

Chapter Five

'Three Living Australians' and the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, 1885

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To search through nineteenth-century French anthropological writings about Indigenous Australians means ingesting a great deal of material that is highly offensive and injurious to Aboriginal people. In this discourse, Australian Aborigines were almost invariably assigned to the *dernier échelon*, the bottom rung, of the human racial ladder. This was their epistemological 'slot'.¹ The prevailing view about Aborigines that had become established in travel accounts and periodicals such as the *Journal des Voyages* was of a people barely human who at worst showed many simian characteristics and at best were living fossils, contemporary manifestations of Stone Age people. The scientific view as reflected in the anthropological literature, in particular the journals produced by the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, founded in 1859, scarcely departed from these gross representations.

Aboriginal Australians in 19th-century French anthropology

Early French studies devoted in part or in whole to Australian Aborigines form part of the body of texts which constituted the French (and wider European) discourse of the science of race, *raciologie* in French terminology. The history of French anthropology in the nineteenth century is a growing field and a number of excellent studies has been produced but the focus of research is primarily on metropolitan thinkers rather than their indigenous subjects.² This chapter takes a different approach in looking at what happened when a particular group of Australian Aborigines fell under the lens of French anthropologists who for raciological purposes generally took them as representative. How did Aborigines fit the raciological theories of the day? How exactly were they represented in French anthropological discourse? And what do such representations reveal about the construction and practice of raciology? With these questions in mind, I tackle French anthropological discourse relating to Indigenous Australians through a specific episode: the presentation of three Aborigines from North Queensland to a small group of French anthropologists at the Société d'Anthropologie in Paris in 1885. The record of the meeting was published in the dense and voluminous *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, the

official publication of the Société along with the *Mémoires*. The story of the world tour of the Aboriginal troupe presented by the American impresario Robert Cunningham has itself been the subject of a touring exhibition in Australia and a recent book by Roslyn Poignant (2004).³ The report of the Paris meeting was merely a sideline to that tour but it condenses many aspects of French anthropological interest in Australian Aborigines in particular and the study of non-European people as racial specimens more generally. It is an unwitting *mise en abyme*, a representation in miniature, of the ideology and practices of late nineteenth-century racial anthropology in France.

Influential figures in this anthropological milieu were Paul Broca (1824-1880), Paul Topinard (1830-1911), and Ernest-Théodore Hamy (1842-1908),⁴ all of whom feature in this chapter. Broca presided over the French anthropological scene for twenty years after playing a key part in founding the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris and serving as its first secretary-general. Broca proselytized an anthropometrical approach characterized by a dogmatic empiricism which, for a time, was the dominant paradigm for the study of human others among members of the Société and beyond. Topinard and Hamy are important here not only because of their views and writings on the subject of Aborigines but because they were directly involved with the three Aboriginal Australians while they were in Paris and brought them to the attention of the Société. Topinard was a particular protégé of Broca's whose influence showed in Topinard's anthropological focus on the observable and the measurable. The difficulties this approach entailed when he came to synthesize the mass of information he had collected about Aborigines are discussed below.

If, in representational terms, the 1885 meeting of Aborigines and scholars typified raciological discourse and method, in practice it was atypical because it brought together elements in nineteenth-century French anthropology that were usually quite separate: namely the objects of study and those undertaking the analysis, the 'armchair' anthropologists. As Nélia Dias (1994:38) pointed out, the functions of collecting data (skeletal material, observations, photographs) and its analysis were not normally undertaken by the same person. In this case, when the analysts actually came face to face with those they were studying, the preconceptions about non-Europeans underpinning raciology stood out all the more clearly. Because I use the meeting to highlight aspects of raciological discourse and methods, my discussion moves back and forth between this exceptional Aboriginal-French encounter in Paris and the broader anthropological setting in which it occurred. In presenting the three Aborigines to the Société d'Anthropologie, the secretary-general Topinard drew on information provided in a memoir by two Belgian anthropologists, Emile Houzé (1848-1921) and Victor Jacques (1853-?), who had examined seven members of Cunningham's troupe when they were on exhibition at the Musée du Nord in Brussels. The Belgian

memoir provides some illuminating comparisons and contrasts to the French report as does one by Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) who had examined the Queenslanders in Berlin, but to whom Topinard made scant reference.⁵

Cunningham's troupe and Topinard's 'presentation'

Cunningham's troupe was composed of nine Aborigines from the Palm Islands and Hinchinbrook Island off the coast of North Queensland. We do not know whether they went with him willingly and knowingly but their job was to play the role of wild savages as they toured North America in Barnum's Circus, appearing at fairs and dime museums.⁶ They went on to England and Europe where they performed and were displayed at popular venues and were made available to anthropologists for examination and study. When the group arrived in Paris, only four of the nine were still alive — Toby and Jenny who were married, their child little Toby, and another man, Billy. The other five had succumbed to illness and died along the way. While in Paris, the four survivors stayed at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, gardens established to introduce and acclimatize exotic plants and animals. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, a number of such groups from exotic places was temporarily put on display there for the entertainment of the Parisian crowds but the Queensland group actually performed at the Folies-Bergère.⁷

The core of Topinard's 'Présentation de trois Australiens vivants' (1885) is a short report to the audience attending this 'live' demonstration on what he distinguished as the salient anthropological features of the three individuals. It should be noted that Jenny, Billy, and perhaps little Toby were actually present as Topinard spoke to his colleagues.⁸ We do not, however, know how the room was set up or what the three subjects did while they were being discussed. Despite their reported linguistic skills, it is unlikely that they had picked up sufficient French during their short stay to enable them to follow the scientific discussion. They were probably addressed in English,⁹ a second language for both the Aborigines and the French. Topinard (1885:683-6) began by describing how the presentation came about. The eminent anthropologist Hamy had learned of the troupe's stay in Paris from a colleague. He and Topinard visited them twice at the Jardin d'Acclimatation and also arranged for them to be examined at the laboratory of the Ecole d'Anthropologie. When Topinard and Hamy made their first visit, the fourth surviving member of the group, Jenny's husband Toby, was in hospital suffering from tuberculosis. He died the following day. Topinard said: 'I did all that I could, but to no avail, to have his body sent to the Broca laboratory, to be dissected'. During the anthropologists' second visit, Billy gave a display of his skills with the boomerang, an object of wonder to European scientists.¹⁰

After a brief account of the Aborigines' world tour, Topinard (1885:686-7) noted that its members had been measured by other anthropologists. He then described the physical appearance of the man, the woman, and the child. Physical appearance — what could be observed from the outside and measured — was seen as crucial. Their skin colour was a 'deep yellowish chocolate'. The description and classification of their hair proved more problematic. Topinard dismissed previous reports of Aboriginal hair as straight and went into comparative detail about the diameter of the whorls of hair of the 'most favoured negroes' and 'the most inferior', the Bushmen. He maintained that the Australians' hair was closer to the 'woolly' hair of negroes than to the straight hair of the 'yellow races' and concluded that it was 'modified negro hair' formed of 'numerous but rather broad whorls'. He described their faces as follows:

With a full, rounded forehead, bulging and protuberant brow ridges, a deep root of the nose, very pronounced prognathism, particularly in the woman. The nose short vertically, wide at the base, triangular when it is seen face on, massive, with coarse and dilated wings; in brief what is called the *Australoid nose* (1885:688, original emphasis).

He generalized 'the Australoid nose' as 'Melanesian', by which he collectively meant 'Papuan, New Caledonian, Australian and Tasmanian', and deemed it 'so characteristic that by this feature alone an expert anthropologist can recognise a subject's Melanesian origin at first glance'. For Topinard (1885:688), the nasal index of the living subject — the ratio of maximum width to length of the nose — was of primary importance in classifying human races into the three basic divisions of white, yellow, and black. He found this feature at 'its maximum development' in the Australians.

Topinard (1885:689-90) used the figures obtained by his Belgian colleagues Houzé and Jacques for body measurements despite disagreeing with their figures and methods for the nasal index. He included a table comparing measurements of body height and the length of the head, trunk, leg, arm, hand, and foot for Billy, Jenny, and 'average European men'. He found that the Aboriginal man was shorter and had a smaller head, a longer trunk, a shorter leg, a longer arm, and a smaller hand (although the measurement in the table shows a larger hand) than 'the European', now singularized, but had much the same sized foot. The differences between the Aboriginal man and woman were not exactly 'average' but he cautioned against drawing firm conclusions from individual cases: 'What is typically true of a race is only to be found in its averages'. And yet Topinard's juxtaposition of individual physical measurements for Billy and Jenny with the European male average epitomized the metonymic use of individuals as specimens to stand for a whole race, a practice particularly marked in the raciological photography of this era.

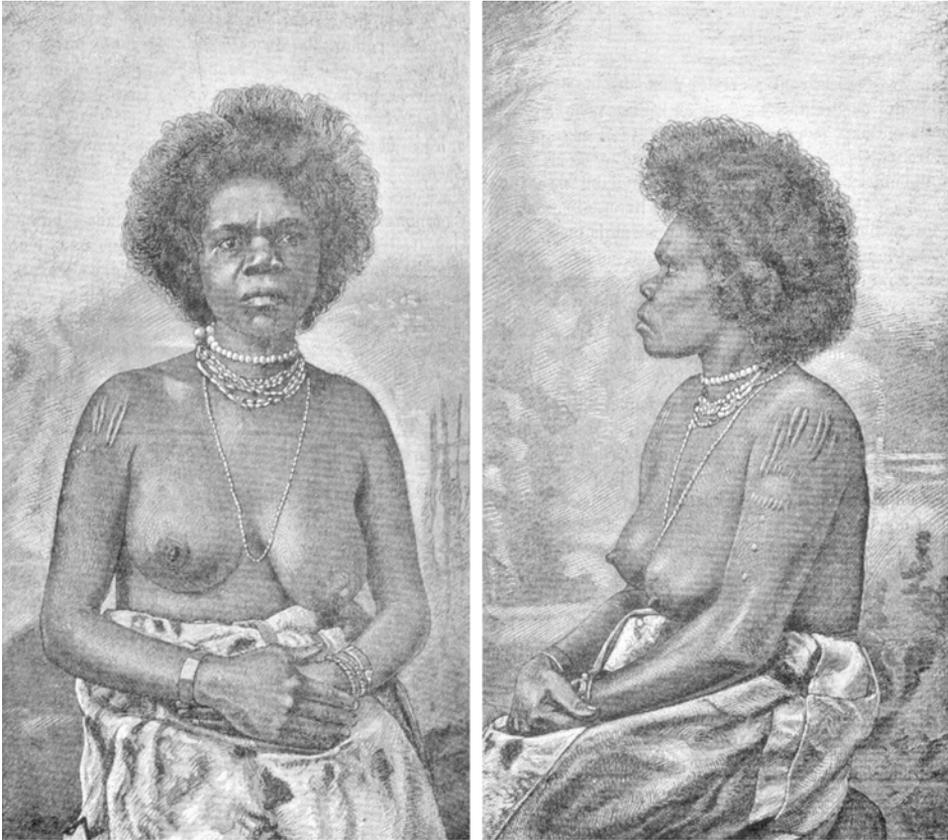
The concluding paragraphs of Topinard's presentation (1885:690-1) focused on the question of Australian Aboriginal racial types, because, as he reminded his colleagues, he had already explored this subject at length in his article 'Sur les races indigènes de l'Australie' (1872), a review of mainly English-language literature about Aboriginal physical anthropology drafted as instructions to travellers to Australia concerning the collection of appropriate material. Topinard had argued there that the indigenous population was composed of two quite different racial types, one tall and handsome, the other small and ill-favoured, which could still be distinguished even though they had now interbred. Now, he provided his audience with a visual demonstration of this thesis in a photograph showing 'King Billy and his three wives' and a fifth individual, of a notably different 'type', who was 'relatively handsome' and 'very reminiscent of the true Ainu type'. He concluded: 'The three Australians here before us would represent the ugly type, the inferior race'.

Topinard's presentation was followed by discussion with contributions from about a dozen members, amongst whom the most prominent were Eugène Dally (1833-1887), Abel Hovelacque (1843-1896), a linguist and founder of the *Revue de Linguistique*, Hamy, Joseph Deniker (1852-1918), author of *Les races et les peuples de la terre* (1900), and the embryologist Mathias Duval (1844-1907). The record of the discussion is longer than the text of the presentation. It is immediately striking that all but one of the questions and comments relate not to the anthropometrical data gathered by Topinard and the Belgian anthropologists but to culture — that is, to ethnographic issues. The discussion ranged over the intelligence and dispositions of the Australians, their language, their numeracy, the systems of numeration of Aboriginal languages, scarification, cannibalism, and the Aboriginal sense of time. It concluded with a request from one member that 'the two Australians be made to speak aloud in their own language and also to sing'. It was recorded that 'The man performs with good grace and sings, accompanying himself by beating time with one stick against another' (Topinard 1885:697-8).

The published report includes two full-page engravings of Jenny after photographs taken by Prince Roland Bonaparte (1858-1924)¹¹ — a full-face portrait and a profile (Figure 17). In both, the top of Jenny's show dress is folded down to her waist revealing her breasts and her shoulders which are marked by cicatrices. She is wearing a number of bracelets and bead necklaces. She does not look directly at the lens of the camera but slightly off to the side and into the distance. The portraits are arresting because there is so little by way of illustration in the pages of the *Bulletins* — these are the only visual representations of a person in the seven hundred or so pages of this volume. They are also disturbing because we cannot now simply read her state of mind off the engravings and yet we know that this woman has experienced the deaths of most of her group during the tour and, depending on exactly when these

photographs were taken, that her husband is either very ill in hospital or has just died.

Figure 17: Anon. after Prince Roland Bonaparte, 'Jenny'.¹²



Engraved photographs. Photograph: ANU Photography Services.

Curiosity about Indigenous Australians had been awakened in France in the late eighteenth century during the great era of European voyaging in Oceania. In 1793, idyllic encounters were recorded between Tasmanians and members of Joseph Antoine Bruni d'Entrecasteaux's expedition. Nicolas Baudin's expedition of 1800-04 was the first to undertake 'anthropological' fieldwork and reporting and collected significant material about mainland and Tasmanian Aborigines.¹³ But following the cessation of French voyaging on a grand scale after 1840, face-to-face interactions between French and Aboriginal people were rare. Henceforth, French scientists and the interested French public alike had to rely mainly on information about Aborigines written in English by British explorers, missionaries, settlers, and officials in the Australian colonies and on sensationalized popular accounts. Very few French anthropological reports about Aborigines, or indeed about non-European people generally, had been based

on first-hand familiarity with living indigenous subjects.¹⁴ Anthropologists either discussed the information they had obtained in their laboratories from measuring skulls and skeletons or borrowed ethnographic descriptions from accounts by observers on the spot. Their scientific texts were thus representations of representations. In this context, the visit to Paris of Cunningham's depleted troupe provided a rare opportunity to study Aboriginal people but even my brief synopsis suggests that it was an opportunity *manqué* because the scientists involved refused to engage with the Aborigines as fellow human beings but objectified them as racial specimens. By returning long after the heyday of raciology to this singular episode, it is possible to read off it some key elements in the intersections of French anthropology and Australian Aborigines, highlighting the ways in which Aborigines figured in the vigorous anthropological debates of the day.

'Arguments about Aborigines'¹⁵

Les Australiens featured regularly in the discussions of the Société d'Anthropologie. Its members were interested in where the Aborigines had come from or whether they were autochthonous, in their 'civilization' (what would now be called 'culture'), and, given its perceived paucity, their presumed closeness to nature. More precisely, information about Aborigines was seized upon as ammunition in two debates. The first hinged on the question of whether or not there was a distinct *règne humaine*, 'human kingdom', set apart from the animal world. In the nineteenth century, advances in various branches of scientific knowledge that impinged on human origins — archaeology, geology, biology, linguistics — and the burgeoning information about indigenous people around the world gave particular urgency to the age-old question of what it is to be human. Debates recorded in the *Bulletins* and *Mémoires* reveal the passionate interest in this question. A variety of non-European groups which were judged to be inferior, frequently Australians and Tasmanians, was routinely invoked as a test case of either humanity or bestiality.

The second and related issue which drew on Aboriginal evidence was that of monogeny versus polygeny, the common or multiple origins of the 'races of man'. Monogenists saw humankind as ultimately one, the descendants of a single pair of human ancestors; polygenists posited that different racial groups had separate and different origins. The monogenist position was conservative, its adherents likely to be Christian believers who rejected as heretical the proposition that there had been human beings other than the first divinely created pair. Polygenists were able to conceive a non-Biblical view of human origins and were prepared to countenance the unsettling of scriptural teaching and hence religious institutional authority. The intellectual and political radicalism of the racist polygenists is disconcerting to liberal-minded modern scholars but for these scientists of the Third Republic, political progressiveness was consonant with

the intellectual assumption of significant hereditary differences between human groups.¹⁶ The racial rhetoric of both monogenists and polygenists is abhorrent to present sensibilities but that used by polygenists to discuss human difference and supposedly inferior forms of humanity is especially noxious.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to examine the ways in which doctrines such as polygeny and the supposed likely extinction of inferior races, much discussed by members of the Société,¹⁷ related to accelerated French colonial expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century. Material about Aborigines was only indirectly relevant to French colonialism per se but was nonetheless pertinent comparatively to the process of imposition of French colonial rule over indigenous populations.

Broca and human hybridity

Paul Broca was the foremost French polygenist and the leading physical anthropologist of his time. He located humankind squarely in the animal kingdom in close relationship to the anthropoid apes. The title of his *Recherches sur l'hybridité animale en général et sur l'hybridité humaine en particulier considérées dans leurs rapports avec la question de la pluralité des espèces humaines* (1860) expressly denotes polygenism, as does the use of the term 'genus' in the title of the English translation, *On the phenomena of hybridity in the Genus Homo* (1864). This work — which reads today like a racist tract — advanced Broca's thinking about the relationship of racial interbreeding to the issue of polygeny. The question of whether interbreeding between different human groups produced fertile unions that continued over time was of much interest to anthropologists. Broca first investigated the products of interbreeding between closely related species such as rabbits and hares. When he turned to human groups, he proposed a range of types in terms of fertility of the offspring that he suggested were the result of different kinds of interracial union.¹⁸ Quite a large proportion of this work is devoted to Australian Aborigines.

Broca sought to reveal what happened when the two most divergent human types — the purportedly most superior and most inferior — interbred. He designated the Germanic (Anglo-Saxon) as the most superior race and the Aboriginal Australians and Tasmanians as the most inferior, in line with the received hierarchical ranking of human groups by the scientists of the day. His only other contenders for the position of most inferior were the so-called Hottentots (Khoikhoi),¹⁹ but he considered that they at least showed signs of 'improvability' while the Aborigines 'seem absolutely incorrigible savages'. While he expressed disgust at the 'execrable atrocities' visited upon them by the British, he wrote (1864:45-6) that 'the Tasmanians are, or rather were, with the Australians, nearest to the brutal condition'. Indeed, at the beginning of this

work, he singled out the Australians, among all groups, as satisfying the conditions of a separate human species:

The term species, has, in classical language, an absolute sense, implying both the idea of a special conformation and special origin, and if some races — the Australians, for instance — unite these conditions in a sufficient degree, to constitute a clearly marked species, many other pure or mixed races escape, in this respect, a rigorous appreciation (1864:11).

Broca (1864:49) maintained that the 'ugliness and dirty habits of the native women' were not enough to deter men's sexual interest and went on to explain what he believed to be the scarcity of mixed-race children in the Australian colonies not in terms of the absence of sexual encounters between Europeans and Aborigines but as the consequence of a dysgenic match, of too great a separation between two racially quite distinct human types. His final conclusion (1864:60) about human hybridity as it related to Aborigines was 'that the lowest degree of human hybridity in which the homœogenesis is so feeble as to render the fecundity of the first crossing uncertain, is exhibited in the most disparate crossings between one of the most elevated [Anglo-Saxons] and the two lowest [Aborigines and Tasmanians] races of humanity'.

Broca's premise that unions between different combinations of races would produce differing degrees of fertility in future generations rested on a spurious hierarchical ranking of human groups. And his conclusions about the infertility of Aboriginal-European unions were later shown to be absurd. Here, then, is an egregious example of what Elkins (1999:169) termed 'ugly' racism, racism involving sexual revulsion or attraction. Broca's comments about 'native women' certainly suggest a sexual element. What it was that made him and many of his colleagues so ready to jump from anatomical researches to quite unsubstantiated and abusive rhetorical pronouncements about relative racial worth is a complex question that writers such as Gilman (1985) and Jahoda (1999) have tackled on a wide cultural, historical, and psychological canvas and Fausto-Sterling (1995) on a smaller scale relevant to this discussion. Whatever the particular combination of reasons in Broca's case, he was enormously influential. He died in 1880 but the imprint of his thinking about Aboriginal Australians can be discerned in the discussion that followed Topinard's 1885 presentation and particularly in Topinard's own contributions, Topinard habitually referring to Broca as his 'master'.

Topinard and Aboriginal Australians

Eugène Dally, one of the progressives, started the discussion by adding some details about Billy and Jenny. Intelligence was the issue but first he noted that the man and the woman, not of the same tribe, could not stand each other. He went on: 'Their intelligence is very minimal. The mode of counting is of the most

rudimentary. They count on their hands up to ten, then they begin again to go any further' (Topinard 1885:691). This pronouncement accords exactly with the stereotype of low Aboriginal intelligence and the scientific dictum promoted by Broca of small Aboriginal cranial capacity. Topinard responded with further information, piqued at the inference that after hours spent in the company of the three Australians he and Hamy had learnt nothing of their intelligence.²⁰ Then follows the most telling comment of the whole record:

The man appears reserved: he is cold, self-obsessed, but well behaved. He showed little surprise at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, and had no trouble recognising the animals of his country. The woman, on the other hand, appears dazed [*abrutie*], quite removed from what is going on around her. One can get something out of the first, nothing out of the second (1885:691).

Here, Topinard not only told us something about the mental state of Billy and Jenny but revealed his own frustration and disquiet that he could get no response from Jenny. He then (1885:691-2) described Billy's recitation of the names of the cities he had visited while on tour (but demeaned this feat of memory as 'entirely automatic'), his lack of animation except when examining or throwing a boomerang or thinking about his lunch, and his vanity about the ivory stick in his nose, before returning to Jenny and her state:

With the woman I could awaken no idea of coquettishness or otherwise. The death of her husband, here in Paris, has not affected her, Mr Cunningham assures me. I am not so sure; you would say that there is some kind of sadness about her which could be related to that. Once, though, I did see her laugh freely, opening a disproportionately large mouth, when one of us at the Jardin d'Acclimatation tried to throw the boomerang. According to Mr Cunningham, the intelligence of these indigenes has not improved at all since they have been exhibited far and wide; in this regard he has the lowest opinion of them: 'downright brutes', he says; and he gives me evidence of this that I think it best not to repeat (1885:692).

Topinard did not condemn other races like Broca. His comments about Jenny reveal both his inability to transcend thinking about Aborigines in stereotypical terms and confusion provoked by the barriers to communication with another human subject whose emotions he sensed but could not grasp. If he could not reach her, then, as a dedicated empiricist, he would have to doubt his judgements about her.

No member of the Société had greater knowledge of the literature on Aboriginal people than Topinard and he kept up correspondence on the subject with French visitors to Australia. His first study of Aboriginal Australians was

'Etude sur les Tasmaniens' (1868), a study of the eight skulls from Tasmania then held in the Muséum de Paris. The Tasmanians were of interest to French anthropologists on a number of counts: the common belief that they had been exterminated by the British colonists; their epistemological status as one of the most remote human groups, both geographically and culturally, along with such people as the Fuegians and Eskimos; and their racial origins as connected or unconnected with mainland Aborigines. French anthropologists of this period, like other non-British European travellers and reporters (McKenna 2002:75), could be highly critical of the British colonial enterprise in terms of its treatment of indigenous people.

Topinard's 'Etude' starts on an elegiac note (1868:307): 'The newspapers have advised us that the last of the Tasmanians died five or six months ago and that, of these islanders, who numbered seven thousand when Van Diemen's Land was discovered, just one woman is now left; and I think that she may have just succumbed'. The scientist then stepped in quickly: 'It therefore seemed to me that the time had come to study the several skulls of this race that were held in the Museum of Paris, without concerning myself about what could have been written on this subject'. The 'Etude' is an assemblage of measurements of aspects of the skull, brain cavity, and facial structure, comparing the Tasmanian set of skulls with others, including those of Parisians and especially mainland Aborigines. It would be fatuous to dismiss the intellectual labour involved in such anthropometrical studies and Topinard's scientific integrity and ability strike me as impressive. In its osteological detail, the 'Etude' holds little meaning for non-experts and so my reading looks not so much to the information provided but rather to the manner of its presentation. Topinard emphasised its empirical base in a footnote:

I could not, in fact, put too much emphasis on the fact that in this work I have deliberately avoided bringing in elements foreign to the anatomical pieces that are its object, I have looked for what they were saying to me, I have analysed them and compared them with others, nothing more (1868:326, note 1).

But it was not a case of 'nothing more'. In a slide from fact to value, Topinard took the physical features of the skulls, which provided his data, as an index of the degree of racial superiority or inferiority. When he boasted (1868:319) about a plaster cast of an Aborigine as 'the superb trophy owned by the Society', we might ask him what that cast was 'saying' to him. Why was it 'superb', why was it a 'trophy'?

Topinard (1868:322, 325-6) concluded that the more pronounced prognathism of the Australian mainlanders, a putatively primitive feature, indicated that they were 'greatly inferior' to the Tasmanians and of lesser intellect and that the two groups constituted 'two distinct races'. The Tasmanians, he suggested, were

midway between 'the black autochthonous race', 'highly dolichocephalic and prognathous', spread over different areas of the Pacific region, and another grouping who are 'sub-dolichocephalic and only slight prognathous', including the New Zealanders, northern Polynesians, and Tahitians. He remained undecided as to whether they represented the vestiges of an isolated autochthonous group or were the result of 'a crossing between the black autochthonous race and one of the invading groups of the great Polynesian family'. But he judged that the Tasmanians did not deserve to be classed with those like the Australians and the Hottentots who were 'truly inferior'.

Topinard and the two races theory

Topinard (1872:211) subsequently turned his attention to these mainland Australians when Eugène Simon, the French consul in Sydney, and a Dr Jules Goyard requested instructions regarding the anthropological observations of Australian Aborigines that travellers might make where the opportunity arose. These 'instructions' were published in the *Bulletins* (Topinard 1872). They show that when Topinard applied himself to a detailed study of the available literature, the racial judgments he had earlier made of the mainland groups were tempered by reflection on the information before him. He formed the view that the Aboriginal population of mainland Australia comprised 'three orders of tribes': inferior and superior, with an intermediate type that showed a blend of features arising from their intermixing. Topinard had taken up the first-hand observations of a number of explorers, officials, and missionaries,²¹ combined these with his own studies of the Australian skulls in Paris, and reworked this material to propose a theory of an inferior negroid type occupying mainly the coastal regions and a superior type, the 'bush Australian', inhabiting the remoter parts of the continent. He described the superior type as handsome, tall, and well proportioned, stately in bearing, proud, brave, intelligent, and with long, wavy hair; the inferior type he portrayed as ugly, small, and stupid with frizzy hair, using such demeaning terms as 'ill-favoured' (*disgracié*), 'repulsive' (*hideux*), 'wretched' (*misérable*), and 'puny' (*chétif*). According to Topinard, his two types were the descendants, no longer existing in their pure form, of two original 'races', the superior 'Dravidian' race having displaced the 'negroid' type.²² He maintained that the favoured race took over the best land leaving the less fertile littoral regions to the 'pariah race'. The pariahs, he supposed, were autochthonous and belonged to the 'true Melanesian race'. They were identical to the 'black New Caledonians' who represented his pure Melanesian type.²³

When Topinard met Billy, Jenny, and little Toby, he saw physical confirmation of his two races theory, immediately assigning them to his second category. His difficulty in seeing beyond physical appearance is evident here and contrasts with Virchow's report on Cunningham's troupe who had spent several weeks performing in Berlin in 1884. Virchow (1884:414-16), like Topinard,

had been most concerned to conduct an anthropometrical appraisal of the Queenslanders. But, unlike Topinard, he had no difficulty in making a distinction between inner states and capacities and outer appearance. He found the Queenslanders physically unattractive but, as if addressing a racially hostile interlocutor, he took pains to make a number of relatively positive observations about the mental and psychological qualities of different members and of the group as a whole when compared to Europeans. He responded to each of the Aborigines as separate individuals with distinct personalities. He praised the grace, composure, and prowess of their physical performances. And, as a committed monogenist, he had no hesitation in seeing them as 'true men' in every respect.

Much of Topinard's 1872 paper 'Sur les races indigènes de l'Australie' rehearses descriptions of the way Aboriginal men and women looked to the voyagers and explorers who wrote about them. When it came to aesthetic evaluations of different ethnic or indigenous groups, most commentators unquestioningly applied European standards of beauty. The narratives and scientific treatises issuing from voyages of exploration were especially detrimental to Aboriginal Australians in their physical descriptions, as Topinard (1872:229, 231) acknowledged in relation to the writings of Dumont d'Urville. Topinard explained the reported differences in Aboriginal appearance in terms of his theory of two distinct racial types and an intermediate form:

So can be explained the diversity of portraits that have been made of the Australians, why navigators have depicted them in different ways, why travellers in the centre have found them to be better built, more handsome than those on the coast, why for such a long time they have been considered as the most hideous beings in creation, while today, through over-reaction one is inclined to take them as models for statuary (1872:240).

In particular, Topinard's review of reports about the appearance of Aboriginal women shows how easily the science of race could descend into fantasizing and voyeuristic attraction or repulsion. In keeping with his two types thesis, he found two extreme versions of Aboriginal womanliness (1872:261): 'one of them, everything that is most hideous, bestial and repulsive in the world; the other composed of women who are well formed, with broad backs, slim waists, ample and well developed busts, and with very pleasant features and overall appearance'. In such an intellectual climate, gender and race stereotyping easily became conflated and intensified. Topinard (1872:252) imagined continual 'crossings' between the two main racial types over the centuries and maintained that 'It is the female sex which preserves the most pronounced characteristics of the most primitive type for the longest time and it is there that we will find its purest traces'. His unease about Jenny and the harshness of his descriptions

of her suggest this kind of conflation and intensification of stereotyping in relation to an anthropological subject who is disturbingly and doubly different.²⁴ Yet, this is easy to say and to condemn, as if sexual, gender, and identity anxieties were purely nineteenth-century phenomena, ignoring our own era's investment in such critiques.²⁵

Topinard was always primarily concerned with anatomical and morphological data as shown in his presentation of the members of Cunningham's troupe. This blinkered perspective limited his capacity to comprehend human differences. The ethnographic information paraphrased in his 1872 study (1872:278, 285) gave him no insights into Aboriginal social and cultural life. With respect to religious sentiment, for example, he pronounced negatively: 'They have neither cult, nor ceremony, nor idol, nor any object of worship that might take their place'. The chastity of Aboriginal women was a 'thing unknown'. But writing several years later in another register, Topinard was much more alert to positive aspects of Aboriginal adaptation to the Australian environment and reproved the British colonizers:

The intelligence of the Australians was perfectly adapted to the resources they had at their disposal, their hunting territories were huge, there was a place for everyone ... But today space is becoming limited and is no longer adequate for this type of existence, the game flees, their weapons can no longer reach them: there is sadness, anaemia, infertility, their nakedness is no longer offset by an iron-clad constitution, they are dying: 'You whites', said an Australian, 'should give us blacks your cows and sheep now that you have wiped out our possums and our kangaroos; we have nothing to live on and we are hungry' (1879:644).

In fact, Topinard's two races theory of Aboriginal origins can be read as an expression of his ambivalence about the contemporary anthropological zeal for ranking human groups on a scale from higher to lower, superior to inferior, forms of humanity. He had reviewed a large volume of literature about Aboriginal Australians and found the evidence contradictory. But his binary theory enabled him both to praise and condemn Aborigines. The human ladder was a major blindspot of raciology which scarcely questioned the scientific, let alone the humanitarian validity of ranking. Once the human 'varieties' of the eighteenth century became reified as 'races',²⁶ measurable and observable features such as skin colour, head shape, hair type, nasal index, prognathism, ratio of upper leg to lower leg — features overwhelmingly associated with stereotyped sub-Saharan Africans — were assigned values indicating higher or lower. With the accumulation of comparative data, unexpected mixtures of putatively inferior and superior features in the one race, such as the dark skin of Indigenous Australians combined with non-'negroid' hair, led either to confusion or to

implausible qualifications by scientists who had to explain the presence of superior features in what was held to be an inferior race, or vice versa.²⁷

In a detailed and historically useful discussion of the notion of race, Topinard (1879:660) referred only once to the concept of a racial hierarchy when he concluded his paper with Broca's definition of the term 'ethnology' as the description and determination of human races, including 'their respective position in the human series'. This is an anodine formulation for ranking by race which ultimately Topinard accepted as a basic tenet of anthropology.²⁸ He did not, however, follow Broca's pronouncements about unproductive unions between Europeans and Aborigines. Indeed, he cited the historian James Bonwick (1817-1906) to the effect that the children of Tasmanian Aborigines and English 'are as fertile as the Europeans and are prospering' and he anticipated a future racial melting pot, where in effect the multiplicity of human origins had given way to increasing human uniformity — but the 'inferior' races had died out.²⁹

Topinard was wholly committed to the natural science approach to the study of human difference in which humans beings had to be subject to the same objective methods applied to animals. In his famous manual *L'Anthropologie* he proclaimed:

As for the method to be followed, there can be no possible doubt, it is identical for man and the animals: intuition, a priori reasoning, and other methods relying on feelings and impressions will be mercilessly banished. Whatever man's brilliant role on our planet and his place at the pinnacle of natural organization, whether he represents his own separate branch, the *human kingdom*, or is only the first of the primates, the same procedures of observation apply to him (1876:4).

Hamy and the push for ethnography

Topinard's (1879:660) vision of anthropology left little place for ethnography which he defined rather dismissively as 'the description of peoples' and the source of raw material for ethnology. However, by the time of his presentation of the three Australians to the Société, ethnography was receiving more consideration from some of his colleagues. Hamy, who had first learned of the group's presence in Paris and had visited them with Topinard at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, was at the forefront of this shifting emphasis. Three years earlier he had founded the *Revue d'Ethnographie* and in his introduction (1882:ii) had lamented the neglect of ethnography at a time when 'The white races, in their movement of expansion across the earth, saw the indigenous races of the newly occupied countries disappear in their wake almost everywhere'.

Hamy's career began in 1864 as an intern for Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893) (whose demonstrations of his psychiatric patients Sigmund Freud famously attended) at the Salpêtrière psychiatric hospital in Paris. There he met Broca and

went to work in his anthropological laboratory as his student and assistant. Hamy held various positions in the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, succeeding the prominent defender of monogenism in France, Armand de Quatrefages (1810-1892), in the Chair of Anthropology in 1892. His greatest achievement was the ultimate success of his efforts to establish France's first ethnographic museum, the Musée du Trocadéro (the modern Musée de l'Homme), which opened in Paris in 1880.³⁰

Hamy (1891) made an invaluable contribution to the history and ethnography of Aboriginal Australians, especially Tasmanians, through his pursuit of lost artwork from Baudin's voyage, a portfolio of drawings by Nicolas-Martin Petit.³¹ However, Hamy's historical and ethnographic sense, which might have led him out of the racist assumptions of his training, did not translate into cultural sensitivity, at least in his writings. In this, he differed from his mentor Quatrefages (1888) who later in his career had drawn on Bonwick's works to write in humanistic terms about the moral worth and vanquished rights of the Tasmanians. Hamy's commitment to a social evolutionary schema that classified human groups into higher and lower races meant that his sociocultural focus rested no less on hierarchical assumptions than did the craniometry of Broca or Topinard. For example, in an early article in the *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* (1872:622), he wrote that the 'negritos', while occupying 'a very low position in the scale of human races', were not yet 'the last of men' — the Australians had that distinction by virtue of their level of material progress.

Hamy made only a very limited contribution to the discussion following Topinard's presentation. He confined himself to some remarks about practices of scarification and a brief appraisal of the memoir by Houzé and Jacques: 'if the anthropological conclusions of the first of these colleagues leave something to be desired, at least the ethnographic and linguistic part is treated with the greatest precision' (Topinard 1885:693). Indeed, the memoir in question shows a marked lack of fit between Houzé's extreme polygenism and, for the time, Jacques's relatively detailed, sensitive ethnographic and linguistic reporting and analysis (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5). This disjunction no doubt resulted from the separation of physical anthropology from ethnography, the first tackled by Houzé and the second by Jacques.

Houzé and polygeny

Houzé's polygenism was of the order of Broca's. He used the word 'pithecoïd', ape-like, to describe a whole range of Aboriginal physical characteristics from the head to the foot,³² concluding, with specific reference to Cunningham's troupe of Queenslanders, that:

we are justified in retaining the epithet of inferior for any human race that presents, in the way it is organized, in the proportions of its limbs, a large number of features that are found in monkeys; these features, attenuated by crossings and by evolution, appear as atavistic reminders (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:92).

Houzé made much of Darwin's pronouncement in *The Descent of Man* concerning the relative atavism of male and female forms (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:92). In this respect, the final conclusion to his report is reminiscent of Topinard's stereotyping conflation of sexual and racial prejudices to malign not only Aboriginal Australians but women generally:

we shall emphasise again the fact that woman presents many more atavistic features than man, just as much in the white [race] as in the Australian. Woman has remained true to the primitive type; she is the guardian of hereditary features, she is basically conservative; in her skeleton as in her moral aspects, she belongs to the past, while man is progressive; in his [physical] organization he is more distant from the base-type; in his mental faculties he belongs to the future.³³

Jacques's contribution to the memoir takes us into quite different territory from his colleague's. It also contrasts favourably with the feeble ethnographic efforts of the members of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris and the scant information they obtained from the remnants of Cunningham's troupe. The circumstances whereby most members of the group successively succumbed to fatal illnesses meant that the Belgians had some advantage over the French since seven of the original nine were still alive when they reached Brussels. However, in retrospect, Jacques's comments about Toby's lack of animation spoke to the state of health that ended with his death in a Paris hospital. The Belgians had decided to vaccinate the seven Aborigines against smallpox owing to an outbreak of the disease in Brussels but most suffered a severe reaction (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:63). The doctors no doubt acted with the best intentions but it is likely that, uprooted, debilitated, and suffering from the Northern cold, the Australians were further weakened by the reaction.

The contrast between Jacques's study and Topinard's presentation and the subsequent discussion highlights the inherent conflict between the perspectives of the physical anthropologists and those more interested in the cultural dimensions of human groups. Anthropology's brief was to bring within its purview everything relating to the study of man, in nature and in the world. Its domain was both the natural history of man and the study of past and present human groups in their geographical distribution and all the diversity of their languages, 'manners and customs', and material cultures. However, Broca, Topinard, Houzé, and their like, whose first interest was man in nature, had no sense of their discipline as humanistic. Indeed, their conception of the

anthropological enterprise expressly precluded humanism, as Houzé made clear in relation to Australia:

The authors who have described the different Australian tribes are often in disagreement, even for identical localities; we are not at all surprised by these differing opinions, because we know how difficult it is to describe and especially to observe, and how it is necessary to resist the deceptive impulses of our illusions. Art and feeling have not to intervene in anatomical research, and we almost always take the wrong direction when they guide us in our observations, what is necessary in this research is the arid and brutal truth (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:53-4).

By contrast, a humanistic anthropology is one in which the subject becomes 'the object of observation for himself', as Franz Pruner-Bey (1808-1882), a former president of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, put it in his inaugural address, appealing to the Socratic dictum 'Know thyself'.³⁴ Such an anthropology would accept that other human beings were fully human which was precisely what polygenism called into question.

Jacques and the cultural perspective

Jacques certainly did not see the Aborigines as equal but simply different. However, unlike the French anthropologists, he did convey the sense that he had established some rapport with them and at least viewed them as people with their own concerns, culture, language, identities, history, and present suffering while in thrall to Cunningham. He began his section of the paper by giving his transcription of the Aborigines' names, as did Virchow (1884), an acknowledgement of their autonomy as individuals and foreign visitors not accorded them by Topinard.³⁵ Jacques then described the dubious circumstances in which they had joined Cunningham's troupe and queried what they might have made of the study to which he and his colleague subjected them. In this and other respects, he recorded their exercise of a measure of personal agency:

We came before these unfortunate people armed with strange instruments, whose use their understanding certainly did not allow them to divine. Immediately after our arrival we took one by the head and we palpated it all over, then another, and another, without explanation. They suffered all of this with the resigned air of victims, no doubt intimidated by the presence of their master. But when it came to approaching them with a compass in hand, there was a revolt and we were greeted by a quite categorical refusal to be touched (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:98).

Jacques compiled a comparative vocabulary of 198 words for Palm Islands and Hinchinbrook Island, together with notes relating to other Aboriginal

languages, but was regretful about the quality of his linguistic observations for 'these languages that were so interesting'. He described his difficulties in trying to learn their pronunciation and included a vignette showing Aboriginal methods as teachers: 'When we had not properly understood after two, three or four tries, they leaned towards us and repeated the word several times very softly in our ear. I mention this as a proof of their intelligence and way of reasoning'. However, Jacques's conclusions about Aboriginal intelligence were mixed. He found the members of the troupe to be childlike, 'like all primitive people', their memories prodigious, their senses acute, their sense of numeracy limited, their sense of time absent — on both the latter counts he was Eurocentrically blind to other systems of quantification than Roman numerals or to other ways of reckoning time than in named days of the week, weeks, and months. He provided some details about marriage rules but concluded this discussion by remarking, with no sense of irony: 'There are still some other details in the rules which besides are rather complicated; but these we shall spare you' (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:101, 104, 130).

A frequent point of debate among anthropologists at this time was whether different indigenous groups did or did not hold religious beliefs, seen as a mark of full humanity.³⁶ The monogenists,³⁷ as believers themselves and proponents of the idea of the 'human realm', sought and found religious belief in indigenous communities denied it by their opponents who engaged in sometimes facetious commentary on the moral and religious capacities of animals.³⁸ Jacques maintained that the Queenslanders had no religion, in the sense of believing in a deity, but proceeded to describe their supernatural beliefs in some detail, having also retold a myth about the origin of different languages and presented it as a rival to the Biblical story of Babel. He did not, however, hesitate to question other prominent stereotypes in contemporary anthropological literature on the basis of his own observations of the Aboriginal group. Thus, he described Toby and Jenny's marital relationship as harmonious in opposition to the general view of the lowly status and ill-treatment of Aboriginal women by their husbands as pronounced by Charles Letourneau (1831-1902). In contrast to Topinard's difficulty in attributing Jenny's stunned state to grief, Jacques related another proof of marital affection by describing Sussy's grief-stricken reaction to Tambo's death (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:102-3, 131).

One of the most persistent and titillating tropes in nineteenth-century imaginings was the cannibal savage.³⁹ Here again, there is an interesting contrast between the several reports. Jacques claimed that he 'was never able to obtain a definite answer' to his inquiry whether the Queenslanders sometimes ate human flesh: 'one might have said that they were trying to avoid an embarrassing question'.⁴⁰ Cunningham had 'assured' him that one circumstance in which it was practised was after a battle but that he thought it was not otherwise

prevalent. Jacques then stated seriously that, unlike 'the Western tribes', the Queenslanders did not eat their old people but took very good care of them (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:133). During Topinard's presentation (1885:695), Dally asked Billy about anthropophagy but reported a different answer from that given by Jacques: Billy 'admitted that he had eaten the flesh of his fellows several times'. The judgement was then pronounced that cannibalism indicated nothing about the relationship of carnivorous instincts to physical organization since Billy's and Jenny's teeth were small, neat, and worn in a circular pattern. Both reports reinvented the spectre of cannibalism but while Jacques sought to explain it in cultural terms, Topinard and Dally invoked bestiality.

A final word is needed about the photographs which illustrate each of the two reports: those taken by Prince Roland Bonaparte and included in Topinard's presentation and those taken by the president of the Association belge de Photographie, Pierre-Alexandre de Blochouse (1821-1901), for Houzé and Jacques's memoir. In France, the evidential promise of photography meant that this new technology was welcomed by anthropologists such as Broca and a genre of racial photography quickly developed as a tool of anthropology (Dias 1994; Jehel 2000). The genre rested on a metonymical logic: one type specimen of a racial group visually stood for all, just as Jenny's and Billy's measurements in Topinard's table stood tacitly for all Aborigines when placed against figures for average European males. The subjects of such photographs were typically posed against a neutral background, preferably without clothes, and taken full face and in profile. Blochouse's photographs of Sussy, Bob, Jenny, and Toby conform to the genre except that the Queenslanders are wearing their show clothes. They might have refused to disrobe for the photographer as Jacques reported that they would not undress for him, though he declined to attribute their refusal to modesty — another human emotion denied to indigenous people by physical anthropology — but instead invoked vanity and the climate (Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:124). Although these particular photographs by Bonaparte appear to be raciological in design, they do not conform simply to the dehumanizing, objectifying genre of racial photography. They are also individual portraits with a story to them which makes them all the more disconcerting.⁴¹

Conclusion

Topinard's presentation of the three living Australians and the discussion which followed is a demonstration of how raciology used comparative anatomical measurements as well as judgments about reported manners and customs to assign particular groups of human beings to different rungs on the human racial ladder. Yet when scientists tried to collate all the information available about an indigenous group, in this case Aboriginal Australians, the results did not match their preconceptions. Not only did ethnographic information and physical evidence frequently conflict but evidence from physical features alone could

not deliver a clear verdict of racial inferiority. Topinard's response to such tensions was to invoke his two races theory as an umbrella explanation to reconcile the wide range of diverging evidence about what Aborigines were really like.

The comparison between Topinard's presentation and Houzé's report, on the one hand, and Jacques's and Virchow's reports, on the other, exemplifies two opposed perspectives on human difference: physical anthropology and an ethnographic or cultural approach. A particularly harsh variety of physical anthropology was dominant in France for much of the nineteenth century though it was by no means uncontested, as shown in the ambivalent humanist caveats offered by other scientists such as Pruner-Bey and Quatrefages. The encounter between the surviving members of Cunningham's troupe and the scientists of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris demonstrates clearly that at this period French raciologists denied common humanity to the people they studied, even when they came face to face with them. By treating the Queenslanders anthropometrically as bodies and behaviourally as typical savages, these French anthropologists failed to establish any rapport or any human connection with their subjects — and saw no need to do so. The methodological strictures of an observation-based science excluded feeling, imagination, and intuition. Furthermore, this human failure entailed an epistemological failure. The episode is emblematic of the way in which the brand of anthropology promoted by Broca and Topinard in the early years of the Société was stunted by its raciological premises which foreclosed any prospect of achieving the comprehensive human science to which they aspired.

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Notes

¹ I use in a different context the concept contained in the term 'savage slot' as coined by Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1991) for the epistemological domain of anthropology itself.

² Elizabeth Williams's study (1987) is the first comprehensive history of French anthropology in the nineteenth century and a basic reference point. See also Blanckaert 1988, 1996; Hammond 1980; Harvey 1983; Poirier 1968; Renneville 2000; Staum 2005; Stocking 1968; Williams 1985.

³ The exhibition 'Captive Lives: Looking for Tambo and his Companions', curated by Roslyn Poignant, assisted by Irene Turpie, was held at the National Library of Australia from November 1997 to March 1998. It toured Australia extensively until mid-2000 and is now permanently housed at the Museum of Tropical Queensland in Townsville. Poignant's book (2004) presents her meticulous research into the story of Tambo and the other members of the group: how the unscrupulous Cunningham formed his troupe; their tour through North America and Europe in 1883-7 with its tragic outcome for most of them; and their objectification by both popular and scientific curiosity, even as they themselves adapted as performers to the roles they were expected to play as 'professional savages'.

⁴ Like many of their colleagues in the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, all three had trained in medicine.

⁵ Houzé and Jacques 1884-5; Virchow 1884; see also Poignant 2004:125-36.

⁶ Poignant 2004:16-25, 59-104. There was a public outcry in Australia and questions were raised in parliament about the departure of the group (Poignant 1993:46; Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:97-8).

⁷ See Topinard's editorial note in Mondière 1886:313; see also Poignant 2004:115-16, 164.

⁸ Despite the title of the report, it is unclear whether little Toby was actually present. He is not mentioned in the presentation or the discussion and reference is made at the end to 'the two Australians'.

⁹ Houzé and Jacques had used English in their meetings with the troupe in Belgium.

¹⁰ E.g., Houzé and Jacques (1884-5:134-8) devoted some pages to a description of the dimensions and manipulation of the boomerang. Virchow (1884:417) was equally fascinated, marvelling at the complicated aerodynamics of its movement combined with the simplicity of the tool itself.

¹¹ Prince Roland Bonaparte was a great traveller, polymath, and generous sponsor of scientific research. He made early use of photography as a means of anthropological recording. Among his anthropological portraits, the photographs he took of the three surviving members of Cunningham's troupe have aroused considerable interest and were the starting point for Poignant's important work in bringing this episode to light (see Poignant 1993:37). These photographs are also discussed in Poignant 1992; 2004:4-7; Maxwell 2000; Anderson 2006.

¹² Topinard 1885:684-5.

¹³ See Anderson 2000 and 2001 for the embryonic ethnographic dimension of the two expeditions and Douglas 2003 for a discussion of the links between voyage ethnography and anthropological thought in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

¹⁴ Exceptions include François Péron's (1983) account of the Aborigines of Maria Island, Van Diemen's Land, based on field observations made in 1802 during Baudin's expedition, and much later memoirs by the naval doctor Charles Cauvin (1882, 1883) who saw several Aborigines when his ship called at Melbourne and Sydney in 1879 but nonetheless concentrated on Australian skulls and skeletons held in French institutions.

¹⁵ I borrow the title of L.R. Hiatt's book (1996) in which he examines the controversial issues in British and Australian social anthropology that so often centred on Aboriginal Australians.

¹⁶ E.g., Broca (1864:69-71) was himself emphatic that polygenism had been wrongly equated with support for slavery. See also Hammond 1980; Harvey 1983.

¹⁷ See Chapters One (Douglas) and Four (Turnbull), this volume.

¹⁸ See Chapter One (Douglas), this volume.

¹⁹ See Fausto-Sterling 1995:22-3 on the inappropriate use of the term Hottentot.

²⁰ A subtext of the discussion is the hostility between Topinard and political radicals such as Hovelacque who would be part of a successful push to oust him from his chair at the Ecole d'Anthropologie in 1889 (see Harvey 1983:301-3).

²¹ His sources of information were extensive, including the explorers Ludwig Leichhardt and Edward John Eyre, the explorer and colonial governor Sir George Grey, the American expedition leader Charles Wilkes, the botanist and explorer Allan Cunningham, the palaeontologist and museum curator Gerard Krefft, the missionary and Congregationalist minister George Taplin, who had a deep interest in Ngarrindjeri culture, and the Spanish Benedictine missionary, later bishop, Rosendo Salvado.

²² In the second half of the nineteenth century, there was much speculation about the nature of the relationship between Aboriginal Australians and Indian groups among linguists and anthropologists who addressed the question of Aboriginal settlement of the Australian continent.

²³ Topinard 1872:232, 236-7, 239-40, 259, 278, 316-17, 325-6.

²⁴ Cf. Gilman 1985: ch.3; Fausto-Sterling 1995.

²⁵ See Elkins 1999:169-92.

²⁶ See Chapter One (Douglas), this volume.

²⁷ Topinard 1879:660. Armand de Quatrefages (1810-1892) was one anthropologist who came to doubt the validity of using external features to judge relative racial worth. In *The Human Species* he wrote:

Influenced by certain habits of thought, and by a self-love of race which is easily explained, many anthropologists have thought that they could interpret the physical differences which distinguish men from one another, and consider simple characteristic features as marks of inferiority or superiority. Because the European has a short heel, and some Negroes have a long one, they have wished to consider the latter as a mark of degradation. Is the fundamental superiority of one race really betrayed outwardly by some material sign? We are still in ignorance upon this point. But when we examine it more closely, we are led to think it is not so (1890:350).

²⁸ An advertisement for a course given by Topinard at the École d'Anthropologie in 1886-7 is more pointed, perhaps in order to attract an audience: 'GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY: Paul Topinard, professor, Tuesday, 4 o'clock. *Programme*: the professor will stress the superior and inferior characteristics of the human races' (*Revue d'Anthropologie* 1886:745).

²⁹ Topinard 1875:236; 1879:646; 1888.

³⁰ Williams 1987:166-9. Hamy's sense of the history of the discipline shows in his paper 'Les origines du Musée d'Ethnographie' (1889) which traces the history of the Musée du Trocadéro from the first royal collections in the reign of François Premier until its opening in 1880. The essay was published together with more than 200 pages of documents.

³¹ Hamy (1891:3) had become obsessed with finding Petit's portfolio when assembling anthropological and ethnographic material collected or produced by French expeditions. He wanted to see Petit's drawings of Tasmanians and Australians for comparative raciological purposes.

³² For Houzé's summary of supposedly atavistic or simian characteristics in his subjects, see Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:92-4.

³³ Houzé and Jacques 1884-5:94; see also Topinard 1872:252.

³⁴ Pruner-Bey 1865a:4. Pruner-Bey was one member of the Société who defended non-European groups, particularly Aboriginal Australians (see especially 1860:481-9). He deserves a prominent place in the story of such defenders because of his sensitivity to culture and language and his awareness of the problems involved in knowing and speaking about another culture, having himself spent many years in Egypt.

³⁵ I have not reproduced these names because there is some discordance between the two lists which, as Poignant (1993:40) noted, may suggest that some of the names proffered by the Queenslanders were group rather than personal ones. Poignant also noted the reluctance of some Aboriginal groups to tell their names. Furthermore, it is appropriate to be circumspect in the use of such names in recognition of Aboriginal practices and sensitivities about deceased relatives.

³⁶ See Chapter Six (Gardner), this volume.

³⁷ E.g., Pruner-Bey 1865b:548-55.

³⁸ E.g., Broca 1866. See also the exchange between Jean-Antoine-Victor Martin de Moussy (1810-1869) and Eugène Dally (Martin de Moussy 1866).

³⁹ Cannibalism remains a contentious issue in anthropology (e.g., Arens 1979; Barker, Hulme, and Iversen 1998; Goldman 1999; Obeyesekere 2005). With respect to Aboriginal Australians, Pickering (1999:67) concluded, on the basis of an extensive study of historical and ethnographic records, that 'the evidence, or rather lack of evidence, is more than sufficient to refute arguments that cannibalism was a traditional institution in Aboriginal societies'.

⁴⁰ Virchow (1884:413) reported a different response again from Toby who, he claimed, boasted of having killed men but said that he had never personally eaten them, though he had seen 'others' eating people.

⁴¹ See Figure 17. Cf. Poignant 1993, Anderson 2006.