráneo en poblaciones arqueológicas de Arica, Chile: Análisis preliminar de morfometría geométrica con uso de radiografías craneofaciales', *Chungara Revista de Antropología Chilena* 38 no. 1 (2006), pp. 13–34, at p. 21.
- 66 Mitchell, op. cit. (note 33).
- 67 Ordenanzas de Mims, Título quince, libro 111, 1752, quoted by R. Avalos de Matos, 'La defensa del patrimonio cultural y la investigación', *Revista del Museo Nacional* 39 (1973), p. 7.
- 68 H. Unanue, 'Idea general de los monumentos del antiguo Perú, e introducción a su estudio', *Mercurio Peruano* 17 March 1791, pp. 201–8.
- 69 M. J. Gonzales, 'Chinese plantation workers and social conflict in Peru in the late nineteenth century', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 21 no. 3 (1989), pp. 385–424. See Maude op. cit. (note 10).
- 70 See Lindskoug and Gustavsson op. cit. (note 9).
- 71 S. González, '*Chilenizando a Tunupa: la Escuela Pública en el Tarapacá Andino 1880–1990*' (Santiago, 2002).
- 72 See Bennett, op. cit. (note 1)
- 73 P. Gerstenblith, 'The meaning of 1970 for the acquisition of archaeological objects', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 38 no. 4 (2013), pp. 364–73, at p. 364.
- 74 See Coote op. cit. (note 33); Bennett op. cit. (note 1).