

FROM THE ANTHROPOLOGIZED NATIVE TO THE EXHIBITED
'SAVAGE': ETHNOGRAPHIC EXHIBITIONS AT THE VICTORIAN
SPECTACLE DURING THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

İREM YILDIZ
Student Number: 110611048

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
MASTER OF ARTS PROGRAM IN CULTURAL STUDIES

Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. GÜLHAN BALSOY

2016

*To all great people in my life,
crying and laughing with me,
helping and supporting whenever I need it...*

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İREM YILDIZ

ISTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

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From the Anthropologized Native to the Exhibited 'Savage': Ethnographic Exhibitions
at the Victorian Spectacle During the Early Nineteenth Century

Anthropolojik Yerliden Sergilenen 'Vahşiy'e': Erken Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Viktoryen
Etnografik Sergiler

İrem Yıldız

110641048

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gülhan Balsoy (Thesis Advisor):

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Dikmen Bezmez:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Köksal:

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ABSTRACT

FROM THE ANTHROPOLOGIZED NATIVE TO THE EXHIBITED 'SAVAGE': ETHNOGRAPHIC EXHIBITIONS AT THE VICTORIAN SPECTACLE DURING THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Yıldız, İrem

M.A., Department of Cultural Studies
Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Gülhan Balsoy

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The nineteenth century was an important period when the British Empire pursued a strong imperial policy by expanding its boundaries both in political and economic ways. A significant source of the British colonialism was the cultural and more importantly 'scientific' penetration in the colonized lands, which helped Britain to carry its colonial power onto a more legitimate ground. One of the most important results of this penetration was the development of the anthropology a discipline that carried the colonialism to a 'scientific' level and it also continued to practice its methods and approaches by using the advantages provided by colonialism. In return, anthropology legitimized imperial power through scientific methods. The human ethnographic exhibitions and shows that are at the center of this thesis are located in between this mutual interaction, as they were aimed to remind the imperial and colonial power to the European public by displaying African men, women and children.

This thesis aims to survey the use of anthropology as a political tool by the British Empire during the production of colonial discourse as well as the history, content and public presentation of ethnographic exhibits. The main focus of this thesis is on the causes and effects of the constructed narratives within these displays, which were based upon the intertwined relationship between anthropology and the colonial discourse during the first half of the nineteenth century. The first chapter conducts an analysis of the transformation of the native as a result of the unequal encounters between the anthropologist and the native encounter. Since the ethnographic body or the body of the African black native, was viewed as 'savage', the second chapter aims to problematize how this transformation was being legitimized and how it became visible on the display stage. In the third chapter, the close relationship between the ethnographic body and the 'freak body' or between the ethnographic exhibitions and the 'freak shows' during the mid nineteenth century is surveyed based on historical materials such as posters, pictures and newspapers.

ÖZET

ANTROPOLOJİK YERLİDEN SERGİLENEN ‘VAHŞİYE’: ERKEN ON DOKUZUNCU YÜZYILDA VİKTORYEN ETNOGRAFİK SERGİLER

Yıldız, İrem
Yüksek Lisans, Kültürel İncelemeler Bölümü

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On dokuzuncu yüzyıl, İngiltere Hükümeti’nin hem politik hem de ekonomik yönde sınırlarını genişleterek, emperyalist politikalarını sağlamlaştırdığı önemli bir dönemdir. İngiliz sömürgeciliğin diğer bir besin kaynağı olan kültürel daha da önemlisi ‘bilimsel’ penetrasyon, sömürgeci gücün meşru zemine oturmasına yardımcı olmuştur. Bu penetrasyonun sonucunda ortaya çıkan antropoloji disiplini, sömürgeciliği hem ‘bilimsel’ düzeye taşımış aynı zamanda da sömürgecilikten faydalanarak kendi metot ve pratiklerini devam ettirmiştir. Bunun karşılığında ise, antropoloji, emperyalist güçlere ‘bilimsel’ kaynak sağlamıştır. Bu ikili ilişki arasında kalan etnografik sergiler, özellikle Afrika’dan getirilen kadın, erkek ve çocukları sergileyerek, sömürgeci gücü halka hatırlatmayı amaç edinmişlerdir.

Bu tez, sömürgeci söylemin üretim aşamasında İngiliz devletinin hizmetinde siyasi bir araç olarak kullanılan antropolojinin ve bu kullanım sırasında ortaya çıkan etnografik sergilerin tarihini, içeriğini ve halka sunuş şeklini ele almaktadır. Sömürgeci söylem ile antropolojinin iç içe geçmiş ilişkisini temel alan bu tez, on dokuzuncu yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki etnografik sergilerde kurgulanmış olan bu hikayenin nedenleri ve sonuçları üzerinde durmaktadır. Birinci bölüm, sömürgeci antropolog ve ‘yerlinin’ eşitsizlik üzerine kurulu karşılaşması ve yakınlaşması sonucunda yerlinin geçirmiş olduğu değişimi inceler. İkinci bölüm, bu değişimden sonra ortaya çıkan etnografik bedenini yani Afrikalı siyahi bedenin artık bir ‘barbar’ olarak görülme aşamasını ve bu değişimin sergi sahnesinde nasıl görünür ve aynı zamanda meşru kılındığını analiz eder. Üçüncü ve son bölümde ise özellikle 1850’lerle birlikte performatif bir alana evrilen sergilerin ‘barbarı’ sahnelerken kullanılan poster, resim ve gazete kaynaklarına dayanarak ‘ucube şovlardan’ yani ‘ucube’ bedenin sergilenmesinden pek de ayrılmadığı incelenmektedir.

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INTRODUCTION

a. My Personal Interest

When I was 8 years old, my mom took me to visit the Archaeological Museum in Antalya many times. Back then, museums seemed enjoyable to me. Antalya Museum's exhibits consisted mainly of archeological artefacts, which did not make any sense to me. Despite its name, the "Antalya Archeology Museum" did have many other sections such as ethnography section that made more sense to me. I could attribute meanings to those sections, because they were both entertaining, and helpful in imagining about the unknown. The ethnography section in the museum helped me to inquire and dream about distant, unreachable lands as well as their people. The ethnography section of the Antalya Museum had an exhibit on old houses of Antalya by displaying rooms side by side. In these rooms, they were showcasing daily life objects, furniture as well as mannequins to represent how 'local' people used to live in Antalya. Whenever I went to this museum, I always wanted to see these rooms that were depicting people as if they were living in their original or authentic places. As I have stated before, these exhibits were enjoyable and they provided me with the ability to visualize other worlds, people, cultures and times.

Years later, when I've began to my graduate studies, I started to read and write on museums and museology. However, making research on museums was enough for me. Thanks to the course named "Corporeity in Modern and Contemporary Thought" given by Selen Ansen, I met with 'abnormal' bodies on a scholarly level. The issues started to revolve in my mind, when I was taking Selen

Ansen's course "Corporeity in Modern and Contemporary Thought". For the final paper of this course, I found the Turkish translation of Catherine Pinguet's "L'exhibition de l'Autre dans la construction de l'identité occidentale: Le "zoo humain" et ses avatars."¹ Pinguet takes the "human zoos" as a concept for constructing the Western self by displaying the Other. Pinguet points out the effect of racial discourse in creating these exhibitions of "human zoos." Her article focuses on the interactions between the scientific hierarchy of races, creating image of the other and legitimizing the expansion of colonial empire.² After reading Pinguet's research, I started to make in-depth analyses on the concept of "human zoos" and its historical background.

In addition to my academic interest, my personal interest on Other bodies began to increase as well. During that time, my mother had vitiligo, which is a skin illness. Her face and body was covered by white spots. Since we were living in a world, where everybody liked to watch, gaze and look at 'unusual' bodies, those white spots on my mother's body aroused a visual interest by several people on the street. To tell you the truth, my academic interest on bodies that are exposed to visual interest began to shape in this way.

¹ Catherine Pinguet, "Batılı Kimliğin Oluşturulmasında Öteki'nin Segilenmesi: İnsanat Bahçesi ve Uğradığı Değişimler," *Cogito* 44–45, no. Kış (2006): 73–103. This is the very first piece regarding the exhibiting of human, translated to Turkish. Please see; Sibel Yardımcı, "Canavar: Kültüralizm Ne Zamandı?," E- Journal, *E-Skop: Art History Criticism*, accessed August 10, 2016, <http://www.e-skop.com/skopdergi/canavar-kulturalizm-ne-zamandi/928>.

² Pinguet, "Batılı Kimliğin Oluşturulmasında Öteki," 77–78.

b. Scope and Aim of the Question

The research question I investigated in this thesis is studying the history of ethnographic human exhibitions, broadly speaking. It entails around the idea of problematizing the transformation of ‘native’³ into ‘savage’ by pointing out the relations between anthropology and colonialism. My research question puts emphasis on the British context and its historical background on creating these displays and exhibitions from the beginning of nineteenth century.

My starting point was to re-narrate Pascal Blanchard’s statement, which examines the Western invention of colonized people within the “human zoos” context, which was newly discovered term by historians.⁴ The concept of “human zoos” were expanded in the early nineteenth century in relation to the rise of theories of the scientific hierarchy of races, creation of images of the Other and legitimization of the expansion of the colonial empire.⁵ This term includes the practices of “exhibition, performance, education and domination.”⁶ For Blanchard, the West invented the “savage” through gazing, spectacles, performers, shows, exhibitions and narratives.⁷ In this context, if we re-conceptualize Blanchard’s statement, an important question arises: how were the way of spectacles, exhibitions or any kind of narratives accepted? During the invention of the savage, did Western perception use any other practices or people? If there were other cultural and/or scientific practices,

³ The word ‘native’ represents the nineteenth century discourse, which has brought with colonial and racial connotations. Since the word was invented during the nineteenth century by the European mind, I use the word native that I do not want to take away from its original context. Since the postcolonial theory has approached the word ‘native’ in critical, they prefer to use the word ‘indigenous’ in order to criticize the nineteenth century connotations.

⁴ Pascal Blanchard, ed., *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2011).

⁵ Piguet, 77-78.

⁶ Blanchard, *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage*, 16.

⁷ Ibid.

how could these practices be related to exhibitionary order? Yet, the concept of “human zoos” expands its disciplinary boundaries and focuses on various fields such as history, anthropology and sociology.

In a public level, the concept of human zoos appeared in between the 29th of November 2011 and the 3rd of June 2012, at the Quai de Branly Museum in Paris with a title *Exhibitions. L'invention du sauvage (Exhibitions: Invention of the Savage)*. This exhibition was the outcome of the conference that started in Marseille in 2001 with the title *Mémoire colonial: zoos humains? Corps Exotiques, corps enfermés, corps mesurés*. (Colonial Memory: Human Zoos, Exotic Bodies, Caged Bodies, Measured Bodies). This exhibition aimed to unveil the history of men, women and children brought from Africa, Asia, Oceania and America to be displayed in the Western world during shows, theaters, world fairs, circuses or reconstructed villages. Exhibiting of non-Western world in the Western display areas started around sixteenth century and continued mid twentieth century.⁸ The title of the exhibition was the “Invention of the Savage”, which presented the fact that how the Western mind created the Other in regard to people from colonial lands, thus legitimizing their sovereignty in these regions. The exhibition attempted to tell this historical story with the help of paintings, old photographs, films, posters and postcards. Although the term is discovered recently, the phenomenon of dislocating “native” people and placing them on stage has a history.

Carl Hagenbeck used the word “anthropozoological” to define the zoological history of humanity, which can still be seen in cultural evolution of the human species. He made contracts/mutual partnership with displayed people in order to get

⁸ “Exhibitions: Human Zoos,” accessed August 6, 2016, <http://www.quaibranly.fr/en/exhibitions-and-events/at-the-museum/exhibitions/event-details/e/exhibitions-34408/>.

an attraction and curiosity from the audience. This was the combination of exoticism and knowledge, fantasy and rationality that was the time when ‘human zoos’ appeared.⁹ Instead of the concept of “human zoos”, the term called “anthropozoological exhibitions”, re-used by Nadja Durbach, presents details on how the anthropological man became a part of the zoological display. Paul Greenhalgh, in his book *Ephemeral Vistas*, which covers the period from 1889 to 1914, uses the term ‘human showcases’.

In addition to the personally organized exhibitions, the mid nineteenth century was the time when institutional exhibitions began to emerge. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of the World Exhibition, also known as World Fair or Expo. The first one was held by the Great Britain in London 1851. “This type of exhibition model consisted of shows where manufactured products and traded materials of participating countries as well as peoples and traditions of the colonial world were exhibited under national pavilions.”¹⁰ In London 1851, more than twenty five nations and many colonial territories were invited to exhibit their products, raw materials in Crystal Palace for the first world exhibition. It provided a large monumental building in which all colonial territories were to exhibit their materials in separate spaces. However, the 1867 Paris Exhibition was also an important exhibition area which gave first spatial order and hierarchy of nations were visible in the exhibition area.¹¹ Non-Europeans were displayed in their constructed tents to demonstrate their own indigenous life styles. These represented indigenous villages were important since they displayed models in these exhibitions.

⁹ I.b.i.d.

¹⁰ İlkey B. Ayvaz, “The Empire’s Exhibition and the City’s Biennial: Contemporary Implications of World as Picture,” *Unpublished MA Thesis*, (Bogazici University, 2010),6.

¹¹ Z. Çelik, *Şarkın Sergilenişi: 19. Yüzyıl Dünya Fuarlarında İslam Mimarisi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), 57.

The racist discourse was utilized and re-narrated through the representation of these non-European life styles in order to suggest *Social Darwinism* to public life.¹² This new model of exhibition created an independent display zone for indigenous cultures especially for the colonial world. This desire has also translated itself into involving real people staging up in their original costumes and daily lives.

Throughout the 19th century, the phenomenon of exhibiting/displaying Otherness went hand in hand with anthropology, racism and colonial discourse. The concept of human displays turned a difference into an invisible frontier between “them” and “us”. This dichotomy was related with “racism, segregation and eugenics ideas which were able to penetrate public opinion while entertaining them.”¹³ There was an impact of racial alterations in creating such exhibits in order to differentiate the Western Self from the non-Western Other. However, studying the content of these exhibitions through racial issues and by making historical analysis cannot be taken as a unilateral topic.

Therefore, this thesis is a combination of three main concepts, colonialism/ colonial discourse, anthropology and human ethnographic exhibitions. The first chapter, examines the effect of British anthropology in the processes of transforming the indigenous people from native into ‘savage’, and how the anthropological practice was influential in this process during the early nineteenth century. By focusing on anthropological practices such as the birth of travel genre and ethnographic writing as well as its actors, this chapter attempts to make a self-critical break with anthropology’s colonial past. The overall purpose of this chapter is to provide a preliminary theoretical insight into the colonial discourse and to show

¹² Piguet, 83.

¹³ I.b.i.d.

how colonial discourse has a great impact on using scientific methods, anthropological frameworks and describing of “the Other”.

In this chapter, I focus on this complex and challenging connection, which started around 1970s. Here, I borrow from Talal Asad’s work, the *Anthropology and Colonial Encounter* (1973), which supports the idea of “a self-critical break with anthropology’s previously uncritical past.”¹⁴ Here, I have two sets of research questions. The first set deals with the relationship between colonialism and ethnographic exhibitions and engages with questions such as how does the narrative structure of the display genre (world fairs, museums, human exhibitions or side shows) reflect the Western colonial world/discourse? The second set of question deals with the way the fields of science and entertainment are articulated in the staging and displaying of the Other. in exhibitions,, shows and world fairs¹⁵.

In the second chapter, the history of the display genre and its ‘legitimate’ role in displaying the Other is examined in order to observe the link between the impact of colonial discourse in shaping these ethnographic human exhibitions. While doing this, postcolonial theory has provided useful tools for analyzing the representations of the otherness; besides the integration of body politics and racial theories are becoming more and more useful for analyzing the visual materials such as posters, advertisements and pamphlets.

¹⁴ Phil Shadd, “Putting Power in Order,” *Totem: The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology* 14, no. 1/8 (2006): 78.

¹⁵ I am well aware that, there are three main concepts to define the world exhibitions; world fairs, universal exhibitions and universal expositions. Despite they have common points based on their exhibition structure, they belong to different histories, cultures and political situations. In some ways, it is also impossible to draw clear cut line between these concepts. Please see, Robert Rydell, “Foreword,” in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World’s Fairs*, ed. Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2010), vii–viii. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

Along these lines, this chapter is closely related with a peak period of anthropological studies. The hierarchy of racists was theorized in an academic and hypothetical way. In addition to that, the representation of “Other” was constructed in a way to legitimize the colonial discourse. The “human zoo” exhibitions were playing a significant role about “shifting from academic racism through popular racism.”¹⁶ I, personally, do not prefer to re-narrate the concept of human zoos, and it is not possible to draw a clear cut distinction between the display of savage people and exhibitions of physical anomalies. Therefore, I would like to use the term called “ethnographic (human) exhibitions or shows” in order to refer to the exhibitions that were carried by famous ethnographers, ethnologists and anthropologists, especially starting with Saartja Baartman till the late nineteenth century.

The final chapter starts with asking theoretical questions on ‘freak discourse’ and its close relation to human ethnographic shows. The concept of ‘freak show’ is examined in order to explain how the ethnographic shows went hand in hand with the ‘freak discourse’. Exhibiting “Other” cultures include some problems about how the image of “Other” is portrayed and transformed into the “exhibitionary order”. These ethnographic human exhibitions face with problems in terms of representation of “native”, impact of colonial and also hegemonic “power” on “indigenous” societies. As Blanchard states the West invented “the savage” through gazing, spectacles, performers, shows, exhibitions, museums and also narratives.¹⁷ These exhibitions were related to the time of scientific racism and a time when Man (non-westerners) thought as an “exotics” or “monsters”. These non-westerners were different, inferior and treated like “Other” beings. The display was not enough to

¹⁶ C. Piguet, 78.

¹⁷ P. Blanchard, *Human Zoos: The Invention of Savage* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2011), 16.

describe the activity of ethnographic shows, there were also huge number of people who wanted to see these activities. The public was curious and this became a performative space through the spectacle of the “savage”.

The nineteenth-century was, actually, the age of transformation the native body into an object of anthropology. Presumably, studying the native in their natural space would not satisfy anthropologists’ scientific interest and passion. In the mid-nineteenth century, the human specimens were imported by scientists, when the method of observation was being preferred in Western scientific laboratories rather than observing them in *natural* space. Curiosity was the main trigger to collect objects and bring them to the Western lands. Penetrating into distant lands and possessing the objects by collecting and displaying them was not probably enough for the Western mind. Since studying artefacts, objects and relics were not enough to prove the ‘scientific’ statements, scientists and practitioners needed to touch, to handle as well as to study not just by looking at the objects but searching, questioning and penetrating into the place of ‘native’. Therefore, anthropologists began to collect and even bring cultural and corporeal objects along the way to Europe. Thus, the collecting desire shifted its form into collecting and displaying human bodies.

This collecting activity took place in the nineteenth century, when the British Empire reached its zenith period by expanding the colonial powers through distant lands. Therefore, this thesis below brings up debates and arguments about the intertwined connection between the colonial discourse/colonial history and anthropology and its role on creating these ethnographic human exhibitions. Within the analysis of ‘colonial anthropology’, it also puts emphasis on the effect of

anthropology's colonial past to the origins of the exhibition genre and the creation of Otherness in legitimate way.

1. CHAPTER
ANTHROPOLOGY AS A POLITICAL AND A SCIENTIFIC ENCOUNTER
WITH NATIVE PEOPLE

“Well, it’s fascinating. You are looking at me like someone in a zoo, but why don’t you watch yourself in a mirror and look at yourself? Maybe one day I’ll come around, get my camera and start studying you people.”
–Ephraim Bani

The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York Mariner, is a novel written by Daniel Defoe in 1719. Even though the novel is viewed as a fiction, it has been inspired by and carries the traces of actual historical details of colonialism and anthropological depictions. Daniel Defoe was an author, writer as well as a trader, pamphleteer and spy, born in England in 1660. The context of Defoe’s novel is shaped and influenced by the colonial history of British Empire. Thus, critics examine the novel by referring to it as a literary text about the history of British imperialism. As a postcolonial critic, Edward Said argues that the novel is about a European, who creates a world for himself on a non-European island.¹⁸ For Said, Robinson Crusoe’s mission is to reach distant lands- the African continent.¹⁹ When he reaches the island, first he meets with the remoteness and the alteration of the territory. Then, he masters the native man, Friday, who is depicted in the novel as pleased to be missionized, Christianized and civilized by Crusoe, soon to be his

¹⁸ Edward W Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), xiii.

¹⁹ Ibid., 75.

“master”.²⁰ This unequal relationship reflects two important attitudes of Europeans toward native people: a mixture of the fear of the ‘primitive’ body and the desire to civilize them.²¹ Therefore, the content of the novel is composed of these two attitudes, which can also be read as one of the earliest anthropological depictions reflecting how the Western anthropological and ethnological descriptions portrayed the non-Western territory as well as people. Since the earliest anthropological thought emerged in Western travel writings during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Defoe’s novel can, therefore, be taken as a textual representation of the non-Western native on an anthropological basis. In this regard, the novel can be read not only as a piece of eighteenth century literary work, but also as a piece of “anthropological treatise”²² that embodies the mechanisms of unexpected colonial as well as anthropological encounter and reflects how the world of the native is being transformed into to an anthropological object of inquiry.

Defoe’s novel encompasses around two issues: colonial and anthropological encounter. Why do I use the word encounter instead of using discovery? Fifteenth century starts the age of discovery when European colonial and commercial explorations began to get in *touch*²³ with cultures and peoples on a worldwide level.

²⁰ Harry Liebersohn, “Anthropology before Anthropology,” in *A New History of Anthropology*, ed. Henrika Kuklick (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008), 27.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Jacques Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign, Volume II*, ed. Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud, trans. Geoffrey Bennington (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 133.

²³ I specifically prefer to use the word ‘touch’, which refers to Jacques Derrida’s argument; “it is time to speak of the voice that touches- always at a distance, like the eye.” Derrida calls it “distance touching.” Adapting Derrida’s analysis to early anthropological methods, distance is a key and a necessary element for the nineteenth century anthropologists, because the object of inquiry as Luce Irigaray states, “must be kept at a distance” and it must be under the control of anthropologist. Please see; Jacques Derrida, *On Touching, Jean-Luc Nancy*, trans. Christine Irizarry (California: Stanford University Press, 2005) 112-301. Luce Irigaray, “Veiled Lips,” trans. Sara Speidel, *Mississippi Review* 11, no. 3 (January 1, 1983): 105.

Since then, the European discoveries increasingly expanded by the time of the publication of Robinson Crusoe in 1719. The term ‘discovery’ is a problematic one since being a transitive term that implies an object, and it also implies the passive status of the native who accordingly is being ‘found’ and ‘discovered’ by the Europeans. In agreement with the recent trend in history, in this thesis I use the term ‘encounter’, which implies a reciprocal relationship, rather than a hegemonic and one-way mode of approaching the “Other”, other than self.²⁴ However, these linguistic debates and the effort to find a more ‘friendly’, pacifist term does not change the fact that nineteenth century Western imperial powers have penetrated into non-Western cultures and invaded them by different means. In addition to the political, social and historical aspects of this ‘penetration’ and hegemony upon non-Western countries and territories, there is also an anthropological aspect which is of importance since it has provided support to the latter and has contributed to the shaping of a world perception and mapping.

This chapter focuses on the intersection of anthropology with the colonial history, which has been a crucial issue due to the understanding of the status of the native during the anthropological and colonial encounter. In order to interpret the characteristics and effects of this anthropological penetration, this chapter will examine the history of British anthropology, which had connection with two interrelated issues; one was the imperial expansion of Britain, and the other one was the adaptation of ‘scientific’ approaches. Therefore, this chapter will study the history of anthropology focusing on the nineteenth century, due to the relations of

²⁴ The word ‘encounter’ has been used by not only historians but also archaeologists. Please see, Per Cornell and Fredrik Fahlander, eds., *Encounters | Materialities | Confrontations: Archaeologies of Social Space and Interaction* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007). In addition to this, postcolonial theory has opened a field for archaeologists as well. Please see, Peter Van Dommelen, “Colonial Matters: Material Culture and Postcolonial Theory in Colonial Situations,” in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Chris Tilley et al. (London: SAGE, 2006AD), 104–24.

colonialism, impact of scientific and observational methodologies and the consequences of the encounter between the anthropologist and native in three main parts.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the historical relations between anthropology and colonialism, and concerns the development of anthropological practices in the nineteenth century, during which colonialism took place. In discussing the relations of anthropology with nineteenth century colonialism, there are two sorts of issues involved: the impact of British colonialism on anthropological practices and the effect of producing an anthropological knowledge in maintaining the colonial world. Taking its point of departure from Talal Asad's perspective regarding the role of anthropology in aiding the British colonial and imperial expansion, this part also brings up many other critiques and arguments to analyze the mechanism of the relationship between colonialism and anthropology.

The next part of this chapter will refer to the production of anthropological knowledge and the anthropological encounter starting from the fifteenth century, but placing more emphasis on the nineteenth century when the British Empire reached its peak point in terms of an imperial and a colonial state. Here, I will intend to examine the context of Western subject's curiosity; the desire to reach the non-Western lands and the interest for the native's so-called 'exoticness'. I will first attempt to trace the production of anthropological knowledge starting from the birth of travel genre till the nineteenth century.

The final part of this chapter takes a critical approach upon the problematic stance of the anthropological encounter. During the colonial period, the production of the anthropological knowledge has created ambivalent boundaries between the

anthropologist and the anthropologized²⁵ native, between the observer and the observed. This can not only create an encounter between the anthropologist and the native; but it also creates temporal boundaries between the anthropologist, who posits himself as a subject, and the native, who is being posited as an object of anthropology defined by Johannes Fabian in *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (1983). Following the effect of temporal boundaries, the final part of this chapter will examine the transformation of the non-Western native into an object of inquiry within the temporal constructions. As a result, this chapter does not only deal with the relationship between colonialism and anthropology, but it also re-conceptualizes the anthropologist-native encounter in terms of the effects of temporal constructions.

The history of British colonialism helps me to problematize new questions about the relationship between the development of anthropological framework and the mechanisms of colonial encounter in the nineteenth century mindset. As postcolonial critics put new emphasis on the impact of colonial discourse on the ethnographical research, they pointed out the reciprocal relationship between anthropology and colonialism. In this chapter, I will make a literature review and critical assessment in order to define the impact of colonialism to the development of discipline and to analyze how were anthropological practices and figures nourished by the colonial discourse. I will, then, analyze the mechanisms of this unequal relationship between the anthropologists and the 'native'. As Defoe drew our attention to this unequal colonial and anthropological encounter, my main question revolves around: what happens when anthropologist meet with 'native'?

²⁵ Anthony Cohen, *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994), 5.

1.1. Colonial Relations and the History of Anthropology

The intersection of British imperial history and the birth of anthropological research has become a major issue for social scientists, historians and anthropologists.²⁶ Therefore, rather than defining what anthropology is, which historical transformations the discipline has experienced or what anthropological practice(s) consist of. In this thesis, I specifically focus on colonialism as a fundamental backbone of anthropology. In the context of this research, the backbone of anthropology is colonialism.²⁷ Since colonialism²⁷ cannot be considered as a single and unilateral issue, it is the mode of governing which has been carried and followed the “European pattern of domination, violence, invasion, exploitation or using power over others”²⁸, while on the other hand it was “an encounter with European knowledge, techniques and modes of representation.”²⁹ By accepting colonialism as a matter of European encounters, which take place in the space of African natives, this thesis chooses to focus more precisely on the nineteenth century, a historical

²⁶ Wendy James, “The Anthropologist as Reluctant Imperialist,” in *Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter*, ed. Talal Asad (London: Ithaca Press, 1975), 41–69; Talal Asad, ed., “Introduction: Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter,” in *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1975), 9–19; Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

²⁷ The word ‘colonialism’ is derived from the Latin word *colonia*, meaning a Roman settlement in a newly conquered region. Catherine Hall prefers to use colonialism to describe the use of European exploitation on ‘other’ people. I would not prefer to use colonialism only as a matter of European dominance on non-European others. Instead, I prefer to open up the meaning of colonialism and expand the definition of Franz Fanon’s who defines the colonialism as a practice of mutual relations between colonizer and colonized. Please see; Catherine Hall, “Introduction: Thinking the Postcolonial, Thinking the Empire,” in *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader*, ed. Catherine Hall (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000), 5–6.

²⁸ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox, New Edition (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 40.

²⁹ John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 19.

period during when the colonies of the British Empire were expanded through the African continent.

From the sixteenth century onward, the British Empire enlarged its territories as part of its gradual imperial expansion. By the mid-nineteenth century, the territory of the Empire encompassed 26 percent of the world's total population.³⁰ The colonies of the British Empire -including Australia, New Zealand, and Canada-, expanded into the African continent, and colonial officials were assigned to rule in these regions. In his historical and critical essay on British Imperialism, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-2000*, Bernard Porter mentions that, there was an unequal form of government between the British colonies. For instance, Australia had its own prime ministers, whereas the British colonial administrators governed the Gold Coast of Africa dictatorially.³¹ The colonial power is based upon the rule of difference and the creation of categories, which differentiates among the colonies of settlement. Australia and Africa were not governed in the same way, because the racial and ethnic factors went into deciding which regions got their own governors and others were subdued under dictatorships. Partha Chatterjee calls this unequal colonial way of governing "the rule of colonial difference."³² For Chatterjee, colonial power is based on the creation and preservation of alienation, namely on the distinction established between colonizers and colonized.³³

³⁰ Christopher Alan Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London: Longman, 1989), 3.

³¹ Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850-2004*, 4th ed. (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2004), 13–14.

³² Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1993), 10.

³³ Ibid.

The constitution of colonial power on the African continent was accomplished at the Berlin Conference (1884-1885). This conference was aimed to make an agreement on imperial boundaries to prevent any future political problems among European nations.³⁴ Between 1881 and 1914, seven European nations - Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy invaded and took control of the great majority of the African continent. While 10% of Africa was European control in 1870; that number has increased to 90% by 1914. This division and restructuring of the African continent - known as the Scramble for Africa, Partition of Africa or the Conquest of Africa- was definitely a very important historical threshold during the colonial period. Between the mid and late nineteenth century, Britain became one of the largest colonial powers in Africa. In *the Age of Empire: 1875-1914*, Eric Hobsbawm has stated that, one of the strongest colonial powers was the British Empire, which had placed colonies in order to take the control of distant lands and sea.³⁵ European states sought to gain the control of natural resources in Africa, which made the Europeans more powerful in economical way.³⁶ Nineteenth century British colonialism can simply be defined as an imperial system with an emphasis on the settlement of territory, economic exploitation and an attempt to govern colonized inhabitants and their occupied lands by force.³⁷ Why were the British powers so obsessed with setting up a colonial power in Africa?

One of the most recent book published about the colonial relations between Europe and Africa is *The African Experience* (2016), written by Vincent Khapoya,

³⁴ Vincent B. Khapoya, "Colonialism and the African Experience," in *The African Experience* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 99–100.

³⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875- 1914* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 67.

³⁶ Ali A. Mazrui, "European Exploration and Africa's Self-Discovery," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7, no. 4 (1969): 661–76.

³⁷ Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2.

who expands Ali Mazrui's statements in his article titled "European Exploration and Africa's Self Discovery" (1969) by providing three main reasons for the European colonial interest on the African region: scientific, religious and political. The first reason was collecting scientific knowledge about the unknown continent. Europeans began to discover the African geography and studied on African people, culture and life. The second reason was dependent upon missionary works, which aimed to convert African to Christianity. The last reason was based on imperialism, the passion by Europeans to reach to distant lands and to politically govern them. For Khapoya, these three reasons are very much interconnected. The geopolitical importance of Africa was of great political interest to the imperial powers. For instance, during the beginning of the nineteenth century, Britain occupied the southern coastal side of Africa as a military district, which gave them a geopolitical advantage to fight against France.

From the eighteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century, European colonial nations had been working on having a status of power and wealth status. This interest was mostly nourished by the psychological motivation "of being a great power"³⁸. This psychological motivation was followed with the expansion of colonial powers, which can be considered in geographical or economical terms, as well as in cultural ones. The cultural interest of colonization was deeply based upon the European ethnocentric thought that has agreed with the idea that non-Europeans were socially, technologically and politically inferior. These European racist or ethnocentric perspectives were partly rooted in Christianity, which aimed to spread

³⁸ Khapoya, "Colonialism and the African Experience," 104. By saying "psychological satisfaction of being a great power", Khapoya implies the psychological self-importance felt by Europeans in controlling the continent alone. For instance, Britain wanted to colonize and penetrate to whole continent by itself. The competition among the European powers were based upon the reason why they wanted to be great power in the colonial lands.

the Christian doctrine to non-Christian lands.³⁹ In this regard, Ali Mazrui's article, pointing out the three reasons of European colonialism and Vincent Khapoya's statements include important points to understand the backstage of the European colonial motivation in possessing the African continent.

In addition to the historical side of colonialism, postcolonial studies are interested in to making the analysis and producing critiques of 'colonial discourses'. This discourse as a phrase takes attention to the variety of texts and practices produced within their 'own' imperial regions, and this discourse produces politics by applying the colonial hegemony to Other regions.⁴⁰ The colonial discourse has been deconstructed and problematized by using the postcolonial theory. This is a theoretical approach, which is creating critical questions and possible answers to the process of how and why the West created and constructed certain kinds of knowledge about the non-Western regions and cultures, especially those that were governed under the colonial power. Edward Said's *Orientalism* was framed around idea that the European culture produced, shaped and constituted the Orient in social, political, ideological, scientific and even imaginative contexts during the post-Enlightenment period.⁴¹ That production was made through discourses, which created the Orient as an object of power. Said claimed that such practices of power, produced through academic disciplines such as history, anthropology and philology, were playing a significant role in maintaining the control of colonial rule over the

³⁹ The racial categorization was dependent upon the idea in which God categorized and marked people with distinctive 'racial' features. Charles Darwin's publication made the first serious challenge to the Biblical 'racial' explanation and taxonomies. Please see; Nathaniel Gates, "Volume Introduction," in *Critical Race Theory: Essays on the Social Construction and Reproduction of "Race"* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997), viii.

⁴⁰ Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margeret Iverson, "Introduction: Colonial Discourse/ Postcolonial Theory," in *Colonial Discourse/ Postcolonial Theory*, ed. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margeret Iverson (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1994), 2.

⁴¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 5.

non-European regions. Those productions depended on various binary oppositions between Europeans and non-Europeans which always shaped and defined the latter as an 'uncivilized', 'barbarous', 'exotic' and 'savage'. This can also be taken as an encounter, happened between Europeans and their 'others' that began when the colonial formation was taking place during the nineteenth century.

These binary oppositions between 'us' and 'them' was the core issue of creating a colonial discourse around the non-European world in the nineteenth century.⁴² In that sense, this discourse was produced by this colonial encounter between the West and the non-West. However, Homi K. Bhabha suggests that the colonial encounter and discourse can not be thought to be unified and unidirectional. The notion of the "ambivalent, contradictory mode of representation"⁴³ presents the ambivalence side of colonial discourse. Based on Bhabha's suggestion, the colonial discourse, always reproduces itself, cannot be limited to certain categories, geographies and histories, it can be seen in any part of daily life and it is visible in any kind of sovereign, active and powerful discourses, sites, places, and representations, etc.

In creating a colonial discourse, language is playing a significant role. Said defines the language by pointing out the relationship between the representation and language, which is central in the process of meaning production.⁴⁴ Based on Said's understanding, if the author who uses the language and produces meanings, in order to represent his/her outer world, then the author gains the authority. However, by

⁴² Etymological meaning of the word 'identity' is closely related to the colonial discourse. The term identity is derived from the Latin word 'identitas' which is formed from 'idem' and it means the 'same'. Thus it expresses the notion of sameness and likeness.

⁴³ Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," in *The Location of Culture* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), 70.

⁴⁴ Stuart Hall, "Introduction," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2002), 1.

saying language, I do not imply a speech or certain form of vocabulary. John Scott argues that language is not to be understood as simply words, vocabulary or as a set of grammatical rules; rather language is a system of constitution of a meaning and it organizes cultural practices “by which people represent and understand their world, including who they are and how they relate to others.”⁴⁵ This is a dialogue as Stuart Hall defines that it is “always an unequal exchange.”⁴⁶ Colonial discourse was obviously not an equal encounter, rather it was based upon ways of differences. In that sense, what was the impact of creating a difference within the colonial encounter?

Himani Bannerji defines the concept of difference by arguing that “social relations of power and ruling, not as what people intrinsically are, but what they are ascribed as in the context of domination.”⁴⁷ Differences, whether of race, ethnicity or gender, are culturally produced, and they are always integrated with the power. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about fixed and stable differences. They are always reproduced and applied to certain disciplines, practices and representations, when the colonial encounter takes place in. From the time of colonial encounters, the increasing interactions between Europeans and non-Europeans produced a new category, race. In that sense, the concept of race is one of the crucial categories that has been nourished by the concept of difference. At this point, the questions become: what was the relationship between the emergence of racial difference and the histories of colonial projects? What were the concrete forms and consequences of British colonialism in Africa during the late nineteenth century?

⁴⁵ John W. Scott, “Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism,” *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 1 (1988): 32.

⁴⁶ Hall, “Introduction,” 4.

⁴⁷ Himani Bannerji, “Politics and the Writing of History,” in *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, ed. Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998), 287.

Gathering scientific knowledge about the unknown of the periphery and distant lands, such as the African continent (later called the ‘Dark Continent’) would be the best option to explain the obsessive curiosity of the European explorers.⁴⁸ This curiosity was carried on a ‘scientific’ platform, since many of the early explorers worked as geographers, scientists, ethnographers and anthropologists. As Catherine Hall has noted, colonization starts with the possession of lands and people by mapping, describing, defining them, differentiating them from themselves, writing them in their own language, depicting and representing them visually and even liberating, *civilizing* them.⁴⁹ The “civilizing” mission of the European colonizers were based upon the idea that Africans were backward and uncivilized. In addition to the requirement of the civilizing missions, the European colonial mindset was obsessed with the physical properties of the African people, whose skin color and physical properties led Europeans to believe that colonization was a necessary process.⁵⁰ Therefore, the colonial world needed members of various fields of study such as geography, arts, botany, science, medicine as well as literature, to study these “Other” peoples and legitimize colonization. Nicholas Dirks argues that, the colonial world enlarged its territories of conquest with the help of cartography, geography and even botany.⁵¹ Hence, nineteenth century constitutes a significant period, not only in terms of the British expansion in political and economical spheres, but also due to the development of - ‘scientific’ - disciplines including anthropology.

⁴⁸ The word ‘dark’ was referred to the ‘unexplored’ lands of Africa. However, the colour of dark attributes to the racial issues which the corporeality of the African ‘black’ body started to be articulated in the European political speech.

⁴⁹ Hall, “Introduction: Thinking the Postcolonial, Thinking the Empire,” 25.

⁵⁰ Khapoya, “Colonialism and the African Experience,” 106–7.

⁵¹ Nicholas B. Dirks, “Introduction: Colonialism and Culture,” in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks, The Comparative Studies in Society and History Book Series (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 6.

Colonialism was related to various practices, methodologies and disciplines, among which stands anthropology, also engaged in the colonial project, by utilizing the colonial stage as a laboratory.⁵² This relationship cannot be taken as unilateral or one way, but rather as a reciprocal relationship which effects or mutually nourishes or hinders each other. This is the precise point where I build my argument on: what were the relationships between anthropology and colonialism or, in short ‘colonial anthropology’? Instead of discussing the relations between anthropology and colonialism on a historical level, I intend to point out how colonialism and anthropology are reciprocally related with and how they mutually nourish each other.

1.1.1. Anthropology as a Colonial Field: A Critical Approach

The relation of colonialism with anthropological methods and practices has been one of the most controversial issues in the historiography of anthropology established as a field of inquiry and knowledge upon the postcolonial criticisms.⁵³ In the 1960s and 1970s, critics such as Kathleen Gough (1968), Dell Hymes (1969), and Talal Asad (1975) have raised fundamental questions about the political role of British anthropologists and their colonial interactions. Their main arguments have involved the relation of anthropology to western imperialism⁵⁴ and the status of anthropology as a practice of “scientific colonialism”⁵⁵. Although, today these arguments have been rejected by many others, we still use these critical arguments,

⁵² Hall, “Introduction: Thinking the Postcolonial, Thinking the Empire,” 25.

⁵³ Please see; Dell H. Hymes, *Reinventing Anthropology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974). Kathleen Gough, “New Proposals for Anthropologists,” *Current Anthropology* 9, no. 5 (December 1, 1968): 403–35; Asad, “Introduction: Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter,” 9–19; Diane Lewis, “Anthropology and Colonialism,” *Current Anthropology* 14, no. 5 (December 1973): 581–602.

⁵⁴ Claude Levi-Strauss, “Anthropology: Its Achievements and Future,” *Current Anthropology* 7, no. 2 (April 1, 1966): 124–27; Gough, “New Proposals for Anthropologists.”

⁵⁵ Johan Galtung, “Scientific Colonialism,” *Transition*, no. 30 (April 1, 1967): 11–15; Lewis, “Anthropology and Colonialism.”

emerged in the 70s, in our works. Therefore, with the help of postcolonial and critical studies, anthropology now became a discipline that can confront with its colonial past.

The assumption that Western colonialism was associated with anthropology became an issue of great interest to many of us. Since the 1950s, critics have been working and focusing on the history of anthropology within the history of Western colonialism. This issue has gained a new dimension, when the book, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* was published by Talal Asad in 1973. Asad, supports the idea that during the nineteenth century, the British colonial presence had an effect on the development of anthropological studies. Emphasizing the relations between anthropology and colonialism, Asad does not question whether anthropologists were or were not involved in supporting and helping the British colonialism in Africa⁵⁶, he rather examines how anthropology took a colonial mission throughout history⁵⁷. Asad does not merely intend to look at the history of British anthropology as a reflection of the colonial system or to study the development of anthropology as a discipline or even to approach the history of anthropology as a product of colonial era⁵⁸. Instead, he prefers to take the history of British anthropology by referring to colonialist attempts that were based upon political authority and legitimacy.⁵⁹ For Asad, it is important to examine the history of the nineteenth century and the political role of European anthropologists who were taking various colonial

⁵⁶ Bob Scholte, "Reply. Letter to the Editors," *New York Review of Books*, January 23, 1975, 45.

⁵⁷ Asad, "Introduction: Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter," 18–19.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

positions, such as merchants, missionaries, and colonial administrators, and at the same time, providing various information to the British Empire.⁶⁰

Based on Asad's arguments, Western imperialism was mostly implicated in the development of British anthropology. The colonial actors of the empires were critical figures in the project of European exploration, imperial expansion and as well as producing the anthropological knowledge. For example, Sir George Grey (1812-1898) who was one of the well-known colonial governors in the mid-nineteenth century, worked as a British colonial proconsul, a missionary, and a traveler. Throughout Grey's years as a colonial governor, he was interested in collecting ethnographical materials of the Maori culture, and in the end, he published his findings.⁶¹ George Stocking's *Victorian Anthropology* (1987) describes Grey as an ethnographer, a colonial despot and a supporter of Anglo-Saxon imperialism.⁶² Since colonialism transformed the colonized space into a territory of research for the discipline of anthropology⁶³, George Grey took an active role both in the imperial government and as well as in the anthropological field.

In her essay, *The Anthropologist and Reluctant Imperialist* (1975), Wendy James suggests that the development of social anthropology was a source for a "radical criticism" of the colonial order.⁶⁴ As James states it, anthropology became a political field and thus anthropologists became the ones who worked for the colonial

⁶⁰ Talal Asad, "From the History of Colonial Anthropology to the Anthropology of Western Hegemony," in *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*, ed. George W. Stocking, vol. 7, History of Anthropology (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 315.

⁶¹ Maori Culture is the culture of the Maori people who live in New Zealand. This culture began interacting with British colonial settlers in the early nineteenth century.

⁶² George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 81–87.

⁶³ Eyal Ben-Ari, "Colonialism, Anthropology and the Politics of Professionalisation: An Argumentative Afterword," in *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, ed. Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 1998), 384.

⁶⁴ James, "The Anthropologist as Reluctant Imperialist," 42.

power to gather information on the native people.⁶⁵ Pointing to their intimate relationship with colonial power, Wendy James uses the term ‘colonial anthropologists’ for the people who fulfilled political roles by collecting anthropological information and presenting it as a scientific basis for the imperial government and the legitimacy of the European sovereignty.⁶⁶ In James’ analysis, the term ‘colonial anthropology’ is a crucial way of demonstrating the anthropological position of colonial administrators who worked for the imperial system while doing ethnographic research and working on colonized regions. According to Eyal Ben-Ari, colonial anthropology should be taken as a social science, which developed and evolved with various actors in it. For Ben-Ari, colonial anthropology entails around the relations between anthropologists and other colonial actors, or in other words it is the interlaced relationship between the scientific field and the political space. Therefore, colonial anthropologists provided two essential resources for the imperial world: gathering anthropological facts on the non-Western ‘colonized’ ones and ensuring a political legitimacy.⁶⁷

During the nineteenth century, when Britain reached its peak point as an imperial and a colonial state, anthropologists worked for the imperial system by gathering ethnographic information. For instance, James Hunt (1833-1869) who was working for the Ethnological Society of London, worked for promoting the discipline especially to the colonial world. The political status of Hunt gives us clues about being a colonial anthropologist, who had a political role in forming and providing an anthropological narrative regarding the life, culture and bodily features of native people. According to Efram Sera-Shriar, Hunt was actively involved in expanding

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 44.

⁶⁷ Ben-Ari, “Colonialism, Anthropology and the Politics of Professionalisation,” 385–86.

the ethnological literature through the British colonial world.⁶⁸ At that point, collecting anthropological knowledge was the ‘building block’ for the colonial world. As Henrika Kuklick states in the *British Tradition* (2008), anthropology’s academic success is closely depended on promoting the discipline to colonial world.⁶⁹ The colonial anthropologist became a figure and a person, who started taking on a colonial role in maintaining as well as in transferring the ethnographic knowledge into a more ‘disciplinary’ framework within the colonial order. Thus, the British Empire did not only colonize in geographical or in economical terms, but it exploited the anthropological practices and methodologies.

The relationship between the political role of the anthropologist and its relations to colonialism has become a popular matter but still remains controversial since many current academic studies are exploring this topic from an anthropological point of view through postcolonial critique. There are two main critical approaches regarding the relationship between colonialism and anthropology, which are contradictory yet complementary. The first suggests that colonialism has created a consequent field for anthropological studies. The second one argues that the imperial world need anthropologists to obtain “objective” information about the people, civilizations, cultures and spaces that had been or were planned to be colonized. Thus, the imperial world was not only shaped around the notion of exploration, but it was characterized by a ‘disciplinary’ exploitation which affected the development of anthropology within the colonial order. This is the reason why I suggest that the relations between anthropology and colonialism were built on a reciprocal connection. These two arguments do not only remind of the politics of anthropology,

⁶⁸ Efram Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871*, Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century 18 (London: Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited, 2013), 112. Sera

⁶⁹ Henrika Kuklick, “The British Tradition,” in *New History of Anthropology*, ed. Henrika Kuklick (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008), 60.

but they also reflect how the status of the anthropologist has been constructed since the nineteenth century through a political and legitimate role within the colonial order by penetrating in, taking possession of and inhabiting the world of native. While analyzing the relationship between anthropology and colonialism or the status of the colonial anthropologist, putting all the blame on colonialism will only offer a limited perspective. Therefore, the next section will follow up the patterns of European expeditions and anthropological practices, which inevitably became a part of colonial discourse.

1.2. From the Art of Travel to the Birth of Ethnography

Franz Kafka's novel, written in 1926, *The Castle* (*Das Schloß*) points out a relationship between surveyors and colonialism. In *the Castle*, the protagonist surveys the landscape as an outsider who looks down from above. Etymologically, "to survey" is derived from Latin "sur" and "videre" which means "to over-see". In today's English, "to survey" means to look down at something from above. This presents how the double meaning of land surveying - measuring and over-seeing- is articulated within the text. From this point of view, Franz Kafka's *The Castle* (*Das Schloß*) problematizes the political side of colonialism and *the Castle* invites its readers to ask questions on the problematic side of colonialism. While Kafka's novel is a literary piece, the connection between traveler's visual curiosity and the process of gaining authority reminds me of the relation colonial narration to the art of travel.

Why do we travel? Why do we want to see 'new' things and to reach distant places? In the fourteenth century, Ibn Battuta travelled through Anatolia, including both the Muslim and non-Muslim regions. He was observing, talking with people, and even telling stories to them. While he was a traveler, he turned into a story teller.

His travel accounts were published with the title *Rihla (Journey)*. When the traveler becomes a storyteller, travelogues or travel writings begin to emerge. Through travelogues, the traveler becomes a person, who narrates the outer world through writing. In this context, we can state that, Ibn Battuta becomes an author or a person who has an *authority* to narrate the outer World.

During the nineteenth century, the process of writing travelogues began to be based upon methodological principles, and disciplinary approaches. Due to the increasing curiosity towards the Other, storytellers became people who define the native in more specific ways. And as such, travelogues turned into ethnography or ethnographic writing, which had its roots in observation and the production of a written and/or visual world. Over time, ethnography broadened its limits and provided a new perspective about the relations between text and (colonial) context.⁷⁰ Therefore, ethnographic text can be realized in any representation, in that sense, it is better to take ethnography to be a (textual and/or visual) knowledge of any certain group constituted by observers (such as scientists/ ethnographers/ missionaries/ writers). Thus, I take ethnographic knowledge both as a study on non-European society, and more importantly as a reflection of how story tellers narrate the outside world. In this section, I will provide a brief background starting from the European travel genre till the birth of ethnographic practices. These two historical processes do not have any starting or finishing points and they cannot be differentiated from one another. In our 'modern' world, for instance, everybody can be a traveler and/or an ethnographer, by traveling to distant lands, making observations, taking notes and writing diaries. In this section, I focus on three specific questions: how did

⁷⁰ Oscar Salemink, "Introduction: Ethnography, Anthropology and Colonial Discourse," in *The Ethnography of Vietnam's Central Highlanders: A Historical Contextualization, 1850-1990* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 9.

anthropology start to be emerged from the travel genre? Do they use similar methodologies to create a specific type of knowledge? Or do they act differently?

In the mid nineteenth century, European explorations reached their peak points in terms of discovering and writing on Africa being as an unknown, exotic and curious place. After the European encounter, Africa as a savage, distant and curious place began to be constructed as an imaginary but *dark* site. The discovery of African imaginary produced textual and visual materials which played a great role in analyzing the mechanisms of the European exploration. These materials (mostly illustrated travel accounts) were created by the first British explorers, who had travelled to central Africa during the mid nineteenth century. In her important study of the mechanisms of British exploration to Africa, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (2008), Leila Koivunen followed the traces of nineteenth century European productions of Africa by focusing on the practices of visual representation and illustration processes.⁷¹ Koivunen defined the years between 1850s and 1880s as a peak period of European exploration in central Africa. Another approach, takes the Berlin Conference that resulted in the ‘Scramble of Africa’ as the centerpiece.⁷² These historical definitions, trying to find the exact date of the peak period of European colonization, construct one specific and monolithic historical timeline to define the mechanisms of exploration in all of central Africa. However, if a careful study of the history of the production of textual materials demonstrates that the discovery of African imaginary started to be seen long before the nineteenth century. Since the bureaucrats, travelers, scientists and missionaries took notes, wrote diaries, the African imaginary had already been written and

⁷¹ Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts*, Routledge Research in Travel Writing (New York and London: Routledge, 2008).

⁷² Ibid., 12.

produced by Europeans. The ‘savagery’ and beastliness of Africans had been a main concern of the earliest reports by travelers who defined African natives as “barbarously cruel, “rude and beastlike” or “uncivil and selfish.”⁷³ In the Age of Exploration, Africa and Africans were defined as savage, primitive, apelike, cruel and barbarous. The production of the savagery was subject to various definitions and depictions during the colonial period. These now lead us to the questions regarding what was the mechanism of the production of Africa as an Other? What were the effects of the European mind in constructing the Other through the travel genre?

1.2.1. The Effect of the European Imperial Perspective in the Birth of Travel Genre

Anthropology’s relationship with the travel genre has been mostly studied from a historical point of view. Justin Stagl’s *a History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (1995) discussed the history of travel, which focused on the methods and techniques of ethnography. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986) edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus, was one of the first publications that focused on the close relationship between ethnography and travel genre from an interdisciplinary perspective. In this book, Clifford and Marcus collected articles offering critical perspectives on the history of Western colonial encounter with ‘Other’ cultures by using critical thinking and postcolonial theory.⁷⁴ The increasing impact of postcolonial studies is clearly seen in the recent publications of historical, literary, cultural and political studies. Peter Hulme and

⁷³ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White On Black: Images of Africa and Black in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 20.

⁷⁴ James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). Please See, James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988); James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997);.

Russell McDougall edited the book titled *Writing, Travel and Empire: In the Margins of Anthropology* (2007). Its main aim is to understand some of the peculiar elements of historical travel records, which had mostly ethnographic content. While the effect of postcolonial approach is seen in the several chapters of the book, Hulme and McDougall attempts to widen the general understanding of the travel genre by placing it within the historical context of the British Empire through a postcolonial approach.⁷⁵ Clifford and Marcus' volume contained of critical and literary essays, which all challenged the Western understanding and representation about the Other, to explore the poetics and politics of cultural invention. Hulme and McDougall's volume contained of essays, which looked at the relationship between imperial mind and ethnography through historical and anthropological point of view. It focused on the history of British anthropology by providing a critical framework to the question: how the discipline of anthropology became a professional manner in terms of separating the discipline from travel genre and dislocating the ethnographic practice from its colonial contexts. These two edited volumes fundamentally demonstrated that the history anthropology cannot be rewritten without thinking about the impact of travelers and travel writing to the birth of anthropological space during the colonial period. Their main aim was to point out that not only anthropologists, but also political figures continued to shape the ethnographic representation.

European expeditions to Africa marked a crucial stage regarding the transformation of native into an ethnographic inquiry through textual and visual representation during the birth of anthropology as a discipline. Before the twentieth century, there were travel writers who travelled distant lands and took notes about

⁷⁵ Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall, "Introduction: In the Margins of Anthropology," in *Writing, Travel and Empire: In the Margins of Anthropology*, ed. Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall (London; New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 6.

what they saw. As Justin Stagl pointed out, the practice of travel, as we understand it today, took place in or from the European continent and emerged in the sixteenth century. Stagl states that, the practice of travel or the *art of travel* changed its shape and moved from the pilgrimage tours to the Enlightenment expeditions.⁷⁶ This change cannot be described as an unilateral change, but rather as a two-way interaction that brought with it many other shifts by the means of temporal and spatial effects.

In the *Time and the Other* (1983), Johannes Fabian focuses on the temporal context, which creates the basis of the production of anthropological knowledge. Fabian's temporality is based upon the effect of anthropological 'distancing' in creating a specific narration around the non-European Other. Fabian explores the practice of travel by focusing on the impact of religion and trade. The cities with religious significance, Jerusalem and Rome are located always at the center which symbolize the "incorporating" meaning of crusade, pilgrimage and mission. In Fabian's terminology, it is the "distancing" practice of travel which began from the present time and ended in the past or advanced from now/here to then/there.⁷⁷ However, the significance of religious was not the only effect of the travel practices in creating anthropological knowledge. Trade relationships and searching for the prestigious and valuable materials, such as gold and coffee was another type of practice for early travelers in creating certain types of knowledge. For instance, if we look back to the travels of Christopher Columbus and ask why Columbus made journeys across the Atlantic Ocean in the late fifteenth century, the answer that we

⁷⁶ Justin Stagl, "The Methodising of Travel in the 16th Century: A Tale of Three Cities," *History and Anthropology* 4, no. 2 (January 1990): 303–38; Quoted in Oscar Salemink, "Introduction: Ethnography, Anthropology and Colonial Discourse," in *The Ethnography of Vietnam's Central Highlanders: A Historical Contextualization, 1850-1990* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 10.

⁷⁷ Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, 27.

will get is simply to look at his purposes of his journeys. Columbus had two main missions: one was to look for gold and the other one was to spread the Christian thought.⁷⁸ Since the time of Columbus' travels, the 'distancing' effect has been characterized around the context of trade and religion. These two motives have some lacking points, since there have been other factors to trigger the notion of traveling, such as cultural, political and economic ones. These motives of traveling create a legitimate basis in some ways to create a knowledge around the Other. Therefore, the practice of travel cannot be described as a simple way of European explorers to create knowledge, rather it is the effect of European state-formation and having a power on re-constructing the sphere of knowledge in its entirety. What Fabian says cannot simply be described as a "distancing effect" in shaping the anthropological knowledge. Rather, the practice of travel can be defined by asking this important question: how and which tools did European explorers and travelers use in order to re-construct the anthropological knowledge?

In this regard, Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink argue that there was a movement from the art of travel toward a collection of knowledge as things, which is associated with the increasing number of trade and shipping. This movement does not only express the material relations between Europeans and the 'others', but also it is the use of European economical and political sovereign powers on others.⁷⁹ Therefore, the term *ars apodemica* or 'the art of travel'⁸⁰ suggests that there was a link between the technologies of observation and the economical rise of European

⁷⁸ Ali Rattansi, *Racism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 21.

⁷⁹ Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, "Introduction: Locating the Colonial Subjects of Anthropology," in *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*, ed. Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 17.

⁸⁰ Another term 'the art of survey' can also be replaced. The word "to survey" is derived from Latin "sur" and "videre" which means "to over-see"; in today's English, "to survey" means to look down at something from above.

imperial powers through non-European others. With the rise of imperial powers, the *ars apodemica*, the art of travel cannot only be described as going from one place to another place, it was made for the purpose of distancing of European exploration, which began from the here and towards there.⁸¹

Exploring non-European locations would not be enough for the people who were eager to share their new discoveries with the European public. Therefore, travelers began to write ethnographic journals about what they saw. These travel writings were not randomly written. Instead, they presented ethnographic knowledge in an organized and categorized basis. This kind of travel writing should not only be taken as keeping records on non-Western people, which includes the ethnographic representations imposed upon the native people, but it should also be seen as a project of creating and reminding the imperial power to the European public. In the *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), Mary Louise Pratt focuses on the eighteenth century, when the European travelers produced ethnographic texts on the rest of the world. She argues that, one of the most important tools that European travelers utilized was the scientific expedition, which carried the natural world into patterns of European order. She developed the term ‘contact zone’ in order to define the relations of the European expansion with the status of colonized ‘other’. In the contact zone as a social space, cultures meet and somehow clash with each other, depending on the “asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.”⁸² It is the site of exploitation and violence where the practices of European expedition were taking place. It is not just a space where the two binary oppositions have been clashing with each other, it is also a site where the

⁸¹ Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, 25.

⁸² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 4.

European constructions of subordinate others have been produced through the use of representation.⁸³ Travel writing would thus be one of the earliest sites of representation for the analysis of both European colonizer and non-European colonized. As Simon Gikandi points out, the practice of travel writing produces narratives that are interested in “self-realization in the spaces of other.”⁸⁴ Therefore, travel writing cannot only be only described as an ethnographic material, based upon ‘indigenous’ people, but it also contains the connotations of European representations in the spaces of Other.

By the mid nineteenth century, travel writing or the *ars apodemica* changed its structure and turned into an anthropological manual of travel. These manuals, which were published by British anthropological institutions in the mid nineteenth century, aimed to protect and to prevent the extinction of ‘native’ people. In 1839, James Cowles Prichard, who was one of the leading British anthropologists of the Aborigines Protection Society (APS), stated that “ethnography, or the natural history of human races, while opportunities for pursuing the investigation.... Are every day failing and disappearing forever.”⁸⁵ According to Prichard, anthropology should collect, document and produce ethnographic information on the various races of people before they disappear during the harsh exploration of imperial power. After Prichard’s works in APS, the British Association prepared and circulated ‘a Series of Questions and Suggestions’ for the use of British travelers to obtain ethnographic information about the varieties of human races. These questions were actually the

⁸³ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*; Quoted in Hall, “Introduction: Thinking the Postcolonial, Thinking the Empire,” 26.

⁸⁴ Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 8; Quoted in, Hall, “Introduction: Thinking the Postcolonial, Thinking the Empire,” 26.

⁸⁵ Amalie M. Kass and Edward Harold Kass, *Perfecting the World: The Life and Times of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, 1798-1866* (Boston: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 390; Quoted in, Hulme and McDougall, “Introduction: In the Margins of Anthropology,” 7.

earliest version of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology, for the Use of Travelers and Residents and Uncivilized Lands*, published by the Royal Anthropological Institute between 1870 and 1920.⁸⁶ The interests of APS and researchers who were eager to collect information on “the natural history of the human race”, was so similar to the interests of non-academic ones’, like travelers’, colonial officials’. Therefore, the art of travel was began to used as a source for anthropological institutions to reach non-Western territories before the disappearance of ‘human race’. In this regard, anthropological institutions began to work with colonial administrators, missionaries and travelers who would easily reach and acquire ethnographic materials “*in situ*” and send their reports back to Britain where anthropologists could use these reports in their studies.⁸⁷ Stagl mentions that, the *ars apodemica*, the art of travel, transformed the cultural structure of travelling presented in oral or written documents, into a more organized and categorized manual which was issued for the public circulation.⁸⁸ According to Stagl, these anthropological ‘written’ manuals were the products of European history during a time when European curiosity and gathering ethnographic knowledge about non-Europeans increased. This resulted in the birth of categorization of knowledge that turned native people into an object of moving from one place to other, such as the commodity in the market.⁸⁹ These manuals were not only the product of European interest, they were also expressing the characteristic of a time when the ethnographic knowledge began to be collected, categorized and classified by a European mindset.⁹⁰ In that point, ethnography appeared within the context of production and organization of European knowledge,

⁸⁶ Hulme and McDougall, “Introduction: In the Margins of Anthropology,” 7–8.

⁸⁷ Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871*, 53.

⁸⁸ Quoted in, Salemink, “Introduction: Ethnography, Anthropology and Colonial Discourse,” 10.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Salemink, “Introduction: Ethnography, Anthropology and Colonial Discourse,” 11.

which was also linked to the processes of political and economical formation in the early modern Europe.

Native people have been taken a great interest by European travelers and explorers. This passionate and obsessive interest created the basis of the discipline of anthropology. This disciplinary approach needed to be based upon ‘scientific’ and reliable statements, since it was funded by institutes and predicated on so-called questionnaires, observations and researches. One of the most peculiar statements that anthropology based upon, was the extinction theory. This theory viewed indigenous people as animal species under the threat of extinction. The colonial tone of this statement treated indigenous people as pure native people that are on the edge of extinction after the minute of anthropological encounter. Since the discipline of anthropology was accepted as ‘scientific’ framework, this colonial tone that they developed, was based upon reliable and credible basis. When you look at the title of the book, published by RAI, the word “uncivilized” referred to the nineteenth century colonial framework. This colonial narration was therefore legitimized under the ‘scientific’ institute, which presented the fact that anthropology and colonialism affected and nourished from each other.

1.3. Discovery of the Native Body as an Anthropological Inquiry: Brief Introduction to the History of British Anthropology

The imperial world was nourished by the ‘scientific’ approach of anthropology and used the methodological aspect of anthropology for its own sake to create and maintain a world order that can easily dominate, control and maintain the power over the colonized regions. From the start, the relationship between the anthropologist and the native was unequal, since it was shaped by a particular

temporality upon which the approach of anthropology was based. To understand this unequal encounter, it is also crucial to analyze the development of anthropological methods regarding the effect of medical practices and the birth of observational methods during the nineteenth century. In this section, I will examine the initial signs of an unequal anthropological encounter with an emphasis on the development of observational and taxonomical methods, starting from the late fifteenth century, but focusing mostly on the nineteenth century.

In his essay *Anthropology before Anthropology* (2008), Harry Liebersohn reconstructs the history of the early anthropological era, which corresponds to the period before the nineteenth century. Liebersohn divides the early anthropological era into two major periods. The earliest anthropological discourse that goes from 1493 to the late seventeenth century is called “Renaissance anthropology”. The next phase from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth century is called “Enlightenment anthropology”. The first period - Renaissance anthropology- starts with the voyage of Christopher Columbus who has written a letter to his royal counsellors presenting the results of his first voyage.⁹¹ This letter is taken as the first important ethnographic document due to its content, including a summary of the voyage and Columbus’ personal opinions and thoughts about ‘wondrous’ things. Stephen Greenblatt has pointed out that ‘wonder’ has always been one of the most essential European reactions to the native.⁹² Travelogues written by European travelers, missionaries and politicians are also among the earliest ethnographic documents that contain rich

⁹¹ Liebersohn, “Anthropology before Anthropology.” In addition to European travelers’ writings, in the history of Islam, one of the greatest travelers Evliya Celebi, dated back to the mid seventeenth century wrote a travelogue called *Seyahatname*. This work can be taken as an ethnographic record which contained both culture and lifestyles of Ottoman and non-Ottoman regions. There is not any detailed research taking Celebi’s travelogue as an anthropological piece. For further studies, this topic should be researched not only from a historical but also from a social and cultural point of view.

⁹² Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 14.

information, including geographies, living spaces, and even cultural practices of ‘local’ people.⁹³ In addition to the European interest in native’s world, they also paid attention to ‘physical abnormalities’. For example, in his essay *On Cannibals* (1580), Michel de Montaigne (1533-92) paid attention to the nakedness and cannibalistic features of people that he saw. Thus, Renaissance anthropology was the time when the earliest anthropological discourses emerged in official or unofficial writings of European travelers, missionaries, and even politicians. These textual materials reflect how the interest of early European anthropological efforts shaped around the observation and documentation of both the cultural and the physical features of indigenous populations. These documents are playing crucial role for the historiography of anthropology in terms of reflecting the earliest ethnographic representations of indigenous people.

The second period - Enlightenment anthropology- has been acknowledged as central in the emergence of ‘rational’ and ‘transparent’ thinking by adapting ‘scientific’ approaches to studying human history.⁹⁴ Like Renaissance anthropology, the outlines of Enlightenment anthropology emerged in European travelogues. For instance, Louis Armand de Lom d’Arce de Lahontan’s (1666-1716) travel notes report various details on Indian culture and daily life.⁹⁵ Unlike Renaissance anthropology, in the period of Enlightenment anthropology, new technologies and industrial machinery began to be used. Since the eighteenth century has been

⁹³ Liebersohn, “Anthropology before Anthropology,” 23. Despite the main aim of European missionaries such as Bartolome de Las Casas (1474-1566) and Jose de Acosta (1540-1600) to convert the religion of people they encountered, they paid attention to psychological, cultural and religious practices of locals. For instance, the French minister Jean de Lery (1534-1613) who travelled to Brazil, wrote a memoir. His memoir was full of definitions, feelings, ideas and opinions about the world and culture of ‘indigenous’ people that he saw.

⁹⁴ Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Finn Sivert Nielsen, *A History of Anthropology* (London: Pluto Press, 2001), 9.

⁹⁵ Liebersohn, “Anthropology before Anthropology,” 25.

acknowledged as ‘the age of reason’, the earliest ‘scientific’ anthropological developments began to emerge in this period as well.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, culture, lifestyle, and bodily features of indigenous people were recorded in travelers’ textual records. These written documents were also full of Western biases, specific thoughts, ideas, and in particular observations were forced upon the representations of the natives. Observing native or local people in the field of anthropology cannot be limited only to Renaissance and Enlightenment periods, as it has continued throughout the nineteenth century within a ‘scientific’ and a ‘disciplinary’ framework. Based on Efram Sera-Shriar’s book *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871*, the following section will mainly examine the ‘scientific’ content of anthropology and the methods that were applied to produce anthropological knowledge during the nineteenth century in Britain.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, observation has been central to examining the life, culture and physical features of humans as a field of inquiry. James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848) and William Lawrence (1783-1867) are two of the most crucial examples of that time, because their interest was to study and examine various humans based on their physical features. Both Prichard and Lawrence were trained in natural history and medicine, which influenced the development of their ethnological studies. Their diverse backgrounds also formed the ways in which they examined and observed issues relating to human ‘races’. Their studies were shaped around the description of human ‘races’, which was based upon the classification of humans according to their physical and anatomical features. This

was called the ‘taxonomical model’⁹⁶ which was improved by early nineteenth century ethnologists in order to examine and understand the human physical features based on their skin, eye, hair and skull types.⁹⁷ The method of categorization and classification of bodily features became the central issue for the development of ethnological⁹⁸ practice.⁹⁹ Lawrence’s analysis moved in the same direction with Prichard by using taxonomy as a method for dividing humans into groups according to their skin, eye and hair color.¹⁰⁰ In this regard, Prichard and Lawrence are two very important actors in the early ethnological period, because their research can be taken as the earliest examples of the anthropological encounter with the body of non-Western native on a ‘scientific’ platform. Prichard’s and Lawrence’s scientific framework provides us with many details about how ethnologists were interested in observing the physical details of humans and developed their scientific framework

⁹⁶ The term taxonomy (in the Ancient Greek *taxis* “arrangement” and *nomia* “method”) was firstly developed in the natural sciences in order to classify natural living things on the base of their common characteristics. In the mid eighteenth century, the model of taxonomy was adapted by the Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus, who has been accepted as the father of the taxonomy model. In this new era of taxonomy which is also taken as the “Linnaean Era”, Linnaeus developed a standardized categorization system for plants and animals and published his theories, methods and findings in his major works- *Systema Naturae* (1735), *Species Plantarum* (1753). This model was then adapted by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a German anatomist and naturalist, invented the racial classifications in his work *De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa* or *On the Natural Variety of Mankind*. Ellis Cashmore, *Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnic Studies* (London: Routledge, 2004), 166–67.

⁹⁷ Prichard was a “monogenistic”, which is the opposite of “polygenistic.” In the mid nineteenth century, monogenism became a popular idea among anthropologists, which distinguishes human types into separate species according to their appearances and aptitudes. See Kuklick, 2007.

⁹⁸ Until 1830, ethnology as a field of research was called the ‘Natural History of Man’ which was used in order to collect data from various places and areas.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the term *ethnography* (ethnos=people and graphein=writing) was first used as a scientific inquiry in 1834. In German context, ethnography refers to anthropography. The French term, *ethnographie* was first seen in 1819, when the Napoleonic war had ended. Encyclopedia Britannica in 1878, described the term ethnography as it “embraces the descriptive details, and ethnology the rational exposition of the human aggregates and organizations.” Salemink, “Introduction: Ethnography, Anthropology and Colonial Discourse,” 11.

Since the term *ethnology* appeared in the 1830s and early 1840s, it was used for describing the “races and peoples, their relation, their distinctive characteristics, etc.” Nicholas Tarling, “Ethnicity,” in *The State, Development and Identity in Multi-Ethnic Societies: Ethnicity, Equity and the Nation*, ed. Nicholas Tarling and Terence Gomez, Routledge Malaysian Studies Series (New York: Routledge, 2008), 18; Salemink, “Introduction: Ethnography, Anthropology and Colonial Discourse,” 11.

⁹⁹ Efram Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871*, Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century 18 (London: Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited, 2013), 21-52.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 38.

by classifying and categorizing humans based on their 'racial' features. This marks one of the earliest occasions of anthropology being to be interested in observing the corporeality of native people.

Studying human bodies through the method of observation has led to the emergence of the anthropological research centers and ethnological institutions in Europe, and specifically in Britain. The first British ethnological institution, the Ethnological Society of London (ESL) was founded by Prichard in 1843 (Appx. A).¹⁰¹ The ESL appeared as one of the earliest scientific institutions in Europe that dedicated itself to move ethnography to be a more scientific discipline. The main aim of the ESL was to study the cultural and social life of people, as well as to examine the anatomy and physiology of 'races'. Medical studies and methods had a considerable impact on the development of the ESL, since it employed ethnologists who trained in the field of medicine.¹⁰² For instance, one of the earliest members of the ESL, Richard Kind (1811-1876) was trained as a surgeon and worked in St. Thomas' Hospital in London. Another example is the table of contents from the first volume of the Journal of ESL published in 1848, presenting the issues on relations between the physical characters of native people and the study of ethnology. (Appx. A) In his lectures on the *Natural History of Man* (1819), Lawrence argued that the medical practitioners were well fitted to make ethnographic studies, because they received observational training on human body.¹⁰³ It is clearly that in the mid

¹⁰¹ Kuklick, "The British Tradition," 52.

In addition to this, the initial phase of the society was made by T.F. Buxton who fought against the slave trade, commerce in African and the missionizing the territory. Therefore, nineteenth century British anthropology/ethnology can also be read in the context of African slavery.

For further studies, please see; Salemk, "Introduction: Ethnography, Anthropology and Colonial Discourse," 12. H. R. Fox Bourne, *The Aborigines Protection Society: Chapters in Its History* (London: P.S. King & Son, 1899), 9; George W. Stocking, "What's in a Name? The Origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1837-71)," *Man*, New Series, 6, no. 3 (September 1, 1971): 369. (Appx.D)

¹⁰² Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871*, 59.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 60.

nineteenth century, early ethnological efforts went hand in hand with medical studies.

After Prichard's death in 1848, Robert Gordon Latham became the lead ethnologist of the ESL. Latham argued that ethnology was a useful discipline to identify the physical and cultural diversity of humans. Latham adapted the method of taxonomy and developed new techniques by examining human varieties on a 'scientific' platform. According to Prichard and early ethnologists' descriptions, Latham followed the same taxonomical model, which was based on observation and categorization of the physical features of humans - in particular their skulls and facial structures. Latham examined the physical structure of "different ethnicities and their languages" and published his findings in his first major book *Varieties of Man* (1850) (Appx. B).¹⁰⁴

Robert Knox (1793-1862), an ethnologist trained in anatomy and physiology, developed observational techniques in Africa by directly examining the physical and cultural traits of the African people in the mid nineteenth century. He recorded and published his findings in his book *Races of Man*, which was based on his first-hand observations taken *in-situ* rather than creating an ethnographic dataset based on using observation reports that were supplied by non-academics.¹⁰⁵ In *Races of Man*, Knox criticized the methods of earlier ethnologists, such as Bluemanbach's method of taxonomy. Instead, he argued that different races should be categorized not only based on their biological features, but also based on their cultural and social structures.¹⁰⁶ For his racial theory, Knox argued that all people were biologically designated.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 84.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 91.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 94.

In the mid-nineteenth century, James Hunt (1802-1851) played a crucial role in the history of anthropology by arguing that there was a strong relationship between the race discourse and anthropology. After he was trained in medical studies, he became a member of the ESL in 1854. After he left the ESL, he established the *Anthropological Society of London* in 1863. Since Hunt was a strong supporter of ethnology and scientific studies, he argued that the anthropological framework should be constructed on anatomical and physiological evidence. Hunt was actively involved in scientific discussions about the varieties of human physical features based on geographical and cultural contexts and he proposed various views on race. For instance, he argued that Africans could not be located under the same species with the Europeans, because the physical features of Africans populations were visibly different and thus they must belong to separate species from Europeans (Appx. C).¹⁰⁷ According to Hunt, the main task of ethnology was to examine human physical features through the objective depictions, and its initial step should be to collect observable evidence based on people's anatomical and physiological details. Therefore, Hunt preferred to work on the method of direct observation which created the basis of his anthropological framework.

The method of observation was expanded by Charles Darwin and Edward Burnett Taylor, who were two important figures in the late nineteenth century regarding the emergence of evolutionary theory. In 1871, Charles Darwin published two books entitled as *Descent of Man* and *Selection in Relation to Sex* while Edward

¹⁰⁷ Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871*, 120-121. Hunt clearly reflected his ideas in his treatise *On the Negro's Place in Nature* (1863). "It is generally taught that the Negro only differs from the European in the colour of his and the peculiarity of his hair, but such opinions are not supported by facts. The skin and hair are by no means the only characters which distinguish the Negro from the European, even physically; and the difference is greater, mentally and morally than the demonstrated physical difference." (Hunt, 4) In addition to Hunt's views on the racial differences, he supported that Africans could not be defined and represented as 'savages', but he still argued that Africans could not be part of the civilized societies.

Burnett Tylor published *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*. Their contribution to arguments on human variation was to ‘observe’ societies by looking at their physical and non-physical features, and they attempted to place the human features on an ‘evolutionary’ platform.¹⁰⁸ Their methodology was based on the observation of different human varieties *in situ* while travelling abroad, and this first-hand observation technique provided them with anthropological data.¹⁰⁹ Since the late nineteenth century was an important period for the discipline of anthropology due to the emergence of an ‘evolutionary’ framework, Darwin’s and Tylor’s main aim was to discuss the humankind’s evolution and attempted to show how the humankind passed through the stages from the ‘savage’ to the ‘civilized’.

Since the dominant view of anthropological thinking in the nineteenth century Britain was evolutionism, anthropologists adapted the evolutionary perspective and observed people through its lens. The theory of evolutionism was based on the assumption that there were different races that belonged to separate species, their physical traits varied among individuals with respect to morphology and behavior and these different traits could be passed from generation for survival and reproduction. Drawing from this perspective, nineteenth-century evolutionary thought argued that, ‘primitive’ societies on a ‘scientific’ basis belonged to the earlier stage of evolution. According to this evolutionary progress, these societies were under-developed in comparison to European societies.

In addition to the adaptation of evolutionary theory and participatory observation to anthropological practices, another issue was the link between

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 147–48.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 148–49.

medicine and anthropology in the nineteenth century. As the anthropology became an academic and a disciplinary approach, medical methods shaped the way of understanding and defining the anthropological body. Nineteenth century was not also the time when non-European exploration and international trade reached its peak moments. It was this the moment when anthropology developed a disciplinary and academic approach by adapting medical methods and theories. The medical training of a large number of anthropologists shaped their way of understanding the physical body. By specifically adapting the medical methodologies, anthropology was mostly interested in examining the racial aspects of people. The impact of this cross-pollination of anthropology and medicine was particularly felt in academic anthropology in Britain, which began to be grounded in a new discipline called medical anthropology.

After this brief introduction to the uses of anthropological approaches in Europe and specifically in Britain, it is now crucial to discuss the impact of these methods in penetrating and viewing the non-Western native in their ‘original’, ‘authentic’ and so-called ‘exotic’ spaces. It is therefore, necessary to outline the structure of the anthropologist-native encounter in terms of analyzing the first steps of evolutionary theory, which will be studied in the following section.

1.4. The Structure of the Anthropological Encounter: What Happens When Anthropologist Meets ‘Indigenous’ People?

Rey Chow, in the last chapter of her book “Primitive Passions” (1995), entitled as the “Film as Ethnography”, remarks upon the ‘deadlock’ of anthropological situation that emerged during the Western colonial and imperial times. In order to unlock the key, she begins by going back to the basic

anthropological context, which is the Western anthropologist going abroad to observe and study the ‘primitive’ cultures in their own living places or *in-situ*.¹¹⁰ Chow does not take this statement for granted. Instead, according to Chow, the anthropologist inevitably penetrates him/herself and his/her cultural practices into the space of ‘primitive’ people. With the anthropological penetration, the ‘primitive’ context cannot stay the same and thus the ‘primitive’ ones are inevitably altered and displaced from their ‘origins’. Chow concludes that, these altered and displaced ones became ‘the Other’ by the means of Western anthropological penetration and practices.¹¹¹ In addition to the deadlock of anthropology, Chow argues that the encounter between anthropologist and native, is a kind of “cultural translation”, in which the native is being translated into an anthropological inquiry under and by the Western power.¹¹² It is not a naïve encounter, however, it is an “unequal power encounter” between the Western anthropologist and the non-Western native.¹¹³ It is an encounter that enables the West to enter into cultural and historical codes of ‘dominated’ people. It is even an encounter that supports this inequality of power relation between Europeans and non-Europeans.¹¹⁴ Since the disciplines like anthropology were intertwined with the colonial ideology, the unequal relationship

¹¹⁰ In the history of anthropology, this ‘deadlock’ statement was originally made by the famous anthropologist E. Evans- Prichard in his book, *Introduction to Social Anthropology* (1951). One of the famous deadlock statement is focusing on the role of anthropologist which is “the social anthropologist studies primitive societies directly.” E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology* (London: Cohen & West Ltd., 1951), 11.

Besides that, in the 60s after the Second World War, anthropologists focused to write on the main role of anthropologists. For instance, Siegfried Frederick Nadel who was an Austrian-British anthropologists studying on African ethnology, remarks upon the main duty of anthropologist which was “to obtain and extend knowledge.” For him, it was only made to study “‘primitive’ communities, simpler societies or preliterate.” Please see; S. F. Nadel, *The Foundations of Social Anthropology*, Reprinted (Montreal: Routledge, 2013), 2.

¹¹¹ Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 176–77.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 177.

¹¹³ Asad, “Introduction: Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter,” 16.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

between the ‘Western anthropologist’ and the ‘non-Western’ culture has created a basis for the process of anthropologizing ‘non-Western cultures.

At this point, we need to push further and ask a very important question to ourselves: How does the unequal relationship between the anthropologist and the native have an impact on the implementation of anthropological methods and practices? While the anthropologist is implementing various anthropological methods and practices to observe and study the native or produce any kind of anthropological knowledge through them, can the native have a position to find a place for his/her self? Johannes Fabian, develops an argument to analyze the temporality of the anthropologized native, who has been pushed back in time by exposing various anthropological methods, practices and even terms.¹¹⁵ Thus the native cannot find a space for the his/her. Based on Fabian’ analysis, in the next part, the status of native during the anthropological encounter and the impact of temporal changes through the use of evolutionary idea will be analyzed.

As discussed in the previous section, by the end of the nineteenth century, evolutionism became a popular ideology among the British ethnologists. The adaptation of the evolutionist theory to the discipline of anthropology produced such a temporal distance¹¹⁶ between the anthropologist and the native who is defined as ‘savage’, ‘barbarian’ or ‘non-civilized’ by the Western anthropological understanding. The theory of time or in Fabian’s own word “temporality” is an important concept, due to its relations with the evolutionist idea, since the object of anthropology is located far away from the line of anthropologist on an evolutionary time-line. Fabian expresses this unequal evolutionary time-line on a downward

¹¹⁵ Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, 27.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

temporal slope. To be more precise, the temporal slope symbolizes a downward inclination starting from the spot of the Western anthropologist -“here and now”- going downwards to the spot of ‘savage’, ‘primitive’ society -“there and then”-.¹¹⁷ Fabian developed the term “condition of coevalness” to describe the transformation of native due to the effect of the temporal context. ‘Coeval’ covers two major meanings. The first one is occupying the same physical time and the second one is “being of the same age or epoch.”¹¹⁸ In both meanings, ‘coeval’ implies the impact of time on the production of anthropological knowledge. According to Fabian, the anthropologist denies native’s coevalness and pushes the native back in time rather than sharing the present time with them. The anthropologist becomes an active figure who occupies the present time, whereas the native is being fossilized and *abjected* “outside the flux of history”.¹¹⁹ Since the distance is a necessary and a crucial tool for anthropologist, who locates him/herself either to the ‘condition of coevalness’ by producing evolutionary constructions or keeps him/herself away from his/her object of study, the native is pushed back in time.

Fabian also criticizes the methodology of *in-situ* or fieldwork anthropology that has been used by anthropologists and many other social scientists since the early twentieth century. During fieldwork, the anthropologist shares the same time with the native, but when the anthropologist goes back to his/her country, that time is not the same time, it is passed. Fabian defines it as the “denial of coevalness” which

¹¹⁷ Ibid. In the history of Western anthropology, one of the most important temporal slopes, adapted by Western anthropologists, was the evolutionist theory formulated indebted to Charles Darwin’s theories in the mid nineteenth century that were formulated in his book *On the Origin of Species* (1859).

¹¹⁸ Pieter Hendrik Coetzee, A. P. J. Roux, and Marlene Van Niekerk, eds., “Understanding Trends in ‘African Thinking’- A Critical Discussion,” in *The African Philosophy Reader* (London, UK: Routledge, 2001), 68.

¹¹⁹ Kate Sturge, *Representing Others: Translation, Ethnography and the Museum*, Translation Theories Explored (Manchester, UK & Kinderhook, NY: St. Jerome Publication, 2007), 47.

means, the native cannot share the same time with the anthropologist when the anthropologist is no longer in the exotic locale. Fabian's argument has not only been crucial for analyzing the twentieth century anthropological practices, but also be useful to examine the structure of the nineteenth century evolutionist paradigm. In addition to the temporal transformation, the term 'coevalness' also affects the spatial context of the native. When an anthropologist begins to use such temporal devices, the space of the native is turned into an anthropological space or, in other words, is being anthropologized. If we turn back to the nineteenth century, this unequal temporal distance or in Fabian's terminology, the 'denial of coevalness' symbolizes how the native became an object of anthropology by the Western discourse. For Fabian, this can only be accomplished through the use of temporal and spatial devices such as categories, definitions, maps, charts and tables to study, analyze or represent the native or even to differentiate the native from one's own. At that point, the native who becomes an anthropological object- s/he is not only pushed back in time, but also cannot find a space for him/herself.

The anthropological encounter with the non-Western cultures, inevitably led to the disappearance of the native's 'uniqueness'. According to the nineteenth century anthropological approach, these distinctive features must have been recorded by the anthropologist who met them before they vanished. However, this approach, adapted by the nineteenth century anthropological ideology, began to be criticized by the 1960s social scientists. In the article "Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology" (1970), Jacob Gruber explains the "tradition of salvage" that emerged during the nineteenth century. According to Gruber, nineteenth century scientists or practitioners had a fear of extinction of the people they studied, and thus they started

collecting and documenting ethnographic data about these people.¹²⁰ For instance, the earliest British research center that dedicated itself to examine indigenous peoples was the Aborigines Protection Society (APS), which was established in 1837 with the motto *ab uno sanguine* (of one blood) by Thomas Hodgkin and James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848) (Appx. D). According to Oscar Salemink, the studies that were carried out by the APS were neither anthropological nor ethnological, but rather they were dedicated to protect the ‘defenseless’, and to promote the development of ‘uncivilized’ indigenous peoples.¹²¹

The discourse of protecting and preserving culture which was mostly used by the earliest anthropological institutions, ended with two paradoxical notions: destruction and reconstruction. In order to define this paradoxical situation, Renato Rosaldo uses the theory “imperialist nostalgia” and in particular uses the term “nostalgia” for the two paradoxical emotions it encapsulates- innocence and brutality. An example would be a person killing someone and then mourning the loss of the victim.¹²² Rosaldo argues that the twentieth century anthropologists, who were the agents of colonialism, felt *nostalgic* for the people they have destroyed while they were defining and describing them in ethnographic constructions. When we focus on the development of anthropological institutions such as the APS, we see that Rosaldo’s theory is valid. As I have mentioned before, the initial aim of the APS was to record and to save the cultures of the non-Western natives and at the same time, keep them alive from the devastating impacts of extinction. The nostalgic affect

¹²⁰ Jacob W. Gruber, “Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology,” *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 6 (1970): 1289–99.

¹²¹ Salemink, “Introduction: Ethnography, Anthropology and Colonial Discourse,” 12. In spite of this, many other scientists disagreed the British colonial activities held in the African region. For example, Buxton fought against slave trade, the promotion of African commerce and missionary practices in the African continent.

¹²² Renato Rosaldo, “Imperialist Nostalgia,” in *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 69-70.

can also be observed in the APS's search for the native as well as mourn for the ones they have destroyed as a result of anthropological encounter. In addition to the paradoxical aim of preserving culture, anthropologists have been nourished by the same psychological motive, i.e. the mourning for what they have destroyed. For instance, in the book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), Bronisław Malinowski, one of the famous anthropologists of the twentieth century, states that "ethnology is ludicrous...at every moment when it begins to put its workshop in order, to forge its proper tools, to start ready for work on its appointed task, the material of its study melts away with hopeless rapidity."¹²³ Malinowski, was clearly talking about the necessity of keeping a record of 'non-Western' cultures before they disappeared forever. As in the nineteenth century, anthropology was also taken "as a science of disappearing societies"¹²⁴, which can be observed in the statements of the famous German anthropologist Adolf Bastian: "For us, primitive societies (Naturvölker) are ephemeral... At the very instant they become known to us they are doomed."¹²⁵ Based on Bastian's words, during the harsh times of colonization, scientists felt the need of a discipline that could examine the 'primitive' societies in their 'authentic' spaces. According to Bastian's claims, while producing anthropological 'scientific' knowledge, there was a necessary and inescapable

¹²³ Bronisław Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, Reprinted Edition (Taylor & Francis, 2005), xi. In the early twentieth century, anthropologists realized that the method and style of the discipline was developed as a result of nostalgic feeling. However, today this confession is turned to be a more postcolonial and postmodernist tone which is mostly effected by the works of interdisciplinary studies. For example, Jean Baudrillard uses the similar words (without quotation) as Malinowski, notes about the Tasaday people living in the Philippines: "In order for ethnology to live, its object must die; by dying, the object takes its revenge for being "discovered", and with its death the science that wants to grasp it." Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 7.

¹²⁴ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Work of Anthropology: Critical Essays 1971-1981*, 3rd ed. (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1992), 193.

¹²⁵ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, Reprint edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 122.

connection between destruction and construction. As it is seen in the beginning of Bastian's statement, the words "us" and "primitive" express the unequal relations between the self and the other.¹²⁶ It is a paradoxical situation that the discipline of anthropology since the late nineteenth century, has been devoted itself to protect the native people while observing them as an object of study since the late nineteenth century.

James Clifford in "On Ethnographic Allegory" has called the "salvage ethnography" to define the passion of the anthropologist to search for the 'authentic' native people. Since the mid twentieth century, anthropologists have mostly used the theme of "vanishing primitive" to draw our attention to the devastating results of colonialism. According to Clifford, nothing can vanish. In other words, lost cultures, objects and traditions are in fact recorded in texts. Ethnography's vanishing one is a "rhetorical construct" that legitimizes a "salvage ethnography."¹²⁷ This means that, the "Other" is lost in time and space, but is constructed in text.¹²⁸ Clifford questions the scientific structure of anthropology related with salvage ethnography. He has questioned the figure of the anthropologist being as an outsider, recorder and interpreter and the final witness to the authenticity of culture. More importantly, the salvage ethnography seems to be related to the idea of "bringing culture into writing" and as well as it is such a representational practice, created by the anthropologist, who re-constructs the native culture in its own 'authoritative' way.

In conclusion, evolutionism in anthropology was both the reproduction and the legitimization of the British invasion, penetration and suppression of the native

¹²⁶ Fabian, *Time and the Work of Anthropology*, 194.

¹²⁷ James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus, Experiments in Contemporary Anthropology: A School of American Research Advanced Seminar (California: University of California Press, 1986), 112.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 112–13.

by the representatives of the empire. This anthropological perspective of the nineteenth century that worked together with unequal evolutionary thought has been widely questioned and criticized by several postcolonial critics starting from the twentieth century. The main argument of this critique was that an evolutionary perspective upon human genetics, change and variability produces and reinforces the idea of racial difference, creates inequality among societies, populations and individuals, and provokes unequal relations revolving around discourses of 'primitive' and 'backward'. Such biased terms were taken for granted and were used for artistic and cultural purposes – in museum exhibitions, world fairs, and many other visual and written representations in the late nineteenth century. In the next chapter, I turn to the history of display zones produced as a result of this unequal anthropological encounter. Regarding the transformation of the 'anthropologized native' into an exhibited 'savage' body, I focus on the structure of these display zones- museums, world fairs, specifically ethnographic exhibitions and 'anthropozoological' displays of the Victorian Britain.

2. CHAPTER

INVENTION OF THE “SAVAGE”: EXHIBITION OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC BODY BETWEEN 1810 and 1850s

“I discovered that if I were to stay there a month, I should still find myself looking at the people instead of the inanimate objects on exhibition”

- Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad*

Franz Kafka's short story “A Report to an Academy” (“Ein Bericht für eine Akademie”, 1917) tells the story of the transformation of Red Peter (Rot Peter) from an ape to a man, who was captured in Africa and was transported to Europe. In this story, the ape-man Red Peter (Rot Peter) gives a speech to the academy and explains how his ape-shaped identity has taken a human shaped form. He describes every detail of his changes which have begun to imitate his Western captors' behaviour and actions (such as spitting, drinking, smoking and speaking). At the end of his report, in his own word, he has “attained the educational level of an average European.”¹²⁹ Thus, it helped him to go out of his cage being as a –civilized, European, able bodied- human. Like Kafka's other stories, “A Report to an Academy” can be considered as a philosophical, critical and cultural narrative of human as well as animal body. In addition to these approaches, “A Report to an Academy” is entailed around the idea of transformation from an uncivilized to a civilized man, which begins with the process of repetition and mimicry. Christopher Peterson describes

¹²⁹ Franz Kafka, “A Report to an Academy,” in *The Metamorphosis and Other Stories*, ed. and trans. Stanley Appelbaum (New York: Dover Publications, 1996), 88.

Red Peter's mimicry as an internal or an external force, which pushes him to imitate humans for the process of 'natural selection'.¹³⁰ Therefore, the term mimicry has been mostly used by the evolutionary theory in order to express the form of camouflage and disguise that work for animals either to hunt their prey or to protect themselves from external threats. Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) takes the phenomenon of mimicry as "assuming that an insect originally happened to resemble in some degree a dead twig or a decayed leaf, and that it varied slightly in many ways, then all the variations which rendered the insect at all more like any such object, and thus favoured its escape, would be preserved, whilst other variations would be neglected and ultimately lost."¹³¹ According to Darwin's understanding, after the process of mimicry, an insect cannot re-modify its colour or imitate any other animal. If we embark on Darwin's explanation, Red Peter's imitation is a way of escaping from the zoo and to guarantee his status in the European space. However, should we take Red Peter's imitation as a result of evolutionary process and "purposeful acquisition of human traits"¹³² or should we examine the mimetic character of Red Peter by taking into consideration those external forces? I suggest that we consider Red Peter's capture as an example of the British colonialism in Africa. At the beginning of the story, Red Peter is represented as a voiceless character. Since the character is transformed and turned into a European, a civilized and so called 'human being', he succeeds to gain his 'own' voice in literal as well as metaphorical *speaking*. However, this voice is not his own voice, because he is speaking in front of the academy in order to escape from this zoo. Then, whose voice

¹³⁰ Christopher Peterson, "Aping Apes: Edgar Allan Poe's 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue' and Richard Wright's Native Son," in *Bestial Traces: Race, Sexuality, Animality* (New York: Fordham Univ Press, 2013).

¹³¹ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, Republished (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2009), 235.

¹³² Peterson, "Aping Apes: Edgar Allan Poe's 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue' and Richard Wright's Native Son," 29.

is Red Peter speaking with? In this chapter, I use this question as a prompt to develop a perspective to study the histories the ones whose voices were taken away. What kind of practices took the voices out indigenous communities? How did these practices become popular?

Below, I specifically examine the history of human ethnographic exhibitions by looking at the practices of displacing indigenous people and re-placing them into an exhibitionary order, which was one of the most important mediators in taking the voice from the people on display. These people who were living in the territories of colonial powers, were taken away and brought back to European cities in order to be displayed in the exhibitions and/or institutionalized displays, world fairs. They were put on stage and were part of the colonial exhibitions, ‘freak shows’, displayed in a voiceless form of object. The concept of the voice is therefore a crucial part of these exhibitions to understand who is speaking for and on behalf of whom. Since exhibitions are “living organisms”, they can “speak in a variety of human voices.”¹³³ When we look at the history of human displays, how could these exhibitions create space for the voices of indigenous people? Did they contain more than one voice? Whose voice could be heard, when a curator or anthropologist built an exhibition? In these exhibitions, did people on display really speak for themselves and could visitors hear them? In order to answer these questions, this chapter will look at the power mechanisms of ethnographic exhibitions and their relations to displayed ones. My main problem will entail around the question: could people on display speak with their own voices or did they only have the voices of those to had the privilege to speak on their behalf?¹³⁴

¹³³ G. Spivak “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Urbana: U of Illinois, 1988). 271-313.

¹³⁴ Roy Macleod. “Postcolonialism and Museum Knowledge” *Pacific Science*, (1998) 308.

These exhibitions were not just displaying artefacts, figures, characters or the culture and life-styles of indigenous people on the stage. They constructed a narrative and produced knowledge in order to present and legitimize the idea of how Europeans were civilized, normal and able-bodied. This idea was also strengthened by the developments of 'scientific' and 'racial' thoughts. Based on the story of Red Peter, his transformation and his performance in front of the academy, I will focus on the effect of exhibitions to the transformation of people on display, going from 'native' to 'savage' and to search the relationship between anthropology and the concept of race during the early nineteenth century. My main aim in this chapter is to explore the production of anthropological knowledge and the anthropological encounter starting from the fifteenth century, with an emphasis on the nineteenth century when the British Empire reached its peak point in terms of an imperial and a colonial state will be the initial analyses of this chapter. I will examine the role of anthropologists in the creation of a world on an exhibition stage. What kind of world did they try to construct? What kind of narration did they attempt to create in order to be visited and to be a reliable and a legitimate space?

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first part will refer to the history of displaying the Other, starting from the birth of cabinets of curiosities, where 'human specimens' were exhibited in the European display rooms. The strange, weird, unusual and the 'exotic' were brought back to the European countries and were inserted into an exhibitionary order to fulfil the curiosity and interest of the western audience. The interest on the exotic reached its peak period during the eighteenth century. This century marks the period when the ambassadors and missionaries began to be part of colonial European courts and started to develop interest in the landscapes, cultures and communities of the Other. This part will

provide a general framework on displaying curiosities in the exhibitionary order before the nineteenth century.

The next part of this chapter focuses on the historical relations between anthropology and the concept of race, and concerns the interest of anthropological practices to the physical body. In discussing the relations between anthropology with the diversity of physicality, I will focus on the practitioners and practices of the eighteenth and nineteenth century anthropology by examining the transformation of the physical body into an anthropological inquiry through racial categorizations. The concept of 'race' that developed in the eighteenth century, was built upon idea that humanity could be categorized into groups of people based on their morphological and physical features. This idea continued to be part of the nineteenth century ideology through the practices and figures of anthropology. Below, I provide a historical analysis on the impact of the concept of race to the development of anthropological discourses and the significant role it played in the the transformation of 'native' into the 'savage'.

2.1. The Birth of the Cabinet of Curiosities: Wonder and Curiosity

The history of ethnographic human exhibitions is an exceptional type of visual culture, carrying the patterns of displays, performance, entertainment and society of spectacles. Therefore, its analysis breaks the disciplinary limits, and should be explored from an interdisciplinary perspective taking into account historical, sociological, museological as well as cultural aspects. Human exhibitions emerged from of the combination of political, economical and social factors of the early nineteenth century, a period when the European colonial and imperial interest

began to spread around the distant lands, and when the European mindset started to be interested in the ‘different’, the ‘rare’ and the ‘exotic’. It is of course not enough to historicize these exhibitions, which were places that knowledge was created by displaying the ‘savage’, ‘blacks’, ‘freaks’, visually impaired bodies or in short the ‘Other’. Instead, I will explore the processes of the invention of the ‘savage’, ‘monstrous’ and ‘unusual’ bodies, dating as far back as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Before the nineteenth century, there was an obsessive interest in creating a display area to exhibit natural and man-made objects, taking from distant lands. This idea first manifested itself with the European cabinets of curiosities, which were popular phenomena throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹³⁵ These were collections of various natural and man-made objects that were kept in cabinets, and they played a significant role for three main reasons.¹³⁶ First, with their emergence around Europe at the end of the Renaissance period, these cabinets were the earliest examples of collecting and displaying various types of objects.¹³⁷ Second, these cabinets were the precursors of the museum paradigm, which put objects on display in a categorized system. The last reason is that the cabinets of curiosities were flourished by the European interest, passion and obsession of collecting and were the earliest examples of displaying the Other.¹³⁸ In order to understand the mechanisms of creating a collection in the imperial and colonial nineteenth century

¹³⁵ Pascal Blanchard et al., “Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Shows in the West,” in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard et al., trans. Terasa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 1.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 1–2.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 1. Roberto J. González, Laura Nader, and C. Jay Ou, “Towards an Ethnography of Museum: Science, Technology, Technology and Us,” in *Academic Anthropology and the Museum: Back to the Future*, ed. Mary Bouquet, New Directions in Anthropology (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 108.

¹³⁸ Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*, 2nd edition (University of British Columbia Press, 1994).

Western context, I will now turn to analyzing the concepts of curiosity and collecting.

Why do we feel curious about something or someone? Is it an intuiting we cannot control? Or does curiosity give us a pleasure that we cannot resist to feel? Krzysztof Pomian has outlined the early definitions of the French words *curieux* and *curiosité*. Based on Pomian's analysis, in 1690, Antonine Furetiere's Dictionnaire Universale described the word curiosity/curiosities. According to the dictionary:

"The rarities which are collected or remarked by the enthusiasts (*curieux*) are also described as curiosities (*curieux*). This book is a curiosity (*curieux*), that is, rare, or contains many singular things, unknown to many. This secret is curious (*curieux*). This experiment, this comment is curious (*curieux*). This man's museum is most curious (*curieux*), full of curiosities (*choses curieuses*)."¹³⁹

In addition to the definition of Antonine Furetiere, in 1694 the French Academy gave the definition of *curieux* as "someone who takes pleasure in collecting rare and curious objects..."¹⁴⁰ Since the word *curiosité* "signifies a rare and curious thing..."¹⁴¹, it demonstrates a desire or a passion for collecting curious and unusual objects. European collectors had taken a great interest in collecting those curiosities,¹⁴² which were new, unknown or unseen for them.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Cambridge, U.K: Polity Press, 1990), 5. Quoted in Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 92.

¹⁴⁰ Quoted in, Susan A. Crane, "Curious Cabinets and Imaniganary Museums," in *Museums and Memory*, ed. Susan A. Crane (California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 68.

¹⁴¹ Quoted in, Ibid.

¹⁴² Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*. Quoted in Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Cambridge, U.K: Polity Press, 1990).

¹⁴³ Martin Pröslér, "Museums and Globalization," in *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, ed. Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, The Sociological Review (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2005), 28.

According to the medieval belief, these curiosities were also seen as the power of God changed the nature and created deformations and monstrosities. Therefore, these objects did not seem common or typical items, but rare, exotic and extraordinary testaments to a world subject to Divine notion.. Please see, Anthony Alan Shelton, "Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the

In the history of exhibiting objects, curiosity went hand in hand with the concept of collecting rare and unusual artefacts. Although, the activity of collecting may be considered as gathering objects, there is a deep meaning hidden behind this activity. Sharon Macdonald takes the activity of collecting as a production of European knowledge and a constitution of new kinds of social practices.¹⁴⁴ Such collecting activity produced the European display areas called ‘curiosity of cabinets’ or ‘cabinets of curiosity’ in the sixteenth century. Since the passion of collecting objects emerged out of the feeling of curiosity, the activity of collecting flourished around Europe and produced the curiosity of cabinets in English, Wunderkammer or Kunstkammer in German, Cabinets des curieux in French, and studio in Italian.

The formation of these cabinets of curiosities was embedded in knowledge production by keeping royal treasures or religious objects. Tony Bennett, in the *Birth of the Museum* (1995), has explained that the European cabinets were socially enclosed spaces, built for only one person who had a political and a powerful authority- the prince.¹⁴⁵ Since these objects were not randomly collected¹⁴⁶, they reflected the interest and the passion of the European mindset to the royal and religious artefacts. Collecting and displaying artefacts in these cabinets of curiosities went hand in hand with the emergence of European colonialism.¹⁴⁷ Christian Feest states that, objects were collected from indigenous owners by colonial officials,

Incorporation of the New World,” in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, Critical Views (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 184–85.

¹⁴⁴ Macdonald, “Collecting Practices,” 85.

¹⁴⁵ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 93.

¹⁴⁶ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, “The Museum in the Disciplinary Society,” in *Museum Studies in Material Culture*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989), 59–79.

¹⁴⁷ Martin Hall, *Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and the Chesapeake* (London: Routledge, 2000), 14. Quoted in Diana DiPaolo Loren, “The Exotic in Daily Life: Trace and Exchange in Historical Archaeology,” in *Trade and Exchange: Archaeological Studies from History and Prehistory*, ed. Carolyn D. Dillian and Carolyn L. White (New York: Springer, 2010), 197.

traders, missionaries, soldiers, and naturalists in order to not only gather objects from indigenous population¹⁴⁸ but also to continue the colonial power by possessing the material culture of the colonized. In *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (2003), Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, summarizes the function of cabinets of curiosities. According to Hooper-Greenhill, the main function was to bring all objects in the same place, thus creating a united discourse by keeping and displaying the material culture taken from different parts of the world together. In these cabinets, objects were put in an order that reflected the world within a specific and a meaningful classification.¹⁴⁹ However, there are many other criticisms that these cabinets were “unsystematic and idiosyncratic in composition.”¹⁵⁰ Based on these theories and criticisms regarding the organization of cabinets, I suggest to take these cabinets of curiosities as a place of “proximity, juxtaposition or alignment.”¹⁵¹ Although these cabinets were made of “eclectic collections”¹⁵², they had their own organization system.

Cabinets of curiosities did not only contain treasury items or artifacts, but they also included *naturalia*-natural objects and creatures-, *exotica*-exotic plants and animals-, *scientifica*-scientific instruments- and *artificialia*-handmade artifacts-

¹⁴⁸ Christian F. Feest, “Collectors, Collections and Collectibles: Early Native American Collections in Europe and North America,” in *Uncommon Legacies: Native American Art from the Peabody Essex Museum*, ed. Mary Lou Curran, Christian F. Feest, and John R. Grimmes (New York: American Federation of Arts and the University of Washington Press, 2002), 34–35.

¹⁴⁹ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 82.

¹⁵⁰ Michael Ames, “How Should We Think about What We See in a Museum of Anthropology?,” *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 4, no. 21 (1984): 94; Quoted in Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 125.

¹⁵¹ Macdonald, “Collecting Practices,” 84. Quoted in Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁵² Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, “The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe (1985),” in *Historical Perspectives on Preventive Conservation*, ed. Sarah Staniforth (California: Getty Conservation Institute, 2013), 2.

objects.¹⁵³ By the sixteenth century, cabinets of curiosities collected *exotica* objects, and these exotic objects were embedded within the interest on the “original”, “curious” or “strange”. These objects were taken from distant lands by princes, rulers, merchants. By the seventeenth century, these cabinets began to contain curious, rare, unusual and weird objects. The collections displayed natural and exotic objects that were collected from distant lands. For instance, in 1683, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford opened to the public and became one of the most important cabinets of curiosities in England. It mainly contained natural specimens as well as exotic objects taken from foreign lands. Its main aim was to collect objects reflecting the natural history.¹⁵⁴ (Appx. E) Before the Ashmolean Museum, John Tradescant’s house called “Tradescant’s Ark” in South Lambeth, outside London, was the earliest public museum, filled with Cabinet of Rarities. He also published a catalogue in 1656 titled *Musaeum Tradescantianum*, a collection of curiosities. It is a catalogue of the collection that presented exhibits in two parts; one was the natural objects (naturalia) and the other one was manmade objects (artificialia) (Appx. F). This division reflects the classification of objects according to their origins. The first section of this catalogue was divided into three primary sub-orders of nature; animal, plant and mineral. The second category contained information regarding the man-made objects such as costumes, paintings, coins, weapons...etc. The division between the natural and the man-made did not only provide information about the meaning of the earliest English cabinets of curiosities or the importance of categorization in the early museum genre, but it rather gives an idea about what the

¹⁵³ Gilles Boëtsch, “From Cabinets of Curiosities to the Passion for the ‘Savage,’” in *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage*, ed. Pascal Blanchard (Paris: Actes Sud, 2011), 78. The general character of the museum was shaped around curiosities and rarities. In 1870, its character was defined as “the production of distant countries, all that was comprised under the general name of ‘Rarities’.” (Appx. G)

¹⁵⁴ Boëtsch, “From Cabinets of Curiosities to the Passion for the ‘Savage,’” 78.

effect of certain dichotomies such as natural or artificial, real or imaginary was for the birth of exhibitions during the mid seventeenth century.¹⁵⁵

By the eighteenth century, cabinets were filled with ‘monstrous’ and anthropomorphic curiosities.¹⁵⁶ It was the century when Europe collected anything that was attributed to the ‘abnormal’, hybrid, or ‘monstrous’. These ‘monstrous’ objects would then be subjected to the process of categorization in an attempt to carry them to a scientific field. This categorization, called *teratology* emerged in order to classify ‘monstrous’ bodies either by examining the inner part of bodies such as skulls, organs, skeletons or outer parts of the hybrid or conjoined bodies (mermaids, centaurs, hermaphrodites).¹⁵⁷ This was the era, before the emergence of evolutionary ideology, when the concept of teratology was connected with collecting objects that has reflected both the cultural pattern of early modern Europe and fetishism on ‘monstrous’ objects. This was also the era when the dualism between man and animal was constructed on the basis of collecting ‘monstrous’ objects. These rare objects raised questions in European minds, by pushing the limits of humanity and even created one of the earliest dichotomies between the norm and the ‘abnormal’, the ‘monstrous’ and the others. Therefore, cabinets of curiosities shed light on the invention of the ‘monstrous’, ‘savage’ or ‘other’ bodies and how the

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.ashmolean.org/ash/amulets/tradescant/tradescant04.html> After the death of John, the objects were moved to the Oxford University, Ashmolean Museum, by Elias Ashmole in 1691. The Ashmolean Museum is still open to public.

¹⁵⁶ Heather McHold, “Diagnosing Difference: The Scientific, Medical, and Popular Engagement with Monstrosity in Victorian Britain” (Unpublished Phd. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 2002), 1. Recognizing the interest in ‘monstrous’ bodies, many etymologists states that the word “monster” comes from the Latin word, *monstare* (to show or reveal). This is a meaningful point for this research which will be studied in the last chapter by looking at how ‘black bodies’ were part of the material world and revealed in various display zones.

¹⁵⁷ Boëtsch, “From Cabinets of Curiosities to the Passion for the ‘Savage,’” 81.

European mind was interested in collecting ‘abnormal’, ‘non-European’, ‘exotic’ bodies and created a knowledge and produced a world map in these display arenas.

2.2. Anthropology with the Introduction of ‘Race’ and the *Body*

Anthropology has mostly referred to the study of the physical body since the sixteenth century. In 1501, the word *Anthropologium* (anthropo for man/human and logos for study) was firstly used to indicate the study of the human body.¹⁵⁸ In the next centuries, when colonialism and early-modern scientific improvements began to appeared, anthropology turned into a ‘scientific’ discipline by using specific methods and theories, bringing the origin of humanity and human body into a focus.

Anthropologists began to deal with the relationship between culture and nature. The thin line between these two issues gave rise to endless arguments with regards to the question of what was the relationship between humanity and animality. The answers to this dead-end question have been ranging from man as a tool-bearing animal to man as a special kind of animal that has memory.¹⁵⁹ The point here is that, while the nineteenth century anthropologists began to study the relations or contradictions between culture and nature, it is necessary to remind that the initial aim of the earliest anthropology was to reach and to study the human ontology and not the “culture” itself.¹⁶⁰ The interest in the *obscurity* of human ontology consequently intertwined with the notion of the human body resulted in the

¹⁵⁸ Jack David Eller, *Cultural Anthropology: 101* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 5.

¹⁵⁹ Bryan S. Turner, “Introduction: The Turn of the Body,” in *Introduction: The Turn of the Body*, ed. Bryan S. Turner (New York: Routledge, 2012), 2.

¹⁶⁰ Eller, *Cultural Anthropology*, 6.

articulation of the evolutionary idea in which Man is defined in the stage of 'primitive' in terms of its cultural, social and morphological contexts.

The curiosity and interest in the diversity of the human body was inevitably shaped around the debates on 'human race'. Describing and defining the various kinds of 'human races' is maybe one of the most debated topics in the history of anthropology. Since the eighteenth century, the notion of 'race' has been taken up with a great interest by scientists, ethnologists and anthropologists. The word 'race'¹⁶¹, which was first used in the sixteenth century, had a meaning referring to people of a common descent such as family or lineage.¹⁶² In the next centuries, when the era of Enlightenment or the Age of Reason began to be adapted by ethnological studies, the idea of race gained a methodological momentum. It was the time when the rational thinking was brought to study the 'nature' of the world. In the eighteenth century, the word 'nature' referred to unknown or wild places, to 'savage' people, which had to be rationalized by the adaptation of 'scientific' methods. These methods were primarily on categorizing people based on their 'physical' appearances. In 1735, Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus published the book *Systema Naturae* classifying the 'outcasted' and 'medicalized' bodies called as *Homo anthropomorphia* which encompasses variety of human-like mythological creatures. He made a hierarchical classification that goes from European man- *Homo europaeus* at the top, to the African man -*Homo afer*- at the bottom level. According to Linnaeus' description, European 'races' were "clever, inventive and pale",

¹⁶¹ Rattansi, *Racism*, 23.

¹⁶² In the Middle ages, the concept of 'race' was used to describe alien, 'monstrous' bodies. Please See; John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, 2nd ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

whereas African races were “phlegmatic, black-skinned, slow and negligent.”¹⁶³ As Linnaeus’ description has reflected, African bodies were located outside of humanity, but near animality. African bodies were described as exotic, deformed, ‘monstrous’, ‘abnormal’, ‘anomalous’ bodies which were located far from the body of Europeans.¹⁶⁴ In other words, Linnaeus brought (African) Man within the categorization of the animal world. He invented a hierarchical classification, putting the African Man at the bottom, past, old and the European man at the top, recent and new. Linnaeus’ model was then adapted by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), a German anatomist and naturalist, who developed the racial classifications and published his studies, titled as *De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa* or *On the Natural Variety of Mankind* in 1795. His taxonomy was based on the classification of humans into color categories: black, brown, yellow, red and white (Appx. G).¹⁶⁵ As Linnaeus founded the four race system in 1737, and then in 1779 Johann Friedrich Blumenbach founded the five-race system, anthropology gained a methodological dimension by adapting racial classifications. Although the concept of race does not have a dominant position in Linnaeus’ and Blumenbach’s analysis, the eighteenth century was the era when the idea of race was invented and began to be spread all around the Europe. Since the hierarchical categorization and taxonomy of body were invented, African populations began to be referred to as ‘savage’, which was characterized by the depictions of bestiality and idea of closeness to wild apes. Not surprisingly, since the French anthropologist Paul Topinard (1830–1911) defined

¹⁶³ Gilles Boetsch, “Buffon, Linnaeus and the Invention of “Races” in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage*, ed. Pascal Blanchard (Paris: Actes Sud, 2012), 84.

¹⁶⁴ Boëtsch, “From Cabinets of Curiosities to the Passion for the ‘Savage,’” 84.

¹⁶⁵ Johan Friedrich Blumenbach, *De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa* (Gottingae: VandenHoek et Ruprecht, 1795), 98–99. Quoted in Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 15.

anthropology in 1876 as being part of the natural history and reflecting the relationship between “man and the races of man”¹⁶⁶, anthropology worked within the context of racial issues. In this regard, while the core issue of this chapter is about the history anthropology, it is significant to point out that these early works of racial analyses does not only give clues about the ways anthropology became the science of humankind, but also they point out how anthropology has been articulated with the diversity of human bodies and racial issues since the late seventeenth century.¹⁶⁷

With the introduction of physical anthropology in the next centuries, the human body was no longer a piece of flesh that has evoked curiosity of Western mind. At that point, the body became an object of inquiry that can be measurable and definable by the figures and practices of anthropology. Since the early days of anthropology, the issue of body, or ‘racial’ diversity, has been a focus of study. However, measuring or defining the body was not enough for the nineteenth century scientists. There was a huge ‘scientific’ interest on physical or biological body, which was mostly based upon the evolutionary ideology. As the evolutionary theory emerged out and affected the anthropological studies, body studies turned into a

¹⁶⁶ Paul Topinard, *Anthropology*, New Edition (London: Chapman and Hall Limited, 1890), 3. Before Topinard, The book *Introduction to Anthropology* published in 1863 by Theodor Waitz, has defined anthropology as “the scientific of man in general; or in precise terms, the science of nature man” Please see, Theodor Waitz, *Anthropology of Primitive Peoples*, vol. 1st (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, Paternoster Row., 1863), 3.

¹⁶⁷ In addition to the interest on human physical traits, anthropology in the nineteenth century was also dealing with personal and cultural traits. For example, according to Topinard, on the one hand anthropology “occupies itself with Man and the races of mankind”, on the other hand ethnology concerns “such peoples and tribes as geography and history” and it attempts to study not only the physical features of people but also their “manners, customs, religion, language, physical characteristics and origin.” (8-9) Another example would be the sections of the books published in the early nineteenth century. Although the first section of Haddon’s book titled as the “Physical Anthropology”, whereas the second section called as the “Cultural Anthropology” with the chapters on ethnology, archeology, religion, language. But, as I have mentioned before, the initial and original aim of anthropology was focused on human bodies not culture.

more complex issue. Since the nineteenth century findings and theories on race focused on the physical body, rather than behavioral characteristics of people, human body became an anthropological inquiry, which can be analyzed, defined and measured based on racial variations.

However, nineteenth century anthropological definitions, which make the body a place for anthropological inquiry, is not be sufficient for us. In order to make an in-depth analysis about the history of anthropology, we need to go further by looking at what the role of anthropological *depictions* in creating the body as a place for study was. To explore these *depictions*, I will focus on the analysis of anthropological exhibitions that were products of Western curiosity. As Western curiosity of non-Western people was increased; museums, circuses, zoos, world fairs, ‘freak shows’ and many other display zones began be part of the anthropological display zones. Since the nineteenth century was the age of the African Exploration and the emergence of Darwinian theories, I will read the mechanisms of exhibitions under the umbrella of these historical thresholds. Before we explore the effects of these thresholds, it is crucial to seek answers to these questions: how was the body depicted and defined as a ‘savage’? How was the ‘savage’ invented through ethnographic exhibitions during the early nineteenth century? In order to answer these questions, next part will look at the birth of taxonomy, classification and its connection with the development of the displaying genre, starting from the cabinets of curiosities, and going until the birth of ethnographic human exhibitions during the early nineteenth century.

2.3. Between Science and Spectacle: The Case of Saartje Baartman as the “Hottentot Venus”

When an anthropologist goes into a space of an indigenous population and looks at their habitat with interest and curiosity, s/he gazes at what s/he encounters. This gaze is culturally organized and systematized, as well as disciplined. It is a gaze that is social, economic, and personal traits and supported and justified by an academic discourse/institution. It is the production of both the personal and professional pleasure that helps to construct one's gaze as distinctly Western and self over the indigenous population as Other. The concept of the gaze reminds us that looking cannot be pure, simple and innocent, because it is a learned ability.¹⁶⁸ According to postmodernist thought, what the eye sees is not a pre-existing thing. Instead, looking is constructed discursively and visually, and thus things become visible to the eye. If we go back to Red Peter's case, the story is shaped around the gazing paradigm and follows the racial connotation through the supremacy of white, male and imperial gaze. Since the body of Red Peter becomes an object of examination, the story follows the paradigm of curiosity, surveillance and observation. When Red Peter is on stage and shares his stories with the academy, the process of gazing inevitably will be part of the process of Red Peter's transformation. During his racial transformation, Red Peter is experiencing the colonial process in person and is exposed to the imperial gaze a great deal. Therefore, in order to open up this debate, I will first *look* at the concept of gazing and question how does the Western gaze have an effect on transforming the colonial body into a subject of curiosity and inquiry.

¹⁶⁸ John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2011), 1.

In the *Black Skin White Mask* (1952), Franz Fanon shares his experience with us when a white child *sees* and shouts at him, “Dirty Nigger!” or “Look, a Negro!”¹⁶⁹ The book does not only have Fanon’s personal experiences, but its main idea is shaped around the topic of race, which has been influenced by the author’s background in medical and psychoanalytical studies. He is, therefore, interested in analyzing the psychoanalytical background of racial categories that has been created by the white ‘supremacy’. According to Fanon, the black body does not find its own corporeality and thus it becomes an object for the western gaze. The “movements, the attitudes, the glances” in short the identity of the black subject is altered through the fixation, gazing and identification in a place where he encounters the white subject/ body/ gaze/ identity.¹⁷⁰ Besides, Fanon states that the identity of the black person is altered and is exposed to a certain gaze. Thus, the actual physical self is transformed, changed and distorted through specific racial connotations and fixations. In Fanon’s own words, “my body is given back to me sprawled out, distorted, recolored.”¹⁷¹

Since the gaze is a socio-culturally constituted practice, there are many ways of looking. People gaze upon the outside world through specific filters of ideas, perspectives, backgrounds, intentions and expectations, shaped by class, gender, identity...etc. The first sentence of John Berger’s *Ways of Seeing* (1972) is important, since it states that “seeing comes before words. The child looks and recognizes before it can speak.”¹⁷² As an art critic, cultural historian as well as a painter, Berger is interested in *looking* at the relations between images and text while

¹⁶⁹ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann, New edition (London: Pluto Press, 2008) 82.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 82.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 86.

¹⁷² John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972), 7.

he challenges the understanding of how these two issues function in our current world. Berger continuously pushes the reader to ask questions on relations between seeing and knowing. For instance, in the earlier stages of the development of knowing, there is a process of choosing or using of specific words. However, words cannot provide strong and crucial answers about the outside or un-known world. In Berger's own words, "we see things as affected by what we know or what we believe... We only see what we look at."¹⁷³ We can only see through our own filtered constructions. Therefore, gazing is framed by various elements, practices, ideas and memories, as well as by circulating images and texts. Such socio-cultural frames enable anthropologists, ethnologists and/or curators to see the physical forms of the human body before their eyes define the world as interesting, beautiful and/or ugly.¹⁷⁴ These socially and culturally constructed lenses can affect the ways of seeing. Berger's point of view is playing significant role in order to understand the basic principles of gazing. However, it is not enough to solve the problem, which is hiding itself behind the gazing paradigm. In this sense, the important question is, how can we articulate the European gaze within the context of ethnographic human exhibitions?

The most fundamental thing that supported the formation the spectacles of native people was the visual interest.¹⁷⁵ The ethnographic human exhibitions that flourished in world fairs from 1870, until 1930, legitimized the Darwinian ideology between 'primitives' and apes. "To see is to know" was the motto of the World's

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze* 3.0, 2. The main idea of this book is shaped around the way in which the practices and patterns of touristic gaze. In this sentence, I've changed and updated the main idea of this book.

¹⁷⁵ Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870–1930," *Cultural Anthropology* 8, no. 3 (1993): 338–369.

Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. Since the motto of the 1893 Columbian Exposition was based upon the idea of the gazing paradigm, the ethnographic exhibitions were shaped around the discourses of surveillance, curiosity and gazing. Natives from colonized cultures became a part of this phenomenon. Together with their dresses, daily life objects, houses and even complete villages, these so-called 'savage' people became objects for Western visual satisfaction.¹⁷⁶

Although Berger takes the gazing paradigm through socio-culturally filters, which have an effect on the production of this paradigm, I argue that cultural and historical implications exceed its limits. A general study of the ways of seeing in the exhibitionary order and of its colonial and scientific reasons remains limited in different ways. I will therefore approach these exhibitions and spectacles, as a form of representation and as a form of vision that is created in cultural as well as historical practices, which the 'native' is getting closer as well as keeping at a distance. As Blanchard has suggested, that these exhibitions demonstrate visual pleasure in exoticism and/or strangeness to give information of these hybrids.¹⁷⁷ It is not easy to draw clear-cut distinctions between the notions of 'savage' and 'freak' or 'monstrous' bodies, because these two notions somehow went hand in hand for the first part of the nineteenth century spectacles.

In addition to the effect of colonial powers on creating such displays, these human exhibitions became a place of where science and visual interest were combined. Although slavery was abolished in 1838 after the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833, the colonial empire created a society divided into parts;

¹⁷⁶ Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases: Account and Vision," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle In the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard et al., trans. Terasa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 95.

¹⁷⁷ P. Blanchard (2008), 3.

exhibited native people according to their bodily formations on the one hand and the curiosity, wonder and interest of the Victorian spectators on the other.

It was during the early nineteenth century that the idea of normalization of the natural world appeared. This idea was transformed into a combination of popular shows, scientific approach and research on racial distinctions. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the content of ethnographic exhibitions was still a disorganized affair and had not advanced into a fully professionalized sector, playing an essential part in major colonial displays.¹⁷⁸ Although these exhibits were transformed into a performance or became part of show business sector, they still displayed strength, ‘abnormality’, curiosity and exoticness at the same time. This was also the time when human exhibitions turned into a model of displaying ‘exotics’ with certain racial features, which were organized either by individual entrepreneurs or formed by larger display zones, such as world fairs and colonial exhibitions.¹⁷⁹ The mid-nineteenth century played an important role in the emergence of various types of display areas, since it was the time when the displays of difference were institutionalized and commercialized. Fairs, circuses, exhibitions, carnivals as well as zoos became popular throughout the Western world, bringing visual pleasure to visitors and profit to organizers. The interest on ‘monstrous’ bodies was related to various practices of alterity and went hand in hand with the appearance of ethnographic shows. Exhibitions on ‘monstrous’ or ‘freak’ bodies had been very popular since the sixteenth century, but they reached its zenith point in the first half of the nineteenth century. The arrival of ethnographic displays thus extended the

¹⁷⁸ Blanchard et al., “Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Shows in the West,” 7.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 6–10. Blanchard takes the second half of the nineteenth century as a model in which the commercialization of human exhibitions were took place. Historians prefer to take the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition as an important model which created a professional and institutional exhibitionary order.

limits of displaying Otherness, which created a shift from ‘monstrous’ to exotic bodies.¹⁸⁰ However, it is not easy to define the interest on displaying ‘monstrous’ and exotic people as a shift, rather it is better to take these two issues as interrelated practices, which cannot be separated from each other.

In Europe, a similar process had developed in the first half of the nineteenth century with the London and Paris exhibitions of the Hottentot Venus (1810-15), whose body became an object of curiosity as well as scientific study.¹⁸¹ One of the famous cases in the history of human exhibitions was the story of Saartje Baartman (later called Hottentot Venus by European entertainment sector), who was a key figure in the birth of the practice of human exhibitions. Baartman’s display marks an important change of practices in European exhibitions, as the earliest example of capturing and displaying the ‘alive’ native figures in the nineteenth century. It is therefore crucial to describe the historical and critical points on questioning how the bodies of African black colonized women became objects of curiosity, entertainment and ‘scientific’ inquiry.

On 1810, Saartje Baartman was captured from to make a performance in London, Piccadily, where her story began. She was forced to make shows, performances and she was put on display as an object of curiosity, excitement and fantasies for her Victorian audience (Fig. 2). After London, Baartman was forced to travel to France under the contract made with S. Reaux’s. Since Reaux was the ‘owner’ of Baartman, he decided to exhibit her.¹⁸² She was exhibited as if she was

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 10.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 6.

¹⁸² Gilles Boetsch and Pascal Blanchard, “The Hottentot Venus: Birth of a ‘Freak’ (1815),” in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard et al., trans. Terasa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 63–64.

being in a strange, wild and brutal place. Until Baartman's death on March, 1815, she was continued to be part of the exhibitionary order and entertainment sector by presenting her own body on stage for the Western audience.

After her death on March 1815, European scientists began to be interested in studying the physical appearance of Baartman. For example, Georges Cuvier (1769-1832), who was a French naturalist and zoologist regarded as the founder of palaeontology, viewed Baartman's body as a bestial, brutal and extraordinary 'thing'. According to Cuvier's report, her body became a 'scientific' object, which was positioned far away from the human form, as her face, her body parts were seen as similar to animal form.¹⁸³ Afterwards, her anatomy was taken up with great interest by scientists, medical practitioners and anthropologists. Georges Cuvier dissected Baartman's body. Cuvier wrote a report to the French Academy of Medicine in 1817. In his report, Cuvier claimed that "races with depressed and compressed skulls are condemned to a perpetual state of inferiority" (Appx. H).¹⁸⁴ Cuvier removed sexual organs, brain and other organs, placing them in jars, which would be moved to the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. (Fig. 1) This time, her brain became a debate for scientists by questioning the relationship between the size of brain, skull or head forms and the level of 'civilization'

The treatment of Baartman's alive and dead body displays a dilemma. On the one hand, her body was accepted as an unusual form of human body that is linked more closely with the animal form. It was accepted as an in-between, neither human

¹⁸³ Ibid., 65. According to Boetsch and Blanchard, Cuvier declared that he had "never seen a human head more similar that of monkey than this."

¹⁸⁴ G Cuvier, "Extrait D'observations Faites Sur Le Cadavre D'une Femme Connue À Paris et À Londres Sous Le Nomme de Vénus Hottentotte," *Mémoires Du Musée Nationale d'Histoire Naturelle* iii (1817): 259–74.

nor animal - in short, 'freak'. On the other hand, her body was taken up with great interest and was depicted as a pornographic object in various engravings and advertisements (Fig. 2). Her 'wild' body became the symbol of the Westerners' fascination with the Other¹⁸⁵ and was turned into a curious object in order to satisfy the Western gaze. The story of Baartman starting in the 1810s is not only merely a reflection of the history of human exhibitions, but it is also the proof of how the bodies of African women became racialized objects, based on their unusual and so-called 'different' bodily features. This discourse was clearly strengthened by the colonial discourse to provide 'proper' and scientific answers to understanding the races of colonized lands. Baartman's body was seen as a 'savage' and wild object, which was represented in the context of monstrosity, but it was a black, female, naked and colonized body, misshaped and 'different' body, 'uncivilized' and 'savage' that was put on display as an object of entertainment, science and medicine. It was also the body which was accepted as being the exact opposite of the "clothed white bodies of civilized European women."¹⁸⁶ The femininity of Baartman was constructed by representing her body in a context where it was subjected to the Western white colonial male gaze. This gaze was fascinated by the curiousness, rareness and strangeness of this female body, which reminded them of their superiority and masculinity. Saartje Baartman's story is probably one of the most known cases in the history of both Africa and in Europe. It is still being written, studied and analyzed in many other fields such as body studies, visual studies, history of slavery and gender studies.

¹⁸⁵ Nanette Jacomijn et al., "Savage Imagery," in *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage* (Actes Sud, 2012), 120.

¹⁸⁶ Boetsch and Blanchard, "The Hottentot Venus," 68.

2.4. The Role of Ethnologist Robert Gordon Latham and the Crystal Palace Exhibition in Sydenham: Exhibition of the ‘African Natives’

The nineteenth century was known as the era of the Industrial Revolution, when the manufacturing and production processes were improved with the invention of steam power and the development of powerful and efficient machines. However, nineteenth century cannot only be defined within the context of these political and economical practices; it was also a century in which significant social and cultural changes took place in. Therefore, in this section, I will read nineteenth century as a period when the display genre developed in Britain under the practice of anthropology and ethnography.¹⁸⁷ In this sense, one of the most important mile stones in the history of the display genre was the emergence of world fairs. The first world fair called the “Great Exhibition” was built at the Crystal Palace, London in 1851. It was the time when the British power and sovereignty began to rise in technology, industry and economy. Paul Greenhalgh explains that during the time of the Great Exhibition, railway routes were almost finished and the following years would also be called as “the second industrial revolution.”¹⁸⁸ The development of technological and industrial production both affected and was affected by the expansion of rail lines and shipping in Britain.¹⁸⁹ The Crystal Palace does not only reflect the characteristics of the industrial and technological revolution, but it also carries the significant political and cultural elements of the period.

¹⁸⁷ The musealization of culture or the museum boom is not unique for the European context. I am well aware that for the Ottoman period, in 1846, the Byzantine objects were kept in the Hagia Irene. In 1869, the name of the place was changed to Muze-i Humayun.

¹⁸⁸ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988).

¹⁸⁹ İlkey B. Ayvaz, “The Empire’s Exhibition and the City’s Biennial: Contemporary Implications of World as Picture” (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010), 7.

Ethnographic exhibitions reached their peak period in terms of a scale, commercial success and public access with the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851.¹⁹⁰ In his book *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London* (1855), John Conolly gave a testimony about human displays, which were playing significant role due to their commercial effects. Visitors paid entrance fees to see living peoples' performances which became enormously popular in the nineteenth century.

(Appx.I)¹⁹¹ For one penny or more, these people were imported from colonized territories to entertain the Victorians. Conolly's idea pointed out that these shows brought profit and they were entertaining for the public, but she is not totally satisfied with this idea. Indeed, Sadiya Qureshi expands Conolly's testimony and suggests the idea that these earliest 'profit-oriented' human displays must had an impact on the production of ethnological information. As it was seen in the illustrated weekly magazine, *The Illustrated London News*, by the early 1840s, commercial exhibitions began to be transformed into an education field for the Victorian public and scientists. Exhibitions provided 'scientific' knowledge about human variety and satisfied the curiosity of the Victorians.¹⁹² (Fig) In addition to Conolly's ideas, people were not only exhibited for profit oriented purposes, they were also ethnological subjects that anthropologists, medical practitioners were making observations on and studying physical characteristics. Qureshi asks an important question regarding the relations of ethnology and exhibitionary order; how

¹⁹⁰ Sadiya Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 3.

¹⁹¹ Sadiya Qureshi, "Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples, and the Natural History of Race, 1854-1866," *The Historical Journal* 54, no. 1 (March 2011): 144.

¹⁹² Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 187. Quoted in "The Bosjesman, at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly," *The Illustrated London News*, June 12, 1847, 381. As seen in Qureshi's quotation taken from the illustrated weekly magazine of its period, *ILN*, wrote a review of the 1847 San exhibition in Manchester, "the first effect, on entering the room, may be repulsive; but the attentive visitor soon overcomes this feeling, and sees in the benighted beings before him a fine subject for scientific investigation, as well as a scene for popular gratification, and rational curiosity."

were the displayed peoples transformed into ethnological material for the purpose of education and practice?¹⁹³ Since these people became both displayed as an object of inquiry and also got turned into ethnological subjects, what was the role of the ethnological perspective during the process of transformation of the native into a ‘savage’?

After the Great Exhibition in the Hyde Park, it was decided to move the Palace to the South of London, to be reconstructed on Sydenham Hill. The Crystal Palace stayed in Sydenham from 1854 until it was destroyed by fire in 1936. In the preface his book *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham 1854-1936* (2004), Jan R. Piggott mentions, that the Sydenham Palace was thought as “a three dimensional encyclopedia of both nature and art... that would help visitors to understand evolution and civilization”¹⁹⁴ The exhibition at Sydenham was built as a colossal monument was built to provide an ethnological knowledge for the Victorian public, rather than being an international trade fair.¹⁹⁵ It was a large monumental building, where each colony was allocated a pavillion. More than twenty-five nations and many colonized regions were invited to exhibit their artefacts, raw materials and ‘exotic’ objects, while live exhibitions and traditions of the colonial world were also displayed at the Crystal Palace. The re-creation of the African culture was carried on through the practice of exhibition emerging from the combination of political,

¹⁹³ Qureshi, “Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples,” 144–45.

¹⁹⁴ Piggott, *Palace of the People*, v.

¹⁹⁵ It is important to state that, the exhibition at Sydenham was funded by a private enterprise and its main aim was inevitably to make a profit. For example, the Crystal Palace displays were cheaper than any other exhibitions in London. Since the supply and demand is the basic economic principle, in the first year, 1,322,00 visitors plus 71,000 children visited the exhibition at Sydenham. Besides, the visitors could be coming from the elite and working class. In addition to the commercial side of any kind of exhibition, displaying something/someone is constructed within a specific narration. According to Qureshi, when we look at from this perspective, the basic narration of Sydenham exhibition was around the aim of education principle, as Latham has mentioned in his guidebook. Qureshi, “Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples,” 147. Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 193.

economical and social factors. These exhibits were not only displayed in local theatres, performance halls and independent stages, but they were also supported by the government and shown in national exhibitions which began to be popular in the aftermath of the 1851 World Fair at the Crystal Palace in London.

The British ethnologist Robert Gordon Latham, became the curator of the Court of Natural History at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, London, England in 1854. (Appx. J)¹⁹⁶ R. G. Latham organized an African section by displaying mannequins, houses, and daily life objects. As an ethnologist and a curator of the exhibition, the role of Robert Gordon Latham at the Sydenham Exhibition was important due to the effect of his interdisciplinary background on the arrangement of ethnological displays as well as his perspective in creating an exhibitionary area. I will explore the understanding and practices of Latham, who was paying specific attention to observing, displaying and representing people's bodies on stage. Since he was trained in medical studies, anatomy, physiology and natural history, his method of defining, classifying and displaying people would certainly have been affected from this interdisciplinary background. I will, therefore, take the Sydenham Exhibition as a reference point due to the invention of the African human body as a 'savage' that were carried on a 'national' display arena. Indeed, I will look at the narration of the exhibition and arrangement of displays that was built upon to idea to re-create a 'national' ideology by displaying people from colonized regions.

Sydenham exhibition at the Crystal Palace in 1854 presents two important details. The first one is the arrangement of displays and the descriptions in the

¹⁹⁶ Robert Gordon Latham and Edward Forbes, *The Natural History Department of the Crystal Palace Described: Ethnology, Zoology and Botany* (London: Crystal Palace Library, 1854); Samuel Phillips, *Guide to the Crystal Palace and Park* (London: Crystal Palace Library, 1854); Piggott, *Palace of the People*.

guidebook, which helped to provide information to the audience about the displayed cultures. In this guidebook, there was a map of the Natural History Department, which was designed to direct visitors in the exhibition. (Fig. 3) This map suggested to the visitors to start their tour from the natural history department at the south wing and end in the section on Africa. In the first section, which was on Australian, visitors could see local flowers, animals and even a group of Papuan peoples and two Australian men. In the next section, India, a group of animals and Hindu people were displayed side by side. Then, in the section on Africa, ‘specimens’ of people from the eastern coast of the African continent were exhibited.¹⁹⁷ As Latham and Forbes, mentioned “the arrangement is so far geographical that, to a certain extent, the visitor is able to place himself in respect to the objects before him in the same relation as he would be to a map of the world.”¹⁹⁸ According to Sera-Shriar, these ethnographic displays were built geographically, so that visitors could tour the displays as if they were travelling around the world.¹⁹⁹ In addition to the apparent meaning of these ethnographic displays, the map of the Natural History Department at Sydenham provided details on how the displays of countries were designed in the exhibition space. According to the map, China, India and North, East and South African countries were in the middle between Australia, India and the American continent. It is the vivid example about how the colonial mind placed the non-Western countries- in particular the African and the Oriental world- in separate sections or, located away from the ‘New World’ or Americas. The history of map making, names of the geographical spaces such as the ‘Middle East’ and the orientation of the map would

¹⁹⁷ Qureshi, “Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples,” 147–48. Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 194–95.

¹⁹⁸ Latham and Forbes, *The Natural History Department*, 6.

¹⁹⁹ Efram Sera-Shriar, “Ethnology in the Metropole: Robert Knox, Robert Gordon Latham and Local Sites of Observational Training,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 42, no. 4 (December 2011): 493.

also suggest many important clues about how geography has been related to colonialism.²⁰⁰ The arrangement of the exhibition and the written documents accompanying it does not only prove how Victorians learned information about the distant lands, but they were also the most vivid example of how the Victorians encountered the colonized people in a 'national' exhibitionary order.

The second important detail of the Sydenham exhibition was that it presented the articulation of the ethnological studies with exhibits. Sydenham became an exhibition to display non-Western human models by constructing their 'natural' environments. Latham designed the exhibitionary area by putting various human models on stage as if they were living in their 'natural' environments. Latham's exhibitionary area would be the earliest example of what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls in her essay "Objects of Ethnography" (1990), *in-situ* exhibition. According to Gimblett, *in situ* exhibitions seem to be more realistic and these exhibitions were built on places where they can easily convey the feeling of an 'original' setting.²⁰¹ In addition to the construction of *in situ* exhibitions, the display of human models provided ethnological and ethnographical knowledge for anyone who could not travel distant lands and who were curious about the non-Western territory.²⁰² Through these ethnological depictions, visitors could easily visualize non-Western people in their 'natural' habitats. As Efram Sera-Shriar has mentioned, although these ethnological displays did only have mannequins rather than living representatives of each culture, the accuracy and authenticity of the ethnological

²⁰⁰ In order to view the problematic side of the map orientation through the works of contemporary art, for example, Turkish multimedia artist Hale Tenger created an installation of an upside-down globe called "Strange Fruit" (2009).

²⁰¹ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp & S.D. Lavine (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 388-391.

²⁰² Sera-Shriar, "Ethnology in the Metropole," 493.

displays were playing significant roles for Latham. These mannequins were made of white plaster casts that were painted with various colors and they had human-like features such as hair, eyebrows, eyes, jewelry and facial expressions.²⁰³ They were even dressed in ‘indigenous’ clothing in order to provide the most ‘accurate’ and the ‘authentic’ information about the people living in the Zulu region. Therefore, Sera-Shriar calls them “realistic looking mannequins”²⁰⁴, which were displayed in a certain order and meaning. For instance, in the section of Zulu Display, Latham provided ethnological descriptions about the life of the Zulu people.

“The Zulu group is taken from life... a Fetish-man, medium-man, mystery-man, or conjuror (we may choose our name), is called in, and set upon the suspected parties, who sit round in a circle.”²⁰⁵

In addition to the arrangement of human displays, Latham provided labels and descriptions of each group of human models. For example, Latham defined the ‘Negroes’ in terms of their physical and cultural forms.

“In the Delta of the Niger we find the best opportunity for contrasting the negro with the European, the black man with the white;... wherein the African differs from the rest of the world are found in the most marked form.”²⁰⁶

In this regard, what I find interesting is the role of early anthropologists in producing ethnological displays. Since the development of ethnological framework could not be separated from the history of anthropological displays, Latham’s works should be re-evaluated through this perspective. When we remember the discourse of

²⁰³ Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871*, 97–98.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. For more information to get a general idea about the display of mannequins in the museum context, please see Mark B. Sandberg, *Living Pictures, Missing Persons: Mannequins, Museums, and Modernity* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003). About the history of mannequins in the context of an art, please see the catalogue of the exhibition of The Fitzwilliam Museum called “Silent Partners: Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish” (2014). For further studies, display of mannequins and even ‘wax models’ is such an interesting topic which should be studied from a philosophical way of thinking including theories of body studies, queer theory and even gender studies.

²⁰⁵ Latham and Forbes, *The Natural History Department*, 54.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 41. For Latham’s ideas upon the displayed peoples, please see Latham’s analysis in his book the “Varieties of Man.”

the guidebook, Latham explains the term ‘ethnology’ as the combination of two Greek words, *ethnos* and *logos*. For Latham, the term ethnology was equated with the science, devoted itself to examine “different varieties of the human species” rather than “different nations of the world.”²⁰⁷ Defining ethnology as the study of human species was an explicit indication of Latham’s perspective, which was based on separating human beings according to their physical and racial features. Unlike the perspective that all human races came from common descents, later known as monogenesis, Latham followed the perspective of French anatomist Georges Cuvier who divided the human species into three main races; Caucasian, Mongolian and Negro. This was the most popular idea, which was accepted by British practitioners during the early nineteenth century. Moreover, Latham’s guidebook, which was an explicit example of taxonomic definitions, categorized the humanity along the lines of civilized and ‘savage’; European and Negro.²⁰⁸ Latham believed that the human varieties needed to be at the center of ethnological enquiries. Thus, his primary concern was to identify different human races based on their physical and cultural features. The taxonomy of human physical features provided answers to the question of how to examine and to observe human physical differences in a ‘scientific’ way. This was the significant point in order to see how Latham developed a method of taxonomy through observation²⁰⁹ and how he combined his method of ethnological research by displaying “realistic looking” human models. (Fig.4a, Fig. 4b.)

Sydenham’s human model displays are important in the history of human ethnographic exhibitions for understanding the structure of exhibitions and their close relations to the practices of ethnology, which created a ‘legitimate’ basis for the

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 5.

²⁰⁸ Qureshi, “Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples,” 150.

²⁰⁹ Sera-Shriar, “Ethnology in the Metropole,” 492.

development of racial understanding. Although these displays contained mannequins, plasters and models, they still presented how the variety of races and human differences were put on display and how the ethnological inquiry were embedded in the colonial mindset with the help of exhibitionary area. In this point, as Qureshi has reminded that, Latham's collection and efforts provided opportunities for ethnologists in order to make ethnological research and studies. However, it is not that much easy to come to conclusion. In his book *The Making of British Anthropology 1813-1871*, Sera-Shriar has pointed out that Latham's ethnological exhibition had two main aims. The first point was that the content of Latham's guidebook, which contained of information that lead visitors about how to observe and interpret human differences in a more 'scientific' way of thinking. Therefore, these exhibitions that took place in the ethnological department of the Crystal Palace took an educating mission to inform the British public about the physical characteristics and varieties of human bodies. The second point, which is the reason why I have described Latham's work in this research, is the political connection with the birth of these ethnological exhibitions. As I have stated in the previous chapter, anthropologists were charged with the duty of either going abroad or staying within the homeland to study the varieties of mankind. In this case, Latham was also charged with the duty of displaying the human races that were colonized by the British Empire. The Crystal Palace at Sydenham was not only a place for exhibiting various races, but it also became a place for carrying political message to the British public. By connecting ethnological research with the colonial process, these exhibitions at the Crystal Palace acquainted the British public with presenting "territorial wealth and people who inhabited it."²¹⁰ The 'national' Great Exhibition in

²¹⁰ Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871*, 95.

Sydenham presented how the narration was created in exhibits by bringing the distant and colonial lands into the place of ethnologists, which helped them to build a so-called 'convincing' story and show it to the audience in vivid, tangible and legitimate ways.

Ethnographic exhibitions began to be popular in London during the early nineteenth century, when the Saartje Baartman performance took place in Europe. After the popularity of Baartman, ethnographic displays began to be expanded in London world fairs. Charles Forsdick takes the years between 1830- 1850 as the emergence of human exhibitions or in his own words "anthropo-zoological exhibitions", which were taking place in various individual and institutional display areas in London'. In this regard, exhibition of "realistic looking mannequins" or the African Zulu mannequins can be called as a transitional exhibition, locating in between early performances and the invention of the 'savage', during the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, Latham's exhibition can act as a transitional exhibition, which is located in between two main exhibitions, the display of Saartje Baartman in the early nineteenth century and the invention of human ethnographical displays specifically Zulu Exhibitions in 1853, which will be studied in the next part.

2.5. Invention of the 'Savage' during the Mid-Nineteenth Century: 'Zulu' Exhibitions

Caldecotts, one of the famous business families of the nineteenth century in England, took thirteen Zulus to London in order to display them for the British public. These captured thirteen Zulu People from Natal, locating in the southern coast of Africa arrived in London in March 1853. They were forced to be part of Victorian spectacles reconstructing their daily life and ritual ceremonies on a display

stage. (Fig.5) Zulu Exhibitions were displayed in galleries of London in 1853. The Caldecotts rented a display arena in St. George's Gallery at Hyde Park Corner and hired the painter Charles Marshall (1806-1890) to create the scenery, representing the people and place on display, which was published on newspapers and pamphlets.

²¹¹ In order to provide a background information about the Zulu Exhibition and to market them to the public, Caldecott's son wrote a pamphlet entitled *Descriptive History of the Zulu Kafirs, Their Customs and Their Country, With Illustrations* (1853), which was sold during the exhibition at the Gallery.²¹² The Caldecotts claimed that these people were the first 'Kafirs'²¹³ taken from the Zulu region to make a performance in England. In Caldecott's own words "the English public should be gratified with a sight of the interesting savages..." (Appx. K).²¹⁴

Interestingly, the "Zulu Kafir Exhibition" became much more popular compared with other shows in London. During the months that the Zulus were put on display in the city, there were other human exhibitions such as the "Earthmen"²¹⁵ from South Africa, and the "Aztec Liliputians"²¹⁶ (Fig.6), who from Central

²¹¹ Bernth Lindfors, "Charles Dickens and the Zulus," in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, ed. Bernth Lindfors (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 65.

²¹² Ibid., 62-65.

²¹³ It was borrowed from the word *kafir* in Arabic language to define the non-believers. The word *kafir* in African context was used by European settlers to define the African people. In this book "The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country" (1857), Josephy Shooter defines "the Kafirs were belong to the Negro variety of mankind." (1) The word 'kafir' therefore had racial and colonial connotations during the nineteenth century. Please see, Joseph Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (London: E. Stanford, 1857).

²¹⁴ *Descriptive History of the Zulu Kafirs, Their Customs and Their Country, with Illustrations. [Handbook to the Exhibition of Native Zulu Kafirs, St. George's Gallery, Piccadilly.] ... Revised by C. H. Caldecott, Etc* (J. Mitchell, 1853), 4. Quoted in; Lindfors, "Charles Dickens and the Zulus," 62.

²¹⁵ *Illustrated London News* described these shows as "two pygmies from Southern Africa". 6 Nov. 1852: 371-72. The name 'Earthmen' was given to "little Africans", since they were "living in holes", they had "delicate feet and hand." However, Conolly states that the word did not totally fit those African people. Please see, John Conolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London* (London: Reed and Pardon, Printers, Paternoster, 1855), 27. (Appx. I)

²¹⁶ "The Last Two Week at the Hanover Square Rooms," Poster, Evanion Collection, The British Library (London, Westminster, 1853), <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/evanion/FullImage.aspx?EvanID=024-000000376&ImageId=49862>. These were also called 'Aztec Children', Maximo and Bartola who were originally from Central America. Based on Durbach's analysis, they were exhibited in London and many other cities of the

America, were brought to London by Latham, a member of the ETS.²¹⁷ Latham wrote a report, published in 1854 by the Twenty-Third Meeting British Association for the Advancement of Science, which included observations and ideas about the social and physical conditions of four cultures; the Zulus, the Earthmen, Australians and Aztecs. He defined the habitats and social conditions of the Earthmen, while he characterized the other three cultures based on their physical characteristics. In his own words, the Zulus “are intermediate both in shape and colour” and Aztecs are “ill-shapen and goitrous” (Appx. L).²¹⁸ Hence, these three exhibitions -Earthmen, Aztec Lilliputians and Zulu Kaffir- were not only popular among the Victorian public stage, they also have been asked to give a performance for Queen Victoria herself and her children at the Buckingham Palace.²¹⁹

What made the Zulu Exhibition more fascinating than other ethnographic exhibitions was how it was seen as a lively and ‘natural’ display and not an artificial and inauthentic sideshow. In his chapter on “Charles Dickens and the Zulus”(1999) Bernth Lindfors has pointed out that there were various reasons why the Zulus were getting popular in Britain. First of all, it was not a common thing to put Zulu people on display, since most of the human exhibitions displayed ex-slave black people from North America or the West Indies. However, the Zulu people were from Africa

United Kingdom from the mid-1850s till 70s. Then, they were displayed at the Barnum and Bailey Circus and Westminster Aquarium between the late 1880s and early 90s. They were both born ‘microcephaly’ a type of brain disorder that had an effect on both their physical appearance and cognitive development. The word microcephaly first used in the late 1850s by the Antropological Society and continued to be part of the medical debates. Please see, Nadja Durbach, *The Spectacle of Deformity: Freak Shows and Modern British Culture* (California: University of California Press, 2010), 120.

²¹⁷ Lindfors, “Charles Dickens and the Zulus,” 63–64.

²¹⁸ Robert Gordon Latham, “Ethnological Remarks Upon Some of the More Remarkable Varieties of the Human Species, Represented by Individuals Now in London” (London, UK: Report of the Twenty-Third Meeting of the British Association For the Advancement of Science Held at Hull September 1853, 1854), 88, Reached from www.archive.org. (Appx. 12)

²¹⁹ Lindfors, “Charles Dickens and the Zulus,” 64.

and they were accepted as “primitive people” by the Europeans. Thus, nineteenth century British people had only heard and read about the unusual, ‘monstrous’ bodily features and strange areas of African populations without seeing them²²⁰ and the Zulu exhibits finally gave them a chance at seeing Zulu bodies. Besides, since the science of ethnology was emerged out in Britain in the mid nineteenth century, medical practitioners and anthropologists would be interested in these exhibitions to study their appearance without traveling to distant lands. According to a review, published in the *London Times*, people on display eat, make their rituals and even make their wedding ceremonies as if they were living in their own homeland.²²¹ There were also other reviewers, who were interested in the physical appearance of the Zulus. For example, a writer in *The Athenaeum* clearly talked about how the body of the Zulus was different from the ‘West African Negroes’ by saying “Most of the men have a fine muscular development, and they exhibit considerable strength in some of their exhibitions on the stage. One thing is very striking in these performances-that is, the almost perfect dramatic effect with which these wild men play their parts.”²²²

Another columnist in *The Spectator* was fascinated by the physical characteristics such as “attenuated legs” of the Zulus. The comment mostly contained details about how the people on display were resembled to animal forms, which led to their categorization as ‘savage’.²²³

²²⁰ Ibid., 63.

²²¹ “Now the Caffres are at their meal, feeding themselves with enormous spoons, and expressing their satisfaction by a wild chant, under the inspiration of which they bump themselves along without rising in a sort of circular dance... Now there is a wedding ceremony, now a hunt, now a military expedition, all with characteristic dances...” *The London Times*, May 18, 1853.

²²² *Athenaeum*, May 28, 1853. Quoted in Lindfors, “Charles Dickens and the Zulus,” 67.

²²³ “The Zulus- fine well-formed men, of fleshly frames by attenuated legs- get up the quarrel, and discuss the chances of war, with a great appearance of being in earnest about it all... As for the noises- the howls, yells, hoots, and whoops, the snuffling, wheezing, bubbling, groveling, and stamping- they form a concert to whose savagery we cannot attempt to do justice.” “Caffre Exhibition,” *The Spectator*, May 21, 1853.

2.5.1. Charles Dickens and the Zulu Kaffir Exhibition

The British novelist and journalist Charles Dickens (1812-1870) wrote an essay called “The Noble Savage”, which appeared in the weekly magazine *Household Words* on June 11, 1853. (Appx. M) Dickens’ thoughts and ideas played a significant role in presenting the relationships between ethnographic exhibitions and the spectacle society. Based on his essay, Dickens visited ethnographic exhibitions and entertainment shows in London. After his visits to the popular the “Zulu Kafir Exhibition”, which was organized by the Caldecott family, Dickens wrote a short review about this exhibition. In his review, he described such people on display in London and specifically gave his attention to the Zulu people. In his first sentences, Dickens focused on the Zulus, describing them as what literary scholar and critic Bernth Lindfors calls “hilarious examples of the ignobility of uncivilized man”²²⁴.

“I call him a savage, and I call a savage a something highly desirable to be civilized off the face of the earth. I think a mere gent (which I take to be the lowest form of civilization) better than a howling, whistling, clucking, stamping, jumping, tearing savage... He is savage- cruel, false, thievish, murderous...”²²⁵

Dickens’ definition of these people as ‘savage’ is based on his judgement of their physical and cultural features. He provides a general framework of ‘savage’ people in terms of the way of their living, acting, eating...etc. Although the ‘savage’ is described as the “blemishes of civilization”, the ones who have “swinish life” are defined as noble, giving a “maudling admiration.”²²⁶ Dickens strengthens his

²²⁴ Lindfors, “Charles Dickens and the Zulus,” 69.

²²⁵ Charles Dickens, “The Noble Savage,” *Household Words* 7, no. 168 (June 11, 1853): 337.

²²⁶ Ibid.

argument by focusing on the Zulu Kaffir exhibition at the St. George Gallery, Hyde Park Corner, London. He was mostly interested in describing the content of the exhibits and the physical features of people on display:

“These noble savages are represented in a most agreeable manner; they are seen in an elegant theatre fitted with appropriate scenery of great beauty, and they are described in a very sensible and unpretending lecture...”²²⁷

The exhibition gave the feeling of visiting a museum, and as a museum visitor, Dickens had noted every details of his observations and thoughts down. It is clear that Dickens first focused on the scene of the exhibition and the feelings that it aroused in him. On the one hand, the words ‘elegant’ and ‘beauty’ is purposely chosen, signifying when the people on stage, theatre or display became curiosities and beautiful objects. On the other hand, Dickens could not absent himself from mentioning the ugliness of the displayed ones:

“Though extremely ugly, they are much better shaped than such of their predecessors as I have referred to; and they are rather picturesque to the eye, though far from odoriferous to the nose.”²²⁸

Dickens was heavily interested in defining and describing both the cultural and physical features of the Zulu people. The Zulu customs, traditions and daily life activities were mostly accepted by the London audiences as ‘theatrical’ performance. The Zulu exhibition and many other ethnographical exhibitions pushed the limits of Victorian show business when they sang and danced on the stage. Since the ethnographical exhibition and the notion of spectacle could not be separated from each other with clear cut distinctions, these Zulu people were therefore “a spectacle,

²²⁷ Ibid., 339.

²²⁸ Ibid.

a carnival act” by presenting their ‘abnormalities’ or their “radical derivation from European” cultural and physical norms.²²⁹ The Zulu people on stage pushed the limits of the exhibitionary order by being within the exhibitionary context as well as being part of the performative practices.

Dickens and many other English viewers believed that the Zulus were culturally, physically and even mentally uncivilized and were inferior to Europeans. When this belief was strengthened with ‘scientific’ racial studies, the Zulus were accepted as spectacular and bizarre examples of regions, cultures, lives, habits and bodies. They became ‘savage’ as well as pure and simple spectacular primitives in the stage of civilization.

There are many words that should be written within quotation marks such as ‘savage’. This means that the use of this word seems to be problematic and should be viewed through a critical perspective. The ‘exhibitionary order’, which will be clarified in the next chapter, was one the most important but ignored topics in the history of anthropology as articulated with curiosity, ethnography and the racial issues. In this chapter, I sought possible alternative answers to the question, why do people feel curious about something, why do they collect objects? What I find interesting was that the curiosity, interest and urge to collect were always directed towards unusual and rare things. Those ‘things’ were objects in the time of European cabinets of curiosities between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. These display areas were made of rooms, which were filled with various ‘curious’ objects, collected from distant lands. While originally private collections, these rooms were opened to the public in the eighteenth and turned into still active and important

²²⁹ Lindfors, “Charles Dickens and the Zulus,” 77.

institutions as the Ashmolean Museum or the British Museum. In 1759, The British Museum was opened to the public on the basis of Sir Hans Sloane's natural history collection. By 1810, anyone could visit the museum without a ticket during the specific hours.²³⁰

In this regard, cabinets of curiosities of the sixteenth until the beginning of the eighteenth centuries were a crucial step in categorizing historical, technological and anthropological objects to create a narrative through the display. These objects were mostly chosen based on their rarity and exoticness. Along with the travel, overseas collecting of objects and development of hierarchical categorizations; fetishist interest on 'curious and rare' objects played a significant role as the earliest display zones of the European continent as part of the colonial world. Although the curiosity cabinets were seen as disorganized and dis-categorized display arenas by the nineteenth century ideology, cabinets were still important to keep and display curious and rare objects as from throughout the British World.

Besides, in the nineteenth century, collection and display became institutionalized. People were displayed as objects in ethnographic exhibitions. There was a desire to observe, collect and display the various 'races' where each person would be dressed according to the traditions of their country and they were placed in a 'reconstructed' space. Pascal Blanchard asks how did the West invent "the savage"?²³¹ For Blanchard, it was through gazing, spectacles, performers, shows, exhibitions, museums and also narratives. Adapting Blanchard's statement, in this chapter I explored the structure of ethnographic human exhibitions that reflect

²³⁰ Edward P. Alexander and Mary Alexander, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums*, 2nd edition (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2008), 59.

²³¹ P. Blanchard, *Human Zoos: The Invention of Savage* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2011), 16.

significant issues about how the bodies of the African people was carried and transformed into objects for the gaze of Western spectators.

In order to do this, I read the nineteenth century as the time when the space of exhibition was closely related to the invention of the imaginary Other. The outline in the history of exhibition areas provides important details about how the imagination about the African ‘black’ people was produced and carried into a ‘savage’, ‘exotic’, curious as well as ‘monstrous’ body. The collection of live bodies would not only present information about the transformation of the body, but it also presents how the Western ideology was shaped around the racial categorizations. Although collecting and displaying have been very helpful in the anthropological research and studies, one should always remember that the selected and displayed ones have been taken through the filters of different anthropologists and ethnologists.²³² These human ethnographic displays, which have been part of the anthropological and colonial discourse, would serve as evidence of the “western society, not evidence about the exotic”²³³ people.

²³² R.W. Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 152. I have adapted Belk’s idea, which focuses on museums and their collecting missions.

²³³ Kate Sturge, “The Other on Display: Translation in the Ethnographic Museum” (Paper presented at the Cross-Cultural Translation in Theory and Practice workshop in London, England, June 19-20, 2003), 7.

3. CHAPTER

ETHNOGRAPHIC EXHIBITIONS IN THE MID NINETEENTH CENTURY: 'FREAK SHOWS' AND THE VICTORIAN SPECTACLE

"I see our brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, captured and forced into images they did not devise, doing hard time for all of us."

-Alice Walker, 1982

3.1. A Brief Assessment of the 'Freak' Discourse

British contemporary artist and a sculptor Marc Quinn's paintings, drawings and sculptures present the flexibility, changeability and variability of the body. His famous sculpture *Alison Lapper Pregnant*, was inspired by Alison Lapper, who was born without arms and with shortened legs. The size of the statue is monumentally big and displayed on a platform, which separates it from the spectator. This instalment is similar to the nineteenth century 'freak shows', which displayed 'freak' bodies on a stage in order to create a distance between the Other and the viewer. Then, the displayed figure was turned into an object of extraordinary 'Other', which was based upon the spectator/audience's voyeuristic desires to know more about these 'freak' bodies.

Since antiquity, such bodies have caused great interest and curiosity on the one hand, and anxiety and fear on the other. While it was often accepted that the 'freak' body worked as an instrument of creating a cultural and social discomfort,²³⁴

²³⁴ Rosemarie Garland Thomson, "Freakery Unfurled," in *Victorian Freaks: The Social Context of Freakery in Britain*, ed. Marlene Tromp (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008); Marlene Tromp, "Empire and the Indian Freak: The 'Miniature Man' from Cawnpore and the 'Marvellous

people developed a passion, curiosity and a wonder to study, examine, see those ‘exceptional’ bodies, ‘human oddities’ and ‘freaks’. Although these two ambivalent feelings seem to be apart from each other, they also feed and affect each other.

Rosemarie Garland Thomson challenges this idea and describes how the body is turned from an object of desire into a fear, rather than having both desired and feared one. Thomson describes it as a transformation from wonder to error. According to Thomson, the historical change that has shaped the understanding of ‘anomalous body’, is based upon” the movement from a narrative of the marvelous to a narrative of the deviant.”²³⁵ This change creates the ‘freak’ discourse which is based upon the transformation of spectacular body into ‘abnormal’ body, from the monster into a pathological specimen, from the wonder into an object of horror. For Thomson, the main reason of this change was the development of modernity in Western culture. Thomson’s suggestion is based upon the idea that in the process of transformation, there is a starting and finishing point. Since the body turns into an object of deviant, then it cannot be an object of wonder or curiosity. However, for me, whether the culture is modern or not, the body contains dichotomies or dualities. It embodies both wonder and error at the same time. Although Thomson’s idea has some lacking points such as fitting the body under a single social category, the cultural and historical processes need to re-created and re-defined through the physicality of human bodies based on their own frameworks.

Indian Boy’ on Tour in England.” in *Victorian Freaks: The Social Context of Freakery in Britain*, ed. Marlene Tromp (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008).

²³⁵ Rosemarie Garland Thomson, “Introduction: From Wonder to Error- A Genealogy of Freak Discourse in Modernity,” in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, ed. Rosemarie G. Thomson (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 3.

These cultural categorizations attributed to ‘abnormal’ bodies have changed over time and adapted various narrations. The word *monster* perhaps the earliest name to be used for the ‘abnormal’ body. Monster is derived from Latin *monstra*, which means to warn, show, or sign, and creates the basis of the modern verb *demonstrate*.²³⁶ The ‘monstrosity’ or ‘monstrous’ body has often viewed as an object of medicine, since the birth of teratology. Medical researchers began to dissect, examine and study the physically unusual or ‘abnormal’ people for various purposes. As ‘scientific’ studies developed and started to offer answers transcending religious explanations, the internal anatomy of ‘unusual bodies’ became visible in the dissection theatres and seen in early medical researches. Thomson has defined that, the ‘unusual’ body began to be described with clinical terms as pathology, and thus ‘monstrous’ body shifted from the ‘freak show’ stage into medical theater.²³⁷ In her essay “The Afterlife of Freak Shows” (2012), Fiona Pettit describes the relationship between medical studies and Victorian freak shows. Pettit defines, when the freak body is dead, it became a part of medical discourse. In the afterlife of ‘freak’ bodies, they turned into scientific specimens by this medical discourse, and the interpretation of their bodies was continued to be made within the ‘scientific’ authority.²³⁸ However, the process from the decline of the ‘freak shows’ to the emergence of medial theatres was not clear at all, since the meanings were attributed to the ‘unusual body’ has always been changing and intertwining with each other.

The ‘freak’ was mostly recognized as having a ‘monstrous’ body because of the “instability of his/her body: the ‘freak’ could be both male and female, white and

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid., 2.

²³⁸ Fiona Pettit, “The Afterlife of Freak Shows,” in *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840–1910*, ed. Jill A. Sullivan, Joe Kember, and John Plunkett, Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century 16 (London: Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited, 2012), 62.

black, adult and child, and/or human and animal at the same time.”²³⁹ Having two things in one body, and thus challenging the understanding of clear cut distinctions, was the main idea of the nineteenth century ‘freak show’ discourse. This refusal of the social and cultural order makes the ‘freak body’ “socially and politically frightening and disruptive.”²⁴⁰ Most of the criticisms comes from scholars working in the field of disability studies. In the 1970s, disability studies began to emerge in the United States and in the United Kingdom with the aim to search “how different cultures, historical eras, and individuals have defined, understood, and experienced corporeal norms and corporeal deviances.”²⁴¹ The understanding of disability studies has moved from the “medical model” of disability, which aims to normalize the disabled body, to the “social model,” which positions the disabled body in social practices and institutions rather than in viewing them as “markers of inferiority and personal misfortune.”²⁴² Catherine Kudlick points out that disability is a social category, which is crucial for understanding the concept of Otherness. It is a necessary tool to acknowledge how social structures have constructed themselves hierarchically, and how the state has developed a relationship with the abled-body citizen.²⁴³ Kudlick’s understanding of disability is not only looking at how the Other is constructed, but it also reveals the notions of social class, difference, social values, sexuality, and the complicated relationship between the biological and the social body.²⁴⁴ Based on Kudlick’s analysis, is it enough to view disability as a tool for

²³⁹ Durbach, *The Spectacle of Deformity*, 3.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 4.

²⁴¹ David A. Gerber, “Volition and Valorization in the Analysis of the ‘Careers’ of People Exhibited in Freak Shows,” *Disability, Handicap & Society* 7, no. 1 (January 1, 1992): 30.

²⁴² Rosemarie Garland Thomson, “Redrawing the Boundaries of Feminist Disability Studies,” *Feminist Studies* 20, no. 3 (1994): 584.

²⁴³ Catherine J. Kudlick, “Disability History: Why We Need Another ‘Other,’” *American Historical Review* 108, no. 3 (2003): 763–93. Quoted in Durbach, *The Spectacle of Deformity*, 15.

²⁴⁴ Kudlick, “Disability History.”

questioning Otherness based on various categories such as race, class, gender and social structure? Nadia Durbach suggests that the discourse of disability should be taken through the perspective of “historicizing the constructed nature of the physical body itself.”²⁴⁵ Durbach deconstructs the discourse of disability and does not agree with the analysis of the disability through social, cultural or medical models. Instead, she reminds us that by defining the people whose bodies have been disabled, does not make them as the objects of discourses produced through certain historical, social and political narratives. Rather, it is important to view the notion of bodily difference as the product of particular historical time periods.²⁴⁶ Since the term disability is problematic, we should expand the meaning of the term and analyze it within certain historical contexts. Therefore, it is not enough to make descriptive analysis about the notion of disability²⁴⁷, rather disability is a concept that has been shaped by histories, cultures and people. In that sense, can we use the category of disability to interrogate the history of ‘freak shows’?

Since the term ‘disabled’ is a twentieth century invention, it will be historically problematic if we use the term to examine the nineteenth-century ‘freak’ performers. Although the term disabled evokes the notion of bodily difference, it is somehow problematic to use the notion of disability to interrogate the Victorian ‘freak show’, because in the nineteenth century, those who were forced to be part of the exhibitionary order as ‘freaks’, were defined as “deformed”, not “disabled.”²⁴⁸

Some of the critics writing on disability studies, prefers to “reflect critically on the

²⁴⁵ Durbach, *The Spectacle of Deformity*, 15.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 16.

²⁴⁷ The term “disabled” refers to various form of words such as “the deformed,” “the infirm,” “the impotent,” “the crippled”. The term disabled emerged in Britain during the World War Years, to define the wounded soldiers. In addition to this, according to *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term handicapped was used from 1915 in order to define physically and mentally defective people especially children. Please see; Ibid., 16–17.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 21.

utility of the ‘freak show’ for understanding the contemporary predicament of disabled people.”²⁴⁹ However, it is crucial to remember that the history of British ‘freak show’ should be considered within its time and space, rather than using modern way of narrations.

The ‘freak discourse’ is closely tied to the interpretation of body in certain geographies, histories and cultures. Although ‘freak body’ have always been considered as ‘abnormal’, the perception of the ‘freak body’ is varied and dependent upon cultures, histories and practices. The notions of rarity, uniqueness, curiosity and differentness have been always attributed to the ‘freak bodies’. However, these notions are cultural categories, which presents the anxiety, fear, questions, and needs of that specific culture. For example, the black, the gay, the Muslim or so-called ‘monstrous’ body exists in certain social contexts to be oppressed. Thus, ‘freak bodies’ become a part of social as well as political context when culture needs to satisfy its concerns, needs, desires upon them. After the oppressed body becomes a part of political discourse, the dominant figure wants to reveal these ‘freak bodies’ rather than hide them. These rare and unusual notions turned these ‘exceptional’ bodies into objects to be gazed, looked and studied by various fields, such as medical, entertainment, anthropology. This should be legitimized by using modes of representation, such as ‘freak shows’ were developed to be more convincing, to reach majority of people and to carry this discourse into more reliable stage.

‘Freak show’ refers to a spectacle, a performance, and an entertainment that gives a visual pleasure to the audience. The word *spectacular* comes from the Latin word *spectaculum* to define “a sight or show.” Its another form of Latin word

²⁴⁹ David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, “Exploitations of Embodiment: Born Freak and the Academic Bally Plank,” *Disability Studies Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (June 15, 2005).

specere means to look. The word *spectare* means “to view, watch and behold.”

Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) defines the word spectacle as “a show; a gazing stock; anything exhibited to the view as eminently remarkable”, which highlights the visualizing and underlining the practice of displaying. It means that people can obtain spectacular feelings while they are watching and looking at something on display.²⁵⁰ Spectacle can therefore emphasize both performance and sight. Both two notions are evoked in contemporary historians’ analysis of ‘freak shows’, which frequently based on the speactator’s voyeuristic instincts and desires to know more about the people on stage. Indeed, this definition could apply to many performances including concerts, theaters, etc. However, the peculiarities of the ‘freak show’ contained that it was an organized and instituionalized area, displaying people with physical, mental and behavioral difference. The ‘freak show’ could be part of circuses, fairs, carnivals and other entertaining venus. In addition to exhibiting people on stage, ‘freak shows’ contained scientific lectures, which turned this area into a more legitimate space for the public. Hence, the ‘freak shows’ were both entertaining and scientific that no other exhibition area worked like this.

The notion of ‘freak show’ cannot be limited to certain categories and descriptions. It is always changing and adapting itself to certain contexts, histories and places. When we try to define the term by using certain theories and concepts, then the term became a descriptive and an analytical category, which will limit our

²⁵⁰ Joe Kember, John Plunkett, and Jill Sullivan, “Introduction,” in *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840-1910*, ed. Joe Kember, John Plunkett, and Jill Sullivan, Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century 16 (London: Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited, 2012), 6. Walter Benjamin and the critics of Frankfurt School Adorno and Horkheimer draws upon the issue of spectacle as commodified entertainment within a mass culture industry, a perspective that has practiced in the works of early cinema during the nineteenth century. This perspective has then both developed and criticized by Guy Debord’s idea of spectacle and Jean Baudriallard’s hyperrealism.

research in various ways. How does the ‘freak’ body turn into an object of display or something to be looked at? In order to make it clear, in this chapter, I will examine the production of Victorian ‘freak show’ and my starting question is: how was this ‘freak discourse’ embedded in certain entertaining and exhibitionary practices?

The display of ‘exotic’ and ‘savage’ people was part of the entertainment industry and was embedded into the category of the ‘freak show’ in Britain. Previously, historians have suggested that the ethnographic exhibitions and the display of ‘monstrosity’ reflect two different categories of human displays, and therefore these two categories should not be mixed and should be treated separately. However, recent scholars have believed that it is not possible to draw a clear cut distinction between the ethnographic exhibitions and the category of ‘freak shows’ during the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁵¹ In this chapter, I will examine these debates by looking at the ambivalent relationships between the ‘exoticness’, ‘savagery’ and the ‘freak’ body. The main aim of this chapter is to find possible approaches and answers to the question: should we separate the ethnography human exhibitions from the freak shows? And if it is not possible to separate them, then how can we approach the history of human exhibitions?

3.2. The Emergence of ‘Freak Shows’ in the American Culture

In the mid-nineteenth century, the display of African people in exhibitions and their relations to the exhibitionary order gradually changed. At first, they were defined as ‘savage’, as ‘exotic’ figures that were controlled under the colonial powers and then they turned into ‘civilized’ figures, in order to legitimize the success

²⁵¹ Durbach, *The Spectacle of Deformity*.

of the colonial ‘civilizing mission’.²⁵² In the mid-nineteenth century, ethnographic human exhibitions modified themselves to the period of time, political order and the changing interests of Victorians. In that time, the display of the ‘exotic’ body became a part of the ‘freak show’ category, which was under the entertainment sector in Britain.²⁵³ In that sense, can we separate the notion of exotic exhibits from the ‘freak shows’? What were the relations between the ethnographic exhibitions and the freak show during the mid nineteenth century?

In her book *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature*, Rosemarie Garland Thomson examines the role of ‘freak shows’ in American history, which played an important role in constituting the Other. Thomson’s argument is based upon the idea that displaying ‘freak’ humans for the public defined the actual, universal and normative body, not the ‘freak’ itself. She argues that ‘freak shows’ defined, described and created the body, focused on its difference, and then put it on a stage for the audience to see and believe that they have a ‘normal’ body. Thomson’s argument does not only cover the analysis of displaying ‘freakish bodies’, it also focuses on forms of cultural difference, because ‘freaks’ are merged with “both bodily and cultural difference.”²⁵⁴ The notion of ‘freak’ refers to both a physically disabled body and a culturally excluded identity, which differentiates the ‘unordinary’ body from the ordinary one.²⁵⁵ The ‘freak show’ in the American context presented and marked the bodily differences that was

²⁵² Blanchard et al., “Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Shows in the West,” 16.

²⁵³ Nadja Durbach, “London, Capital of Exotic Exhibitions from 1830 to 1860,” in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard et al., trans. Terasa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 81. It was not peculiar for the nineteenth century, the display of exotic human specimens within the the freak show category dates back to sixteenth century.

²⁵⁴ Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 63.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

related with the notions of 'race' and 'disability', which attempted to legitimize the social processes of creating cultural otherness from the human physical variations.²⁵⁶

Thomson's argument demonstrates how the 'normal' body is in need for the 'abnormal' body in order to define and distinguish the self from the Other.

The presentation of the physical body was deeply embedded in this constitution of the 'freak show', the interpretation of the 'unusual' body and creating a cultural difference between the displayed people and the public. People were mostly displayed on a stage with some kind of barrier or cage to separate the ones on the stage from the audience. This border strengthened the audience to feel curious about the people on stage, while clearly defining the lines between the normal and 'abnormal' bodies. Curiosity encouraged the audience to gaze upon the people on the stage. This process was based on creating sharp distinctions between the spectators and people on display; or between the Self and the Other, or between 'us' and 'them'. This stage opened up a legitimate space to separate not only the physical bodies of two groups people, and it also makes a cultural differentiation between them. As Thomson argues, by setting up a stage, the displayed figure is fixed and cannot move to anywhere because of the material structures of the staging, while the audience can enter and exit the show whenever they want.²⁵⁶ The materiality of staging creates an unequal encounter between the people on display and the audience. Thomson's argument is important to problematize the process of how the American audience during the nineteenth century constituted their 'normal' and 'able' bodies by displaying the 'abnormal' and 'unable' bodies on stage.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 60-65.

Another major critical research in the scholarship about the history of ‘freak shows’ is Robert Bogdan’s *Freak Shows: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (1988). Bogdan examines the cultural history of ‘freak show’ by discussing the increasing number of exhibition areas to display ‘human curiosities’. He argues that the earliest known form of ‘freak show’ was built in Britain, where the people with all different kinds of physical anomalies were displayed with a fee during the early Renaissance era. In the eighteenth century, there was a belief that physically ‘abnormal’ bodies were created by “evil omens”. By the nineteenth century, the development of scientific classification and research on ‘human curiosities’ legitimized the interpretations of ‘freaks’, displaying them for the public and spectator’s passion to gaze at these curiosities. By the mid- nineteenth century, for Bogdan, museums became the primary area to exhibit these ‘human curiosities’ in the United States.²⁵⁷

In the early American museums, human oddities were displayed and became a central form of entertainment. They became popular among other exhibition areas, such as theatres, because museums were accepted as more legitimate places of “rational amusement” by the public.²⁵⁸ These rational places would have accommodated scientists, who organized the ‘freak’ shows and gave lectures about the physical characteristics of the human on display by using scientific findings. In the late nineteenth century, side-shows and dime-show museums began to develop around the country. They organized ‘freak shows’ and were mostly interested in exhibiting human oddities. These museums became popular in the country and every city had at least one dime-show museum. While they did not become as popular as

²⁵⁷ Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 26–27.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

earlier forms of museums, they were still accepted as legitimate places for amusement and enlightenment.

In 1841, New York, P.T. Barnum founded the American Museum, which was one of the earliest dime museums. In the mid- nineteenth century, the notion of dime museums, sideshows, fairs staged human oddities and carried them into more institutionalized exhibitionary areas. Barnum staged ‘freak bodies’, while also showcasing ‘scientific’ talks, magicians, dancing and theatrical performances. The words ‘strange’ and ‘savage’ went together in Barnum’s American model, which presented ‘freaks’ as well as ‘exotic specimens’ such as Zulus, Indians, Muslims, Indians and several others simultaneously.²⁵⁹ Siamese twins, the Last of the Aztecs and troupes of ‘Albino Africans’ presented the way in which the concept of exoticism and monstrosity acted together.²⁶⁰

Robert Bogdan, in his essay “When the Exotic Becomes a Show”, examines the ‘freak show’ discourse and argues that it was closely tied to the spectacle of physical deformities, which was adapted by various media forms since the mid-nineteenth century till the early 1950s in America.²⁶¹ For example, Barnum did not only put people on display, but he also established a business by presenting a series of live performances and curiosities, including giants, fat, tall and short men or women, albinos and many other physically ‘outcasted’ people. Barnum’s first show

²⁵⁹ Blanchard et al., “Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Shows in the West,” 5–6.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 41. The display of Siamese twins was one of the most popular attractions in ‘freak shows’. The first Siamese twins were the Chinese twins exhibited by Barnum in New York. Chang and Heng who were from Thailand, were displayed in Boston in 1829. In the following years, Chinese twins joined Barnum’s museum and remained on stage until 1869 in the United States. The Aztecs had carnal problems and defined as “mentally handicapped” by Blanchard. Barnum very much interested in displaying Afro-American people who had vitiligo illness- a kind of skin disease- and microcephalic. Barnum defined and described them as the ‘missing link’ locating in between men and apes. (Fig. 7)

²⁶¹ Robert Bogdan, “When the Exotic Becomes a Show,” in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard et al., trans. Terasa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 89–94.

was Joice Heth, who was born in 1674, and arrived at the age of 161 years. (Fig. 8) She was an old and a black woman working for George Washington as a nursemaid in Philadelphia in 1835. Barnum introduced Heth as “the greatest natural and national curiosity in the world.”²⁶² According to Thomson, Heth’s body did not only represent the physical otherness; it also turned into a space where the ‘freak discourse’ was built upon. Heth was an old, toothless and a blind woman. Her body becomes an opposition area where the understanding of “able-bodied, white, male” was broken. Indeed, her body represented the commodification of ‘freak bodies’ in order to create a “dominant, normative identity” by exhibiting its freakishness in public. Therefore, she turned into a ‘freak’ not by her physical uniqueness, but rather by displaying the notion of “social devaluation.”²⁶³ In addition to her physically unusual features, Heth was a black person, who used to be a slave. Since the body of Heth contained both notions of exoticness and freakiness, then how can we separate the ethnographic exhibitions from the ‘freak show’ history or vice versa? Barnum staged people who had both physically anomalous bodies and were from non-Western exotic lands as well. What was the extent to which these two concepts acted together?

3.3. The ‘Exoticness’ and the ‘Freakiness’ in the Victorian ‘Freak Shows’

As introduced in the previous chapter, Great Exhibition or the Crystal Palace Exhibition was established in Hyde Park, London in 1851. It was the first international exhibition, having showcases on Western as well as non-Western

²⁶² Ibid. Please see, Phineas T. Barnum, *Struggles and Triumphs: Or Forty Years’ Recollections of P.T. Barnum*, Reprint (Buffalo, N.Y.: Warren, Johnson & Co., 1872), 74. In *Struggles and Triumphs*, Barnum’s description of Heth summarized the production of freak narrative in related to the physical details.

²⁶³ Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*.

culture and industry that became popular in the nineteenth century. The exhibition site was specifically chosen in order to connect the architecture of the building with the physical and cultural geography of London. The Guidebook of the exhibition published in 1851 described the impact of the building to the whole city by saying that “being confessedly the most wondrous ‘sight’ in the world... It is surrounded on every side with objects of interest to the stranger hardly interior to itself.”²⁶⁴ In addition to the effect of glass architecture to the city of London, the exhibition areas were very impressive for the Victorian audience. Specifically, the artworks in the Middle East sections fascinated Victorian visitors.²⁶⁵ Interestingly, in the Egyptian pavilion the showcase contained ‘exotic’ artefacts and the section was also designed with architectural symbols such as an imitation of a Cairo street, and filled with its own mosque, shops, and cafes. This reconstruction of the so called ‘exotic’ Cairo street would be turned into a focus of attention.²⁶⁶ It seemed to be far away from the “technological progress of the European industry.”²⁶⁷ However, imitating architectural symbols essentially symbolized the technological power of the European industry over non-European culture. Since displaying the architectural elements by imitating the ‘exotic’ cities would be seen in further exhibitions, for

²⁶⁴ “Guidebooks, Etc.,” *Athanaeum*, no. 1234 (1851): 654. Quoted in, Richard Bellon, “Science at the Crystal Focus of the World,” in *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century Sites and Experiences*, ed. Aileen Fyfe and Bernard Lightman (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 310.

²⁶⁵ The representation of “Middle East” in a variety form of Victorian entertainment areas, such as world fairs, panoramas, theatres...etc. has been taken a great interest. Please see, Edward Ziter, *The Orient on the Victorian Stage* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²⁶⁶ Please see, Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Nebahat Avcioğlu, “*Turquerie*” and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876 (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011). The representation and exhibition of the Oriental architecture in Western space has been studied by architectural historians. Since the history of architecture has been studied very much, the Oriental exhibitions in Europe should be updated and need to be studied through new findings and theoretical approach.

²⁶⁷ Blanchard et al., “Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Shows in the West,” 6.

instance, in Paris, Chicago, San Francisco, Berlin and Milan, these display arenas became the place of legitimate, effective and powerful European voice.

Timothy Mitchell, in *Colonising Egypt* (1998), surveys the history of the 1889 Cairo Exhibit at the Stockholm World Exhibition. Mitchell draws attention on the process of objectification, which takes place during the process of representing the reality, such as exhibits, dioramas and museums. According to Mitchell, the reproduction of ‘reality’ has two outcomes on visitors. One is providing knowledge on the ‘real’ world and the other one is providing knowledge about the copied world or the one that is represented. Regarding the effect of carrying the non-Western architectural elements to the Western space and its effect on Western as well as non-Western visitors, exhibits re-narrate and reproduce the politics of colonialism. Mitchell suggests that the objectification process through exhibiting cultures is similar to colonialism’s practices and processes, since this process shows a political power to create and shape the Other. Mitchell’s analysis clearly presents the way in which exhibitions and colonialism share a similar ideology and practice., Mitchell also considers the history of world fairs and suggests that they cannot only be defined as exhibitions, but they should also be taken as collections of pieces taken from different parts of the world to be exhibited in a Western display area.²⁶⁸ At these huge and universal exhibitions, constructed by the Western colonial mindset, the rest of the “world was collected and displayed” in.²⁶⁹ He defines the term “exhibitionary order” in which the Other is put on display stage, producing the commodification of ‘exotic’ artefacts or culture for the Western spectacle society.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 455–72.

²⁶⁹ Corbey, “Ethnographic Showcases: Account and Vision,” 95.

²⁷⁰ Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order.”

For Mitchell, the power of exhibitionary order depends on creating and constructing knowledge for the consumption of the Western gaze.

Ethnographic exhibits became part of these world fairs and universal exhibitions/expositions while they also emerged as part of individual organizations. In these ethnographic exhibits, people from colonized regions were put on display with their daily life objects, artefacts and houses. Such ethnographic exhibits can be seen as carrying the non-European Other into an exhibition order in order to be consumed as commodity that is gazed by a Western audience to fulfill the curiosity of the Self. James Clifford, in his essay called “On Collecting Art and Culture”, defines ethnography “as a form of culture collecting.”²⁷¹ According to Clifford, ethnography highlights “the ways that diverse experiences and facts are selected, gathered, detached from their original temporal occasions, and given enduring value in a new arrangement.”²⁷² Ethnographic exhibitions select, gather and detach objects from their original places and attribute special meanings to them. They construct narratives by simply dislocating and then relocating the Other, in order to provide knowledge to the audience or visitor in a vivid and an effective way. Exhibiting colonized cultures zooms on distant lands, which are not distant anymore as a result of colonial encounters. Indeed, ethnographic exhibits provide ideas and create legitimate spaces to visitor’s questions such as “how do they live?” or “why do they ‘different’?”²⁷³ Ethnographic exhibits takes a mediatory role to make the knowledge easily reachable, tangible and vivid for the audience. This knowledge was based

²⁷¹ James Clifford, “On Collecting Art and Culture,” in *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 215–53.

²⁷² James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988), 231.

²⁷³ Sturge, *Representing Others*, 129.

upon the narration of being as a white, European mostly male colonizer that is put together by a certain curator/organizer.

In *Representing Others: Translation Ethnography and the Museum*, Kate Sturge defines ethnographic exhibitions as the “public face of academic anthropology”, since these exhibitions can reach to larger and more diverse audience than travelers’ written ethnographies. Sturge argues that we should take ethnographic exhibitions as a places where the production of knowledge happens. Since exhibitions or any kind of display zones are imaginary institutions and cannot be the place of objectivity, they need to be approached as a place where specific kind of narratives are being produced.²⁷⁴ In that sense, it is crucial to view ethnographic exhibitions as a place where meanings are constructed by particular power mechanisms.

In these exhibits, meanings were mostly created by using ‘native’ objects, ‘exotic’ artefacts, ‘oriental’ architectural elements as well as ‘uncivilized’ people during the nineteenth century. These produced meanings were shaped around specific notions such as ‘native’, ‘exotic’, ‘oriental’ and ‘uncivilized’. When these non-Western objects were detached from their original or so called ‘authentic’ place and put in a showcase, cage or on stage, they inevitably received new meanings and lost their previous ones. The impact of these ethnographic exhibits on transforming and attributing new meanings to the displayed objects has been studied by many museologists, anthropologists and cultural historians.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 130.

²⁷⁵ Clifford, “On Ethnographic Authority.” Christina Kreps, *Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation and Heritage Preservation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2003).

London was the headquarter for exhibiting people among other cities in England. Many people were first displayed in London. Before going to London, sometimes they were displayed in port cities, such as Liverpool.²⁷⁶ These exhibitions were not as *spectacular* as in London shows. The San (Bushmen) exhibition, organized by the anatomist Robert Knox, was one of the famous exhibitions of London. On May 17, 1847, Victorians gathered at the Exeter Hall in London to see the “spectacle of considerable interest.” According to the Times newspaper, there was a considerable amount of interest in this “extraordinary exhibition.”²⁷⁷ There was a platform or a stage, where Knox presented his guests as the fabled “Bushmen” of Africa. Yet London was still famous for having such attractions, performances and exhibitions. Nadia Durbach describes that, London was the capital of exotic exhibitions from 1830 to 1860.²⁷⁸ John Conolly who was the President of the Ethnological Society, came to London in 1855 and visited these human exhibitions. Then, he wrote a pamphlet entitled as *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London* (1855), which includes his observations, comments on a various number of exhibited people especially the displays of Aztecs. (Fig. 11) Based on Conolly’s observations, these shows of non-Western bodies took an educational role, which reminded the British man to become “the great history of man on the globe.”²⁷⁹ (Appx. I) These exhibitions were seemed to have an educational purposes according to nineteenth century ethnographers, in fact they contained messages for the British audience in order to teach their ‘superior’ status within the racial hierarchy.²⁸⁰ Conolly as an

²⁷⁶ Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 2.

²⁷⁷ Times May 13, 1847, 1. Charles Knight, *London Pictorially Illustrated*, 6 vols. (London: Charles Knight, 1841-44), 6: 241-256 In addition to this, For the reserved seats, people need to pay 2 shillings and sixpence; for the unreserved spots people need to pay a shilling.

²⁷⁸ Durbach, “London, Capital of Exotic Exhibitions from 1830 to 1860.”

²⁷⁹ Conolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*, 44.

²⁸⁰ Durbach, “London, Capital of Exotic Exhibitions from 1830 to 1860,” 82.

ethnologist was very cautious about the messages of these exhibitions. He wanted his colleagues to visit and observe these shows in order to be able to prevent the public from false or “imbibing erroneous information about the races of mankind.”

(Appx.I)²⁸¹ In this regard, Conolly was aware of the power of these exhibitions, which took a significant role in shaping the public understanding of race. Therefore, these exhibitions were not simply produced around the non-Western bodies, rather they became a space where the message could be easily carried to public through displaying the racial characteristics of people. Despite Conolly’s statements regarding the effect of racial features in displaying the people on stage, there were also another practices in displaying ‘freak’ bodies. It was not totally about exhibiting the racial otherness of people. It is, rather, an exhibition of human oddities or human bodily anomalies which reached its peak period during the mid nineteenth century in Britain.²⁸²

In her article called “London, Capital of Exotic Exhibitions”, Nadja Durbach describes the factors that were effective in exhibiting the ‘exotic’ human body with human oddities side by side. In the first half of the nineteenth century, people were put on display side by side regardless their ‘exotic’ background or ‘bodily’ anomalies. For instance, At the Bartholomew Fair in 1834, “The Beautiful Spotted Negro Boy”²⁸³, “Siamese Twins”, “Wild Indian” were all exhibited at the same place side by side.²⁸⁴ After the Bartholomew Fair, “The Beautiful Spotted Boy” appeared in the Richardson Theatre. As seen on the advertisements, the section of the “Negro

²⁸¹ Conolly, *The Ethnological Exhibitions of London*.

²⁸² Durbach, *The Spectacle of Deformity*, 3.

²⁸³ The lack of skin pigmentation, has been an unresolved issue and opened a various discussions. Blacks with white bodies, since the colonial times, have been taken a great interest by museums, circuses and even medical studies. For further studies, in the American context, please see, Charles D. Martin, *The White African American Body: A Cultural and Literary Exploration* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

²⁸⁴ Durbach, “London, Capital of Exotic Exhibitions from 1830 to 1860,” 82.

Boy” was placed in between the performances of “Monk and Murderer” and the “Love and Liberty. (Fig. 9) In the *Spectacle of Deformity*, Durbach explores the history of Britain’s ‘freak show’ as a contested space in which several agents- showmen, spectators, scientists, performers- were taking part in the representation of ‘monstrous’ human bodies’ to construct a knowledge “around what it meant to be ‘normal’, and thus what it meant to be British.”²⁸⁵ If we look at the early nineteenth century newspapers and pamphlets, we will see ethnographic displays, which were presenting how the non-Western bodies were strong enough, strange, curious, cruel and have ‘unusual’ or so called ‘monstrous’ bodies.²⁸⁶ Displaying “the Spotted Negro-Boy” reflects that it is not clear to make a distinction between the exoticness and the monstrosity. Instead, displaying of “the Spotted Negro-Boy” presented the racial Otherness in the form of ‘monstrous’ or ‘freakish’ body, thus they remind the white British body to having a normal, natural and a beautiful form of body.²⁸⁷

It is therefore important to analyze the specific cultural regions and histories that created and defined particular types of bodies as ‘freaks’ and the ways in which their exhibitions opened up both a space for fascinating performances and at the same time create a legitimate space for transforming the body into the Other. Nadja Durbach highlights the idea that Victorian ‘freak show’ was part of a much larger history of the exhibition of human bodily anomalies. She specifically clarifies the history of Victorian ‘freak show’ due to its culturally, historically and bodily interpretations. Since the meanings embedded on ‘freak bodies’ are culturally

²⁸⁵ Durbach, *The Spectacle of Deformity*, 4.

²⁸⁶ Durbach, “London, Capital of Exotic Exhibitions from 1830 to 1860,” 81. The terms such as ‘monsters’, ‘human oddities’ and ‘were used to describe ‘unusual’ or curious bodies displayed in the entertainment sector.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 82.

dependent, the articulations, practices and processes invested in anomalous bodies were never stable.

3.4. Advertising the Ethnographic Exhibitions: A Brief Visual Analysis

James Clifford's theory of "contact zone" takes the exhibition area not as a single entity, but rather having as multiple relationships within society. Clifford takes the term "contact zone" from Mary Louise Pratt (1992) to re-define the display area where various cultures, people, communities meet, interact with and influence to each other. Clifford suggests to view the any kind of exhibition as a contact zone where "all culture-collecting strategies as responses to particular histories of dominance, hierarchy, resistance and mobilization" takes place.²⁸⁸ In that sense, I will adapt Clifford's idea to the 'freak show' in order to question the relations between the production as well as the consumption of knowledge as being part of power relations.

James A. Secord, who is the professor of history and philosophy of science, developed a model. In this model, he argues that if we take every text, image, action and object as a form of communication, then knowledge will act as a communicative practice. In that sense, Secord suggests to remove "the distinction between the making and the communicating of knowledge."²⁸⁹ By doing so, finding possible and alternative answers to question of "what" can be possible "only through a simultaneous understanding of how, where, when and for whom."²⁹⁰ In that sense, I would like to re-narrate the representation of Other cultures displayed in an

²⁸⁸ Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation*, 213.

²⁸⁹ James A. Secord, "Knowledge in Transit," *Isis; an International Review Devoted to the History of Science and Its Cultural Influences* 95, no. 4 (December 2004): 661.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 663–64.

exhibitionary context and approach ethnographic human exhibitions “in terms of meaning production within particular ideological perspectives and as written and read by particular interpretative communities.”²⁹¹ How the knowledge was produced in these ethnographic human exhibitions and consumed by the Victorian audience?

The visibility of ethnographic people around the city began to be crucial for anthropologists, showmen or people who organized these exhibitions. They need to reach Victorian people and attract them as much as possible. Since the entrance fee was applied for everyone, the demanding factor of exhibitions turned into an important issue for organizers. Therefore, advertising took a place in order to increase the visibility of native people within the streets of London. In the early nineteenth century, billposting was in use. In the late nineteenth century, specialized advertising agencies were founded, and in terms of using color, images and letter typing, there were some visual changes on these printed materials. These materials used for promoting the exhibitions, which have been mostly ignored by historians. Examining these promotional materials is crucial for understanding the ways in which Victorians were attracted to be part of the market economy; however, it is also necessary to remind that I will not analyze the consumption habits of exhibitions. Rather, a close discursive and visual analysis of promotional materials will provide a general framework about how people on displays, shows and/or performances were created and shared with the public. Sadiah Qureshi’s book *Peoples on Parade* (2011) provides a broad overview about the usage of advertisements. Based on Qureshi’s book, I will mainly examine the representation of people on these promoting

²⁹¹ Sturge, *Representing Others*, 130.

materials and its textual narrative that were applied to turn the indigenous people into a commodity during the early part of the nineteenth century in Britain

These printed materials were mostly comprised of posters, playbills, handbills, newspaper review, and newspaper advertisements.²⁹² Posters were the largest in size and contained more images but least text. Handbills were smaller in size and contained more detailed information describing the context of the performances. Playbills contained textual information, presenting the show to the reader. All of them could be given to people in the street or outside an exhibition area.²⁹³ These promotional materials were one of the easiest techniques to promote these shows to Victorians. Since, these promotional materials did not give any guarantee to attract the audience, their effectiveness depended on various innovative techniques.²⁹⁴ For instance, the poster advertising of Sara Baartman's exhibition in 1810, contained the least information about the place, time, price and content of the performance. It did not have any visual images, rather the text was written with variety of fonts, such as capital, bold, italic letters. (Fig. 10) These promoting materials tended to prefer textual representation rather than using image or visual depictions. The use of images in promoting materials became popular in the late nineteenth century. The most important reason was that use of visual depictions was dependent upon technological production, which was developed in later nineteenth century. In 1853, a playbill for Charles Caldecott's exhibition of Zulus, provided a detailed overview of the performance and it also contained information about the content of the show. Caldecott's Zulu Kafirs playbill did not contain any images or visual materials, rather the text was written in capital and big bold letters. (Fig.5)

²⁹² Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 49.

²⁹³ Ibid., 305.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 52.

There were three basic fonts used on these posters and playbills. The first basic forms were the Roman font, which were used by about 1806 as seen in the Saartja Baartman's poster (the Word "Hottentot Venus") The second forms were the Egyptian fonts, which became popular between 1815 and 1817. These fonts were used in larger and bolder than the first group. The last ones were the sans-serifs or grotesque. Although they started to appear around 1816, they became popular from the 1830s onward (The words "ST. GEORGE'S GALLERY" AND "ZULU KAFIRS") Around these eye-catching letters, some additional motifs in the form of lines and ornaments were also drawn.²⁹⁵

In addition to the descriptive evaluation of these promotional materials, it is important to analyze them through discursive analysis. Throughout the early nineteenth century, one of the most emphasized technique used by these promotional materials was the ethnic background of indigenous people, written in eye-catching fonts in order to be more interesting, attractive, and curious for the audience. These ethnic details were the most noticeable parts of these posters, because they were highlighted with bold and capital letters. The information about the venue of the exhibition was the next striking elements of these materials. These details were sometimes written as big as the title of the exhibition. For example, in the advertising of Sara Baartman's exhibit, the place, "No. 225 Piccadily," is as easily seen as the title, "Hottentot Venus," regarding her ethnic background.²⁹⁶

The ethnic background of displayed people was common and accepted technique of these promotional materials. Such technique can be seen in the playbill of Charles Caldecott's 1865 Zulu Exhibition, where various size and fonts of letters

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 52–55.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 60.

helped the reader to notice the important elements such as the displayed people's ethnic background, the content of the performance, and detailed textual information for each part of the display. The use of various size of letters and the typographic design make these promotional materials crucial for understanding what kind of displays were taking an interest and which practices of an exhibition were considered worthy of notice.

Another material that used for promoting these ethnographic exhibitions was newspapers. Newspapers mentioned about future performances as well.

"EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILY. –THE O-JIB-WAY INDIANS- A party of these interesting and romantic "Children of the Forest," from the Western Wilds of North America, will make their first appearance at the above Hall, on Monday, when they will perform their novel Ceremonies, Games, Dances, &c., in full Native Costume."²⁹⁷ In addition to promoting future exhibitions, newspaper advertisements promoted the current exhibitions and provided information about the content and the place of performance. For example, in September 14, 1850, *The Illustrated London News* wrote a review about the African Exhibition. Here is the first sentence of the newspaper review: "AFRICAN EXHIBITION- A very interesting exhibition of three natives of Southern and Eastern Africa has just been opened at the Cosmorama, Regent Street, and is worthy to visit perhaps, from more sight-seekers than happen to be in London at this moment."²⁹⁸ Their common claim was that 'native people' were entirely unique, rare, perfect, or one of a kind. They were mostly, therefore,

²⁹⁷ "Egyptian Hall, Piccadily.- The O-Jib-Way Indians," May 10, 1845; Quoted in, Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 63.

²⁹⁸ "The African Exhibition," *The Illustrated London News*, September 14, 1850.

themselves as extraordinary, interesting or attractive, as seen in the first and last sentence of the *African Exhibition*. (Appx.)

Newspaper announcements drew attention to the ethnic, and geographic origin of the people on display by using capital and bold letters. Their physical and bodily features, their talents, culture and language were mostly included.

“These individuals are a Kaffir man and an Amaponda woman from the south and “Larcher,” a Zoolu chief from the eastern coast, bordering on the Mozambique Channel. They speak, however, the same language, but with different dialects.”

These advertisements included details about the exhibition such as dates, times, and admission prices. However, the African Exhibition review published in the ILS did not contain any information about time and admission prices. Yet, it provided an extra information about how those people were managed to come to London and how did organizers make an agreement with them.

“The Africans have brought to this country by Mr. Cawood, subject to a bargain made with them before leaving the Cape, with the consent of Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, and their chief. The agreement is for two years... They seem pleased with the change, and enjoy English living, giving preference to mutton as food.”

Newspaper advertisements were distributed either at the beginning of the performance, in which they wrote the content of the exhibition itself, or during the performance, in which they included reviews that was written about the exhibition or provided information about the ‘extraordinary’ people on display, who were brought back to city to make a performance on a stage not to be missed or worthy to visit.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 65.

Newspaper reviews gave emphasis on main scenes of the exhibition as if the reader has never seen such exhibition. However, the scenes were not shown in chronological order or not written in detail. They were just giving a brief information about the content of the show and the cultural background of people on display. As Qureshi points out, these accounts could have been written by people who did not visit an exhibition. However, the descriptions of reviews presented the fact that they were based upon eye-witness accounts, which means that they attended a show.³⁰⁰ According to ‘vivid’ narrative that they used in these descriptions, reviewers attended and saw these performances. For example, the review of *African Exhibition*, presented physical details of three Zulu people and their performances on the stage, such as how they live, communicate, use of language, fight and dance. In the narrative of descriptions, the language that reviewers used was the evidence of how ‘native’ people turned into ‘savage’ ones.

“... most Africans, they have no notion of time, cannot tell their own age, or fix a date for any event in their lives.”

The common promotional technique of these newspaper advertisements was providing vivid information about the ethnic, cultural and physical characteristics of people on display. It is obvious that such promotional techniques were made intentionally to arouse the interest and curiosity of audience. There was a claim that in just two days “upwards of three thousand” people had visited the “Aztec Liliputians”, which was exhibited in 1853. (Fig. 6) Another claim was that “upwards of fifty thousand persons” had visited the San Exhibition in 1847.³⁰¹ Since these

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ “Aztec Liliputians,” *The Illustrated London News*, July 16, 1853; Anonymous, *Now Exhibiting at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly: The Bosjesmans, or Bush People, from the Interior of South Africa, Who First Appeared at the Exeter Hall, on Monday, 17th May; The Only Real Specimens of This Extraordinary and Rapidly Decreasing Race of Human Beings Who Ever Visited Europe* (London: Chapman, Elcoate, 1847), 1; Quoted in, Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 76.

numbers are shown in newspapers in order to promote the exhibition, they might be exaggerated. Yet, we know that some of the halls and world fairs could be designed for having thousands of people for a single exhibition. It means that, their common claim was that exhibitions were successful and attracting thousands of people. The public was curious and considerably amount of people were interested to attend such lively human ethnographic exhibitions.

The admission fee of these exhibitions was the most important determining factor for the public. Those who reserved seats before the show or had paid for admission fee, were issued by entrance tickets.³⁰² (Fig 12.) Once the visitors entered to the hall, they first began to listen a lecture in relation to the evening's show. The lecture, which was given either before or during the show, provided a 'scientific' orientation about the people on display. These lectures were given by people who had scientific, medical and business background, primarily aimed to re-shape or change people's way of looking at exhibitions.

Lectures given in these exhibitions, provided one of the most effective tools to make a connection between the displayed ones and the audience. These lectures were given by people who were belong to the community of science, medicine and technology, rather than given by showmen or entrepreneur. Although the manager of the show was not related to these communities, the background of the lecturer was important, because the content of the lecture needed to be credible, reliable and convincing, which would be create a basis for the exhibition.³⁰³ Lectures were not usually published in newspapers or pamphlets. However, some discussions about

³⁰² Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 76.

³⁰³ Ibid., 112.

these lectures published in newspapers. These reviews presented debates about the connection between ‘native’ people to human variety and colonialism.

Robert Knox, who was the writer of *The Races of Men*, gave a lecture at the San Exhibition in May 17, 1847 that was one of the rare examples.³⁰⁴ Knox first suggested to define the term *race* on a “scientific basis” rather than “national distinctions.” He then made a brief outline of his travels to the South Africa to present the opportunities he had, in which he observed and examined the San people. Knox examined the physical characteristics of the San people based on their body, head and brain sizes and argued that the San people belonged to “yellow-skinned” races of Africa. For Knox, the brain surface of San was less complex, which means that they were less developed than Europeans. The ridges of African brains were symmetrical, whereas European brains had asymmetrical ridges. For Knox, this was a sign of inferiority of African people. In addition to his racist examinations, at the end of his lecture, he also mentioned about the British foreign policy. For him, the British government should change its foreign policy. Since colonizing Africa had some negative impacts on the habitats of natives, the British government should change its African policy and produce a policy based on trade.³⁰⁵

Knox’s lecture defined and described the concept of ‘race’, which was based upon the physical, intellectual and cultural characteristics of African people. The method of taxonomy opened up a space for him to support his ideas about how Africans were *naturally* different from Europeans. Although, his lecture seemed to

³⁰⁴ Anonymous, *Now Exhibiting at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly: The Bosjesmans, or Bush People, from the Interior of South Africa, Who First Appeared at the Exeter Hall, on Monday, 17th May; The Only Real Specimens of This Extraordinary and Rapidly Decreasing Race of Human Beings Who Ever Visited Europe*, 2.

³⁰⁵ Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 112–14.

be taken as an anti-colonial speech, his method of examining people had some colonial connotations. Based on so-called ‘scientific’ findings, he came to conclusion by defining San people inferior, less-developed, whereas Europeans superior and more-developed. Indeed, he was working as an army surgeon, who was assigned by the government to work in Africa. Then, why did he approach in critical to British colonial policy at the end of his lecture?

Knox’s lecture included the relations between the displayed native and their racial characteristics under the British colonial policies. His lecture was shaped around the idea of physical varieties of people and the impact of colonialism in effecting the racial features of people in Africa. However, the first aim of this lecture was not to give a brief introduction of the people on display or to talk about the exhibition scenes. Instead, the main objective of Knox who was accepted as an expert in his own field, was to carry the exhibition to a reliable, convincing and a ‘scientific’ field. The audience became more interested to listen these lectures, since the “various scenes in the entertainment” were “explained by and intelligent young lecturer.”³⁰⁶ Knox’s lecture was delivered to promote and take the audience attention before or during the exhibition. He was telling about his own stories and findings, because the San people were chosen for the exhibition as exemplars of Knox’s views on “human development and classification.”³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ “The Zulu Kaffirs,” *The Illustrated London News*, May 28, 1853, 410.

³⁰⁷ Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 114.

CONCLUSION

As in the story of “Alice in Wonderland”, during my childhood I was waiting for the white rabbit. At a certain point of my childhood, the white rabbit came and took me. Then we went through the rabbit hole. Suddenly, I fell a long way to a curious hall with many showcases, stages and rooms of all sizes. In this curious hall, fortunately, I didn’t discover any bottle or cake with a label “Drink me” or “Eat me” on it. Instead, this curious hall was full of exhibits, showcases, rooms and objects. As if they were speaking to me, they were trying to tell stories about people, their lives and culture. Whose culture were they speaking about? Why did they tell stories about the daily life of ‘local people’? How could I believe them? I still do not find answers to these questions. Besides, I found new questions about the intimate relationship between the ones who display and the ones who are displayed. This thesis is entailed around the search for the mechanisms of this mutual interaction between the exhibitor and the exhibited or between the anthropologist and the indigenous people.

This thesis aims to examine the fundamentals of the discipline of anthropology and its impact on creating a field of human ethnographic exhibitions. This mutual interaction has always been studied through a historical point of view by using descriptive visual analysis. However, in this thesis, I aim to look at the mechanisms of the effect of colonial discourse in producing Otherness shaping around these human exhibitions. The creation of Otherness was very visible in the process of transformation of the ‘native’ into a ‘savage’. Therefore, the main question of this thesis is: which factors, actors and processes did have an impact on transforming the ‘native’ as an object of anthropology into ‘savage’ as an object of exhibition? In order to provide critical answers to this research question, I examine

the production of ‘primitive’, ‘uncivilized’ and ‘freak’ narrative in certain human exhibitions during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Such exhibitions were nourished by two sets of feelings. One was the curiosity towards and the fear of the ‘primitive’ body while the other was to dislocate and bring them to be exhibited in order not only to civilize the public but also to educate and entertain them. This is the encounter on which I built my research question: what were the mechanisms of the transformation of African native to the ‘savage’? To what extent did racial features have an impact on creating the ‘savage’? But at the same time, how was the field of anthropology entangled within staging the ‘savage’? These two questions push and pull each other from one side to the other. Postcolonial theory is thus the ideal tool to analyze the context of this dual and intertwined relationship between the creation of African imagination and the impact of colonial figures in relating with the anthropological practices.

In the first chapter, I analyzed the mechanisms of the anthropologist-native encounter during the process of colonialism. By using the theories of Johannes Fabian’s temporality, Rey Chow’s “unequal power encounter”, Renato Rosaldo’s “imperialist nostalgia” and James Clifford’s “salvage ethnography”, I argued that the theories, practices and figures of the British anthropology was based upon the unequal power relations between the anthropologist and the native during the nineteenth century. My main questions in this chapter were: what happens when the anthropologist penetrates into the land of native? If we support the idea that, every colonial encounter can be taken not only as a cultural translation but also as a kind of colonial penetration, then how does this unequal relationship have an impact on the constitution of African imagination?

The effect of anthropological temporality provides a theoretical background for us to re-define the status of the native during the process of ‘unequal encounter’. I drew from Fabian’s suggestion that studying the native in their ‘local’ spots push them back in time. Since the place and the status of the native is being changed and is forced to be dislocated, anthropological definitions and descriptions began to emerge based on such temporal distance. Therefore, the anthropologist captured the native’s present time in order to be an active figure. This penetration and temporal dislocation can be seen during the development of physical anthropology in the nineteenth century. The use of observational methods, fieldwork practices and even medical research practiced on indigenous populations created a legitimate and ‘scientific’ basis for the colonial encounter.

At this point, the unequal temporal differences between the anthropologist and the native created the basis of this encounter. As Chow suggests, this was not a pure, naïve and an equal encounter, but rather an unequal power encounter, which was one of the building blocks of the colonial encounter between the West and the non-Western. In that sense, Rosaldo’s ‘imperialist nostalgia’ helps us to redefine two paradoxical situations: destruction and construction. The native destroyed by colonial imperialism needed to be constructed by the anthropologist. As the Others vanished in time and space, the anthropologist reconstructed them. However, neither the native nor the anthropologist was the same as before. It was a paradoxical situation that the anthropological methods, practices and actors devoted themselves to protect the indigenous populations while examining them as an object of inquiry during the nineteenth century. These critical approaches to problematize the unequal relationship between the Western anthropologist and the non-Western native created a theoretical basis for the first chapter.

In the first chapter, I also pointed out the problematic relationship between anthropology and colonialism. Since the 1960s, the postcolonial critics such as Talal Asad and Wendy James, have been focusing their attention to the British colonial presence in Africa. Their main arguments have been shaped around the idea that the discipline of anthropology and the 'scientific' role of British anthropologists strengthened their status, such as James Hunt by creating colonial interactions with the imperial powers. In return, the colonial encounter received 'scientific' support from anthropologists, ethnologists and even medical practitioners. This mutual interaction between anthropology and colonialism or the status of colonial anthropologist was not only shaped around the notion of exploration, but it was practiced by the 'scientific' penetration and exploitation, which resulted in the transformation of the native into the 'savage' by defining them as 'primitive' and 'uncivilized'. At the end of this reciprocal relationship, the 'scientific' practices and the political power went hand in hand in order to define, describe and re-invent the Other and the Self as well.

The second chapter posed some basic questions: why do we feel curious and why do we collect? In order to provide answers to these questions, the structure of the earliest display areas called 'cabinets of curiosities' were explored, and the crucial roles they played was highlighted. First, they were the earliest examples of presenting the obsessive interest about the Other. The Western elite collected objects and put them in the cabinets according to their rarity, curiosity, exoticness and strangeness. By the eighteenth century, cabinets began to contain of objects and specimens that were attributed to the abnormal, hybrid and 'monstrous'. Second, since the cabinets contained hand-made and natural objects, which were collected from distant and mostly non-European regions, they were flourished by the colonial

interest. They took place when Europe was beginning to emerge as *primus inter pares* (first among peers).³⁰⁸

The era when the cabinets of curiosities were developed, presented the fact that dichotomies between normal and abnormal was constructed on the basis of collecting rare and curious objects. Although this pattern began to be institutionalized, when the museums emerged in the Europe during the nineteenth century, the interest on collecting rare and curious artefacts continued to be part of the nineteenth century display zones. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, ethnographic human exhibitions appeared in between such lines of curiosity. The second chapter explored the impact of the anthropologist and the native encounter on the invention of the ‘savage’ people, when the anthropological penetration took place in Africa. This invention resulted with the transformation of the anthropologized body into an exhibited savage. During the process of inventing the ‘savage’, one of the most crucial figures were anthropologists who were working as curators, lecturers as well as collectors for these exhibitions.

This chapter aimed to survey the colonial role of the anthropologists in creating these ethnographic human exhibitions. Since the early nineteenth century ethnologists, such as James C. Prichard, Richard Kind and R. Gordon Latham, who worked for the ESL had medical backgrounds, which affected ESL to adapt methods such as observation and examination of human ‘races’. Their background in medicine shaped the ways in which they began to define human ‘races’ according to their physical and anatomical features. In 1848, Robert Gordon Latham became the

³⁰⁸ R.J Gonzales, L. Nader, J. Ou, “Towards and Ethnography of Museums,” in *Academic Anthropology and the Museum*, edited by Mary Bouquet (London: Berghahn Books, 2001), 108.

lead ethnologist of the ESL, which was the first British ethnological institution devoted itself to study the cultural and social life of 'native' people, as well as to examine the anatomy and physiology of various 'races'. In 1854, Latham began to work as a curator in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, London. This was the breaking point to see how the Latham worked as a curator and took a 'scientific' role in carrying the ethnological perspective into the exhibitionary ground. From this point of view, ethnology began to be articulated with exhibitions specifically national and institutional exhibition areas.

World fairs were playing a crucial role in creating an institutionalized space for ethnographic exhibitions. These exhibitions reached their zenith period in terms of political and economic success and public relations with the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851. After the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, the Crystal Palace was moved to Sydenham and stayed there between the years 1854 and 1936. Although the Sydenham Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in 1854 did not have any live human exhibitions, it turned into ethnological exhibition by displaying realistic looking Zulu mannequins.

Sadiya Qureshi and Efram Sera- Shriar analysed the content of the Sydenham exhibition according to the exhibition guidebook written by Latham himself. The guidebook contained a map, which presented the non-Western countries- the African world- away from Western countries. It was the vivid example about how the colonial mindset pushed them back in time. Another important detail was the articulation of the ethnological studies with exhibits. In the guidebook, Latham used words such as Negro and European by making taxonomic definitions, categorizations based on physical details of African people. In short, the arrangement of Sydenham exhibits, written documents and the map of the exhibition does not only provide

information about how the public were curious about the distant lands, but they present the fact that how the colonial mindset re-created the variety of races and human differences and how the national and colonial system used the ethnology as a ‘scientific’ tool in order to legitimize the idea of being sovereign and powerful. By connecting ethnological framework with the colonial ideology, Latham’s ethnographic exhibition, which was held at the Crystal Palace, was not only a place for exhibiting various races, but it also became a place for carrying political message to the British public. These exhibitions presented the economic and colonial wealth by showing the people who were inhabited and exploited. This is how the narration was created in exhibits by bringing the distant and colonial lands into the place of ethnologists, which helped them to build a so-called ‘convincing’ story and show it to the audience in vivid, tangible and legitimate ways.

In Chapter 2, I conducted an analysis of the so-called “Zulu Kafir Exhibition”, which was held in various galleries of London in 1853. Thanks to the pamphlet entitled *Descriptive History of the Zulu Kafirs, Their Customs and Their Country, with Illustration (1853)* written by C.H. Caldecott, we have a textual and visual representation of how the cultural structure and physical features of Zulu people was created through the eyes of Victorians. In addition to this, there was an increasing demand for seeing and watching the Zulu people on display, because it was a lively and ‘natural’ display not an artificial sideshow. On this point, Charles Dickens’ essay ‘The Noble Savage’ presents two intertwined relations of ethnographic exhibition and the Victorian spectacle. On the one hand, he mainly describes physical features of people on display and defines them as savage or “blemishes of civilization.” On the other hand, the Zulu people arouse interest and admiration in the Victorian public. They reflect dichotomies at the same time. They

were viewed beautiful as well as ugly; they were 'outcast' and staged; they were pushed back in time as well as pulled in present.

For example, in the *Noble Savage* (1853), Charles Dickens was interested in describing both the cultural and physical features of the Zulu people. The Zulu customs, traditions and daily life activities were mostly accepted by the London audiences as 'theatrical' performance. The Zulu exhibition and many other ethnographical exhibitions pushed the limits of Victorian show business when they sang and danced on the stage. Therefore, the transformation of Zulu people from native to savage pushed the limits of clear-cut distinctions and entailed around certain types of dichotomies. It is clear that, the display of Zulu people cannot be separated from the anthropological context as well as performative practices.

Another famous performative practice in the history of human displays was the exhibition of Saartje Baartman. The 'uniqueness' of Baartman's body created the basis of Western curiosity. Her physical body was turned into an object of entertainment and scientific as well as medical site, where the Western discourse was based upon. Her skin, color and race were the main trigger of these ethnographic displays. Then, Baartman's body turned into a social site of construction under the title of 'Hottentot Venus' that the Western white, colonial, able-bodied and male mind constructed its own superiority. Then, how was the anthropologized body turned into a site for creating such Western superiority? On the one hand, Baartman's body taken as 'brutal' and 'bestial'. It was somehow pushed back in time and turned into a freak figure. On the other hand, her body was accepted as a pornographic object that aroused curiosity. Her 'wild' body became the symbol of Westerners' interest and turned into a curious object in order to satisfy the Western gaze. These two processes seem to have pushing and pulling effect from one side to another. At

that point, my question is how can we separate the ethnographic human exhibitions from the performative practices or freak shows? Since certain kind of dichotomies shaped the way of creating the Zulu Kaffir and Baartman Exhibitions, can we separate ethnography human exhibition from the freak show literature?

In the third chapter, I conducted a literature review on the definition of the ‘freak body’ and how it was perceived throughout the history. Rosemarie Garland Thomson clarifies the understanding of the freak body, which is transformed from an object of desire into a fear. According to Thomson, this shift produces the ‘freak discourse’, which emphasizes the change from spectacular body into abnormal body, from monstrosity into pathology or from wonder into error. However, can we really create cut distinctions to define the ‘freak body’?

Although the freak body has been viewed as ‘abnormal’, the interpretation of the ‘freak’ is dependent upon various cultures, geographies and histories. According to nineteenth century mindset, the freak body was accepted as ‘monstrous’ body because of embodying two things in one form. This duality challenged the understanding of cultural categories, since the body was instable and cannot fit into any kind of categories. Then, the cultural notions such as curious, rare, different, ugly, beautiful, began to be attributed to the freak body, because the public needed to satisfy their basic psychological feelings, needs, concerns and desires upon them. By attributing these sets of notions, the oppressed body inevitably became a part of political context, which turned them into objects of entertainment. At that point, the use of representation, such as freak shows, became popular around Europe.

The freak shows were both etymologically and contextually related to the notions of performance and voyeurism. The voyeuristic desire to know more about

the people on display, highlights the visualizing and underlining the practice of displaying. This practice was nourished by commercial market. In *the Shows of London*, Richard Altick considers the display of human anomalies as a type of entertainment that the Europeans could consume during the expansion of the commercial leisure market.³⁰⁹ In the mid- nineteenth century, there was a rapid growth of the middle class that created a site for “inexpensive popular entertainment.”³¹⁰ During the same time periods, there was a rise in music halls, theatres, circuses, seaside resorts, aquariums, zoos, pleasure gardens, and popular museums in Britain. These spaces of entertainment had turned into showcases for ‘freak’ performances. With the increase in the variety of entertainment venues, the exhibition of ‘freak bodies’ reached its zenith during the mid-nineteenth century. However, in this chapter I did not study the effect of commercial market to the ‘freak shows’. Rather, I preferred to look at how the ‘freak shows’ were related to the ethnographic exhibitions? At that point, I will problematize the relations or distinctions between the notion of ethnographic exhibits and the ‘freak shows’.

Thomson points out the role of ‘freak shows’ in producing the Other. Her argument puts the idea that displaying of ‘abnormal’ bodies provides the public to define the actual, universal and normative body. It can even be visible in the presentation of the physical body. People were mostly displayed on a stage with some kind of barrier or cage to separate the displayed ones from the audience. This border encouraged the public to gaze upon the people on stage. This process was based on creating sharp distinctions between the spectators and people on display; or between the Self and the Other, or between ‘us’ and ‘them’. This cultural

³⁰⁹ Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1978), 5.

³¹⁰ Durbach, *The Spectacle of Deformity*, 5.

differentiation creates an unequal encounter between the people on display and the audience. In that sense, freak shows turned into a space to present the process of how the audience constituted their 'normal' and 'able' bodies.

In addition to critical and discursive analysis, the historical analysis provide information about how was the freak body articulated and if we go back to the question that I have asked before, can we separate the 'freak shows' from ethnographic exhibitions? If we take the case of "the Beautiful Spotted Boy" displayed in the Richardson Theatre, should we put it within the freak show literature or should we analyze it through the view of colonial anthropology and view as an exotic body? As Nadja Durbach has suggested that, "the Spotted Negro-Boy" is located in between the exoticness and the monstrosity. It is clear that, if we are dealing with history, then it is not that easy to draw certain clear-cut lines between approaches, issues, contexts and ideas. Instead, these exhibitions presented not only the racial Otherness of people on display, it reminded the white British Body to have a 'normal', natural and beautiful form of body. The only thing that needed to keep in mind that these exhibitions would not provide information about the native people or people on display, rather they provide knowledge about how Victorians and their way of thinking created the Other on a legitimate ground.

This topic has been taken a great interest by several social critics and historians. In addition to the books, which was covered in this thesis as well, several dissertations were also written. Diana C. S. Snigurowicz's dissertation "Spectacles of Monstrosity and the Embodiment of Identity in France, 1829-1914" made a detailed historical analysis about the observation and exhibition of 'monstrous' bodies in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century in France. Heather McHold's dissertation "Diagnosing Difference: The Scientific, Medical, and Popular

Engagement with Monstrosity in Victorian Britain” traced the history of monstrosity and its relationship with medical world during the Victorian period. However, none of them examined the history, content and public presentation of ethnographic exhibits in relation to the effect of anthropological and colonial connotations. Therefore, this thesis aimed to analyze the legitimization of the invention of ‘savage’ by the use of ethnographic exhibitions, which were based upon the intertwined relationship between anthropology and the colonialism during the first half of the nineteenth century in the Victorian period. It is important to point out that, the ethnographic body and the ‘freak body’ or the ethnographic exhibitions and the ‘freak shows’ presented the fact that these two notions went hand in hand during the construction of the notion of ‘savage’.

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APPENDICES

A- Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, 1848. First two pages.

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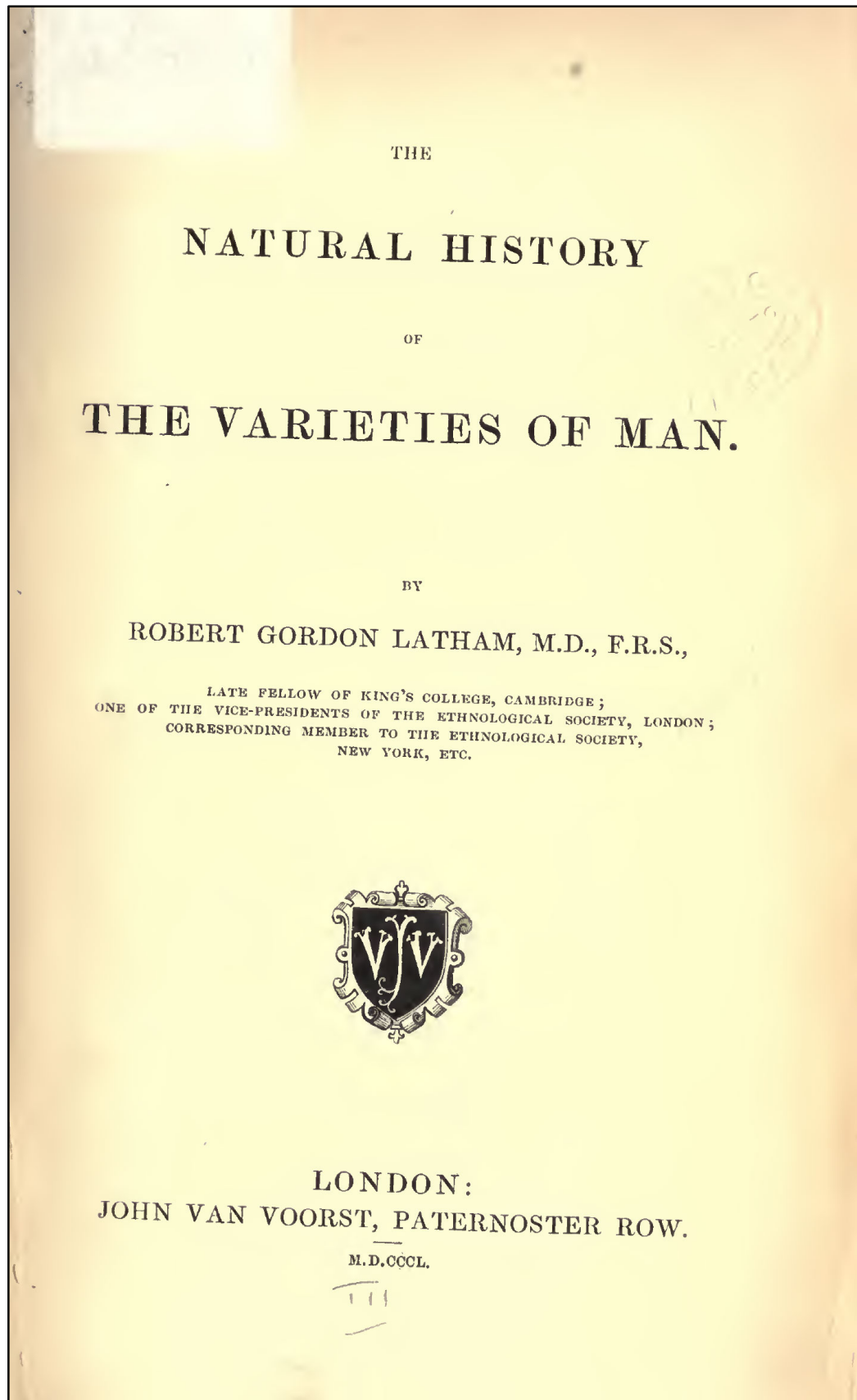
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and the indignant masters. He turned them upon his enemies in the west; the Slavonians, and the Germans. And these they overran until checked on the Elbe, by a bloody victory gained over them by Sigisbert. The next victory, however, was the Avars', and peace followed. But the Avars remained like locusts in the land. This they had exhausted, or helped to exhaust; when either the intrigues of the King of the Lombards, or the pressure of famine, induced them to agree with Sigisbert upon the terms of their departure. These were a supply of meal and meat for their expedition. To the King of the Lombards, Alboin, whom they then turned eastwards to join, they proffered their assistance against the Gepidæ, on condition of Pannonia, if evacuated, being ceded to them. The destruction of the Gepidæ of Pannonia was followed by the bright period of Avar history, the reign of Baian. The pride of this barbarian inflamed the anger of the Emperor Maurice, who broke his power by the arms of his general Priscus,—broke, but not annihilated. On the 29th of June, A.D. 626, thirty thousand of the vanguard of the Avars insulted the patricians of Constantinople under their own walls, strong in their own barbarian valour, and strong in an even-handed alliance, against the common enemy, with the great king, Chosroes, then at war with Heraclius. "You see," was his answer to the *standing* patricians, "the proofs of my perfect union with the great king; and his lieutenant is ready to send into my camp a select band of three thousand warriors. Presume no longer to tempt your master with a partial and inadequate ransom; your wealth and your city are the only presents worthy of my acceptance. For yourself, I shall permit you to depart, each with an under-garment, and a shirt, and, at my entreaty, my friend Sarbar will not refuse a

Vignaud
12-18-30

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European, or the evolution of white varieties in black races of men. We have seen that there are causes existing which are capable of producing such an alteration, but we have no facts which induce us to suppose that the reverse of this change could in any circumstance be effected. This leads us to the inference that the primitive stock of men were Negroes, which has every appearance of truth." It is not a little remarkable that although Blumenbach and Prichard were both advocates for the unity of man, they materially differed in their arguments. Blumenbach saw, in his five varieties of man, nothing but degeneracy from some ideal perfect type. Prichard, on the contrary, asserted he could imagine no arguments, or knew of no facts, to support such a conclusion. Prichard, however, was not alone in this supposition; for Pallas,* Lacépède,† Hunter,‡ Doornik§, and Link,|| were also inclined to the same view. We must not dwell on such speculations; for on the present occasion we shall not touch on the origin of man: it will be enough if we assist in removing some of the misconceptions regarding the Negro-race existing in the minds of some men of science. It is too generally taught that the Negro only differs from the European in the colour of his skin and the peculiarity of his hair; but such opinions are not supported by facts. The skin and hair are by no means the only characters which distinguish the Negro from the European, even physically; and the difference is greater, mentally and morally, than the demonstrated physical difference. In the first place, what are the physical distinctions between the Negro and the European?

* *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, in 1793-4.*

† *Vue Générale, etc.* Paris, 1822.

‡ *Disputatio inauguralis de Hominum Varietatibus et earum causis exponens, etc.* Joannes Hunter. Edinburgh, 1775.

§ *Wysgeerig-natuurkundig Onderzoek, etc.* Amst., 1808.

|| On this point Link (*Die Urwelt, etc.*, Berlin, 1821-2) says:—"Soemmering's investigations (*Die Körperliche Verschiedenheit des Negers*, Frankfurt, 1785,) show how much more the Negro in his internal structure resembles the Ape than the European. The latest productions of the animal world were mammals, and it stands to reason that the most recent race should be that which is the most remote from the other mammals, and that race should be the oldest which approaches them most, namely, the Negro. Colour, also, confirms this everywhere, when we observe white and black animals of the same species. The latter always form the original stock, the former the deviation."

The average height of the Negro* is less than that of the European, and although there are occasionally exceptions, the

* "The stature of the Negro approaches the middle size. The tribes above the middle stature are probably more numerous than those below it. I know of no instances of dwarfism among Negroes, though the monuments of Egypt show that there were dwarfs among the Negroes at a very remote epoch. Nevertheless, giants and dwarfs occupy a certain place in the ideas and stories of the Negro, as well as tailed men. We know what to believe as regards the latter point. With respect to dwarfs, the Bosjesmen seem to answer the ideas of the Negroes, for they play in their stories the same part as the Hyperboreans in the traditions of ancient Greece. Obesity is exceptionally found in males of high rank, and more frequently in the women. The disposition to grow fat is less rare among the short than among the tall Negroes. The taller are frequently lank and very angular.

"On examining the physiognomy of the Negro, I would first observe that the palpebral fissure is narrow and horizontal; but the aperture of the nostrils presents instead of a raised triangle a transverse ellipsis; that the point of the nose is obtuse, round, and thick; that the ear is small, detached from the head, with a lobule little separated. To this must be added the cheeks stuffed by the masseters, the conformation of the jaws and lips, and the ensemble of the physiognomy of the Negro presents a singular mixture. The inferior part reflects sensuality, not to say more; above the mouth we might say it is the face of a new-born child enlarged. The absence of expression in the features produces the effect of an unfinished work. The change of colour, so significant in the white man, that mute language, but more effective than the spoken word which moves us, is almost entirely absent in our African brothers. The black veil which covers the whole, even withdraws the play of the muscles from the eye of the observer, unless it be in moments of passionate agitation.

"The eye alone enables us to judge what passes in the depth of the mind. This mirror is sufficiently bright to enable us to distinguish two classes, which may be compared to the choleric and phlegmatic temperaments. The travellers who have observed the Negro in his native country indicate some expressive, and, so to say, national shades, which distinguish the peoples of the Sudan. This is in harmony with the differences in features, stature, we shall speak of in the sequel. We find thus among the authors the terms, "dignified and proud, jovial and gay, intelligent and cunning;" also, "insignificant and inexpressive, melancholy and morose, dull and stupid." Thus the Negro participates also in this respect largely of the nature of man in general; but it cannot be said of him what was applied to the American, "Gentleness hovers on his lips, and ferocity gushes from his eyes."

"The neck of the Negro is generally short; it is scarcely 8 to 9 centimetres, excepting very tall subjects, when it attains 10 centimetres; the prominence of the larynx is rounded; the shoulders are less powerful than in the Turanian or Aryan. The Negro prefers carrying his burden on the head. The Negro is shrunk in the flank, the abdomen frequently relaxed; the umbilicus, situated nearer the pubis than in the European, is slightly prominent.

"After these short remarks on the conformation of the trunk, we must fix our attention on the limbs. We have already indicated the proportion of the parts which compose them. It now remains to describe their particular form. The arm and the forearm of the Negro present neither the muscular contours of the European nor the rounded shape of the American. The palm of the hand, as well as the sole of the foot, are always of a bistre colour. The palm is narrow and flattened; that is to say, the thenar and hypothenar eminences, as well as the tactile cushions, are little developed. The folds of the palm are very simple and rudimentary. The fingers are elongated; of little thickness at the ends; the nails are flat, bistre coloured, and rather widened at the end.

"In the inferior limb we observe the fold of the buttocks less rounded, the

skeleton of the Negro is generally heavier, and the bones larger and thicker in proportion to the muscles than those of the European. The bones are also whiter, from the greater abundance of calcareous salts. The thorax is generally laterally compressed, and, in thin individuals, presents a cylindrical form, and is smaller in proportion to the extremities. The extremities of the Negro differ from other races more by proportion than by form : the arm usually reaches below the middle of the femur. The leg is on the whole longer, but is made to look short on account of the ankle being only between $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. above the ground ; this character is often seen in mulattoes. The foot is flat, and the heel is both flat and long. Burmeister has pointed out the resemblance of the foot and the position of the toes of the Negro to those of the ape. The toes are small, the first sepa-

thighs more angular in front and specially at the back ; the knees approximated ; the calf usually weak, short, and laterally compressed ; the feet spread out ; the heel wide and prominent ; the lateral borders of the feet straight, their anterior portion widened ; the great toes short and small. The foot is rarely highly arched ; on the other hand it is elongated, and what it wants in height is made up by the tibia, which is longer in proportion.

"This conformation of the foot of the Negro has induced a learned naturalist to take the foot as the starting point to fix the type of races. But the particulars given by M. Simonot, on the diversities met with in this respect among the peoples of the Senegal, which accord with the reports of other travellers and my own observations, throw doubt upon the constancy of the conformation. On the other hand, it is certain that the type of the inferior limb, as I have described it, is the appanage of the majority of Negroes. The flat foot is, however, also met with in a large number of races approaching more the Aryan than the Negro ; for instance, in some tribes of America and Polynesia. It is also frequent in Russia, and it frequently influences the reform of the military service in the rest of Europe. The shortening of the great toe, combined with a slight distance from the rest, has been noted in the Negro, in some races of Malaisia, and the Hottentot as a constant character approaching these peoples to the ape. The importance of the great toe is incontestable, for it is the first bone which disappears from the extremities on descending the animal series. I think it therefore necessary well to examine this point as regards the Negro. Now it is true that the great toe in the Negro rarely rises above the second, but neither is it often shorter. This applies also to the pretended lateral distance which may moreover be owing to the employment of thongs in their shoes, as done by the Arabs, for instance. It is clear that all that has been asserted relative to the opposition of the great toe of the Negro is reduced to the simple question : Is there a muscle, or at least an aponeurotic tendon, subservient to this pretended use? Nowhere, and never has anything like it been discovered in the human genus. But a slight shortening of the great toe undoubtedly exists, not merely among the Negro tribes, but also in ancient and modern Egyptians, and even in some of the most beautiful types of Caucasian females I have seen. This character is not merely constant in the ancient Egyptian statues, it is also seen where art has fixed the characters of the ideal man, namely, in the sculptures of Greece. I am, however, as far from wishing to establish the identity of the foot of the Negro with that ideal type, as I am to class the inhabitants of Alsace among the Negroes, because many of them present the same peculiarity. (Pruner Bey. *Memoire sur les Nègres*, 1861.)

rated from the second by a free space.* Many observers have noticed the fact that the Negro frequently uses the great toe as a thumb. The knees are rather bent, the calves are little developed and the upper part of the thigh rather thin. The upper thigh-bone of the Negro has not so decided a resemblance to the ape as that of the bushman.† He rarely stands quite upright, his short neck and large development of the cervical muscles give great strength to the neck. The shoulders, arms, and legs are all weak in comparison to the corresponding limbs in the European. The hand is always relatively larger than in

* "In most of the Africans the heel projects. From the skin of their feet being often of a horny hardness, sandals appear to me much better adapted than the shoe, as it allows of greater flexibility and movement. Lawrence in his 'Lectures on Man' says, that the calves of the leg in the Negro race are very high, so as to encroach upon the hams. His observation I can fully corroborate, as well as Dr. Winterbottom's remark respecting the largeness of the feet, and the thinness and flexibility of the fingers and toes."—*Sierra Leone*, by Robert Clarke, p. 49. Mr. Louis Fraser also says, "He will pick up the most minute object with his toes; his 'great' toe is particularly flexible."

† "It is quite certain that the ape which most nearly approaches man, in the totality of its organisation, is either the chimpanzee or the gorilla; and as it makes no practical difference, for the purposes of my present argument which is selected for comparison, on the one hand, with man, and on the other hand, with the rest of the primates, I shall select the latter (so far as its organisation is known) as a brute now so celebrated in prose and verse, that all must have heard of him, and have formed some conception of his appearance. I shall take up as many of the most important points of difference between man and this remarkable creature, as the space at my disposal will allow me to discuss, and the necessities of the argument demand; and I shall inquire into the value and magnitude of these differences, when placed side by side with those which separate the gorilla from other animals of the same order. In the general proportions of the body and limbs there is a remarkable difference between the gorilla and man, which at once strikes the eye. The gorilla's brain-case is smaller, its trunk larger, its lower limbs shorter, its upper limbs longer in proportion than those of man. I find that the vertebral column of a full-grown gorilla, in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, measures 27 inches along its anterior curvature, from the upper edge of the atlas or first vertebra of the neck to the lower extremity of the sacrum; that the arm, without the hand, is $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; that the leg, without the foot, is $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; that the hand is $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches long; the foot $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. In other words, taking the length of the spinal column as 100, the arm equals 115, the leg 96, the hand 36, and the foot 41. In the skeleton of a male Bosjesman, in the same collection, the proportions, by the same measurement, to the spinal column taken as 100, are—the arm 78, the leg 110, the hand 26, and the foot 32. In a woman of the same race the arm 83, and the leg 120, the hand and foot remaining the same. In a European skeleton I find the arm to be 80, the leg 117, the hand 26, the foot 35. Thus the leg is not so different as it looks at first sight, in its proportions to the spine in the gorilla and in the man, being very slightly shorter than the spine in the former, and between one-tenth and one-fifth longer than the spine in the latter. The foot is longer and the hand much longer in the gorilla; but the great difference is caused by the arms, which are very much longer than the spine in the gorilla, very much shorter than the spine in the man."—*Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, by T. H. Huxley, 1863, p. 70.

the European: the palm is flat, the thumb narrow, long, and very weak.

It will be seen from Dr. Pruner Bey's table that the humerus and the femur in the Negro and European, of equal height, are shorter in the Negro than in the European: while the tibia, the foot, the radius, and the hand are more elongated than in the Negro race. That the fingers and arms are longer has long been affirmed, and Negroes are quite conscious of this fact, but we have to thank Dr. Pruner Bey for the absolute proof.*

The great distinguishing characters of the Negro are the following: the forehead is flat, low, and laterally compressed. The nose and whole face is flattened, and the Negro thus has a facial angle generally between 70-75 degs., occasionally only 65 degs. The nasal cavities and the orbits are spacious.† The skull is very

* M. Pruner gives the following measures of the bones of the limbs in centimeters.

Designation of Measures.	Mean Measures.				Individual Measures.					
	Negroes.		Europeans		Negroes.		Europeans.			
	Males.	Fe- males.	Males.	Fe- males.	Man.	Wo- man.	Man.	Wo- man.	New- born Infant	Child 5 yrs. old.
Total height of Skeleton....	160.04	148.66	172.23	164.42	160.0	156.0	160.0	157.0	42.25	101.0
Femur	44.72	42.50	47.00	44.00	43.0	41.5	45.0	42.0	6.7	25.0
Tibia	38.09	35.33	38.76	37.71	39.0	38.5	36.0	36.0	6.0	22.0
Length of foot	24.50	21.83	25.00	23.37	23.5	21.5	24.0	23.0	"	"
Humerus	31.27	29.50	33.72	34.57	31.5	31.0	34.0	31.0	6.2	18.0
Radius	24.63	23.00	25.46	24.85	24.5	25.0	27.0	21.0	5.75	13.0
Length of hand	18.54	17.00	18.84	18.14	19.0	18.0	20.0	17.0	"	"

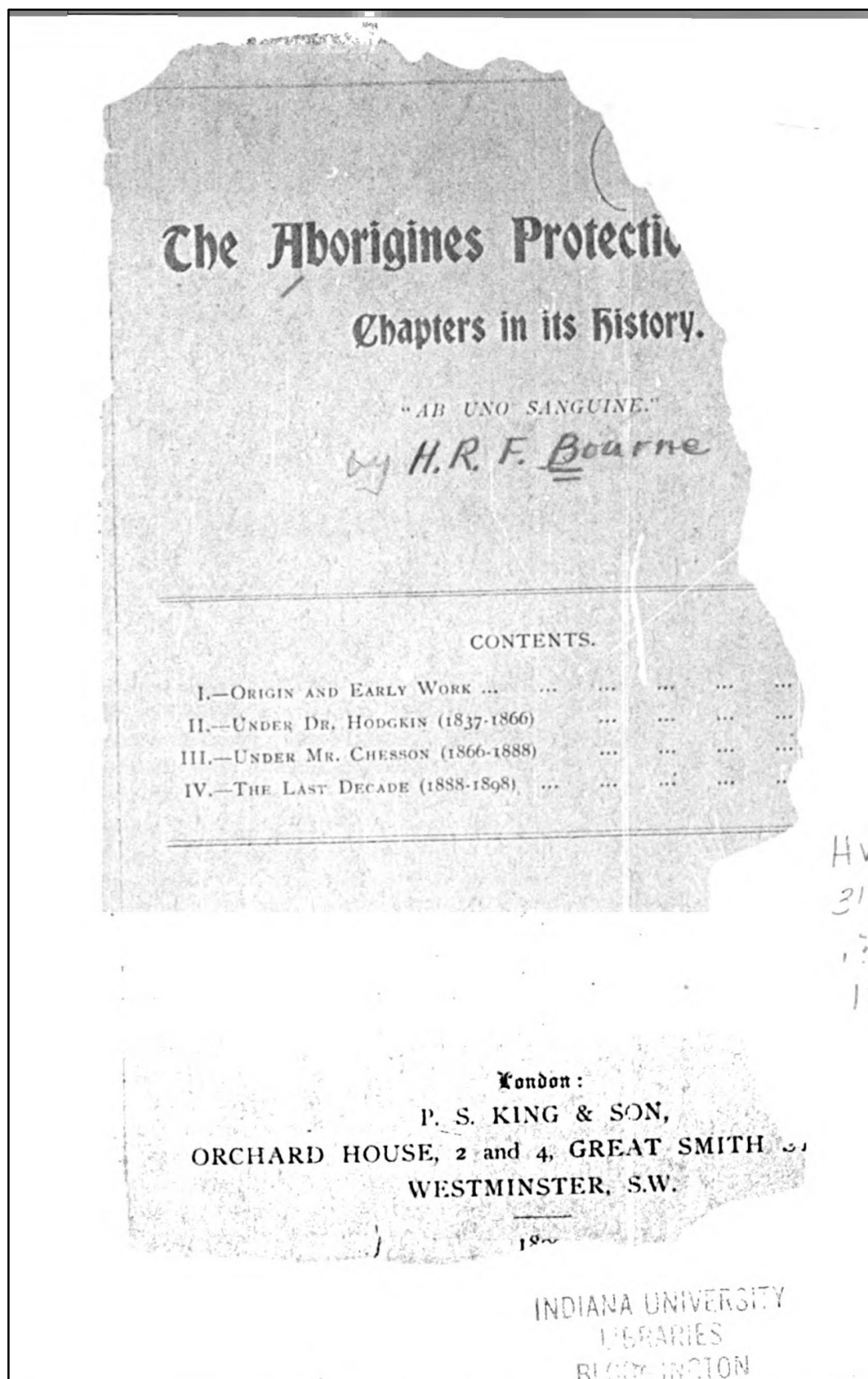
N.B.—“The preceding measures having been taken on skeletons, are only strictly correct as regards the isolated bones: femur, tibia, humerus, and radius. The lengths of hand and foot, and the total height of the skeleton, can only be approximative, as they are more or less modified by the mounters of the skeletons.

“By the side of the mean measures I have placed six individual measurements, viz.: a Negro and European of the same stature, and a European female and a Negress of the same height; and also a new-born European infant and a European child five years old. I wished to add a European child from thirteen to fifteen years old. It is at that age, according to M. Carus, that our children most approach the Negro by the relative dimensions of their extremities.

“The skeletons of the European females, which served for measurement, are in the gallery of the museum, having been placed at my disposal by the kindness of M. Quatrefages. Nearly all of them are those of females above the middle height.”

† *Facial cranium.*—“Before considering the anatomical details of the facial cranium, it is indispensable to note the disproportion existing between the size of the face and the cerebral cranium. This character, already indicated by Cuvier, depends chiefly on the excessive development of the jaws and the size of the cavities of the organs of sense. The orbits are large, funnel-shaped,

D- The Aborigines Protection Society Chapters in its History, H.R.F. 1899.
Cover and 8th, 9th pages



sums as may be necessary to provide for the religious instruction, and for the protection, of the survivors of the tribes to which the lands comprised in that colony formerly belonged; and the same rule should apply to the tribes inhabiting those territories which are now in progress of settlement by Her Majesty's subjects."

7. Great improvement should be made in the rules and methods adopted for the punishment of natives' "crimes." "When the British law is violated by the aborigines within the British dominions, it seems right that the utmost indulgence compatible with a due regard for the lives and properties of others should be shown for their ignorance and prejudices. Actions which they have been taught to regard as praiseworthy we consider as meriting the punishment of death. It is, of course, impossible to adopt or sanction the barbarous notions which have urged the criminal to the commission of the offence, but neither is it just to exclude them from our view in awarding the punishment of his crime."

8. "It is inexpedient that treaties should be frequently entered into between the local governments and the tribes in their vicinity. Compacts between parties negotiating on terms of such entire disparity are rather the preparations and the apology for disputes than securities for peace. As often as the resentment or the cupidity of the more powerful body may be excited, a ready pretext for complaint will be found in the ambiguity of the language in which these agreements must be drawn up, and in the superior sagacity which the European will exercise in framing, in interpreting, and in evading them."

9. Christian missionaries should be encouraged, but within proper limits, "To protect, assist, and countenance these gratuitous and invaluable agents is amongst the most urgent duties of the governors of our colonies. On the other hand, those by whom the missionaries are selected and employed cannot be too deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility under which the choice is made. Piety and zeal, though the most essential qualifications of a missionary to the aborigines, are not the only endowments indispensable to a faithful discharge of his office. In such situations it is necessary that with plans of moral and religious improvement should be combined well matured schemes for advancing the social and political improvement of the tribes, and for prevention of any sudden changes which might be injurious to the health and physical constitution of the new converts."

Some of these suggestions are open to criticism, and others refer to a past condition of affairs; but, like the rest of the Parliamentary Committee's report, they attest the wisdom, honesty and thoroughness with which it did its work.

The Society's Commencement. It was mainly with the intention of carrying out the objects of the Parliamentary Committee's report that in 1837 Dr. Hodgkin and his friends re-shaped the informal committee that had co-operated with it, and established it as the Aborigines Protection Society.

The fundamental purpose of the Society, as stated in an "Address"

then issued, was "to assist in protecting the defenceless, and promoting the advancement of uncivilised tribes." "The collection of authentic information concerning the character, habits and wants of uncivilised tribes, and especially those in or near the British colonies," was the first labour to which it applied itself; and it further undertook "to communicate in cheap publications those details which may excite the interest of all classes, and thus ensure the extension of correct opinions."

**Its Original
Committee.**

How close were the relations between the Parliamentary Committee and the Society may be seen from the fact that Thomas Fowell Buxton, the Chairman of the former, was President of the Society, and that four of his colleagues in the House of Commons inquiry—Joseph Pease, Edward Baines, Charles Lushington, and Charles Hindley—were also members of the Committee of the Society. Other members of the Committee, besides Dr. Hodgkin, its leading spirit, were William Allen, Josiah and William Forster, and Samuel Gurney, prominent among several representatives of the Society of Friends. Others, again, among the total of about two dozen, were Dr. Samuel Lushington, M.P., Thomas Roscoe, son of the historian, Edward North Buxton, Sir Augustus D'Este, and Sir Culling Eardley Smith. The secretaries for the first few weeks were Saxe Bannister formerly Attorney-General of New South Wales, and William Higgins; but their places were presently filled by the Rev. J. J. Freeman and J. H. Tredgold, and the post was afterwards held for some years by F. Maitland Innes.

**Its First
Work.**

This original Committee lost no time in establishing correspondence with "intelligent and benevolent individuals abroad, whose local information and influence it could not but regard as invaluable," from whom it sought "specific and accurate intelligence of all circumstances connected with the aborigines, as the most effectual means of guiding the Society to the adoption of wise and appropriate measures on their behalf." Its correspondents were numerous and widely distributed; in Canada, the United States and Brazil; in Australia and the South Sea Islands; in South Africa and India.

The earliest important work done by the Society was the issuing in a handy volume, with comments and a selection from the evidence, of the Parliamentary "Report on Aboriginal Tribes," and this was followed in 1838 by other important publications, embodying the results of some of its own Committee's searching inquiries, notably a "Report on the Aborigines of the Australias," and a "Report on the Indians of Upper Canada."

E- The Ashmolean Museum: Its History, Present State, and Prospects, J. H. Parker, 1870, First three pages.

THE
ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM:
ITS
HISTORY, PRESENT STATE, AND PROSPECTS.

A LECTURE
DELIVERED TO THE
Oxford Architectural and Historical Society,
NOVEMBER 2, 1870,

BY
JOHN HENRY PARKER, HON. M.A. OXON.
KEEPER OF THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY;
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OXFORD,
AND OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ROME;
FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON;
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS;
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, AND OF
THE COUNTY SOCIETIES OF DUCKS., CHESHIRE, ESSEX, KENT, LINCOLN,
NORTHAMPTON, SOMERSET, SUSSEX, AND WILTS.;
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGISTS AT BONN;
MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION
OF HISTORICAL MONUMENTS, AND OF THE SOCIETIES OF NORMANDY,
OF BORDEAUX AND OF CHERBOURG, &c.

OXFORD,
M DCCC LXX.

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

SEVERAL of my predecessors in the office which ^{My Pre-}
I have now the honour to hold, of Keeper of this ^{decessors.}
Museum, have set me the example of giving some account of the history, the present state, and the prospects of the Museum. The latest and best was given by Mr. Philip Duncan, in 1830; this was printed, and also prefixed to the Catalogue of the Museum, which was published in 1836; and is still to be had at the Museum, of Mr. Rowell, who has prepared a continuation of it to the present time.

The collection was originally begun in the time of ^{Tradescanta.}
Elizabeth, or James I., by John Tradescant. According to one account, he was a Dutch merchant settled in London, who had been originally one of the refugees expelled from Holland by the bigots of those days on religious grounds, like so many others who helped to augment the wealth of England at that period. Whether this account is correct or not, he was a man of great acquirements on various subjects, especially in botany and horticulture. He was employed by the Lords Salisbury and Wotton. He bore the title of the King's Gardener, was sent in the fleet to Algeria, and collected plants in Barbary and the Mediterranean Islands. He was also selected by Lord Danby to take charge of the Botanical Garden, but died about that time. He was assisted and succeeded by his son, who kept the then celebrated Tradescant's Ark until the

B

time of Charles II. It was the earliest collection of the kind formed in England, and chiefly consisted of what are called *curiosities*, without regard to whether they were objects of Natural History—the works of God, or Antiquities—the works of Man, in the olden time. The collection, with the additions of Ashmole, included Birds, Beasts, and Fishes, especially the productions of distant countries, all that was comprised under the general name of “Rarities.” Such was the general character of a Museum down to our own time.

Curiosities.

The University has wisely decided on separating this miscellaneous collection, and distributing it to the different departments to which each belongs. The old Catalogues of the Ashmolean Museum are therefore things of the past. Anthony Wood’s Manuscripts, of which a catalogue was published by my predecessor, Mr. Huddesford, in 1761, as then in the Ashmolean Museum, must now be sought for in the Bodleian

Old Catalogues.
A. Wood’s MSS.,
Huddesford.

Library. The large collection of Ashmole’s Manuscripts, of which a catalogue was published by Mr. Black in 1845*, must also be sought for there. Most of the Portraits enumerated in Mr. Duncan’s Catalogue will be found either in the Bodleian Picture Gallery, the Hope Portrait Gallery, or in the Taylor and Randolph Buildings.

Ashmole’s MSS., W. H. Black.
Portraits, Bodley, Hope.

The objects of Natural History are now in the Museum of Natural Science in the Parks, built for the purpose with part of the money obtained for the University from the Bible Press, by the clever management of my late Uncle, Mr. Joseph Parker. They can still be found, I believe, by the numbers given in Mr. Duncan’s Catalogue. It is not probable that many of these really belonged to the original collection of John Tradescant or his son, forming the once celebrated Tradescant’s

Natural Science, New Museum.

Joseph Parker.

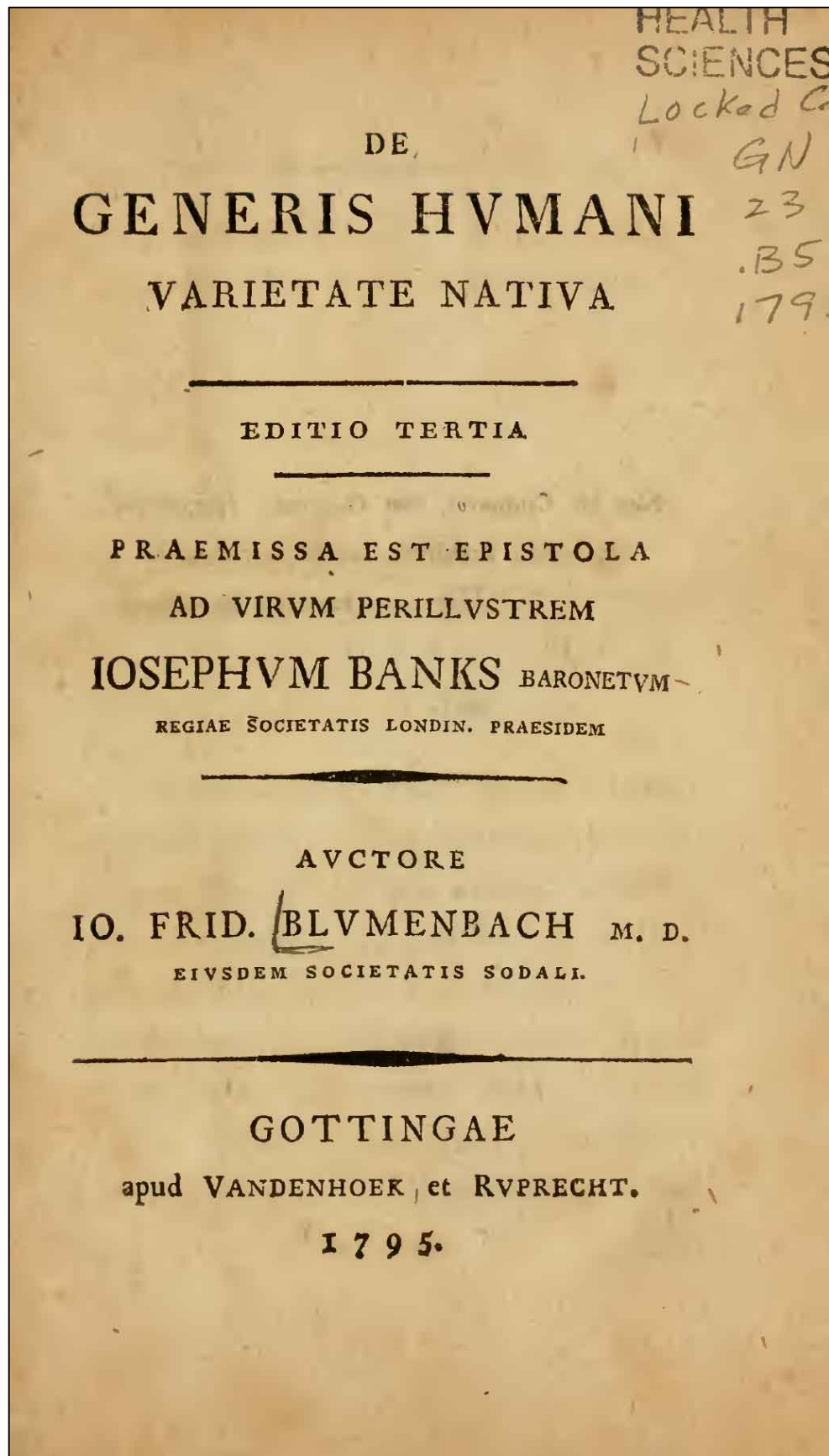
* An Index to this was published in 1867.

F- Museum Tradejcantioanum or A Collection of Rarities, John Tradescant,
1656, Cover page.

Musæum Tradejcantianum :
OR,
A COLLECTION
OF
RARITIES.
PRESERVED
At South-Lambeth neer London
By
JOHN TRADESCANT.



L O N D O N,
Printed by *John Grismond*, and are to be sold by
Nathanael Brooke at the Angel in Cornhill,
M. DC. LVI.



14

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EXTRAIT D'OBSERVATIONS

*Faites sur le Cadavre d'une femme connue à
Paris et à Londres sous le nom de VÉNUS
HOTTENTOTTE.*

PAR M. G. CUVIER.

IL n'est rien de plus célèbre en histoire naturelle que le tablier des Hottentottes, et en même temps il n'est rien qui ait été l'objet de plus nombreuses contestations. Long-temps les uns en ont entièrement nié l'existence; d'autres ont prétendu que c'étoit une production de l'art et du caprice; et parmi ceux qui l'ont regardé comme une conformation naturelle, il y a eu autant d'opinions que d'auteurs, sur la partie des organes de la femme dont il faisoit le développement.

Feu Péron, qu'une mort prématurée a sitôt enlevé à la Zoologie dont il paroissoit destiné à reculer les limites plus qu'aucun autre voyageur, avoit lu quelque temps avant sa mort un mémoire qui n'a pas été imprimé, mais que l'Académie peut se rappeler, et dont M. Freycinet a donné un extrait dans le second tome de la Relation du voyage aux Terres Australes. Le sujet y est présenté sous un jour entièrement nouveau. Selon l'auteur le tablier n'existe pas dans

33 •



I- The Ethnological Shows of London, John Conolly, 1855

THE
ETHNOLOGICAL EXHIBITIONS
OF LONDON.

BY
JOHN CONOLLY, M.D., D.C.L.,
PRESIDENT OF THE ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

16

Read at a Meeting of the Ethnological Society; and published at the
request of the Members.

LONDON:
JOHN CHURCHILL, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

MDCCCLV.

THE ETHNOLOGICAL EXHIBITION OF LONDON.



THERE is scarcely a year in which, among the miscellaneous attractions of a London season, we do not find some exhibition illustrative of the varieties of mankind. But some of these are unsatisfactory, some deceptive, and all nearly unprofitable, because not rendered instructive, to the public.

The commercial relations of England afford such extensive opportunities of intercourse with all the races of men, that no country should be expected to prosecute the study of Ethnology with more success; and in no metropolis ought we to expect to find, from time to time, such instructive illustrations of all parts of this science as in London. Until very recently, however, the observations made in voyages and travels seem to have been considered interesting chiefly in proportion to their marvellous character; and specimens showing the progress made in arts or in science among rude people and in remote regions, and even the natives of such regions,

when brought to our country, to have been merely regarded as objects of curiosity or of unfruitful wonder, rather than as manifestations of human intellect and modifications of human development in various parts of the same globe, and illustrative of man's unwritten history and progress. The possible improvement of all the varieties, and the ultimate concentration of all the powers developed among them, in widely different situations and circumstances, upon some ulterior results in civilization, have scarcely occupied the mind of any who gazed on mere varieties of form, and colour, and inventive industry, as curious distinctions, inherent or permanent, and associated with no definite sequence.

The institution of the Ethnological Society only twelve years ago, and the interest it seems already to have imparted to ethnological inquiry, and its representation in a Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, afford every hope that our advantages will, in future, be turned to better account. In the mean time, however, very interesting specimens of the inhabitants of countries little known to us arrive nearly in every year, are exhibited for money for a time, are even invited for inspection in fashionable drawing-rooms among the novelties of the Spring, and depart: having gained small notice from the ethnologist, and excited no moral interest even among the most serious or the most philanthropic portion of our countrymen. They arrive in a state of barbarism,

voice. The head, in both of them, is round, large, and well formed, the upper part of the forehead well developed; and they are evidently capable of education to a considerable extent: but it does not appear that they have made any progress in reading, or that they have been taught the use of pen or pencil, or even further instructed in dancing. They have nothing to play with but a fiddlestick, which lies on the table with a neglected fiddle, for no discoverable reason; and the boy borrows the canes of the visitors, wherewith sometimes to pursue Maximo, who is, on such occasions, armed with the fiddlestick, and the whole group then run and play together with much vivacity. But whether at play or in repose, the difference is still strongly and undeniably marked, between the little South Africans, perfect in their kind, and the little Central Americans, arrested in their growth. In play, or in dancing, the African children act in concert, like any other children; they talk together, and are amused by each other's talk: of all which the Aztecs are incapable. When some vocal performances are introduced during the hours of exhibition, Maximo and Bartola are seen twisting papers, with a vacant babyish expression, whilst Martini sits a sedate and attentive auditor, and Flora, sometimes putting her hands into a muff lent to her by a lady, lifts it gracefully over head, and places it between her head and the back of the chair, that she may be at ease as long as she is required to be still.

The name of Earthmen, given to these little

all other natural gifts on earth, to delight the ear and elevate the heart of the intelligent creatures for whose habitation the earth was made.

I can never reconcile myself to regarding the different specimens of mankind, brought under our observation, as if they were inanimate objects in a museum. We are interested, as Ethnologists, in tracing, by features, and language, and parallel customs and arts, and all the analogies which belong to life, the great history of man on the globe; his wanderings, his difficulties, his modifications by climate and change, his struggles, and his progress. But in the course of this inquiry, often overclouded and obscure, and which will, perhaps, never be quite satisfactory, facts of great importance are incidentally displayed to us; and, beholding the various capacity of different nations, we seem to read something of the future course, as well as of the past history, of the moral and intellectual world;—and thus, commencing merely with a view of philosophical research, find suggestions everywhere to practical exertions, of which the results may tend to forward the civilization, and to improve the happiness, of all the races of mankind.

11 JU 55

London: Reed and Pardon, Printers, Paternoster Row.

J- The Natural History Department of the Crystal Palace Described, R. Latham,
1854. The Cover, contents, 5th, 6th, 41th and 42th Pages

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THE
NATURAL HISTORY DEPARTMENT
OF THE
CRYSTAL PALACE DESCRIBED.

ETHNOLOGY.

By DR. ^{*Robert Gordon*} R. G. LATHAM, M.D.

ZOOLOGY AND BOTANY.

By EDWARD FORBES, F.R.S.,
Professor in the University of Edinburgh.



CRYSTAL PALACE LIBRARY ;
AND
BRADBURY & EVANS, 11, BOUVERIE STREET, LONDON.
1854.

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THE
NATURAL HISTORY COURT.

PART I.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethnology is compounded of two Greek words, the latter of which scarcely requires explanation, because it already forms part of a numerous class of compounds with which the learned reader is well acquainted. The general reader, too, is perhaps equally familiar with them. We have them in such words as *Geo-logy*, *Astro-logy*, *Physio-logy*, and a long list besides. The Greek form of these would be *Geo-logia*, *Astro-logia*, &c. The basis of the term is the substantive *logos*, meaning a *word*. In its modified form, however, and in its application as the element of a compound word, it means the *principles*, or *science*, of the department (whatever it may be) that is denoted by the root which precedes it. In the word before us it means the *principles* of that department of human knowledge which is denoted by the form *Ethno*.

Ethnology means the science, not exactly of the different *nations of the world*, but of the different *varieties of the human species*.

It is not thought necessary to enlarge upon this further, since, it is hoped, that the groups to which the visitor is directed will sufficiently tell their own tale. The extent to which they differ from each other is manifest. Still more do they differ from such groups of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and other Europeans as may collect around them.

As a general rule the varieties that are especially illustrated are foreign to Europe; it being supposed that the character of most

European populations is sufficiently understand. Hence, the Ethnology is that of Asia, Africa, and the New World. Of these, the most remarkable varieties are found under the extremes of heat and cold; under the tropics, and within the arctic circle. The intermediate and more temperate parts of the different continents, though by no means deficient in interesting and important varieties, supply fewer.

Of the populations within the arctic circle, it is only those of America that are illustrated (*viz.*, in the Greenland group). The character, however, of the tribes thus far north, is pretty similar in all three continents—in Asia and Europe for the new, in America for the old, world.

The science of ethnology is, to a great extent, a new one, and this has been our excuse for enlarging upon the meaning, and entering into the origin of the word. Even ethnological museums are rare. The plan, however, of the groups under notice, is different from that of ordinary museums, and, at the same time, one which is, now, for the first time attempted. The trees, plants, animals, and human occupants of the different portions of the earth's surface are grouped together—so that the allied sciences of botany, zoology, and ethnology illustrate each other. Hence, the arrangement is *geographical*.

The arrangement is so far geographical that, to a certain extent, the visitor is enabled to place himself in respect to the objects before him in the same relation as he would be to a map of the world. Here, the North lies in front of him, the East to his right, the West to his left. In like manner, the groups on his right belong to Europe, Asia, and Africa; those on his left to America. In other words—the Old World is on one side, the New on the other. The relations of North and South, however, are given with less nicety. As a general rule, however, the Southern parts of the two worlds (the old and new), are the parts nearest the entrance—and the Northern parts lie beyond them.

In the Indian Islands the plan of giving the exact botany of the country under notice has been departed from—owing to the difficulties of detail in the case of an inter-tropical vegetation, of which but few specimens are found in European collections.

tribes with features heavy, massive, and coarse—but the true and typical negro, with his short woolly hair, and his thick projecting lips you will not find. Wherever he is the occupant, the soil is alluvial, and the heat of the atmosphere is combined with moisture. Wherever the land gets high and dry, the inhabitant is brown rather than black, and long-haired rather than frizzly headed. His features, too, become more prominent.

GROUP VII.

NEGROES,—2. LIGHT-COLOURED. FROM THE LOWER NIGER.

IN the Delta of the Niger we find the best opportunity for contrasting the negro with the European, the black man with the white ; inasmuch as it is in the Delta of the Niger where the points wherein the African differs from the rest of the world are found in the most marked form. The climate is tropical (well nigh equatorial), the soil swampy and alluvial, the atmosphere surcharged with damp warm vapours. Under these conditions the negro is found in his most extreme form. Let us ask what it is. In the true and typical negro (the negro from whom the current notions of the black man are derived), over and above the colour of the skin, there is a woolly, cottony, or frizzly head of hair, there is a yellow tinge over the white of the eye (the sclerotica), and there are thick lips, with a projecting mouth—a muzzle rather than a mouth, in its more exaggerated form. This is because the teeth are set obliquely, *i. e.* they slant somewhat forward. Then there is the forehead, which is described as being narrow, and retiring, and receding, or sloping backwards. There is some exaggeration in this, though upon the whole the negro character is well marked ; the hair, the skin, and the lips, being the chief points. To the notice of these it should be added that the nose is generally flat and depressed, with the nostrils *thrown out*, so to say, sideways. Rarely, very rarely indeed, is the bridge sufficiently curved to give what is called the *Roman* or *aquiline* nose ; whilst it is almost as rare to find a Grecian one, *i. e.* one where the nasal bones are raised but straight. Then there is the proportion which the different parts of the face bear to each other. . A *German writer of eminence as a naturalist, has lately been taking measurements from amongst the negroes of Brazil, and states that instead of the parts between

* Burmeister—*The Black Man*, a pamphlet.

the chin and nose (the nasal portion of the face), and the forehead forming a third, each, of the whole physiognomy, the forehead forms less than a third, the nasal part more than the forehead, and the chin, &c. more than the nasal; in other words, the lower we go the greater the mass of the several parts of the face, and the nearer we approach the brain, the smaller. I can neither verify nor deny this statement.

Other points, more or less characteristic, real or supposed, are to be found in the relations of the limbs to the trunk—the former being longer in proportion to the latter than is usual with Europeans.

It is more important, however, to investigate the amount of difference indicated by the difference of colour, and to do this we must look to the structure of the skin. The structure of the negro's skin differs from that of the white man in degree only, the one containing much, the other but little colouring matter; this colouring matter being deposited in a particular layer, called the *mucous layer*, the *stratum Malpighii*, or the *rete mucosum*. The character of this *mucous layer*, or *rete mucosum*, is well given in the forthcoming plates, which, along with the description, is taken from *Kölliker's Manual. It differs in some degree from the one which occurs in the ordinary works on Ethnology.

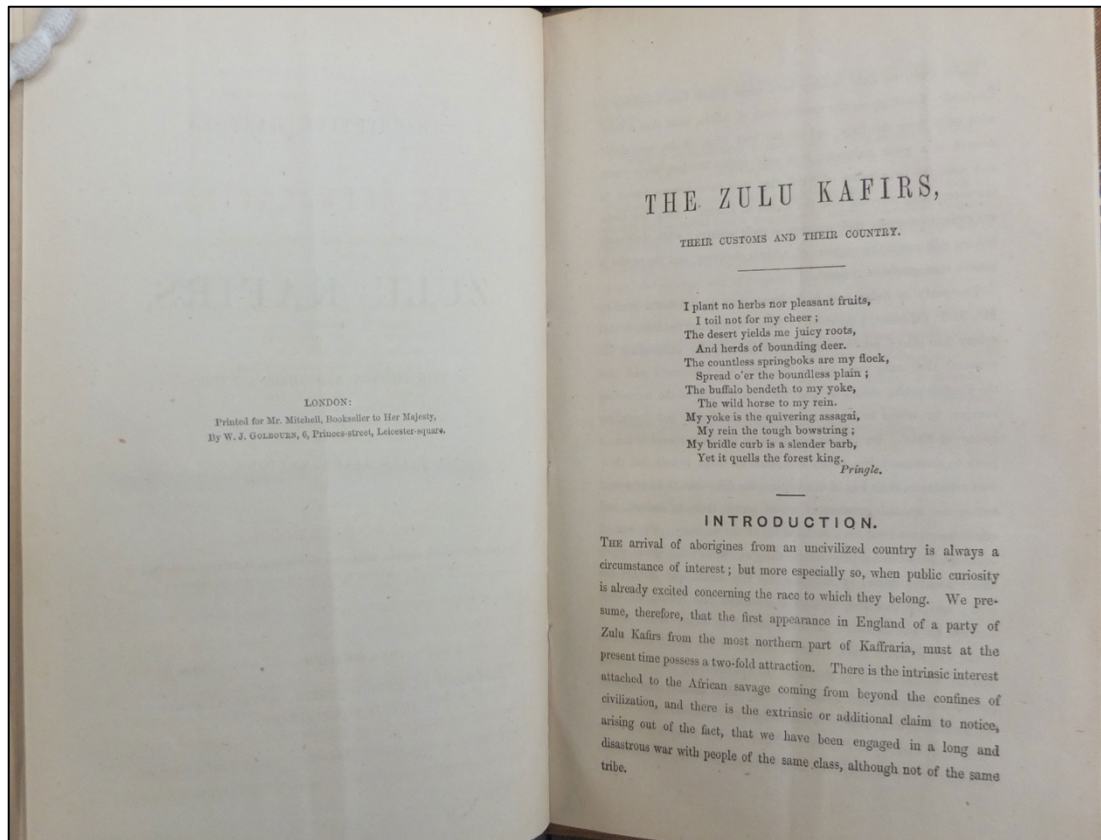
The external integument of all men alike consists of the *cutis* or true skin, and the *epidermis*, or scarf-skin, the latter consisting of cells only, the former of cells, vessels and nerves.

As far as the *cutis* is concerned, the blackest and whitest of mankind are alike; so that it is in the scarf-skin or *epidermis* that the difference lies. This consists of two layers, an external and an internal.

The internal layer is the *rete mucosum*. It lies immediately upon the true skin, and consists solely and wholly of cells, being equally destitute of vessels and nerves. Here begin the first discrepancies in the opinion of writers. Some deny that it belongs to the *epidermis*, looking upon it as a separate substantive tissue, neither skin nor scarf-skin, but intermediate to the two. Others find it only in the coloured families of mankind. It occurs, however, universally; being of a yellowish-white colour in Europeans, and dark brown or black in negroes, Indians, and the so-called dark races. Hence, the real difference is not in the existence of an additional tissue, but in a greater amount of colouring matter.

* Translated by Messrs. Busk and Huxley for the Sydenham Society.

K- Descriptive History of the Zulu Kafirs, Their Customs and Their Country
With Illustrations, C.H. Caldecott, 1853, First six pages.



Kafirs from the Zulu country have never before been exhibited in England. Dwelling on the eastern coast of Africa, more than a thousand miles from the Cape, and on the very verge of the unexplored deserts of a great continent, it is only within the last thirty years, and since the colonization of Natal, that they have become known to the enterprising traveller from the shores of Europe. Very few books are extant concerning their manners or their country; while their early history still awaits the progress of African discovery, and the results of patient ethnographical research.

The party of Zulus, now in England, have been brought over by Mr. A. T. Caldecott, a merchant of Natal, whose long residence in that colony has placed peculiar facilities in his way for undertaking the venture. For many years past it has been Mr. Caldecott's wish that the English public should be gratified with a sight of the interesting savages, by whom he was surrounded in the fertile and flourishing colony of Natal. On various occasions he has endeavoured to form a party to accompany him across the ocean to Great Britain, but their own reluctance, their fear of the voyage, the difficulties to be overcome before the colonial government would permit them to embark, and other causes, rendered for a while all his efforts nugatory. By dint of continual perseverance; by telling the poor fellows the grand sights which awaited them; by engaging one this month and another the next; and by promising to each a good and just reward for their services, he was at length fortunate enough to secure eleven men, a young woman and a child. But the consent of the people themselves was not all that had to be obtained. It was necessary that the British government should sanction their removal. Mr. Caldecott memorialized the authorities accordingly. Fortunately the circumstances of having been thirty-three years in Africa, and of his being known as a merchant of respectability, and a highly honourable man, influenced the

government in his favour, and the following reply was returned to his memorial.

*"Reply to the Memorial of A. T. Caldecott, praying for leave to take
Thirteen Kafirs to England."*

"Memorialist is informed that his application will be complied with on condition that he enters into a recognizance, binding himself in a sum of £500 and two sureties in £250 each, that such natives as he may be able to find willing to accompany him to England shall be well treated on the voyage; and reported, and, if required, produced to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and finally brought back to, and landed at D'Urban; and further, that before embarking, the said natives be brought before the Diplomatic Agents, to testify their full and voluntary concurrence.

"By command of the Lieutenant-General,

"(Signed) STEPHEN B. GORDON,
"Secretary."

"Colonial Office, Natal, 1st October, 1852."

The thirteen natives were taken before the Diplomatic Agent, in accordance with the instructions of the Government, and each, in his presence, consented to accompany Mr. Caldecott to England on terms previously arranged. The Agreement, with the marks of the Kafirs attached to it, is in Mr. Caldecott's possession, and is duly registered in the office at Natal. The following certificate was given to Mr. Caldecott by the authorities on his departure.

(COPY.)

"These are to certify that Mr. A. T. Caldecott, who is about proceeding to England with some of the natives of this district, is a gentleman of the highest respectability and integrity, and that he has obtained the permission of this Government to take the natives in question, upon condition of his entering into a recognizance with two sureties in the sum of £500, for the

due care, proper treatment and payment of the said natives, and also for their return to the District of Natal, which recognizance has been duly entered into, and now remains filed at this office.

(Signed) W. HARDING,
"Acting Secretary to Government."

"Colonial Office, Natal, December 9th, 1852."

Mr. Caldecott is bound by these and other documents, to take every care of the party of natives, and convey them back to the colony in eighteen months after their arrival in England.

It may be interesting to give the names of the thirteen people, and the signification of each name, so far as it admits of interpretation. We accordingly subjoin them:—

NEKULUMKULU, *the Greatest of the Great*, is the husband of SONILE, *we have sinned*, who has a child called by the same name. SONILE is sixteen years of age, and her female child is fourteen months old. Her name is a common one amongst her tribe, and probably originates in some misdeed committed by her progenitors.

NOSWENZO, a cousin of Faku, the chief of the Amapondas, a tall powerful man, standing six feet without his shoes, twenty-nine years of age, very taciturn in disposition, and who, though he has seen much in his time, is so mysterious in manner as never to refer to any incident of his younger days.

ZIBAYOYO, an interesting and very intelligent fellow.

MANKANANA, *the Athlete*, so named from his agility and athletic skill.

UMLAWU, *the Hottentot*, a name given him probably because of Hottentots having been in the land at the time of his birth. He has been a soldier, and now plays the part of the wizard doctor.

MANYOSI, *Honey*, a name which may have reference to extraordinary sweetness of disposition, or to eloquence of tongue. He is the son of a

Zulu-chief, has been a soldier, and bears the marks of many a battle wound.

UMLUNGA, *White man*, probably deriving his name from having been born while some white man was in the country.

MADADASA, *the Duck*, so named from having been fond of waddling among the ducks in a pond near his father's dwelling.

UMPEPANDUKA, *Beware of the knob kerree*, named from his proficiency in using that implement of war.

UMLABOMVANA, *the Red One*, deriving his name from his colour.

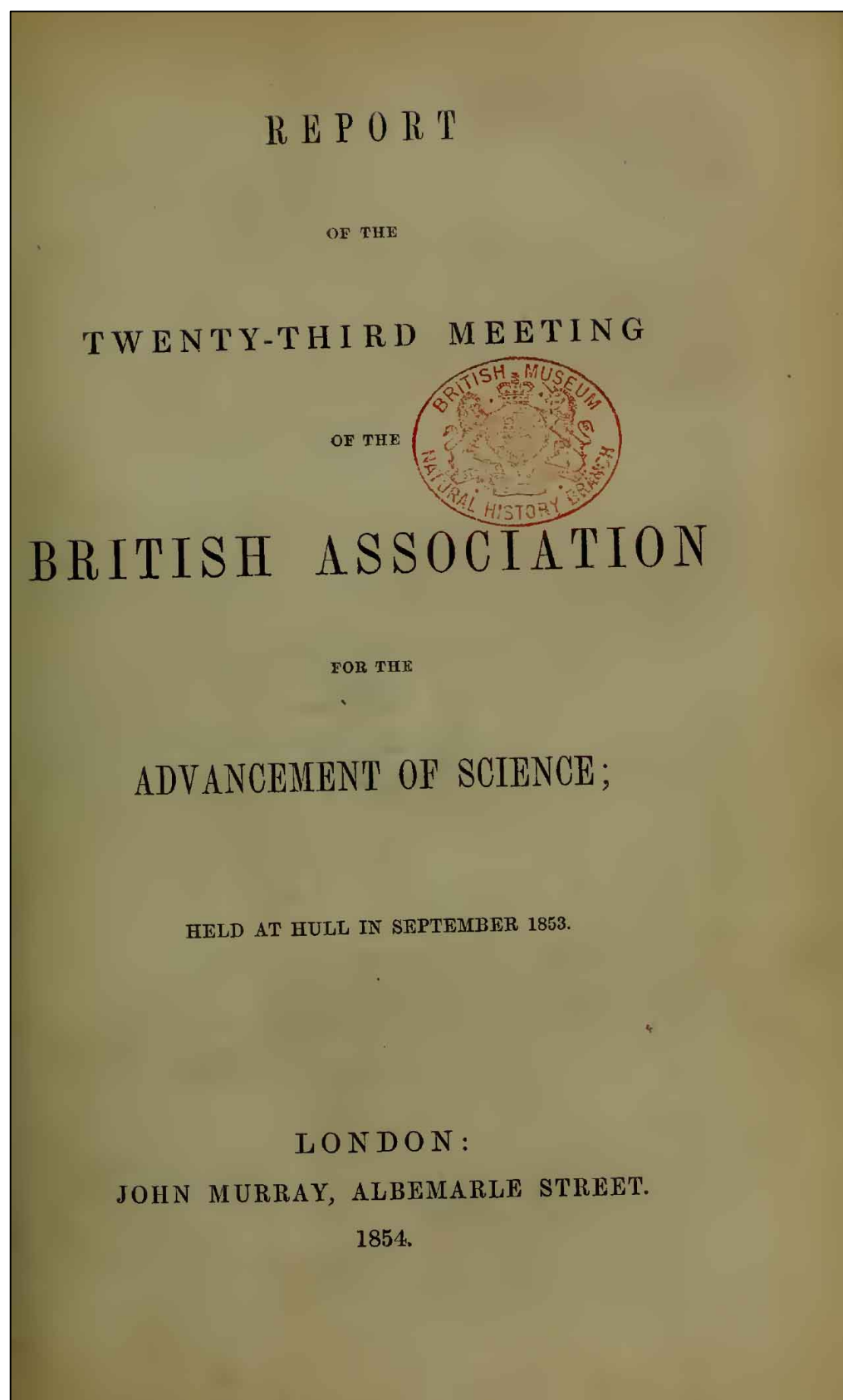
MAHLATINE, *the Great Forest*, so called from having been born on the borders of a forest of considerable extent.

These thirteen aborigines wear the dress of their country, and have brought with them to England their habiliments and implements of war, their domestic utensils, and everything which, in the course of their representations, may tend to realize to the spectator actual Zulu life. They are not repulsive-looking savages like the Bushmen, nor are they so wild and uncontrollable as to be exhibited with danger. In reality they are very pleasant people, delighted with the new world which has opened upon them in this country, and anxious to appear as amiable as they can before those who may honour them with a visit. As it is impossible to give a full description of them in the course of the representation, an attempt will be made in the following pages, to describe very briefly their country, their manners, and themselves.

ZULU-LAND.

The Zulus inhabit a tract of country on the South-eastern coast of Africa, extending from about the twenty-seventh to nearly the thirtieth parallel of latitude. On the maps it is usually marked as "Amazulah."

L- Ethnological Remarks Upon Some of the More Remarkable Varieties of the Human Species, Represented by Individuals now in London, R. G. Latham, 1845.



&c. Admit nothing but Finns and Germans, and all these points are difficulties. The hypothesis of Lithuanic as well as a German conquest accounts for them. Jutland was probably a land of Lithuanic settlements, intermixed with Slavonic ones from Pomerania, &c.

Ethnological Remarks upon some of the more remarkable Varieties of the Human Species, represented by individuals now in London. By R. G. LATHAM, M.D.

The Zulus.—These belong to the Caffre family. Between this Caffre family and the true Negro a broad line of demarcation is often drawn. The individuals in question make this line doubtful. They are certainly intermediate both in shape and colour. This is the most important point in their ethnology.

The Earthmen.—These are Bushmen who occupy a tract of which the geological character supplies natural caves which serve for habitations. In this sense only are they *Earthmen*, as opposed to the ordinary Saab (Bushman). They are Bushman-Troglodytes, or Troglodyte-Bushmen.

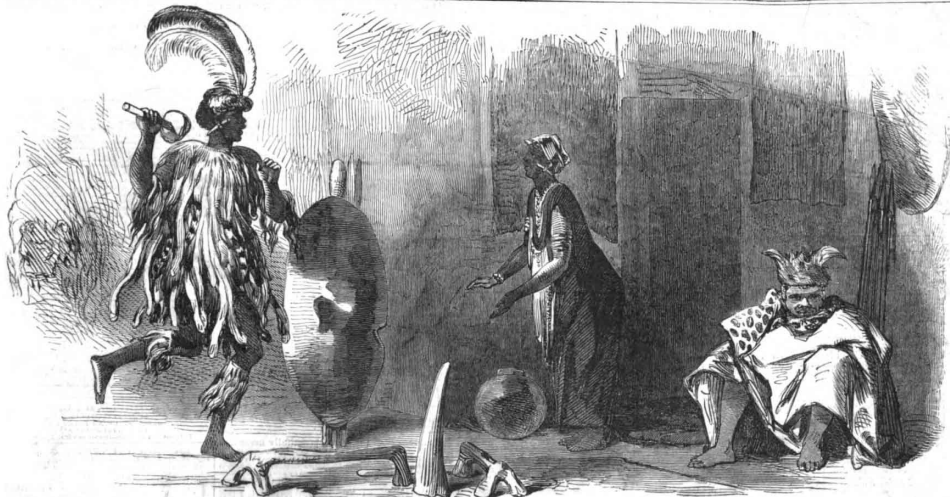
Australians.—Height, 5 feet 10 inches, and 5 feet 9 inches. Lower extremities inordinately thin; so much so as to show that the illustrations of Dr. Prichard are no exaggeration. Hair, somewhat more crisp and curly than is expected from the current descriptions. Language, Cowrarega.

The Astecs.—No offspring of parents like themselves, nor yet likely to be the parents of offspring like themselves; consequently no specimens of any new race (so-called). Probably from the part of South America to which they are referred. Their likeness to certain outlines on Mexican monuments not accidental. This accounted for by supposing that the physical or social conditions of the locality to which they are attributed, favour such degenerations as they exhibit; the tendency to them being endemic. In the point nearest to their attributed locality of which any notice is in print, Gage found the people ill-shapen and goitrous. At the same time their appearance is not that of the Cretins of Europe: of these they are the American analogues. An intermixture of Spanish (or other) blood, as suggested by good authorities, would most easily account for certain points (e. g. the hair) in which they differ from the American Indian, and approach the Spaniard, Jew, &c. It is doubtful, however, whether the assumption is necessary; at the same time it is compatible with the present view. The existence of Indians in a state of independence for one of the frontiers of Vera Paz is an actual fact. The Lacondona Indians are in this predicament. They are also inaccessible. The existence of Casas Grandes in the locality to which the Astecs are attributed is likely. Upon the whole it is believed that they come from a locality where certain tendencies to degeneration are and have been endemic, and where there may be some architectural remains, and some vestiges of independence,—facts which, even if adopted, by no means imply the truth of the so-called narrative of Velasquez, or the details of the history of the two children. As to the name *Aztec*, they are only *Astecs*, so far as they represent an outlying portion of the Astec empire as opposed to Spanish America.

On the Traces of a Bilingual Town (Danish and Angle) in England. By R. G. LATHAM, M.D.

The termination of local names in *-by* (New-by as contrasted with New-ton) is the chief characteristic of Danish, as opposed to Angle, or Anglo-Saxon, occupancy. There are other forms equally characteristic; one of those is *-caster*, as opposed to *-cester* and *-chester*. *Lan-caster* is Danish; *Lan-chester* (Ciren-cester) Anglo-Saxon. Danish Northampton is divided from non-Danish Huntingdonshire by the river Nene. On this stood the Roman Durobrivæ, partly (probably) on the one side of the water, partly on the other. This gave us two Roman *castra*. The modern forms of these two *castra* are, on the Northamptonshire (Danish) side, *Caistor* (not *Chester*); on the Huntingdonshire (Angle) side, *Chester-ton* (not *Caster-ton*).

Observations on the Province of Tarapaca, South Peru. By Don M. B. LA FUENTE.



THE AFRICAN EXHIBITION, AT THE COMORAMA, REGENT-STREET.

AFRICAN EXHIBITION.
A very interesting exhibition of three natives of Southern and Eastern Africa has just been opened at the Comorama, Regent-street, and is worthy of visit, perhaps, from more sight-seekers than happen to be in London at this moment.

These individuals are a Kaffir man and an Amasonga woman from the south, and "Larcher," a Zulu chief from the eastern coast, bordering on the Mozambique Channel. They speak, however, the same language, but with different dialects. The exhibition-room is hung round with skins and horns of wild animals of Africa, and with various weapons, and on the tables are some specimens of their domestic implements.

The Kaffir, Bouraqual, is a fine athletic fellow, twenty-five years of age, of middle stature, with a copper-coloured skin, heightened in places with red clay; his features are unmistakably African, in the large jaw, the broad nose, the dark eye, and the woolly hair. These are, also, the characteristics of the Zulu-man—but he is larger in stature, and quite black. They are both dressed in cow-skins. The mantle of the Zulu is, however, decorated with a profusion of animal's tails, and his head is dressed with ostrich feathers. The Kaffir wields the light and sharp assegai, or lance, with great dexterity; and his prowess was often proved against the British in the late war. He hurls the assegai, while the Zulu uses a shorter implement, with which he stabs. They go through a sham fight, in which the shaking of shields is very resonant; and howling and stamping strive to outvie the report of gunpowder.

Homonumba, the Amasonga wife of the Zulu, is usually introduced carrying a water-jar on her head, after the manner of her country. She is about twenty-five years of age; her costume is of cow-skins; and her short hair is rolled into small tags, kept stiff by means of red clay, rubbed into them as freely as any vendor of bear's-grease could desire.

The Kaffir is quickest of apprehension, and has already picked up some words of English; the others are either duller or more lazy. In common with most Africans, they have no notion of time, cannot tell their own age, or fix a date for any event in their lives. They have very odd snuff-boxes, and most curious receptacles for them. The snuff-boxes are either small horns or hollow reeds, and these they carry in their ears, in lieu of ear-rings.

From their performances our Artist has selected a native dance, such as is common daily during the ripening of the grain, and at the period corresponding with the English harvest-home. The Zulu is dancing before his wife, and stamping most violently with his feet on the floor, at the same time that both sing a wild and monotonous chant, the burden of which is "Kabebe, Kabebe;" whilst the wife, with her body bent forward, keeps time by clapping her hands. This dance is a considerable exertion; and after it the chief is evidently exhausted.

The Africans have been brought to this country by Mr. Cawood, subject to a bargain made with him before leaving the Cape, with the consent of Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, and their chief. The agreement is for two years. Their behaviour, since their arrival, has been unexceptionable; they seem pleased with the change, and enjoy English living, giving preference to mutton as food. Altogether, this is a most attractive exhibition, and entitled to special encouragement.

taken up as in a whirlwind, from a space on the ground as large as a coach-wheel. This revolving column gradually drew towards a small punt afloat in the adjacent river, and moored to a post by the bank; the boat was then lifted as high in the air as the painter would allow, and was held there by the force of the wind, spinning round like a top. The column then moved on towards a four-oared gig, moored in a similar manner; when, simultaneously, the punt fell, and the gig was elevated precisely in a similar manner, the painter holding her head down to four or five feet from the water, whilst the stern was raised about fifteen feet. The columns then seemed to have expended its strength, and fell, so to speak, in water, with the noise of a ton weight, falling and stirring up the bed of the river with foam. The gig is thirty feet long, and had in her, at the time she was taken up, from twelve to fifteen gallons of water; she has been rendered quite useless. What renders this occurrence the more remarkable is, that at the time scarcely a breath of wind was stirring, and the sky was nearly cloudless.

THE SEA-SERPENT.

The mysterious stranger has been again seen by Mr. Travers, and his enterprising yachtmen. They have brought four rifles to bear upon his left eye, which, it seems, he most merrily winked at his pursuers. He would have laughed in his sleeve at the peasant conceit, but we learn that he had just passed off his coat. He, however, wished them a polite good morning, and descended to unknown depths.

"On Saturday last," writes Mr. Travers, "the weather having the appearance of being settled fine, I put out to sea, determined, as far as the capabilities of my little craft would permit, to go any length in finding out the position of the stranger, hoping, by keeping a constant look-out in every direction, to discover him. Nor was I disappointed, the animal, turned no doubt by the dense masses of fish now off the coast, having remained within a comparatively short distance of the land. At about eleven o'clock a.m., when off Dunraven Head, one of my crew on the look-out sang out, 'The sea-serpent on starboard bow!' and on looking in the direction indicated I had the pleasure of at once recognizing the same monster that I had before seen; and greatly do I regret indeed that you, or some party conversant with natural history, were not on board with me. We drew as close as I thought consistent with safety, and had ample proof of the creature being plesious, he being at the time engaged in bolting a number of large haddock or conger eels. I had now for the first time a view of his tail, which entirely differs from the usual form of that extremity in most descriptions of fish, being furnished with no fin, but somewhat resembling a huge elephant's trunk or proboscis, the end long drawn out, and curling and twisting in a very remarkable manner. I really feel afraid to hazard expressing in figures what I judge to be the dimensions of the animal, but I do believe that if it were stretched straight from head to tail that it would be rather over than under thirty fathoms long, and of that length I am satisfied fully half is seven feet in diameter. The mouth is a most capacious organ, and opens something like that of an alligator. The small size of the gills—for I could discern nothing like the blowing holes of a whale—rather surprised me. The nose, I think, is formed of a soft flesh-like substance, not bony; and from the broken condition of the external coat of scales, I am satisfied, as before observed, that the beast is

The *Card Constitution*, referring to the foregoing, says—"Since the above letter was received, the following information on the same subject came to hand. Monday last, a party of gentlemen, belonging to this city, were enjoying a sailing excursion in the *Amalgam* yacht, belonging to Mr. Wheeler, along the coast from Glandore to Kinsale. Passing the Old Head of Kinsale, the day unusually fine, they observed an extraordinary commotion of the sea, apparent to every eye on board. The bay of Kinsale was at the time filled with fish. In a few moments they perceived a large serpent-like fish on the surface, that could not be less than 150 feet in length. In shape it resembled a long funnel of an immense steamer. Unfortunately they were not sufficiently near the monster to give a description of the head and body. After lying on the surface for a few minutes it suddenly dashed ahead, with a velocity, as far as could be seen, for a distance of two miles, of at least sixty miles an hour. It then disappeared. It was believed that the sea-serpent must have been in pursuit of the shoals of fish that throng the bay. It is a singular circumstance, that, notwithstanding the unusual quantity of fish that was observable, the Kinsale hookers were most unsuccessful, as it was stated they did not obtain a single take during the evening. The gentlemen who have witnessed the visit of this monster, and whose statement is detailed above, may be relied on as above all suspicion."

PRIZE MEDALS.

Two interesting Medals have been designed and executed in gold and silver, by Mr. Armeson, of Bangor, for distribution to the successful candidates at the Rhuddlan Royal Estate and North Wales Musical Festival, to be held at Rhuddlan Castle, on the 24th instant and three following days. The illustrations



N- The Bosjesmans, at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, *The Illustrated London News*, June 12, 1847.

THE BOSJESMANS, AT THE EGYPTIAN HALL,
PICCADILLY.

THE exhibition of these extraordinary "Bush People," at that ark of zoological wonders—the Egyptian Hall, continues to attract numerous visitors. The group comprises two men, two women, and an infant, brought from that part of South Africa which borders on the English possessions and the territories of the Kaffirs.

With the ethnological characteristics of the Bosjesmans, literally, "Bushmen," the public have been made acquainted through the writings of Lichtenstein, Burchell, Campbell, Thompson, Pringle, and other intelligent travellers in Africa. The name of Bushmen, according to Dr. Knox, is inappropriate, since the race is unknown in woody land; the Doctor conjectures that the interior of Africa may be peopled with herds of tribes of this race; and he has a somewhat fanciful hypothesis identifying these poor creatures with the pigmies in Homer, who waged war against the cranes. It seems, however, ascertained that the Bosjesmans are a branch of the Hottentot race, which separated from the rest long before the establishment of the Europeans in Southern Africa, and took to a wandering life in the northern and more inland parts of the country. They are now beginning to be surrounded by civilisation; and, consequently, they must either become civilised themselves or become extinct. The latter seems the more probable; and, on this account, the present Exhibition is important, especially in illustration of the study of Ethnology, which is every year advancing in popularity.

The curious creatures at the Egyptian Hall are grouped upon a raised stage at one end of the large room; with a "flat" scene, set vegetation, hanging wood, &c. from the country of the Bushmen, cleverly painted and arranged by Mr. Johnstone. This is a vigorous piece of scenic effect, and greatly relieves the repulsive aspect of the aboriginal group. On our visit, one of the men, and the younger female, lay upon the floor, asleep, wrapped in their rugs, and skin clothing. The mother sat nursing her bantling; and the other man sat smoking at the opposite corner; while in the centre blazed an open fire, which one of the party occasionally replenished with wood. The women wore conical caps, made of hide, and gold ornaments in their ears; the men, a sort of skin cloak, which hung down to their knees over a close tunic; the legs and feet were en-

tirely bare. The most active individual of the party was the man whom our artist has represented standing: he addressed the audience very emphatically, and gave a sort of pantomimic description of the taking of a serpent, whose stuffed form he held up by way of illustration. His action was vehement, and not altogether graceless; and his pantomime was very striking. The frequent and strong clacking sound of the tongue, and the drawing of the ends of the sentences, were very peculiar. This fellow would make a capital melodramatic actor. Neither of the party betrayed the least timidity: the mother occasionally left her child to receive money from the spectators, and kissed with fervour the donor's hand. The man, too, gratefully received a cigar, but did not leave off smoking his hemp-seed, to enjoy the higher flavoured luxury.

In stature, these Bosjesmans are low; they are lean; their legs are symmetrical; and in physiognomy, they agree with what Lichtenstein says of the race: "they have the universally distinguishing features of the Hottentots, their broad flat nose, the long prominent cheek-bones, and the yellow-brown hue of the skin;" and "their physiognomy has the same characteristic features as that of the Hottentots, only more wild and animated, owing to their insecure and wandering habits of life."

During our visit, the party went through a variety of performances illustrative of their customs in their native country: their whoops were sometimes startling; they seemed more than once to consider the attentions of a spectator as an affront, and were only stayed by their attendant from resentment. There were several implements lying about; but the bow and arrow appeared to be the favourite weapon.

Altogether, this is an exhibition of unusual interest and value. The first effect, on entering the room, may be repulsive; but, the attentive visitor soon overcomes this feeling, and sees in the benighted beings before him a fine subject for scientific investigation, as well as a scene for popular gratification, and rational curiosity. It was strange, too, in looking through one of the windows of the room into the busy street, to reflect that by a single turn of the head might be witnessed the two extremes of humanity—the lowest and highest of the race—the wandering savage, and the silken baron of civilisation.

The portrait in the background of the sketch, we should add, is that of the gentleman under whose care the Bosjesmans have been brought from their native country to form one of our metropolitan sights.



THE BOSJESMANS AT THE EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY.

"Familiar in their Mouths as HOUSEHOLD WORDS."—SHAKESPEARE.

HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL.

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THE NOBLE SAVAGE.

To come to the point at once, I beg to say that I have not the least belief in the Noble Savage. I consider him a prodigious nuisance, and an enormous superstition. His calling rum fire-water, and me a pale face, wholly fail to reconcile me to him. I don't care what he calls me. I call him a savage, and I call a savage a something highly desirable to be civilised off the face of the earth. I think a mere gent (which I take to be the lowest form of civilisation) better than a howling, whistling, clucking, stamping, jumping, tearing savage. It is all one to me, whether he sticks a fish-bone through his visage, or bits of trees through the lobes of his ears, or birds' feathers in his head; whether he flattens his hair between two boards, or spreads his nose over the breadth of his face, or drags his lower lip down by great weights, or blackens his teeth, or knocks them out, or paints one cheek red and the other blue, or tattoos himself, or oils himself, or rubs his body with fat, or crimps it with knives. Yielding to whichsoever of these agreeable eccentricities, he is a savage—cruel, false, thievish, murderous; addicted more or less to grease, entrails, and beastly customs; a wild animal with the questionable gift of boasting; a conceited, tiresome, bloodthirsty, monotonous humbug.

Yet it is extraordinary to observe how some people will talk about him, as they talk about the good old times; how they will regret his disappearance, in the course of this world's development, from such and such lands where his absence is a blessed relief and an indispensable preparation for the sowing of the very first seeds of any influence that can exalt humanity; how, even with the evidence of himself before them, they will either be determined to believe, or will suffer themselves to be persuaded into believing, that he is something which their five senses tell them he is not.

There was Mr. Catlin, some few years ago, with his Ojibbeway Indians. Mr. Catlin was an energetic earnest man, who had lived among more tribes of Indians than I need reckon up here, and who had written a picturesque and glowing book about them. With his party of Indians squatting and spitting on the table before him, or dancing

their miserable jigs after their own dreary manner, he called, in all good faith, upon his civilised audience to take notice of their symmetry and grace, their perfect limbs, and the exquisite expression of their pantomime; and his civilised audience, in all good faith, complied and admired. Whereas, as mere animals, they were wretched creatures, very low in the scale and very poorly formed; and as men and women possessing any power of truthful dramatic expression by means of action, they were no better than the chorus at an Italian Opera in England—and would have been worse if such a thing were possible.

Mine are no new views of the noble savage. The greatest writers on natural history found him out long ago. BUFFON knew what he was, and showed why he is the sulky tyrant that he is to his women, and how it happens (Heaven be praised!) that his race is spare in numbers. For evidence of the quality of his moral nature, pass himself for a moment and refer to his "faithful dog." Has he ever improved a dog, or attached a dog, since his nobility first ran wild in woods, and was brought down (at a very long shot) by PORC? Or does the animal that is the friend of man, always degenerate in his low society?

It is not the miserable nature of the noble savage that is the new thing; it is the whimpering over him with maudlin admiration, and the affecting to regret him, and the drawing of any comparison of advantage between the blemishes of civilisation and the tenor of his swinish life. There may have been a change now and then in those diseased absurdities, but there is none in him.

Think of the Bashmen. Think of the two men and the two women who have been exhibited about England for some years. Are the majority of persons—who remember the horrid little leader of that party in his festering bundle of hides, with his filth and his antipathy to water, and his straddled legs, and his odious eyes shaded by his brutal hand, and his cry of "Qu-u-u-aaa!" (Bosjesman for something desperately insulting I have no doubt)—conscious of an affectionate yearning towards that noble savage, or is it idiosyncratic in me to abhor, detest, abominate, and abjure him? I have no reserve on this subject, and will frankly state that, setting aside that stage of the entertainment when

he counterfeited the death of some creature he had shot, by laying his head on his hand and shaking his left leg—at which time I think it would have been justifiable homicide to slay him—I have never seen that group sleeping, smoking, and expectorating round their brazier, but I have sincerely desired that something might happen to the charcoal smouldering therein, which would cause the immediate suffocation of the whole of the noble strangers.

There is at present a party of Zulu Kaffirs exhibiting at the St. George's Gallery, Hyde Park Corner, London. These noble savages are represented in a most agreeable manner; they are seen in an elegant theatre, fitted with appropriate scenery of great beauty, and they are described in a very sensible and unpretending lecture, delivered with a modesty which is quite a pattern to all similar exponents. Though extremely ugly, they are much better shaped than such of their predecessors as I have referred to; and they are rather picturesque to the eye, though far from odoriferous to the nose. What a visitor left to his own interpretations and imaginings might suppose these noblemen to be about, when they give vent to that pantomimic expression which is quite settled to be the natural gift of the noble savage, I cannot possibly conceive; for it is so much too luminous for my personal civilisation that it conveys no idea to my mind beyond a general stamping, ramping, and raving, remarkable (as everything in savage life is) for its dire uniformity. But let us—with the interpreter's assistance, of which I for one stand so much in need—see what the noble savage does in Zulu Kaffirland.

The noble savage sets a king to reign over him, to whom he submits his life and limbs without a murmur or question, and whose whole life is passed chin deep in a lake of blood; but who, after killing incessantly, is in his turn killed by his relations and friends, the moment a gray hair appears on his head. All the noble savage's wars with his fellow-savages (and he takes no pleasure in anything else) are wars of extermination—which is the best thing I know of him, and the most comfortable to my mind when I look at him. He has no moral feelings of any kind, sort, or description; and his "mission" may be summed up as simply diabolical.

The ceremonies with which he faintly diversifies his life are, of course, of a kindred nature. If he wants a wife he appears before the kennel of the gentleman whom he has selected for his father-in-law, attended by a party of male friends of a very strong flavor, who screech and whistle and stamp an offer of so many cows for the young lady's hand. The chosen father-in-law—also supported by a high-flavored party of male friends—screeches, whistles, and yells (being seated on the ground, he can't stamp) that there never was such a daughter in the market as his daughter, and that he must have six more

cows. The son-in-law and his select circle of backers, screech, whistle, stamp, and yell in reply, that they will give three more cows. The father-in-law (an old deluder, overpaid at the beginning) accepts four, and rises to bind the bargain. The whole party, the young lady included, then falling into epileptic convulsions, and screeching, whistling, stamping, and yelling together—and nobody taking any notice of the young lady (whose charms are not to be thought of without a shudder)—the noble savage is considered married, and his friends make demoniacal leaps at him by way of congratulation.

When the noble savage finds himself a little unwell, and mentions the circumstance to his friends, it is immediately perceived that he is under the influence of witchcraft. A learned personage, called an Imyanger or Witch Doctor, is immediately sent for to Nooker the Umtargartie, or smell out the witch. The male inhabitants of the kraal being seated on the ground, the learned doctor, got up like a grizzly bear, appears, and administers a dance of a most terrific nature, during the exhibition of which remedy he incessantly gnashes his teeth, and howls:—"I am the original physician to Nooker the Umtargartie. Yow yow yow! No connexion with any other establishment. Till till till! All other Umtargarties are feigned Umtargarties, Boroo Boroo! but I perceive here a genuine and real Umtargartie, Hoosh Hoosh Hoosh! in whose blood I, the original Imyanger and Nooker, Blizzerum Boo! will wash these bear's claws of mine. O yow yow yow!" All this time the learned physician is looking out among the attentive faces for some unfortunate man who owes him a cow, or who has given him any small offence, or against whom, without offence, he has conceived a spite. Him he never fails to Nooker as the Umtargartie, and he is instantly killed. In the absence of such an individual, the usual practice is to Nooker the quietest and most gentlemanly person in company. But the nookering is invariably followed on the spot by the butchering.

Some of the noble savages in whom Mr. Catlin was so strongly interested, and the diminution of whose numbers, by rum and small-pox, greatly affected him, had a custom not unlike this, though much more appalling and disgusting in its odious details.

The women being at work in the fields, hoeing the Indian corn, and the noble savage being asleep in the shade, the chief has sometimes the condescension to come forth, and lighten the labor by looking at it. On these occasions he seats himself in his own savage chair, and is attended by his shield-bearer: who holds over his head a shield of cowhide—in shape like an immense muscle shell—fearfully and wonderfully, after the manner of a theatrical supernumerary. But lest the great man should forget his greatness in the contemplation of the humble works of

agriculture, there suddenly rushes in a poet, retained for the purpose, called a Praiser. This literary gentleman wears a leopard's head over his own, and a dress of tigers' tails; he has the appearance of having come express on his hind legs from the Zoological Gardens; and he incontinently strikes up the chief's praises, plunging and tearing all the while. There is a frantic wickedness in this brute's manner of worrying the air, and gnashing out "Oh what a delightful chief he is! O what a delicious quantity of blood he sheds! O how majestically he laps it up! O how charmingly cruel he is! O how he tears the flesh of his enemies and crunches the bones! O how like the tiger and the leopard and the wolf and the bear he is! O, row row row row, how fond I am of him!"—which might tempt the Society of Friends to charge at a hand-gallop into the Swartz-Kop location and exterminate the whole kraal.

When war is afoot among the noble savages—which is always—the chief holds a council to ascertain whether it is the opinion of his brothers and friends in general that the enemy shall be exterminated. On this occasion, after the performance of an Umsebeuza, or war song,—which is exactly like all the other songs—the chief makes a speech to his brothers and friends, arranged in single file. No particular order is observed during the delivery of this address, but every gentleman who finds himself excited by the subject, instead of crying "Hear, hear!" as is the custom with us, darts from the rank and tramples out the life, or crushes the skull, or mashes the face, or scoops out the eyes, or breaks the limbs, or performs a whirlwind of atrocities on the body, of an imaginary enemy. Several gentlemen becoming thus excited at once, and pounding away without the least regard to the orator, that illustrious person is rather in the position of an orator in an Irish House of Commons. But, several of these scenes of savage life bear a strong generic resemblance to an Irish election, and I think would be extremely well received and understood at Cork.

In all these ceremonies the noble savage holds forth to the utmost possible extent about himself; from which (to turn him to some civilised account) we may learn, I think, that as Egotism is one of the most offensive and contemptible littlenesses a civilised man can exhibit, so it is really incompatible with the interchange of ideas; inasmuch as if we all talked about ourselves we should soon have no listeners, and must be all yelling and screeching at once on our own separate accounts: making society hideous. It is my opinion that if we retained in us anything of the noble savage, we could not get rid of it too soon. But the fact is clearly otherwise. Upon the wife and dowry question, substituting coin for cows, we have assuredly nothing of the Zulu Kaffir left. The endurance of

despotism is one great distinguishing mark of a savage always. The improving world has quite got the better of that too. In like manner, Paris is a civilised city, and the Théâtre Français a highly civilised theatre; and we shall never hear, and never have heard in these later days (of course) of the Praiser *there*. No, no, civilised poets have better work to do. As to Nookering Umtargarties, there are no pretended Umtargarties in Europe, and no European Powers to Nooker them; that would be mere spydom, subornation, small malice, superstition, and false pretence. And as to private Umtargarties, are we not in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-three, with spirits rapping at our doors?

To conclude as I began. My position is, that if we have anything to learn from the Noble Savage, it is what to avoid. His virtues are a fable; his happiness is a delusion; his nobility, nonsense. We have no greater justification for being cruel to the miserable object, than for being cruel to a WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE or an ISAAC NEWTON; but he passes away before an immeasurably better and higher power than ever ran wild in any earthly woods, and the world will be all the better when his place knows him no more.

THE MAHOMMEDAN MOTHER.

MUSSOORIE and Landour, situated in the lower range of the Himalaya mountains, form the favorite sanitarium of the upper part of India. The scenery is more beautiful than that of Simla; for Mussoorie and Landour command a view of Dehra Dhoon, which resembles (except that the Dhoon is grander and more extensive) the plains of Italy as seen from the ascent of the Simplon. The Mall of Mussoorie is crowded every evening with visitors; some on horseback, some on hill ponies, some on foot, and some in the *janpan* (something like a sedan-chair carried by four hill men). A gayer scene it would be impossible to conceive. Every one knows his neighbour; and, in passing along the narrow road stoppages are frequent. Compliments must be exchanged, and the news or scandal of the day gossiped about. Every now and then you hear a cry of "What a shame!" from a terrified lady in a *janpan*, while a couple of lovers gallop past on spirited Arabs, at full speed: sometimes a shriek from a nervous mamma reverberates through the valleys, when she beholds her children in the way of the heedless pair.

Accidents sometimes occur. A few years ago, a lady and a gentleman were riding round a place called the Camel's Back; the road gave way and they fell down a precipice several hundred feet. The horses were killed, but the riders miraculously escaped with only a few severe bruises. On another occasion, a gentleman of the civil service was taking his evening walk, when one of his dogs ran

FIGURES



Fig. 1. Skeleton and the cast of the body of Saartje Baartman exhibited at the Musee de l'Homme until 1976, Paris, photography 1952. (Blanchard et al. 2011)



Fig. 2 Sebastian Coeure “La Venus hottentote dans les salons de la dushesse Berry” (The Hottentot Venus in the Salons of the Duchesse de Bery), Paris watercolor on paper, 1830. (Blanchard et al. 2011)

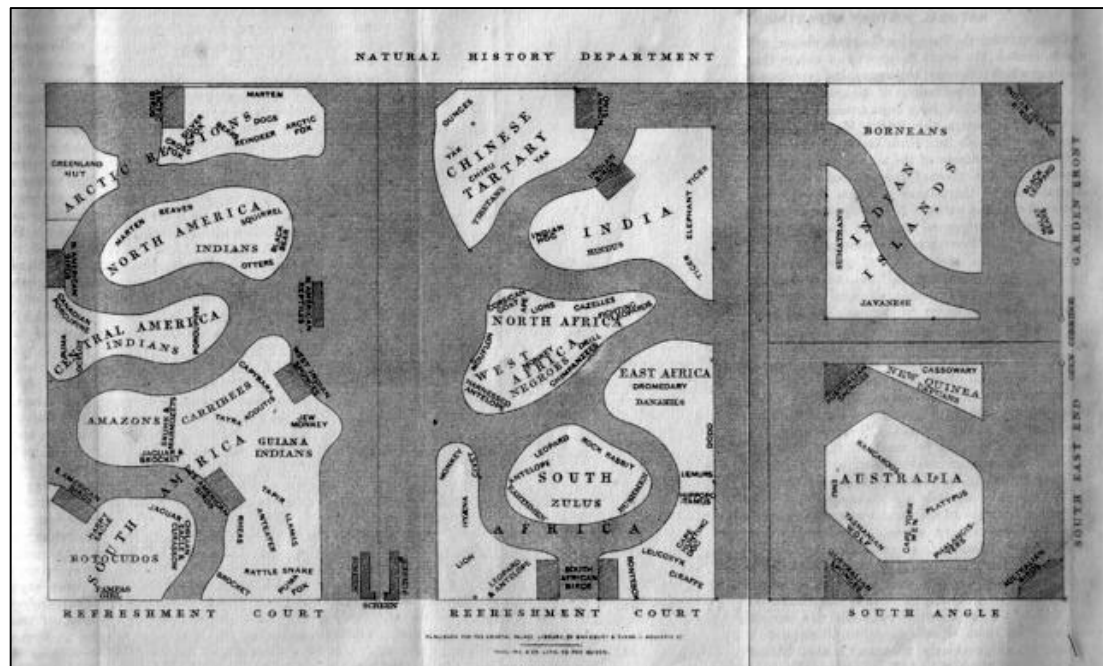


Fig. 3 The Natural History Department at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham (After Samuel Philips, *Guide to the Crystal Palace and its Park*, 1854) (Qureshi, 2011)



Fig. 4a Enrico Angelo Ludovico Negretti and Joseph Warren Zambra models of the San at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, ca. 1863. (Pitt Rivers Museum Online Database, Oxford, accession number 1998, 211.9)



Fig. 4b Negretti and Zambra models of the Zulus at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, ca. 1863. (Pitt Rivers Museum Online Database, Oxford, accession number 1998, 210.3)

ST. GEORGE'S GALLERY,
HYDE PARK CORNER, PICCADILLY.
Formerly the CHINESE MUSEUM, (including both Galleries.)

THE LAST WEEK
OF THE
ZULU KAFIRS,
IN LONDON,

Owing to several Continental and Provincial Engagements, this Extraordinary Entertainment must finally close.

To meet the wishes of the Public, this Remarkable Exhibition will be continued FOR A FEW DAYS LONGER, at the above Gallery, every Afternoon at half-past 3; and every Evening at half-past 8.

ORDER OF INCIDENTS:
First Part.

Kraal near d'Urban, Port Natal.
Huts erected on the Stage—Zulus heard Singing within—Zulus come forth, and group themselves outside the Huts—Hunters arrive—Greetings & Speeches, as they exhibit the Game—Enter Zulu woman with her Child, carrying Indian and Guinea Corn from the Plantation, who feeds her Child from a Calabash.

Zulu quarrel, and mode of settling Disputes with Bundles of Switches—Reconciliation, and Supper.

Umlongo Wam, or Meal Song & Dance.

The Ow Tulaswizwa, or Charm Song
For Protection in the Night—at the conclusion of which some arrange themselves in prostrate groups on the Ground, others crawl into the Huts.

NIGHT—CLOSE OF THE TABLEAU.

Second Part.

Morning scene,---Swartz Kop location.
NEAR PIETER, MAURITZBURG.

Zulus re-assemble and converse—One of their Kraal Sick—Witchcraft suspected—The "Imyangar" (Witch Doctor) sent for, in order to Noodle the Umtargartie, or "Smell out the Witch"—Arrival of the "Imyangar," or "Smeller out"—Sorcerer Denounced—His Condemnation and Death.

MOVING PANORAMA OF KAFIR SCENERY.
Kraal—Inanda Location—Zulu Marriage—Purchasing a Wife for Six Cows—The Ceremony and taking home, with Bridal Song.

Inhabited Tree in the Basuta Country.
Huts constructed in its branches, exhibiting a contrast to Zulu Kraals—Zulus assemble for a Hunting Expedition.

Nelson's Kop--Draagenberg Mountains.
Hunting Tramp and Song—Capture of the Beltbok.

SCENE CLOSES.

THE BUSH.
Preparation for War.—Umschunza, or War Song, Chief's Speech to his Warriors—Warriors' Reply.

LAST SCENE.
KARCLOOF FALL.
ATTACK AND COMBAT.

A DESCRIPTIVE BOOK, containing the History of the Zulu Kafirs, their Customs, and their Country—is now published, Price 6d. and may be had at the Gallery.

DURATION OF THE EXHIBITION:
Evening, from $\frac{1}{2}$ -past 8 till 10; Afternoon, $\frac{1}{2}$ -past 3 till 5.
Doors open at 3 and 8.

* Omnibusses from all parts of London pass the Gallery every five minutes.

BACK SEATS, ONE SHILLING.
Front Reserved and Numbered Seats, 4s. Unreserved Seats, 2s. 6d.

Reserved Seats to be obtained at Mr. FITCHER'S Royal Library, 23, Old Broad-st.

Printed by Cresset & Mullins, Silver Street, Golden Square.

Fig. 5.a A Playbill for Charles Caldecott's Exhibition of Zulus in 1853.
(University of Oxford Bodleian Library, accession number (RHO) 620.121 r. 1)

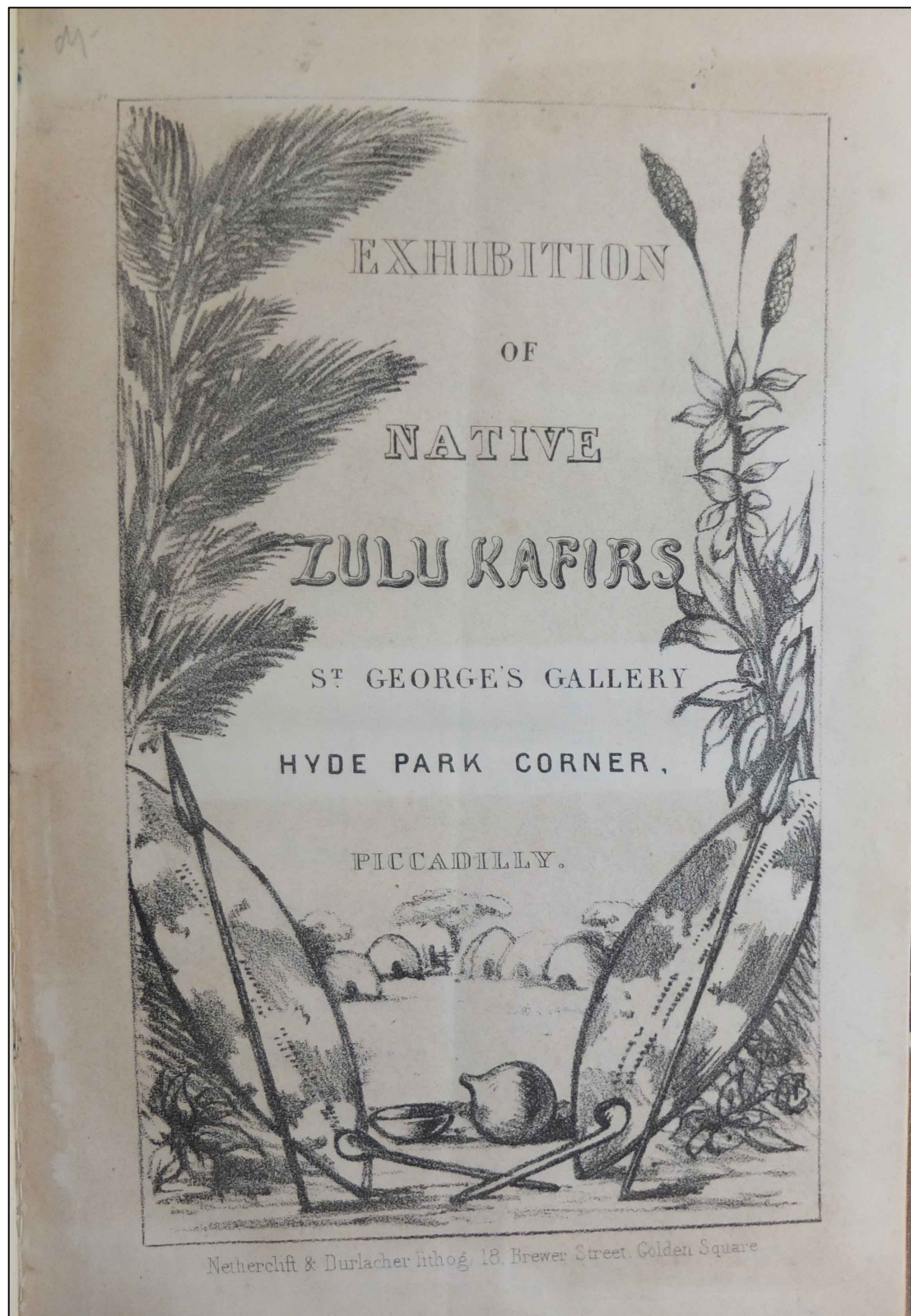


Fig. 5.b A Poster for Charles Caldecott's Exhibition of Zulus in 1853.
(University of Oxford Bodleian Library, accession number (RHO) 620.121 r. 1)



TWO NEW RACES OF PEOPLE.

THE

"Professor OWEN says,— Their quick perceptive faculties, their easily-excited curiosity, the mild and intelligent expression of their full dark eyes, their deep olive complexion, and the singularity of some of their attitudes, combine to invest them with a character of peculiar interest, which cannot fail to surprise and gratify all beholders."—*Museum, Royal College of Surgeons, London, July 26, 1835.*

"My opinion is, that there are other individuals more or less similar to them in about some of the qualities. There have been such for several generations. I know of no word which, if used without considerable qualifications, would give other than a wrong idea of them. They are Antees in the way amaran from Snow den English, and are appearing all Britain, except North Wales, to have been brought under (say) French or Russian domination. . . . They tell their own tale by their shape, size, and color, but only to a certain degree, being unlike anything we see." *Hyde Park Square, London, July 7th, 1858.* Dr. B. G. Latham.

They were visited in Liverpool Gardens by 7,148 Persons in one day, and by more than ONE MILLION of Persons during their former visit to London.

Are a Race of People only 3½ feet high, who burrow under the Earth, subsisting upon Insects and Plants—discovered far up the Orange River, in South Africa. The first ever captured, their existence having, heretofore, been disputed.

A black and white engraving of two young children, likely from a Pacific Island, sitting on a rocky outcrop. The child on the left is a girl with a headband and a beaded necklace, resting her chin on her hand. The child on the right is a boy with a beaded necklace and a feathered skirt, looking directly at the viewer. Both are wearing beaded necklaces and have traditional adornments.

These unique yet beautiful little strangers have astonished and delighted the three Queens of England, France, and Spain, and greatly perplexed not only the whole Ethnologists of London, but all of the Savans upon both sides of the Atlantic. They are more remarkable than fancy can depict. Beings of a hitherto unknown race, the like of which the civilized world has never before beheld—bearing upon their marked and peculiar Physiognomies the undeniable signs of unbroken descent from the valiant foeman of Cortes, as these are sculptured on the mighty temples still found by the amazed explorers amidst the forests and wildernesses of Guatemala and Yucatan, and depicted in the splendid works of Stephens and Catherwood.

The EARTHMEN, or ERDMANNIGES, have no Vernacular Language; their hair is of a very singular nature, it does not cover the whole surface of the scalp, but grows in small spiral tufts, each resembling a corkscrew; their eyes are dark, penetrating, and deep-set—not only microscopic, but telescopic; their Hands and Feet are excessively small; the middle parts of their bodies are covered with the skins of animals, among which the Jackall preponderates.

DAILY, from **3** till **5**, and **7** till **9½**. Lectures at **4** and **8**.
ADMISSION, 1s. **GALLERY**, 6d. **STALLS**, 2s.

"I have visited your little folks several times. I believe them to be genuine descendants of the races who built the splendid monuments, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the forests of Central America and Yucatan, their remarkable profiles exactly agreeing with the sculptures on the walls, many of which I believe to be portraits."—*The great Traveller, F. C. THURWOOD, of London, 21, Charles Street, Boston.*

"How like the Nine's Marbles!" exclaimed the great LAYARD, while gazing upon the Arctos, at Sir Benjamin Brodie's. They are of bizarre and fantastic appearance—a physical conformation thoroughly original and unique—in appearance, manners, and habits utterly incomprehensible, and baffling to the acute physiologist, and bewildering to the general observer.

PROFESSOR OWEN'S MEASUREMENT OF THE "AZTECS," August 29th, 1853

MAXIMO (Boy, 17 Years of Age), Height, 34 inches 6 lines; Weight, 28lbs.; Circumference of Head, 13 inches 3 lines.
BARTOLO (Girl, 11 Years of Age), Height, 30 inches 9 lines; Weight, 21lbs.; Circumference of Head, 13 inches 4 lines.

R. S. FRANCIS, Printer, Catherine Street, Strand

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Fig. 7 A Handbill of The Life of the Living Aztec Children at the Barnum's American Museum, New York. (John Johnson Collection Database accession number Human Freaks Folder 4 (53))

THE GREATEST Natural & National CURIOSITY IN THE WORLD.



Known to Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON, (the Father of our Country,) WILL BE SEEN AT

Barnum's Hotel, Bridgeport,

On FRIDAY, and SATURDAY, the 11th & 12th days
of December, DAY and EVENING.

also Monday

JOICE HETH is unquestionably the most astonishing and interesting curiosity in the World! She was the slave of Augustine Washington, (the father of Gen. Washington,) and was the first person who put smiles on the countenance of him, who, in after days, led our heroes to glory, to victory, and freedom. To see her own language when speaking of the illustrious Father of her Country, "she raised him." JOICE HETH was born in the year 1674, and has, consequently, now arrived at the astonishing

AGE OF 161 YEARS.

She weighs but FORTY-SIX POUNDS, and yet is very cheerful and interesting. She retains her faculties to an unparalleled degree, converses freely, sings tremendous hymns, recites many interesting anecdotes of the day Washington, and often laughs heartily at her own remarks, as those of an epicurean. Her teeth are perfectly good, and her appearance very neat. She is a linguist and takes great pleasure in conversing with ministers and religious persons. The appearance of this marvellous relic of antiquity strikes the beholder with amazement, and convinces him that his eyes are resting on the oldest specimen of humanity that ever defied life's field. Original, authentic, and indisputable documents accompanying her person, however authentic the fact may appear, that JOICE HETH is in every respect the person who is represented.

The most eminent physicians and intelligent men in Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, and other places, have examined this being alive and the documents accompanying her, and all, invariably, pronounce her to be, as represented, 161 years of age! A female of so unusual appearance, will give every attention to the ladies who visit this relic of by-gone ages.

She has been visited in Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, &c., by more than TWENTY THOUSAND Ladies and Gentlemen, within the last three months.

Hours of Exhibition, from 9 A. M. to 1 P. M. and from 3 to 5, and 6 to 10 P. M.

ADMITTANCE 25 Cents, CHILDREN HALF-PRICE.

Entered by J. B. OTIS & SON, 145, Fulton St. N. Y.

Remains Monday the 14th
1885

Fig. 8 A Poster of The Joice Heith at the Barnum's American Museum, 1885.
(Thomson, 1997)

RICHARDSON'S NEW THEATRE.
The Beautiful **SPOTTED**
NEGRO BOY



That the Public in general may have an opportunity of viewing the surprising Beauties of this astonishing CHILD, Mr. Richardson has thought it his duty to introduce him between his Pieces, in gratitude for that Patronage and Support which he has for so many years experienced, and being the last Season of the Boy's remaining in this Country.

The Entertainments to commence with a new grand Melo-Dramatic Romance, with New Scenery, Dresses, Decorations, &c. by the most eminent Artists, called The

Monk and Murderer;

Or, The SKELETON SPECTRE.

Baron Montaldi, Mr. H. CAREY.—Desperado (his Confidant) Mr. REID.
Nicolina (Steward of the Castle) Mr. WILMOT.—Edmund (Page to Edgar) Mr. ODEY.
Knights.—St. Julian of France, Mr. DENNEY.—Harold (the Dane) Mr. WATERS.—Mohammed (the Persian) Mr. HUNTER.—And Edgar (the English Knight) Mr. SEYMOUR.
Romaldo (the Mysterious Spectre Monk) Mr. BROWN.
Emilina (Daughter to the Baron) Mrs. H. CAREY.—Lauretta (her Confidant) Mrs. WILMOT.
A short Sketch of the Scenery.—1. A Gothic Hall in Montaldi's Castle. 2. View of the Rocks of Calabria, with the appearance of the Mysterious Monk. 3. Mysterious Forest. 4. A Rustic Bridge, with distant View of the Castle; a grand Procession of Knights, &c. 5. Gothic Chamber. 6. Interior of the Castle, decorated with Banners, Trophies, &c. and a grand COMBAT with SHIELD and BATTLE AXE. The Piece terminating with the fall of the Murderers; the ascension of the Spectre Monk, and predicted Union of the English Knight and Emilina.

After which will be introduced, that most wonderful and interesting Prodigy, the beautiful

SPOTTED NEGRO BOY.

This superlative Curiosity is the Offspring of Negroes, beautifully covered with a diversity of Spots, transparent Brown and White; his Hair interwoven Brown and White. This faucial Child of Nature, formed in her most playful mood, is allowed by every Lady and Gentleman that has seen him, the greatest Curiosity ever beheld.

The whole to conclude with a laughable Pantomime, with entire new splendid Scenery, Tricks, &c. expressly for the purpose, called

LOVE and LIBERTY

Or, HARLEQUIN IN HIS GLORY.

Harlequin, Mr. SMITH.—Comicalo, (the Pantaloon) Mr. THOMPSON.
Sir Jerry Fluffy (Lover) Mr. WILMOT.—Fidler, Mr. FOSTER.
Garden Woman, Mrs. SMITH.—Peasants, Messrs. DENNY, FORD, &c. &c.
Hookumsnookumwalkerskey (Clown) Mr. HINDER.—And Columbine, Mrs. WILMOT.
The Pantomime to finish with a most excellent Picturesque
VIEW IN GLAMORGANSHIRE, WALES.
BOXES, 2s.—PIT, 1s.—GALLERY, 6d.

N.B. A Change of Performances each Day.

Mottley & Co. Printers, Portsmouth.

Fig. 9 A Poster of the Negro Boy (John Johnson Collection Database accession number Provincial Playbills Folder 5 (27))

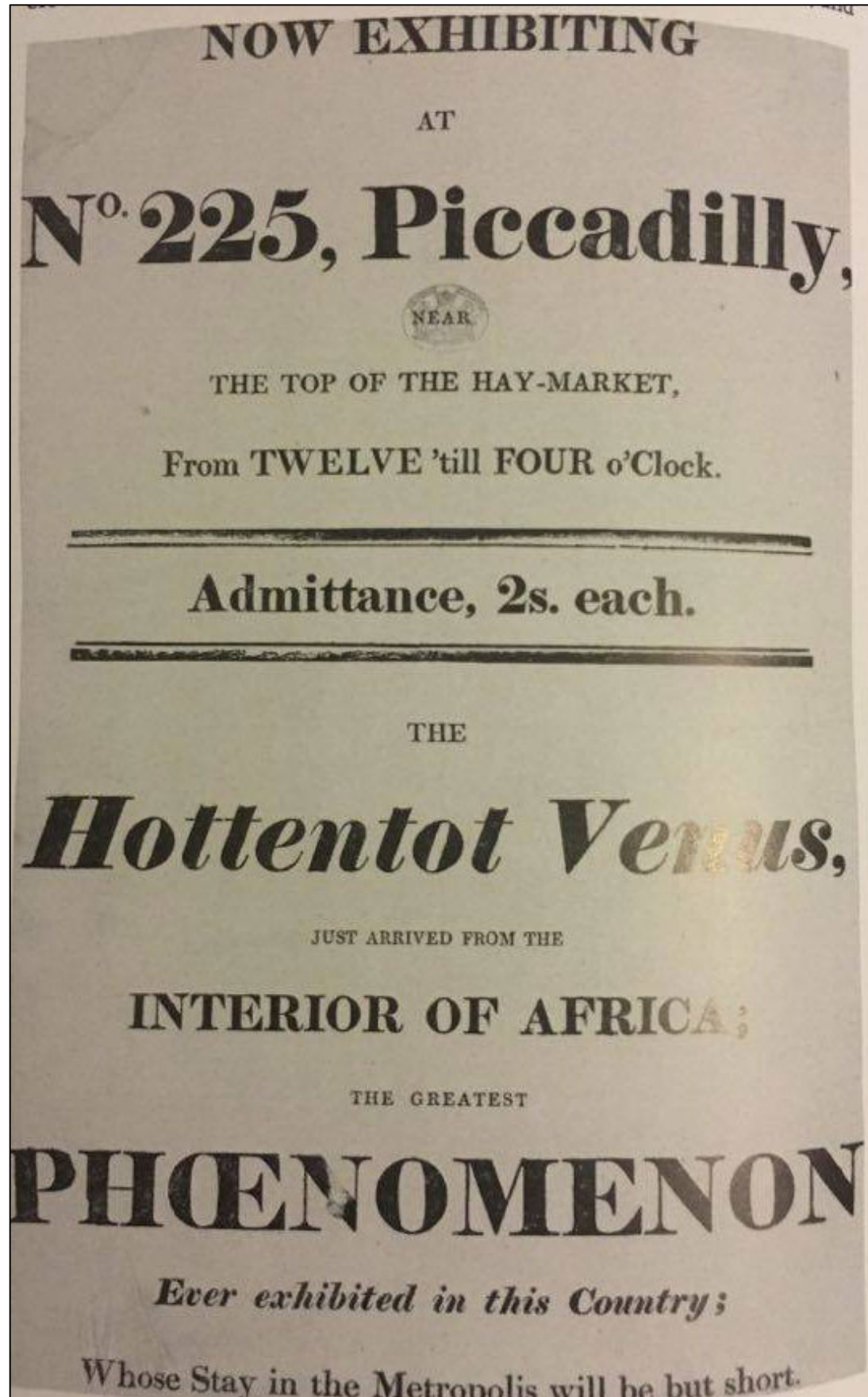


Fig. 10 A Poster Advertising Sara Baartman's Exhibition, 1810 (Qureshi, 2011)

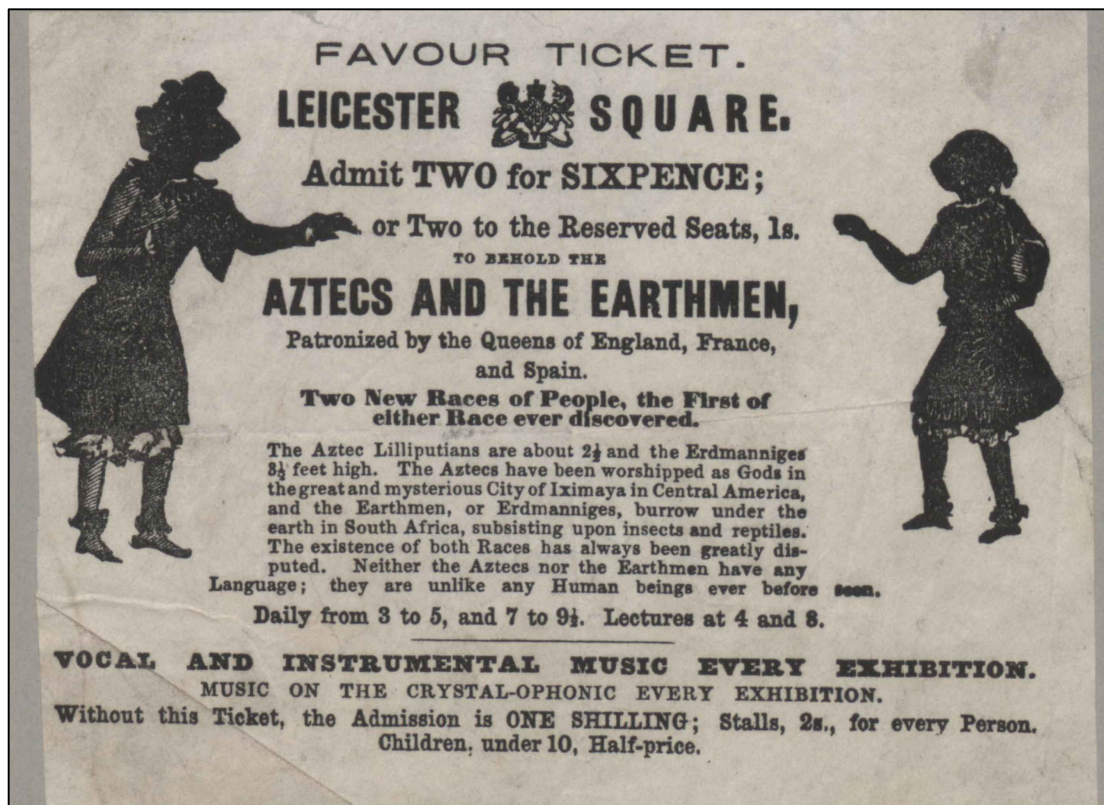


Fig. 11 A Ticket of the Aztecs and the Earthmen Exhibition, London (John Johnson Collection Database accession number Ticket Show Places Folder (18))