The Skull Measuring Business:
Some Murderous Little Facts from the Forgotten Spaces of Anthropology in Ireland

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A village community, the Aran Islands.

Haddon & Dixon, 1890, Inishmaan, digital scan of silver gelatine, glass-plate negative, 8 x 11 cm (©TCD).

ABSTRACT

The "skull measuring business" is a phrase that resonates with a particular view of Victorian anthropology as practised in Ireland in the 1890s. It captures the idea of English scientists travelling to the periphery of the United Kingdom to trace the racial origins of the "native" Irish at the height of the home rule crisis. Indeed, Patrick Geddes, the bio-social innovator, coined the phrase to describe a restricted form of Anglo-French anthropology that has become inextricably linked to eugenics, the theoretical precursor of scientific racism. Geddes was warning Alfred Cort Haddon that a radical approach to social organisation represented the future of anthropology. This study attempts to find out how Haddon responded, in view of the fact that he was photographed measuring skulls in the Aran Islands in 1892. It builds upon the discovery in 2013 and 2014 of "lost" documentary and photographic material in Dublin and Cambridge. This triggered a review–an "Irish" reading–of Haddon's papers, concentrating on mostly uncatalogued material relating to his experimental ethnographical surveys of ethnical islands in the west of Ireland. It became clear that the facts uncovered contradict conventional accounts of the skull measuring business; narratives that are usually structured around evolution, race, and imperialism. Instead, Haddon emerges as an English radical and supporter of home rule. He built a network of folklore collectors that constituted an anti-imperial, Anglo-Irish folklore movement, which was aligned with the nationalist cultural programme of Douglas Hyde. That has been forgotten, overlooked, or misinterpreted. Furthermore, Haddon preferred photography to text and his use of the magic lantern as an instrument of anti-colonial activism represents a singular modernist achievement in anthropology. Ironically, this has remained invisible to many historians of disciplinary anthropology. This thesis attempts to correct this by killing some anthropological tropes and creating space for alternative narratives.

FIGURES

Frontispiece A village community, the Aran Islands.
Haddon & Dixon, 1890, Inishmaan, digital scan of silver gelatine, glass-plate negative, 8 x 11 cm (©TCD).

Preface Anon., c. 1906, *Members of the Congested Districts Board receiving directions from a local woman*, digital download (© NLI: CDB95).

Introduction

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2 Haddon & Dixon, 1890, *Inishmaan*, digital scan of silver gelatine (©TCD).

3 A box of glass plate negatives that was discovered in TCD in 2014. A. F. Dixon took the photographs in the company of Haddon in the Aran Islands in 1890.

4 Haddon & Dixon, 1890, a negative of Aran islanders sitting on the wall of Dún Conchubhair on Inishmaan (*Inis Meáin*), the middle island (© TCD).

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5.8 Charles R. Browne, 1894, portrait of Philip Lavelle, albumen print (© TCD).

5.9 Galley proof of Plate XXII, ‘The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway” by Haddon and Browne (1891). It is filed in Folder 4061 in the Haddon Papers in CUL.

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6.3 A. C. Haddon to Ernest Haddon, August 12, 1885 (HP F22 CUL).

6.4 Plate XXIII (Fig. 7) of “The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway.” The caption read:

> Michael Faherty, and two women, Inishmaan, Faherty refused to be measured, and the women would not even tell us their names. (Haddon & Browne 1891, 830).

6.5 A second photograph of Michael Faherty and the women of Inishmaan, which is filed in the photograph albums of Charles R Browne (© TCD: MS10961-4_0007).

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6.7 Haddon, 1890, Dixon taking a photograph in the Aran Islands, digital scan of silver gelatine positive (© TCD).

6.8 Dixon, 1890, Haddon sketching monuments in the Aran Islands, digital scan of silver gelatine negative (© TCD).

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6.8B A page from Haddon’s sketch book (© Haddon Library: P.88.H_05.q)

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Bottom: The negative showing the application of red opaque paint on one side and an orange paper mask on the opposite side.

6.10 Top: a negative of a photograph of men carrying a currach (© TCD).

Bottom: two pages from Haddon’s sketchbook, the first showing a stone anchor and the second showing scenes from the regatta, including sketches of islanders carrying currachs (© Haddon Library P.88.H_05.f and P.88.H_05.g).

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6.15 A selection of slides made from photographs taken by Haddon and Dixon in the Aran Islands between 1890 and 1892 (© CUMAA).

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7.1 The Skull Passage, "Old" Anatomy, TCD.

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7.3 Pages from Browne's album of photographs taken in the Aran Islands (© TCD: MS10961-4_0004, MS10961-4_0005).

7.4 The Strange People of Ballycroy: pages from Browne's album of photographs taken in Erris, County Mayo (© TCD: MS10961-5_0008, MS10961-3_0009).

7.5 A page from Browne's album of photographs from Erris. Browne reproduced the photographs as Plate VI of the "The Ethnography of Ballycroy, County Mayo" (Browne 1996).

7.6 Thomas Fitzpatrick, 1894, *Arran Isles–1894*. *Weekly Freeman & National Press*, April 21 (see Curtis 2011, Fig. 38).

7.7 A flyer advertising Haddon's slideshow on "The Western Isles of Ireland," which he presented in the Temperance Hall in Hexham, near Newcastle upon Tyne in March 1895 (HP F3058 CUL).

7.8 Haddon, 1892, *Thomas Colman Faherty and John Michael O'Donnell*, photogravure print (Haddon and Browne 1891, Plate XXII).

7.9 A. F. Dixon, 1890, negative of a photograph with temporary masking added by Welch (© TCD).

7.10 R. J. Welch, c. 1895, *Killeany Holy Well Station and Young Natives*, Aranmore, platinotype (Balfour Album, NUIG).

7.11 Members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in the Aran Islands, July 1895 (© RSAI).

7.12 Clara Patterson, 1893, *Children playing "Poor Mary," Ballymiscaw,* 1893, halftone print (reproduced from Adams 1993, 5).

7.13 R. J. Welch, c. 1893, selection of slides used by Haddon in his lectures on the evolution of technologies /carts (© CUMAA).

7.14 A still from the short film that Haddon made of the dance of the *Malu Zogo Te* on the island of Mer in 1898 (© National Film and Sound Archive of Australia).

7.15 Myers recording Ulai singing Malu songs into a phonograph. Gasu is beating the Malu Drum. The photograph was taken on Mer in 1898 (© CUMAA).

CONCLUSION

8.1 Haddon, 1888, Mer Island, Torres Strait, albumen print (© British Museum: Oc,B40.27).

8.2 Haddon & Dixon, 1890, Inishmaan, silver gelatine print (©TCD). This is probably a first generation print from the negative. It is one of three photographs that were discovered with the Dixon negatives in 2014.

8.3 John Millington Synge, 1898, *An Islander of Inishmaan*, digital scan from glass plate negative (© TCD: MS11332_28_b).

8.4 A member of the Awá tribe in northern Brazil, digital download (Survival International: https://assets-production.survivalinternational.org/static/awa/img-wrapper.png).

WORKS CITED

9.1 Pages from the manuscript of 'The Ethnography of the Aran Islands" by Haddon and Browne (1891) (© CUL: HP F4062 CUL).

ABBREVIATIONS

AIGB&I	Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
ANCAD	Associate of the National College of Art and Design
APS	Aborigines Protection Society
BAAS	British Association for the Advancement of Science
BNFC	Belfast Naturalists' Field Club
CAET	Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits
CDB	Congested Districts Board
CI	Cephalic Index
CUL	Cambridge University Library
CUMAA	Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
HP F1 CUL	Haddon Papers, Folder 1, Cambridge University Library
LMS	London Missionary Society
NUIG	National University of Ireland Galway
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
PTA	Principles of Teaching Art (Dept of Education Certification).
RCScI	Royal College of Science for Ireland
RDS	Royal Dublin Society
RSAI	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
TCD	The University of Dublin, Trinity College
UCD	University College Dublin

A NOTE ON PLACE NAMES / *LOGAINMNEACHA*

Many of the place names featured in this study have been changed since the 1890s. For instance, the Isles of Arran was popular before the 1890s but was gradually replaced by the Aran Islands. The islands are now called *Oileáin Árainn*, which translates literally as the Islands of Aran. Aranmore, the big island, was renamed Inishmore and is now known as *Inis Mór.* Inishmaan, the middle island, is now call *Inis Meáin*. I have used the version of the place name or *logainm* that was used in texts quoted.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Anon., c. 1906, *Members of the Congested Districts Board receiving directions from a local woman*, digital download (© NLI: CDB95).

On Becoming An Anthropologist

I became an anthropologist in January 2020, in the process of defending this thesis. I had never really considered myself an anthropologist up to that point. I thought of myself as a stranger within the anthropological community, a phrase that Julia Kristeva coined and E. Valentine Daniel used to describe people who entered anthropology from *other* disciplines (Kristeva 1991, 191 in Daniel & Peck 1996, 5). Furthermore, I had not gone through what Valentine Daniel described as the required "ritual of fieldwork" (Daniel & Peck 1996, 5). As such, I thought of myself as a visual arts curator with an interest in the life histories–to borrow an idea from Anita Herle (1998)–of photographs of folklife in Ireland in the 1890s. However, in

defending my thesis, I realised that the encapsulating interest in popular culture and the politics of representation could be traced back to a brief exposure to anthropology as an art student in the 1980s and the effect this had on my work as a curator, which was invariably framed by the "anthropological" idea of subjectivity.

In 2004, for, instance I curated a project that challenged the way Martine Franck represented Tory islanders in a collection that was published as *Tory Island Images* (2000). Our methodology was simple enough. We gave the islanders preloaded, disposable cameras–this was before digital cameras were widely available–and asked them to select the image that most represented their idea of Tory from 36 exposures made over a two-week period. It was a collaborative exercise in autoethnography that touched upon many of the problems raised by Mark McCarty in *Principles of Visual Anthropology* (Hockings, ed., 1974/1995), a book that was very far removed from my usual references at the time. Looking back, I now see that the project was, in effect, a piece of socially engaged, visual anthropology in all but name.

My interest in the historical representation of island communities like Tory–the core of this thesis–developed around the same time. I was working as the Visual Arts Director of the National Folk Theatre and, in 2004, I devised a multi-disciplinary project entitled rEVOLUTION to test the traditions of the folk theatre against (a) contemporary performance standards and (b) new thinking about the study of folk culture in the context of globalisation; the sort of work being done by Diarmuid O'Giolláin (2000) in the Department of Folklore in UCC. This triggered a search for authentic representations of folklife–defined by Ó Giolláin as tangible aspects of 'material culture'(2000, 5)–that might serve as a visual resource for the project. Authenticity was an issue, given that most photography was undertaken by actors associated with the colonial administration at a time of intense anti-colonial or home rule agitation. One photograph encapsulated the main problems we encountered in our search. The photograph was taken on the Old Head in County Mayo in or around 1906. The photographer is unknown, but the photograph is a record of the members of the Congested Districts Board (CDB) conducting their inquiries in the field. It is a cleverly framed and visually striking representation of an encounter between the British administration in Ireland and an Irish autochthone. The asymmetries are carefully and deliberately constructed and no effort is made to disguise the instrumentality of the photographic act. The presence of the interpreter

in the background complicates the intended naturalism of the narrative, but the visual realisation of the encounter is sufficiently strong to ensure that it is read as an objective record of the agents of progress coming to the aid of the overburdened peasantry of the west of Ireland.

The woman in the photograph was pointing westward and this led to Robert J. Welch, a photographer with a commercial practice in Belfast who also documented the work of the CDB. Indeed, I attributed the Old Head photograph to Welch, a mistake that lives on in the sleeve notes of Ciara Breathnach's 2005 history of the organisation. Welch, however, was first and foremost a naturalist and a leading member of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club (BNFC). He developed a line in ethnographic photography in the 1890s, which I later discovered was the result of an ongoing collaboration with Haddon. Welch preferred large, full-plate cameras and the best of his field photography has the static quality of studio photography, which tends to undermine the documentary integrity of his work. His credibility as an ethnographic photographer, however, is somewhat undermined by an album he created for a consortium comprised of merchants, landed gentry, Poor Law Guardians, and clergymen in Galway in 1896. It was given to Arthur J. Balfour in recognition of his sponsorship of the Galway to Clifden railway line. The line opened in 1895, in time for a hard-fought election in which a Conservative and Unionist alliance convincingly defeated a Liberal and Nationalist alliance on the issue of home rule. The "Balfour Album" consisted of 50 photographs that materialised Balfour's policy of building railways as a way of undermining political support for home rule. Welch was awarded a Royal warrant by Queen Victoria and subsequently received a state pension in recognition of his services to the Crown. Welch, as such, was an unlikely source of authentic "ethnographic" photographs (Walsh 2007).

In 2007, I discovered the photography of John Millington Synge when I visited Inis Meáin, the middle island of the Aran Islands. There was a small museum dedicated to Synge in a knitwear factory that was established by Tarlach De Blacam and Áine Ní Chonghaile in 1976. De Blacam showed me a copy of Lilo Stephen's 1971 album of photographs taken by Synge. Synge's association with cultural nationalism set these photographs apart. Furthermore, John Masefield (1916, 13) recalled that Synge regarded the photographs as an integral part of his account of island life, which Synge intended to surpass in realism that of *Pêcheurs d'Islande,* Pierre Loti's 1886 novel about the lives of Breton fishermen. There is a body of

literature (Messenger 1966; Ashley 2001; Kiberd 2000; Castle 2001; Carville, 2007) that contested the ethnographic integrity of Synge's essentially romantic version, which was eventually published–without the photographs–in 1907.[1] Kiberd's claim that Synge was the first to use a box camera and that his text resembled a series of literary snapshots based on photographs (Kiberd, 2000: 421, 423) was persuasive. Synge, Kiberd argued, was the first person to attempt a radical, sympathetic, and systematic documentation of the lives of the islanders.

As it turns out, Synge was merely following in Haddon's footsteps and there were other photographers in between. Christian Corlett has written about Jane Shackleton's repeated visits to the islands, the first of which–1891–followed Haddon's visit in 1890. Haddon's anthropometric portraits of the islanders were published in "The Ethnography Of the Aran Islands, County Galway" in 1893, five years before Synge reached the islands. They represented an entirely different approach to the representation of western folk that was adopted by Shackleton and Synge, but my research has revealed that they were an anomalous component of a much more ethnographic approach to photography that Haddon presented in slideshows between 1890 and 1895. The evidence for this would not be discovered until 2013 and 2014, which meant that in 2010 Synge was regarded as the most authentic–least colonial–visual recorder of folk life in Ireland in the 1890s.

Lilo Stephen's album of reproductions remained the only comprehensive treatment of Synge's photography. Dolmen published the album on the centenary of his birth (1871) and I decided to exhibit the photographs on the centenary of his death (2009). TCD agreed to the proposal. Tim Keeffe scanned Synge's negatives and a new set of prints was produced by the Gallery of Photography in Dublin. The exhibition opened in the knitwear factory on Inis Meáin in 2009. It travelled to Paris in 2010 and was subsequently incorporated into *The Moderns* exhibition in the Irish Museum of Modern Art (see Bruna 2017, 46-64). Somewhere along the line, Felicity O'Mahony, my contact in the library in TCD, asked me if I was aware that the library held another collection of photographs taken in the Aran Islands. I asked if they were the Haddon and Browne photographs. They were and with that I entered the fifth field of anthropology.

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[1] Jack B. Yeats provided illustrations, many of which he drew from Synge's photographs (see Bruna 2017, 46-64).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the support of Nuala Finn, who, apart from emotional and intellectual support, carried the financial burden of five years of full-time research on my part. Brendan Finn and Claire Comerford provided accommodation and company in Dublin. Clodagh Finn and Douglas Smyth did likewise and all four provided invaluable encouragement to Nuala and I.

This project is, in many ways, a continuation of the "Irish Headhunter" project, which I developed between 2010 and 2015 in partnership with Dáithí De Mórdha of *Ionad an Bhlascaod Mhór* (The Great Blasket Centre) and the Office of Public Works (OPW). The "Irish Headhunter" project was a truly collaborative enterprise that involved many people. I acknowledge especially the contribution made by Felicity O'Mahony, Bernard Meehan, Jane Maxwell and Tim Keefe (TCD); Amanda Ryan (The Heritage Council); Justin Carville (Dun Laoghaire Institute of Art, Design and Technology); Aidan Baker (Haddon Library) and his wife Clare Sansom, Margaret Risbeth (the Haddon family); John D. Pickles (Cambridge Antiquarian Society); Jocelyne Dudding (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology); the late Seamás Mac Philbin (National Museum of Ireland, Country Life); Liam Ó Maoladha (*Oireachtas na Gaeilge*); Padraig Ó Direan and Padraig O'Tuairisc (Oileáin Árann); Nicola Reynolds, Mark Maguire, Seamás Ó Suíocháin, and Abdullahi El-Tom (MU Dept of Anthropology); Fiona Murphy (DCU School of Business), Seán Mac An tSíthigh (RTE), Chris Rodmell (photographer &film maker) and Ciarán Rooney (Film Bank). Each in their own way supported the "Irish Headhunter" project and helped lay the foundation for "The Skull Measuring Business."

The transition to full-time research was made possible by the generosity of Siobhán Ward, Davis Coakley, and Martina Hennessy (School of Medicine, TCD), who gave me unprecedented access to the treasure trove that is "Old" Anatomy in TCD. Opening that door opened the way to an application to the Irish Research Council (IRC). Securing IRC funding was a project in itself and was achieved through intensive teamwork. The team included Mark Maguire and Andrea Valova (MU), Róisín Burke & Ian Jackman (Abarta Audio Guides), Ciara Breathnach (UL), and Justin Carville (DLIADT). The IRC agreed to fund the project in 2015. In 2016,

Rob Kevlihan (Shanahan Research Group, formerly Kimmage Development Studies Centre) rescued the project by becoming a new enterprise partner after Abarta had to pull out of it and, furthermore, ensured that the funding for the project was secured until completion in February 2019. Mark Maguire's leadership during the various twists-and-turns and ups-and-downs kept the whole project on track and moving forward. I take this opportunity to acknowledge his practical support for and intellectual engagement with the "Skull Measuring Business."

The vital financial support of the Irish Research Council and Shanahan Research Group is hereby acknowledged.

Translating IRC funding into a viable thesis was only possible with the assistance of Research Supervisors Mark Maguire, David Prendergast, and Martina Hennessy, who worked alongside my enterprise mentor Rob Kevlihan. I had no background in academic anthropology and I am indebted to the teaching staff of the Dept of Anthropology for developing my understanding of the discipline. These include Steve Coleman, Abdullahi El-Tom, Pauline Garvey, Jamie Saris, and Tom Strong. I am especially grateful to Jacqui Mulally, Denise Erdmann (MU Anthropology Office), and Conor Wilkinson (MU Post Grad Office) for their support. Hana Červinková (Head of Department) joined MU Anthropology in 2019 and guided this project through its final stages.

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Míle Buíochas díobh go leir.

INTRODUCTION

(PLATES)

Fig. 1 Haddon & Browne, 1892, *Anthropometry in Aran*, *Aranmore*, albumen print (© TCD, MS10961-4_0014).

Fig. 2 Haddon & Dixon, 1890, Inishmaan, digital scan of silver gelatine negative, 8 x 11 cm (© TCD).

Fig. 3 A box of glass plate negatives that was discovered in TCD in 2014. A. F. Dixon took the photographs in the company of Haddon in the Aran Islands in 1890.

Dixon stored the negatives in a slotted box after R. J. Welch of Belfast had processed them. Included in Fig. 3 is a first generation print and a negative holder. The negative–a glass plate covered in a mixture of photographic chemicals and gelatine on one side–was inserted into the holder and the cover slid shut. This procedure was carried out in a darkroom or, when in the field, a light-proof bag. The photographer mounted the holder on the back of the camera before removing the cover of the negative holder and exposing the negative by removing the cover on the lens for a second or so, depending on light conditions. Each step was then reversed and the entire process was repeated for each shot.

The camera is a generic quarter plate, bellows camera. Chris Rodmell presented it to me during fieldwork in the Aran Islands in 2014.

Fig. 4 Haddon & Dixon, 1890, a negative of Aran islanders sitting on the wall of *Dún Conchubhair* on Inishmaan (*Inis Meáin*), the middle island (© TCD).

Fig. 5 Charles R. Browne, 1895, the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory, cyanotype (© TCD: MS10961-1_23 © TCD).

Fig. 6 Ciarán Walsh testing instruments that were used in the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory in the 1890s. One of Galton's psychometric instruments is visible in the foreground. The calliper on the desk was designed by Flower. The instruments were found in 2014.

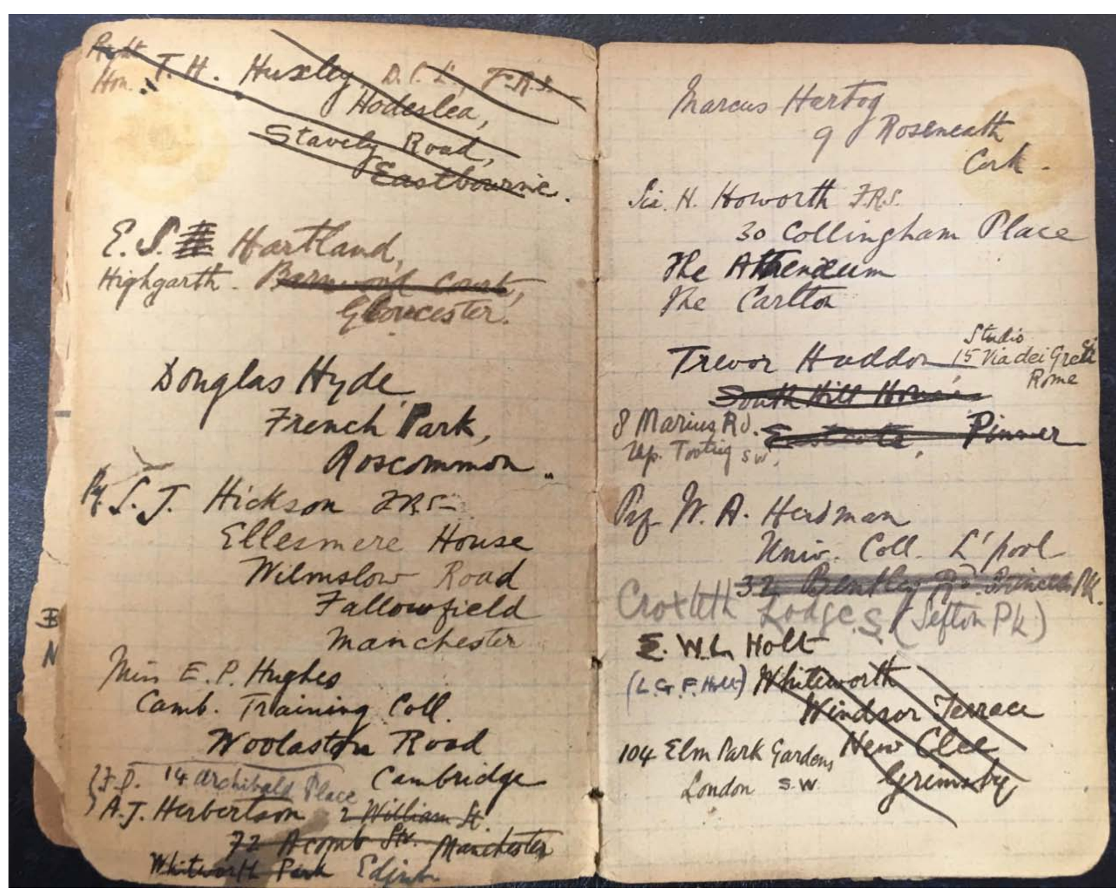
T.H. Huxley D.C.L. F.R.S.
Hodeslea,
Staveley Road,
Eastbourne.
E.S. Hartland,
Highgarth. Barnwood Court,
Gloucester.
Douglas Hyde
French Park,
Roscommon.
S.J. Hickson F.R.S.
Ellesmere House
Wilmslow Road
Fallowfield
Manchester
Miss E.P. Hughes
Camb. Training Coll.
Woolaston Road
Cambridge
14 Archibald Place
A.J. Herbertson 2 William St.
72 Acomb St. Manchester
Whitworth Park Edinb.
Marcus Hartog
9 Rosenealth
Cork.
Sir H. Howorth F.R.S.
30 Collingham Place
The Athenaeum
The Carlton
Trevor Haddon Studio 15 Via dei Greci Rome
South Hill House
8 Marius Rd. Up. Tooting S.W. Pinner
Prof. W.A. Herdman
Univ. Coll. L'pool
Croxteth Lodge S. (Sefton Pk)
E.W.L. Holt
Whitworth
Windsor Terrace
104 Elm Park Gardens London S.W.
New Clee
Grimsby

Fig. 7 Ugly little facts in Haddon's little black book: Haddon recorded contact details for Huxley and Hyde in an address book for people with whom he was in regular contact (© CUL: HP F1 CUL).

Huxley's details have been crossed out, a detail that suggests that the book was in use at the time of Huxley's death in June 1895, when Haddon invited Hyde to join an expedition to the Aran Islands.

INTRODUCTION

This study started conventionally enough. In 2009, I discovered a photograph of Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940), the Cambridge educated zoologist turned anthropologist, and Charles R. Browne (1867-1931), a medical student in the University of Dublin, Trinity College (TCD), measuring the head of Tom Connelly in the Aran Islands in 1892 (Fig. 1). It was all that was needed to confirm a narrative of an English "head-hunter" searching for Irish aborigines in remote districts on the western edge of the oldest colony in the British Empire at a time of intensified demand for home rule (self-government) and de-colonisation (de-Anglicisation). In 2013, I met Margaret Risbeth, Haddon's granddaughter, in Cambridge. The man she described was not the head-hunter I had imagined. Earlier in the day Aidan Baker, the Haddon Librarian, discovered ten pages of a journal that Haddon kept during his first visit to the Aran Islands in 1890, which are transcribed in Appendix 2. This did not feel like the work of a "head-hunter." Haddon did not refer to measuring the heads of the islanders, although he did comment on their physical appearance:

> The fine upright islanders with their fair hair & white & blue costumes were usually readily distinguishable fr. the men from other places. The Inishmaan (Central Island) men were as a rule larger & darker. The Connemara men had darker hair & wore grey frieze.[2]

One year later, during a search of the old Anatomy building in TCD, I discovered a box of photographs that were taken at the time that Haddon wrote this entry in his journal (Fig. 2, 3, & 4). Some of the photographs document a regatta that Haddon described in the passage quoted above. Indeed, Haddon advised the readers of his journal that the photographs illustrated the islands 'better than I can describe them.'[3] The photographs matched a commentary for a slideshow–transcribed in Appendix 3– that Haddon filed with the pages extracted from his journal. This constituted Haddon's first ethnographic account of the Islands and establishes that he was interested primarily in the ethnical character of the people, that is their dress, mode of life, customs and beliefs, the insularity of their habitat, and evidence of extended habitation.

[2] Haddon.1890. MS of fishing survey journal (Aran Islands), p. 48 (HP F22 CUL). Appendix 2.
[3] *Ibid*., 50

There is nothing in these sources to suggest that he had any interest in the skull measuring business in 1890 and two other documents in the Haddon Papers in Cambridge supported such an interpretation. The first is a letter that Patrick Geddes, (1854–1932), the biologist turned sociologist, wrote in in 1889 in which he welcomed Haddon's decision to become an anthropologist and advised him that 'the skull measuring business'[4] had been superseded by the study of comparative sociology, which he described as 'a great scientific movement' that was led by anarchists associated with the Paris Commune of 1871. The letter is transcribed in Appendix 1. The second document is a memorandum that James G. Frazer (1854–1941), a classical scholar who was interested in the anthropological problem of religion, drafted in response to a decision by Cambridge University to appoint a craniologist to the first teaching post in anthropology, replacing Haddon who had been teaching anthropology on a freelance basis since 1893. A photograph of the memorandum is reproduced in Fig. 3.7. Frazer portrayed Haddon as an ethnologist whose study of 'the mental, moral and social aspects of primitive man' (Frazer, Hill *et al.*, 1899) represented a methodological break with the accepted constitution of anthropology as a science that was limited to the study of the physical side of humans. Reading between the lines, it was clear that Frazer acknowledged the political implications of that break: that Haddon might be regarded by the University as unacceptably radical in attitude and practice.

Frazer's memorandum suggests that Haddon had taken the advice that Geddes proffered ten years earlier, so why was Haddon measuring heads in the Aran Islands in 1892? Furthermore, if Haddon was operating as a craniologist in 1892, why would Fazer represent him as an ethnologist–the opposite of a craniologist–and why would the General Board of Cambridge University regard him as unacceptably radical? Those questions framed the research that is presented in this thesis, which concludes (a) that Haddon was a post-evolutionist who developed a politically radical and formally innovative ethnographic practice in Ireland between 1890 and 1895 and (b) that this brought him into conflict with the anthropological establishment in England and blocked his path to a career in disciplinary anthropology in Cambridge. That conflict forms a basic narrative around which two other arguments are developed. The first is that Haddon was an anti-colonial activist who was radicalised in the

[4] Geddes to Haddon, December 11 [1889] (HP F3 CUL).

Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea in 1888 and spent the next decade working toward a radical reconstruction of the institution of anthropology in Ireland and England, creating a hybrid of utopian communalism, anarchist geography, physical anthropology, sociology and folk-lore that I refer to as Anglo-Irish anthropology. The second is that Haddon developed a photo-ethnographic theory and practice that represents a singular modernist achievement in anthropology.

Murderous little facts

Post-evolutionist, anti-colonial, radical, and modernist are not terms that are usually associated with Haddon, who is represented in histories that are framed by a conventional preoccupation with race bracketed by evolutionism and imperialism as an evolutionist zoologist who developed an imperial model for ethnology in Britain and organised an anthropological expedition to Oceania that opened a practical route to the development of modern anthropology *by others* (see Kuklick 2008, 139 for instance). Joan Leopold detected a 'determination' (Leopold & Stocking 1991, 315) to establish evolutionism and its derivatives as *the* dominant paradigm in George W. Stocking's 1987 study of *Victorian Anthropology* and I would argue, that her analysis could be applied to key works that followed from Henrika Kuklick (1991 and 2008), James Urry (1993) and Stocking (1995). As a consequence the events described in Geddes's letter and Frazer's memorandum have been forgotten, in the sense that Guy Beiner uses to the term to describe the obsolescence of events in preferred histories that are necessarily selective (Beiner 2006).

Recalling the "forgotten" events of Anglo-Irish anthropology involved a painstaking reconstruction of (a) the events that followed Haddon's decision to become an anthropologist and (b) the development of his understanding of the practice and purpose of anthropology thereafter. This was a necessarily historicist process, involving a multi-layered "Irish" reading of the Haddon Papers and related records, including photographic collections in Dublin, Cambridge and London and online archives like the Biodiversity Heritage Library (BAAS), the proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Folklore Society (Taylor and Francis), and the British Library (British Newspaper Archive) amongst others. Painstaking is used here to reflect the fact that, when I began my research in 2013, Irish papers were uncatalogued and some files looked like they had not been opened since Haddon's day. The first task was to organise the papers and related records around key events

and key documents, the most important of which are included here as appendices (1-5) and facsimiles (Figs. 3.4, 3.7, and 5.3 for instance). This amounted to a virtual reconstruction of the "Irish" component of the Haddon archive, a process that involved several revisions over a four-year period.

This research produced many new and *forgotten* facts that exposed a disconnect between the archive and a historiography of anthropology that was heavily influenced by the evolutionist arguments of Kuklick in *The Savage within* (1991) and Stocking in *After Tylor* (1995), the latter being particularly influential in an Irish context. These are, after all, the most cited texts dealing with the history of anthropology in this period.[5] Chris Renwick, whose 2012 study of the origins of British sociology provided a model of sorts for my research, recalled a story that Francis Galton recounted and can be summarised as follows: Galton described a conversation in which Herbert Spencer claimed to have written a tragedy. Thomas Henry Huxley retorted that it had to be a 'beautiful theory, killed by a nasty ugly little fact.' (Galton 1908, 258; Renwick 2009, 36). I have adopted this as the primary rhetorical device of this thesis, but adapted it thus: there are plenty of murderous little facts in the Haddon Papers and associated records that can be used to kill off conventionally evolutionist histories of anthropology.

Old Tropes, New Histories

Conventional, in this context, is used as shorthand for a historiography that (a) was framed by tropes built around evolutionary/colonial perspectives, (b) represented Malinowski's 1922 exposition of his ethnographical method as marking

[5] Taking the metrics of Google Scholar as a guide, Kuklick's social history of anthropology has been cited most. I checked the metrics in November 2016 and again in May 2019. The figures for 2016 are given in brackets. The difference between 2016 and 2019 is expressed as a per centage. Kuklick's *The Savage Within* (1991) had 681 recorded citations (496, +42%). Stocking's *The Ethnographers Magic* (1983) has been cited 390 times (353 +10%). Stocking's *After Tylor* (1995) was cited 604 times (486, +24%). James Urry's *Before Social Anthropology* (1993) was cited 108 times. These figures need to be treated with some caution. All the books cover the period from mid to late nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century. Haddon is one of many anthropologists considered by the authors. By comparison Quiggin's biography (1942) was cited 73 times (67, +9%). The figure for Quiggin is suggestive of two possibilities. One, there is much less interest in Haddon. Two, that these historians have replaced Quiggin as the primary interpreters of Haddon's life and work. My reading of these histories suggests the latter.

the beginning of modern anthropology, and (c) treated Haddon's work in Ireland as irrelevant to his development as anthropologist. The tropes–understood here as historiographical representations that are conventionally employed as compressed versions of complex arguments–include taking anthropology out of the armchair, salvage anthropology, the evolutionist's creed and anthropology as the handmaiden of empire among others. These tropes articulate–as in connect the various parts of a skeleton–accounts that apply Thomas Kuhn's idea of the paradigmatic shift (see Kuhn 1975) to the development of disciplinary anthropology in the aftermath of the 1898 Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits, setting up a *conventional* opposition between evolutionary ethnology and social anthropology. This is most evident in *After Tylor* by Stocking (1995) and Kuklick's contribution to *A New History of Anthropology* (2008).

The influence of Stocking's historiography can be detected in many texts, from Emilie de Brigard's treatment of Haddon in her 1995 essay on "The History of Ethnographic Film" (de Brigard in Hockings (ed.) 1995) to Diarmuid Ó Giolláin's 2017 treatment of Haddon in his introduction to *Irish Ethnologies* (Ó Giolláin (ed.) 2017*)*. Indeed, Ó Giolláin's essay represents the accumulation of a strand of scholarship that Greta Jones instigated in her 1998 essay on "Contested Territories: Alfred Cort Haddon, Progressive Evolutionism and Ireland." (Jones 1998). Jones applied Stocking's analysis to a post-colonial treatment of the conflict between evolutionary ethnology and cultural nationalism in Ireland at the close of the nineteenth century. This, I propose, is based on a misreading by Stocking of Haddon's correspondence with Henry Havelock Ellis in 1890, one of a number of factual errors that Stocking made in relation to Haddon's work in Ireland. I am not the first to question Stocking's interpretation of primary sources. Leopold, for instance, concludes her review of *Victorian Anthropology* by arguing that Stocking failed to grasp the value of 'the modernity of some other periods prior to the 20th century' (Leopold & Stocking 1991, 315). Leopold also cites structural flaws–second hand conclusions, selective use of authors, and vague references (*ibid.*, 316)–but the real problem, by my reading of Leopold, was Stocking's *determination* to establish evolutionism as the dominant paradigm in Victorian anthropology.

Leopold's critique may have been forgotten as Stocking became a 'doyen of the anthropological past' (Urry 1989, 364) who had 'an enormous impact on the way anthropologists see themselves and their profession' (Geertz 1999, 305), but

alternative histories of anthropology have been gathering momentum. These are engaged with questions of modernity before and beyond Malinowski and include David Shankland's 2014 collection of essays on Edvard Westermarck (1862-1939). Shankland's treatment of Westermarck's philosophical approach to ethnology and its application in the space between the emerging disciplines of anthropology and sociology in the 1890s has interesting parallels with the treatment of Haddon in this thesis: Haddon and Westermarck disrupt linear models of the progression from evolutionism to diffusionism and functionalism, suggesting that anthropology in the 1890s was far a more heterodox and contested affair than that which is represented in *conventional* histories. Leopold, it is worth noting, also acknowledged the '"culturological thinking"' (*ibid*., 316) of the *philosophes* (Herder, Vico, Von Humboldt), the *Ideologues* (de Tracy, Cabanis, Volney, Garat, Ginguené, Daunou, Siéyès et al), and 'other writers of the enlightenment.' (*ibid*.). Han F. Vermeulen, a historian who has worked with Shankland, situated the development of ethnology and ethnography in the work of the German *philosophes* in *Before Boas* (2015). Indeed, Shankland and Vermuelen were instrumental in reviving a network devoted to the history of anthropology (see Vermeulen 2015A) and the History of Anthropology Network (HOAN) has undertaken a wider review of Pre-Malinowskian ethnography for the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) conference scheduled for Lisbon in 2020. James Urry, a contemporary of Stocking and Kuklick, is active in HOAN. Other historians have contributed histories that complicate conventional narratives. Sankar Muthu, for instance, addressed the anti-imperialist, political philosophies of Diderot, Kant, and Herder in *Enlightenment against Empire* (2003), a text that influenced Federico Ferretti's 2017 study of the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1859-1899), whose ethnographic work in the Amazon had many and striking similarities to Haddon's work in the Torres Strait and Ireland.

This thesis represents an addition to this body of scholarship, albeit focussing on a much smaller and overlooked epistemic landscape: the relationship between the skull measuring business and experimental ethnographic fieldwork in Ireland at the beginning of the 1890s. That relationship was defined by two intertwined conflicts. In the first, "physical" and "cultural" factions fought for control of organised anthropology in England. In the second, pro-Government and anti-colonial actors competed for control of the emerging field of Anglo-Irish anthropology. These constitute the forgotten spaces of Anglo-Irish Anthropology.

“Physicals” versus “Culturals”

With regard to the first of these conflicts, Frazer’s memorandum is a testament to the institutional power of physical anthropologists in 1900, but the very fact of the memorandum reveals the extent to which a cultural faction was prepared to challenge their authority. The “physicals” were presided over by Francis Galton (1822–1911), the statistician and founder of eugenics, John Beddoe, (1826–1911), the physician and anthropologist, and Alexander Macalister (1844-1919), Professor of Anatomy in Cambridge University. The “culturals” were led by Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917), Keeper of the University Museum at Oxford and anthropologist. Tylor presented the Presidential Address at the inaugural meeting of Section H in 1884, but William Henry Flower (1831-1899), an anatomist and Director of Natural History at the British Museum, presided over a meeting marking the tenth anniversary of that event; when the “physicals” were at their most powerful. Tylor challenged their control of the Anthropological Institute in 1893 and a political struggle followed. Changes in the format of the annual Presidential Address made it possible to track this conflict and identify the key players, especially Macalister’s opposition to Haddon.

To complicate matters, Haddon became an ‘ardent folklorist’[6] in 1889, according to his friend George Laurence Gomme, (1853–1916), an executive of London County Council who served as President of the Folk-Lore Society in 1890. Frazer’s definition of ethnology incorporated Haddon’s understanding of folk-lore–he preferred the hyphenated version–and one of the main findings of this thesis is that Haddon used the study of folk and their lore to humanise and socialise anthropology, an argument that is supported by Haddon’s 1895 manifesto on the study of anthropology, a fragment of a larger work that Havelock Ellis commissioned in 1890 and Haddon abandoned in 1891. In this document, a photograph of which is reproduced in Appendix 5, Haddon summarised the theoretical and practical components of Anglo-Irish anthropology as it developed between 1890 and 1895.

Anglo-Irish anthropology

[6] Gomme, G. L. “Annual Address to the Folk-Lore Society, November 26th, 1890.” *Folk-Lore* 2 (1891): 1-30.

Anglo-Irish anthropology is used here as a provocation of sorts. To begin with, the beginning of anthropology in Ireland is generally associated with the Harvard Anthropological Survey in the 1930s, especially Arensberg and Kimball's study of economic and social life in County Clare (Arensberg & Kimball 1940/2001). Hooton's anthropometric study (Hooton & Depurtuis 1955) is less well regarded . John Brannigan, for instance, argued that it represented 'a science of racial typification which used the face as the primary site of racial identification' (Brannigan 2009, 84). Nevertheless, Hooton's study enjoins Haddon in a timeline that runs from the beginning of anthropometric fieldwork–the skull measuring business–to the beginning of disciplinary anthropology in Ireland. Unfortunately, however, the same timeline charts the development of anthropometry as an instrument of scientific racism. That reinforces the perception that anthropology in Ireland in the 1890s was something that was done by "Anglo" to the "Irish," as opposed to the joint enterprise suggested by Anglo-Irish anthropology. The first–instrumental–construction has a historiographical consistency that is based on certain assumptions, the main one being that Haddon and Browne's skull measuring operation during an ethnographic survey of the Aran Islands in 1982 was, primarily, an experiment in scientific racism.

Haddon and Browne were operating as agents of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory. The opening of the Laboratory in June 1891 marked the practical introduction of eugenics into Ireland by a consortium that included Haddon, Galton, Daniel J. Cunningham (1850-1909), Professor of Anatomy in TCD, the Rev Dr Samuel Haughton, Senior Fellow TCD and President of the Royal Irish Academy, and John Kells Ingram (1823-1907), also President of the Royal Irish Academy. The Laboratory features in narratives-historical, cultural and critical–that treat it as an instance of the mobilisation of Imperial ethnology at a time of intensified anti-imperial (home rule) and anti-colonial (cultural nationalism) activism in the oldest colony (see Adams 1993; Stocking 1995; Jones 1998; Kuper 2005; Beiner 2012; Ó Giolláin 2017). These narratives conventionally oppose colonial ethnology with a nationalist search for authenticity in the 'ethnical islands' (Cunningham & Haddon 1892, 36) that Haddon identified as the ethnological field in Ireland, even though Douglas Hyde, the writer and folklorist who set the agenda for cultural nationalism with his call for the de-Anglicisation of Ireland in 1892 (see Hyde 1904), adopted Haddon's formula as a working definition of pre-conquest Ireland in a lecture on folk

lore collection in Cork in 1894.[7] These events situate Anglo-Irish anthropology at the intersection of colonial ethnology and cultural nationalism, a point that coincided geographically with the Aran Islands. The political campaign to end British rule in Ireland cannot be ignored in this context. The Aran Islands were at the centre of a propaganda campaign that the British administration and home rule campaigners waged in the first half of the 1890s. Haddon sided with the home rulers, but Browne and his managers in the Laboratory adopted a pro-government stance and the ethnographic survey of the Aran Islands became politicised as a consequence.

The effect was rather surprising however. The survey became the site of a contest between two very different approaches to the investigation of social conditions using instruments developed within anthropology. Haddon developed anthropo-geography as a method in an effort to incorporate physical anthropology into a new version anthropology, one that synthesised anarchist geography, le Playist social survey, and utopian communalism. Browne, who acted as a proxy for Cunningham, collected data on social conditions that might 'elucidate various social problems' (Flower 1894, 768) in a politically disturbed district. It seems that politics rather than evolution determined the purpose and conduct of the survey and I propose (a) that the ethnographic survey of the Aran Islands indicates that anthropology had entered a post-evolutionist phase and (b) that anthropo-geography represented an attempt by Haddon to radically reconstruct the institution of anthropology.

A Post-evolutionist Anthropology?

This term "post-evolutionist" needs some clarification. In "The Study of Anthropology"[8] Haddon acknowledged that the comparative study of customs, modes of thought and religion could put the survival of folk-lore in advanced societies in context in terms of relative levels of development, but he warned that this method had to be treated with caution because of the danger of placing peoples at different levels of development 'into a rigorously defined order of evolution.'[9] The

[7] Anon. 1894. "Irish Folk Lore." *The Cork Examiner*, November 30: 8.
[8] Haddon. 1895. "The Study of Anthropology." University Extension Journal (no volume information) (HP F4008 CUL).
[9] *Ibid*.

rejection of social evolution is explicit, which is consistent with Haddon's earlier definition of sociology as:

> the study of human communities, both simple and complex, and an attempt is now being made to trace the rise of simple communities and their gradual and *diverse* evolution to the complex civilisations of ancient and modern times.[10]

Haddon was paraphrasing Pyotr Kropotkin (1842-1921), the Russian anarchist living in exile in London, who argued that 'the path to understanding a complex civilization lay through simpler societies' (Maddock 2002, 702). "The Study of Anthropology" illustrates how Haddon, under the guidance of Geddes, had aligned himself with a wider network of reformists and radicals who treated evolution as a human capacity for adaptation that could be harnessed in pursuit of social and political reform over time, a combination of idealism and gradualism that characterised the political programmes of the Fellowship of the New Life and the Fabian Society in England and the anarcho-Solidarist movement in France, to which Haddon was connected through family, friends, and professional networks. Haddon had moved beyond the fact of evolution to a consideration of the implications of evolution for the scientific study of societies in the context of social reconstruction. Haddon had become part of a heterodox reform movement that converged in the emerging science of sociology/anthropology, terms which Havelock Ellis, a key player in Haddon's network, regarded as interchangeable when combined with a revamped version of political economy (Havelock Ellis 1890, 5-6). Haddon was not just a post-evolutionist, he was also a radical.

A Radical?

Geddes, according to Havelock Ellis, [11] told the latter that Haddon wanted to do something about the deplorable condition of anthropology in England and Havelock Ellis wrote to Haddon stating that he had had 'the same object in view.'[12] He asked Haddon to write a general study of anthropology and this collaboration provides a useful vantage point from which to track several strands of reformist thought that pushed Haddon in a radical direction in the 1890s, starting with his

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[10] *Ibid.,* emphasis added.
[11] Havelock Ellis to Haddon May 8, 1890 (HP F3CUL).
[12] *Ibid.,*

family and moving through the network he developed after he told Geddes that he had decided to become an anthropologist.

Caroline Haddon and Margaret (Haddon) Hinton, Haddon's mother's sisters, were active in a reform movement that developed out of eclectic mix of what George Bernard Shaw called 'intellectual proletarians' (MacKenzie 1975, 54). These included extreme Liberals, Comtean positivists, sociologists, anarchists, and, according to MacKenzie, 'Marxists, Georgeites,[13] and Christian Socialists, as well as followers of Ruskin, Morris, and Emerson, spiritualists, psychic researchers, secularists, vegetarians, temperance advocates, and a variety of ethically minded utopians' (*ibid*.). They coalesced around the idea of a united reform programme before agreeing to separate into the utopian Fellowship of the New Life and The Fabian Society, the second of which was dominated by neo-phyte Marxists who were committed to revolutionary action, although it later moved to the political centre and developed into an influential lobby group under the leadership of George Bernard Shaw (*ibid.*, 54-5). The "Miss Haddons"–as Norman MacKenzie called them (*ibid.*, 51)–were close associates of Havelock Ellis (see Weir 2006), although the sisters sided with the political Fabians and he sided with the idealist "New Lifers" (MacKenzie 1975*, 36*).

Havelock Ellis read Haddon's ethnographies of the Torres Strait, where Haddon had been radicalised by the missionary and ethnologist James "Tamate" Chalmers, a nativist who separated evangelism from colonisation and civilisation. His position resembled the anti-colonial programme of the Aborigines Protection Society (APS) in the 1830s, when the APS organised a vigorous political campaign in opposition to 'the devastation perpetrated by British settlers against their conquered non-European inhabitants.' (APS 1838 quoted in Morrell and Thackray 1891, 284). Haddon's first ethnographies–in text, illustration, photography, slideshows, and an exhibition of artefacts in the British Museum–recorded the devastating social and cultural cost of the colonisation of the Torres Strait, making it clear that this had implications for the practice and purpose of anthropology. Havelock Ellis took note and commissioned a study of anthropology[14] that Haddon

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[13] Followers of Henry George (1839-1897), economist, social theorist, and author of *Progress and* (1879).
[14] Havelock Ellis to Haddon, May 8, 1890 (HP F3CUL).

interpreted as a work of 'practical value'[15] to the reconstruction of the institution of anthropology.

Geddes added the mutualism of Kropotkin to the mix, an influence that is very apparent in an early ethnographic essay that Haddon wrote for *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*. Haddon paraphrased Kropotkin's work on geography (1885, 942-3), declaring that the main task of ethnography was to create 'an intimate and friendly acquaintance with savages [*that*] breaks down many prejudices.' (Haddon 1890A, 567). Geddes, as stated, also introduced Haddon to the 'great scientific movement'[16] that was gaining momentum in France. I have interpreted this as the Solidarist movement. Solidarism was a concept that developed into a political movement in the late-19th-century in France (Allman 2012, 4). Leon Bourgeois (1851-1925), the French reformer and politician (see Beland 2009), formalised the idea of social solidarity in 1896 (Bourgeois 1998) as a third way between the individualism of liberalism and the collectivism of socialism (Hayward 1959, 261-284). Hayward, however, described "Solidarism" as a protean term that encompassed a range of economic, social, and philosophical thought and practice and I have coined the term "anarcho-Solidarism" to reflect the influence that anarchists had on syncretic political philosophies of Geddes, Havelock Ellis and Haddon.

The question here is whether Haddon can be accurately described as a radical? By 1890, Haddon had been exposed to a range of utopian, socialist and anarchist thought, which he translated into a series of *practical* ethnographic experiments in Ireland between 1890 and 1895. These were designed to effect a reconstruction of anthropology, which he described in "The Study of Anthropology" in 1895 as a combination physical anthropology plus sociology and folk-lore, with the emphasis firmly on sociology and folk-lore. These experiments were noted by other reformers in organised anthropology. In 1894, William Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), an archaeologist and Egyptologist, asked Haddon to join him in a debate on the consequences of colonialism for other civilisations. Haddon agreed and launched a blistering attack on British imperialism and the political culture of organised anthropology at a public meeting of Section H in Ipswich in 1895. I have described this as an insurgency and propose that the backlash in the press and the

[15] Haddon to Havelock Ellis, May 14,1p890 (HP F 3 CUL). See Appendix 1.
[16] Geddes to Haddon, December 11 [1889] (HP F3CUL). Appendix 1.

anthropological establishment marks the point when Haddon became known as a radical, a reputation that ultimately blocked his appointment to the first teaching post in anthropology that Cambridge University created in 1898.

Describing Haddon as a radical and claiming that he was radicalised is, however, complicated by the changes in the way of both words are read. A pre-2004 Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defined the adjective as meaning 'affecting the root … desiring radical reform, (Hist.) || belonging to extreme section of Liberal party'. The dictionary defined the noun as '(Polit.) as a person holding radical views or belonging to radical party.' Mohammed Elshimi analysed current definitions in a post-Foucault investigation of discursive structures or *epistemes* (Elshimi 2017, 20), including the widespread adoption of "radicalisation" as a term. He tracked the way additional meaning was attached to both terms after 2005, culminating in our current understanding of radical and radicalisation as inextricably associated with extremism and terrorism.

The original definition is used here. I have not found any evidence that Haddon was a member of an extreme section of Liberal party, the Fabians or any other political movement. Nonetheless, his early ethnographies, as Havelock Ellis noted, reflected the radically anti-colonial influence of Chalmers. Also, Huxley rejected a critique of the Imperial Institute that Haddon wrote in 1891(Appendix 4) on the basis that it 'would not have the slightest chance of being taken in hand by the Government'.[17] Furthermore, his formulation of anthropo-geography was heavily influenced by anarchist thought. Finally, the anti-colonial speech that Haddon delivered in Ipswich in 1895 drew heavy criticism in the press. A correspondent for *The Daily News*, for instance, descried it 'kind of talk [that] had no connection whatever with science.'[18] These examples establish a pattern of radically anti-colonial and anarchist thought that proved unacceptable to Government and the scientific establishment. Haddon can, accordingly, be accurately described as 'a person holding radical views' (OED 1982). Radical, when used as an adjective, was defined as 'characterised by departure from tradition, innovative or progressive' (*ibid)*, which was the underlying theme of the memorial that Frazer wrote in 1889 (Fig. 3.7).

[17] Huxley to Haddon, January 1, 1892 (HP 5061 CUL).
[18] Special Correspondent. 1895. "Anthropologists and Missionaries." *The Daily News*, Sept, 1895, 4 & 5 (HP F5408 CUL).

To conclude, Haddon's collaboration with Havelock Ellis plays havoc with this aspect of conventional histories, especially those that place Haddon on the wrong side of the shift in paradigms that produced modern/social anthropology and separated measurement and classification from ethnography and theory. It has to be remembered here that A.R. Radcliffe-Brown is recorded by a number of historians as citing Geddes, Havelock Ellis, and Kropotkin as important influences as he sought to re-orientate and restructure anthropology (Langham 1981, 371; Stocking 1995, 304-5; Maddock 2002, 702). Why then is Radcliffe-Brown's social anthropology conventionally represented as a radical–politically and practically–break with Haddon's evolutionary anthropology?

Leaving Haddon's politics aside, his most radical innovation–as in departure from tradition–was his preference for photography over text, for social documentary photography over anthropometric portraiture, and activism over illustration. Each preference was a function of a search for a new form of ethnography that materialised an anthropology that was reconstructed in line with utopian and radical theories of social reform and, on that basis, I propose that Haddon photo-ethnographic theory and practice represents a singular modernist achievement in anthropology.

A Modernist?

The key word here is theory, that is Haddon's theory of sympathetic knowledge. Haddon believed that performed, visual ethnographies had the capacity to make geographically remote civilisations meaningful in the metropolitan centre and thereby dissipate prejudice and remove the justification for the destruction of less developed societies under the pretext of civilisation, a process that Haddon believed was driven by racism as consequence of ignorance. That was the core argument of his critique of the Imperial Institute (Appendix 4). At the same time, Haddon had experimented with photo-ethnography in the Aran Islands and developed the slideshow as a method (Appendix 2 and 3). He published a manifesto in the third edition of *Notes and Queries* (Haddon 1899), the only major revision in the field manual for ethnographers and other travellers who were interested in collecting anthropologically useful information. Haddon's formal experimentation culminated in the application of cutting-edge cinematographic and phonographic recording technology to a transcultural investigation of the relationship between children's games "at home" and secular or ceremonial dance "overseas." Haddon, in other

words, applied the most advanced representational technologies–audio and visual–to the investigation of an anthropological puzzle, testing Kropotkin's theory that 'the path to understanding a complex civilization lay through simpler societies.' (Maddock 2002, 702). Back in the metropolitan centre, Haddon created an engaged ethnography in which the magic lantern became an instrument of anarchist thought and the principal weapon in his anti-colonial activism in Ireland.

Terry Eagleton, according to Gregory Castle (2001, 2), argued that the conditions for modernism were created by a confrontation between disruptive new technologies and traditional cultures in the politically unstable edgelands of *ancien regimes* and empires (Eagleton 1995, 274). Castle used Eagleton's definition to set up an opposition between colonial anthropology and modernist literature in Ireland, building his argument around a comparison between Haddon and John Millington Synge (1871-1909), the travel writer and playwright, and their respective ethnographic accounts of the Aran Islands. Castle's analysis is one of many critical and cultural studies that consider Haddon in the context of the development of cultural nationalism and Anglo-Irish literary modernism (see for instance Messenger 1966; Jones 1998, Ashley 2001; Kiberd 2000; Castle 2001; Carville, 2007; Brannigan 2015; Ó Giolláin 2017). A full analysis of this scholarship is beyond the scope of this study, but Castle's work serves as an example of the way Haddon's ethnographic experiments in the Aran Islands are represented as the antithesis of the development of modernism in an Irish context. I argue against this, using Eagleton's standard as the basis for claiming that Haddon was a modernist amongst anthropologists.

Some New Narratives

That proposal encapsulates the methodology employed here: the accumulation of disregarded facts and the reconstruction of forgotten events in Haddon's journey to becoming an ethnologist in Cambridge University. The main themes can be summarised as follows. One, that the political campaign for home rule created the conditions for the emergence of a radical folk-lore movement in Ireland in the early 1890s. Two, that this movement was integrated with a European political movement that was led by stateless anarchists, socialists, and feminists who regarded anthropology/sociology–the post-evolutionist study of social formation–as a route to radical social and political reform. Three, that this became a significant challenge to

the politically conservative faction that dominated Anglo-Irish anthropology in the 1890s. Four, that Haddon's commitment to a reformist agenda destroyed his career as a government scientist in Ireland and blocked his route to an alternative career in anthropology in Cambridge. Five, that Haddon's principal innovation was the use of the magic lantern as an instrument of anti-racism activism. Six, his adoption of cutting-edge representational technologies constituted a singular modernist achievement in anthropology in the late nineteenth century.

That these arguments seriously disrupt conventional histories is, in many ways, self-evident but that is not the point. The point is that the scale of that disruption releases a cascade of alternative narratives, too many for this thesis, which concentrates on a very short period in the early development of disciplinary anthropology. The principal narrative begins with Haddon's first visit to the Aran Islands in 1890, passes through his involvement in the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory between 1891 and 1893, and terminates in 1895, when the many strands that shaped his formation as an ethnologist cohere in two events. One, the extraordinary anti-colonial speech that he delivered in Section H–Anthropology. Two, his return to the Aran Islands with the Irish Field Club Union. This arc intersects with other narratives that begin before and end after this period. For example, Haddon's first visit to the Aran Islands took place in the immediate aftermath of his radicalisation in the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea in 1888 and, furthermore, has to be considered in the context of the British Government's response to a political backlash against the renewed threat of famine in the West of Ireland in 1879 and 1880. Likewise, the origins of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory can be traced back to research undertaken separately by Galton–heredity–and Cunningham–physiology–in the mid 1880s, which converged in the establishment of the Laboratory in 1891 before diverging in the firsts ethnographic survey of the Aran Islands in 1892. At the other end of the timeframe, the appointment of a craniologist as the first lecturer in anthropology in Cambridge University in 1898 triggered a reaction that led to Haddon's appointment as an ethnologist in 1900. Finally, Haddon's radicalisation began at home in the 1870s and his interest in visual anthropology can be dated to 1887, when the Rev Samuel MacFarlane (1837-1911), a London Missionary Society (LMS) evangelist and

ethnologist, took issue with Haddon's plan to bring an artist to the Torres Strait in 1888.[19]

The core period has been chosen because it covers Haddon's formal entry into organised anthropology, his engagement with institutional anthropology, and his development of a distinctive methodology that was politically radical and formally innovative. That may have originated in experimental fieldwork undertaken during his first expedition to the Torres Straits and Papua New Guinea in 1888, but it was developed in Ireland between 1890 and 1895. Situating Haddon's innovation in Ireland is not a form of methodological nationalism. This thesis makes it clear that Anglo-Irish anthropology was not a provincial or nationalist enterprise. Haddon used his experience in the Aran Islands to develop an Anglo-Irish network of folklore researchers that was integrated with reformist networks in England and Europe. Europe, in this context, constitutes a geopolitical area because the networks included stateless anarchists like Kropotkin, exiled former Communards like Élisée Reclus, and anarchist-ethnologist-in-exile Élie Reclus.

If, as argued, the Aran Islands were a site of radical experimentation and activism, where does that leave Haddon's involvement in the skull measuring business? The answer to that question lies in the politics of organised anthropology, rather than his background in zoology. I propose to replace a conventional opposition of "evolutionary" ethnology and "cultural" anthropology with a more pragmatic assertion that (a) the interplay of science and politics influenced Haddon's study of the Aran Islands over a five year period and (b) that this produced a practical tension that has its origins in politics rather than science. In other words Haddon got involved in craniology because it was expected of him … if he wished to become an anthropologist in Cambridge.

The problem here is that skull-measuring remains the most visible aspect of his experimental work in the Aran Islands. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that the history of the period–anthropologically speaking–is invariably viewed from the perspective of the 1898 expedition to the Torres Strait. A further complication is the fact that Haddon presented his work on the Aran Islands in a series of slideshows that have left little or no trace in the archive. The result is that the movement it inspired was easily overlooked and just as easily misinterpreted. Correcting this

[19] MacFarlane to Haddon, December 2, 1887 (HP F21/2 CUL).

situation requires the abandonment of evolutionism as the primary determinant of Victorian ethnology in Ireland, a position similar to that adopted by Joan Leopold almost thirty years ago. Instead we need see the desire for social reconstruction, institutional reform, practical innovation and anti-colonial activism as the primary determinant of Anglo-Irish anthropology and the wider movement for scientific, cultural, social and political reconstruction in which it was embedded.

That switch activates a multi-layered narrative the full scope of which is well beyond the space allowed in the current document. Haddon's involvement in Arthur J. Balfour's campaign against home rule, for instance, is worthy of a separate study, especially the way the Aran Islands and Connemara emerged as key battlegrounds in the propaganda war over home rule. James Hack Tuke is particularly interesting in this context. His surveys of food insecurity and chromic unemployment in the West of Ireland in the 1880s created a methodological and political precedent for the ethnographic surveys of the 1890s. The extent to which this provided a methodological armature for the 1898 expedition to the Torres Strait is also worth exploring further. Haddon's involvement in Freemasonry is another story that hasn't been developed.[20] Whether this influenced his commitment to a "moral" anthropology[21] is beyond the scope of this study, but Haddon confided in C. S. Myers that he had need for all his 'philosophy'[22] after Macalister had blocked his appointment in Cambridge in 1899. Whether Haddon was referring to his 'many Masonic degrees'[23] has not been addressed in this thesis. Whether members of the Alma Mater Lodge were active in Frazer's lobby hasn't been developed either. To some extent, Haddon's radicalisation by Geddes and Havelock Ellis covers the shift from biological to philosophical determinism and the question of Freemasonry would add little within the confines of this study.

Havelock Ellis is interesting for two other reasons. Haddon's collaboration with the writer opens the possibility of seeing the emergence of Radcliffe-Brown as an effect of transition rather than rupture: that Haddon left more of an imprint on Radcliffe-Brown than has been acknowledged. Havelock Ellis also links Haddon to

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[20] http://www.irishmasonichistory.com/bro-alfred-cort-haddon.html
[21] Grenville Cole admired Haddon's 'enthusiasm for the *moral side of natural science* …" (Cole to Haddon, July 8, 1901 (HP F3 CUL), emphasis added)
[22] Haddon to Myers, January 27, 1901 (HP F3058 CUL).
[23] Anon. 1940, "Alfred Cort Haddon," *Folklore* 51, 3 (September 1940): 238-240.

Synge. Havelock Ellis made contact with Haddon while he was in Paris in the company of Arthur Symons (1865-1945), the Welsh-born poet and critic. Both men knew William Butler Yeats (1865-1939), the poet, folklore collector, and co-founder of the Irish Literary Theatre. Symons and Yeats travelled to the Aran Islands in 1896 (see Symons 1896), two years before Synge visited the islands for the first time. That makes Haddon and Synge part of the same, extended network. Furthermore, Synge attended a lecture by Haddon in 1887 in which Haddon, according to Synge, 'proved that Hy-Brasil–the supposed Atlantis or submerged continent … never existed.' (Synge quoted in Brannigan 2012, 43). Synge was familiar with the collection of skulls in the TCD, describing them in *The Playboy of the Western World* (Synge 1982, 211) in terms that suggest he had read *Head-hunters, black, white and brown* (Haddon 1901). He was also a keen photographer and, according to John Masefield (1916, 13), built his account of life in the islands around a core of social documentary photographs. This last point is, perhaps, the most relevant. Haddon's slideshows made the Aran Islands visible to a metropolitan audience as early as 1890, when the islands had moved to the centre of the political campaign for home rule and de-colonisation. Jane W. Shackleton (see Corlett 2013) was the first photographer to follow Haddon, but large-scale expeditions by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and the Irish Union of Field Clubs in 1895 illustrate the consequences of that visibility. Lack of space has reduced this topic to a mere footnote in a discussion about the link between Haddon and Hyde, but the cumulative effect of these ugly little facts is that Synge followed Haddon to the Aran Islands.

These examples illustrate the complexity of Anglo-Irish anthropology in the 1890s and the inadequacy of conventional narratives that concentrate on the cultural zoology of Haddon "the head-hunter." That becomes the starting point for a seven part narrative of the skull measuring business and its counterparts, an Anglo-Irish folk-lore movement and unprecedented experiments in social science research in the field. The aim now is to replace conventional accounts of Haddon's contribution to the development of anthropology in the 1890s with a critical "Irish" reading of the Haddon Papers and related records. The objective is to move the debate beyond evolutionist determinants and into the realm of formal innovation, radical social theories, and reformist politics in a post-evolutionist context.

Chapter One presents facts that prove fatal to the historiographical stratagems that have reduced Anglo-Irish anthropology in the 1890s to a function of empire and evolution. This opens the way for another look at how Haddon became an ethnologist in 1900. Haddon is treated as a radical by birth almost, who became an accidental zoologist. Haddon's family were nonconformists who had well-developed links with missionaries and Fabian socialism. It was an unorthodox upbringing that predisposed Haddon to radicalisation during a planned experiment in exploratory anthropology in the Torres Straits and Papua New Guinea in 1888; ten years before the turn-to-the-field narrative that is activated by the armchair trope in conventional histories.

Chapter two deals with anthropology "back home," that is Haddon's entry into organised anthropology in 1889. The scientific study of humans had reached a crossroads at the end of the 1880s. Evolution was becoming orthodox and bio-social theories were changing the nature of the debate. Research provided social reformers with enough evidence to reject biological determinants and argue that cooperation rather than competition was the key to survival, ushering in a post-evolutionist phase in the natural and social sciences. Haddon's engagement with Geddes, Havelock Ellis and the anarcho-Solidarist movement is used to track the development of a reformist movement within organised anthropology in the 1890s.

Chapter Three transposes the personal process of becoming a radical ethnologist on to the conservative political culture of organised anthropology in the 1890s. A resurgence in socio-cultural thought triggered a political struggle between "physical" and "cultural" factions. The chapter pivots on a forgotten confrontation between the factions in Ipswich in 1895. It was organised by Flinders Petrie, Haddon and their allies. It has the appearance of an insurgency breaking cover and the scientific establishment reacted accordingly. Haddon found his way into disciplinary anthropology blocked, but Frazer brokered a deal and Haddon became an ethnologist, a compromise that affirmed the radical nature of his work in Ireland.

Chapter Four deals with the principal projects that are associated with Haddon in Ireland, the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory and the Irish Ethnographic Survey. The survey was predicated on an unprecedented distinction between race and ethnicity. That triggers an investigation of the consortium behind the Laboratory and the development of anthropometry in anthropology. Galton and Cunningham emerge as key players in a complex network of actors, some of whom were on opposing

sides of debates about eugenics and sociology. Somewhat unexpectedly, the survey emerges as an unprecedented contest between two forms of sociology.

Chapter Five enters the field. It considers the practical operation of the Irish Ethnographic Survey in the Aran Islands in 1892 and the report published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1893. Differences between Haddon and Browne manifest wider conflicts in anthropology, sociology, and politics and the result is a failed experiment that, nonetheless, produced some interesting results. Cunningham emerges as a pro-government social scientist who captured the survey, while Haddon insinuated a radical ethnography into the text in the form of a single photograph.

Chapter Six develops this claim by proposing that Haddon's experiments in photo-ethnography constituted a modernist project. The argument pivots on his adoption of the magic lantern as an instrument of subversive, anti-racism activism. It will be argued that this became a separate practice, that is photography *as* anthropology. There is compelling evidence that Haddon preferred images to text. He wrote to his son in 1885 and the letter makes its meaning primarily through pictographs. This became a template for a formally innovative ethnographic practice that he developed in the field. It expressed a new form of visuality and constituted a fifth field of anthropology.

Chapter Seven maps this field, using anthropometry and social documentary photography as polar opposites in a scheme that compares the photographs published in the ethnographic reports with those archived in the albums assembled by Browne in 1897. Subtle differences emerge and these divide the archive between Haddon's radical project and the pro-government sociological approach favoured by Cunningham. That leads into an investigation of Haddon's involvement in the Anglo-Irish folklore movement, a truly "forgotten" space historiographically speaking. This concentrates on Haddon's collaboration with Clara Patterson, which anticipates Haddon's most radical and modernist achievement: his investigation of transcultural ritual using the most advanced representational technologies available at a time of extraordinary social disruption and cultural loss on the edge of empire.

This study concludes that Haddon was an English radical, an accidental zoologist, and a pragmatic anthropologist (skull measurer) whose real interest was the art of photography. That narrative requires an objective shift from evolutionism to a radical political philosophy as the driving force behind Haddon's involvement in Anglo-Irish anthropology between 1890 and 1895. Haddon was a formally inventive and politically disruptive presence in organised anthropology. He was motivated by

the necessity of engaging with other civilisations “overseas” and making them meaningful “at home.” That brought him into conflict with a deeply conservative scientific establishment. He was, was, it seems, a modernist amongst skull measurers and his achievements–as an engaged photo-ethnographer and human rights activist–place the capacity of anthropologists to respond meaningfully to issues of globalised trade, habitat destruction and genocide at the heart of debates about the relevance of academic anthropology in 2020.

CHAPTER ONE
MURDEROUS LITTLE FACTS
(PLATES)

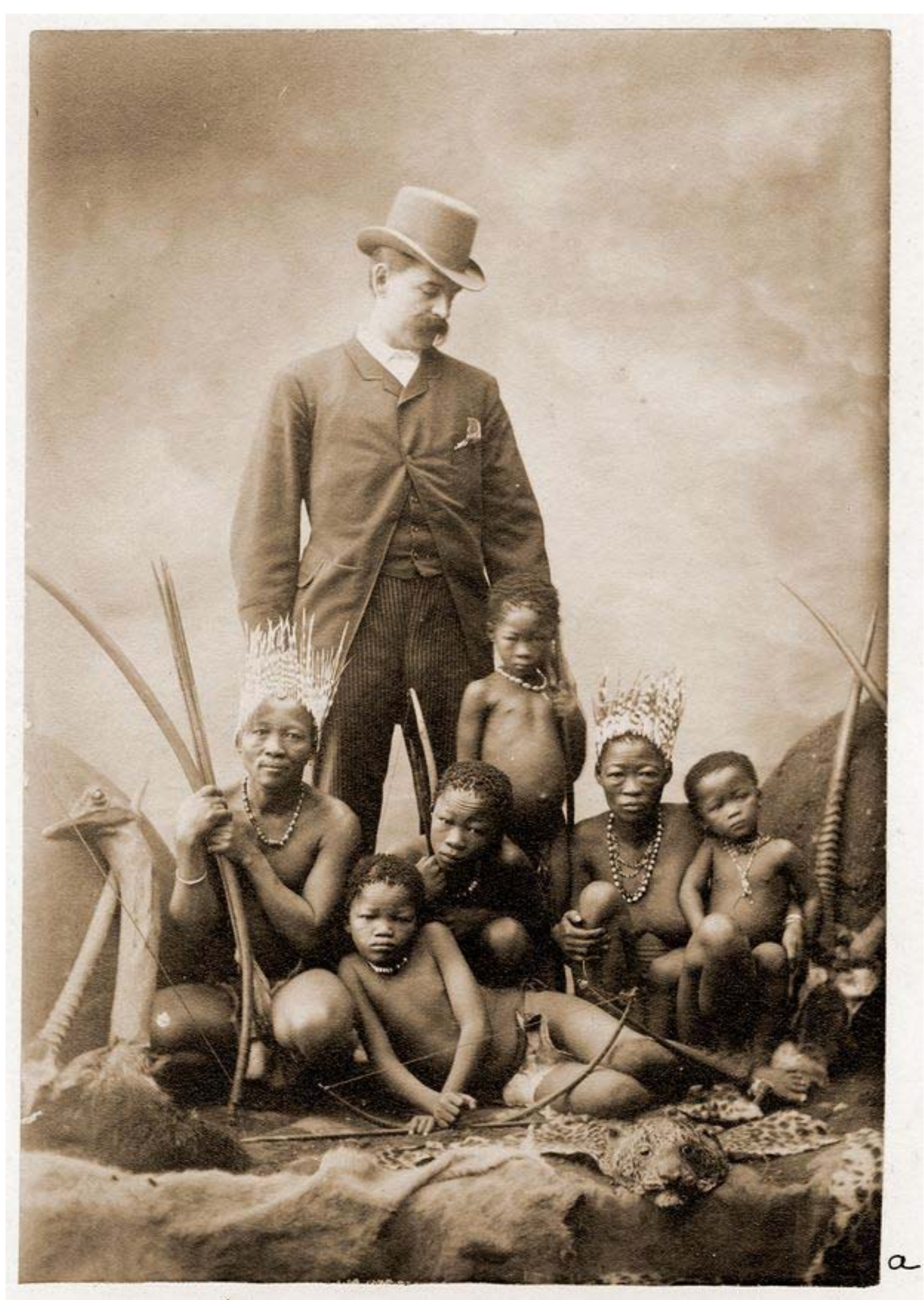

Fig. 1.1 Anon., c. 1884, *Farini's Earthmen* (exhibited in the Royal Aquarium in London in 1884), print. The person in the background is possibly William Hunt, who traded as Guillermo Farini (© Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford University: 1988.2114.1).

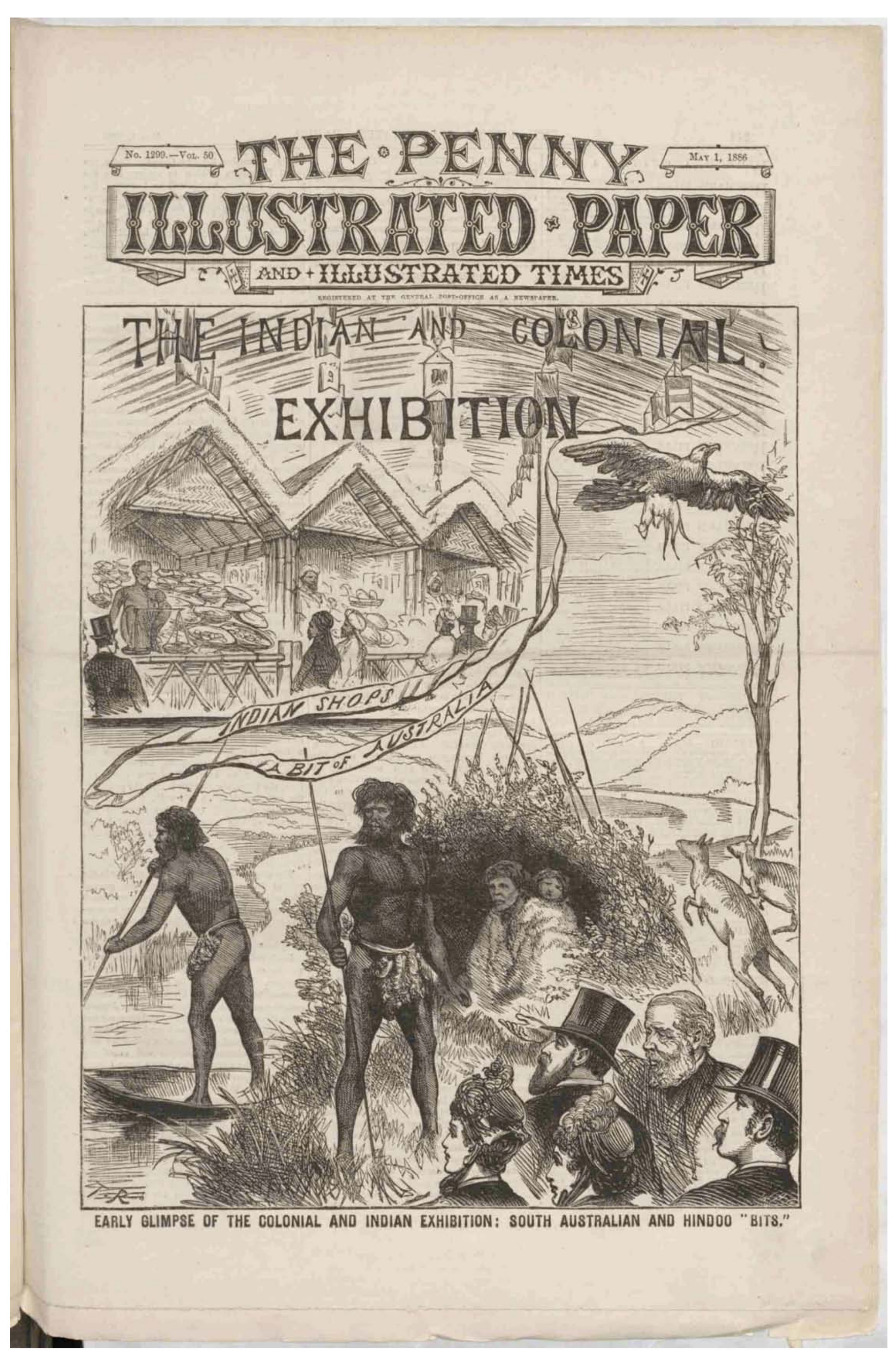

Fig. 1.2 Anon., 1886, "Early Glimpse of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition: South Australian and Hindoo Bits," *The Penny Illustrated Paper*, May 1: Cover (© British Library Newspaper Archive: BL_0000693_18860501_0001).

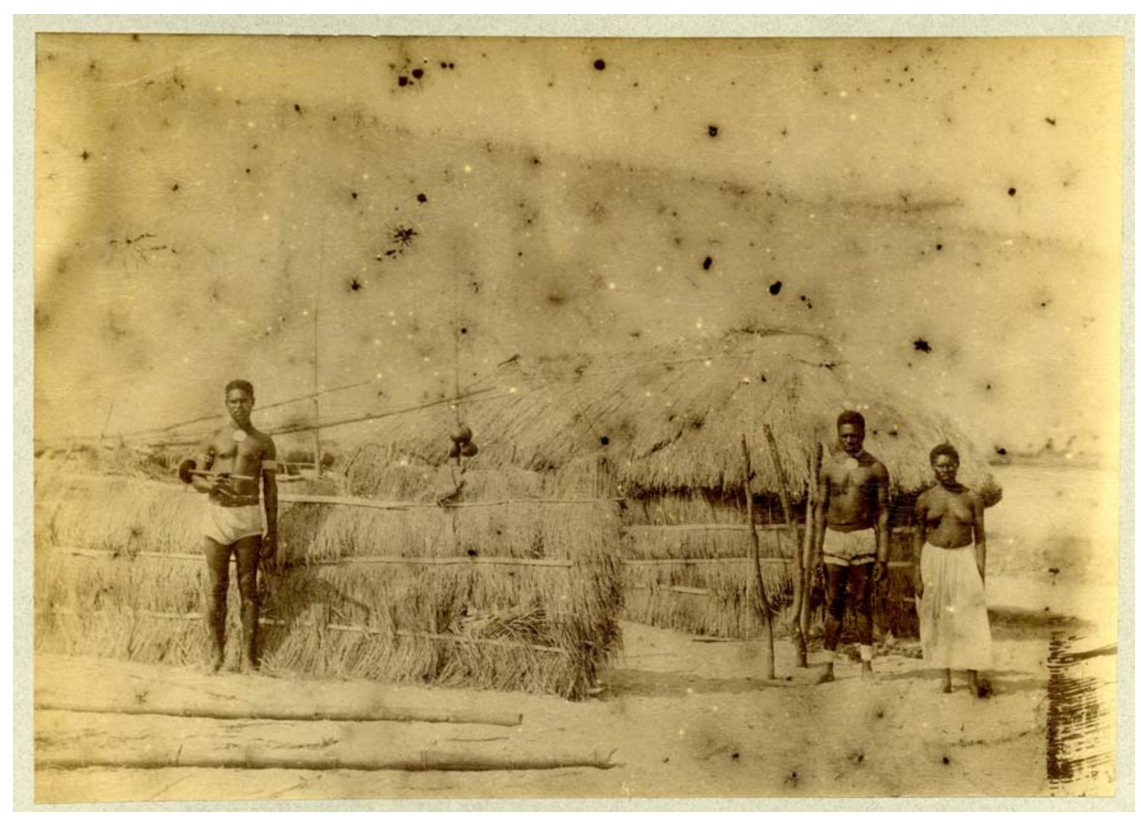

Fig. 1.3 Haddon, 1887, Tud, Torres Strait Island, albumen print (© British Museum: Oc,B41.130c).

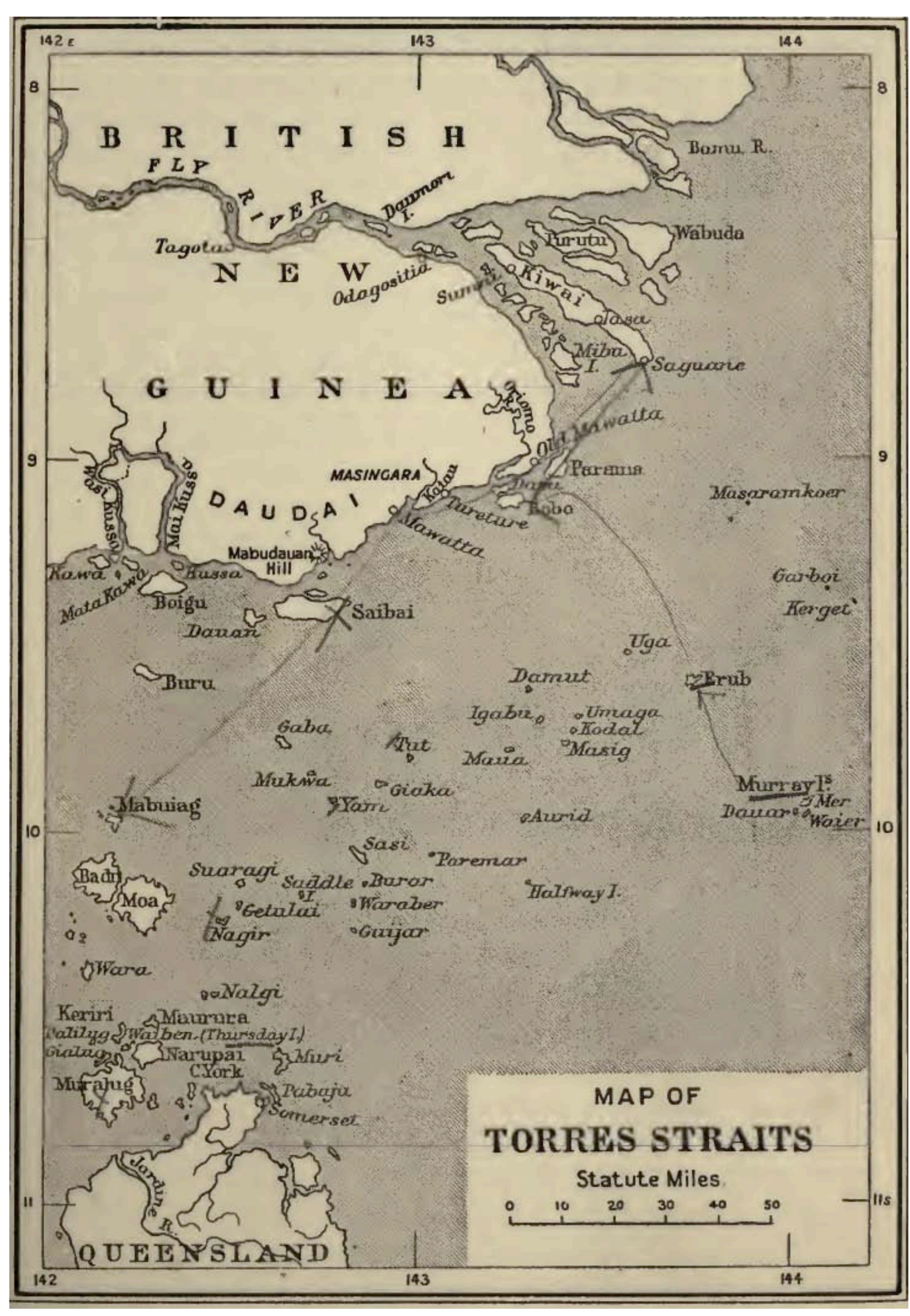

Fig. 1.4 Haddon, 1901, Map of the Torres Strait (Haddon 1901, 13).

CHAPTER ONE
MURDEROUS LITTLE FACTS

I am very glad indeed that you are going into Anthropology,
but I am sure it is your human sympathy & power of interpretation which is leading you, & not the mere desire of measuring skulls. It is my fancy to ask how?

Patrick Geddes writing to Alfred Cort Haddon, 11 December, 1889.[24]

The End of History?

By the end of the nineteenth century, evolution was widely accepted as a fact of life in British society. It was a remarkable transformation and the implications were felt far beyond the sphere of the natural sciences. Evolution had framed the emergence of anthropology as an organised science, but the study of humans was undergoing its own transformation. Anthropology had become distinct from both geography and biology and increasing contact with other civilisations presented a diverse and divided anthropological community with a new set of problems.

The extermination of the Tasmanian population in the 1820s focussed attention on the moral consequences of colonialism. The Zulu victory in the battle of Isandlwana in 1879 had a profound effect on British attitudes to “savages,” the “natural” superiority of British “civilisation,” and the manifest destiny of the Anglo-Saxon “race.” William Leonard Hunt (1838-1929), trading as the Great Farini, exploited the culture shock by exhibiting “friendly” Zulus in the Royal Aquarium in London in 1879 (Fig. 1.1). In 1886, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London attracted 1.5 million visitors (Fig 1.2). Francis Galton, the President of the Anthropological institute of Great Britain and Ireland promoted the exhibition as an opportunity for anthropologists to meet ‘men from all parts of the Empire who are familiarly acquainted with its native races…’ (Galton 1887, 175). Mr. Webb, of the Cape Colony, exhibited three male members of the Bantu race alongside characteristic specimens of Bantu workmanship, including some old-fashioned fetish objects and musical instruments, which 'were played on by the natives.' (Galton,1887: 175).

[24] Geddes to Haddon, December 11, [1889] (HP F3 CUL).

Two years later, Haddon travelled to the Torres Strait to study coral reefs. He also planned to undertake an anthropological investigation of the islanders, including an exploratory expedition to "uncivilised" territories in Papua New Guinea. Haddon returned to London in 1889 and presented his research (Fig. 1.3) to an anthropological community whose access to "native races" had been limited to a form of human circus or trade show. The excitement caused is best summed up by George Laurence Gomme, a founder member of the Folk-Lore who served as its President in 1890. Gomme congratulated the Society on its capture of Haddon, who, he declared, had abandoned natural science and became an ardent folklorist.[25]

Haddon also attracted the attention of reformists who had taken an interest in the sociological potential of anthropology. They included Patrick Geddes and Henry Havelock Ellis. Geddes was an evolutionary biologist who pioneered bio-social research and applied it to urban design in a form of applied sociology that he called civics (see Mellor 2008). Havelock Ellis was a writer and sexologist who argued that evolution–as a theory of the human capacity to adapt–presented an unprecedented opportunity for radical social and political reform (see Havelock Ellis 1890, 1-33).

Geddes wrote to Haddon in 1889–the letter is quoted above and transcribed in full in Appendix 1–and welcomed his decision to become an anthropologist, but posed a question that points to a debate about the practice and purpose of anthropology: how, Geddes asked Haddon, would he become an anthropologist? That question frames the opening section of this thesis, albeit as a more general inquiry into how one became an anthropologist in 1889. In this context, the question marks the point when the focus began to shift from race–the biological foundation of physical anthropology–to ethnicity–the cultural foundation of socio-cultural anthropology. In practical terms, the moment was registered as a shift from the anatomical study of human variation to the study of social and cultural diversity.

Geddes introduced Haddon to the work of Kropotkin. Kropotkin's theory that less developed societies held the key to understanding more complex social organisation (Kropotkin 1885, 942-3) blurred the distinction between "savage" and "civilised" society. It also undermined evolutionist justifications for civilisation through colonisation. That, I propose, split British and Irish anthropology in the

[25] Gomme, G. L. "Annual Address to the Folk-Lore Society, November 26th, 1890." *Folk-Lore* 2 (1891):1-30.

1890s and Frazer described the split in a memorial that he drafted in 1899, which twenty one scientists and scholars in Cambridge University signed (Frazer, Hill *et al*. 1899; Fig 3.7). Frazer, as stated, was making the case for Haddon to be appointed as an ethnologist after a craniologist had been appointed to the first teaching post in anthropology in Cambridge University. Ethnology, according to Frazer, referred to the comparative study of vernacular culture including social organisation, law, and beliefs. It incorporated Haddon's work on folk-lore in Ireland. Anthropology "proper" referred the anatomical study of the natural history of the human species, what Geddes described as the skull measuring business.[26] The split had a political dimension, the unspoken subtext of Frazer's memorandum: ethnologists and sociologists were more likely to be aligned with the political left, anatomists and anthropologists–one and the same thing in many cases–with the right.

This outline contradicts much of what has been written about Haddon. He is consistently represented as an evolutionist in the classic Darwinian sense (see Kuklick 1991; Adams 1993; Stocking 1995; Jones 1998; Kuper 2005; Beiner 2012; Ó Giolláin 2017). His training as a zoologist and his association with Huxley are cited as factors that made him amenable to physical anthropology and a Darwinian approach to an emerging science of culture. That places him on the wrong side of the turn towards modern, social anthropology and, in the context of this study, the cultural wing of the home rule movement in Ireland in the 1890s.

Accordingly, I propose to disregard most of what has been written about Haddon's entry into anthropology in conventional histories of the discipline, which I have defined as histories of anthropology that were structured around a series of tropes that have privileged one view of the tension between evolutionary and social anthropology in the 1890s (see pages 4-7). These tropes activate what Michael Taussig defined as 'a secure epistemic nest in which our knowledge-eggs are safely hatched' (Taussig 1992, 46 quoted in Daniel & Peck 1996, 11-12). The histories hatched by George W. Stocking Jnr (1928-2013) and Henrika Kuklick (1942-2013) are presented as a case in point. These are considered briefly, mainly to establish the gap between their historiographic stratagems or tropes and an "Irish" reading of the Haddon Papers and associated records. The intention is to kill off these tropes with facts that have been overlooked or, indeed, disregarded by historians.

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[26] *Op. Cit*.

This clears the way for an alternative account of how Haddon, according to Frazer, became an ethnologist. That requires a completely different starting point and I propose to replace zoology and evolutionism with a mixture of politics and art. Haddon, I will argue in this chapter, was aware of the land beyond civilisation as a consequence of contact between his family and missionaries, which facilitated his radicalisation by Chalmers during his exploration of Papua New Guinea in 1888. Furthermore, his upbringing was anything but orthodox and that, I will argue, predisposed him to further radicalisation by Geddes and Havelock Ellis and their associates in reformist and anarcho-Solidarist movements, a process that was triggered by Haddon's decision to become an anthropologist.

That decision can be traced back to 1887, when he was planning a survey of coral reefs. This module concentrates on two aspects of Haddon's planning. First, he intended to explore territories in Papua New Guinea that were considered too dangerous for missionaries. Second, he planned to bring an artist with him. These stories matter because they contradict the usual narrative of epiphany and conversion on first contact with the islanders of the Torres Straits, which triggered a practical transition from systematic biology to cultural zoology. These stories also contradict arguments that Haddon relied on the colonial administration in the islands and confined his research to the anthropologically spoiled ground of heavily missionised–civilised–territories.

Finally, the evidence presented here has been overlooked or interpreted in ways that support the classic armchair trope and related historiographic strategies. These histories are, it is argued, characterised by a critical loss of detail and nuance, a form of historiographical compression to borrow a phrase from digital media. The first task of this thesis is to correct this by going back to the primary sources and related records.

The Armchair

Stocking and Kuklick were leading members of the historicists (see Stocking 1995, xvii-xviii) who reconfigured the history of disciplinary anthropology between the 1970s and the 1990s. They were working in the context of a more general crisis in anthropology as critical theory transformed the epistemological parameters of a discipline that took shape in the first two decades of the twentieth century, when it emerged from a longer tradition of evolutionary and colonial anthropology. Their

work was influential. As stated, Clifford Geertz (1926-2006), the American anthropologist and theorist, believed that Stocking had 'an enormous impact on the way anthropologists see themselves and their profession' (Geertz 1999, 305). Indeed, I will argue in Chapter Four, that Stocking's analysis of Haddon's treatment of "savage" art (Stocking 1995, 104) was responsible for masking Haddon's involvement in anti-colonial activism in Ireland, with the result that it remains invisible in subsequent accounts of the development of ethnology as a precursor of disciplinary anthropology in Ireland.

Stocking's influence goes much wider however. He was responsible for one of the main tropes in the history of anthropology. Haddon, Stocking argues, was instrumental in taking anthropology out of the armchair and into the field. That has become shorthand for the application of Kuhn's work on scientific revolutions (1975) to the development of disciplinary anthropology; specifically the eclipse of evolutionary anthropology by social anthropology as a consequence of the development of empirical ethnography in the wake of the 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits.

Henrika Kuklick considered the "armchair" in the context of a social history of anthropology (1991), an interesting twist on the historiographical preoccupation with the origins of a British tradition of social anthropology. *The Savage Within* remains, as stated (see the metrics cited in fn. 5, p. 4), the most cited work in the literature dealing with this period. Kuklick uses the progress from evolutionist to diffusionist anthropology to register a phase in the social evolution of British society between 1885 and 1945. In this context, Kuklick used Haddon's career to illustrate the professionalisation of anthropology, which also registers the evolution of knowledge systems in line with what she called the evolutionists' creed (1991, 78-89). Kuklick contributed a review of "The British Tradition" to a collection of essays that were intended to constitute a new history of anthropology for a new millennium (Kuklick 2008). Although the main elements of *The Savage Within* remain intact, she was more equivocal about the revolutionary nature of the 1898 expedition and her treatment of Haddon is heavily hedged. Haddon's organisation of the expedition was acknowledged, but 'The younger generation who followed Haddon into the field created an anthropology very different from his.' (1991, 139). That generates a second major trope, the disciplinary consequences trope. Those consequences are

considered in Chapters Two and Three. For now, I propose to concentrate on the evolutionists' creed, because of its importance in the operation of the armchair trope.

The armchair in question was occupied by Frazer. He inherited it, according to Stocking, from Tylor, the 'evolutionary theorist' (1995, 13). Tylor, according to Haddon, held 'The only teaching post in anthropology in the British Empire'[27] in 1891. Ian Langham, author of one of the first systematic studies of the emergence of British social anthropology (1981), cited Robert Angus Downie's account of Frazer's refusal to leave his armchair and join the 1898 expedition to the Torres Strait (Downie 1970, 25 & 112 in Langham 1981, 65). Stocking developed the narrative into a powerfully structuring trope, introducing it in "The Ethnographers Magic" (1983) and consolidating it in *After Tylor* (1995).

This epistemic "nest" has no room for Haddon as anything other than the evolutionist who opened the door to William Halse Rivers (1864-1922), the psychiatrist that Haddon recruited for the 1898 anthropological expedition to the Torres Strait and thereby facilitated the development of a theory of social anthropology and an appropriate ethnographic method. Stocking, I propose, cast Haddon as an evolutionist because he needed to establish a historiographical progression from Tylor and Frazer (armchair scholars), to Haddon (evolutionist and fieldworker), Rivers (fieldworker and theorist) and on to Radcliffe Browne and Malinowski (social anthropologists) (see Stocking1995, xv-xvi).

Individual facts used to construct the armchair trope, if taken in isolation, withstand scrutiny, but it is the organisation and interpretation of those facts that is problematic. For instance, Stocking states that Haddon wrote to Havelock Ellis in 1890 proposing a general study of anthropology (1995, 105). That is correct, but Stocking failed to mention that Havelock Ellis solicited the proposal. Furthermore, Stocking did not describe the circumstance in it was solicited. Haddon, Geddes and Havelock Ellis were involved in a three way conversation between the end of 1889 and 1891 the deplorable state of English anthropology. Geddes informed Havelock Ellis that Haddon was interested in anthropology[28] and Havelock Ellis read Haddon's work on the Torres Strait.[29] He acknowledged that they shared a commitment to the reform of English anthropology and, on that basis, commissioned a study of

[27]Haddon. c1891. MS of critique of the Imperial Institute. See Appendix 4, p. 9.
[28] Havelock Ellis to Haddon, May 8, 1890 (HP F3 CUL).
[29] *Ibid.*

anthropology for the Contemporary Science Series. Havelock Ellis was determined to anchor the series with a volume on anthropology, informing Haddon that the '"psychological moment"'[30] had arrived to put anthropology in its proper position and he was giving 'first place to the anthropological sciences …' in the series.

Haddon sent Havelock Ellis a list of possible treatments. A draft of that letter survives in the Haddon Papers[31] and is transcribed in full in Appendix 1. Their correspondence was interrupted in June 1890 and the next letter on file was written by Havelock Ellis one year later. It is clear that Haddon was having difficulty with his book on anthropology. Havelock Ellis noted his fascination with 'the earliest origins of art among savages,'[32] but stressed the importance of a book that addressed the deplorable state of anthropology, stating that he regarded 'the general anthropological book" they had discussed as 'of much greater value & importance, but it is, no doubt, more difficult.'[33] Havelock Ellis obviously relented and Haddon eventually contributed *Evolution in Art* to the Series in 1895, continuing a theme that Havelock Ellis introduced in 1889 with the first book in the series, *The Evolution of Sex* by Geddes and Thompson.

In *After Tylor,* Stocking used Haddon's draft proposal as a pretext for an analysis of *Evolution in Art* (Stocking 1995, 105-6) and concluded that 'Haddon *insisted* on casting his arguments in "biological" terms' (*ibid*., emphasis added). Haddon, according to Stocking, justified this approach on the grounds that Haddon wrote that

> "savages" were " 'arrested' " or " 'generalized types' " like the mud-fishes that persisted "in the fag ends of continents"' (Stocking 1995, 105).

Haddon, according to Stocking, phrased his argument in terms that, even today, are shocking, and reflect badly on Haddon. Stocking, however, quoted the lines out of context. He missed the significance of the quotation marks used by Haddon. The draft letter states:

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[30] *Ibid.*
[31] Haddon to Havelock Ellis, May 14,1890, (HP F3 CUL).
[32] Havelock Ellis to Haddon May 14, 1891, (HP F3 CUL).
[33] *Ibid.* The remainder of the letter is equally interesting, with brief references to Haddon's anthropological investigations in Ireland, a request that Haddon persuade Cunningham to write a book on the brain, and some thoughts on Reclus's *Primitive Folk.*

> Savages are an “arrested” or “generalised type,” like Chitons – Peripatus, Amphioxus, ~~xxx~~ the Mud-Fish & so forth etc. The Geographical distrib. of man has many correspondences analogies with that of animals waves of migration. Insular ~~types~~ ^ forms persistence of low types in the fag ends of continents. Pygmies in the Andaman & in Central African forests.[34]

Haddon was presenting Ellis with a series of bullet points in the context of a much longer conversation about the condition of anthropology in England. The quotation marks indicate that these bullet points functioned as succinct representation of various theories of anthropology.

Furthermore, it has to be remembered that Haddon wrote this six months or so after he had decided to become an anthropologist. There was no formal training available in anthropology, but Haddon had been elected to the Anthropological Institute and attended Section H-Anthropology of the BAAS in the autumn of 1889. Huxley, Frazer, Gomme, and Flower mentored the anthropological novice and, in this draft, Haddon appeared to be trying to synthesize information from a range of sources and viewpoints, relying heavily on analogy to meet Ellis’s request for a biological treatment of anthropology. One has to be careful with the meaning of biological in this context. It has to be remembered that Havelock Ellis was talking to Geddes, a pioneer of bio-social theories who opposed eugenics. This argument is developed in Chapter Two (p. 63) and what matters here is that none of this seems to have registered with Stocking, who described *Evolution in Art* as definitive evidence of ‘Haddon’s attempt to bring to bear on that subject the methods of the zoologist,’ (*ibid*., 107). Stocking did notice the deliberately philosophical approach adopted by Haddon, but he failed to see the reformist agenda that informed the correspondence between Haddon and Havelock Ellis.

There was no excuse. Haddon addressed this issue in his letters to Havelock Ellis. Gomme contributed *The Village Community* to the Contemporary Science Series in 1890. The title was taken from Kropotkin,[35] although Gomme set the book up as a development of Frederick Seebohm’s 1883 study of economic history in *The English Village Community* (Seebohm 1883). Gomme treated village communalism

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[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Kropotkin published “Mutual Aid Among Barbarians” in 1892. It was one of a series of articles in which Kropotkin criticized the "struggle-for-life" manifesto advanced by Huxley in “The Struggle for Existence: and its Bearing upon Man” (1888).

as a parallel form of social organisation–primitive or Pre-Aryan in origin–that was 'not very far removed from the *socialism of to-day*.' (Gomme 1890A, 18, emphasis added). Haddon informed Havelock Ellis that he had read the book and noted a 'distinct influence of the *Zeitgeist*'.[36] Stocking missed the significance of this reference, despite it being underlined by Haddon. This compounds a basic error in Stocking's reading of the correspondence: Stocking assumed that Haddon had approached Havelock Ellis and made no reference to the letter that was filed in the same folder in which Havelock Ellis, at the suggestion of Geddes apparently, commissioned Haddon to write a study of anthropology.

There are other errors in *After Tylor*. Haddon's background in zoology, according to Stocking, meant that he '*naturally* found physical anthropologists congenial; he joined with D. J. Cunningham, Professor of Anatomy at Trinity College in establishing an anthropometric laboratory in Dublin *modelled on Galton's in London*.' (1995, 104, emphasis added). In 1903, Cunningham wrote to Haddon seeking his help with a series of lectures on physical anthropology. Cunningham admitted that his 'knowledge in this department is very fragmentary *as you know* & I am rather upset at the thought of tackling so difficult a course in such short notice.'[37] Cunningham, it seems, did not think of himself as a physical anthropologist and was aware that Haddon was of the same opinion. That letter is filed in the same folder as the correspondence between Haddon, Geddes, and Havelock Ellis.

These errors could be the result of oversight or the logistics of transcription and/or copying in the pre-digital era. Stocking included in the introduction to *After Tylor* an account of the 12 months he spent in Britain going through manuscripts, institutional archives, and interviewing anthropologists between 1969 and 1973 (1995, xiii), which led Urry to describe Stocking as the 'doyen of the anthropological past' (Urry 1989, 364). Stocking acknowledged the possibility of oversight, but Stocking's failure to consider Haddon's proposal to Havelock Ellis as a rough draft of a letter by a novice involved in an exploratory conversation about the reform of anthropology in England was a serious error. That undermines his own commitment to an account that sought to bring an anthropologist's understanding of the 'contexts and modes of thought, expression, and action' (Stocking 1995, xvii) of the people

involved. It also suggests that Leopold's critique of *Victorian Anthropology* (see pp. 3-5) could be applied to *After Tylor* (see Leopold 1991, 315–317).

Of all the people mentioned in the correspondence between Haddon, Geddes, and Havelock Ellis, Stocking should have noticed Kropotkin and his anarchist allies Élisée and Élie Reclus.[38] Stocking was aware of Kropotkin and Reclus. He quoted a passage from Radcliffe-Brown in which the latter acknowledged the influence of Kropotkin and Reclus and claimed an acquaintance with both (1995, 304-5). Stocking does not identify the source other than Radcliffe Brown's 'own later reminiscences' (*ibid.*),[39] an example of the vague referencing that Leopold criticised in her review of *Victorian Anthropology* (Leopold 199, 1315–317, see p. 5). Kropotkin and Reclus, according to Radcliffe-Brown, inspired his formulation of scientific social reform as social anthropology and that claim has become an important part of the origin narrative of social anthropology, investing the new science of culture with a radical authority. In 2002, Kenneth Maddock repeated the claim in the *Encyclopaedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Barnard & Jonathan 2002, 702). Maddock also detected Kropotkin's influence in Radcliffe-Brown's treatment of *The Andaman Islanders* (1922) and his "revolutionary" exposition of social anthropology in *The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology* (1923).

Langham, however, suggested that the acquaintance with Kropotkin was rather more tenuous than Radcliffe-Brown claimed. Langham recalled that Meyer Fortes (1906-1983), the anthropologist, informed him that 'Radcliffe-Brown "never said" that Kropotkin was his neighbour in Birmingham, but he claimed to have met Kropotkin in Kent *while on holidays there*.' (Langham 1981, 371, emphasis added). Langham's story brought to mind Galton's account of what Chris Renwick described as a 'famous putdown'(Renwick 2009, 36): Galton's account of Huxley teasing Spencer over the catastrophe of a beautiful theory killed by an ugly little fact (see p. 4). Fortes, like Huxley, may have been having a go at Radcliffe-Brown, but that hardly matters here. What is important is that there is documentary evidence that (a)

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[38] Havelock Ellis commissioned a translation of *Les Primitive: Études d'Ethnologie Comparée* by Reclus (Reclus 1885 & 1891) for the Contemporary Science Series, possibly, as an alternative to the study of anthropology he had commissioned Haddon to write.

Geddes, Haddon and Havelock Ellis were working with Kropotkin and Reclus in 1889 and 1890 and (b) that Haddon was regarded as the anthropologist of the group. That suggests that social anthropology originated with Haddon, Geddes and Havelock Ellis in 1890. This interpretation is supported by a letter that Geddes wrote to Haddon in 1903[40] in which the writer asks Haddon if

> we might cooperate usefully economically as well as scientifically towards the educational ideals we share, Your approaching sociology through anthropology / my approach to anthropolo. through sociol. only need a little more [*undecipherable*] adjustment (such as we indeed began to give them on your visit to us last summer) …

This letter suggests Haddon and Geddes had been working on a combination of sociology and anthropology since 1889, when Haddon informed Geddes that he was becoming an anthropologist and Geddes recruited him to the great scientific movement that was developing in France. That, to borrow Huxley's jibe, is the sort of ugly little fact that is capable of killing a beautiful theory of the origin of social anthropology.

That is, in essence, the object of this chapter: to re-situate Haddon within a reformist movement in Anglo-Irish ethnology that constitutes what Daniel calls a counter discourse (1996, 3-4) in organised anthropology in the 1890s. Given the prominent role played by former Communards and anarchists in the formulation of its political programme and the radical nature of the reform envisaged, I propose to treat it as an insurgency. The very idea of insurgency runs counter to the methodological gradualism and political acquiescence that is described by Kuklick in her exploration of the evolutionist's creed.

The Evolutionists' Creed

Kuklick included a useful explication of the essentially Lamarckian 'creed of evolutionism' in *The Savage Within* (1991, 81-83). It is one of the few occasions where the term is explicitly unpacked, despite the common sense it has accumulated in relation to Victorian anthropology, ethnology, and folklore. Kuklick argues that evolutionists preferred the natural logic of gradualism over sudden or catastrophic changes in the social ecology of Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century. That is consistent with the influence of New Lifers and Fabians, as can be seen in the

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[40] Geddes to Haddon, May 1903 (https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1259871109/view).

reform programme laid out by Havelock Ellis his introduction to *The New Spirit* (1890). Kuklick, however, represents this as a voluntary compact among associated anthropologists on the grounds that there were no systems of sanctions to ensure compliance (Kuklick 1991, 90).

Morrell and Thackray took an opposite view in *Gentlemen of Science* (1981). The apolitical or, more accurately, politically acquiescent nature of so-called evolutionist anthropology was rigorously enforced by the BAAS on behalf of its sponsors in social, political, and religious elites of the day, the eponymous Gentlemen of Science. Morrell and Thackray describe how scientists among the moral force reformers in the Aborigines Protection Society broke away and formed the Ethnological Society of London were reluctantly admitted to the BAAS and allowed access to BAAS funding after its leaders had abandoned their pro-aborigine, anti-colonial and anti-missionary activism: after ethnology had, in Morrell and Thackray's memorable phrase, 'been stripped of dangerous features' (Morrell and Thackray 1981, 283-5). Their analysis ends in the middle of the nineteenth century, but the control of dissent was just as much in evidence in anthropology in the 1890s and sanctions were a very striking feature of Haddon's involvement in anthropology between 1890 and 1900.

Haddon was sacked from a government funded fishing survey in 1890, because his sympathy for the plight of the Aran Islanders contradicted government policy.[41] Huxley suppressed Haddon's critique of the Imperial Institute in 1892 on the grounds that it would be unacceptable to government.[42] Haddon was removed from direct involvement in the ethnographic programme of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory in 1893, probably because of political differences with John Kells Ingram and Daniel J. Cunningham.[43] In 1895, Haddon's unequivocal defence of the rights of "other" civilisations at a meeting of Section H was heavily criticised in the press and some of that criticism came from within the anthropological community. Haddon filed a clipping of a report in *The Daily News* that stated that he had made 'some

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[41] Green criticised Haddon's preoccupation with natural science and his sympathy for the islanders, albeit without naming him (see Green 1890).
[42] Huxley to Haddon, January 1, 1892, (HP F5061 CUL).
[43] Ingram and Cunningham were unionists. Haddon supported home rule. The ethnographic surveys addressed the issue of social conditions in politically disturbed districts in the west of Ireland and, as such, had implications for Government opposition to home rule.

rather contemptuous remarks on the efforts of the missionaries to induce the naked races to clothe themselves … the kind of talk [*that*] had no connection whatever with science.'[44] As a consequence, the BAAS initially refused to fund a second expedition to the Torres Strait. It relented after Haddon raised the bulk of the funding elsewhere, but its contribution was relatively minor. This did not represent any kind of rapprochement. Macalister took advantage of Haddon's absence during the expedition to block his appointment to the first post in anthropology in Cambridge University. Each of these events is explored in more detail in Chapters Two and Three. The point here is that Kuklick's theory of gradualism is fatally undermined by the fact that Haddon was sanctioned on a number of occasion because, according to Huxley, his views were not acceptable to government and, by extension, its agents in organised science. The Gentlemen of Science responded as they had in the 1830s, they withheld funding to force compliance or, as I have suggested, suppress an insurgency within organised anthropology.

To summarise, Stocking's argument that *Evolution in Art* represented a biological treatment of "savage" art was mistaken. Haddon, Geddes and Havelock Ellis might, in this context, be more accurately described as post-evolutionist reformers who, in 1890, pioneered the sort of radical, social anthropology that Radcliffe-Brown subsequently claimed as his innovation. Finally, Haddon antagonised the anthropological establishment and its political sponsors, which illustrates his preference for change–the *zeitgeist* of reconstruction–over the gradualism encapsulated in the evolutionist's creed.

None of this is covered by conventional histories of anthropology. That brings us back to the question that Geddes posed in 1889: How did Haddon intend to become an anthropologist? I intend to rephrase the question as follows: How did Haddon become the pioneering ethnologist that Frazer described in 1899 and elements in Cambridge University regarded as unacceptably radical? I propose that a combination of two factors led Haddon to experiment with socio-cultural anthropology–ethnology according to Frazer–in the Torres Strait in 1888 and Ireland in 1890. The first was that Haddon had an unorthodox childhood in a family that embraced nonconformism and socialism. The second was that Haddon's imaginative

[44] Special Correspondent. 1895. "Anthropologists and Missionaries." *The Daily News*, September 23: 4 & 5 (HP F5408 CUL).

horizons were formed by contact with a nonconformist missionary movement that was connected with his family.

The Socialist and the Sexologist

Haddon was born in London into a family noted for their nonconformist and liberal views. The following is a summary of Alison Hingston Quiggin's account of his formative years (1942, 1-35). The Haddon family came from a farming background. In 1814, John Haddon (1784-1855) founded a printing business in London, which incorporated an agency of sorts for Baptist missionaries. Haddon's father John, a Baptist deacon, took over the business in 1855. His mother Caroline Waterman was a successful writer and published a number of books as Caroline Hadley.[45] John Haddon neglected the business and the family depended on income from Caroline (Haddon) Hadley's writing.

In 1874, when Haddon was 19, his father became ill and temporarily handed the business over to his son. Haddon combined work with a busy schedule of religious activities and nature studies; collecting, dissecting, bottling, and drawing specimens. He was also reading. In February 1874, he visited his grandmother and 'read part of Prof Tyndall's opening speech[46] of the Brit Ass. …' (Quiggin 1942, 13). On another occasion he read Darwin's *Emotions* to his Aunt Marianne in Dover (*ibid*., 16). He attended evening classes in drawing, design, and etching.[47] He studied Comparative Anatomy and Zoology in Kings College and Geology at Birkbeck College. He was active in the YMCA and took part in debates about phrenology and evolution. He was outspoken but a poor speaker, despite having attended elocution classes. 'Patches of eloquence were,' according to Quiggin, 'mixed with stuttering jerks' (*ibid.,* 15), which rendered his lectures in Cambridge wearisome for all except those who shared his enthusiasm. Nevertheless, in 1874 Haddon taught a series of

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[45] *Woodside Or, Look, Listen, and Learn* (1887) is illustrated with a series of sketches that may be portraits of her own children engaged in nature studies, possibly made by John Haddon, who was a good illustrator.

[46] Delivered in Belfast in 1874, John Tyndall argued for the superiority of scientific materialism over non-rational or religious explanations of natural phenomena. (BAAS 1874). Jones (2008, 67) argues that the shock of Tyndall's address brought Darwin to the attention of the wider public and a degree of notoriety attached to Tyndall for a period.

[47] Haddon learned to sketch at an early age. He spent a year in the drawing office of the family printing works.

natural science lessons in the school that his aunts Marianne and Margaret established in Dover in 1847, which their sister Caroline Haddon took over and developed into a progressive boarding school for girls. Margaret and Caroline Haddon later became acquainted with Havelock Ellis and all three were involved in the reform movement that produced The Fabian Society in 1883. This will be considered later in the chapter.

Like his father, Haddon had little interest in or aptitude for managing a business. His life at this stage–as described by Quiggin–was a tale of two absorptions, one in the spiritual life of the Baptist community and the other in the natural sciences. He was most unhappy working in the family business and was desperately seeking a way of converting his interest in natural science into an alternative career. He began writing articles and pamphlets but had little success in getting them published. He was interested in Cambridge, where a culture of latitudinarianism meant that his nonconformist background would not be a barrier to entry. However, the cost of university and the slim chance of paid employment in the natural sciences were major stumbling blocks. Nevertheless, John Haddon eventually conceded on the basis that, according to Quiggin, he would lose less money sending Haddon to university than he would by keeping him in the office (*ibid*., 32). Haddon employed a tutor to prepare his son for the entrance examination and on October 7, 1875 Alfred Haddon left London and headed to Christ's College Cambridge to read Natural Sciences.

He specialised in Zoology and Comparative Anatomy and graduated in 1879. He applied for a job in the British Museum, but failed the qualifying examination. He spent six months at the University Table in the Zoological Station in Naples and, on his return, started work as Curator of the Zoological Museum and Demonstrator in the Zoology Department of Christ's College. Alfred Newton, Professor of Zoology, lobbied Huxley on Haddon's behalf and Huxley duly arranged for an appointment to the Chair of Zoology in the Royal College of Science in Dublin in December 1880.

Even in summary, a number of aspects of Haddon's family background stand out. First, there is the economic role of women in the family. Linked to that is the involvement of his aunts in the provision of progressive education for girls. There is also the limiting effect that precarious family finances had on access to university and the subsequent need to secure employment. That might explain the combination of deference and pragmatism that characterised his attempts to establish himself within

organised anthropology. These factors might also explain his commitment to the field club movement and the university extension movement as alternative routes to advanced education, especially for women.

Also, literature and art were part and parcel of family life. His mother used nature study as the subject of one of her books (Hadley 1887) and his father was a talented illustrator. Art and nature study went hand in hand. His choice of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy as university subjects was probably pragmatic, but the failure to get a job in the British Museum shows that these were not subjects at which he excelled. Given his subsequent determination to abandon a book on anthropology for a study of the art of Oceania, one has to ask if Haddon was attracted to the natural sciences because of his interest in art?

That is rhetorical. I have come to regard Haddon as an accidental zoologist who found his way back into art through ethnology, the radical wing of organised anthropology. The radical half of this equation is where the connection between Caroline Haddon (1837-1905) and Margaret Haddon (1926-1902) and Havelock Ellis becomes interesting. They met Havelock Ellis in 1881, when he was 22 years of age and a follower of James Hinton (1822–1875), the controversial philosopher of science and religion (see Weir 2006). Hinton married Margaret Haddon and Havelock Ellis helped Margaret edit a volume of Hinton's papers. Caroline edited a second volume (Koven 1994, 33-4). She also financed the medical training that Havelock Ellis undertook between 1881-9 in preparation for his scientific study of sex (Weir 2006). Norman MacKenzie's 1975 account of the founding the Fabian Society provides a useful insight into the political aspects of this relationship and, in many ways, aspects of Alfred Cort Haddon's radical tendencies.

As a medical student, Havelock Ellis joined Caroline Haddon and Margaret Hinton in the Progressive Association, a social reform movement that 'the *Radical* publisher John C. Foulger' (MacKenzie 1975, 34, emphasis added) founded 1881.[48] They were among a small group of members who were involved in negotiations that led to the establishment of the Fabian Society in 1883, although they appear to have taken different sides on the issue of the methods needed to achieve social and political reform. Havelock Ellis joined the utopian Fellowship of the New Life–the

[48] Foulger published articles that propagated Marx's doctrine in his journal *Modern Thought* (Willis 1977, 438).

New Lifers–which seceded in opposition to the revolutionary methods advocated by neo-phyte Marxists who established the Fabian Society. Caroline Haddon and Margaret Hinton joined the Fabian Society and Caroline Haddon introduced socialism onto its agenda in March 1884, when she presented a paper on "The Two Socialisms"[49] (Sloane 2018). She caused a lot of controversy in 1884 with her paper on "The Future of Marriage, " although the limits on dissent are clearly illustrated by her reticence on the issue of polygamy. Haddon and Hinton, according to Anna Clark (2017), told Havelock Ellis of James Hinton's belief in polygamy 'although they insisted that it was "inadvisable to show his manuscripts except to a small circle of intimate admirers"' (Clark 2017, 119 & fn. 143). Havelock Ellis heeded this advice and, according to Clark, merely alluded to the explicit content of the manuscripts in subsequent books and articles on Hinton.

Havelock Ellis, according to Weir 'always felt a great sense of obligation' (Weir 2006) to Caroline Haddon and this must surely have influenced his decision to involve her nephew in the Contemporary Science Series. This publishing venture seems to have originated in the Manuscript Club that was, according to Mackenzie, the precursor of the Progressive Association (MacKenzie 1975, 32-3).Will Dircks, an assistant manager at a Durham Colliery, was a founding member of the Club and subsequently held a senior position in the Walter Scott Publishing Company (*ibid.*), which appointed Havelock Ellis as editor of the Series in 1889. MacKenzie stated that the objectives of the Club encapsulated the New Lifers' commitment to 'moral improvement and social reconstruction' (*ibid.,* 33) and quoted Dircks assertion that the Club 'allowed that the material of a social reconstruction [*to be*] presented in a way that hitherto has not been the case …' (*ibid.*).

On May 8, 1890, Havelock Ellis commissioned Haddon to write a study of anthropology the effect of which would be the reconstruction of anthropology in England.[50] Haddon drafted a reply on May 14, stating that:

> I know the books already published in your series. I am much pleased with them. In Geddes & T.- Taylor & Gomme's there is a distinct influence of the Zeitgeist. The first and the last certainly appreciate the practical value of their work in reconstructi~~ng~~/ion ~~institutions~~. I am increasingly seeing the importance of anthropological work and heartily echo your wish "to

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[49] Haddon compared the socialism of the Fabian Society and the Social Democratic Federation (Pease 1925, 37).

[50] Havelock Ellis to Haddon, May 8, 1890 (HP F3 CUL). Appendix 1.

> cooperate in any movement for putting anthropology in England in its proper position."[51]

This correspondence supports two claims. The first is that Dircks and Havelock Ellis reconstituted the Manuscript Club as the Contemporary Science Series. The second is that Haddon had agreed to become an agent of the New Life philosophy of reconstruction, a move that was grounded in his earlier decision to become an anthropologist and framed by an engagement with anarchism.

Becoming an Anthropologist

Haddon, as stated, decided to become an anthropologist at the end of 1889. He represented this as an unintended consequence of his encounter with islanders during a survey of coral reefs in the Torres Strait. He was struck by the cultural loss that followed the colonisation of the islands and felt that it was his 'duty to fill up all the time not actually employed in my zoological researches in anthropological studies' (Haddon 1890, 297-8). Haddon stuck to that version of events to the end of his career (see Haddon 1935, xi), mythologizing his entry into anthropology as an epiphany of sorts. His papers, however, show that the anthropological component of the expedition was well planned. Haddon consulted Huxley, Alfred Russel Wallace and the Rev Samuel MacFarlane on the best site to conduct a study of coral reefs (Quiggin 1942, 77-80). Wallace (1823-1913) was an explorer and evolutionary theorist who spent almost eight years exploring the Malay archipelago (see Smith 2011). MacFarlane (1837-1911) was a Scottish engineer who became a London Missionary Society (LMS) evangelist. He was the first missionary to visit the Torres Strait in 1870. The LMS followed in 1871 and established a regional base on Mer (see map, Fig. 1.4).[52]

Wallace rejected the Torres Straits outright.[53] He recommended the West Indies, emphasising ease of access, a developed infrastructure, and the low cost of living

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[51] Haddon to Havelock Ellis, May 14, 1890 (HP F3 CUL). Appendix 1.

[52] MacFarlane established the Papuan Industrial School and Teachers' Seminary on the island around 1879. 'The school provided religious training for Islanders who wished to become LMS missionaries, but also acted as an industrial school, teaching trades such as boat building and smithing.' https://www.qld.gov.au/atsi/cultural-awareness-heritage-arts/community-histories/community-histories-m/community-histories-mer

[53] Wallace to Haddon, November 28, 1887 (HP F3 CUL).

comfortably in the field. MacFarlane recommended the Torres Strait and advised Haddon to 'make the Mission Station at Murray Island [*his*] headquarters, & spend August Sept. Oct. & Nov. there & New Guinea.'[54] He promised Haddon the use of the mission schooner and a local crew and MacFarlane assured him that he 'need fear no evil.'[55]

Quiggin regarded this advice as decisive, but speculated that contact with MacFarlane originated in missionary networks connected to the Haddon family (Quiggin 1942, 78-9). That may be so, but Quiggin missed the fact that MacFarlane donated over two hundred ethological specimens from Papua New Guinea and the Torres Strait to the British Museum between 1876 and 1886.[56] Huxley was a trustee of the British Museum and, in 1884, Flower was appointed Director of the Natural History Department at Huxley's suggestion. Huxley agreed with MacFarlane's advice and Haddon followed suit. Huxley lobbied Michael Foster of the Royal Society on Haddon's behalf and Foster duly arranged funding for the expedition.[57] Flower advised Haddon on ethnographic methods and Haddon was based in the British Museum on his return (Haddon 1935, xi), exhibiting the ethnographic material he collected in October 1889.[58] It would seem that Haddon was, in effect, operating as an agent of the British Museum.[59]

Haddon acknowledged the importance of the logistical support provided by the LMS and colonial administrators in *Head-hunters; black, white, and brown.* especially the missionary and explorer James "Tamate" Chalmers (1841–1901). 'All

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[54] MacFarlane to Haddon, December 2, 1889 (HP F21/2 CUL).
[55] *Ibid*.
[56] There are 191 objects from New Guinea, including lime spatulas, body ornaments, charms, clubs, pan pipes and pipes. There are 37 objects from the Torres Strait Islands. The collection also includes 49 skulls described by Haddon in *Head-hunters* (pp. 141-2). See: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=37828
[57] There is no record in the Haddon Papers of Huxley lobbying Foster. Quiggin described how Huxley assisted Haddon in securing funding (Quiggin 1942, 79-80), but Haddon's letter to Foster of May 7, 1891 and Foster's reply of May 28, 1891 give an outline of the role Foster played in funding the expedition (HP F21/2 CUL).
[58] *Nature* 40 (October 24, 1889): 626.
[59] Huxley arranged for Haddon to be assigned to the Museum of Science and Art in Dublin in addition to the chair of Zoology in the Royal College of Science. The college and museum were administered by the Department of Science and Art in London.

travellers to British New Guinea receive many benefits directly and *indirectly* from the New Guinea Mission of the London Missionary Society.' Haddon wrote '…but the great assistance afforded us by the late Rev. James Chalmers deserves special recognition' (Haddon 1901, xi, emphasis added). Haddon met Chalmers in Papua New Guinea in 1888 and recruited him as an ethnographic fieldworker. It is not difficult to see how these two became friends. Patricia A. Prendergast (1969) described Chalmers as an eccentric, humane man of great personal charm. He was the son of a stonemason who converted to evangelism in 1859. He arrived in Port Moresby in 1887 and began establishing a chain of mission stations along the southern coast of Papua New Guinea (Porter 2004). He campaigned against the exploitation of islanders by colonists and argued for a 'New Guinea for the New Guineans' (*ibid*.). He was also a civilisation sceptic. He believed, according to Porter, that the job of evangelism was quite separate from the process of civilisation. Evangelism should be done by trained 'native agents' (*ibid*.) so that the cultural impact of contact with European missionaries could be eliminated. Porter states that Chalmers's methods were regarded as unconventional and this led to conflict with MacFarlane. Haddon sided with Chalmers in *Head-Hunters*, even though he wrote a rather gloomy assessment of the mission in Saguane (Haddon 1901, 96-98). Nevertheless, Chalmers seems to have transformed Haddon into a nativist. On his return Haddon wrote an article on the need for sympathetic knowledge of other civilisations (1890A) and incorporated this argument into the vehemently anti-colonial critique of the Imperial Institute that followed in 1891.[60]

Haddon's relationship with Chalmers is important for another reason. It helps explain one aspect of the role played by the LMS in the organisation of both expeditions to the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea. Haddon decided to use Mer as his base in 1888, because it gave him access to Papua New Guinea. In the 1870s, Papua New Guinea was considered unsuitable for European settlement because of the threat from the 'reputedly wild and cannibalistic tribes' (Porter 2004) who lived there. In other words, the Torres Strait represented the edge of civilisation and beyond it lay unexplored and dangerous territory. Haddon accompanied Chalmers on expeditions to Papua New Guinea in 1888 and 1898 and these expeditions were not

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[60] An untitled manuscript of the article is held in the Haddon Papers in CUL (Folder 5061). It is better known as a proposal for the establishment of a Bureau of Ethnology. Stocking transcription is reproduced in Appendix 4.

without risk. Chalmers, the Rev. Tomkins, and twelve native mission students were 'captured, clubbed, killed, and eaten.' (Prendergast 1969; see also Haddon, 1901: xi) during an expedition to Goaribari Island in the autumn of 1900.

Haddon's correspondence with MacFarlane elucidates another aspect of the role played by the LMS. At some stage Haddon informed MacFarlane that he intended bringing an artist with him. MacFarlane advised against it on the grounds that it altered 'the conditions entirely.'[61] Travelling alone, Haddon would be treated as a guest, but, MacFarlane continued:

> If you take an Artist or anybody else, *you will probably be regarded as collectors* & have to stay at the Hotel at Thursday island wh will cost abt £3 per week & then you will have to pay a high price for boat & crew for your work.'[62]

Haddon, it seems, decided on economic grounds to avail of the extensive logistical support offered by MacFarlane on behalf of the LMS. However, the fact that Haddon planned to bring an artist with him is equally significant. It shows that, from the outset, Haddon attached as much importance to visual media as to the collection of artefacts and the completion of questionnaires.[63] As it happened, Haddon did not employ an artist. He took a camera instead. This, it will be argued in Chapters Five and Six, was the beginning of a sustained experiment in ethnographic photography and that constitutes the principal innovation of the third edition of *Notes and Queries.*

To summarise, Haddon's first experiment in anthropological fieldwork was well-planned, exploratory, and formally innovative. Furthermore, the emergence of a nativist, anti-colonial attitude in the field made it a truly radical enterprise and the degree of radicalisation is evident in the tone of Haddon's critique of the Imperial Institute. Haddon's entry into anthropology may have been facilitated by missionaries operating in the colonies, but the outcome was utterly different from the evolutionist and racialist enterprise suggested by the characterisation of Victorian anthropology as the product and the handmaiden of Empire and its agents. That is the last in the series of venerable tropes that I intend to kill "with aforethought" and a few, well-chosen, ugly little facts.

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[61] MacFarlane to Haddon, December 28, 1887, emphasis added (HP F21/2 CUL).
[62] *Ibid*
[63] Frazer supplied Haddon with a questionnaire (see Haddon 1890, 300).

The Handmaiden of Empire.

Haddon opened his critique of the Imperial Institute with a reference to the popularity of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. As stated (p. 23, Fig. 1.2), One and half million people attended the exhibition and enjoyed a rare opportunity to meet

> in the flesh, in effigy, or in picture … Brahmin & Veddah, French Canadian & Flathead, Dutch Boer & Bushman, Papuan & Australian–*all fellow-subjects with nominally equal rights.*[64]

The encounter, according to Haddon, highlighted the great gulf of tradition, language & religion that existed between British subjects and subject races in the colonies. Friction, Haddon continued, was inevitable, but the undisguised racism and ruthless exploitation of fellow-subjects by colonists was difficult to comprehend for anyone who had not been to the colonies. The colonists were supported by Imperial forces and the inevitable consequence was that "we" the British exterminated the inhabitants in countries that were annexed, whether by accident or design, fast or slow.[65] Racism, Haddon argued, needed to be countered with sympathetic knowledge. This would reduce friction, improve trade and government, and eliminate the little wars that are a consequence of the collision between 'official ignorance and native conviction.'[66] The foregoing sets the context for Haddon's proposal for the establishment of a Bureau of Imperial Ethnology and the document registers a necessary shift from outrage to pragmatism. Nevertheless, the arguments advanced were based on the premise that fellowship demands equality and freedom from exploitation and extermination by the agents of Imperial policy.

Stocking transcribed the manuscript and published a typescript in Volume 20 of the *History of Anthropology Newsletter* (Stocking & Haddon 1993; Appendix 4). Stocking's framing of the document concentrated on Haddon's proposal for the establishment of an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology, a policy subsequently promoted by the leaders of institutional anthropology. Stocking noted the provocative tone and socialist attitude in 1993, but he did not refer to this when he incorporated his research into *After Tylor*. Instead Stocking stripped Haddon's critique of its dangerous features–to borrow an idiom from Jack Morrell and Arnold Thackeray (1981, 285-6)–and represented the proposal as a way of 'enlightening imperial self-

[64] *Op cit.*, emphasis added. Appendix 4.
[65] *Ibid*
[66] *Ibid.*

interest' (Stocking 1995, 103). Kuklick, likewise, framed it as 'a systematic basis for enlightened colonial administration.' (Kuklick 1991, 50). Urry foregrounded his discussion of the Bureau of Ethnology in the anthropological community's engagement with the issue of contact between Europeans and native peoples, an engagement that was rendered "sentimental" by the fact that 'Imperialism itself was not questioned, and the condition of natives was of secondary interest to the pursuit of Science.' (Urry 1993, 103).

It is difficult to see how Stocking, Kuklick, and Urry could have interpreted Haddon's original proposal in this way, given that Haddon anchored his proposal in the catastrophic consequences of the subjugation and colonisation of other populations. Stocking read other material in the same file, including Huxley's review of the draft, noting that Huxley rejected the document on the basis that 'the "too frequent brutality" of Englishmen overseas … was not likely to be affected by increased knowledge' (Huxley quoted in Stocking 1993, 14, Appendix 4, 242). Stocking did not refer to the fact that in the same letter Huxley warned Haddon that his proposal would be unacceptable to government,[67] a warning that is treated with some significance in this thesis. Huxley had arranged for Haddon to be employed as a government scientist in the Royal College of Science in Dublin and the question that arises is whether Huxley was protecting a colleague or acting as an enforcer for the government? Was it advice or a threat? That is a matter of speculation and I have interpreted it as Huxley attempting to suppress a document that was critical of government policy. Either way, Huxley's letter confirms that Haddon's critique of the Imperial Institute represented a meaningful challenge to Government policy on imperial expansion, colonisation, and civilisation.

That alone makes Stocking's treatment deeply problematic. The priority for Stocking, Kuklick, and Urry was to establish an opposition between evolutionary and social anthropology. The idea that evolutionary anthropology was the handmaiden of empire is one of the tropes that activates that representation. The idea that Haddon was the principal exponent of evolutionary anthropology in a heavily-missionised or anthropologically-spoiled field is another. Neither, it seems, has any basis in fact. The gap between fact and the historiographical stratagems of the historicists has produced a series of narratives that have become so compressed and idiomatic that they are

[67] Huxley to Haddon. January 1, 1892, (HP F5061 CUL).

closer to disciplinary folklore than the new history of the British tradition in anthropology that Kuklick offered in 2008.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to murder some of the tropes that have transformed the history of anthropology in the 1890s into a form of disciplinary folklore. The weapon of choice was a series of ugly little facts gleaned from an "Irish" reading of the Haddon papers and related records. These facts contradict conventional representations of Haddon as an evolutionary zoologist who converted to anthropology following an epiphany in the Torres Straits in 1888, which, in turn, contradicts (a) the subsidiary narrative of his career in Ireland as a sort of exile that ended when he returned to Cambridge and became an anthropologist and (b) the unifying narrative of his return to the Torres Straits at the head of an expedition that would revolutionise British anthropology and facilitate the practical and theoretical development of modern "social" anthropology … by others.

I propose an alternative version of events. Haddon was–by the circumstances of birth almost–an English radical who exploited the recently established missionary infrastructure in Oceania to launch an unprecedented anthropological exploration beyond the borderlands of the British Empire. Shocked by the humanitarian consequences of colonisation and "civilisation," he became a nativist who was obsessed with the cultural loss he had witnessed. On his return, he was recruited by reformists and developed a radical, anti-colonial ethnological practice in Ireland. His interest in the art of Oceania points to a defining aspect of that practice, a pronounced visuality that generated the pioneering use of photography as an ethnographic medium and an instrument of anti-racism activism.

Ironically, this version is much closer to Frazer's characterisation of Haddon in 1899 (Fig. 3.7), especially if one reads between the lines. The obvious question here is this: why was a craniologist appointed to the first teaching post in anthropology in Cambridge University? As stated, I intend to treat Haddon's entry into anthropology as a form of insurgency that lasted for most of the 1890s. The sanctions imposed on Haddon by institutional anthropology in general–as outlined earlier–manifest a political struggle within post-evolutionary anthropology in England, which was the local expression of a wider movement for social and political

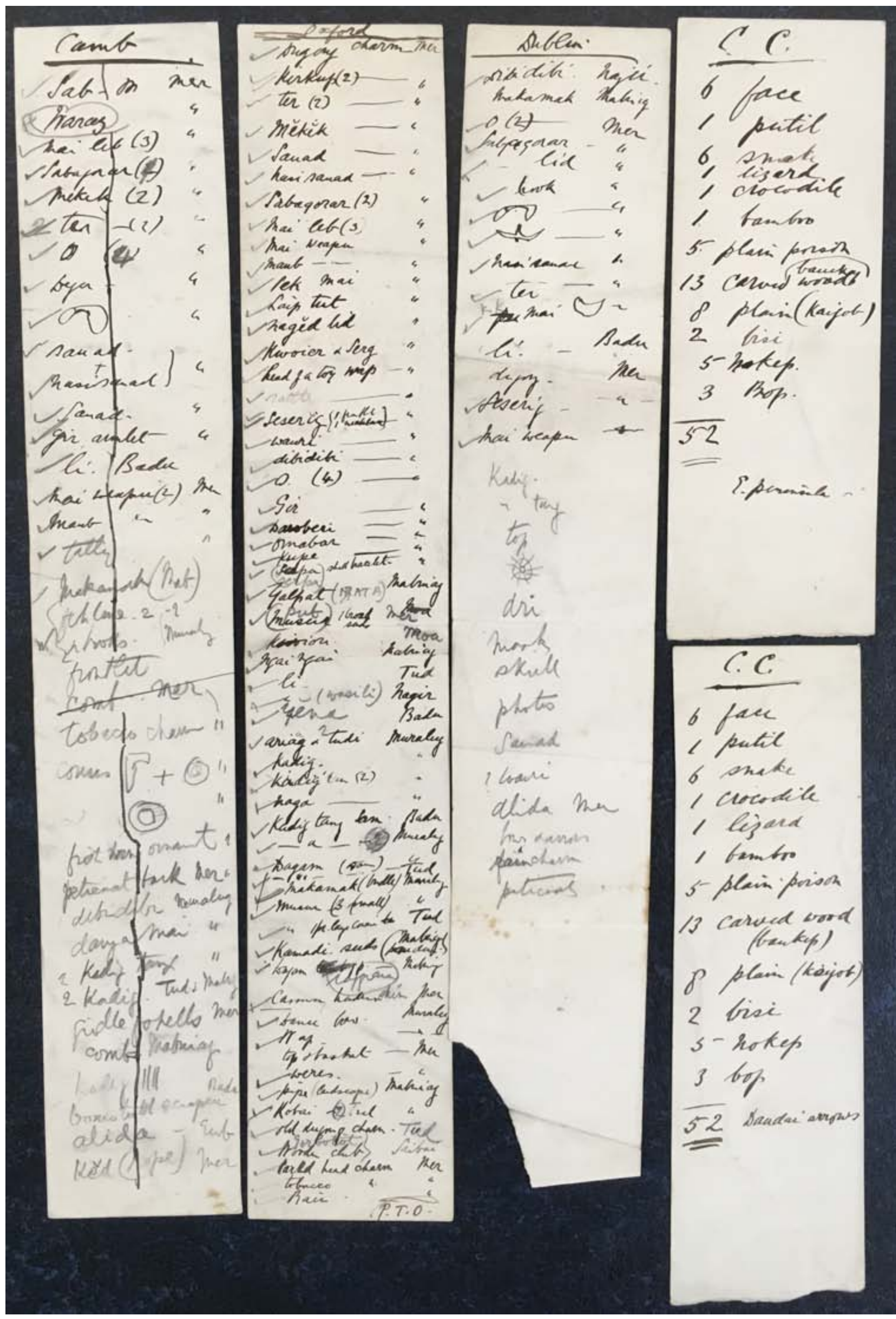
reform. The next chapter looks at that struggle with the objective of reframing the process whereby Haddon became an ethnologist.

CHAPTER TWO
BECOMING AN ETHNOLOGIST
(PLATES)

Fig. 2.1 Anon., 1885, *Dredging expedition, 1885, with friends* (Praeger 1949, Plate XVI). Haddon is seated second from the left in the front row. Haughton is seated on his left, followed by Green.

Fig. 2.2 Anon., 1890, the crew of the SS *Fingal*, cyanotype (© CUMAA: P. 4810.ACH2). L-R: William Spotswood Green, Daniel Lane, A. C. Haddon, and Mr Beamish.

Fig. 2.3 Haddon, 1888, Mer, Torres Strait Islands, albumen print (© British Museum: Oc,B 41.27).



C. C.

6 face
1 putil
6 snake
1 lizard
1 crocodile
1 bambo
5 plain poison
13 carved wood (bankep)
8 plain (Kaijob)
2 bisi
5 nokep.
3 Bop.

52

C. C.

6 face
1 putil
6 snake
1 crocodile
1 lizard
1 bambo
5 plain poison
13 carved wood (bankep)
8 plain (kaijob)
2 bisi
5 nokep
3 bop

52 Daudai arrows

Fig. 2.4 Haddon's schedule of ethnographic items collected during the expedition to the Torres Straits and Papua New Guinea in 1888 and 1889 (© CUL: HP F1048-1/2).

CHAPTER TWO
BECOMING AN ETHNOLOGIST

Professor Haddon went out to the Torres Straits
on an expedition on behalf of natural science; he returned an ardent
folklorist, and immediately joined us.

George Laurence Gomme, President of the Folk-lore Society, Annual
Address to the Society, November 26th, 1890.

Introduction

The scientific study of humans had become well-organised by the time Haddon decided to become an anthropologist. Individuals with an interest in "anthropology" became associated with learned societies like the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (est. 1871), the Folk-lore Society (est. 1878), Section H-Anthropology of the BAAS (est. 1884), and the Royal Irish Academy, which became involved in anthropological research in association with TCD in 1891. It was a diverse community. Anthropology was, in many ways, a filter for a range of other disciplines that had a bearing on the natural history of man and the development of cultural systems across time and space.

It was also a small community. The Institute had 223 ordinary members out of a total membership of 433 in 1889.[68] There was a lot of overlap between the institute and other societies. [69] Haddon and Gomme, for instance, represented both the Institute and the Folk-lore Society in merger negotiations in 1893 (see Bennett & Stocking, 1997). Indeed, an outline of Haddon's career illustrates the complexity of organised anthropology. He entered anthropology as a collector for the British Museum (1888), became an ardent folklorist (1889), then a craniologist (1892), taught physical anthropology to anatomy students in Cambridge on a freelance basis (1893), represented ethical (anti-colonial) anthropologists in Ipswich (1895), led an

[68] Report of the Council of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for the Year 1889. (1890).

[69] John Lubbock and E. B. Tylor, key figures in the Anthropological Institute, were closely associated with what Richard Mercer Dorson (1968) described as the ''anthropological' school of British folk-lore' (Wingfield & Gosden 2012, 260).

anthropological expedition to the Torres Strait (1898), and, finally, secured a part-time job as an ethnologist in Cambridge University (1900).

This chapter considers Haddon's entry into organised anthropology and examines the tensions generated by his interest in folk-lore, radical politics, and the reform of the institution of anthropology. It is structured around a letter written by Frazer in 1891, which provides an outline of the activity that constituted Haddon's practice in the early 1890s. This theme is developed in the context of a study of anthropology that Havelock Ellis commissioned, which was part of a wider challenge by Geddes and Kropotkin to Huxley's scientific authority and his control over anthropology.

In 1890, Havelock Ellis asked Haddon to write a study of anthropology as a foundation for a series of idealist and anarcho-Solidarist texts that he was assembling as the Contemporary Science Series. Haddon pulled out of the project in 1891, although he contributed *The Study of Man* to the Progressive Science Series in 1898. This presented a very different picture of anthropology to that commissioned by Havelock Ellis. *The Study of Man* was intended to illustrate anthropology in practice, but ended up illustrating the extremes of anthropological thought in the 1890s, a situation that exposes major contradictions in Haddon's own practice as it developed in the 1890s.

Geddes anticipated that. On learning that Haddon had decided to become an anthropologist, Geddes presented his friend with a stark choice. "I am very glad indeed that you are going in to Anthropology" wrote Geddes "but I am sure it is your human sympathy & power of interpretation which is leading you, & not you're the mere desire of measuring skulls."[70] Geddes himself was in transition, moving from an alliance he had formed with John Kells Ingram in opposition to Galton and his theory of eugenics (see Renwick 2012, 82-5) to an engagement with sociologists and anarchist geographers that were associated with a reform movement that later became known as Solidarism. Geddes was, in effect, asking Haddon to choose between sociology and eugenics.

Haddon's response is considered in two parts. This chapter maps what Arjun Appadurai (quoted in Vincent 1990, 47) called the 'intellectual ethnospace' of Haddon's formation as an ethnologist. *The Study of Man* is used to expose the

[70] Geddes to Haddon, December 11, [1889] (HP F3 CUL).

intellectual compromises required of a radical operating within organised anthropology. The following chapter considers the practical consequences of those compromises as Haddon attempted to position himself within a deeply divided science.

The end of zoology.

Haddon became a radical ethnologist immediately after he returned from the Torres Strait in 1889. Frazer, who mentored Haddon, wrote in January 1891[71] inquiring of Haddon how his ‘many schemes progress?’ Frazer continued as follows:

> I hope you have not given up the idea of writing an article for one of the Monthlies on the application of the Imperial Institute to anthropology? The idea is too good to be lost. Then about Irish anthropology, have you been digging up any more bodies at the risk of your life? Don’t fall a martyr for science if you can avoid it. Anthropology cannot spare any of its workers. I hope your book on anthropology is getting on.[72]

The ‘article for the monthlies’ refers to a critique of the Imperial Institute which, as stated in Chapter One, has entered anthropological literature as a proposal to establish an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology (Appendix 4). The reference to digging up bodies relates to the theft of skulls from a burial ground on the island of Inishbofin in 1890, when Haddon was working as a marine biologist on a government funded survey of fishing grounds in the west of Ireland (see Green 1890). Haddon used the survey as an opportunity to collect folk-lore. This prompted Haddon to establish an ethnographic survey of remote districts visited during the survey of fishing grounds (see Haddon & Cunningham 1892). Finally, the book on anthropology is a reference to the publishing deal that Haddon was negotiating with Havelock Ellis.

Huxley suppressed Haddon’s critique of the Imperial Institute in January 1892[73] and advised Haddon to systematically collect biological facts instead of criticising government policy in the colonies. Huxley sympathised with Haddon’s concern for rapidly disappearing wilder races, but added that he was

> convinced that such a colonial organisation as that involved in your proposals, would not have the slightest chance of being taken in hand by the Government and I cannot advise you to publish your paper, with that view. My opinion is that it would be much better to bring the subject of collecting anthropological information systematically before

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[71] Frazer to Haddon, January 29,1891 (HP F3 CUL).
[72] *Ibid*.
[73] Huxley to Haddon January 1, 1892 (HP F5061 CUL).

> Anthropological section at the meeting of the British Association in a general form, and to get a strong committee appointed to consider in what way existing Agencies e.g. British Museum Oxford, Anthropological Society can be combined, utilised and supplemented. You will not thank me for this bucket of cold water, I am afraid, but you ask my opinion and I am bound to give it honestly.[74]

The job of the anthropologist, according to Huxley, was to verify evolutionary theories of origin, variation and distribution. Huxley had a simple formula for anthropology: zoology was the animal half of biology (1862: 198-9) and anthropology, logically, was the human half of zoology. Anthropologists had no role in debates about colonisation that were triggered by the extermination of the Tasmanians. Survival of the fittest was, Huxley argued in "The Struggle for Existence: and its Bearing upon Man" (1888), the natural order of things. Accordingly, Europeans had a biological justification to subjugate, exploit and even exterminate other, less powerful societies.

Huxley's biological construction of anthropology was challenged by Geddes, who was a protégée of Huxley.[75] Geddes investigated a reciprocal arrangement between algae and marine invertebrates that guaranteed the survival of both.[76] Karl Brandt (1854–1931), a zoologist, was engaged in a parallel investigation in Berlin. He labelled the process "symbiosis" in a paper that he read in 1881 (Brandt, 1881). This gave Brandt priority in the discovery of symbiosis and his paper has become 'one of the most cited in literature … the datum point where all books on modern coral reef taxonomy find their origin' (Bowen 2015, 84-85). The impact of the research on anthropology was equally profound. Geddes and Brandt had produced reliable evidence–biological facts–that co-operation can operate as a mechanism for survival at a very fundamental level in nature. Geddes and J. Arthur Thompson (1861-1933), the Scottish naturalist, revised the entry on "Evolution" in Chambers Encyclopaedia (1889), producing what Renwick has described as a 'profoundly un-

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[74] *Ibid.*

[75] Geddes enrolled in a four-month intensive course in the natural sciences that Huxley taught at the Imperial School of Mines in London. Huxley subsequently employed him as a demonstrator on the course and sent him for further scientific training in the Sorbonne (Meller, 2008), which exposed him to Le Playist social theory.

[76] The discovery of chlorophyll in sea anemones was of immense interest to biologists–botanists and zoologists–because it seemed to contradict the absolute separation of plant and animal kingdoms.

Darwinian yet Spencerian account of evolution [*in which*] individual competition was subordinated to social and reproductive ends, and interspecific competition to cooperative adaptation.' (Renwick 2012, 86).

Theories of "bio-sociality" resonated with the ideas of social reformers throughout Europe, including anarchist and feminist activists who had been active in the Paris Commune of 1871, whom Geddes described as people 'whose characters were disciplined by the disasters of 70-71',[77] but had remerged as leaders of a great sociological movement that was gaining momentum in France. Geddes also corresponded with Kropotkin,[78] who developed the concept of mutual aid (1890) in opposition to the "Struggle for Existence" manifesto advanced by Huxley in 1888. Geddes had broken away from Huxley and he intended to take Haddon with him.

Haddon, however, was still part of Huxley's network of young, academically-trained marine zoologists operating in colleges, museums, and laboratories. Huxley had the political connections[79] and scientific authority to effect a post-evolution restructuring of the natural sciences in Britain from the 1860s onwards. He developed a complex system of interlocking marine biology assets that operated as follows: specimens were collected and classified by field zoologists on expedition or working in universities and associated laboratories (see Kofoid 1910, 144-145). The collections were sorted and displayed in museums, which functioned as centres of specialist research and public instruction. Reports were presented at meetings of learned societies and published in their journals. Haddon entered Huxley's system on graduation from Christ's College in 1879. Alfred Newton asked Huxley to organise a job for Haddon and, as stated (p. 37), Huxley assigned Haddon to the Chair of Zoology in the Royal College of Science in Dublin in December 1880. He also put him in charge of reorganising the natural history collections in the Museum of Science and Art in Dublin. As a government scientist and a member of Huxley's network, it would have been expected that Haddon would get involved in the development of fisheries and he duly undertook research into trawling methods and food-fish stocks. He was one of nine scientists that were involved in a dredging expedition off the southwest coast of Ireland in 1885 (see Praeger 1949, 186; Fig 2.1,

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[77] Geddes to Haddon, December 11 [1889] (HP F3 CUL). See Appendix 1.
[78] *Ibid.*
[79] Huxley served as a Government Inspector of Fisheries from 1881-1885 (Rozwadowski 2008, 28-29), resigning due to ill-health.

2.2). The expedition was funded by the Royal Irish Academy, which the Rev Dr Samuel Haughton presided over. The Rev William Spotswood Green was in charge of trawling operations. Haughton and Green were instrumental in Haddon's decision to abandon marine biology in 1890 and look for a job in anthropology as an alternative, but there is plenty of evidence that Haddon's career as a marine biologist was in trouble before then.

As an academic, Haddon specialised in sea anemones and he wasn't doing very well. Brandt had captured the field with his paper on symbiosis. Haddon's revision of British Actiniae was unremarkable except for his collaboration with Alice Shackleton (Haddon & Shackleton 1891 & 1891A). She was, according to Haddon,[80] the first woman to present a scientific paper to the Royal Dublin Society. The scientific value of Haddon's researches was less remarkable however. He failed to secure a post in Melbourne in 1888 (University of Melbourne 1888, 21) and, in response, planned an expedition that would demonstrably enhance his capacity as a systematic field biologist, thereby improving his future prospects of employment.

Haddon headed to the Torres Strait in 1888 to carry out detailed observations and morphological investigations of sea anemones native to Oceania and compare them to populations in the British Isles: the scientific programme was worked out over dinner with Huxley (see Quiggin 1942, 80) and Haddon's approach was elaborated in a revision of British sea anemones that he read before the Royal Dublin Society prior to his departure for the Torres Strait (Haddon 1889). He intended to produce data that could be used to map patterns of geographic distribution and variation in a single species. Tracing specific distinctions, Haddon argued, depended on recovering typical specimens in their original locations:

> The most satisfactory way to accomplish this is to go to the original locality and collect specimens there. Then, having recovered it, the type must be subjected to anatomical investigation. Its place in the system of Actiniae will then be accurately known, and not till then. (Haddon 1889, 297-8)

Reading this, it is not difficult to see how Haddon's decision to become an

[80] Anon. 1890. "Royal Dublin Society." *Freeman's Journal*, November 20: 7. Shackleton studied under Haddon and was one of three female marine biologists listed in the Royal Society *Catalogue of Scientific Papers 1800-1900*, all of whom were associated with Haddon (Creese 2004, 237).

anthropologist could be interpreted as a fairly straightforward transition from marine zoology to physical anthropology. It was, after all, a well-trodden route.

The study of non-Europeans by natural scientists in the field developed as a component of oceanographic research (see Urry 1982, 62). Bronwen Douglas (2008) cited an address by George Cuvier (1769-1832), the French zoologist and explorer, to the *Société de Géographie* in Paris in 1829 as a benchmark in the development of field anthropology. Cuvier, the pre-eminent taxonomist of his generation (*ibid*., 114), celebrated recent conquests of geography that had included the study of the languages and customs of the inhabitants and, in the process, ensured that Oceania became a particular focus of empirical research in the 'classic era of scientific voyaging between 1766 and 1840 … not least in the natural history of man and the nascent discipline of anthropology.' (*ibid*., 99).

Flower used Cuvier's scheme for 'race description and classification' (Haddon & Quiggin 1910, 88) in the British Museum, albeit in a slightly modified way (*ibid*., 93-94). In 1893 however, Haddon rejected the emphasis placed on classification by biologists of the old school. Classification was, Haddon declared, a science of death, a reference to the drawers full of preserved specimens in the Natural History Museum in Dublin.[81] He adopted a modern, systematic approach to the study of coral reefs in 1888, but the principal innovation of that expedition was the study of the languages and customs of the people he encountered in the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea. Haddon, it could be argued, followed in Cuvier's footsteps when he landed in Oceania in 1888, yet it would be a mistake to think of this as the unexpected consequence of encounters with the inhabitants of a biological zone: the anthropological epiphany that has become such a feature of disciplinary folklore. Haddon, as stated (p. 43), incorporated a well-planned and ambitious anthropological programme into the expedition, even if it does not feature in the prospectus that he drew up over dinner with Huxley and submitted to Michael Foster in the Royal Society as an application for funding.

Becoming an Anthropologist

Haddon planned to collect specimens for Flower in the British Museum as well

[81] Haddon. 1893. "Rambles in the Natural History Museum 1." *The Irish Daily Independent,* December 26: 5.

as information on customary practices and beliefs for Frazer, using a copy of a questionnaire on "Manners, Customs, Religion, Superstitions, &c" that was prepared by Frazer and Holmes (1889).[82] He also intended to use the cultural section of *Notes and Queries* (1874) as a field manual (Haddon 1890, 300). He decided not to measure anyone, citing advice from Flower (Haddon 1935: xi). Instead he took photographs and collected a very significant amount of material culture including, of course, skulls that could be studied by anatomists and physical anthropologists.[83] Haddon, according to Quiggin (1942, 82), planned to collect 'curios' to sell and so defray the cost of the expedition. On his return he drew up lists of ethnographic items[84] for sale to various museums (Fig. 2.3, 2.4). Sarah Byrne, using Haddon's journal, argued that Haddon developed an interest in these artefacts as 'ethnological specimens' (Haddon' 1888-89, 8 cited in Byrne 2011, 311) while he was in the Torres Strait, a statement that supports the idea of an epiphany. The careful planning that went into this aspect of the expedition–his consultations with Huxley and Flower, his correspondence with MacFarlane, and Frazer's questionnaire for instance– suggests otherwise and Haddon's version may have more to do with the expectations created by the funding application submitted to Foster in the Royal Society. Likewise, the anthropological focus of his post-expedition work in London suggests that the material he collected in the field was never considered solely as curios for sale.

After the expedition, Haddon spent some months in the British Museum sorting through his ethnographic collections and writing ethnographic and folk-lore papers (see Haddon 1935, xi – xii; 1890 and 1890A, B, C, & D; 1891). Anita Herle (1998) described how Haddon gave his notes to Tylor to do with them as he saw fit and presented the 'bulk of his specimens' (*ibid.*) to the British Museum.[85] Flower mounted an exhibition of material from the expedition in October 1889. *Nature*

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[82] Frazer's questionnaire dealt mainly with religion and magic.
[83] Haddon sold skulls to Cunningham in TCD (Haddon to Cunningham, November 10, 1889, uncatalogued TCD).
[84] The National Museum of Ireland, formerly the Science and Art Museum, holds 117 items that Haddon collected. A schedule that Haddon prepared after the expedition (HP 1048/1-2 CUL) lists around 30 items.
[85] Anita Herle noted, however, that Haddon had to choose between the British Museum (Flower) and the Oxford Museum (Tylor) as the destination for 'the first set of all anthropological specs.' (Herle 1998, 78). Duplicates were offered to Oxford, Cambridge, and the Horniman (see Byrne 2011).

reported that 'special interest'[86] attached to the anthropological specimens in the collection of objects that Haddon had brought back from the Torres Strait.

Haddon read a report "On some former Customs and Beliefs of the Torres Straits Islanders" (Haddon 1889A / BAAS, 1890: 786) into the record of Section H in September 1889, his first occasion to address the Anthropological Section.[87] On November 12, 1889 Haddon was elected as a member of the Anthropological Institute and, two weeks later, he read "The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits" into the record. He described his entry into anthropology as follows:

> In the summer of 1888 I went to Torres Straits to investigate the structure and fauna of the coral reefs of that district. Very soon after my arrival in the Straits I found… that, with the exception of but one or two individuals, none of the white residents knew anything about the customs of the natives, *and not a single person cared about them personally*. … the young men had a very imperfect acquaintance with the old habits and beliefs, and that only from the older men was reliable information to be obtained. This being my opinion, *I felt it my duty to fill up all the time not actually employed in my zoological researches in anthropological studies* … (Haddon1890, 297-8, emphasis added).

Haddon was fibbing. His journal suggests that his interest in anthropology had completely overwhelmed his zoological researches. He recorded the following "timesheet" after four months in the field:

> I fancy a fair verdict would be (1) coral reef investigator - much less than I should of liked, but I am making a start - (2) General marine zoology about as much as I could reasonably expect to do. (3) Anthropology much more than I anticipated. (Haddon 1888-1889, 52 quoted in Byrne 2011, 311).

"Anticipated" is the key word here. It confirms that Haddon planned to undertake anthropological research.

Haddon, however, was sticking to the version of events presented in the "The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits." In May 1891, Haddon wrote to Michael Foster, his contact in the Royal Society, looking for a grant to publish a monograph on the Torres Strait. He told Foster that he had 'employed the *time not otherwise devoted to my zoological and geological* investigations in studying the natives & in making an ethnographical collection and in taking photographs.'[88]

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[86] *Nature* 40 (October 24, 1889): 626.
[87] Haddon published an essay of the same title in *Nature* (Haddon 1889B).
[88] Haddon to Foster, May 7, 1891 (HP F21/2 CUL), emphasis added.

Haddon was making it clear to Foster that anthropology had not overtaken the biological and geological research that the Royal Society had paid for. Despite the spin he put on events, it is clear that Haddon was far more interested in anthropology than in general marine zoology. It is equally clear that it was the social and cultural aspects of anthropology that interested him. Between 1889 and 1893, Haddon produced five reports on the Actiniae and zoology of the Torres Strait, but he published twelve papers on cultural aspects of life in the islands, including three that dealt with decorative art.[89]

All the evidence suggests that Haddon did not regard physical anthropology as the primary focus of his fieldwork, although he repeatedly acknowledged the need to accommodate the interests of anatomists and physical anthropologists. In 1889, he promised a report on 'the physical characteristics of the islanders' (Haddon 1890, 300), although he never completed it.[90] In 1891, he informed Foster that he 'brought home a number of skulls & these also exist in various museums so there are materials for a craniological study of the people, which I could include in the proposed monograph.'[91] One has to be mindful of the various positions that Haddon adopted in relation to the people he was addressing, but it is clear that he differentiated between his investigations and those of a physical anthropologist. To put this into perspective, Radcliffe-Brown adopted the same approach in the Andaman Islands in 1906 and 1907, [92] which suggests that he was following Haddon's lead on physical anthropology in the field.

There is, on the other hand, clear evidence that Haddon was radicalised by Chalmers. It has been argued in Chapter One that contacts between Haddon's family, nonconformist missionaries, and reformist political movements predisposed Haddon to adopt a nativist attitude in the field. Haddon, however, tended to downplay the outrage he felt at the extent of the subjugation and cultural loss that he witnessed in

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[89] "Art and Ornament in British New Guinea"(*Nature*, 1891).
"On the Value of Art in Ethnology" (Nature, 1892).
"Woodcarving in the Trobriand" (*Illustrated Archaeology*,1893).

[90] The same thing happened after the 1898 expedition. Haddon never completed his report on the physical anthropological research carried out during the expedition. Instead he published a *General Ethnography* in 1935.

[91] *Op Cit.*, emphasis added.

[92] Radcliffe-Brown 'hoped to be able to obtain the services of some one … to assist or direct me in the measurement and study of the collection of skulls and skeletons that I brought to England' (Radcliffe-Brown 1922, viii).

papers presented within organised anthropology. That outrage was reserved for his critique of the Imperial Institute, which he attempted to publish in *The Nineteenth Century,* the monthly journal that published the articles by Huxley and Kropotkin referred to earlier (p. 52).[93] Otherwise Haddon spoke in code. The use of the word “former” to describe the “customs and beliefs” of the Torres Strait islanders (1889 & 1889A) provides the key to that code. “Former” functions as a metonymy for the “extermination” of other civilisations by Anglo-Saxon colonists. “Customs and Beliefs” revealed an ethnological attitude and, when combined with “Former,” points to the study of folk-lore as a vehicle for anti-colonial activism, which became Haddon’s principal mechanism for reconstructing the institution of anthropology.

Becoming A Folklorist

Gomme acknowledged as much in 1890 when he congratulated the Folk-lore Society on its ‘veritable capture’ (Gomme 1891, 13) of ‘Professor Haddon [*who*] went out to the Torres Straits on an expedition on behalf of natural science; he returned an ardent folklorist, and immediately joined us.’ (*ibid.*). Capture, for a start, confirms that Haddon’s decision to become an ethnologist was more of a rupture than the gradualist transition described in conventional histories. Gomme also answers the question posed by Geddes in his letter of December 1889. According to Gomme Haddon intended to become an anthropologist by becoming an *ardent* folklorist. Ardent is interpreted here as an analogue of the *zeitgeist* that Haddon detected in Gomme’s study of village communalism, which Haddon interpreted as a commitment to work of ‘practical value … in reconstruction’,[94] bearing in mind that social reconstruction was an analogue of socialism for utopian New Lifers and political Fabians. Ardent is a very forceful term, suggesting an activism that was born out of outrage at what Haddon witnessed in the Torres Strait.

“Outrage” and “activism” are words that are rarely if ever used to describe Haddon’s involvement in the folk-lore movement. “Evolutionist” and “Survival” are more usual. This, I propose, is the result of the rhetoric used by folk-lore activists in the 1890s. Haddon entered the folk-lore movement when anthropology was being

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[93] Haddon’s file (F5061) also contains rejection slips from *The New Review* and *The Fortnightly Review.*

[94] Haddon to Havelock Ellis, May 14,1890 (HP F 3 CUL). See Appendix 1.

transformed by a quantitative ethos derived from physical science on the understanding that evolution was governed by natural laws.[95] The capture of *Professor* Haddon, *the natural scientist*, bolstered the Folk-lore Society's claim to be taken seriously as a player in the field of scientific anthropology. Gomme also described Haddon as 'a scientific man [*who*] knows the value of *precision* in recording *facts*, and I do not know a more perfect model of *genuine* story-collecting than his.' (*ibid.*, emphasis added). Nevertheless, the folklore movement was treated with some disdain by anthropologists (Bennett & Stocking 1997, 122) and Gomme attempted to validate the study of folk-lore as science by emphasising the evolutionary significance of survivals in '*organised studies* that deal with the Past of Man' (Gomme 1890, 1, emphasis added). The role of the ethnographer was, according to Gomme, to record 'any instances of popular "superstition," legend, or practice, that still linger in the British Islands or in the outlying parts of the British Empire.' (*ibid.*, see also Gomme, 1890B). Haddon represented Gomme's approach as a form of 'psychological palaeontology,'[96] which has been widely interpreted as evidence of an evolutionist mindset (see Stocking 1995, 107; Jones 1998, 195; Beiner 2012, 151; Ó Giolláin 2017, 6-7 for example). This is important because it sets up an opposition between Irish folk-lore and English ethnology that is central to a discussion of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory and home rule in Chapter Three.

For now, we need to focus on what Haddon was referring to, which was a theory of survivals in language-based culture that could be used to link modern civilisation with other less-developed or *antecedent* civilisations, in line with Kropotkin's theory that 'the path to understanding a complex civilization lay through simpler societies.' (Maddock 2002, 702). Gomme made a strategic decision to exploit the importance physical anthropologists attached to craniology as a chronological tool, a method closely associated with archaeology and palaeontology. Gomme (1892) argued that the survival of savage customs in a civilised nation–which he referred to as 'inherited rude and irrational practices'(*ibid.*, 11)–could be rationalised by 'a close study of ethnic types in our local populations in relation to the folklore preserved by them.' (*ibid.*, 20). Gomme was trying to bridge the methodological and

[95] The most explicit statement of that ethos is contained in the final report on anthropometric methods that was published by the BAAS and the Royal Anthropological Institute (1909).
[96] Haddon to Havelock Ellis, May 14,1890 (HP F3 CUL).

epistemological gap that separated the skull measuring business and the comparative study of language and legends.[97] Whether Haddon believed in the doctrine of survivals is, in some ways, irrelevant. To begin with, Haddon used the term palaeontology to underscore the value of Gomme's arguments in two ways.

The first was the idea of discoverable facts buried deep in the layers of contemporary culture. Haddon developed this idea in *The Study of Man* (1898, 376), which may represent a fragment of an unfinished study of anthropology that Havelock Ellis commissioned in 1890. Indeed, Haddon's introduction to *The Study of Man* incorporated an earlier essay on "The Study of Anthropology," which he published in the journal of the university extension movement three years earlier.[98] In this article, Haddon described anthropology as conventionally limited to the study of the natural history of the human species and offered the study sociology and folk-lore as a way to humanise and socialise anthropology. Haddon's definition of sociology in *The University Extension Journal* represents, as stated already (p. 9), a post-evolutionist synthesis of ideas taken from Le Play and Kropotkin: the study of the 'gradual and *diverse* evolution' (Haddon 1895, 25) of geographically bounded human communities in a way that avoided the danger of slotting culturally specific facts 'into a rigorously defined order of evolution.' (*ibid*.). Geddes, in retrospect, acknowledged that Haddon was an idealist who approached 'sociology through anthropology'[99] and, in this context, the study of folk—ethnically distinct communities—and their lore was represented by Haddon in "The Study of Anthropology" as a way of gaining insight into ancestral religion, which he treated as a tricky-but-fascinating subject, just as dance—ceremonial and secular—and art were fascinating subjects that were 'replete with *human interest*, as being associated with some of the deepest and most subtle *ideas*' (Haddon 1895, 25, emphasis added). The task of ethnography–adapted from Kropotkin's definition of the task of geography in

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[97] Tylor (1884) told the inaugural meeting of Section H that the imperfect science of craniology was incapable of solving problems of origin. Ten years later Flower (1894) told Section H that physical anthropology alone was capable of solving problems of origin.

[98] Haddon filed a clipping of the article, which is held in Folder 4008 of the Haddon Papers in Cambridge. The article was published in the *University Extension Journal* (no volume information). The article is reproduced in Appendix 5.

[99] Geddes to Haddon, May 1903 (https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1259871109/view). See Appendix 1.

general education (Kropotkin 1885, 942-3)–was to collect ideas that illustrated the essential unity of human kind that, in turn, underpinned diverse expressions of human nature and, thereby, demonstrate the 'common impulses and sympathies [*that*] link the extremes of human kind.' (Haddon 1890A, 567). Folk-lore collection, according to Haddon was less about salvage than the urgent task 'of *dissipating the prejudices* in which we are reared' (Kropotkin 1885, 942-3) in relation to the other, newly-colonised societies and thereby giving practical effect to the idea of 'The *solidarity* of the human race' (Haddon 1890A, 567, emphasis added).

The second way in which palaeontology make sense as Haddon applied it to the study of folk-lore is that palaeontological evidence was very effective in contradicting the creationist timeline of natural history, simply because the fossil evidence was so strong. Gomme, according to Haddon, was trying to apply the same –empirical–standard of evidence to folk-lore.

Finally, Haddon had a very literal understanding of "survival." He informed Foster in 1891 that 'the Islanders are dying out & most of the islands rapidly losing all their past customs so that there is not much chance of very much new information being obtained about them.'[100] Haddon understood the cultural degradation of island populations as a problem of imperialist aggression and colonial prejudice. As noted earlier (p. 57), Haddon stated on the record of the Anthropological Institute that 'none of the white residents knew anything about the customs of the natives, *and not a single person cared about them personally…*" (Haddon 1890: 297-8, emphasis added).

To employ the concept of survival simply as a mechanism for establishing a progressive evolutionist logic in the study of folk-lore (Jones 1998, Beiner 2012, Ó Giolláin 2017) is to miss the most striking feature of Haddon's understanding of the place of folk-lore within anthropology. That is, it provided a vehicle for an enraged, moral, and vehemently anti-colonial response to what he experienced during his first expedition to the Torres Strait. Havelock Ellis, like Gomme, recognised that in the reports that Haddon presented in 1889. He recruited Haddon, who Gomme, Geddes and Élie Reclus under the banner of the Contemporary Science Series. They were already engaged in a dialogue with anarchist geographers, ethnologists, and social reformers about anthropology. Their plan? To begin the practical reconstruction of

[100] Haddon to Foster 7 May, 1891 (HP F21/2CUL), original emphasis.

the institution of anthropology in England as part of a wider reform programme that enjoined utopian New Lifers, Fabians, socialists, neo-phyte Marxists, and anarchists.[101]

Reconstructing English Anthropology

Geddes went to Paris in the Summer of 1878, on the advice of Huxley incidentally. He met Edmond Demolins (1852-1907) of the Le Playist *Société d'Economie Sociale*. He introduced Geddes 'to the attempts being made to develop a Le Playist social science dedicated to securing peaceful social evolution in the future.' (Meller 2008). On his return, Geddes formed an alliance with John Kells Ingram (1823-1907), a Comptean positivist and founder member of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society in Dublin. Together they opposed Galton's biological arguments–eugenics–with sociological arguments[102] (see Steele 1998, 4; Renwick 2009, 49). Geddes also developed a keen interest in the problems of urban renewal in Edinburgh and, by 1890, had combined the two in civics, a form of applied sociology that gave practical effect to his theory of social reconstruction.

It was at this point that Geddes engaged Haddon in a conversation about sociology. They exchanged a series of letters between December 1889 and May 1890, some of which are transcribed in Appendix 1. Geddes letters are held in Cambridge University Library and Haddon's part of the conversation is extrapolated from these. Geddes advised Haddon to 'take Flowers advice'[103] and become an anthropologist. Haddon took his advice and, in December 1889, Geddes welcomed that decision a letter[104] that has been quoted on several occasions already. It is treated here as a key piece of evidence, full of the sort of ugly little facts that, according to Huxley, prove fatal to theories and tropes alike. Geddes informed Haddon that

> It is very interesting to see how the [*Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*], which was when I went to its lectures ten years ago, wr as wooden / or rather osteological as could be, *has become essentially human*. The lectures are far better & are not ashamed of being so. You will get beyond Turner's[105] & Flower's notion of / the study of / anthropology just as you

[101] Haddon to Havelock Ellis, May 14,1890 (HP F3 CUL).
[102] At a meeting of the BAAS in TCD in 1878, Ingram confronted Galton and prevented the expulsion of Section F by redefining the science of sociology (see Renwick 2012, 34-42).
[103] Geddes to Haddon, N.D. (HP F3 CUL).
[104] Geddes to Haddon December 11, 1889 (HP F3 CUL). Appendix 1.
[105] William Turner (1832-1916), Professor of Anatomy in the University of

> have in fact and practice. In a word, the *skull measuring business*, if and when done, is now done by the “Germans”, so to speak - I mean the hewers of wood and drawers of water[106] - while of the professors, every one I have yet heard more or less has *risen* from the anatomical / & static standpoint to the physiological & dynamic one, & from the ——- individual study of the man as the unit to the standpoint of Comp. Sociology. Altogether a great scientific movement is beginning in France & more every year as the men whose characters were disciplined by the disasters of 70-71[107] come to the front, & get in their hand.’

The great scientific movement in France has already been interpreted as a reference to Solidarism (see p. 12), a ‘concept [*that*] evolved in the late-19th-century in France during a period of social, epistemological, and ontological change.’ (Allman 2012, 4). Geddes acknowledged the Paris Commune as an agent of change and welcomed the leadership of Communards who survived the purges that followed the brutal suppression of the Commune, stating that **‘**The sweetnesses of adversity are clear & manifest.’[108] Geddes was introducing Haddon to a network of radicals that would profoundly influence his developing sense of the practice and purpose of anthropology in the first half of the 1890s. In this context, Geddes’s statement that Haddon had moved beyond Turner and Flower’s ‘notion of /the study of anthropology … in fact and practice’ is further evidence of the extent to which Haddon had already been radicalised, politically and practically.

In another undated letter,[109] Geddes asked if Haddon had read the entry on “Evolution” in *Chambers Encyclopaedia* (Geddes & Thompson 1889, see p. 52). He also thought Haddon would be interested in a ‘fresh and unconventional’[110] piece on the environment written by Thompson. Geddes reminded Haddon that he had lent him ‘a letter to Kropotkine [*sic.*] on the teaching of biology’ and asked him what he thought of it. Kropotkin regularly travelled to Edinburgh to consult with Geddes and

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Edinburgh. Turner and Haddon were both elected members of the Anthropological Institute on November 12, 1889.

[106] ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water’ refers to menial drudges and labourers, a biblical allusion to Joshua 9:21. Source: Oxford Index: https://oxfordindex.oup.com/search?q=hewers+of+wood

[107] This is a reference to the Paris Commune of 1870-71. Geddes was acquainted with the anarchist and feminists who built the Anti-authoritarian International after the Commune (See Ferretti 2016, 68-88).

[108] *Op. Cit.*

[109] Geddes to Haddon, n.d. (HP F3 CUL). See Appendix 1.

[110] *Ibid.*

Anna Morton (1857-197), his wife and co-founder of the Edinburgh Social Union (Renwick 2012, 91). Geddes also mentioned that he had met the anarchist Éliseé Reclus, who was living in exile in Switzerland. Geddes stated that he was greatly influenced by him.

Geddes introduced Haddon to Havelock Ellis.[111] Ellis travelled to Paris in April 1890 to make contact with reformist writers and political activists.[112] Geddes told Havelock Ellis about Haddon's intention to investigate the condition of anthropology in France. Havelock Ellis wrote to Haddon stating that he had been 'in Paris for some months with the same object in view.'[113] Havelock Ellis continued:

> The condition of anthropology and anthropological teaching in England is deplorable in the extreme, & I should be very glad indeed to cooperate in any movement for putting anthropology in England in its proper position. It seems to me indeed, that the "psychological moment" has now arrived. In my series I am giving the first place to the anthropological sciences, & I do not find that it is more unpopular on that account, it has, indeed, been extremely successful.

Havelock Ellis wrote that he had read Haddon's treatment of the Torres Strait Islanders in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (Haddon 1890) and *Folklore* (Haddon 1890B & 1890C).[114] He asked Haddon to consider writing a general study for the Contemporary Science Series. The series, Havelock Ellis promised elsewhere,[115] would frankly investigate and clearly present

> all the questions of modern life–the various social and political-economical problems of to-day, the most recent researches in the knowledge of man, the past and present experiences of the race, and the nature of its environment.

Havelock Ellis published *The New Spirit* in 1890. He used the introduction to present a manifesto for the Contemporary Science Series. Science, art, and literature were treated as a unified field of creative action for social and political reform that was,

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[111] Geddes met Havelock Ellis through the Fellowship of the New Life. They also met Edward Carpenter, whose theories on sexuality led to a collaboration that resulted in *The Evolution of Sex* (Geddes & Thompson 1889). See Tom Steele's online essay on the relation between Geddes and Reclus (Steele 1998).
[112] Arthur Symons to James Dykes Campbell, April 16, 1890 (quoted in Beckson & Munro 1989, 64).
[113] Havelock Ellis to Haddon, May 8, 1890 (HP F3CUL).
[114] *Ibid*.
[115] Anon.1890. "Contemporary Science Series." *Journal of Mental Science*, 36, 153 (April 1890): 265.

according to Havelock Ellis, being transformed by a modernising, scientific spirit. As stated earlier (p. 39), Will Dircks was a senior executive at the publisher of the Series and it seems that Dircks and Havelock Ellis had reconstituted the earlier Manuscript Club as the Contemporary Science Series, creating much wider access to the ideas of the Progressive Association and the Fellowship of the New Life[116] and incorporating a much wider range of 'social and political-economical' thought in the process.

One of the main forces at work in the nineteenth century was, according to Havelock Ellis, the

> great and growing sciences of man–anthropology, sociology, whatever we like to call them including also that special and older development, now become a new thing, though still retaining its antiquated name of Political Economy… once termed the dismal science but revitalised by the 'question of a man's right to a foothold on the earth … (Havelock Ellis 1890, 5-6)

He also cites the foundation of the *Société d'Anthropologie* by Paul Broca in the same year that Darwin published his *Origin of Species* as an 'expansion of the human spirit [*that*] has given a mighty impulse to the patient study of nature and the accumulation of facts now seen to bear such *infinite possibilities of farther advance*.' (*ibid*., 7, emphasis added). Scientific agnosticism[117] was driving the 'practical application of this scientific spirit' (*ibid*., 9) and the biggest change that had taken place since 1859, he argues, was that 'social rather than theological questions seem to be the legitimate outcome of the scientific spirit, when *all things connected with social organisation* have become the matters of most vital interest to those who are really alive to the time in which they live….' (*ibid*., 12, emphasis added). He paraphrased Kropotkin's theory of antecedence–that social reconstruction proceeds from the study of simpler societies–without citing him. Earlier, simpler societies were, according to Havelock Ellis, 'as lamps to us in our social progress' (*ibid*., 2).

Havelock Ellis, as stated, was determined to anchor the Contemporary Science Series in anthropology/sociology and he assembled a body of mostly Anglo-French

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[116] The Manuscript Club distributed literature amongst its members on a round-robin basis and the Fellowship met in members' homes, lodgings, and offices (see MacKenzie 1975), arrangements that reflect the fringe nature of both movements.
[117] Havelock Ellis cites Huxley as one of the most militant and indefatigable exponents of a scientific impulse to face the world as it is and 'the growing willingness to search out the facts of things, rather than to shape it to the form of unreasoned and traditional ideals'(1890, 7).

literature in which the influence of Kropotkin and Reclus is very apparent. Gomme, for instance contributed *The Village Community, With Special Reference To The Origin And Form Of Its Survivals In Britain* in 1890. He transposed Kropotkin's theory of antecedence onto village communalism in Britain and Ireland. He treated village organisation as a racial construct that was primitive in origin–pre-Aryan–but had evolved into a democratic model of an open, self-governing, and self-supporting community[118] in line with contemporary socialism. This last point–self-government–is interesting. One of the prerequisites of social reconstruction, according to Havelock Ellis in *The New Spirit,* was a recognition that the limits of representative government necessitated that every person 'must be a member of government' (Havelock Ellis 1890, 14), an argument that was very close to Proudhon's 1863 revision of the definition of anarchy as 'the government of each by each – an-archy or self-government' (Proudhon 1979, 9). Havelock Ellis, however, emphasised evolution rather than revolution, recapitulating a core tenet of the New Lifers: that social reconstruction 'should proceed by only such revolutionary means as are consistent with the natural development of the community, and that social development can only advance side by side with individual development.' (Henry Hyde Champion quoted in MacKenzie 1979, 36).

Havelock Ellis further developed the theme of social organisation by commissioning a translation of Élie Reclus's *Les Primitive: Études d'Ethnologie Comparée* (1885) in 1891. Reclus prefaced his study of the evolution of social organisation with a statement that 'The new-born science of ethnography may, I think, be considered as the psychology of the species, just as demography may stand for its physiology, and anthropology *represent an enlarged sort of anatomy*' (Reclus 1891, vii, emphasis added). He dismissed the tendency 'to look down scornfully from the heights of modern civilisation upon the mental processes of former times, upon the ways of feeling, acting, and thinking which characterise human aggregations anterior to our own' (*ibid*., viii).

The roll-out of The Contemporary Science Series as an instrument of social reconstruction frames Havelock Ellis's decision to ask Haddon to write about anthropology and, between May and June 1890, they tried to agree the terms of the

[118] This definition of the ethnological field is, I believe, what made the Aran Islands so important to Haddon's early experiments in ethnographic research. This argument will be developed in Chapter 4.

commission. Havelock Ellis was looking for a biological study of anthropology. Given that Havelock Ellis was talking to Geddes, it is more than likely that he was referring to bio-social theories rather than eugenics or the zoological formula favoured by Huxley. Either way, Havelock Ellis suggested a general approach whereby a zoological treatment of anthropology was made 'interesting … to the scientific man & to the world generally, along the lines of Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology*.'[119] He asked Haddon to give special attention to the points of view that 'ordinary anthropologists neglect, & also to those subjects which do not receive attention'.[120] He stated a preference for morphology over taxonomy and preferred 'that the savage man, the prehistoric man & the civilised man [*be treated as*] all one study.'[121] He also requested that "morals" be dealt with as a general theme instead of a separate and special section, as, it seems, was proposed by Haddon. Haddon wanted to write about art, but Havelock Ellis had asked William Henry Holmes (1846-1943), an archaeologist with the Bureau of American Ethnology, to deal with the evolution of art, because, according to Havelock Ellis, 'nobody could do this better.'[122] Haddon later referred to this as the 'book of pots[123] [*that*] has yet to be written.' (Haddon 1898: xviii).

Havelock Ellis and Haddon failed to agree on a format and the project was abandoned. Havelock Ellis refers in a letter written on May 14, 1891 to the difficult nature of the project without specifying what the difficulties were. [124] Some of these can be deduced from the correspondence. For instance, the scope of Haddon's initial outline was rejected by Havelock Ellis on the grounds that it would require several volumes.[125] Whatever the difficulties were, Haddon authored *The Study of Man* in 1898. It was a very different study of anthropology than that which was discussed by Havelock Ellis in 1890, which is hardly surprising given that it was produced under very different circumstances.

The Study of Man

[119] Havelock Ellis to Haddon, June 16, 1890 (HP F3 CUL).
[120] *Ibid.*
[121] *Ibid.*
[122] *Ibid*.
[123] Holmes was a Curator of Aboriginal Pottery (Swanton, 1935).
[124] Havelock Ellis to Haddon, May 14, 1891 (HP F3 CUL).
[125] Havelock Ellis to Haddon, June 16, 1890 (HP F3 CUL).

The Study of Man was the first volume in The Progressive Science Series, which was edited by Prof J. McKeen Cattell and Frank Evers Beddard.[126] Haddon was represented by the editors as 'an author of acknowledged authority' (Haddon 1898, 411) and a scientist who had kept abreast of rapid advances in contemporary science and its impact on society (*ibid*.). His job was to represent the importance of anthropology in 'a form that is intelligible and attractive.' (*ibid*.). Haddon, for his part, insisted that the book was not 'a *treatise* on anthropology, or its methods, but merely a collection of *samples* of the way in which *parts* of the subject are studied.' (*ibid*., iii, emphasis added).

The influence of Galton on *The Study of Man* is unmistakable. McKeen Cattell worked briefly with Galton in London and published a positive report on the Anthropometric Laboratory in South Kensington in *Mind* in 1890 [127] The opening essay on anthropometric measurement was a reworked version of a report by Haddon (1894C) on the identification of criminals–one of Galton's favourite topics–which Haddon published in his column in *The Daily Irish Independent* in December 1894.[128] Haddon extended this article with a summary of Galton's essay on why scientists measure mankind (Galton 1890A) and a report by John Venn[129] on the operation and of the anthropometric laboratory in Cambridge (Venn 1889). He followed this with chapters on the classification of physical characteristics and concluded this section of the book with an abstract of Collignon's ethnography of the Dordogne District (1894). Haddon presented this as an example of the 'modern

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[126] McKeen Cattell (1860-1944) was Head of Psychology, Anthropology, and Philosophy in Columbia University from 1891-1905 (see Plucker and Esping, 2014). Evers Beddard (1858-1925) was an English zoologist and Fellow of the Royal Society. He was an expert on earthworms.
[127] McKeen Cattell stated that 'It is convenient to follow Mr. Galton in combining tests of body, such as weight, size, colour of eyes, & c., with psychophysical and mental determinations …' (McKeen Cattell 1890, 373). He applied Galton's logic to psychology, arguing that psychology needed to rest on a foundation of experiment and measurement 'to attain the credibility associated with 'the certainty and exactness of the physical science' (*ibid.*). This has implications for the emphasis that was placed on psychometrics in the programme of the 1898 expedition to the Torres Strait. That is beyond the scope of the present study, but the fact that Haddon and McKeen Cattell were working together while the expedition was being planned was missed by Kuklick (1991) and Stocking (1995).
[128] Haddon. 1894. "The identification of criminals." *The Daily Irish Independent,* December 27: 6.
[129] Venn (1834-1923) was a mathematician and one of the first lecturers in moral science in Cambridge,

methods of anthropological investigation' (Haddon 1898, 46). Haddon followed this with two chapters on the evolution of technology, a project that he presented in Belfast[130] in January 1895 (Adams 1993, 5) and subsequently presented as a slide show at a ladies' *conversazione* [*sic*] that was organised by the Royal Society in 1896.[131] The next 8 chapters dealt with folk-lore and drew on previously published newspaper articles about children's games.[132] The book ended with "Practical suggestions for Conducting Ethnographic Investigations in the British Isles," which amounted to little more than a reworking of material produced by a Committee of the BAAS that managed a multi-agency ethnographic survey of the UK between 1892 and 1899.[133]

The Study of Man did not cover any of the projects mentioned by Frazer in his letter of 1891. There is no reference to the critique of the Imperial Institute or the book that Havelock Ellis commissioned, although the introduction incorporates Haddon 1895 essay on "The Study of Anthropology." The ethnographic survey of Ireland was incorporated into the ethnographic survey of the UK.[134] The customs of the Torres Strait are confined to a more general account of bull-roarers. Anti-colonial sentiment was eschewed and controversy in general avoided. Haddon, for instance, refuses to go down the fascinating albeit slippery path that is the anthropology of

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[130] The project was developed with Robert J. Welch, a photographer in Belfast who developed an "ethnographic" practice under guidance from Haddon. Welch presented an exhibition of the carts at the BAAS meeting in Belfast in 1902.

[131] See *Nature* 54, 159–161 (June 18, 1896): 161.

[132] Haddon wrote these articles for his column for *The Daily Irish Independent* in 1894 and 1895. *The Daily Chronicle* published the same articles in in1896 and 1897. *The Daily Chronicle* alone is acknowledged in the preface to *The Study of Man*.

[133] Haddon noted that 'no systematic survey of the British Isles has been attempted.' (1898: 350). Edward William Brabrook (1839-1930), civil servant and anthropologist, presented the seventh and final report in 1899 (Brabrook/BAAS 1899, 493-5) in which he stated that the Committee entrusted with the management of the Survey has gone as far as it could with the means at its disposal. Very little fieldwork was undertaken. The Irish Ethnographic Survey, an independent precursor of the UK survey, was exceptional in that conducted 8 annual surveys of targeted districts between 1892 and 1900 (see De Mórdha & Walsh 2012).

[134] Haddon cited reports published by the Royal Irish Academy between 1893 and 1897. These were used to illustrate the general scheme and ambitious scope of the programme (Haddon 1898, 350-351). He used a table of data from the Aran Islands to illustrate how an Index of Nigressence was calculated (*ibid*., 353-354).

religion.[135] He referred his readers to Tylor, Robertson Smith, Frazer, and Hartland instead (1898, xvii-xviii).

To summarise, *The Study of Man* represents a very different ‘intellectual ethnospace’ (Appadurai in Vincent 1990, 47) to the reformist treatment that Havelock Ellis looked for in 1890. D. G. Brinton described *The Study of Man* as representing the extremes of anthropological *practice* in the 1890s (Brinton 1898, 82). In this context *The Study of Man* and the “The Study of Anthropology” –the Havelock Ellis commission–function as useful benchmarks for the extremes of anthropological *thought* in the 1890s. Geddes placed comparative sociology at one extreme and the skull measuring business at the other and warned Haddon that he had to choose sides. Haddon, as argued, was predisposed to choose the revolutionary path, but *The Study of Man* shows that he became heavily involved in the skull measuring business. To become an anthropologist, however, meant engaging with the institutional power of physical anthropologists. *The Study of Man* stands as a record of that engagement.

Conclusion

Haddon decided to become an anthropologist at a time when Huxley’s authority–political and scientific–was being challenged by a new generation of scientists who were influenced by reformist and radical movements that began to organise around the need for social reconstruction in the 1880s: utopian New Lifers, political Fabians, former Communards, stateless anarchists, and third-way Solidarists amongst others. Geddes joined Ingram and Kropotkin in a concerted attack on biological theories advanced by Huxley and Galton at meetings of the BAAS and in journals like *The Nineteenth Century*. The movement shifted a gear in 1889 when Havelock Ellis began editing the Contemporary Science Series and created a platform for debate about social reconstruction that drew on a wide range of reformist and radical thought in a post-evlutionist environment. Gomme and Haddon were given the job of reconstructing English anthropology as a radical scientific enterprise, that is, the scientific study of social organisation that would lead the way in a wider reconstruction of English society in line with contemporary socialist thought as interpreted by utopians, Fabians, and anarchists. Haddon took his lead from

[135] Much of folklore was, according to Haddon, covered by the anthropology of religion.

Kropotkin and wrote a critique of British Imperial policy that was pitched at Journals like *The Nineteenth Century.* Whereas Geddes and Havelock Ellis were focussed on the sociological problem of reform at home, Haddon was activated by the anthropological problem of colonisation and the creeping extermination of other races that he had witnessed it in the Torres Strait in 1888. In short, just as Haddon's aunt Caroline had introduced socialism onto the agenda of the Fabian Society, Haddon introduced anti-imperialism onto the agenda of organised anthropology in the 1890s.

Haddon, however, had merely revived the humanitarian agenda of the Aboriginal Protection Society and the breakaway Ethnological Society of London, which pursued a similar mix of progressive science and anti-colonial agitation until it was forced to abandon its anti-government activism as a condition of membership of the BAAS, which provided access to funding for research (see Morrell & Thackray 283-286). Ethnology eventually became recognised as Anthropology in 1884 (see Flower 1894, 763), but it had become a science of biological fact that operated behind an embargo on political activism that was still in force in 1890. Haddon's critique of the Imperial Institute contravened that embargo and Huxley reminded him that debates about extermination as a consequence of Government policy in the colonies had no place in anthropology. The threat to his job in Dublin may have been implicit, but was no less real for that. Huxley, as stated, advised Haddon to concentrate on the systematic collection of anthropological facts,[136] bearing in mind that Haddon noted in "The Study of Anthropology" that anthropology was conventionally limited to the study of the natural history of the human species.

Haddon, unlike Geddes, had to defer to Huxley. Geddes operated on an independent, extra-mural basis whereas Haddon chose an intra-mural or institutional route to a job in anthropology in Cambridge. In 1897, Frazer informed Galton that Haddon was 'a poor man with a small professional income (£200 a year from Dublin) and, I believe, very small private means.'(Frazer quoted in Ackerman 2005, 101). It is possible that Haddon saw *The Study of Man* as an opportunity to integrate folklore and anthropometry in a heterodox practice, the sort of synthesis that Gomme had attempted in *Ethnology In Folklore* (1892). However, the introduction to *The Study Of Man*–a surviving fragment of the reformist text commissioned by Havelock Ellis

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[136] Huxley to Haddon Jan. 1, 1892 (HP F5061 CUL).

in 1890–set up an opposition between anatomical anthropology and a study of folk and their lore that is grounded in sociology, which he defined as a synthesis of anarchist geography, le Playist sociology, and Solidarist strategies. Haddon, as Brinton pointed out in his 1898 review of the book, merely confirmed the polarised nature of the scientific study of humans in the 1890s. That is why *The Study of Man* remains relevant. It stands as a record of a radical ethnologist's attempt to advance within with organised anthropology, revealing the extent to which institutional politics shaped practical choices on the way to becoming an ethnologist in Cambridge in 1900. Haddon was forced to compromise all along the way. The consequences of those compromises are considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE
PIGGY IN THE MIDDLE
(PLATES)

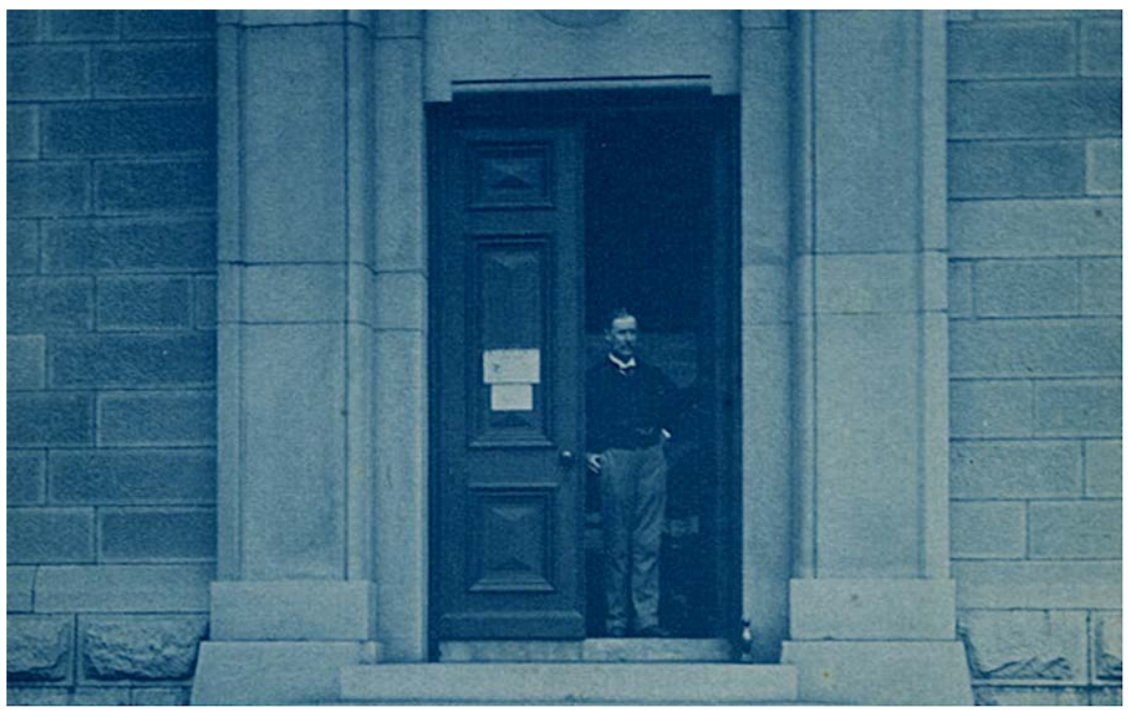
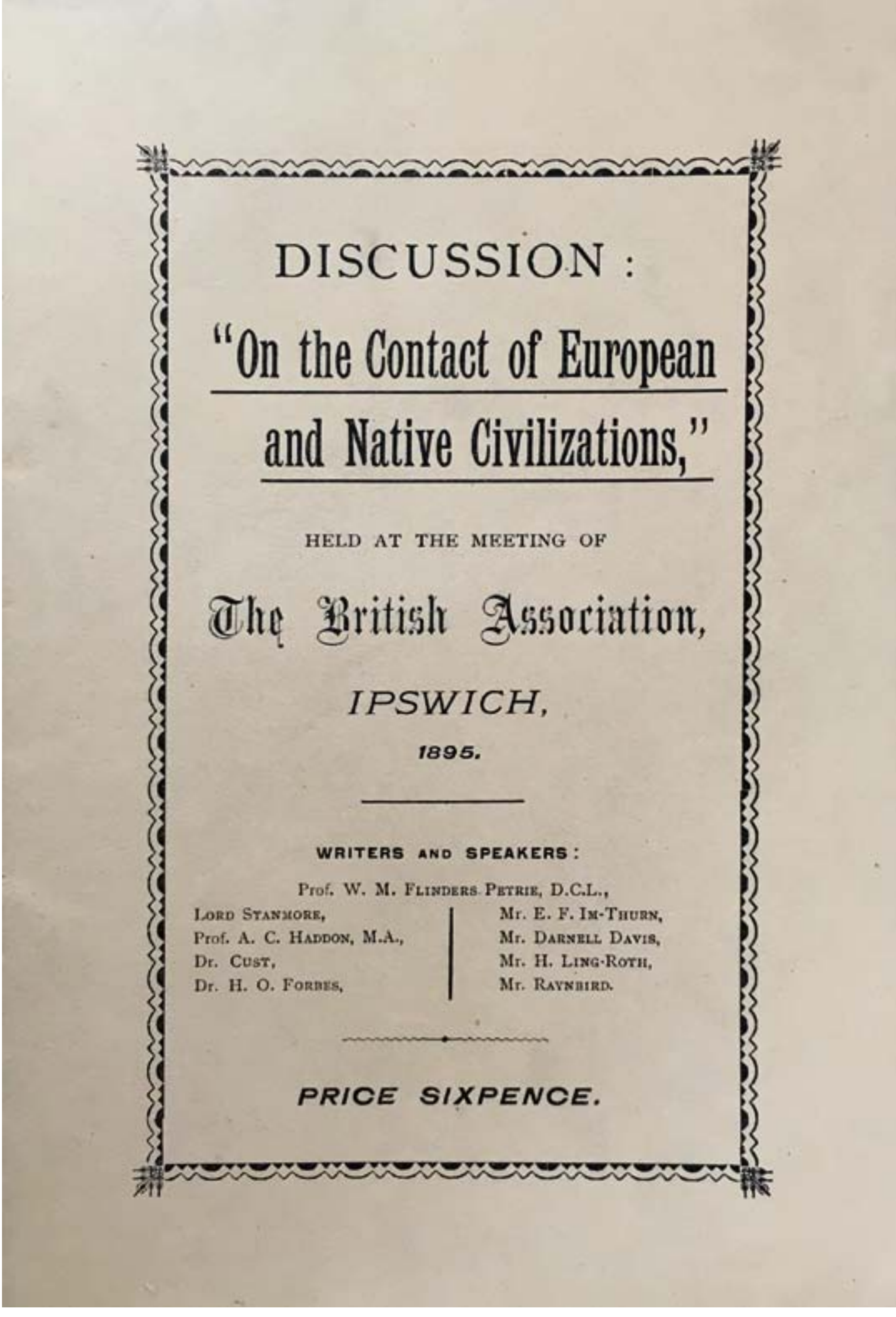


Fig. 3.1 Charles R. Browne, 1894, Daniel J. Cunningham, Professor of Anatomy TCD, standing in the doorway of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory, cyanotype (© TCD: MS10961-1_34).

Fig. 3.2 Anon., 1889, the interior of Edinburgh University dissecting room (© Wellcome Trust Image Collection: Slide Number L0013441).


DISCUSSION :

"On the Contact of European and Native Civilizations,"

HELD AT THE MEETING OF

The British Association,

IPSWICH,

1895.

WRITERS AND SPEAKERS :

Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L.,

Lord Stanmore,
Prof. A. C. Haddon, M.A.,
Dr. Cust,
Dr. H. O. Forbes,
Mr. E. F. Im-Thurn,
Mr. Darnell Davis,
Mr. H. Ling-Roth,
Mr. Raynbird.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Fig. 3.3 The cover of Haddon's copy of a pamphlet that the BAAS published as a record of the "discussion" that took place at the meeting of Section H in Ipswich in 1895 (HP F5061 CUL).

THE DUNDEE COURIER, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1895.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

TOBACCO CULTURE IN BRITAIN.

MUNIFICENT GIFT TO THE SALVATION ARMY.

LORD DUFFERIN'S SUCCESSOR AT PARIS.

THE NEW JULIET.

THE IONA DISASTER.

Identifying the Victims.

DUNDEE-BUILT BARQUE LOST WITH ALL HANDS.

DUNDEE VESSEL IN A STORM.

TERRIBLE EXPERIENCE.

THE ABANDONED GREENOCK STEAMER.

LIST OF THE CREW.

REV. JACOB PRIMMER AT CRIEFF.

THE PLAISTOW MURDER.

RESULT OF THE TRIAL.

AN EXTRAORDINARY LETTER.

DEATH OF FORFAR'S OLDEST INHABITANT.

INTERESTING CAREER.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

Debates on Savages.

Missionary Tactics Condemned.

New Population Theory.

Women's Organisation.

FARMING IN FORFARSHIRE.

PERTH AND SCONE TRAMWAY.

OPENING CEREMONY.

BANQUET AT SCONE.

Fig. 3.4 Anon., 1895, "The British Association: Debate on Savages – Missionary Tactics Condemned – New Population Theory– Women's Organisation," *The Dundee Courier,* September 18: 3.

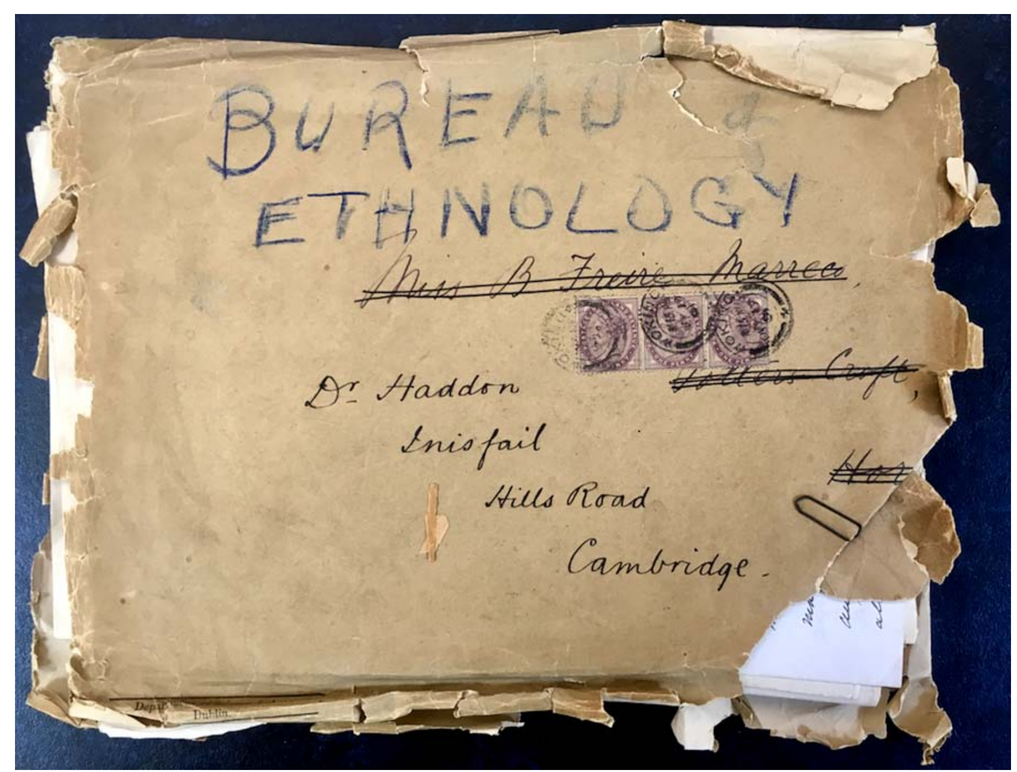
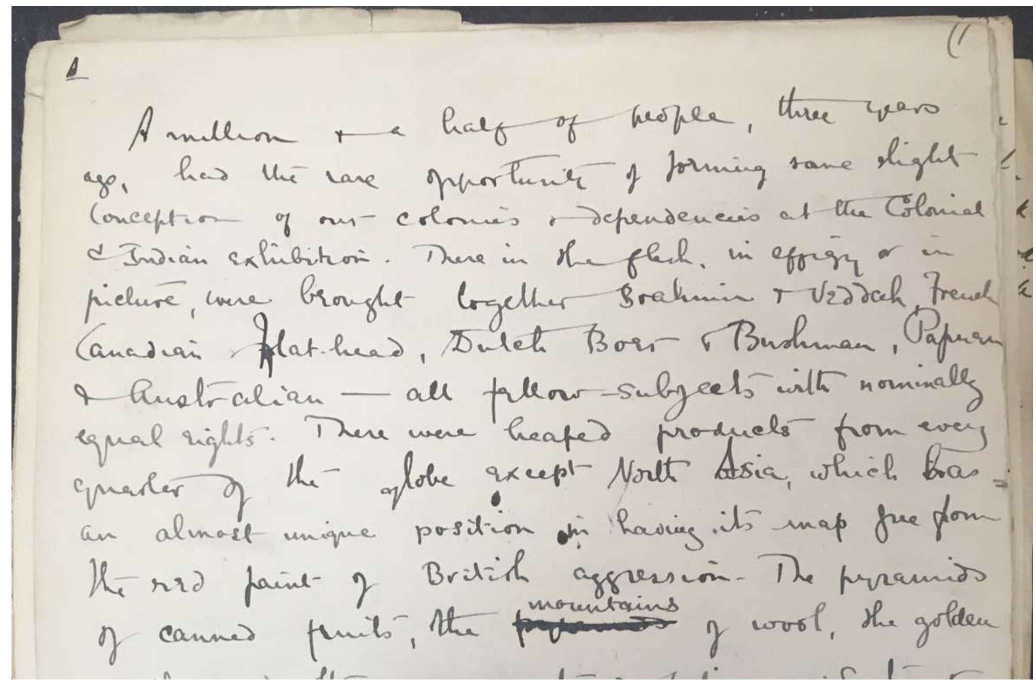


Fig. 3.5 The envelope containing the manuscript of Haddon's critique of the Imperial Institute, which became better known a proposal for the establishment of an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology (HP F5061 CUL).



A

A million & a half of people, three years
ago, had the rare opportunity of forming some slight
conception of our colonies & dependencies at the Colonial
& Indian exhibition. There in the flesh, in effigy or in
picture, were brought together Brahmin & Veddah, French
Canadian & Flat-head, Dutch Boer & Bushman, Papuan
& Australian — all fellow-subjects with nominally
equal rights. There were heaped products from every
quarter of the globe except North Asia, which has
an almost unique position in having its map free from
the red paint of British aggression. The pyramids
of canned fruits, the ~~pyramids~~ mountains of wool, the golden

Fig. 3.6 A section of the first page of the manuscript of Haddon's critique of the Imperial Institute (HP F5061 CUL). Stocking's transcript of the critique is reproduced in APENDIX 4.

Haddon 21

MEMORIAL TO THE GENERAL BOARD.

We, the undersigned members of the Senate, while expressing our satisfaction that the University has taken the first step towards recognising Anthropology as a subject of study by instituting a lectureship in Physical Anthropology, desire respectfully to point out to the General Board the desirability of providing instruction in other and not less important branches of Anthropology which deal with the mental, moral, and social aspects of primitive man, his customs, laws, institutions, religion, superstition, the growth of society and of all the arts of life. We venture to think that the present moment would be singularly opportune for founding a lectureship or readership in these branches of study, which on the continent are generally classed together under the name of Ethnology in contra-distinction to Anthropology, which foreign experts commonly limit to the study of the physical side of man's nature. It is an open secret that the University could, without unduly straining its finances, secure the services of one who is not only eminently fitted for the post by training, study, and experience, but has already laid the University and science under great obligations by teaching Anthropology in the University without a salary for three years, and by conducting to the East, with marked ability and success, a scientific expedition which has been fruitful in valuable additions to our knowledge of savage races in Torres Straits, New Guinea, North Queensland, and Borneo, and which has further enriched the University with a large and most valuable collection of ethnological objects brought from these regions. It appears to us that in creating a post such as we have indicated for Professor A. C. Haddon, the University would not merely strengthen itself by adding to its staff a teacher, who by his wide knowledge and interests, his indomitable energy, and his infectious enthusiasm would be likely to make Cambridge a centre of anthropological teaching and research; it would also perform a very gracious act in thus recognising and rewarding services which have been rendered to it and to science from a disinterested love of knowledge, and at personal sacrifices which only those who know Professor Haddon's circumstances can appreciate.

Alex Hill.
F. H. H. Guillemard.
Alex. Macalister.
M. Foster.
H. Jackson.
R. C. Jebb.
M. R. James.
Chas. Waldstein.
Alfred Newton.
T. McKenny Hughes.
G. H. Darwin.

William Ridgeway.
J. W. Clark.
J. G. Frazer.
A. Sedgwick.
W. Bateson.
Arthur E. Shipley.
J. J. Lister.
W. L. H. Duckworth.
J. Graham Kerr.
W. H. R. Rivers.

November, 1899.

Fig. 3.7 Frazer, Hill *et al*. 1899. Memorial to General Board of Cambridge University. (HP F21/1 CUL).

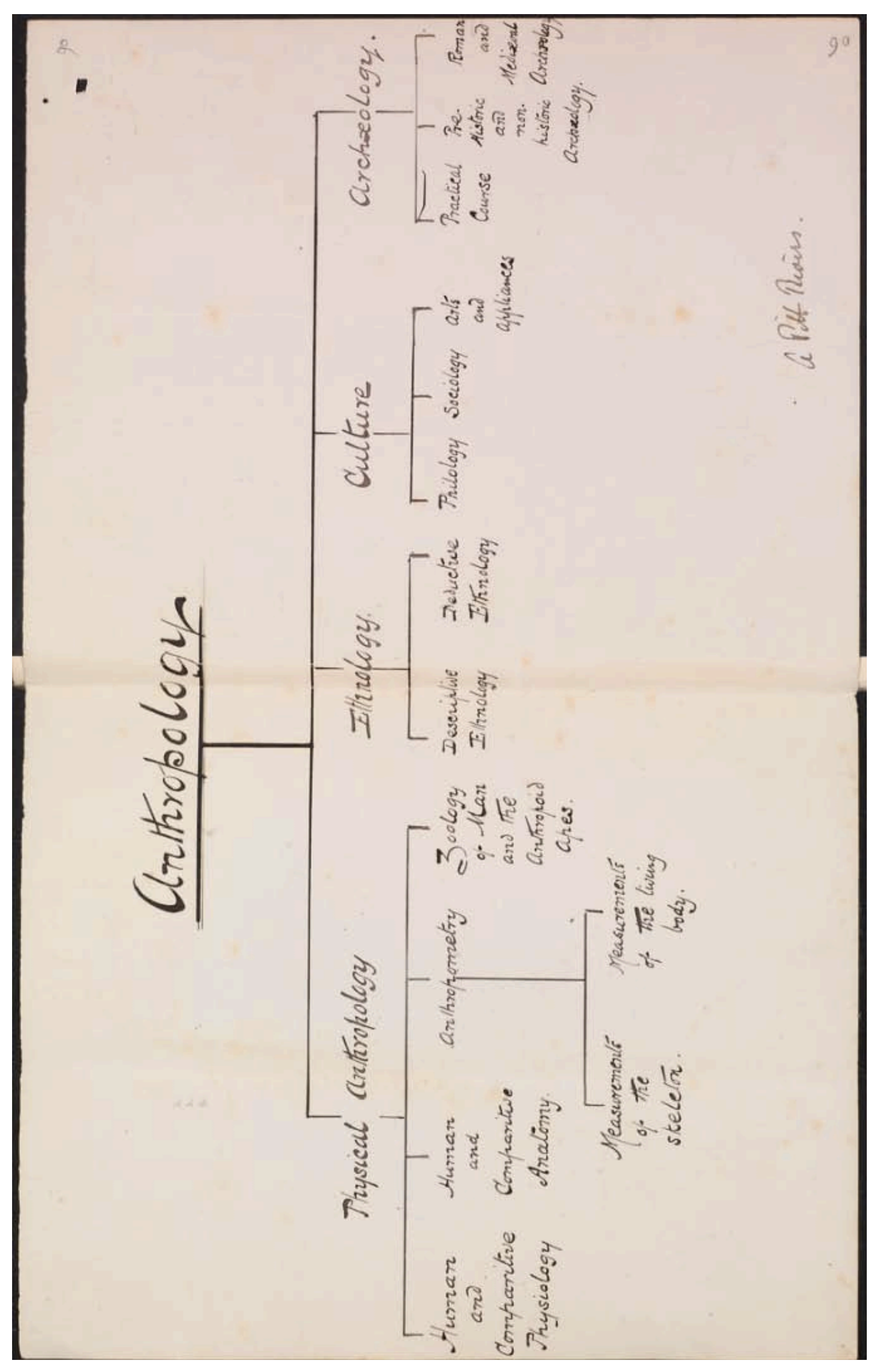


Fig. 3.8 Pitt-Rivers, 1882, "Table of the various sections and sub-section of Anthropological science according to my view of the matter." Bodleian Library, Acland Papers d92 (Photo: Dan Hicks 2013A).

CHAPTER THREE
PIGGY IN THE MIDDLE

Haddon (Dublin) took the view that civilisation
did not consist of railways and telegraphs nor of that peculiarly British importation
"Beer and Bible" but of right living and the cultivation of the arts of life.

Anon. 1895. "The British Association: Debate on Savages – Missionary Tactics Condemned – New Population Theory– Women's Organisation." *The Dundee Courier*, September 18: 3.

Introduction

The study of folk-lore and the study of anatomy, it has been argued, constituted the extremes of anthropological practice, which, in turn, manifests the polarisation of anthropological thought in the 1890s. Between the poles, the study of humans constituted a conglomerate of knowledge systems that included archaeology,[137] palaeontology, and philology. In 1904, Franz Boas (1858-1942), the anthropologist who is credited with founding American anthropology, devised a four-field model to describe the organisation of anthropological knowledge and practice (see Hicks 2013, 753). Dan Hicks, however, traced the origins of the four-field model back to Brinton's formulation of 1879, although similar schema were in operation before that. For instance, Hicks reproduced a four field schematic drawn up in 1882 by Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers (1827-1900) (*ibid*., 758; Fig. 3.8). The work of Section H and the Anthropological Institute was organised around a similar classificatory model.

This organising logic is very visible in the schedule of inquiry adopted in the ethnographic surveys of Ireland and the UK in 1894 (BAAS 1894; 423, Fig. 5.7). That schedule did not represent a unified field of action however. The survey was organised by a coalition of interests in which anatomists and folklorists fought over priority in a hierarchy of anthropological knowledge and ethnographic practice. The meaning, purpose, and practice of "anthropology" were all contested. "Organised"

[137] Archaeology included antiquarian studies.

anthropology in Britain and Ireland in the 1890s was a confused and discordant affair.

Conventional histories represent pre-disciplinary anthropology as a form of pre-modern scholarship that achieved a degree of coherence through an imperial setting and an evolutionist creed–as defined by Kuklick (1991, 78-89). This was transformed by a revolutionary turn to the field in 1898, an event that has mythic status for historians of the transition from pre-modern scholarship to a modern, stripped-down version of social anthropology.[138] As a broad outline, that narrative has some merit, but it fails to accommodate two very important facts.

The first is that the turn to the field happened ten years previously, when Haddon carried out a carefully planned and formally innovative "cultural" investigation in the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea. The second is that a radical form of post-evolutionist, social anthropology emerged as a consequence of a collaboration between Haddon, Geddes, Havelock Ellis, Kropotkin, Reclus, and others in the 1880 and 1890s. Those facts have been obscured to some extent by the historiographical strategies adopted by Kuklick, Stocking and others: the turn-to-the-field trope that was considered in Chapter One for instance. They have also been obscured by practical compromises made by Haddon as he attempted to establish himself in a polarised field, the compromises that are so evident in *The Study of Man*. Those compromises are the focus of this chapter.

Anthropology and the study of folk-lore–Haddon preferred the hyphenated form–represented the extremes of organised anthropology and generated institutional competition between the Folk-lore Society and the Anthropological Institute, constituting a second axis of action and reaction that is best illustrated by the unsuccessful attempt to merge the organisations in 1893 (see Bennett & Stocking, 1997). This fight for epistemic authority has its origins in the separation of the humanities and the natural sciences. The adoption of quantitative values derived from the physical sciences in the last quarter of the nineteenth century further separated the "soft" science of ethnology that emerged from geography from the "hard" science of anthropology that emerged from biology. In 1891, Tylor labelled each tradition as a "cultural" and a "physical" form of anthropology that operated quite separately

[138] Archaeology and anthropometry were dropped from the fourth edition of *Notes and Queries* (1912) for example.

(Tylor 1891, 764). The "physicals" presided over the Anthropological Institute for much of the 1880s and early 1890s. Therein lies the dilemma faced by folklorists who represented folk-lore as "a science of tradition"[139] that was aligned with ethnology and, as such, appropriately situated within a four-field construction of anthropology. Nevertheless, the folk-lore movement was, as stated, treated with some disdain by anthropologists (Bennett & Stocking 1997, 122) and folklorists like Gomme struggled to validate the study of folk-lore as science by emphasising the evolutionary significance of survivals in '*organised studies* that deal with the Past of Man' (Gomme 1890, 1, emphasis added).

The folklorists' dilemma points to another and more fundamental problem. Folklorists were collectors and scholars, just as naturalists tended to be zoologists who operated in the field and the laboratory. The development of a field club movement in the second half of the 1880s brought a lot of folklorists and naturalists together, a dynamic well illustrated by the Belfast Naturalist Field Club the members of which began collecting folk-lore and other ethnographic material in the 1893 (see Adams 1993 for instance). The anatomists developed a separate, disciplinary system within the schools of medicine of various universities, where their dissection rooms doubled as anthropological laboratories. Biology was undergoing a similar transformation, which Edmund B. Wilson has memorably described as a battle between "bug hunters" and "section cutters" (1901, 19). Haddon's natural milieu was the "bug hunters" who met daily in a bun-shop on Lincoln Place in Dublin (see Praeger 1941, 191-201; 1949, 24). The bun-shop was situated close to the Anatomy Department in TCD, but on the other side of the perimeter wall of the university. Greta Jones described how Darwinian ideas spread along intra-mural (universities) and extra-mural (field club) networks. That became the key division in organised anthropology in the 1890s and was, it will be argued, a primary reason for a series of political and practical compromises made by Haddon as he endeavoured to become an anthropologist in Cambridge. In the process, Haddon ended up playing an epistemic version of "Piggy in the Middle."

This chapter situates those compromises in a power struggle between "physical" and "cultural" factions within organised anthropology in the 1890s. I proposed that this constituted an insurgency against the institutional power of

[139] E. Sydney Hartland quoted by Haddon (Haddon 1898, 376)

traditionalists that was influenced by a reformist philosophy and radical socio-political theories. The first shot was fired by Tylor in 1893, when he opened the work of the Anthropological Institute to scrutiny by its Presidents in their annual address to members (Tylor 1893, 384). The ensuing debate culminated in a conference organised by Section H in Ipswich in 1895, when the radicals broke cover and used the issue of colonialism to attack the conservative political culture of anthropology. The controversy that followed had serious consequences for Haddon, who was severely sanctioned as he attempted to organise a second expedition to the Torres Strait. I propose that Haddon's response to those sanctions transformed British anthropology in ways that have been overlooked in narratives that favour his *organisation* of the 1898 expedition as a mechanism of transformation by others.

Physicals V Culturals

The divisions in organised anthropology were addressed by Frederick W. Rudler (1840-1915), a geologist who was elected as a "physical" President of the Anthropological Institute in 1898. He challenged the members of the Institute to consider why, out of an Empire of 'three or four hundred million inhabitants' (Rudler 1899, 314) the Institute could only attract around 300 members.[140] Rudler blamed the difficulty of defining a science that was distinct from biology. He presented the problem as follows:

> one set regards Anthropology as a formidable branch of biology–it's very name a stumbling block–representing a science to be comprehended only by those who have had the advantage of special training; whilst the other group regards Anthropology as an incoherent assemblage of odds and ends of knowledge, not yet sufficiently systematized to rank as a distinct science (*ibid*.).

Rudler might have been thinking of *The Study of Man* when he referred to 'an incoherent assemblage of odds and ends of knowledge.' His analysis consolidated a view that anatomists–biologists with specialist training–were quite separate from the rest of the anthropological community.

That division had been a feature of organised anthropology since the foundation of Section H in 1884. Tylor presided over the inaugural meeting, an honour that acknowledged his leadership of the "cultural" wing of anthropology.

[140] Flower asked the same question in 1894. He compared the 305 ordinary members in the Anthropological Institute with 3,775 and 2,985 fellows in the Geographical and Zoological Societies respectively (Flower 1894, 764).

Flower assumed the Presidency in 1894. He trained as a surgeon, turned to zoology and was appointed director of the Natural History Department of the British Museum on Huxley's recommendation.[141] John Beddoe (1826–1911), the physician and anthropologist who served as President of the Institute from 1891-1890, described Flower as a physical who worked exclusively in that department (1891, 349). Flower defined anthropology as follows:

> It treats of mankind as a whole. It investigates his origin and his relations to the rest of the universe. It invokes the aid of the sciences of *zoology, comparative anatomy and physiology*, in its attempts to estimate the distinctions and resemblances between man and his nearest allies, and in fixing his place in the scale of living beings. (Flower / BAAS 1894, 763, emphasis added).

Flower acknowledged that "physicals" and "culturals" had traditionally operated as very distinct branches that were rarely combined in one general arrangement, and were 'almost always studied apart' (*ibid.*, 764). Flower, however, was close to Haddon and played an interesting role in the controversial anti-colonial debate that was organised by Section-H in Ipswich in 1895. That event will be discussed later in the chapter.

For now, Flower's ascendancy to the Presidency and his authoritative definition of anthropology is used to illustrate the extent to which the Anthropological Institute had been well and truly captured by the "physical" faction, electing "physical" presidents on eight occasions between 1884 and 1894.[142] The exception was Tylor. He was elected as a "cultural" President in January 1891 and used his Presidential Address to confront the "physicals." He instigated a form of anthropological crop-rotation (1893, 384), whereby institutional power would henceforth be shared and equal space given to "physical" and "cultural" agendas. Tylor introduced a second and, perhaps, more radical innovation. He changed the format of the Presidential address. He replaced learned theses on specialist topics–Galton (1889) on statistics and Beddoe (1890) on the skull measuring business–with a sectoral review of anthropology. This was closer to the format of Section H and probably as close to a modernist moment that this conservative institution ever

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[141] Robert Lowe (1811-1892), Chancellor of the Exchequer, inquired of Huxley what would be the best course to adopt with respect to the natural history collections of the British Museum. Huxley responded as follows: "Make me a Trustee and Flower director' (Huxley 1900, 71).

[142] Flower (1883-4), Galton (1885-8), Beddoe (1889-90), and Macalister (1893-4).

experienced. The practice continued until 1900 during which time the legitimate scope, methodology, and purpose of anthropology was claimed by "physical" and "cultural" presidents in rotation. Tylor's move brought the institutional infighting into the open and onto the record.

Macalister took over from Tylor in 1893 and reasserted physical control of the Institute. He claimed that anthropology "was an integral part of anatomy' (1894, 411) and that anthropometry–comprising cranial and facial measurement–was the principal methodology of 'the great group of sciences which deal with the Natural History of Man' (*ibid*., 402). Macalister drew a distinction between anthropology and ethnology. He relegated ethnology to the same level–almost–as descriptive anthropology or ethnography, which he disposed of in 53 words in a sixteen-page address (*ibid*., 401). Then, in a comment that might have been directed at Haddon, Macalister declared that the study of 'savage men and their ways … and Western European races' (*ibid*., 412) might add a 'living interest' to the teaching of anthropology, but ethnology remained incidental to the study of human variation. He had little to say in relation to the "ethical and metaphysical sides of the subject, which are probably the most important with which the *Philosophical* Anthropologist can be occupied" (ibid., 414, emphasis added).

Macalister's position was unambiguous. Anthropology was an applied science. It comprised the application of biological methods to the investigation of humans as animals in a dissection room that doubled as an anthropological laboratory (Fig. 3.1 & 3.2). This created two problems for Haddon. First, as a marine biologist, Haddon was institutionally separated from the anatomists who operated in schools of physic (medicine). Second, Haddon's obvious concern for savage men and their ways[143] lay beyond the proper scope of physical anthropology and the primacy of laboratory based learning that was claimed for anthropology by advocates of pure science (see Gooday 2012). The term laboratory is taken to include dissection rooms.

The "culturals" hit back in 1895. William Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), an archaeologist and Egyptologist, was elected President of Section H and quickly set about organising a conference entitled "On Interference with the Civilisation of Other

[143] McAlister "recommend to the consideration of anthropologists, the recently-published paper by Professor Haddon and Dr Brown on the Ethnology (*sic*) of the Aran Islands.' (Macalister 1894, 412).

Races" (Fig. 3.3 & 3.4).[144] He asked Haddon to contribute and was very clear about the purpose of the conference. In his letter to Haddon, Flinders Petri declared that anthropologists needed to foster 'a readier toleration of what does not fit our ideas in the races we now have to deal with.'[145] He appealed to Haddon to use his experience of 'lower civilisations'[146] to ensure 'a very useful & also popular group of papers & discussion.'[147] Flower, who worked closely with Haddon on the 1888-9 expedition to the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea, seems to have joined the insurgency in 1894, when he used the closing section of his Presidential Address to Section H to start the debate. He reminded anthropologists of their duty in respect of the native populations which had been 'to use a current phrase, "disestablished and disendowed" by our own countrymen.' (Flower 1894, 774). Flower explained exactly what that phrase meant:

> the rapid spread of civilised man all over the world … has obliterated what still remains of the original customs, arts, and beliefs of primitive races; if, indeed, it has not succeeded—as it too often does—in obliterating the races themselves' (*ibid.*).

Flower's address suggests that the conjoined issues of colonialism and extermination were very much on the minds of some anthropologists in the mid-nineties. Indeed, his language is very close to that used by Haddon in his critique of the Imperial Institute and the reference to 'the original customs, arts, and beliefs' (*ibid.*) reiterates Haddon's use of 'former Custom and Beliefs' (Haddon 1890) to describe the cultural loss he had witnessed in the Torres Strait. The chronology is very interesting. It suggests that the "culturals" had begun to prepare to confront the "physicals" well before 1894 and had identified Haddon as the best person to present the case for a radical reform of anthropology in 1895.

That is hardly surprising. Praeger described Haddon as a contrarian who spoke plainly, didn't tolerate foolishness, and enjoyed shocking prudish people (Praeger, 1949, 27). C. G. Seligman (1873-1940), who travelled to the Torres Strait with Haddon in 1898 and contributed an obituary for Haddon to *Nature* in 1940, noted that Haddon's 'strength of build, prominent features ... made him a

[144] The BAAS titled its transcript of the debate as "On the Contact of European and Native Civilisations."
[145] Flinders Petrie to Haddon, April 24, 1895 (HP F5061 CUL).
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] *Ibid.*

conspicuous figure in any assembly.' (Seligman 1940, 850). Seligman also noted Haddon's intense energy and work rate as well as his sense of humour, humanity, kindness and 'a somewhat unexpected streak of Puritanism.' (*ibid*.) in relation to alcohol. Shocking prudish people was, it seems, what Flinders Petrie had in mind and Haddon didn't disappoint him.

On Interference with the Civilisation of Other Races

On September 17, 1895, Haddon stood before a packed session of Section H and delivered an unequivocal critique of British imperialism and Anglo-Saxon colonisation. It was one of the most eagerly anticipated sessions of the British Association meeting in Ipswich and it was widely reported in the press. Most of the papers reprinted the transcript issued by the BAAS, but the scale and tone of the reaction can be gauged from papers like *The Glasgow Herald*[148] and *The Dundee Courier.*[149] *The Dundee Courier* ran the story under the headline "Debate on Savages – Missionary Tactics Condemned …" (Fig. 3.4). It reported that the Working Men's Club was 'thronged this forenoon during a discussion in the Anthropological Section on "Interference with the Civilisation of Other Races.'[150] The reporter recorded that 'Ladies were present in large numbers' and reported that Haddon–of Dublin–opened his speech with the provocative statement that civilisation should not be confused with railways or telegraphs nor the imposition of "Beer an Bible" on other civilisations, extolling instead right-living and the 'cultivation of the arts of life.'[151] Haddon, according to the report, continued as follows:

> Some people confounded clothing with morality, but if we wanted to extend our market for cotton goods let us do it honestly, and not under the pretence of religion. The extermination of the Tasmanians was a fearful blot upon our Colonial policy, and there was no doubt that irresponsible whites had inflicted heartrending atrocities upon savages. (Fig. 3.4)

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[148] Anon. 1895. "British Association, Interference with the Civilisation of other Races" *The Glasgow Herald*, September 18: 9.
[149] Anon. "The British Association, 1895, Debate on Savages – Missionary Tactics Condemned – New Population Theory– Women's Organisation." *The Dundee Courier*, September 18: 3.
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] *Ibid.* This statement suggests that Haddon was influenced by the Fellowship of the New Life, which is hardly surprising given that Geddes met Havelock Ellis through the Fellowship.

Haddon, according to *The Glasgow Herald,* dismissed the Imperial Institute as a large carcass without a soul'[152] that was given over to exploiting natives.

Haddon kept clippings of some of the most critical articles in a file dealing with race relations.[153] *The Daily News* reported that Professor Haddon made 'some rather contemptuous remarks on the efforts of the missionaries to induce the naked races to clothe themselves … a sneer that probably drew from a gathering of anthropologists loud applause.'[154] The report concluded that the 'kind of talk which is indulged in at the Anthropological Section … had no connection whatever with science.'[155] The correspondent rejected the version of anthropology presented by Flinders Petrie and Haddon in Ipswich and this critique is worth quoting at length.

> Anthropology may be defined as the Natural History of Mankind ; and its scientific treatment is the study of mankind in the same sense and spirit as that in which Natural History describes the other creatures. The relations of the various races to each other, and the consequences and effects of the contact of the higher with the lower races, belong of course to the Natural History of Mankind and might throw much light on trade, on colonisation, on civilizing and missionary efforts if it was pursued in a *scientific spirit,–that is, a spirit which looks only for the facts*. But there has not been a trace of the scientific spirit in the discussions over which Mr. Flinders Petrie has been presiding.[156]

The identity of the Special Correspondent is unknown, but the statement is an effective version of the uncompromising, biological position imposed by Huxley on Haddon in 1892 and advocated by Macalister at the Anthropological Institute in 1894. In other words, this report represents the view of the anthropological establishment.

The science of Anthropology itself was not in question. The criticism was directed at the politicisation of anthropology by Flinders Petrie and Haddon and politicisation, in this context, meant moving beyond conventional limits on the scope of anthropological inquiry. *The Globe*, a Conservative newspaper published in London, led with the headline "Conquest and Conscience" and the writer advised readers who were interested in sociology–*as distinct from the more exact sciences*–

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[152] *Op. cit.*
[153] Folder 5048 in the Haddon Papers in CUL.
[154] Special Correspondent. 1895. "Anthropologists and Missionaries." *The Daily News*, September 18: 4 & 5 (HP F5408 CUL).
[155] *Ibid.*
[156] *Ibid.*

that they 'could do no better than to devote attention to the Anthropological Section and the question of interference with the Civilisation of other races.'[157] *The Daily News* and *The Globe* were warning that anthropologists who 'wandered' into sociology, as the writer in *The Globe* put it,[158] could no longer be regarded as credible scientists and, by implication, had no place in an association for the advancement of science, in line with the position adopted by Huxley in relation to Haddon's original critique of the Imperial Institute (Appendix 4). I am not suggesting that Huxley was the author of these reports or orchestrated the response of the anthropological establishment in some way. Huxley died in June 1890, two months or so before the meeting in Ipswich. I am proposing, however, that these reports expose an institutional intolerance of politically sensitive "social" analysis, which, in turn, exposes the extent to which Flinders Petrie and Haddon had broken an embargo on political activism that had been enforced for almost half a century.

Towards A Philosophy of Anthropology

Haddon's speech had at its core a demand for a guarantee that the human rights of colonial subjects would be fully protected as a matter of policy *and* practice. He had, in effect, reprised the humanitarian programme of ethnologists like James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848), a physician and ethnologist, and Thomas Hodgkin (1798-1866), a physician and social reformer. They formed a coalition that lobbied the British Government to establish a Select Committee in 1835

> to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made … in order to secure to them the due observance of justice and the protection of their rights.[159]

There was no question that the issue had to be considered in the context of the *ethical* spread of civilisation and the 'peaceful and voluntary'[160] conversion of aborigines to Christianity.

The Committee published its report in 1837. It was 'replete with evidence as to the injustice and cruelty with which the Aborigines have hitherto been treated, and the pernicious effects which *have resulted from their intercourse with Europeans*

[157] Anon. 1895. 'Conquest and Conscience' *The Globe*, September 18: 4.
[158] *Ibid.*
[159] Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes, 1837, xii.
[160] *Ibid.*

nations ... .'[161] Hodgkin founded the Aborigines Protection Society (APS) to continue lobbying for the implementation of the recommendations of the "Aborigines Report." Hodgkin and Cowles Prichard tried to pursue the same agenda by incorporating ethnology into the programme of the BAAS.

The BAAS was wary of their association with the APS and refused to support ethnology until they abandoned overt criticism of British Imperialism, missionary activities, and even the Church itself (see Morrell and Thackray, 1981, 283-4). The APS split and Hodgkin set up a separate Ethnological Society that treated ethnology as a science of facts not inferences, of observation rather than ideas. (see Morrell and Thackray, 1981, 286, Hodgkin & Cull, 1852, 284-5). Ethnology was duly recognised as a sub-section of Zoology and Botany in 1845 (Flower / BAAS 1894, 763). Morrell and Thackray attributed the determination of the BAAS to limit the scope of ethnological inquiries to a combination of (1) an historic bias towards the physical sciences among the founders of the BAAS, (2) a classical realist mindset, and (3) a determination to rid science of anything that might challenge the liberal, Anglican consensus that underpinned the contract between organised science and its patrons in the social and political elites of the day. They acknowledged that this was a partisan view and referred readers to M. T. Hogden's 1973 study of the inception of anthropology in the BAAS (Hogden 1975).

The evidence that the embargo on political activism and politically sensitive topics was still in effect in 1894 is provided by Macalister in his Presidential Address to the Anthropological Institute of same year, in which, as stated, he downgraded ethnology and dismissed the ethical and metaphysical concerns of "Philosophical" anthropologists (1894, 414). Flower, on the other hand, used his Presidency of Section H to open the door to ethnologists and 'philosophical' anthropologists. As stated (p. 81), he used the very last paragraph of his 1894 address to Section H to set up the conference in Ipswich and, as such, facilitated the first serious challenge to conservative, political culture in anthropology in almost fifty years. Flower, an anatomist, used Tylor's scheme of epistemic crop rotation to launch an ethnological and philosophical insurrection within organised anthropology.

The venue–the Working Men's College–signified a radical agenda but this was not a fringe event. It was one of the most eagerly awaited sessions of the 1895

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[161] *Ibid.,* v, emphasis added

meeting.[162] The venue was thronged, and, as stated, *The Dundee Courier* reported that there were a lot of women present. I have not discovered any evidence that Margaret Hinton and Caroline Haddon attended in person or on behalf of the Fabian Society. Nevertheless it can be deduced from the above report that the radical agenda had the support of feminists. That would have been consistent with the involvement of Haddon and Geddes in the university extension movement, Haddon's promotion of female scientists in Ireland, and the commitment to advanced education for all in the agendas of the Fellowship of the New Life and the anarcho-Solidarist movement, which Havelock Ellis promoted in *The New Spirit* (1890). Furthermore, Haddon and Geddes shared a platform with Élisée Reclus in Edinburgh in August 1895,[163] immediately prior to the meeting in Ipswich. In 1889, Geddes introduced Reclus to Haddon as a former communard who was active in the reform of universities.[164] Reclus, according to Tom Steele, was an ally of Bakunin and Kropotkin and 'A curious example of the conjunction of an even more extreme freemasonry and social sciences [*in relation*] to the history of adult popular education' (Steele 2007, 125-148). An involvement in Freemasonry connected Reclus and Haddon, but that is beyond the scope of this thesis. A more relevant point is that the presence of women in large numbers at a debate on the consequences of colonialism for other civilisation is a small detail, but this fact situates the anti-imperialist agenda of Flinders Petrie and his allies at the nexus of anthropology and a much wider and complex reformist movement.

In this context, the most revealing report was published in a nationalist newspaper in Dublin. The *Freeman's Journal* published the official record of the proceedings as well as a colour piece titled "Race and Civilisation."[165] The article opens with the comment that Flinders Petrie probably disturbed the mental and moral perspective of many people by stating that there was no proof at all that British civilisation was in any way the highest or the most enduring that has evolved in human history. Flinders Petrie, according to the writer, rejected an organic view of civilisation on the grounds that it was too crude and mechanical. It smacked 'too

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[162] Louis de Rougemont's account of "Life Amongst Cannibals" was also popular (Anon. 1895. "British Association: Life Amongst Cannibals." *Freeman's Journal,* September 10: 6).
[163] Anon. "Edinburgh Summer Meeting." *The Glasgow Herald,* August 31: 4.
[164] Geddes to Haddon, December 11 [1889] and another undated letter (HP F3 CUL).
[165] Anon. 1895. "Race and Civilisation" *Freeman's Journal*, September 18: 4.

much of the Leviathan and the Social Contract,'[166] it undervalued human agency and 'overlooked those moral qualities that are surely, when all is said, the true criterion of civilisation …' (*ibid.*). The writer also, quoted Haddon on the meaning of civilisation as well as his observation that there were people who 'confounded clothing with morality.'[167] Morality was represented as a guarantee that the civil and cultural rights of natives in occupied territories would be protected, without conceding a reciprocal right of colonisers and missionaries to "civilise" aboriginal populations, as the evangelising wing of the Aborigines Protection Society had done. Haddon and Flinders Petrie had secularised the humanitarian philosophy of the original ethnologists.

Haddon, it seems, had "gone native." That is the clear implication of Macalister's declaration that Haddon had become acquainted with 'savage men and their ways' (Macalister 1894, 412). The jibe was levelled at a time when anti-colonial activism was at its height in Ireland, the oldest colony. The general election of August 1895 followed the defeat of a second home rule bill in the Imperial Parliament by Conservatives with the support of Unionists, who fought the election on a platform of protecting the political integrity of the UK. In October 1895–just after Ipswich–Gerald Balfour, the political leader of the British Administration in Ireland, coined the phrase "killing home rule with kindness"[168] to describe criticism of Tory tactics. Haddon opened his speech by ridiculing those tactics as a pretext for a critique of Anglo-Saxon colonisation in general. Haddon drew a parallel between conflict between colonists and natives "overseas" and the Government's failure to cope with the 'mutual political problems' (BAAS 1895A, 17) of the Anglo-Saxon and the Celt 'at home.' (*ibid.*).

He had witnessed that failure at first-hand in Connemara in 1890, during a survey of fishing grounds (see Green 1890) that was a key instrument of the policy of "killing home rule with kindness." 'It is becoming more & more evident to me' Haddon recorded in his journal 'that the ordinary "Saxon" is incapable of understanding the typical Irish how much less is he capable of governing him!'[169] Haddon developed the theme in Ipswich. He opened his speech by declaring, as

[166] *Ibid.*
[167] *Ibid.*
[168] Anon. 1895. "Mr. Gerald Balfour at Leeds." *The Irish Times*, October 7: 5.
[169] Haddon.1890. MS of fishing survey journal (Jun-Aug), p. 35 (HP F22 CUL).

stated (p. 82), that there was a confusion between economics– investment in railways, telegraphs– and civilisation. By citing railways and telegraphs, Haddon was referring directly to a programme of remedial investment undertaken by the Tory Government in economically underdeveloped regions in the West of Ireland, where an agricultural crisis in the Winter of 1879 and Spring of 1880 raised the twin spectres of famine and systematic eviction of tenant farmers and cottiers in the West of Ireland. That triggered agrarian unrest and a campaign for an end to British Rule in Ireland. Arthur J. Balfour, who preceded his brother Gerald as Chief Secretary for Ireland, responded with a series of coercion acts.[170] He then tried to offset the political damage caused in swing constituencies in England[171] by building *railways* and developing fisheries in the West of Ireland[172]. The survey of fishing grounds was the centre piece of the propaganda campaign that followed and, in that context, Balfour, established a *telegraph* connection between Galway and the Aran Islands against the advice of local administrators (Harvey 1991, 240).

The reference to representative government has to be interpreted in the same context. Haddon was suggesting that representation in the *Imperial* Parliament in London was not working for the Irish and thereby the demand for home rule set a benchmark for all colonies. Haddon, however, was not making the case for the nationalist movement in Ireland. Havelock Ellis argued in *The New Sprit* that the limits of representative government necessitated two political changes. One, the removal 'of the old distinction between a governing class and a governed' (Havelock Ellis 1890, 14). Two, a recognition that every person 'must be a member of

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[170] The Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act 1887 (50 & 51 Vict. c. 20) followed a series of emergency measures aimed at defeating organised campaigns against landlords in Ireland.
[171] The Conservatives lost a by-election in the Eccles division of Lancashire in September 1890 with a swing of 2.9 percent to the pro-Home Rule wing of the Liberals. Municipal and county elections in England and Scotland showed increased support for the Liberals and Home Rule and the trend continued in the Rossendale by-election of 1892, when the Liberals took a seat from the Conservatives with the support of the Irish National League.
[172] The measure was proposed by James Hack Tuke in a series of letters in *The Times* in 1889*,* which he published as a pamphlet "with further suggestions for the improvement and development of the congested districts of Ireland and promotion of light railways, fisheries, etc." (see Tuke 1889). Balfour responded with The Light Railways (Ireland) Act 1889, which provided for the extension of the light railways in the West of Ireland. These events were part of a carefully choreographed political process that led to the establishment of the Congested Districts Board in 1891.

government' (*ibid.*), which as stated (p. 67), reprises Proudhon's 1863 definition of an-archy as self-government (Proudhon 1979, 9). Haddon had presented the anarcho-Solidarist case for radical political reform *at home* and *overseas.*

The first draft of Haddon's speech was written sometime between 1890 and 1891, as the critique of the Imperial Institute referred to already. An untitled manuscript of the article is held in in CUL. It runs to 21 pages and was filed in an envelope that, judging by the handwriting, has been labelled "Bureau of Ethnology" by someone, other than Haddon (Fig. 3.5, 3.6).[173] Stocking transcribed the document and published it as a treatise on 'the on the Need for an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology' (Stocking & Haddon 1993; Appendix 4). It is treated here as it was originally conceived, that is a radical critique of Imperial policy.

A Critique of Imperialism and Anglo-Saxon Colonisation

Frazer, as stated previously, wrote to Haddon in January 1891 asking if he was still working on an article 'on the application of the Imperial Institute to anthropology?'[174] It is not clear what provoked Haddon's interest in the Imperial Institute, but the article opened with a framing reference to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886.[175] The Anthropological Institute organised a series of special meetings in the conference hall of the exhibition at the request of the exhibition authorities and Galton reviewed the exhibition in his Presidential Address of 1887. The exhibition, he stated, 'led to the project of an Imperial Institute [*that*] cannot fail incidentally to become an important centre of anthropological intelligence [*and*] become a powerful agent in advancing anthropological knowledge and research.'(Galton 1887A, 390-391). Galton then made the following statement:

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[173] The envelope was addressed to Barbara Freire-Marreco, editor of the fourth edition of *Notes & Queries 4* (1912).
[174] Frazer to Haddon, January 29, 1891 (HP F3 CUL).
[175] The exhibition was organised by a Royal Commission with the assistance of the Indian Office and the Indian Government. It was held in a complex of Indian themed buildings in the exhibition grounds of the South Kensington campus. This campus covered almost 90 acres. It was established in 1857 with profits from the International Exhibition of 1851 and was intended to house institutions for the promotions of art, science, and industry. The 'India' section covered103,000 square feet, roughly one third of the exhibition space. Canada, Australasia, the Cape of Good Hope, and the other British Colonies were represented. The exhibition was open for 164 days, from May 4 to November 10, and attracted 5,559,745 visitors. (Open University, *n.d.*; Report of the Royal Commission, 1887)

> The Colonial and Indian Exhibition brought forcibly to notice the rapid diminution in present and future importance of the barbarous races who inhabit the temperate regions of the world in which Europeans are now establishing themselves. Their *peculiarities* are losing present interest and are becoming historical and archaic, little to be taken into account in *reckoning upon the future* of those regions. They are to the new European lords of the soil of *not much more consideration* than the vegetation of the wilderness might be to the owner of a newly reclaimed and scientifically cultivated farm. (*ibid*., emphasis added)

It is an extraordinary illustration of the extent to which the leaders of English Anthropology were prepared to accept the extirpation–extermination through competition–of 'barbarous races' (*ibid*.) as a natural, evolutionary process that dovetailed–conveniently–with the worst aspects of Imperial policy.

Haddon was one of the few to have 'learned the lesson of our Colonial Empire at first hand.'[176] He was determined to confront the cultural violence (See Galtung 1990) underpinning Imperial policy and spent a year trying to get his article published. It was rejected by the editor of the *Fortnightly Review* in February 1891,[177] *The New Review* in October,[178] and *The Nineteenth Century* in November.[179] He then submitted it to Huxley, Galton, and Macalister.[180] At this stage the focus had shifted from a critique of the Imperial Institute to a proposal for the establishment an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology.

Galton was the first to reply.[181] He was struck very forcibly by (1) the lack of interest that was shown in aborigines at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition and (2) that the interest shown was academic rather than practical: it 'related to the early history of mankind rather than the pressing wants of the millions…'[182] As regards publishing, Galton reckoned that the Institute could look after its own publicity and that editors 'would prefer to get their information first hand.'[183] The Institute, Galton argued, could not afford to establish a bureau of ethnology as proposed and he

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[176] Haddon, c1891, MS of critique of the Imperial Institute (HP F5061, CUL).
[177] Frank Harris to Haddon, February 19, 1891 (HP F5061 CUL).
[178] Editor, *The New Review*, to Haddon, October 28, 1891 (HP F5061 CUL).
[179] James Knowles to Haddon, November 17, 1891 (HP F5061 CUL).
[180] Macalister had been nominated as President of Section H for the BAAS meeting in Edinburgh in 1892.
[181] Galton to Haddon, December 2, 1892 (HP F5061 CUL). A section of this letter is filed in another folder but the main part of the letter is filed with the article.
[182] *Ibid.*
[183] *Ibid.*, original emphasis.

advised Haddon to 'thoroughly think out the subject and prepare a well-considered scheme, such as business minded men would find no ~~fault~~ lacuna?'[184] Macalister replied on December 18, 1891. He thought the case was well stated but needed editing. He was sure it would attract attention and suggested that Haddon seek help from Flower and Huxley in getting it published.[185] Huxley replied in January 1892 and that letter has already been considered in detail (p. 52). It needs to be restated here, however, that Huxley, in his own words, poured a 'bucket of cold water'[186] on the proposal, warning Haddon that the scheme 'would not have the slightest chance of being taken in hand by the Government.'[187] He advised Haddon to engage with existing Agencies and 'bring the subject of *collecting anthropological information* systematically'[188] to the attention of Section H and have a committee appoint to supervise a programme of research that could be utilised by those agencies.

Haddon deferred to Huxley and, working through the Folk-Lore Society,[189] he persuaded the Anthropological Institute to enter into negotiations with representatives of the Society Antiquaries and the Folk-Lore Society with 'a view to obtaining a complete ethnographic survey of each county or district in the United Kingdom.'[190] In August 1892, Brabrook[191] presented the BAAS with an informal report on the progress of those negotiations (Brabrook 1893, 896) and, on that basis, The BAAS established a committee "To Organise an Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom" (BAAS 1893, lxxxix). Galton, a "physical," was appointed as Chairman and Brabrook, a "cultural," was appointed as Secretary. The following year Browne, Cunningham, and Haddon were appointed to a sub-committee that represented the Royal Irish Academy (BAAS 1894, 424 & 429). Haddon worked

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[184] *Ibid.,* original emphasis.
[185] Macalister to Haddon, December 18, 1891 (HP F5061CUL).
[186] Huxley to Haddon January 1, 1892 (HP F5061CUL).
[187] *Ibid.*
[188] *Ibid.*
[189] Milne to Haddon, March 3, 1892; Milne to Haddon, April 14, 1892;Peek to Haddon, May 2, 1892 (HP F3058 CUL).
[190] Minutes of the Council of the Anthropological Institute's Council, May 10, 1892.
[191] Brabrook was a traditional Liberal (see Kuklick 1991,110-11) who rejected a restricted, anatomical definition of anthropology. Speaking as president of the Anthropological Institute in 1895, he publicly separated himself 'from the doctrine of my valued friend Dr Topinard … in his ardour to repress a tendency to the discussion under the name of anthropology of a variety of social, moral, and religious topics.' (Brabrook 1896, 399).

with John G. Garson (1854-1932), a medical doctor and chief anthropometrist for the BAAS,[192] on the physical anthropology section of a field manual for surveyors. The manual was agreed in 1894 (BAAS 1894, 423) and, one year later, the committee reported to Section H that it had prepared a twelve-page pamphlet of instructions for observers. It set out the data to be collected under the following headings: (1) Physical types of the inhabitants; (2) Current traditions and beliefs; (3) Peculiarities of dialect; (4) Monuments and other remains of ancient culture; and (5) Historical evidence as to continuity of race (BAAS 1895: 509-518). Combine the last two categories–ruins and skulls–under archaeology and the scheme conforms to a four field model of anthropology (see Brinton 1892; Haddon 1898; Boas 1904; Borofsky 2002, Hicks 2013).

The following day Section H met in the Working Men's Club for a discussion on "Interference with the Civilisation of Other Races" (BAAS 1895, xxiii, 832). There is a certain irony in the timing of these events. Just as Haddon's efforts to give effect to Huxley's grand scheme for an anthropology of fact had reached fruition, Haddon revived his critique of Imperial policy in a very public and controversial manner. He had defied Huxley, albeit posthumously. However, as Huxley predicted, the BAAS and its political sponsors were not amused.

The Fallout

Huxley's defence of Darwin and his theories had generated considerable controversy, a point acknowledged and admired by Havelock Ellis (1890, 9) and Haddon (Haddon and Quiggin 1910, 59-61), although Haddon and Quiggin noted Huxley's regret over the '"needless savagery "'(*ibid.*) of his review of "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation,' a tract that was published anonymously in 1844.[193] Controversy was, according to Huxley, the nature of business transacted in the anthropological community as debates on evolution released the propensity for individuals to give full reign to their 'innate bellicose instincts' (Huxley/BAAS 1879, 573). In 1895, the argument over evolution had been won, but the civilisation of

[192] Garson operated an Anthropometric Laboratory at every BAAS meeting after 1887. It operated to the same plan as Galton's Laboratory in South Kensington (BAAS 1894, 771). Garson also acted as the liaison between the Anthropological Institute and Galton's laboratory in London (Garson to Haddon, March 31, 1891 (HP F3 CUL).

[193] In 1884, the author was identified as Robert Chambers (1802-1871).

natives by colonists and missionaries re-emerged as an issue that could ignite the 'political, social and religious tinderbox' (Morrell & Thackray 1981, 283) that ethnology in the 1840s had shown British Imperialism to be. Indeed, reports of the meeting in the Working Men's Club have the expectation of controversy stamped all over them, most notably in the accounts of the large attendance in anticipation of a debate on British interference with other civilisations. Haddon rose to the occasion. He was typically outspoken, provocative, and even a bit bellicose and the Anthropological establishment responded in kind by questioning the scientific credibility of Haddon and Flinders Petrie.

Despite the controversy, the General Council of the BAAS agreed to appoint a committee to consider 'The Necessity for the Immediate Investigation of the *Biology* of Oceanic Islands.' (BAAS 1895: xciii, emphasis added). Flower was given the Chair and Haddon was chosen to act as Secretary. Haddon presented the first report in 1896 to both Section D-Biology (BAAS 1896: 487-9) and Section H-Anthropology (BAAS 1896, 929). The language was coded. The report addressed the impending *extermination* of native flora and *fauna* and the need for prompt investigation by competent naturalists: systematists engaged with the problems of geographic distribution, variation, adaptation to the environment, &c. The problem, as articulated by Flower and his committee, was one of practical science. The word "extermination" was studiously avoided. The Tasmanians had *disappeared* and the natives of Oceania were *being modified*, *dying out*, or otherwise *vanishing*. A correspondent for *The Standard*[194] reviewed an edited version of the report in *Nature* in January 1897 (Haddon 1897) and pointed out that Haddon's plea for 'the preservation of vanishing knowledge … speaks *only of the scientific aspects* of the effects which are being produced by rapidly extending civilisation'[195] The term 'vanishing knowledge' was later derided by a correspondent with the *Morning Post*:[196]

> For those valuable and interesting zoological types which from time to time give up the race, as it were, and simply vanish from the face of the earth in reluctant acknowledgement of the brute force of conquering man, Professor Haddon, the eminent anthropologist has invented a term of mournful significance. "Vanishing knowledge" he calls such creatures …

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[194] Anon.1897. *The Standard*, February 1 (HP F5061 CUL).
[195] *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
[196] Anon. *Morning Post*. August 10, 1904 (HP F5061 CUL).

Nevertheless, the biological rhetoric had little effect. The Committee reported in 1897 that their appeal for funding had had no practical effect (BAAS 1897, 352). The BAAS strategy for limiting dissent by restricting access to funding appeared to be working.

Then Haddon dropped a bombshell. He reported that he was organising an expedition with a committee in Cambridge 'for the purpose of continuing his researches on the Anthropology of the Torres Straits Islanders' (*ibid.*). Haddon had been looking for alternative funding since 1895. Frazer wrote to Galton in October 1897 seeking a grant of £300 from the Royal Society towards the cost of the expedition. Frazer reminded him that they had spoken two years previously of 'an expedition to New Guinea, which my friend Prof. Haddon and myself had some thoughts of making.'(Ackerman 2005, 101).[197] That project was abandoned and replaced by the 1898 expedition. The main object of the expedition, Haddon stated, was to "verify and supplement the anthropological observations made in the Torres Straits in 1888-89[198] with a view to the publication of a monograph dealing with the anthropology of the islanders, *using that term in its widest sense*.' (Haddon 1898A), that is, in the sense outlined by Haddon in "The Study of Anthropology" in 1895. Haddon sent an interim report from the Torres Strait to be read at a meeting of Section H on Monday 10 September 1898 (BAAS 1898, 688). Anthropology in England had changed, utterly; not because Haddon returned to the field with a team of academically trained scientists, but because he had broken the BAAS monopoly on funding and thereby disabled its main instrument of control over the scope of anthropological inquiry.

The "physicals", however, had one last card to play. Macalister controlled anthropology in Cambridge University and organised the appointment of W. L. H. Duckworth (1870–1956), a craniologist, to the first full-time post in anthropology in

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[197] Ackerman states that this is 'the only known reference to Frazer's ever having entertained the idea of undertaking fieldwork. His decision to marry rather than to join the expedition represents one of the more significant roads not taken in the history of anthropology' (2005, 101). Downie states that William MacGregor, then Governor of New Zealand, objected vigorously to Frazer's involvement on the grounds that '"Frazer must stay at home, for he is the brains, we are merely the feelers."' (Downie 1970, 112-113).
[198] The anthropological investigations in 1888-89 were primarily cultural (see Haddon 1890, 1935).

the university, while Haddon was in the field.[199] Frazer reacted angrily and lobbied for 'the foundation of a readership or professorship of ethnology.'[200] He drafted a carefully worded memorial (Fig 3. 7) to the General Board of the University that he hoped 'every one interested in anthropology could hardly decline to sign … . I have good hopes that the thing might be carried without opposition, perhaps with enthusiasm.'[201] Frazer's strategy was to separate anthropology and ethnology. He defined Ethnology as the 'other and not less important branches of Anthropology which deal with the mental, moral and social aspects of primitive man, his customs, laws, institutions, religion, superstition, the growth of society and of all the arts of life.'[202] Anthropology, on the other hand, was commonly limited by 'foreign experts … to the study of the physical side of man's nature.'[203] There was opposition. William Ridgeway, who was working with Frazer, met opposition from the Moral Science people.[204] Despite this, Frazer's strategy worked and the memorial gained support.

Macalister and Duckworth both signed up to the memorandum, but the decision of the General Board fell far short of what Frazer was hoping for. He was looking for a lectureship with an a salary of £100, but the General Board agreed[205] to £50, more or less what Haddon was earning as a freelance lecturer under Macalister. The memorial made specific reference to Haddon's circumstances–a poor man without private means according to Frazer (Ackerman 2005, 101)–and emphasised the disinterested service he had given the University. That mattered less than opposition to the radical ethnology embodied by Haddon. An ethical, philosophical, and, as Haddon would define it, moral form of anthropology had received a rather

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[199] Charles H. Read included an account of the situation in his Presidential Address to the Anthropological Institute (Read 1900, 14). See also Haddon's account in a letter to Frazer that was reprinted by James Urry (1993, 79-81). Macalister, according to Quiggin (1942, 104) urged Fanny Haddon 'to seize the first chance to get out of Cambridge.'

[200] Frazer to Haddon, November 14, 1899 (HP F21/1 CUL).

[201] *Ibid.*

[202] Frazer, Alex Hill etc, 1899, Memorial to The General Board (HP F21/1 CUL).

[203] *Ibid*. The foreign expert was most likely Paul Topinard (see Brabrook 1896, 399).

[204] Ridgeway to Haddon, December 16, 1899 (HP F21/1 CUL).

[205] The university established a University Lecturer in Ethnology in May 1900 but this was superseded by a Readership in Ethnology in June 1900 (see Alan Macfarlane 2009).

grudging approval in Cambridge. Haddon, however, was no longer an anthropologist. He had become an ethnologist.

Conclusion

Frazer's memorial gives a good insight into the way Haddon became an ethnologist ten years after he made a bold decision to become an anthropologist.[206] It also provides a meaningful counterpoint to Frazer's scoping letter of 1891, collapsing a decade or so of experimentation and argument into a contested decision by a governing body in a university that has since become synonymous with the development of social anthropology in England. It is ironic, in retrospect of course, that Cambridge University refused to recognise Haddon as an anthropologist because, as the memorial pointed out, Haddon was interested in 'the mental, moral and social aspects of primitive man, his customs, laws, institutions, religion, superstition, the growth of society and of all the arts of life.'(Frazer, Hill *et al*., 1899). It was, undoubtedly, a political decision, influenced by Macalister's ardour–to borrow a phrase from Brabrook (Brabrook 1896, 399)–to restrict anthropology to the anatomical study of humans.

These events show that the humanitarian impulse that was so evident in early ethnology had proven to be remarkably resilient. The "Gentlemen of Science" may have blocked that agenda for half a century, but the humanitarian ethnologists never went away. There was always an ethical–as Macalister called it–movement within organised anthropology, but it functioned as a sort of counter-culture or underground, as Haddon's use of coded language demonstrates (Haddon/BAAS 1896, 487). Folklorists were more open about their social proclivities, but they were disregarded by anthropologists (Bennett & Stocking 1997, 121), despite their best efforts to represent the study of folklore as a "hard" science related to ethnology (Gomme 1890A, 1892).

Then, in 1893, Tylor stepped out of a sort of internal, epistemic exile. He reasserted the moral and intellectual authority of "culturals" and demanded parity of esteem or, as he called it, a form of epistemic crop rotation (1893, 384). Flower, Flinders Petrie, and Haddon went a step further in Ipswich in 1895. They reprised the

[206] Geddes described it as taking a plunge into a very uncertain future. Geddes to Haddon, n.d. (HP F3 CUL).

humanitarian arguments of the “old” ethnologicals and demanded a radical change in the political culture of organised anthropology. Macalister retaliated by blocking Haddon’s appointment in Cambridge, making his point by appointing a craniologist in his place. Haddon’s subsequent appointment as an ethnologist was a hard-won concession to a new and radical approach to anthropology that had been instigated by Geddes, Havelock Ellis, and Haddon ten years previously.

The most striking aspect of this narrative is, perhaps, the least explicitly stated effect of Haddon and Frazer’s confrontation with the “physicals.” The practical effect of the concessions made by Haddon is most visible in the anthropometric programme of the 1898 expedition to the Torres Strait. It was a concession to “physical” , anthropology and, as such probably the most compromised project undertaken by him in his effort to become the first anthropologist to be appointed to a teaching position in Cambridge. That is beyond the scope of this study, but there is one question that needs to be asked. It is this: why did Haddon abandon the physical component of the survey reports after he learned that a craniologist had been appointed in his place?

This is particularly relevant given that Haddon became involved in the skull measuring business in an effort to play the game according to “physical” rules, as laid down by Huxley in his letter of January 1892. He became a member of a consortium that established the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory in June 1891. He was responsible for mobilising the Laboratory as an ethnographic survey, which carried out an inaugural study of the Aran Islands in 1892. The tension between anthropology and ethnology is encapsulated in an historic distinction between race and ethnicity that was included in the introduction to “The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway” (Haddon & Browne 1891, 769).

That distinction anticipated the strategy devised by Frazer in 1899. It also defined the choice that Geddes presented Haddon with ten years earlier. Yet, Haddon produced a study of Irish craniology in opposition to the joint ethnographic study undertaken by Haddon and Browne. Clearly, Haddon had to engage with Macalister, but that in itself manifests the polarised nature of organised anthropology in the 1890s. Haddon’s involvement in the skull-measuring business in Ireland is a useful way to examine the practical consequences of the power struggle within anthropology. The next chapter looks at the origin of the Dublin Anthropometric

Laboratory. It is, inevitably, a study of “Galtonian” anthropometry and the quantitative turn that polarised Anglo-Irish anthropology in the 1890s.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE LABORATORY
(PLATES)

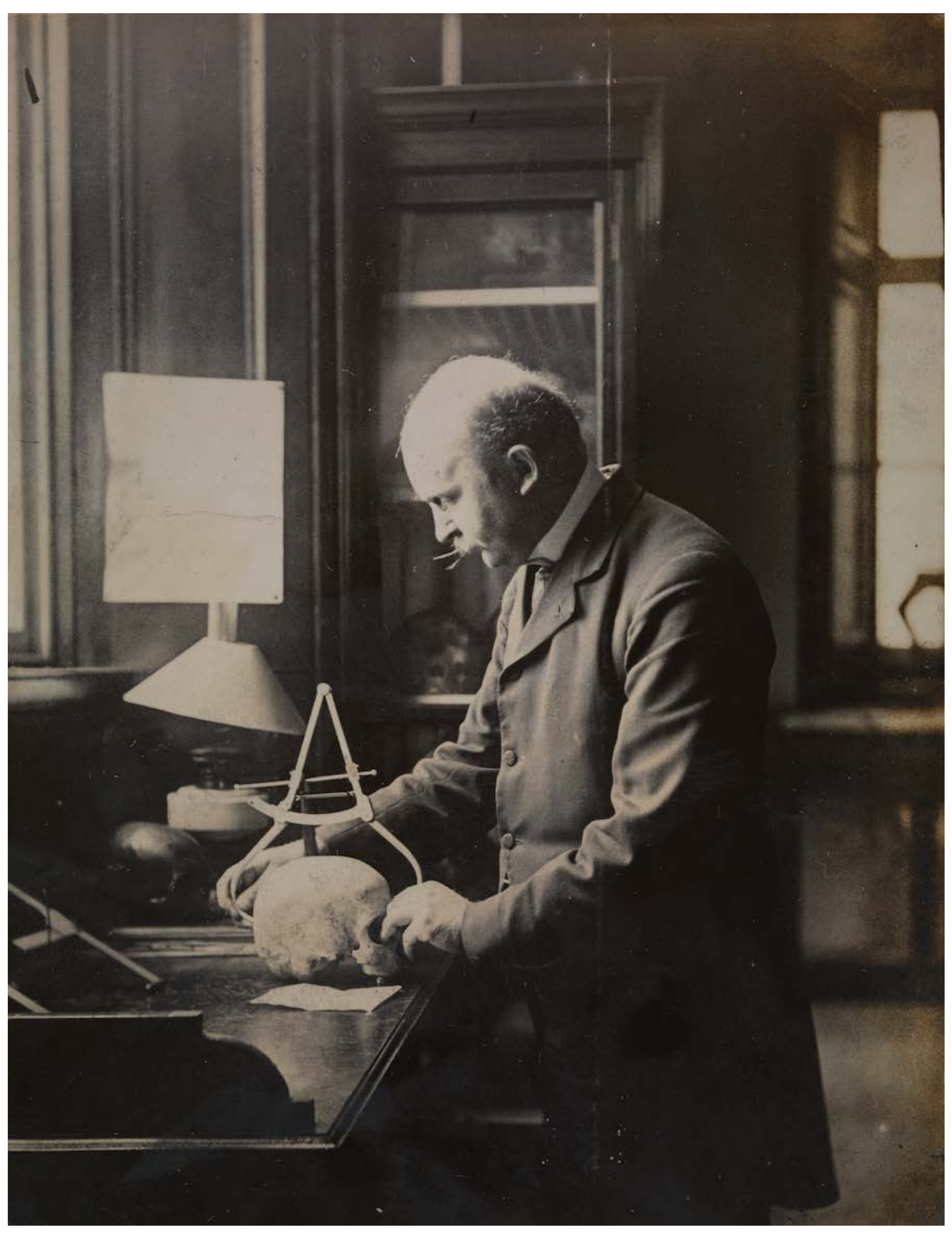

Fig. 4.1 Anon., 1895, Charles R. Browne at work in the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory, albumen print (© TCD: MS10961-5_001).

at present gratuitous. I think we may say, roundly, that a laboratory that was much and regularly frequented could be wholly and well maintained by a charge of a shilling per head. Accepting this as a basis to reason from, the question that the cynical reader is supposed to have asked may be changed into this:

"Is it worth while for myself, or for my boys and girls, to pay a shilling, a sixpence, or other small sum, in order to be measured and tested in many ways, to have the results registered for future reference, and their meaning explained?" I do not say anything about the trouble of going to the laboratory, because there may be an equivalent for it in the instruction to be found in the books and diagrams that are kept there, and in the amusement of seeing the process. I have always noticed that people seem much interested in looking on.

First, as regards boys and girls, in what way would the measurements be worth the expenditure on them? The answer is briefly this: They will show how the boy or girl ranks among other children of the same sex, age, and of similar social position, in respect to physical efficiency in various specified respects, which are able to give a fair indication of physical efficiency generally. A comparison of the measures made from time to time will show whether the child maintains his former rank, or whether he is gaining or losing it. It must be confessed that at the present moment the necessary tables for giving this information are very imperfect. They exist as yet only for some faculties, ages, and broad subdivisions of social position. But there is nothing to hinder the indefinite extension of tables of this kind. Their construction is steadily going on. Before long, the required information may be given with perfect distinctness for many measurable qualities.

As an example of what can easily be done, let us consider the measurement of eyesight. Its degree of keenness, in persons whose power of accommodating the focal length is normal, is most easily ascertained by noting the greatest distance at which printed numerals of a specified size can be freely read. Measurement would give an indication of the eyesight becoming less good, long before the child would find it out for himself, or before its impairment could attract the observation of others. It is frightful to think of the frequent mischief to eyesight that has been caused by the neglect at schools of the most elementary requisites to protect it from unnecessary strain, such as an abundance of light coming from the proper direction, and desks and chairs so shaped as to discourage a lolling or sidelong attitude, by supporting the book or paper squarely before the reader. The stupid want of care in providing these essentials to eye-comfort has gone far towards converting the educated classes of Germany and the cultured girls of England into short-sighted sections of society. When measurement shows that the sight is beginning to be slightly impaired, there is probably time to hunt out and abolish the cause of mischief before serious harm is done, and an occasional small

Fig. 4.2 A page from the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory's copy of Galton's pamphlet *Anthropometric Laboratory: Notes and Memoirs* (1890), in which a topic that corresponded to Haughton's speech at the opening of the Laboratory is highlighted.

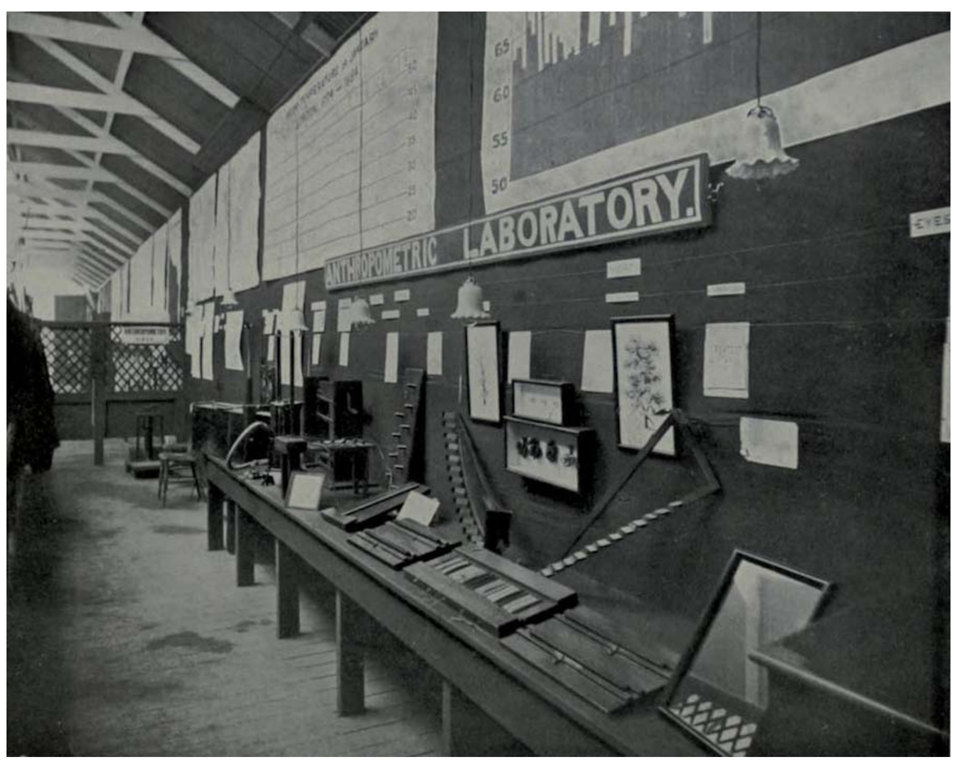

Fig. 4.3 Galton’s laboratory at the 1885 International Health Exhibition in London.

Fig. 4.4 Brendan Holland, who has the same genetic condition as Cornelius Magrath, interviewing Martina Hennessy, TCD School of Medicine, during the filming of the “Giant Gene” for BBC Northern Ireland. The skeleton of Cornelius Magrath is displayed in a cabinet in the background.

Fig. 4.5 A schedule of measurements that Haddon used during fieldwork in the village of Barley in Hertfordshire in 1895 (BAAS 1895, 510; 1897, 503). Haddon made measurements and took photographs (© CUMAA: P.7608.ACH1 & P.7615.ACH1).

Fig. 4.6 Charles R. Browne, 1895, *Ballycroy Typical House*, albumen print (© TCD: MS10961-3_0013).

Fig. 4.7 Charles R. Browne, 1895, *Men of Ballycroy employed on road making*, albumen print (© TCD: MS10961-3_0008).

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It will, however, be noticed that we have in the present study far exceeded the lines of research which the Committee at first proposed for itself. We have done so in the belief that the ethnical characteristics of a people are to be found in their arts, habits, language, and beliefs as well as in their physical characters.

Alfred Cort Haddon and Charles R. Browne (1891, 769).

Introduction

Ireland became a centre for innovation in anthropology in the 1880s and 1890s. Conventional accounts represent "Dublin" as a provincial backwater, a sort of Darwinian enclave from which Haddon had to escape to become an anthropologist. Indeed, Stocking described the period between Haddon's arrival in Ireland (1880) and his return to Cambridge (1892/3)[207] as 'thirteen years in a kind of cultural exile in a quasi-colonial population' (1995, 99). The previous chapter has shown that, if anything, Cambridge was far more resistant to abandoning evolutionist orthodoxy and embracing a sociologically-oriented form of anthropology that was informed by utopian, reformist, and anarchist thinking on social reconstruction. That is how, it has been argued, Haddon ended up playing piggy-in-the middle with Macalister and Frazer, while a craniologist claimed the first job in anthropology in the university.

As stated, I have discarded conventional accounts and, as a consequence, the focus shifts from Cambridge to Dublin as a centre of innovation. This claim pivots on the establishment of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory in 1891 (Fig. 4.1) and its mobilisation as the Irish Ethnographic Survey in 1892 (Fig. 1), which, it has to be emphasised, was an independent innovation that served as a model for the Ethnographic Survey of the UK that was inaugurated later in the same year.

This connects with two other themes that run through this thesis. The first is the parallel development of anthropology on an intra-mural and extra-mural basis, that is

[207] Haddon gave his address as "Inisfail," Hills Rd., Cambridge on a registration form of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory in May 1892. Quiggin recorded that he bought a house at this address in 1893 (1942, 110).

in a laboratory setting within the university and outside the university in the field-club movement. That, in turn, connects with the distinction that has been made between anthropology and ethnology. One of the key innovations to emerge from Dublin was a declaration that race and ethnicity represented distinct types of anthropological knowledge and equally distinct zones of investigation in the field. The Irish Ethnographic Survey attempted to combine both. The laboratory was mobilised and its agents collected anthropometric data. That was combined with data on geography and political economy in a variation of ethnography that Haddon called "Anthropography," a compound of anthropology and geography. The second strand focussed on socio-cultural data and was called "Sociology."

At first glance, this looks like a conventional opposition between the skull measuring business and ethnology, but a closer look at the origin of the Laboratory and its programme of fieldwork suggests that there was much more involved than the insertion of a sociological study into an investigation of the racial origins. The crux of the problem is the inclusion of political economy as a component of anthropography. That suggests that there was more than skull measuring going on and the problem becomes one of deciphering what exactly was behind the declaration that the study of ethnicity was as valid as the study of racial origins. This problem was approached in two ways. The first attempted to trace the origins of the Laboratory and, on that basis, establish its operating principles. The second followed the agents of the Laboratory into the field and analysed the practical effect of the distinction between race and ethnicity.

This chapter deals with the first part of the problem, the Laboratory. It starts, logically enough, with the people involved. The Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory was established by a consortium made up of Revd Dr Samuel Haughton, Daniel J. Cunningham, Francis Galton, Alfred Cort Haddon, and John Kells Ingram, individuals who held contradictory views on the relationship between biology, anatomy, race, and ethnicity. They also represent a wide range of political positions and had, on occasion, clashed with one another. Accordingly, this narrative pivots on the issue of ownership of the laboratory: who provided the funding and on what basis? It proceeds through a brief history of Galton's involvement in anthropometry and the quantitative turn in the scientific study of humans–the skull measuring business–that resulted from it. This becomes part of a wider conversation about legitimacy, which set the "hard" science of anthropology in opposition to the "soft"

science of ethnology, the precursor of social anthropology and sociology. This is followed by an analysis of Cunningham's involvement in anthropometry. The key question here is whether the Anatomy Department in TCD was a redoubt of evolutionist anthropology as was claimed by Greta Jones in an influential essay that she titled "Contested Territories: Alfred Cort Haddon, Progressive Evolutionism and Ireland" (1998, 205-6). Cunningham may have been an anatomist, but it would be a mistake to treat him as a physical anthropologist by default. Cunningham was inspired by James Cowles Prichard and all the evidence points to Cunningham as an exponent of a sociologically purposeful form of anthropology. The key question here is this: Was Cunningham the author of the historic declaration that the study of ethnicity was as valid as the study of racial origins? Or were there other players involved? That brings us back to the consortium and the opening of the laboratory in 1891 provides a useful vantage point from which to gauge the relative importance of the players involved.

The Opening

The Rev Dr Samuel Haughton (1821-1897), Senior Proctor of TCD and President of the Royal Irish Academy, presided over the opening of the Laboratory on the afternoon of June 25, 1891. *The Irish Times* reported that 'Many medical men of high standing who hold high rank as scientists'[208] attended the event in the theatre of the Medical School. It is unclear as to whether the large attendance was due to science or politics, given the expected presence of Edward, prince of Saxe-Weimar (1823-1902) and Viscount Wolseley (1833-1913). Edward had recently retired as commander of the Crown forces in Ireland (Vibart & Falkner 2004) and Wolseley, an extreme loyalist (Beckett 2004), had replaced him. Haughton, as Senior Proctor, conferred honorary degrees on both earlier in the day**.** The commander, according to *The Irish Times*, was dressed 'in full military dress, with a cluster of medals on his academic.'[209] Cunningham was among a small group of people who were similarly honoured.

[208] Anon. 1891. "The Anthropometry Laboratory Trinity College." *The Irish Times*, June 26: 4-5.
[209] Anon. 1891. 'University of Dublin: Honorary Degrees.' *The Irish Times*, June 26: 4.

That afternoon, Haughton officially announced the establishment of the Laboratory. He excused the absence of the Prince and the Commander and, in their place, delivered 'an address explanatory of the nature of the laboratory and the uses which it would confer upon the public services of the country.'[210] The event illustrates perfectly the relation between the "Gentlemen of Science" and their political sponsors, which is one of the main themes in Morrell and Thackeray's (1981) analysis of organised science in the first half of the nineteenth century. This is not serendipity. The opening took place in the run up to a general election that pitched Irish Nationalists and English Liberals against Irish Unionists and English Conservatives in a political dogfight over home rule. Political divisions in the Imperial Parliament were replicated on the ground as the war between landlords and tenant farmers continued and the Government was being held to account over appalling social and economic conditions in the remote districts that the laboratory aimed to investigate in an ambitious programme of field work, which, it bears repeating, Haughton described as an instrument of 'the public services of the country.'

That programme was laid out by Haddon and Cunningham in a manifesto that they presented to the Royal Irish Academy and the Anthropological Institute at the request of Galton in February 1891 (Cunningham and Haddon, 1892, 36). Galton (1892) preceded them in the Institute with an account of the operation of his laboratory in London. This was part of a carefully choreographed sequence of announcements that was planned by Galton and Cunningham and Galton's prestige as a scientist and an entrepreneur cannot be overestimated here.[211] The priority given to the Academy acknowledged the pivotal role played by Haughton and Ingram as Presidents of the Academy, with Cunningham acting as their agent in TCD.

Haughton

Haughton's name is rarely if ever associated with the establishment of the Laboratory. Haughton was a Senior Fellow in TCD who served as President of the Royal Irish Academy from 1886 to 1890. He was not an anthropologist. At the time of his death in 1897, he was best known as a medical man with a background in

[210] *Op. Cit.*

[211] See, for instance, Chris Renwick's account of Galton's role in the inaugural meeting of the Sociological Society in 1903 (Renwick 2012, 123-146).

general science (Macalister / BMJ 1897, 1376). His reputation as an expert in applied mathematics has led to him being 'described as the champion of medicine and mathematics' (Rodger 1993, 168). A laboratory for "man-measurement," as Charles Roberts (1888, 740) [212] called it, may seem like an obvious endeavour for Haughton, but he was an evolution sceptic[213] and an unrelenting critic of Darwin.[214] Haughton's involvement in the Laboratory is best explained by his partnership with Cunningham in development of the School of Physic (Medicine). Haughton entered the School in 1859 and graduated in 1862, in preparation for a vigorous reform of medical education in the university (Praeger 1949, 99). He became a Senior Fellow in 1881 and resigned as Medical Registrar, but remained, according to Macalister, 'the guardian spirit of the Medical School.' (*op. cit.*, 1377) who supported Cunningham's efforts to professionalise medical education in the university.

Cunningham

Cunningham trained as a surgeon in Edinburgh. He replaced Macalister as Professor of Anatomy in TCD in 1883 and was elected as a member of the Anthropological Institute in the same year. It was, according to Dixon, a critical time in the history of the School of Medicine (Dixon 1909, 55).[215] Cunningham and Haughton developed a close working relationship and enduring friendship (*ibid.*). Cunningham, for instance, availed of Haughton's expertise in 'animal mechanics' (Cunningham 1886, 59) while measuring living subjects as a part of a comparative study of the lumbar curve in humans and apes. These experiments in anthropometry brought him into contact with Galton. They met in Galton's Laboratory in London in 1890 and it would seem that Cunningham persuaded Haughton to set aside any reservations he may have had about the evolutionist nature of the Laboratory.

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[212] Roberts (d. 1901) was a surgeon. He served as Secretary to the first Anthropometric Committee established by the BAAS in 1875 (see Tanner 1981, 174-180).

[213] Praeger notes that 'his sustained opposition to the doctrine of evolution is much in evidence' in his contributions to the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland (1949, 400).

[214] Haughton was the first to attack the theory of evolution in print (Bowler 2009, 412). He voiced his criticism at a meeting of the Geological Society in Dublin in 1859 and it was recorded in the Society's journal. Darwin was stung by the tone of Haughton's later criticism (*ibid.*), which he described in a letter to J. D. Hooker as "coarsely abusive" and "unfair." (Burckhardt *et al*. 1985-2001, 238).

[215] Dixon (1868-1936), an embryologist, replaced Cunningham in 1903.

Haughton then used his influence to broker a deal between the Academy, TCD *and* Galton, in which the Academy funded the establishment of the Laboratory in a premises provided by TCD and equipped by Galton.

Galton

Galton is not mentioned in *The Irish Times* and it is impossible to say if he was present at the opening of the Laboratory. Nevertheless, his fingerprints are all over the event. Haughton, as reported in *The Irish Times,* described the deal that made the establishment of the Laboratory possible:

> The laboratory had received from Trinity College free quarters in a handsome room, and what was of much more value than any endowment, the cordial co-operation of their professor of anatomy, (Applause). The Royal Irish Academy, having heard of what Trinity College proposed to do, gave them a grant of £600 to provide the delicate and costly instruments necessary for carrying out their observations, and it was an open secret that if they conducted themselves as he (Dr. Haughton) hoped, they should receive next year another £100 or perhaps more–(applause)–to carry a travelling anthropometric laboratory around Ireland.[216]

Haughton did not name Galton however, but his treatment of anthropometry drew heavily on a pamphlet published by Galton in 1890, which was titled *Anthropometric Laboratory: Notes and Memoirs*. A copy was discovered in "Old" Anatomy in 2014 in a box file labelled "Anthropology." Several references corresponding to sections of Haughton's address were marked (Fig. 4.2).

Haughton made it clear that the deal depended on significant funding from the Royal Irish Academy: £600 in 1891 would be worth approximately €88,000 at current rates.[217] Haughton's Presidency of the Academy ended in 1890 and his remarks were addressed to Ingram, who had been elected President in January 1891. Haughton was probably aware that Ingram had clashed with Galton in the past and was making the case for continued support from the Academy in a very public forum.

Ingram

Ingram was also a Senior Fellow of TCD. He founded the Dublin Statistical Society in 1847, which merged with the Social Inquiry Society in 1885 and was

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[216] *Op. Cit.*
[217] Bank of England inflation calculator and exchange rates on March 10, 2020.

renamed Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland. (Carroll 2007, 38). In 1878, he confronted Galton over his attempt to restrict the investigation of social and political phenomena undertaken by Section F-Economic Science and Statistics of the BAAS (Renwick 2012, 131-9). He also opposed eugenics and established an alliance with Geddes, who supported the stance taken by Ingram in 1878 with his pioneering work on bio-sociality and sociology (Renwick, 2009, 36-57; 2012, 19-42).

Ingram, according to Sean D. Barrett (1999), was an adherent of the positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte (1798-1857), but waited until he had retired from TCD in 1900 before openly declaring his allegiance to Comte. In 1888, Ingram argued that the study of political economy should be integrated into the study of other aspects of social existence (*ibid*., 13). Havelock Ellis advocated a similar approach in *The New Spirit* (1890), a move that was in line with a pronounced Positivist strand in the Fellowship of the New Life (see Mackenzie 1975, 32) and in Solidarist thought (see Steele 1998). Haddon and Browne incorporated both political economy and sociology into the ethnographic survey of the Aran Islands in 1892, signalling the shift from a biological focus on race to a sociological focus on ethnicity. As stated, it is not clear who made that decision, although attention has tended to focus on Haddon; the last member of the consortium to be considered here.

Haddon

Haughton finished his speech by demonstrating 'with Professor Haddon as a subject, the means by which the investigations of the anthropometric departments were carried out, showing the manner of measuring the skull, testing the strength of grasp, breathing capacity, &C.'[218] Haughton thereby clarified the role assigned to Haddon as a member of the consortium and an agent of the Laboratory. Haddon had the field-survey experience that was needed to mobilise the Laboratory and measure living subjects in remote places. This was set out in general terms in the manifesto published by Haddon and Cunningham in 1891 (Haddon & Cunningham 1892, 36.). The mobile laboratory was to be used to assist anthropologists in their efforts to unravel the racial origins of the Irish, at a time when the linked issues of race and assimilation were central to the debate about the integrity of the UK and home rule.

[218] *Op Cit*.

This was a major departure for Haddon. Physical anthropology had been secondary to his study of customs and beliefs up to that point. He had decided not to measure people in the Torres Strait in 1888 and, following advice from Flower, had substituted photography for anthropometry in the ethnographic experiments he conducted in the west of Ireland in 1890 and 1891. Haddon did not include physical anthropology in "The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits" (1890, 300) or any of the other texts published after his return. He subsequently informed Foster that physical anthropology was a job for anthropologists who were interested in skulls and skeletons.[219] Haddon, as argued in the previous chapter, was operating as an ethnologist with a radical understanding of the relationship between a natural scientist and an object population and, even more so, the problematic relationship between organised anthropology and colonialism.

Why then did he choose to become involved with a project that was founded on an equal measure of eugenics and anatomical anthropology? Haddon may have regarded the Laboratory as a path to an academic career in anthropology and an opportunity to get out of marine zoology altogether: his involvement in fisheries development[220] had been terminated in 1890 and his career as a marine biologist seriously damaged as a result, but that story is beyond the scope of this thesis. Securing an alternative position in anthropology meant positioning himself in relation to Galton in London and Macalister in Cambridge. Haddon had no choice but to engage with the "physicals," but he did so by taking the laboratory out of the Anatomy Department and into the field, his preferred zone of operation as a naturalist and an ethnologist. That was the most innovative aspect of the project. By mobilising the Laboratory, Haddon fundamentally altered the operational premise and purpose of anthropometry in an anthropological context.

Anthropometry

Anthropometry was essentially a system of biometrics applied to comparative anatomy and subjected to statistical verification. There are two phases in the history of anthropometry as an element of anthropology. The first involved various attempts by the BAAS to organise anthropometric surveys of Great Britain (see Sillitoe 2005).

[219] Haddon to Foster, May 7, 1891 (HP F21/2 CUL).
[220] The Survey of Fishing Grounds 1890-1891 (see Green 1890).

This is not relevant to the present argument. The second involved Galton and the quantitative turn in anthropology (Haddon & Quiggin 1910, 46-7) that triggered a resurgence[221] of the skull measuring business in the 1880s and 1890s. Victorians, according to Pyenson and Sheet Pyenson, were obsessed with statistics (1999, 278), but the turn to statistics in anthropology needs to be considered more in terms of a desire for scientific validity that was manifest in an attempt to align the "soft" natural sciences more closely with the mathematical certainty of "hard" physical sciences. 'Measurement,' Pyenson and Sheet Pyenson have argued, 'dominated science in the nineteenth century' (*ibid*., 192) and measurement demanded precision and standardisation. Correlation and probability contributed to the construction of theories. Error analysis converted precision into accuracy and contributed to the formulation of laws. Measurement became synonymous with scientific authority and Galton pioneered the development of 'sophisticated statistical machinery to transform and thoroughly mathematise the biological sciences.' (*ibid*., 278), including anthropology.

Galton and Roberts were the primary exponents of anthropometry in English anthropology. They developed anthropometric practices in the area of health initially,[222] building upon the work of Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874), the Belgian astronomer and mathematician who "was the first to apply the Gaussian Law of Error to human measurements in its elementary binomial form …' (Haddon & Quiggin 1910, 47). Quetelet was many things,[223] but he is primarily remembered in the history of the natural sciences as a mathematician who elaborated on Auguste Comte's idea of social physics by undertaking a statistical analysis of data relating to a range of social phenomena, including births, deaths, commerce and crime (Pyenson and Sheet Pyenson 1999, 274). Darwin's theory of selective adaptation, in which variation from a "normal" member of a species is expressed in a series of observable and measurable traits, 'excited the imagination' (*ibid*.) of mathematicians like Galton and Roberts. Roberts Anglicised anthropometry as "man-measurement" (Roberts 1888, 740) and categorised it as a branch of human anatomy. Galton's interest in heredity as

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[221] Tylor dismissed craniology as an 'imperfect' science at the inaugural meeting of Section H in 1884 (1885, 904).

[222] Roberts regarded anthropometric investigation as having a diagnostic function in medicine and argued that its application was confined to 'investigation of the anatomy and functions of the human body.' (Roberts 1888, 741).

[223] Astronomer, poet, artist, mathematician, statistician, and sociologist.

a component of eugenics brought him into anthropology and Galton eclipsed Roberts as the public voice of anthropological anthropometry in England. Scientific racism has ensured that, in general historiography, Galton is remembered as the master of the dark art of "man-measurement." It was his mastery of statistics that made him the master of physical anthropology in the 1880s.

Physical Anthropology

Haddon and Flower credited Galton as being the first to realise the importance of applying mathematical methods to the study of anthropological problems (Flower 1894, 768-9; Haddon 1910, 47-8). It could also be argued that Galton was using anthropological problems merely to illustrate the efficacy of statistical models. Galton used his first address as President of Section H to present a lecture on "Types and Their Inheritance" (1885). He extolled the "beautiful regularity in the stature of a population" and the proven existence of a "law that governs hereditary transmission." (*ibid*., 268-9). He opened the lecture by stating that:

> the object of the anthropologist is plain. He seeks to learn what mankind really *are* in body and mind, how they came to what they are, and *whither their races are tending*; but the methods by which this definite inquiry has to be pursued are extremely diverse. Those of the geologist, the antiquarian, the jurist, the historian, the philologist, the traveller, the artist, and *the statistician,* are all employed; and *the science of man progresses* through the help of *specialists*." (*ibid*, emphasis added)

Galton was more proscriptive than the last sentence suggests. He argued elsewhere that unless 'the phenomena of any branch of knowledge have been submitted to measurement and number it cannot assume the status and dignity of a science' (1879*,* 149). Galton was referring in this instance to psychometric experiments, but the dictum applied more so to 'that branch of [*anthropometry*] which deals with craniometry.' (Pearson 1924, 334). Galton stated that the system operated by Bertillon in Paris had shown that the 'most convenient and primary basis for identification was the length and breadth of the head.'[224] Galton had "proven" the scientific relevance and practical utility of the skull measuring business and the point was not lost on physical anthropologists.

[224] Anon. 1888. " Morning With the Anthropometric Detectives" *Pall Mall Gazette,* November 16: 1-2.

Macalister (1893), referring to Beddoe's work on the *Races of Britain* (1885), recommended that university colleges in outlying districts consider applying the methods used in 'newly founded anthropometric laboratories' (Macalister, 1893, 890). Macalister was, of course, referring to the establishment of anthropometric laboratories in Cambridge and Dublin, but he had a larger argument to make. He noted that physical anthropologists had concentrated on skulls and that there were at least four collections of over a thousand specimens in Great Britain alone. Macalister contrasted the statistical results being produced in laboratories' (Macalister 1893, 889) with descriptive craniology, which he dismissed as a vanity project characterised by a 'sesquipedalian jargon'(*ibid*., 890). Macalister was marking the boundary between "descriptive" ethnology and "scientific" anthropology, which was a recurring theme in the conversations of the leaders of organised anthropology in the 1890s. "Descriptive" ethnology had, according to Macalister, yielded to a "physical" anthropology and the speculative generalities produced by the 'unorganised efforts of amateurs'(*ibid*.) had given way to what Flower characterised as 'a rigorous and, therefore, strictly scientific method of treatment' in the branch of anthropology called 'Anthropometry.' (1894, 768-9). Flower claimed that the quantitative turn was accelerated by the 'genius of Broca and the school which he established in France.' (*ibid*.). By arguing for the scientific superiority of quantitative methods, Macalister and Flower were reiterating Galton's distinction between general knowledge and science in the strict sense of 'precise measurements and definite laws' (see Renwick 2012, 37). In the process, they established a definition of anthropology that made it a task for specially trained anatomists operating, literally, in dissection rooms that doubled as anthropological laboratories, as claimed by Rudler in his Presidential Address to the Anthropological Institute in 1898 (Rudler 1899, 314; see p. 78).

The Dissection Room

The origin of the Anthropometric Laboratory in TCD can be traced to Cunningham's benchmark study of the lumbar curve in humans, anthropoid apes, and quadrupeds (Cunningham 1886). His theory was that the lumbar curve was a significant physiological marker of the difference between apes and humans, bipeds and quadrupeds. He assembled his specimens in his dissection room and carried out an extended series of measurements of the lower vertebrae in humans with a view to obtaining a standard that could be compared to the corresponding curve in apes. He

obtained averages from seventy-six European spines and fifty-six of the 'Lower Races of Man' (*ibid.*, 8). There were not enough of the latter in TCD, so Cunningham measured specimens in the Natural History Department of the Museum of Science and Art in Dublin (Haddon), the Royal College of Surgeons Museum, London (Garson), and in anatomy departments in Aberdeen (Struthers) and Cambridge (Macalister). Garson and Macalister assisted Cunningham and made many suggestions as to procedure.

Cunningham recorded a 'very remarkable' difference between the lumbovertebral index in Europeans and other races, especially the Andamans. This established racial variation as a 'fact' (*ibid.*, 54), but–and this is a very important but–Cunningham concluded that this could not be taken as evidence of speciation. He argued that the differences could be 'easily explained when we reflect upon the difference in their habits' (*ibid.*) and it would be untenable 'to argue that the European had assumed the erect attitude at a period antecedent to the low races.' (*ibid.*). Furthermore, he argued that variations in spinal form were clearly the result of age, sex, and occupation (*ibid*., 52). Cunningham compared the data obtained in the dissection room and museums with ethnographic accounts. He wrote that 'travellers tell us of the erect and graceful bearing of many of the natives of Africa [*and*] the natives of Australia; but beyond this we have little information, and what knowledge we do possess is far from being of a definite character.'(*ibid*., 54). The literature on race[225] was, according to Cunningham, inconclusive so he supplemented his laboratory work with the measurement of live subjects. The "fieldwork" was carried out on San people who were exhibited as "African Earthmen" (Fig. 1.1) in Dan Lowry's theatre in Dublin.[226] Cunningham traced the spinal form of members of the troupe[227] 'in so far as this can be done in the living.' (*ibid.,* 55-6) and compared these to tracings taken from 'two young, adult and finely built Irishmen,'(*ibid.,* 57), one a labourer, the other 'a tall, athletic man, with a very erect bearing.' (*ibid.*). He

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[225] Cunningham cites Duchenne (1867), Pruner Bey (1885), and Topinard (1885).
[226] Shortly after Cunningham read his paper on the lumbar curve (February 18, 1886), Dan Lowry's Star Variety Palace (The Olympia Theatre) advertised the '*Sixth* Appearance in Ireland of Farini's Wonder: THE AFRICAN EARTHMEN, From the Royal Aquarium, Westminster, London. The very lowest form of the human race, the appearance of these creatures is most interesting. (Advert.1886. "The African Earthmen." *The Freeman's Journal,* April 20: 4).
[227] Two adult males, a six year old boy, and a twelve year old girl.

enlisted the help of the Rev Dr Haughton, who was well-known for his work on animal mechanics, in dealing with the mathematical problems involved.

He then considered the lumbar curve in anthropoid apes and submitted the results to Flower, who suggested that an investigation of quadrupeds was needed to complete the study. Cunningham corrected an earlier paper of his (1885) that claimed, on the basis on inadequate data, that the human spine passes through a series of progressive phases that correspond to animal forms at different stages of human development. Comparisons between humans and apes, Cunningham concluded, do 'not bear too close examination and, although a general similitude may be noted, we may positively affirm that at no stage in its growth is the curvature of the human column an exact counterpart of that of the column of any of the lower animals in their full-grown condition.'(1886, 112). Cunningham had rejected progressive evolution and the idea of an intermediate form between human and apes. He demonstrated that human variation is superficial and easily explained by sex, age, and *occupation*. He had employed the scientific standard of precise measurement and statistical verification to confirm that, biologically speaking, the European and the Negro were the same.

Cunningham's research had considerable impact. Flower cited the findings in his Presidential Address to Section H in 1894, on the tenth anniversary of the incorporation of anthropology as a discreet science (Flower, 1894, 768). This is significant. In 1886, Cunningham used an impeccably empirical method to scientifically prove that the basic Lamarckian precepts of the evolutionist creed–as defined by Kuklick in 1991–were false and this was presented as anthropological common-sense by Flower in a key assessment of the science in 1894 (1895). Yet, Jones (1998) described Cunningham's dissection room as a redoubt of Darwinism (1998, 205-6) and constructed a correspondence between the theory of progressive evolution and the doctrine of survival in folklore studies to dismiss Haddon's work on folk and their lore in Ireland. Cunningham's rejection of speciation in humans and–implicitly–the racism activated by it was not the act of an orthodox Darwinian. That is argumentative, but two facts need to be considered here. One, Cunningham was working with Haughton, who was no friend of Darwin. Two, Cunningham, as stated (p. 31) asked Haddon for help with the preparation of a series of lectures on physical anthropology, stating that he knew very little about the area. The question then is this: If Cunningham was not a physical anthropologist, what was he?

Transcending the Physical

Like Haddon, Cunningham was dealing with the scientific and philosophical implications of Darwin's theory of origin and the acceptance of evolution as a scientific fact, rather than the fact of evolution itself. That defines him as post-evolutionist, as that term is used in this thesis. Cunningham's study of the lumbar curve transcended biology and pointed to other–social–factors that needed to be considered in dealing with physical differences between Europeans and non-Europeans. That places him closer to the ethnological or cultural camp than the anatomical or physical stance adopted by Macalister. That is sufficient grounds to dismiss the charge of Darwinian orthodoxy and the lack of a social imagination that is implied by the combination of redoubt and evolutionism.

Cunningham had a social imagination. He devoted a substantial part of his Presidential Address to the Anthropological Institute in 1908 to an assessment of Petrus Camper's contribution to anthropology.[228] Camper was a Dutch physician who contrasted 'the structure of the negro with that of the European (Cunningham 1908, 16) and proposed that 'Given a sufficient amount of time-several centuries [*Camper*] says–it would therefore be possible to turn a white race black or a black race white …' (Camper 1803, 451 quoted in Cunningham 1908, 17). Han F. Vermeulen (2015) was also interested in Camper. He cited Poliakov (1974, 162) and Meijer (1991, 73) to construct Camper's argument as follows:

> Camper insisted that racial differences were superficial. They were always a matter of degree in shape or skin hue. He exhorted Europeans to "hold out a fraternal hand to the Negroes and to recognise them as the descendants of the first man to whom we all look to as a common father.' (Vermeulen 2015, 370-371).

Cunningham's reference to the 'erect and graceful bearing of many of the natives of Africa' (1886, 54) could be interpreted as holding out 'a fraternal hand to the Negroes.' Cunningham was aligning himself with the humanist tradition of the *philosophes* in the natural sciences, in line with Camper, Blumenbach, Cowles Prichard, and Tylor. Prichard declared that 'the various tribes of men are of one origin' (Prichard 1832 quoted in Morrell & Thackeray 1981, 284). Racial differences,

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[228] Cunningham studied French and English translations of Camper's work (Cunningham 1908, 18)

according to Prichard, represented nothing more than variation in a single species. Cunningham considered Prichard to be the greatest anthropologist of his period and looked to him for a model of anthropological practice that overcame the ethical and sociological limits of physical anthropology (1908, 27).

Prichard, according to Cunningham, was overshadowed by Blumenbach, but his assessment of both is very telling in terms of his ranking of physical and cultural anthropologies:

> Blumenbach was essentially a physical anthropologist, and in this department I think we may say he was unexcelled. Prichard had a much broader grasp of the subject. *An accomplished anatomist*, he was, at the same time, one of the most learned philologists of his day and also a noted psychologist, and he brought his extensive knowledge in each of these branches to bear upon his *ethnological* work. (Cunningham 1908, 27, emphasis added).

It was, according to Cunningham, possible to be an anatomist and an ethnologist: he difference was philosophical rather than practical. Cunningham believed that Prichard and Tylor's membership of the Society of Friends shaped their pursuit of a 'wider scientific knowledge of mankind' (*ibid*. 27), wider in the sense that it was underpinned by an interest in 'the progress and well-being of mankind' (*ibid*.). Prichard had been warned by his father not to offend constituted authority by challenging the 'literal interpretation … of the Scriptural account of the origins of man'(*ibid*., 28) but, in a heavily hedged account, Cunningham celebrates Prichard's capacity to reconcile his advanced thinking on human origin and variation with his faith. Cunningham was a 'son-of-the-manse' (Carpenter 1909, 231) and, like Prichard and Tylor, was determined to pursue a faith-based and sociologically inclined anthropology.

This is the most striking–and least acknowledged–aspect of his work as a comparative anatomist, zoologist and anthropologist. There is no easy way to say this, but Jones's 1998 assessment of Cunningham was wrong: the Anatomy Department in TCD was not the redoubt of Darwinian thought that she described in "Contested Territories." Cunningham's identification with Prichard's humanism, however sentimental, may have been implicit in 1886, but his identification with both Prichard and Tylor in 1908 was as explicit as it was unequivocal. Cunningham may have been an anatomist, but he was not a physical anthropologist. In that case, why

did he establish a branch of Galton's Anthropometric Laboratory in his Anatomy Department in Dublin?

Strange Bedfellows: Galton and Cunningham

The partnership between Galton and Cunningham seems to have developed out of an alignment between anatomical research in TCD and anthropometrical research in London. Galton established his first Anthropometric Laboratory during the International Health Exhibition in London in 1884 (Fig. 4.4) and he presented a detailed report on the operation of the laboratory at a meeting of the Anthropological Institute in November 1884 (1885A). By the time the exhibition closed, he had collected data on 14 physical and sensory characteristics[229] from 9,337 people at a cost of three pennies each (*ibid*.). He did not measure heads because of the situation of the laboratory,[230] although he conceded that, in another setting, head measurement would be of primary importance.' (*ibid*., 210). He explained that the objects of the Laboratory were (a) to publicly demonstrate the simplicity of anthropometric measurement[231] and (b) to promote a system of periodic measurement that could be used to show 'the progress of the individual … or of the nation as a whole.' (*ibid*.). He exhibited the instruments used and invited members of the Institute to contribute suggestions for the improvement of the methods employed so that a set of simple, standard instruments could be developed for 'the sake of uniformity…of measurement and simplicity in statistical comparison.' (*ibid*., 206).

Galton clearly intended that the research would be conducted nationwide, but had little luck in establishing a network of laboratories. Galton operated the laboratory in London until 1888. The *Pall Mall Gazette*[232] published a colourful account of the laboratory in November 1888. Galton is described as a scientist whom

[229] Keenness of sight; colour sense; judgment of eye; hearing; highest audible note; breathing power; strength of pull and squeeze; swiftness of blow; span of arms; height, standing and sitting; and weight.

[230] Galton feared that it 'would be troublesome to perform on most women on account of their bonnets, and the bulk of their hair, and that it would lead to objections and difficulties. …Stripping was of course inadmissible, and measurements of girth, whether of body or limb, taken over the clothes, are rather fallacious.' (Galton 1885A, 210)

[231] Galton reported that 90 people a day were measured during the exhibition, a process that took an average of seven minutes each (1885A, 209-210).

[232] Anon. 1888. "A Morning With the Anthropometric Detectives." *Pall Mall Gazette*, Nov 16: 1-2.

'The world naturally [*associated*] with the study of the laws and consequences of heredity, with inquiries into our faculties and developments, and with allied subjects of research.'[233] The laboratory was located at the end of a long gallery in a pavilion on the South Kensington campus, where the Commissioners of 51 allowed him to remain rent-free. The Laboratory was approached through the debris of a previous exhibition and contained equipment for measuring physical characteristics and testing breathing capacity, strength, sensory, and perceptual acuity. Composite photographs of criminals and consumptives were displayed under a 'Glorified'[234] camera and the measurements of famous giants and dwarves were displayed in another corner. The laboratory, according to the reporter, was struggling and Galton had to waive the fee in an effort to attract more customers. In three years he had measured 3,678, just over a third of the number of people measured in six months in 1884. It was, Galton commented, 'a hobby and not a very costly one.'[235] Galton wanted to establish the laboratory on a more permanent basis. He justified measurement on the grounds that the results tell 'a man his rank among his fellows' and repeat testing would tell if 'he is progressing or retrograding.'[236] It was also useful for identifying colour blindness and other defects. Anthropometric data were being used to identify criminals in Paris,[237] points that were repeated by Haughton in his opening address in Dublin. Asked if there were other laboratories, Galton referred to John Venn in Cambridge[238] and added that 'he talked about it at Oxford and elsewhere, but not yet with success.'[239] Efforts to set up laboratories elsewhere were hampered by difficulty in creating the right conditions. It required that 'Some capable man must really interest himself and there must be a convenient locality.'[240] That man turned out to be Daniel J. Cunningham and the locality TCD.

It is not clear how Galton persuaded Cunningham to open the laboratory in TCD, but their paths converged in Aberdeen in September 1885. Galton, as President of

233 *Ibid.*
234 *ibid.*,
235 *Ibid.*
236 *Ibid.*
237 *Ibid.*
238 *Ibid.* Galton presented a Rede Lecture on "The Measurement of Human Faculty" and donated a set of instruments. Venn set up a laboratory in the library of the Philosophical Society (Venn 1889, 141)
239 *Ibid.*
240 *Ibid.*

Section H, presented a lecture on "Types and Their Inheritance" (BAAS 1886, 1206-1214). He explained his choice of stature as the basis for a study of inheritance with a reference to the relation between the dorsal vertebrae and the overall height in 'the skeleton of O'Brien, the Irish giant at the College of surgeons.' (*ibid.*, 1208). This would have interested Cunningham for two reasons. One, he was in the middle of his study of the lumbar curve[241] and presented an interim report on "Some Important Points of Comparison between the Chimpanzee and Man" (BAAS 1886, 1226) at a subsequent session of Section H. Second, Cunningham had custody of the skeleton of Cornelius Magrath, the Irish Giant,[242] and was well aware of the value of the specimen, especially to someone like Galton. 'It is questionable,' Cunningham stated in 1891 'if there is a Museum specimen in Dublin which is better known, or which has excited a wider interest, than the skeleton of Cornelius Magrath.' (1887, 553).[243] Neither Cunningham nor Galton were interested in gigantism as such. What did interest them was the mechanism that generated anatomical variation. Galton was interested in heredity as a statistical problem and Cunningham was interested in the relation of anatomical form to function. Cunningham's discovery that enlargement of the bony recess of the pituitary gland was a feature of gigantism was a medical breakthrough (Klein and Parker 1902, 1532-1536; BMJ 1909, 53-57) that prompted further research into the condition known as acromegaly. In 1903, he used Magrath's skeleton to illustrate a lecture on gigantism[244] and explained how he was investigating the link between the pituitary gland and growth. He stated that he was about to experiment with the juice of the gland and expected to come back with some cats or rats whose abnormal growth corresponded to that of giants.

Thus, in 1890, the statistical and anatomical researches of Galton and Cunningham converged on the skeleton of Cornelius Magrath. Cunningham

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[241] Cunningham measured some specimens while he was in Aberdeen (1886: 17).
[242] Magrath died in 1760 at the age of 23. His body was acquired by the School of Physic in TCD and his macerated skeleton was placed in the Anatomy Museum.
[243] Interest in Magrath's skeleton continues today as (a) a source of genetic information about acromegaly and (b) as evidence of the importance of human specimens to anatomical anthropology and (c) a focus of controversy over the retention of identifiable human remains in historical anthropological collections. Over and above all of that, the idea of the Irish Giant continues to fascinate people. All of those elements came together in the filming of the documentary the "Giant Gene" in TCD in 2018 (Fig. 4.5).
[244] Anon. 1903. "Cornelius Magrath, The Irish Giant: Lecture by Professor Cunningham." *The Irish Times*, February 5: 8.

commenced a detailed investigation of the skeleton in December 1890.[245] He was determined to showcase his mastery of anthropometry by establishing beyond doubt the exact height of the giant and dispel the various myths about Magrath's stature. His method was demonstrably empirical. He stripped the skeleton of 131 years of accumulated varnish, gutta percha patches, and substitute bones and restored it to its natural condition (*ibid*., 564-5) . He established that Magrath was *in fact* 7 ft 1 5/8 ins tall at the time of his death. He read his report to the Royal Irish Academy on January 26, 1891 and, one month later, he joined Galton and Haddon in a carefully choreographed announcement of their intention to open an anthropometric laboratory in Dublin. Haddon and Cunningham presented their manifesto at a general meeting of the Royal Irish Academy on February 23 1891.[246] They then travelled to London and joined Galton at a meeting of the Anthropological Institute. Galton presented a "Retrospect of Work Done at my Anthropometric Laboratory at South Kensington" (Galton**,** 1892, 32-35). Cunningham followed with an 'account of the Anthropometric Laboratory founded by himself and Professor Haddon.' (Cunningham and Haddon, 1892, 35). It was a little premature, the Laboratory had only been agreed in principle, but Cunningham made it clear that Galton had persuaded them 'to give a brief account of the steps we have already taken to introduce anthropometric work into Ireland.' (*ibid*.). Cunningham then exhibited the skull and long bones of Cornelius Magrath and read a synopsis of his earlier report to the Royal Irish Academy (Cunningham, 1892, 40-41).

It seems that Cunningham was calling the shots in Dublin. There is nothing to indicate that Haddon had any interest in anthropometry at this stage. In 1891, he argued for a thoroughly 'equipped anthropometric laboratory'[247] for training anthropologists in his unpublished critique of the Imperial Institute, but this exception can be explained by the fact that he had consulted Galton on the proposal. In the meantime, Cunningham was consulting with Galton. In March 1891, Garson alerted Haddon to the fact that Cunningham had visited Galton and was looking for advice on craniometers. Garson informed Haddon that

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[245] Macalister to Cunningham, December 18, 1890 (uncatalogued record, "Old" Anatomy, TCD).
[246] Anon. 1891. "Royal Irish Academy." *The Irish Times*, Feb 24: 7.
[247] Haddon, c1891, MS of critique of the Imperial Institute (HP F5061, CUL), p. 18 (see Stocking & Haddon 1993, 13, Appendix 4)

> … since Cunningham was over here an arrangement has been come to whereby I am to be associated with Mr Francis Galton at his Laboratory at South Kensington. I hope that we may be reasonably of use to each other.[248]

They began working together. Garson seems to have trained Haddon in the practice of skull measuring. Garson operated a mobile anthropometric laboratory at meetings of the BAAS from 1886 onwards and he used that experience to develop a physical anthropology programme for the Ethnographic Survey of the UK. Their manual was published in 1894, after a two year delay (BAAS 1894, 423). Haddon used the schedule in fieldwork in the village of Barley in Hertfordshire in 1895 (BAAS 1895, 510; 1897, 503), where he made measurements and took photographs (Fig. 4.6.). Haddon, Macalister, and Duckworth formed a subcommittee for Cambridge University and Haddon supervised survey work undertaken by 'trained men' (BAAS 1895, 510).

Garson's letter presents two possible scenarios. The first is that Cunningham and Galton were responsible for the establishment of the Laboratory. The second is that Haddon, working with Garson, began developing a mobile anthropometric laboratory for use in ethnographic surveys. The date of the letter is important in this context. It was written in March 1891, one month after Cunningham and Haddon outlined and presented their manifesto to the Royal Irish Academy and the Anthropological Institute. At that stage the mobilisation of the laboratory was intended to allow Haddon to investigate

> the persistence or otherwise of racial characters [*employing*] anthropometric methods for the purpose of giving some assistance to the anthropologist in his endeavours to unravel the tangled skein of the so-called "Irish Race." (Cunningham & Haddon, 1892, 36)

Haddon and Browne, as stated, introduced their report on the inaugural survey of the Aran islands with a declaration that the original terms of reference had been changed and that the study of ethnicity was given the same weighting as the study of racial origins (1891, 769). That presents an intriguing possibility: Was Cunningham, the anatomist, the author of this historic declaration? In other words, was Cunningham responsible for changing the focus of the Laboratory, moving away from both Galton's eugenics project and its derivative in Haddon and Garson's ethnographic

[248] Garson to Haddon, March 30, 1891 (HP F3 CUL).

survey towards a sociological investigation of economically underdeveloped districts in the West of Ireland? Ingram also has to be considered here because of his record of conflict with Galton and his opposition to eugenics.

From Eugenics to Sociology

Cunningham's search for a sociologically purposeful anthropology was closely aligned with Ingram's position on sociology, although this would have been offset to some extent by Cunningham's faith-based practice. Nevertheless, Cunningham seems to have persuaded Ingram to overcome his differences with Galton and honour the deal brokered by Haughton. Cunningham was building a case for anthropology as a means to 'elucidate various social problems' (Flower, 1894, 768), a move that may have been influenced by Ingram. The ethnographic survey devised by Haddon presented them with an opportunity to put their theories into practice in a timely fashion. The highly publicised threat of starvation in the West of Ireland in the early 1890s made the Aran Islands the perfect site for an experiment in sociologically oriented fieldwork, especially when those same reports of famine were being used to justify home rule and threaten the political integrity of the UK.

The fact that Edward, prince of Saxe-Weimar, was scheduled to attend the opening of the Laboratory is very suggestive in this context. Consider the following. Edward was a favourite of Queen Victoria (Vibart & Falkner 2004) and Victorian anthropologists were engaged in political debates about home rule. John Lubbock (1834–1913), a banker, politician and first President of the Anthropological Institute, wrote a series of letters to *The Times* (Lubbock1887, 420) in which he described the United Kingdom as a synthesis of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon elements that, territorially speaking, consisted of a Celtic periphery and an Anglo-Saxon-core that was centred on London, which, according to Unionist anthropologists, was the natural consequence of a necessary process of civilisation by conquest and assimilation. Irish nationalists rejected this process of Anglicisation and the general elections of 1892 and 1895 were key events in their campaign for home rule and decolonisation. Cunningham was probably a member of the Conservative Party[249] and Ingram was a Unionist who distrusted Irish politicians (Collinson Black 2008). As such, they would have been opposed to home rule and there is evidence that this influenced their

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[249] Cunningham wrote to Haddon in 1901 on stationery from the Constitutional Club in London, which was affiliated to the Conservative Party.

governance of the Irish Ethnographic Survey. Conservative politicians used data from the Survey in political debates about home rule. For instance, in 1894 and 1895, Browne, operating as a proxy for Cunningham, investigated reports of physical degeneration in sections of the population in remote parts of County Mayo (Fig. 4.7, & 4.8). Gerald Balfour, head of the British Administration in Ireland, used the data Browne collected on housing and health (Browne 1895, 611) to refute claims by the Nationalist and Liberal opposition that government policy was causing deaths from typhoid in Mayo.[250] This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven and it is referred to here to establish a link between Cunningham, the Laboratory, the Conservative Party, and the British Administration in Dublin Castle. The question that follows is this: Is it possible that, under Cunningham, the Laboratory functioned as an instrument of Tory social policy in Ireland?

This would be consistent with Cunningham's role in the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Degeneration (1903-4). Cunningham, according to Kuklick, presented evidence that proved that the 'observed characteristics of the British Population represent the effects of environmental stimuli on the expression of inherited traits.' (Kuklick 1991, 153). If physical reverses had been *sustained*, 'they could be undone with proper diet, housing and exercise.'(*ibid*.). This is consistent with the sanitary or health science origins of anthropometry, which are best illustrated by a report that Roberts prepared for the Statistical Society in 1876, which considered the physical threshold for the employment of children in factories (see Tanner 1981, 169-177). It is also consistent with Cunningham's finding in 1886 that physical differences between races could be explained by sex, age, and occupation. The evidence suggests that Cunningham, with financial backing from Ingram, took the decision to impose a sociological study on an anthropological investigation of the Aran Islands. That study was intended to elucidate the social problems–to use the phrase that Flower used–in the West of Ireland and inform political debate on social policy in Ireland, in the context of a challenge to British rule in Ireland. Cunningham, as stated, had very little experience of fieldwork (Cunningham 1886, 55). The dissection room was his domain and it was Haddon who jumped the wall and took the Laboratory into the field. He was accompanied by Browne, a medical doctor

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[250] Anon. 1897 "The Government and Belmullet." *The Freeman's Journal*, Monday 12 July: 5.

trained by Cunningham (see De Mórdha & Walsh 2012), who acted as Cunningham's proxy for the inaugural survey of the Aran Islands in 1892. By the time Haddon and Browne reached the 'field' in September 1892, the rules of engagement had changed. The lines of research proposed in 1891 were extended to include a sociological study of the islands 'in the belief that the ethnical characteristics of a people are to be found in their arts, habits, language, and beliefs as well as in their physical characters.' (Haddon & Browne 1891, 769). This represents a historic distinction between biological and social fact, race and ethnicity, anthropometry and ethnography.

Significantly, the schedule that Haddon Browne used to record data during the survey was changed; it was headed "The Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory" but the data was authorised with the stamp of the "Anthropological Laboratory, Trinity College, Dublin" (Fig. 5.3). Furthermore, Haddon was dropped from fieldwork after the survey of the Aran Islands and Browne conducted seven more surveys as the chief investigator of the Anthropological Laboratory. He undertook the final survey in 1900 and the Laboratory ceased to operate when Cunningham left Dublin in 1903. Cunningham, it seems, had taken ownership of the project in 1891 and developed it into an instrument of Conservative social policy at the height of the political struggle for home rule in Ireland.

Conclusion

To summarise, Haughton, a Darwinian sceptic, and Cunningham, an anatomist, brokered a deal that enabled Galton to conduct eugenics research in a laboratory in Dublin. Haddon, a radical ethnologist, got involved and mobilised the laboratory as an instrument of anthropological research in the field. The arrival of Ingram on the scene changed everything. He controlled the money, but he had clashed with Galton over the scientific study of social phenomena in 1878 and became a vigorous opponent of eugenics. Cunningham's pursuit of a faith-based and sociologically purposeful form of anthropology created a basis for Cunningham and Ingram to work together. They separated Galton's project[251] from the ethnographic survey and transformed the latter into a new form of politically relevant, field-based sociology. Cunningham appointed Browne as his proxy in the field and Browne

[251] Galton's plan to generate large volumes of data failed (Browne 1898, 269-270). The records of the Laboratory indicate that it was used primarily as a way of introducing medical students to anthropometry.

replaced Haddon after the first survey. It is evident that Cunningham, rather than Haddon, was calling the shots in the Irish Ethnographic Survey. It was the beginning of his involvement in scientific research that fed into social policy.

Haddon, in the meantime, was grappling with a major dilemma. He was working with Havelock Ellis on plans for a radical shake-up of anthropology in England and had met resistance from the leaders of organised anthropology. Macalister and Galton rejected his proposal for a Bureau of Ethnology and he was under pressure from Huxley to abandon his anti-Imperial agenda, engage with institutional anthropology, and concentrate on the systematic collection of anthropological "facts." That led to his involvement in the skull measuring business, in partnership with Garson, Duckworth, and Macalister. To add to his troubles, Haddon was an anti-imperialist and a supporter of home rule, on the opposite side of the political divide to Cunningham and Ingram. Conflict was inevitable and the situation came to a head as Haddon and Browne headed to the Aran Islands in 1892. Haddon, once again, had to defer to more powerful players and accept the imposition of a sociological component in his survey of the Aran Islands.

That suggests that I am crediting Cunningham and Ingram with the development of practical sociology, while Haddon measured the skulls of the islanders: reversing a conventional interpretation that Haddon was responsible for pushing the survey in a "cultural" direction. The situation was not that simple however. As stated, Haddon developed anthropography or, as he sometimes referred to it, anthropo-geography as a synthesis of geography, physical anthropology, political economy, and folk-lore, which, as Haddon makes clear in "The Study of Anthropology," was derived from a Le Playist approach to social survey and informed by a combination of utopian communalism and anarchist geography. That leads me to conclude that the conflict between anthropography and sociology in the ethnographical study of the Aran Island was, in reality, a conflict between two forms of social survey that were aligned with opposing sides in the conflict over home rule and decolonisation in Ireland. That means that we need to look closer at the skull measuring aspects of the survey and the focus of this thesis now turns from the laboratory to the field and the battle for practical legitimacy that became "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway."

CHAPTER FIVE
THE ISLANDS
(PLATES)

Fig 5.1 Charles R. Browne, 1893, *Anthropometry Inishbofin*, (detail), albumen print (©TCD: MS10961-3).

Fig 5.2 Haddon, 1892, front and side profile photographs of Michael, Roger, and Anthony Dirrane of Oghil, Aranmore in the Aran Islands (© CUMAA: P.7472.ACH1 & P.7473.ACH1). This is a reproduction of galley proof of Plate XXIV (Figs 8 & 9) of "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway" (Haddon & Browne 1891). The caption reads as follows:

> Michael and Roger are brothers and are by no means typical Aranites. There is an acknowledged foreign strain (? French) in their blood. Their relative Anthony is, on the other hand, quite typical. (*ibid*., 830)

Fig. 5.3 Schedule of measurements taken from Michael Dirrane in 1892 (© TCD).

Fig. 5.4 Galton's schedule of measurements c. 1886 (© University of Pittsburgh).

Fig 5.5

The schedule used by Galton in 1884 (Library & Archives Service at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine).

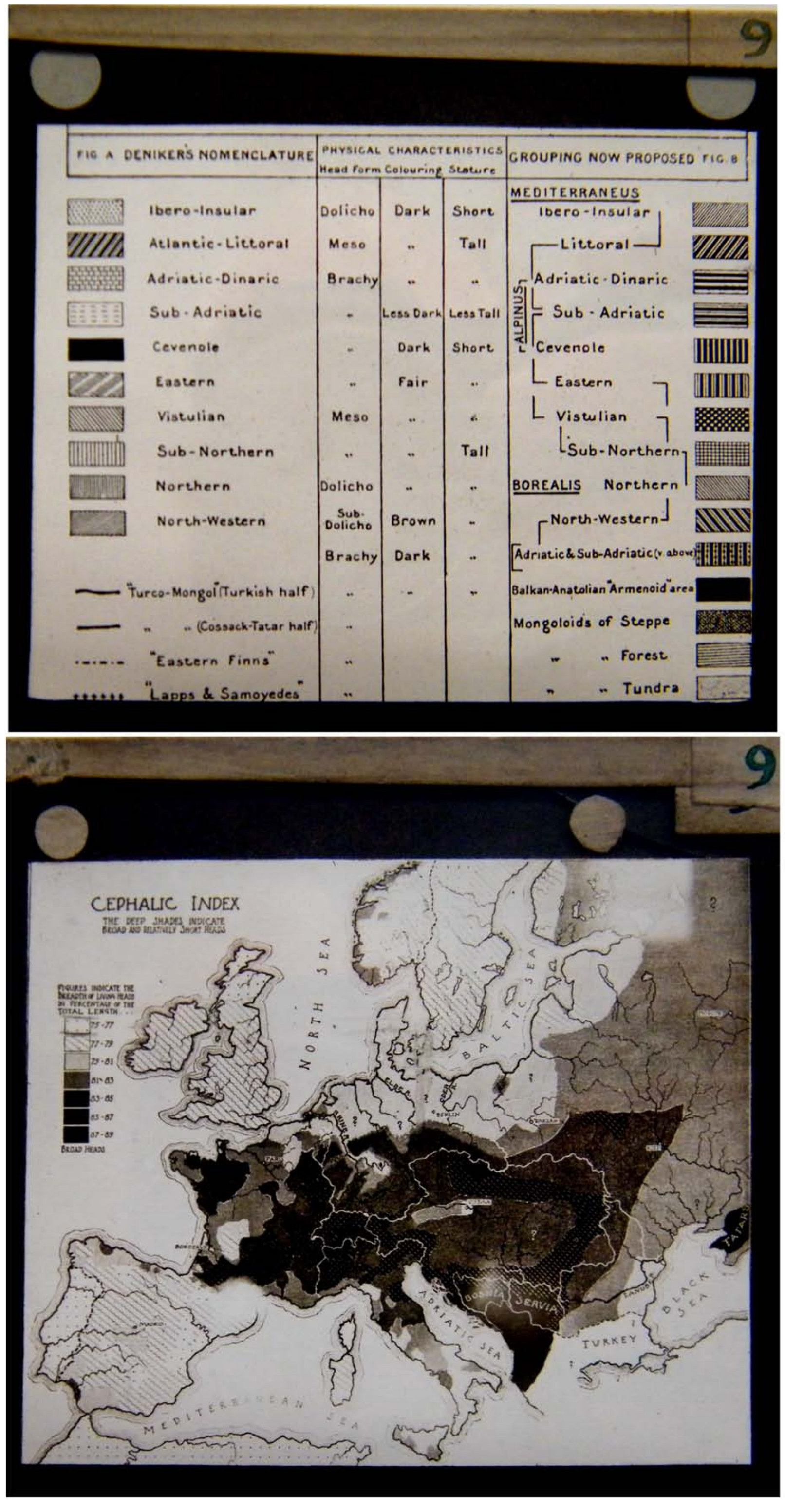

Fig. 5.6 The cephalic index explained in Haddon's teaching slides. (© CUMAA).

ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE BRITISH ISLES.
(IRELAND.)

Number.	Date of Measurement.	Surname.	Christian Name.	Age.	Sex.	Town or Village.	County.
1	9th August 1894	Lavelle	Philip	33	Male	Inishkea North	Mayo

Surnames,	Surname of your Father if different from your own.	Surname of your Mother before she was married.	What district do your Father's people come from?	Your Mother's?
	John	Heaveran	Innisboffin	Inishkea

Have your Father's people occupied that part of the country for long: if not, state what you know of their original locality, — Always in Innisboffin

Occupation. — Farmer and Fisherman

1	General Condition: (1) stout; (2) medium; (3) thin. — Photograph number. (N.B.—The photograph of the person measured should be sent along with this Schedule.)
2	Skin: (1) pale; (2) ruddy; (3) dark. — Freckled (?).
D	Hair: (R) red; (F) fair; (B) brown; (D) dark; (N) black. | (1) straight; (2) wavy; (3) curly.
B	Colour of Beard: (R); (F); (B); (D); (N).
1	Eyes: (1) blue; (2) light grey; (3) dark grey; (4) green; (5) light brown; (6) dark brown.
2 B	Shape of Face: (1) long and narrow; (2) medium; (3) short and broad. (*a*) cheek-bones inconspicuous; (*b*) cheek-bones prominent.
1	Profile of Nose: Compare with outline figures at foot, and give the number with which the nose under examination most closely corresponds.
2	Lips: (1) thin; (2) medium; (3) thick.
B	Ears: (A) flat; (B) out-standing; (*a*) coarse; (*b*) finely-moulded.
(2) a	Lobes of Ears: (1) absent; (2) present; (*a*) attached; (*b*) detached.

Height.		Cranium.			Face.			
Standing.	Sitting.	Length.	Breadth.	Height.	Length.	Upper Face Length.	Breadth.	Bigonial Breadth.
1775	935	202	160	133	128	72	148	118

Nose.		Internal Bi-ocular Breadth.	Head.	Auricular Radii.			Hand	Forearm
Length.	Breadth.		Height.	Vertical.	Nasial.	Alveolar.		
54	36	32	224	130	101	99	195	261

REMARKS.

Span 1880
King of Inishkea

Fig 1. Fig 2. Fig 3. Fig 4. Fig 5.

Observer's Signature and Address,

ANTHROPOLOGICAL LABORATORY,
TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

P.T.O.

Fig. 5.7 Schedule of measurements taken from Philip Lavelle in 1894 (© TCD).

Fig. 5.8 Charles R. Browne, 1894, portrait of Philip Lavelle (© TCD: MS10961-4_0027).

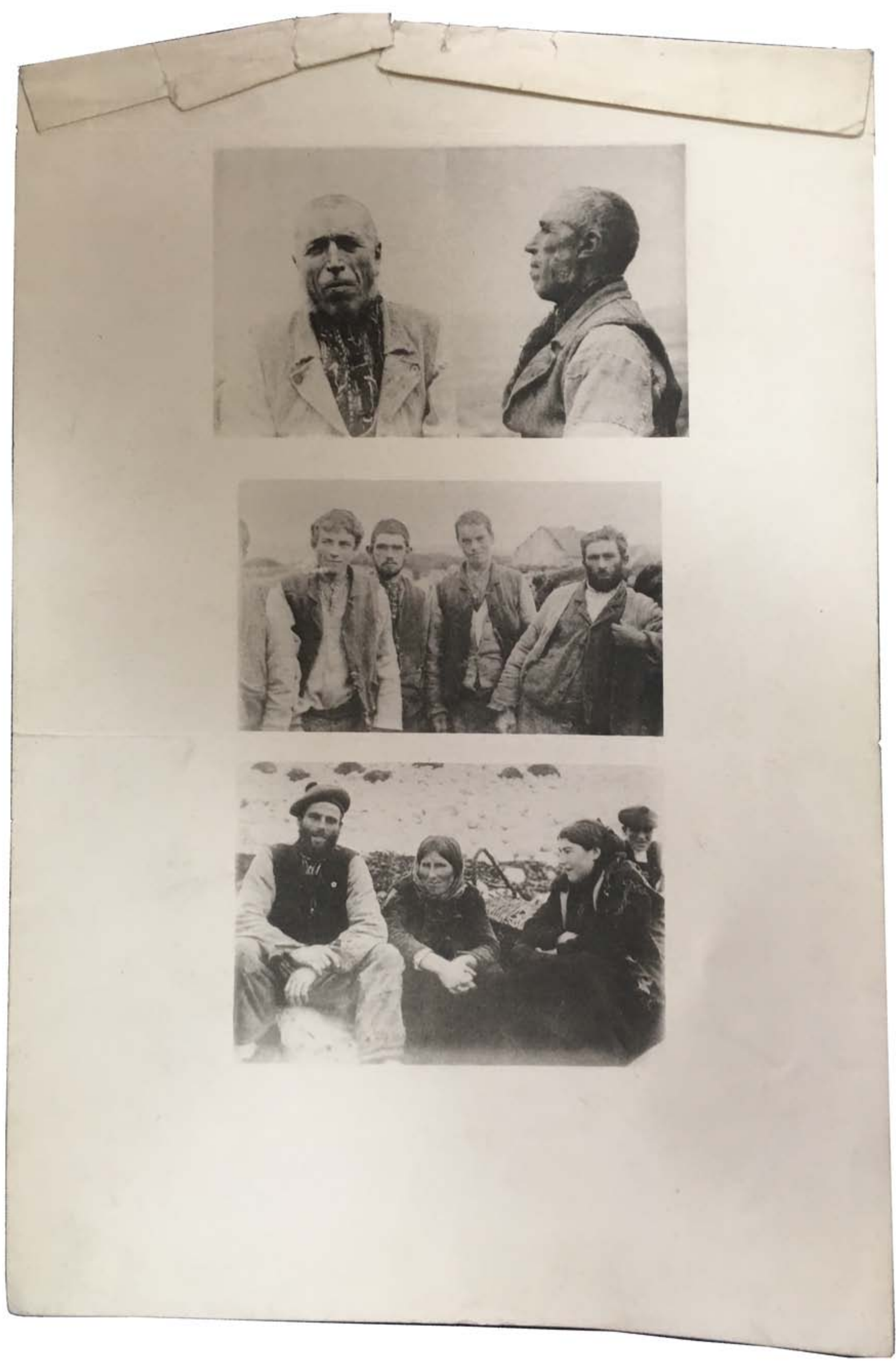

Fig. 5.9 Galley proof of Plate XXII, ‘The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway” by Haddon and Browne (1891). It is filed in Folder 4061 in the Haddon Papers in CUL.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE ISLANDS

> Anyone who has travelled through the country districts must be familiar with the very different types which are presented by the inhabitants. This is especially the case in outlying portions of the west coast and in the islands off the mainland.
>
> Cunningham and Haddon explain the idea behind the Irish Ethnographic Survey in February 1891 (1892, 36)

Introduction

The campaign for home rule dominated the general election of July 1892, threatening the integrity of the UK and generating a sense of crisis that affected every aspect of Anglo-Irish relations. Anthropology was no exception. The distinct origins of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic components of the population of the British Isles added a racial dimension to home rule debates. Supporters of home rule mobilised a folk-lore and Gaelic revival movement to distinguish between a pre-conquest Irish nation and an Anglicised colony. This coincided with the establishment of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory and its deployment to the West of Ireland in search of Irish aboriginals. Anthropologists like John Lubbock were already involved in debates about the relationship between race, ethnicity, and governance, which began as a racial justification of the domination of emotionally chaotic Celts by brutally efficient Anglo-Saxons, but, given the rise of Irish separatism in the 1880s, became a debate about British identity and the legitimacy of English dominion over Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

Anthropometry tainted anthropology with scientific racism and, as a consequence, most discussion of anthropology in an Anglo-Irish context in the 1890s is conventionally split between the anti-nationalist instrumentality of the skull measuring business and the anti-colonial cultural agenda of the folklore and Gaelic revival movement. Territorially speaking, Great Britain and Ireland may have formed a single anthropological zone, but anthropology in Ireland in the 1890s is, as argued already, generally perceived as something that was done by the "Anglo" to the "Irish," a perception that is materialised in the photograph of Haddon and Browne

measuring Tom Connelly in the mobile laboratory that they set up in the front yard of a cottage in the Aran Islands in 1892 (Fig. 1).

That construction has a historiographical consistency that is based on certain assumptions, the main one being that the deployment of Haddon and Browne to the Aran Islands in 1892 was, primarily, an experiment in scientific racism that was sponsored in part by Galton. The evidence suggests otherwise. I have argued that Haddon had been to the islands in 1890 and had incorporated that experience into a radical ethnological practice that anticipated social anthropology, as defined by Radcliffe-Brown (1923) three decades later. I have also argued that Browne was operating as a proxy for Cunningham and Cunningham was experimenting with health-science research methods that fed into social policy. If Cunningham hadn't been so obviously an anatomist and less obviously a Tory and a Unionist, "post-colonial" writers might be tempted to claim him as a pioneering Irish sociologist. That aside, the arrival of Haddon and Browne in the Aran Islands signalled the start of an experiment in two types of sociology, one intent on promoting an-archy or self-government (Proudhon 1863, Havelock Ellis 1890, Haddon / BAAS 1895) in the UK and the other intent on maintaining the political integrity of the UK.

There is a third strand to this argument that needs to be mentioned here. Haddon was not like other gentlemen of science. He needed a job in anthropology and that meant negotiating with the "physicals" who dominated organised anthropology in England. That meant compromising first principles and reconfiguring his practice in deference to Huxley, Galton and Macalister, all of whom made it quite clear that anthropological fieldwork was about the systematic collection and statistical verification of precise biological facts, rather than the collection and interpretation of politically sensitive cultural and social facts.

This chapter considers Haddon's dilemma in the context of the ethnographic survey of the Aran Islands, one of the ethnical islands identified by Haddon and Cunningham in their joint manifesto of 1891. The chapter begins with the most visible aspect of that expedition, the collection of data on the physical characteristics of the islanders. This is best illustrated by the photograph that Haddon and Browne had taken of themselves–a selfie of sorts–measuring the skull of Tom Connelly (Fig. 1). Again Galton is a key player. He designed most of the standard operating procedures that were mobilised and used in the field, although these were extended with a range of instruments–literally and metaphorically speaking–that were

developed by anatomists operating as anthropologists in England and France. These are ranged against the study of the sociology of the islands, in line with the distinction between race and ethnicity and that brings the focus back to the institutional battle between "physical" and "cultural" factions for legitimacy and control.

In this context, Haddon and Browne are represented as proxies for Galton and Cunningham and the narrative becomes that of the emergence of sociology as an alternative to anthropology in the field, as constituted in the skull measuring business. One of the key questions is whether Haddon's apparent conversion to craniology–signalled by his authorship in 1892 of the first of a series of studies in Irish craniology (Haddon 1891A) – meant that he had abandoned the reformist agenda that had shaped his experiments in ethnographic fieldwork and representation up to that point.

The Field

Haddon and Browne set up their mobile laboratory outside a cottage on Inishmore Island in September 1892. They began recording the physical characteristics of islanders. Michael Dirrane (18) of Oghill was the first of 27 islanders to be measured out of a total population of 1,996.[252] Haddon took full-face and profile photographs of Dirrane, his brother, and a relative (Fig. 5.2). They took a series of 17 head, face, and body measurements (Haddon & Browne 1891, 774 - 775). The data were entered into a schedule of measurements (Fig. 5.3) approved by Galton in 1891 (Galton 1892, 32). A search of the "Old" Anatomy Building in TCD in 2014 led to the discovery of the completed schedules[253] and comparison with an earlier version used by Galton (Fig. 5.4) revealed a number of significant changes in the data fields. Marital status was deleted. Hair colour was added to eye colour. Five new measurements relating to the cranium and face were required, representing an increased emphasis on head measurement, which Galton seemed slow to adopt in the operation of his laboratory in 1885 (see Galton 1885A). Psychometric and sensory data–the primary dataset of the schedule used in the International Health Exhibition in 1884 (Fig. 5.5)–were simplified.

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[252] Census of 1891.
[253] Forrest (1986, 1384) recorded that they were lost.

Another noticeable feature was the anatomical specificity of the terms used. The length of the middle finger became the tip of mid-finger to styloid and the upper arm–a new measurement–became the the epicondyle[254] to acromion.[255] Further changes were made before field work commenced. Grip, blow, breathing capacity, and colour sense were all changed to facial measurements: eye, socket, and nose. Other changes were made in the field. Haddon and Browne abandoned the measurement of the right upper arm because of the thickness of the flannel garments worn by the Aran Islanders. They did not weigh the islanders or take their fingerprints. The fingerprint fields were used to record the nasal profile of the subject. In summary, head form, facial structure or physiognomy, complexion, and stature had replaced mental, sensory, and physical capacity as the primary areas of interest. These changes illustrate (a) a shift from the measurement of physical and sensory efficiency to racial profiling and (b) the practicalities of working in the field, both of which, in effect, register a shift in emphasis from eugenics to craniology.

The changes made to the schedule correspond to the range of instruments used. These included Beddoe's marking cards for recording hair and eye colour (index of nigressence); a Traveller's Anthropometer designed by Garson and described in *Notes and Queries* (1892, 8); Flower's craniometer; a calliper for measuring thicknesses (*compas d'épaisseur*) which Browne was using to measure Connelly (Fig. 1); a Bertillon sliding compass (*compas glissiére*); a sliding rule from Galton's laboratory; Cunningham's modification of Busk's craniometer, which can be seen sitting on the windowsill behind Connelly (Fig. 1); Chesterman's steel tape; and photographic equipment.

Data on hair and eye colour were the 'most readily available' (Haddon & Browne 1891, 772) and Haddon and Browne followed the methods suggested by Beddoe,[256] 'the veteran English Anthropologist' (*ibid*.). They used the data to generate a series of indices for the purpose of analysis and classification. The index of nigrescence has received a lot of attention (see Carville 2012, 33), but it was the cephalic index (CI) that was of primary interest to physical anthropologists in the 1890s (Fig. 5.6). Accordingly, it was the main focus of the section on physical characteristics in the report that Haddon and Browne presented to the Royal Irish

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[254] A bony protuberance at the elbow.
[255] A bony protuberance on the shoulder blade.
[256] Beddoe lent them his notes of his visit to the islands in 1861 (see Beddoe 1885).

Academy in December 1892 and the Academy published 1893. Haddon and Browne calculated the cephalic index from measurements of head breadth (HB) and length (HL) using the follow formula:

$$\frac{\mathbf{HB(2)\ x\ 100}}{\mathbf{HL\ (1)}}$$

Skull form was classified as round (brachycephalic), long (dolichocephalic), or intermediate (mesaticephalic). Dirrane had a CI of 78.2, corrected from 80.2 allowing for the difference between heads and skulls. He was a borderline, intermediate form. His bloodline, however, rendered him an atypical or disordered Aranite (Haddon & Browne 1891, 830). Haddon's anthropometric portraits of three Dirrane men (Fig. 5.2) was intended to correlate bodily measurement and recorded physiognomy. The photographs were framed in accordance with the scientific precision prescribed by Flower in a letter that he wrote to Haddon before his first visit to the islands in 1890. Flower advised Haddon that:

> I should think the people of the West coast of Ireland would offer good material for investigation, though very difficult probably to make them submit to the required observations & measurements. I expect that your trained eye as a zoologist will soon indicate the points in which they differ and resemble each other and that you will be able to get data perhaps on a better principle than hitherto required. Photography of course, if for scientific comparison, should be exact profiles or exact full faces & sufficiently large to view details.[257]

As stated, Haddon took 13 full-face and side-view portraits in line with this advice. This was a considerable shift in emphasis from a slideshow that Haddon presented shortly after his first visit to the islands, the text[258] of which is transcribed in Appendix 3. Haddon and Dixon spent a week in the islands and Haddon used photographs taken by Dixon in the slideshow. They were more conventionally ethnographic in their representation of the topography, people, their mode of life, and the extraordinary range of archaeological sites on the island.

That suggests that it would be a mistake to limit our interpretation of the photographs taken in 1892 to a racialist and colonial reading; what Justin Carville calls

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[257] Flower to Haddon, May 17, 1890 (HP F3 CUL), original emphasis.
[258] The Haddon Library holds an undated and uncatalogued manuscript of commentary for a slideshow of photographs taken in the Aran Islands in 1890 (P.88H). Appendix 3.

the 'the repetitive and dull pattern of anthropological portraits' (2011, 106, 202) that were taken by trickery[259] or otherwise in what Louise Pratt calls the contact zone between anthropology and "primitive" cultures (Pratt 1992 quoted in Carville 2011, 202). Instead, the altered emphasis in Haddon's photography needs to be seen as an expression of the escalating tension between physical anthropology and sociology that I have described in the previous chapter. That argument is further developed in Chapters Six and Seven, but, for now, the focus is on what Haddon did–in practical terms–during the survey of 1892 and what that tells us about a split that was developing between Haddon and Cunningham.

It is worth repeating that the manifesto published in 1891 (Cunningham & Haddon 1892) points to a division of labour that shows that the mobilisation of the laboratory was Haddon's idea. Haddon offered as evidence the observation he made during the survey of fishing grounds in 1890 that 'the fair slight men of the North Island of Arran offer a marked contrast to the dark burly men of the Middle and South Islands,'[260] The term "ethnical," as used in the proposal, can be interpreted in this context as a preoccupation with physical traces of aboriginal body types in 'outlying portions of the West coast and in the islands off the mainland.' (*ibid.*). This interpretation is supported by (a) a framing reference to the 'almost untrodden' (*ibid.*) but potentially rich field of *physical* anthropology in Ireland and (b) the claim that Galton's measurements and tests would generate valuable anthropometric data that would assist *anthropologists* in their efforts to trace the origins of 'the so-called "Irish Race."' (*ibid*.).

A racialist interpretation is predicated on an understanding that Haddon was a working as a physical anthropologist who, as Huxley instructed, was focussed on data relating to human origin, variation, and distribution. Indeed, Haddon was aware that there was a demand for the scientific photographs described by Flower, what he would later characterise as the 'stiff profiles required by the anatomist' (Haddon / BAAS 1912, 270). Even so, portraits were essentially multivalent and it was generally possible, Haddon argued in an earlier edition of the same essay, 'to secure views that illustrate several points'(1899, 238) of interest. "Typical" portraits were

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[259] Haddon gave instructions on how to take surreptitious photos in *Notes & Queries* (1899, 269).

[260] Haddon recorded the observations on page 48 of his journal. (P.88.H, Haddon Library.), Appendix 2.

also taken. These comprised photographs of informal groups of people with physical characteristic that were considered typical of a population. They were taken when people refused to submit–as Flower put it–to the taking of stiff, anthropometric portraits and it is in that space that practical tensions in the survey are materialised and become apparent.

Those tensions were framed in the introduction to "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway" by an epistemological opposition of race and ethnicity, but, as argued in the previous chapter, there was a political agenda at work also. The survey of the Aran Islands provided Cunningham with an opportunity to develop sociological approaches to socio-economic problems that had a bearing on racialised debates about home rule and decolonisation. It has also been argued that national politics and institutional infighting converged on differences between Galton, Haddon, Cunningham, Haughton, and Ingram. The result was a political disagreement that was played out in practice between Haddon, the naturalist, and Browne, the anatomist.

The form of disagreement seems a little esoteric, as it was manifest in arguments over the finer points of skull measuring. Browne wrote to Haddon to tell him that he had 'practically tried the skull schedule' [261] that Haddon and Garson designed for the ethnographic survey of the UK, which was managed by a committee of the BAAS. Browne had 'consulted DJC's opinion about a few points …'and informed Haddon that

> it was perfectly suited to laboratory work, but there are a few things I do not exactly see. For one, the substitution of maximum frontal for bi-stephanic would I fear be no advantage as the two do not by any means constantly coincide, & besides the proto-zygomatic index being taken from the former measurements …

This could be interpreted as an a classic case of disciplinary boundary work: Browne was demonstrating his anatomical expertise and using that to establish the privileged position of the physician as anthropologist. Garson was also a physician and this spat suggests that craniology had become a lightning rod for much deeper territorial and political differences in the overall scheme, conduct, and purpose of the surveys in Ireland. Those differences can be traced in the failure to agree a schedule of measurements, the principal instrument of data collection in the field. The adoption

[261] Browne to Haddon. June 5, 1894 (HP F4061 CUL).

of standardised instruments and schedules of measurement were, as Galton pointed out (1885A, 206), essential if data sets from diverse sources were to be of any scientific value.

A Tale of two Schedules

As stated, Garson and Haddon were responsible for drawing up a schedule of physical measurements for use in the UK. Garson introduced Haddon to the French 'school' of physical anthropology, the influence of which was already evident in (a) the range of anthropometric instruments used in the Aran Islands, and (b) the substitution of nasal profiles for fingerprints in the schedule used in the Aran Islands (Fig. 5.3). The UK schedule was finalised in 1894, after considerable disagreement. Brabrook, the Chairman of the Committee for Organising an Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, reported that:

> the form of schedule *has occupied much time*, especially the portion of the form relating to physical observations, which differs to some extent from that given in the first report. The Committee have to thank Dr. Garson and Professor Haddon for the attention they have given to this matter. …The form of the *schedule of physical types of the inhabitants as now settled for England* is given at the end of this report. *The other schedules have not been altered from the forms given in the first* [1892] report. (Brabrook/BAAS 1894, 423, emphasis added)

The "English" schedule replaced the much-modified Galton schedule that was used in the Aran Islands and Browne used an early version in Inishbofin in 1983, even though Brabrook did not hide the fact that getting the schedule adopted in 1894 was a problematic process. Garson's correspondence with Haddon shows why. Garson informed Haddon in February 1893 that their schedule 'was criticised a good deal'[262] because of an overemphasis on cranial measurement. Garson conceded that they had too few bodily measurements and recommended in another undated letter that they adopt the methods used by Collignon in France (see Collignon, 1894 in Haddon, 1898). He also recommended the inclusion of 5 nasal profiles illustrated by Topinard in *Eléménts D'Anthropogie Générale* (1885, 298).

Browne, having consulted with Cunningham, challenged many aspects of Haddon and Garson's 'skull schedule.'[263] He conceded 'the necessity of adopting a

[262] Garson to Haddon, February 20, 1893 (HP F3 CUL).
[263] *Op. cit.*

uniform system of measurements and nomenclature &c. and think that we should fix definitely upon a form at once, to avoid any further discrepancies.'[264] He made the case for an abridged or simplified schedule for use in the field. More importantly, he made it clear that the Irish survey was independent of the BAAS. "The list of mandibular measurements" Browne wrote 'will do very well indeed … I think *we might adopt them*.'[265] He also made it clear that Dublin was capable of setting its own standards, which were tested in the laboratory and informed by practical experience in the field. To emphasise the point, he informed Haddon that he had received a revised schedule from Brabrook. He was, he wrote, broadly in agreement with it but–it is a letter full of *buts*–he recommended some improvements, such as

> 'leaving three or four blank spaces … in which the observer could note weight and limb segments if obtainable or any other ^additional measurements he might find useful for any special object.[266]

The reference to weight is interesting, because it brings physical condition back onto the agenda, albeit in a sociological rather than eugenicist context. Browne used the schedule in a survey of Inishkea North in 1894 and he measured Philip Lavelle on August 9 (Figs. 5.7 & 5.8), the same day that Brabrook informed Section H that 'the schedule of measurements was settled *for England*' (Brabrook 1894, 423) and that fieldwork could commence. Browne, according to reports in the press, subsequently told a public meeting that he had rejected 'The regulations laid down by the English Ethnographical Society [*sic.*] for measuring and photographing people [*in*] an Irish village',[267] a statement that underlines the scale of the practical and political differences that began to emerge in the Aran Islands in 1892.

The Split

Haddon did not take part in any fieldwork in Ireland after the inaugural ethnographic survey of the Aran Islands. Browne informed the Royal Irish Academy on 30 November 1893 that he *alone* had 'made the second local inquiry, the field chosen being the islands of Inishbofin and Inishshark, Co. Galway.' (Browne 1894, 317). The word *alone* is very suggestive but, given the tone of the letter quoted

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[264] *Ibid.*
[265] *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
[266] *Ibid.*
[267] Anon. 1986. "Royal Irish Academy." The *Irish Times*, May 12: 6.
Anon. 1896. "The Royal Irish Academy." *Freeman's Journal*, May 12: 2.

above, it is hardly surprising that Haddon and Browne failed to agree on a repeat of the 1892 survey. The only evidence of a decision to drop Haddon from the survey is contained in a fragment of a letter that Cunningham sent to Haddon[268] on a date unknown. Cunningham wrote that he had read Haddon's

> m.s. with great interest & think if *you saw your way* to join Browne in *a joint repeat* it would be a valuable piece of work. When *it was proposed that Browne should go to Boffin* I had no idea that you had been there. I was under the impression that the skulls had been got on one of the other islands.

It is not known who proposed that Browne should go to Boffin *alone*, but the survey was managed by a committee that was made up of Haughton, Cunningham, Haddon, and Browne. Cunningham's letter suggests that the decision was made in Haddon's absence, in the knowledge that Haddon could not see a way to working with Browne on another survey. The m.s. (manuscript) that Cunningham referred to the his letter is most likely that of "Studies in Irish Craniology: II. Inishbofin, County Galway" (Haddon 1893A), which Haddon read into the record of the Royal Irish Academy on November 13, 1893, 17 days before Browne read his report on the ethnographical survey of Inishbofin and Inishark.

This was an account of Haddon's investigation of thirteen crania that he had stolen from a burial ground on Inishbofin in 1890, the theft of which he recorded in detail in the journal that he kept during the survey of fishing grounds.[269] Haddon presented the skulls to the Anthropological Museum in TCD in 1892,[270] shortly after he read a paper on the craniology of the Aran Islands to the Academy (1891B), which followed his report on the ethnographic survey of the Islands.[271] It is not clear if Haddon's intention was to oppose or complement the ethnographic reports that he and Browne had just read. However, the fact that they read their papers on Inishbofin on separate occasions supports the view that there was a split in the Survey, with

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[268] Cunningham to Haddon, ND (HP F3058 CUL), emphasis added..

[269] Haddon.1890. MS of fishing survey journal (Jun-Aug), pp. 30-31). Quiggin included his account in her biography of Haddon (1942, 70-71).

[270] Samuel Haughton requested that Cunningham write to Haddon and acknowledge the receipt of 'twenty one Irish crania.' (Haughton to Cunningham, December 22, 1892 [HP 3058]). The additional eight skulls were taken from other sites in Ireland. The "Skull Register" in the "Old" Anatomy Department record their provenance.

[271] Browne also spoke, according to a report in *The Irish Times*, but no details were given. (Anon. 1892. "The Royal Irish Academy." *The Irish Times*, December 13, 7).

Haddon opting for craniology over ethnography. As stated previously (p. 58), Haddon informed Foster in May1891[272] that the skulls he collected in the Torres Strait in 1888 were intended for study by *other* physical anthropologists, thereby using craniology to draw a line between their practice and his prevailing interest in cultural anthropology at that time. It would appear that Haddon crossed that line on December 12, 1892, when he presented his study–a minority report–on the craniology of the Aran Islands. Had he become a craniologist? In practice yes, but, as with everything Haddon did during this period, there were other factors in play that influenced his actions.

That brings us back to the decision to include a sociological component in the survey of the Aran Islands. The separation of the papers on craniology and ethnography in 1892 and the split in the Survey in1893 were, arguably, the consequence of the bold distinction between race and ethnicity that frames "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands" and makes it one of the most enigmatic and puzzling texts in the history of anthropology. For instance, Scott Ashley (2001) interpreted this statement as Haddon *and* Browne–the division of labour being unclear–having 'paid their dues to Tylor' (Ashley 2001, 8) by integrating the 'cultural life-histories of the islands' (*ibid*.) into a study of the physical characteristics of the islanders. He favoured Haddon as the probable author, which is consistent with other interpretations. Greta Jones described Haddon as the epitome of the Darwinian evolutionist and characterised his practice as a form of cultural zoology (Jones 1998, 195 & 201). However, she subsequently argued that Haddon had played a role in extending the basis of anthropological inquiry into the cultural sphere (Jones 2008, 76), a highly nuanced account that does not contradict her earlier assessment of Haddon. Derek W. Forrest reviewed the work of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory in 1985[273] and concluded that Haddon had discarded 'many of the anthropometric measures [*in favour of*] the additional gathering of material of ethnographic interest.' (Forrest 1986, 1384). Adam Kuper disagreed. He argued that Haddon was a biologist and 'a follower of Huxley' (Kuper 2001, 85) and, as such, would have attached much greater importance to Darwinian anxieties about 'inbreeding' (*ibid*.) amongst the islanders than 'the language, customs and ideas of

[272] Haddon to Foster, May 7, 1891 (HP F21/2 CUL).
[273] Forrest reviewed the data in an addendum to a study of Galton's data from 1885.

the *volk*.' (*ibid*.). Ronnie Adams noted that Haddon–predictably–tried to get members of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club to measure the skulls of peasants (Adams 1993, 4) and, finally, John Brannigan argued that Haddon's nickname–the "Head Hunter"– was appropriate, given his leadership of the skull measuring business in England (Brannigan 2015, 128). The lack of agreement in these texts achieves a certain symmetry in terms of disciplinary historians and post-colonial and critical studies of Victorian ethnology in Ireland as a counterpoint to cultural nationalism and literary modernism.

To resolve this issue once and for all, I undertook an extensive search for a manuscript and/or associated papers in Dublin and Cambridge in the hope that this might clarify the issue of authorship. The only manuscript that I have located to date is held in a file in CUL, which holds papers relating to the "Ethnographic Survey – Ireland." The manuscript consists of 19 pages of mainly anthropometric information– tabulated data relating to physical characteristics–and political economy that corresponds to pages 782-798 of the published version. It also includes information on the population of the islands that corresponds to pages 805-807 of the published version. The file contains galley proofs of Plates XXII and XXIII (Fig. 6.1). A manuscript of a folk tale featured on page 819 is held separately in the Haddon Library.[274] I discovered the original schedules of measurement, as stated, in TCD in 2014, but little else of relevance was found. An online search of Cunningham's papers in Edinburgh did not turn up anything. The Royal Irish Academy holds the minutes of the Science Committee that managed the Laboratory and the Survey, but does not hold anything that elucidates the decision to incorporate sociology into the anthropological investigation of the Aran Islands.

There is nothing in this material to suggest that Haddon had any input into the section on sociology, other than the piece of folk-lore referred to already. Haddon, however, noted in "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands" that

> Concerning this important branch of inquiry, we regret that our information is so scanty. It was from lack of opportunity, and not from lack of interest, that we collected so little on this subject ; and

[274] Haddon heard of the "evil eye" in the Aran Islands in 1890. David O'Callaghan, a teacher, sent a manuscript entitled "*An droc ryl*, or The Evil Eye" to Haddon in 1891 (O'Callaghan to Haddon, May 19, 1891, [HP F3058 CUL]).

we would here like to call attention to its ethnological importance, …

Indeed, there is a small but significant piece of evidence that suggests that the lack of opportunity referred to involved the priority given to the skull measuring business. Alice Balfour, whom Haddon met in Connemara in 1891,[275] wrote to Haddon in July thanking him for his 'most delightful'[276] photographs of the Aran Islands and wishing him success in 'getting measurements of skulls &c in Aran and gather[ing] a good deal of valuable ethnological information.'[277] The reference to the measurement of skulls is fairly definitive, but the interpretation of "ethnological" is not so clear-cut. It could mean the recording and comparison of racial characteristics, suggesting that Haddon's input–whatever about his motivation–was anthropological rather than sociological. Such a conclusion is supported by (a) the manuscript material in the Haddon Papers, (b) Haddon's contemporaneous work on the manual for measurement of physical characteristics in the UK and (c) the fieldwork he carried out in Barley in association with Macalister and Duckworth.

On the other hand, such a conclusion is undermined by Haddon's association with Havelock Ellis, Geddes and their associates in the anarcho-Solidarist movement. This evidence, such as it is, suggests that Haddon was the author of the first part of the ethnography of the Aran Islands, the section entitled "Anthropography." Haddon defined Anthropography–a somewhat clunky compound of anthropology and geography–as a branch of economics concerned with 'the study of physical environment in its influence on man…'.[278] Havelock Ellis was also concerned with a combination of anthropology and economics, albeit a reformed and newly relevant version of political economy[279] (Havelock Ellis 1890, 5-6). Furthermore, Haddon had

[275] They met at a showcase of relief work that Balfour organised for her brother Arthur, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in the district of Carna in April 1891.
[276] Alice Balfour to Haddon, July 17, 1892 (HP F21/2 CUL).
[277] *Ibid.*
[278] This reference is contained in an undated typescript entitled "Climate and Acclimatisation" that is held in folder 5408 in CUL, which contains material on race and race relations. Haddon does not provide a citation for Giddings. However his work was cited in Haddon and Quiggin (1910, 7 & 135).
[279] Ingram believed, according to Renwick (2012, 20), that sociology should replace the old and increasingly discredited classical version of political economy. Havelock Ellis, however, regarded sociology and anthropology as interchangeable when combined with a revamped version of political economy (1890, 5-6).

read Kropotkin's work on mutualism as well as Gomme's Kropotkinesque study of village communalism prior to his first visit to the Aran Islands in 1890. Geddes influence is immediately apparent in Haddon's attempt to combine physical geography, anthropology, and political economy in a unified ethnographic method. This produced one of the more striking features of the document, that is the switch from "Physical Characters" to "Vital Statistics (General and Economic)" that occurs on page 793. Haddon tabulated census data and analysed the population by age, and gender. Social conditions were considered under the following headings: "Acreage and Rental;" "Language and Literacy;" and "Health." This was followed by "Psychology" and "Folk Names." All of this was foregrounded in an account of the physical geography of the islands.

Haddon's anthropo-geographical strategy is consistent with Geddes adaptation of the model of social survey that Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882), the French sociologist and economist, developed. In 1889, Geddes informed Haddon that he had added 'Le Play to his gallery of prophets'[280] of general sociology and he was eager to turn Le Play over to Haddon. Geddes, according to Renwick, reworked Le Play's model of '*Lieu–Travail–Famille*' (Place-Work-Family) as 'Place-Work-Folk,' a less-gendered and more bio-social model (Renwick 2012, 92-93) that matches the underlying structure of Haddon's section on anthropogeography–if one looks past the emphasis on the measurement of the physical characteristics of the folk. Élisée Reclus was another possible influence, again introduced by Geddes. Tom Steele argued that Reclus's principal innovation was the application of the scientific methods of physical geography to the study of migration (Steele 2007). The persistence of racial characteristics in the context of migration and the consolidation of old colonies as ethnical islands was the main reason advanced by Haddon in 1891 for the mobilisation of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory. Haddon explained it thus in the manifesto of February 1891:

> Anyone who has travelled through the country districts must be familiar with the very different types which are presented by the inhabitants. This is especially the case in outlying portions of the west coast and in the islands off the mainland. To take one example: the fair slight men of the North Island of Arran offer a marked contrast to the dark burly men of the Middle and South Islands. Then again, we have in Ireland certain very

[280] Geddes to Haddon, n.d. (HP F3 CUL). The reference is contained in a single page that has become separated from a letter that appears to predate another letter written in December 1889.

> old colonies. These *ethnical islands*, if we may so term them, require to be very carefully studied, and will no doubt afford valuable information concerning the *persistence or otherwise of racial characters*. (Cunningham & Haddon 1892, 36, emphasis added)

Haddon had, apparently, devised a fairly conventional geographical and anthropological model. However, if you switch “ethnical Island” for “village community,” Gomme’s correlation of vernacular culture and village communalism becomes relevant and the link to Kropotkin’s work on mutualism becomes apparent. By the time fieldwork commenced in September 1892, political economy–Vital Statistics–had been added to geography and anthropology, representing a convergence of Le Playan and anarcho-Solidarist thought. Haddon was attempting to transform the study of race into a study of the relationship between race, geography and social organisation.

There is a problem however. The descriptive and, indeed, anecdotal treatment of sociological subjects contrasts sharply with the quantitative approach adopted in the section on physical characteristics and the volume of data produced is such that the sociological component is overwhelmed. This was indicative of a wider problem. The anthropometric base of the ethnographic study of the Aran Islands was consistent with the adoption of quantitative methods in the emergent social sciences in general. That created a very particular dynamic which the split between the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory and provided a context for the resumption of hostilities between Ingram and Galton.

The War of the Proxies

As stated, Galton–the founder of eugenics– and Ingram–an exponent of positivist sociology–clashed in 1878 over the role of statistics in the study of social phenomena. Renwick (2012) traced the origin of Ingram’s formulation of sociology to Galton’s criticism of the way the business of political economy was being conducted in the BAAS. Galton, according to Renwick, attempted to have Section F–Economic Science and Statistics expelled from the BAAS and this ignited a bitter dispute that threatened the entire spectrum of social sciences, including anthropology.

Galton argued that Section F had been taken over by people who were not scientists and he believed that few of the subjects treated could be considered

scientific (Renwick 2012, 35-7). A key weakness as far as Galton was concerned was the absence of statistics in papers presented at meetings of the section between 1873 and 1875. He drew a distinction between:

> knowledge in its generality and science, confining the latter in its strictest sense to precise measurements and definite laws, which lead by such exact processes of reasoning to their results that all minds are obliged to accept the latter as true. (Galton 1887, 471 in Renwick 2012, 37).

The row came to a head at a meeting of Section F in TCD in 1878, during which Galton was confronted and deftly outmanoeuvred by Ingram. Ingram used his address as President of the Section to propose that scientists embrace a new subject called sociology. It was, Renwick argues, 'the moment when sociology went from being the intellectually dubious pursuit of Comtean positivists (*ibid.*, 19-20) to something that was part of mainstream scientific discussion. Ingram, according to Renwick, believed that the debate over the scientific credibility of Section F demonstrated the need for 'a new agreement about what constituted a proper scientific method and how exactly it should be brought to bear on economic and social phenomena.' (*ibid.*, 39), initiating a debate that culminated in the establishment of the Sociological Society in 1903.[281] A key part of Ingram's strategy was to attack eugenics. He recruited Geddes, who had already clashed with Huxley, and they campaigned against the biological determinisms and quantitative methods that underpinned physical anthropology at the expense of sociology.

Geddes moved away from Ingram and in the direction of Le Playist sociology. He recruited Haddon along the way. At the same time Cunningham began a series of anatomical experiments (1886) that would lead him to articulate a belief in social progress through scientific investigation (Cunningham 1908, 27), establishing common ground with Ingram in TCD and the Academy. Haddon, meanwhile, was forced to do an about turn. Under pressure from Huxley, he did a deal with the "physicals" and entered into a partnership with Galton and Garson. Thus, in 1891, well before the survey of Aran Islands commenced, the consortium that established the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory split into two groups, Haddon and Galton on one side, Cunningham and Ingram on the other.

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[281] Haddon and Geddes were members of the Executive Committee that organised a constitutive conference in June 1903. Brabrook was in the chair. Ingram was not a present.

The first indication of trouble was the decision to extend the terms of reference for the survey of the Aran Islands. That may have been taken by Cunningham to counter a threat to funding posed by Ingram's opposition to Galton. Haddon, as Galton's man in Dublin, paid the price. The management committee sent Browne to Inisbofin instead of Haddon, effectively dropping Haddon from involvement in any further fieldwork, although he remained involved in a management committee appointed by the Royal Irish Academy and acted as liaison between this committee and the BAAS committee that organised the Ethnographic Survey of the UK on behalf of a consortium that included the Anthropological Institute and the Folk-lore Society. Browne, as Cunningham's proxy, rejected English regulation of Irish ethnography and thereby limited Haddon's influence on fieldwork in Ireland, although Browne stuck rigidly to the scheme employed in the Aran Islands on the basis that it was necessary for the comparison of data from subsequent surveys.

Haddon's support for home rule must have aggravated the scientific differences that split the project. Cunningham and Ingram were Unionists and Ingram served as a Governor of the Imperial Institute, although there is no evidence that he was aware of Haddon's critique of the Institute. Regardless, Haddon's home rule sympathies had already brought him into conflict with William Spotswood Green, who managed the 1890 survey of fishing grounds on behalf of Balfour, the head of the Conservative Government's administration in Ireland. Given that Cunningham developed the Anthropological Laboratory as an instrument of Tory social Policy, Haddon's record as a home rule supporter would have made his position untenable.

Haddon's response was to align himself with the institutionally powerful physicals by presenting as a craniologist, becoming a proxy for Macalister as it were. That may have been opportunistic but, it was pointless. Macalister, the master of anthropology in Cambridge, was well aware that Haddon had spent time amongst the savages and had reviewed Haddon's critique of the Imperial Institute. As soon as Haddon was out of the way, he appointed another craniologist to the job that Haddon so dearly wanted. It is hardly surprising that he confided in Alison Hingston Quiggin that he was not wanted in Dublin or Cambridge (Quiggin, 1942, 114).

Haddon's dilemma had its roots in the politics of science, the battle for institutional authority in anthropology, and the political campaign for home rule. It

also illustrates the extent to which the ethnographic survey of the Aran Islands had become a vehicle for the players involved in those conflicts. That alone suggests that we need to re-evaluate the epistemological and practical legacy of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory.

A Legacy?

The question posed at the outset was whether Cunningham's Anatomy Department was a redoubt of Darwinian evolutionism? That connects with an earlier question as to whether Haddon was, by association, a physical anthropologist? It seems that neither was the case. Haddon may have been guilty of some bad choices, but Cambridge under Macalister was the home of craniology in the 1890s. As such, Macalister's department could be regarded as a redoubt of outmoded evolutionist thinking, an appalling vista indeed.

The problem here is that Haddon's leadership of the 1898 Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits has ensured that historians have argued the opposite. This narrative depends on Haddon playing the part of an evolutionist and that has rendered the most radical and innovative aspects of his early experiments in Ireland invisible. The very fact of the ethnographic survey is one. His attempted synthesis–however unsuccessful–of a Le Playist methodology and anarcho-Solidarist theories of social organisation is another. There is a third that should have guaranteed his legacy as an innovator in the field of ethnographic research. Haddon's work in the Aran Islands between 1890 and 1895 constitutes an unprecedented experiment in photography as a vehicle for anti-racism activism or, as Haddon would have preferred, providing "us" with sympathetic knowledge of "them."

The practical compromises forced on an anthropological novice in 1892 have obscured this, creating an equivalence between Haddon's ethnographic experiments in Ireland and the anthropometric portraits in "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway." However, there is one murderous little fact that is embedded in that document. Haddon's photograph of Michael Faherty and the women of Inishmaan (Fig 5.9) is atypical in that it does not conform to the anthropometric standard of the other photographs that are reproduced in the document. The caption informs us that Faherty refused to be measured and the women refused even to be identified. It could be argued that Haddon has acknowledged this refusal to submit as a coded reference

to resistance shown by islanders to the gentlemen with the camera and the callipers, whether they were ethnographers or agents of the colonial administration doesn't really matter.

Haddon was recording a "little war"[282] between the Empire and its subjects and reprised–however obliquely–one of the main themes of his 1891 critique of the Imperial Institute: in the absence of knowledge, a lack of sympathy generates conflict at the point of contact between different civilisations. The photograph is a rare example of the agency of the object of Victorian anthropology being acknowledged and it encapsulated what Haddon thought of as sympathetic knowledge: the representation of other civilisations in a way that broke down prejudice and fostered solidarity (1890A, 567). The inclusion of this photograph in the ethnography–as much as the fact of the photograph itself–moves the act of photography beyond the anthropometric and into the realm of the political in the contact zone between anthropologists and colonised populations (see Pratt 1992 in Carville, 2011, 202).

Haddon was well aware of the power of photographs. He advised would-be ethnographers to 'Always seize the first opportunity for a photograph' (Haddon 1899, 271) because 'Pictures … are more valuable than verbal descriptions.' (*ibid.*). The photograph of Faherty and the women of Inishmaan represented an act of affective engagement. Publishing it was a subversive act, one worthy of a radical ethnologist who was engaged in a dialogue with social reformers and anarchists about the purpose of anthropology. The photograph also illustrates the extent to which the accompanying text had become encumbered with the demands of the "physicals" who were in charge of organised anthropology. It also shows that Haddon did in fact produce a truly radical ethnographic account of the Aran Islands in 1892, but it consisted of a single photograph. I propose that this–an early version of social anthropology in the form of photography–is the principal legacy of Haddon's ethnographic experiments in Ireland.

Conclusion

The primary claim of this study is that the predominance of the "armchair"

[282] Haddon used the phrase "little wars" in the context of friction and conflict between colonists and natives (Haddon 1891A, 19). Haddon recorded a number of "little wars" during the fishing surveys of 1890 and 1891, a raid to collect tax on Inishbofin and the seizure of boats in the Blasket Islands for instance.

trope in the history of social anthropology in Britain has obscured an epistemic struggle between ethnology and anthropology in an Anglo-Irish setting. That struggle manifested itself in two ways in the 1890s. The first was a political struggle between "physicals" and "culturals" for institutional authority. The other was a practical struggle between craniologists in dissection rooms that doubled as anthropological laboratories and socially-engaged ethnographers in the field. Those struggles converged in September 1892, when Haddon took the study of humans out of the dissection room and into the field.

Cunningham, it has been argued, insisted on a sociological component, which grounded the study in a historic distinction between race and ethnicity. The section on Sociology in "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway" may fall far short of the statistics-based, scientific investigation of social phenomena advocated by Ingram, but it was in line with Cunningham's aspiration for a scientific knowledge of mankind that transcended the limits of Blumenbach's variety of physical anthropology (Cunningham, 1908, 27).

Haddon, on the other hand, appears to have prioritised measurement in deference to the masters of institutional anthropology. It was a forlorn enterprise. The President of the Royal Irish Academy–the main sponsor of the Survey–had chosen sociology over eugenics and Haddon found himself on the wrong side of 'an emblematic split in … the social sciences.' (Steele 1998). He was forced to abandon his ethnological experiments in Ireland and, despite becoming a craniologist, was forced out of anthropology in Cambridge.

Haddon's involvement in the skull measuring business was never going to go down well in the post-colonial and critical atmosphere of the 1980s and 1990s. Scientific racism is not the main issue here however. Galton's advocacy of anthropometry–biometric and psychometric–as an instrument of anthropology is and it is treated as an attempt to import the values of hard science into the study of humans. The temporal coincidence of a Victorian fascination with evolution *and* measurement presented organised anthropology with the opportunity and the means to define the boundary between the humanities and science.

Viewed from a mathematical point of view, the natural history of the human species was the perfect testing ground for the application of statistical methods to anthropological problems like heredity, type formation, variation, and distribution (see Galton 1885). As it happened, they ended up with a form of epistemic alchemy

in which the cephalic index offered the possibility of converting soft science into hard science. All that was needed were the right tools, standard operating procedures, and lots and lots of data, which was embodied in the people walking around in the ethnographical zones on the western fringes of the oldest colony in the British Empire.[283] The decision to mobilise Galton's laboratory made perfect sense in this context.

From an ethnological point of view, the mobilisation of the laboratory provided Haddon, Gomme, Geddes, and Havelock Ellis with the opportunity to reconstitute anthropology as an instrument of social and political reform, leading the way with the reconstruction of institutionalised anthropology in England. The ethnographic study of the Aran Islands presented an opportunity to demonstrate a new model of research that combined geography, bio-social theory, and ethnology with a radical programme for political reform. It was a lot to ask of a novice anthropologist who was, as Frazer wrote, a poor man without independent means (Ackerman 2005, 101). Haddon had to work within organised anthropology in an Anglo-Irish context. The overlap between the politics of anthropology and home rule was a major challenge. Haddon faced Galton and Macalister on the anthropological front and Cunningham and Ingram on the political front. He hadn't a chance. Measurement overwhelmed the radical component of fieldwork and the project as a whole was reconstituted as an instrument of Tory government policy.

To conclude, the ethnographic study of the Aran Islands was not so much a failure as an experiment that produced some unexpected results. One, it created a model of field research that was replicated in the Torres Strait in 1898, without any of the underlying conflicts having been resolved. Two, the distinction between race and ethnicity anticipated the future development of ethnographic fieldwork. Three, it enabled Cunningham to develop social science instruments that were used to reject degeneration theories and, as a consequence, usher in a new era of social policy in Britain. Four, Haddon took a photograph that materialised a new approach to ethnographic fieldwork, the fifth field of anthropology as it were.

To conclude, I have proposed that this photograph constituted an ethnography within an ethnography or, rather, within a contested ethnographic text. I now propose

[283] "Celtic Fringe" is frequently used in this context, but it developed later as a political term (see Hechter, 1975).

that it constituted a truly radical ethnographic form and it is important to emphasise here that I am not proposing that it *illustrates* a radical attitude to anthropology. Rather, the photograph and its reproduction as a plate in "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway" activates the most radical aspect of Haddon's developing understanding of the practice and purpose of ethnography. Two years earlier, Haddon decided that images–sketches and photographs–were more effective than text as a way of representing his encounters with other civilisations and he adopted photography as an ethnographic method, developing a theory of sympathetic representation that frames his practice as a form of anti-racism activism in which his weapon of choice was a magic lantern.

The next chapter considers Haddon's extraordinary visuality and his development of a modern form of visual anthropology that has remained invisible to conventional historians of anthropology, the ethnographic method, and the role of photography in anthropology.

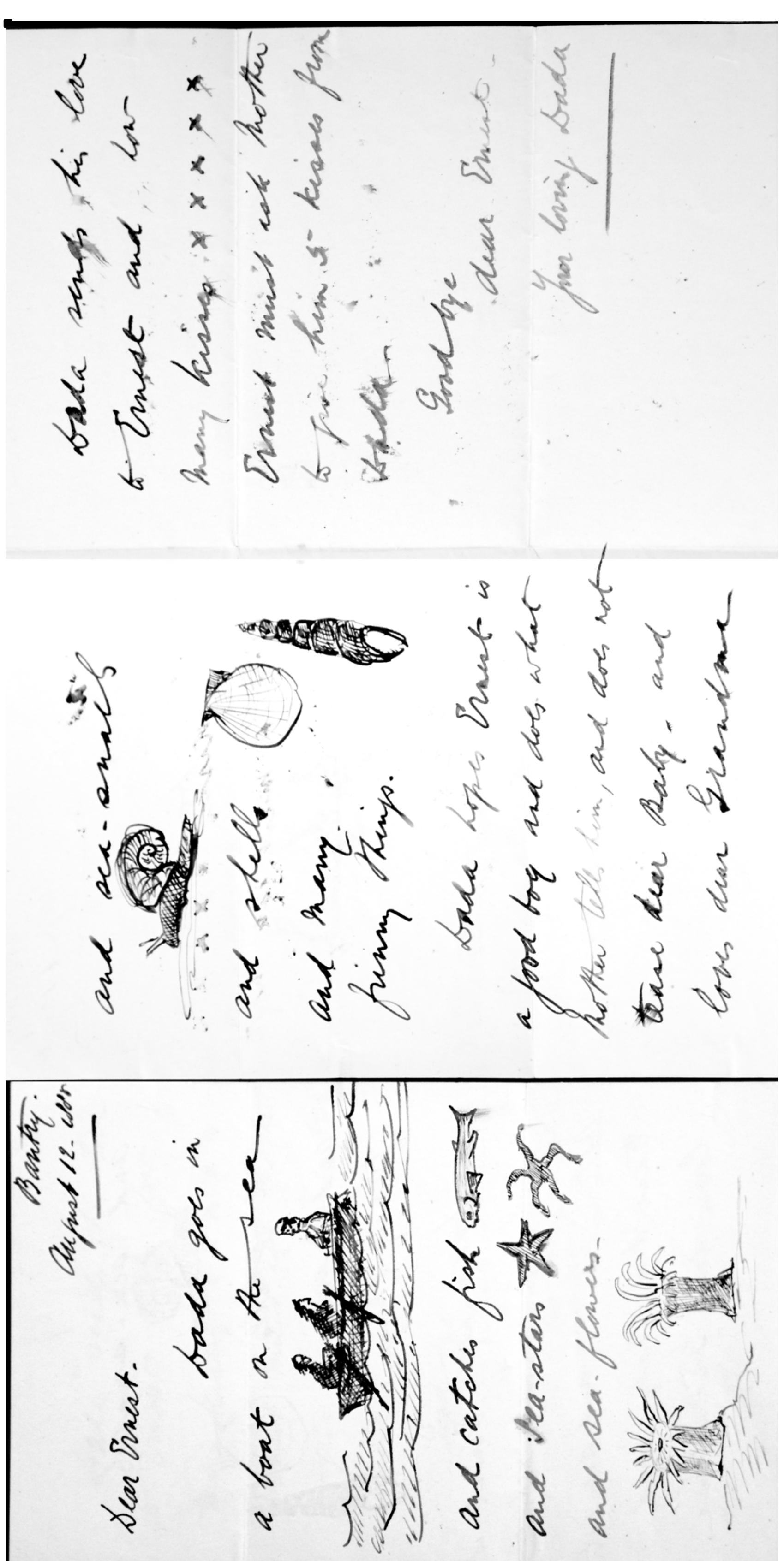
CHAPTER SIX

THE MAGIC LANTERN

(PLATES)

Fig. 6.1 Lantern slide manufactured by Robert J. Welch from the negative of a photograph taken by Haddon & Dixon in Inishmaan in 1890 (© CUMAA: LS.125970.TC1).

6.2 A magic lantern (photo: https://www.luikerwaal.com).


Bantry. August 12. 1885

Dear Ernest.

Dada goes in a boat on the sea and catches fish and sea-stars and sea-flowers and sea-snails and shells and many funny things.

Dada hopes Ernest is a good boy and does what mother tells him, and does not tease dear Baby, and loves dear Grandma

Dada sends his love to Ernest and lov many kisses x x x x x x

Ernest must ask mother to give him 5 kisses from Dada.

Good bye dear Ernest

Your loving Dada

Fig. 6.3 A. C. Haddon to Ernest Haddon, August 12, 1885 (HP F22 CUL).

Fig. 6.4 Plate XXIII (Fig. 7) of "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway." The caption read:
Michael Faherty, and two women, Inishmaan, Faherty refused to be measured, and the women would not even tell us their names. (Haddon & Browne 1891, 830).

Fig. 6.5 A second photograph of Michael Faherty and the women of Inishmaan, which is filed in the photograph albums of Charles R Browne (© TCD: MS10961-4_0007).

Fig. 6.6 Haddon, 1888, *George and Pattie*, Muralug, Torres Strait Islands, albumen print, Haddon Collection, British Museum (Oc,B40.1, Oc,B40.29).

Fig. 6.7 Haddon, 1890, Dixon taking a photograph in the Aran Islands, digital scan of silver gelatine positive (© TCD).

Fig. 6.8 Dixon, 1890, Haddon sketching monuments, digital scan of silver gelatine negative (© TCD). Haddon is standing in front of the cairn on the right.

Fig. 6.8A Detail of Fig 6.8 showing Haddon sketching the monument. (© TCD)

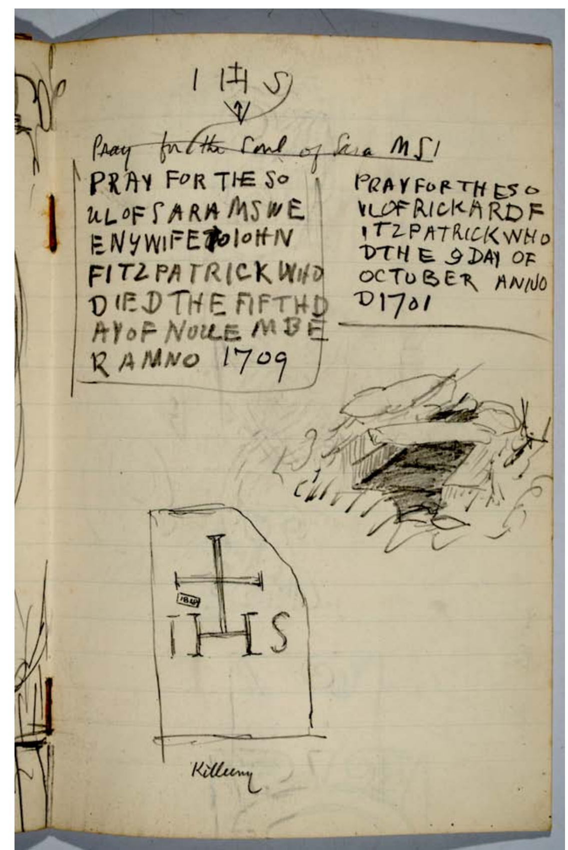


Fig. 6.8b

A page from Haddon's sketch book (© Haddon Library: P.88.H_05.q)

Fig. 6.9 Top: Dixon and Haddon, 1890, Aran Islanders sitting on the wall of Dún Conchubhair on Inis Meáin (Inishmaan), digital scan from negative. The boy is wearing a *cota-beag*, a petticoat that was worn by young boys.

Bottom: The negative showing the application of red opaque paint on one side and an orange paper mask on the opposite side.

Fig 6.10 Top: a negative of a photograph of men carrying a currach (© TCD).

Bottom: two pages from Haddon's sketchbook, the first showing a stone anchor and the second showing scenes from the regatta, including sketches of islanders carrying currachs (© Haddon Library P.88.H_05.f and P.88.H_05.g).

Fig. 6.11 Haddon, 1887, Mer Island, albumen print (© British Museum: Oc,B41.5).

Fig. 6.12 Fiona O'Reilly, National Museum of Ireland, with a crocodile-head mask (*krar*) that was used in dances on Warrior Island. Haddon collected the mask in the Torres Strait in 1888 and sold it to the Museum in 1890.

Fig. 6.13 “Going to the Market” (Bettany 1888, 53).

Fig. 6.14 Haddon & Trap, 1893, Plate XI from “Secular and Ceremonial Dances of the Torres Straits Islanders” in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*.

Fig. 6.15 A selection of slides made from photographs taken by Haddon and Dixon in the Aran Islands between 1890 and 1892 (© CUMAA).

CHAPTER SIX
THE MAGIC LANTERN

I can't tell you all the excursions we made in Aran it wd be as tedious for you to read as for me to write suffice it to say that Dixon & I left very little unseen & what with sketches & photographs we have a good deal on paper.

Haddon,1890, MS of fishing survey journal (Aran Islands),
p. 50 (P.88.H, Haddon Library).

Introduction

Modernism is not an idea that it usually associated with late-Victorian anthropology. On the contrary. "Modern" anthropology is usually treated as a reaction against the persistence of evolutionist logics in anthropological thought in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. "Modern" anthropology, according to conventional accounts, becomes visible in the 1920s, on the far side of the first world war (1914-18), revolution in Russia (1917), the invention of cinema (1895), psychoanalysis (1896), Cubism (1907), *The Rite of Spring* (*Весна священная*) (1913), DADA (1916), Surrealism (1917), Bauhaus (1919), and the publication of *Ulysses* (1922) for instance. Cubism is particularly noteworthy, given that Picasso's encounter with ethnographic collections in Paris triggered an experiment in form that revolutionised the visual arts.

It would be difficult to find anything in the history of anthropology in Britain and Ireland that matches those milestones. Indeed, international outrage over atrocities in the Congo that built into a political campaign between 1890 and 1908 didn't register in institutional records, despite the role played by Sir Roger Casement (1864-1916), the diplomat and human rights activist who became a revolutionary and was executed in 1916 after participating in armed rebellion in Ireland. One has to remember, however, that organised anthropology was a small community–around 300 individuals–and it was a conservative community whose resistance to change was very apparent in the reaction to Haddon's speech in Ipswich in 1895, in which he equated colonialism with the extermination of other civilisations. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that gradualism rather than rupture characterised accounts of the

emergence over four decades–from Tylor's 1871 definition of culture to Malinowski's ethnographic poetics[284] of 1922–of a modern form of socio-cultural anthropology. Furthermore, gradualism, as an historiographical strategy, rationalises the evolution of an ethnographic praxis that remains integral to anthropologists' claims to scientific validity and relevance (see Donnan 2017 for example).

In this study, I have argued that resistance to change was more evident than either gradualism or revolution. In the previous chapter, I considered the practical implications of the struggle between soft science (ethnology) and hard science (anthropology), specifically the opposition between anthropography (anthropology, geography, and political economy) and sociology (the scientific investigation of social conditions) in the ethnographic survey of the Aran Islands in 1892. This forced Haddon into a layered practice in which a radical approach to ethnology in the field was overwritten by conventional anthropological methods: his participation in the skull measuring business in other words. Nevertheless, his radical intent survived and is most visible in the photograph of Michael Faherty and the women who refused to submit to specification at the hands of the gentleman-colonial-agent with a camera and a callipers.

This chapter turns from the broader institutional context and focusses on Haddon's practice, which I have described as politically radical and formally innovative, raising the possibility that it might be considered as a modernist enterprise in effect. This chapter looks at the formal half of this equation, focussing on Haddon's enhanced sense of the importance of visual evidence, his adoption of photography, and his experiments in photo-ethnographic form. We know from his correspondence with the Rev Samuel MacFarlane in 1887 that Haddon intended to 'take an Artist'[285] with him on his first expedition to the Torres Strait and it is reasonable to conclude from this that Haddon regarded the making of images as an essential part of the ethnographic process.

This reflected a preference for image over text that is unequivocally stated after a visit to the Aran Islands in 1890, informing the reader of his journal that

> When I return to Dublin I hope to have some photographs to show you

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[284] The phrase is adapted from Margaret Mead's essay on a discipline of words (1975)

[285] MacFarlane to Haddon, December 28, 1887 (HP F21/2 CUL).

> which will illustrate the physical features better than I can describe them.[286]

This section of his journal–ten pages–is a key piece of the evidence presented in this thesis and is transcribed in full in Appendix 2. In this setting, Haddon's statement merely confirms an instinctive, perceptual hierarchy that was a feature of his engagement with the natural sciences since childhood. This extraordinary sense of the visual capture of perception and expression is contrasted with the treatment of visuality in critical writing on historical anthropological photography, specifically the characterisation of photography in anthropology in the 1890s as an instrument of racialist specification and imperial domination. The photograph of Michael Faherty and the women of Inishmaan represented an alternative approach to photography in the field: an instantaneous record that activated an affective engagement with fellow humans, an approach that, according to Geddes, reflected an innate 'human sympathy & power of interpretation.'[287] The photograph also materialised Kropotkin's credo that the one of the main tasks of the geographer/ethnographer was that 'of *dissipating the prejudices* in which we are reared' (Kropotkin, 1885, 942-3) in regard to geographically and culturally remote civilisations.

Accordingly, I propose that we need to (a) extract Haddon's photo-ethnographic practice from a conventional evolution-race-empire frameworks and (b) consider his preference for photography over text as a fundamental reorientation of ethnographic form. Haddon–to borrow a phrase from John Tagg (1988)–assigned to photographs the burden of representation, that is materialising sympathetic knowledge of other civilisations as a prelude to affective engagement that gave effect to a philosophy of essential unity rather than racial difference. This proposition is developed in the context of a transition from illustrated text to a form of performed ethnography, a slide-show format that he developed over a five year period during which Haddon switched his attention from the Torres Strait to the Aran Islands. This was a period of formal experimentation and political activism that sought to revolutionise the practice and purpose of anthropology.

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[286] Haddon.1890. MS of fishing survey journal p. 50. Appendix 2.
[287] Geddes to Alfred Haddon, 11 December, 1889 (HP F3 CUL).

That becomes the basis for the claim that Haddon was a modernist. The first task, as stated above, is to establish that Haddon was in fact a photographer. The second task is to engage critically with that practice. This chapter concentrates on the first task, arguing that Haddon developed a formally innovative photo-ethnographic practice in Ireland between 1890 and 1895. The following chapter concludes this study by linking this practice to his pioneering ethnographic film and sound recording in the Torres Strait in 1898 and asks if Haddon's innovation constitutes a singular modernist achievement in anthropology?

I propose that Haddon's principle photo-ethnographic innovations were (a) the adoption of a social documentary stance (Fig. 6.1). and (b) the development of an engaged practice that exploited the affective potential of the magic lantern (Fig. 6.2). I argue that these aspects of his practice have remained invisible in disciplinary histories that are, according to Edwards and Morton, shaped by written archives (2009, 8), rather than the ephemeral evidence of the magic lantern that is presented here. That argument can only proceed if we switch the focus of our inquiry from text to image and start thinking about the transformative potential of the magic lantern in the hands of a pragmatic skull measurer whose real interest lay in photography as a means of engaging with other civilisations "overseas" and making them meaningful "at home." The first step in this process is to stop thinking of Haddon as a zoologist and to start thinking of him as an ethnographer who realised the power of visual imagery in the Aran Islands in 1890. In that context, it is worth noting that in 1898 Haddon was the first person to adopt the cinematograph as an ethnographic instrument, a milestone that barely registers in the history of "modern" anthropology.

Visuality

Haddon's journey to the Aran Islands began in 1885, when he took part in a dredging expedition off the southwest coast of Ireland. Haddon sent a letter (Fig. 6.) to his son Ernest explaining that:

> Dad goes in a boat on the sea and catches fish [*drawing*]
> and sea stars [*drawing*]
> and sea flowers [*drawing*]
> and sea snails [*drawing*]
> and shells and many funny things [*drawing*]. [288]

[288] Haddon to Ernest Haddon, August 12, 1885 (HP F22 CUL).

The text functions merely as an armature for images and the burden of representation (Tagg 1988) is carried by the sketches. Sketching was a basic part of Haddon's toolkit as an marine biologist. Descriptive taxonomy, according to Haddon, required a trained eye and skill as an illustrator (Haddon 1889, 297-8), but Haddon's interest in sketching was not a function of his training as a biologist. That argument has to be flipped. Rather than seeing the visual as a function of a learned taxonomic method, taxonomy has to be seen as an opportunity for visual expression. Quiggin noted that Haddon was interested in art in his youth and claimed that his work as an *artist*[289] 'would have attracted attention apart from his service to Zoology and Anthropology.' (1942, 132). Indeed, Seligman (1940) noted Haddon's interest in art in an obituary of Haddon that he wrote for *Nature.* Sketching, according to Quiggin, came as easily as note-taking, but the section of Haddon's journal that recorded his first to the Aran Islands–which had lain undiscovered in the Haddon Library from 1913 to 2013–records the point when images assumed primacy over text and photography replaced sketching.

Haddon wanted to bring an artist to the Torres Strait in 1888, but had to settle for a camera as a more practical and cost effective method of ethnographic record and representation. He continued the experiment in the Aran Islands in 1890 and gained experience of smaller cameras and faster negatives. It was a turning point. The above quotations from his journal registers his realisation of the value of photography as a way of recreating a remote ethnographic field for metropolitan audiences, both "specialised" and "popular." By the end of his career,[290] Haddon had amassed a collection of 10,000 photographs in various formats which are held by the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge. On retirement, according to Alison Higgins, Haddon was honoured by having the collection formalised and presented to the museum, instead of the customary collection of essays (Quiggin 1942, 148). At the other end of this chronology, the letter to Ernest is treated in a similar fashion: it functions as a template for Haddon's approach to ethnographic fieldwork and its representation in the 1890s, when Haddon subordinated text to photography in the

[289] Haddon took over his father's business in 1874–at 19 years of age–but attended extramural classes in drawing, design and copperplate etching in his spare time (Quiggin 1942: 13-14).
[290] Haddon retired his readership in Ethnology in 1926 at seventy years of age.

field and exploited the magic lantern to create an alternative form of ethnographic experience on home ground.

There is a striking disconnect between this claim and the tendency to treat historical photography in anthropology as an evolutionist project and, in a colonial context, the instrument of 'surveillance, record, and evidence' described by Tagg (2009, XXVIII). It would be easy to jump from the classificatory systems Haddon developed as a systematic biologist to the most anthropometric of the photographs reproduced in "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands," switching sea anemones for humans and arguing that Haddon deployed photography as an instrument of racial classification (see Griffith 1996, 20). This is too easy. The photograph of Faherty and the women of Inis Meáin (Inishmaan) does not conform to anthropometric specifications, but it is embedded in a series of conventionally anthropometric photographs. It may be the exception that proves the rule, but it could also point to a subtly negotiated visuality that mirrors the tension between "physical" and "cultural" ethnography in the enfolding text.

There are ten reproductions in all, 8 of which were framed primarily as comparative studies of physical appearance. Michael, Roger, and Anthony Dirrane, for instance, were represented in Plate XXII, Fig. 8 and Fig. 9 (Fig. 5.2) as embodied anthropometric data. Haddon photographed Dirrane and the other subjects in conventional anthropometric poses, full frontal and profile shots that record stature, head form, facial angle, nasal profile, jawline &c. Haddon has thus defined them as controlled sources of anthropometric data. Form follows method and method forms meaning. The photograph of Dirrane functions as a surrogate of a living cephalic index. The photograph of Faherty and the women was, by contrast, informal and, in its informality, "instantaneous" rather than "scientific." In other words, the photograph is the product of a cultural rather than an anthropometric "eye," the word "eye" serving here as a metonym for "visuality."

Visuality is a key term in this context. Gillian Rose (2012, 3) separates visuality from vision–the physiological process of seeing–and defines visuality as meaning the way seeing is culturally constructed. Griffith used Haddon and Spencer's experiments in ethnographic cinema to investigate the impact of visuality or visual intelligence on 'knowledge production within anthropology' (1996, 19). She compared the slow adoption of cinematography to the widespread use of still

photography as an instrument of fieldwork and rationalised the lack of interest in motion pictures as an investment by nineteenth-century anthropologists in the

> motionless anthropometric body as a trustworthy indicator of evolutionary theory, of the idea that the static body of the 'ethnographic Other" was sufficiently rich in topographic detail to have made animation superfluous. This privileging of static representational strategies suggests anthropometry's ties to criminology and the inspectional regimes of nineteenth century medicine. (Griffith 1996, 32).

Griffith has situated still photography *in* anthropology in a the post-Foucault realm of instrumentality and surveillance that Sekula (1986) and Tagg (1988) constructed, which Tagg revisited and revised in 2009 and Edwards and Morton "interrogated" in *Photography, Anthropology and History* (2009). With regard to Griffith (1996), she developed the above argument by listing the following as additional factors contributing to the reluctance of anthropologists to adopt cinematography: the compelling realism of motion pictures; the agency it imparted on its subjects; and the concomitant capacity to undermine the authority of the 'ethnographer's mechanized gaze.' (*ibid*. 33). Ironically, Griffith has described the very qualities that set Haddon's photograph of Michael Faherty and women of Inis Meáin apart and, thereby, defined the difference between anthropometric and instantaneous photography. The instantaneous ethnographic portrait no longer materialises the mechanised gaze of the skull measurer, it becomes a record of an entirely different photo-ethnographic encounter.

The only information on Haddon's encounter with Faherty and the women–who refused to be identified–is provided by the photograph itself, Haddon's caption, and some general comments about photography as a method in "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands" (Haddon & Browne 1891, 778). Browne filed a slightly different photograph of the same group in his album of photographs taken in the Aran Islands.[291] He captioned it simply as "Inishmaan" (Fig. 6.5). CUMAA holds black and white prints of both photographs,[292] each dated 1890-91. The names are recorded as Michael Faherty,[293] Bartly Faherty, and Roger Folan, the figure in the background of both photographs. "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands records that:

> A considerable number of photographs were obtained of the people. In

[291] TCD MS10961-7.
[292] P.7463.ACH1 and P.7464.ACH1. The mounted card collection.
[293] Martin appears to be the person named as Michael in "The ethnography of the Aran Islands."

> some cases groups were taken, but full face and side-view portraits were secured of thirteen of the subjects we measured. We found that the promise of a copy of their photograph was usually a sufficient reward for undergoing the trouble of being measured and photographed. (Haddon & Browne 1891, 778)

Elsewhere, the authors state that the taking of photographs presented an opportunity to record the 'colours' (*ibid.*, 773) of the spectators that were sure to gather when Haddon and Browne were taking photographs. They do not tell us what sort of camera was used, but there is evidence that quarter-plate glass negatives[294] were used. This suggests that Haddon took the photographs with a camera similar to that used in 1890 (Fig.3). Each photograph would have taken some time to take. Haddon had to unpack the camera, set up the tripod, mount the camera, remove the lens cap, frame the shot, focus the camera, replace the lens cap, remove the focal screen, insert the negative slide, remove the light-proof screen, remove the lens cap, wait for a second or so, replace the lens cap, replace the light proof screen, remove the negative slide and repeat the process all over again for the next photograph. It is obvious from both photographs that this was the subject of some conversation and amusement. Haddon did not speak Irish and it is not known if the islanders spoke English. It is likely that the conversation was conducted through an interpreter. Either way there appears to have been some negotiation and the photographs were taken with the conditional consent of the islanders, the conditions being no measurement and anonymity for the women.

This was very different to the approach recommended in a revised edition of *Notes & Queries* issued in 1892, which included a section on field photography for the first time (Garson & Read / BAAS 1892, 235-6). Flinders Petrie, an archaeologist, instructed would-be ethnographers to make sure that the camera was focussed '*before* the natives *are placed* in position; this can readily be done by placing an object on the spot where they will afterwards be made to stand.' (Flinders Petrie in BAAS 1892, 236, author's emphasis). It is very tempting to argue that "natives" and "objects" were interchangeable as a metaphor for visuality in English ethnography in 1892, but this is too simplistic. Flinders Petrie was a nativist and the "natives" Flinders Petrie had in mind were more biddable than the people of Inis

[294] P.7466.ACH1, CUMAA, shows Browne measuring the head of Tom Connelly while Haddon recorded the data. The top right hand corner of the negative is broken off in a way that suggests a glass negative.

Meáin. It is possible that Haddon was reflecting on this when he revised the section on field photography in the third edition of *Notes and Queries* and advised would-be ethnographers that 'the promise of a print from the negative will often secure a sitting …' (Haddon in BAAS 1899, 240). Haddon employed the same strategy in the Aran Islands, where 'the promise of a copy of their photograph *was usually a sufficient reward for undergoing the trouble of being measured and photographed*.' (Haddon & Browne 1891, 778, emphasis added).On that basis alone, the "bead-trade" explanation–trading a photograph for a sitting–with all of its connotations does not deal adequately with the fact that Haddon *negotiated* with Faherty and the women and *agreed* to their conditions.

This brings Haddon's disposition towards his photographic subjects into focus, namely, that Haddon acknowledged the agency of the ethnographic subject and, as a consequence, accepted the fact that the act of photography was a negotiated encounter. That is hardly surprising given that Haddon was a nativist. There is clear evidence for this claim in Haddon's collaboration with James "Tamate" Chalmers in Papua New Guinea in 1888 and the and the critique of the Imperial Institute that he wrote short afterwards, in which Haddon quoted Max Müller's call for representatives of the Empire 'to understand … to sympathise with, nay, to love the people, with whom they are brought into daily contact.'[295] Haddon went further than Müller's outrageously paternalistic framing of his argument by claiming that the "little wars"[296] that characterised daily life in the colonies were the inevitable consequence of a 'collision between official ignorance and native conviction.'[297] Haddon was not arguing for a utilitarian ethnology in the service of empire. He was arguing for an ethnology that stood in solidarity with the victims of imperialism and this is what sets the photographs of Faherty and the women apart. They acknowledged and accommodated native conviction and, in so doing, produced a photograph that materialised a visuality that was radically different from that of

[295] Haddon. c1891, MS of critique of the Imperial Institute, pp. 7-8 (HP F5061, CUL). See Appendix 4, p. 7). Müller was referring to instruction in the Oriental languages for candidates for the Indian Civil Service provided by University College and King's College and administered by the Imperial Institute. A manuscript of the speech with related notes is held in the University of Oxford, Bodleian Library (Notes for speeches and lectures, 1881-90, MS. Eng. c. 2811, fols. 22-53).
[296] Haddon coined the phrase in his critique of the Imperial Institute (Appendix 4).
[297] *Op. cit*. page 19; see also Stocking & Haddon 1993, 13 (Appendix 4)..

physical anthropologists like Beddoe, who photographed the Islanders in the 1880 as part of his study of nigressence (1885, 267). This is hardly surprising given that the photographs are much more typical of the intuitive, social-documentary quality of his experiments in field-photography in the Torres Strait in 1888 and the Aran Islands in 1890.

The Field

Haddon experimented with photo-ethnography in the Torres Strait in 1888 and the British Museum holds 59 prints of photographs taken in the islands, presumably included by Haddon in the collection ethnographic material that he gave to Flower in 1889. Most of these photographs are illustrative of his 'general account of the manners and customs of the Western Tribe' (Haddon 1890F, 299), which did not 'consider the physical characteristics of the islanders as a whole.' (*ibid.,* 300). However, the portraits of the Muralug islanders identified as Georgie and Pattie[298] are brutally anthropometric in style and execution (Fig. 6.6) and are at the extreme end of a range of photographs that include a record of physical characteristics in more generalised shots of daily life in the islands. Haddon may have been primarily interested in customs and material culture, but he was pragmatic enough to collect material of specific interest to physical anthropologists.

Haddon resumed his fieldwork one year later, when he participated in a survey of coastal fisheries in the west of Ireland. He was primarily interested in the collection of folklore but, once again, was alert to the requirements of physical anthropologists. Before he departed, he consulted with Flower in the British Museum.[299] Flower, as quoted earlier (see p. 127), warned Haddon that the people of the West coast of Ireland would probably not submit to measurement and advised Haddon to rely on his experience as a taxonomist–'your trained eye as a zoologist'[300]–to achieve scientifically useful photographs. Haddon arrived in the Aran Islands on July 23, 1890 and was based there until August 12 (see Green 1890, 44). Bad weather hampered trawling and Haddon visited various sites in the islands.

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[298] Oc,B41.1 and Oc,B40.29, Photographic Collection of the British Museum.
[299] Haddon recalled in 1935 that Flower had dissuaded him from taking measurements of natives prior to his first visit to the Torres Strait in 1888 (Haddon 1935: xi). It is possible that Haddon confused the two events, or that Flower repeated the advice in 1890.
[300] Flower to Haddon, May 17, 1890 (HP F3 CUL).

Haddon at some stage decided to undertake a an extended study of the islands and took time out from the fishing survey. Accompanied by Andrew Francis Dixon, his assistant,[301] Haddon landed on the main island on Thursday 30 July and stayed there until Friday 7 August. They spent the week documenting the landscape, the islanders, their way of life, and the many archaeological ruins scattered throughout the islands. Haddon's recorded in his journal that 'The Ar~~r~~an [*sic*] Islands are in ~~xxxx~~ respects the most remarkable islands I have as yet come across anywhere.' (Appendix 2, p. 41). It is a remarkable statement, bearing in mind that he had just spent six months exploring the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea. The distinctive appearance of the islanders, their homespun clothing, rawhide sandals, use of canoes for transport, Gaelic dialect, fairy faith, and a remarkable concentration of pagan and Christian archaeological sites spoke to Haddon of an undisturbed ethnical district, a Kropotkinesque ground zero or, as Gomme would have described it, an intact village community.

Haddon and Dixon both had cameras. Dixon had a quarter plate camera that used glass negatives measuring 8 x 11cm (Fig. 3 & Fig. 6.7). Haddon had a larger format, possibly a half plate using negatives measuring 11 x 14cm. Dixon's camera was more portable and, as Haddon would later advise would-be-ethnographers in *Notes and Queries*, better suited to field photography (Haddon 1899, 235). The discovery of Dixon's negatives in 2014 was a major breakthrough in terms of understanding (a) Haddon's approach to photography in the field, (b) the impact of the introduction of mobile photographic equipment and materials into fieldwork, (c) the processing of photographs afterwards, and (d) the development of the lantern slide as an ethnographic medium.

Dixon kept his negatives in a slotted wooden box (Fig 3), the standard system for storing glass negatives (Fig 3), and, at some stage, someone placed this box on a shelf under the anatomy theatre, where it remained undiscovered until 2014. The box contained thirty five and three contact photographic prints.[302] The label read:

> A. F. Dixon, BA, /Dublin /per Professor Haddon / From R. Welch, publisher of Welch's Irish Views, 19, Lonsdale Street, BELFAST.

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[301] Dixon wasa medical student in TCD who studied zoology under Haddon in an *extra mural* programme in the Royal College of Science.

[302] Contact prints were made by placing a negative on a sheet of photographic paper and exposing both to light.

The label establishes that this was a joint photographic enterprise involving Haddon, Dixon and Welch, a professional photographer in Belfast and a member of Belfast Naturalists' Field Club with whom Haddon developed a photo-ethnographic partnership.[303] Most of the negatives had been manipulated, most likely by Welch in the process of making lantern slides. Photographic emulsions were at this time very sensitive to blue light and it was difficult to balance the exposure of sky and landscape. This was corrected by Welch, who used a combination of orange paper to mask the skies and water-soluble red opaque pigment to define edges or correct other flaws in the negative (Fig 6.9). The effect of the masking is a feature of photographs and lantern slides in the Browne albums in TCD and the photographic collections in CUMAA, which confirms that these were copied from the negatives in the box.

A further search uncovered a box containing nine positive slides taken from negatives exposed by Haddon. These include a shot of Dixon taking a photograph of a shell midden on one of the islands (Fig. 6.7). Dixon, by the same token, had taken a shot of Haddon making a sketch of monuments that were erected in memory of deceased islanders (Fig. 6.8A, B, & C). The combined collection gives a good idea of the approach adopted by Haddon and Dixon and there is nothing in the collection that could be described as an anthropometric photograph, although some of the group shots could be described as "typical" portraits, that is informal portraits that record the physical appearance of "typical" islanders (Fig. 6.9). However, the anthropometric component is very secondary in these photographs, especially when compared to the photographs of Pattie and George (Fig. 6.6). That might be explained by the fact that, as Flower predicted, the Aran Islanders were not prepared to *submit* to measurement by tape or by camera. Indeed, the day before they left Haddon and Dixon attempted to photograph some islanders. Haddon described what happened next:

> with the exception of a few men & lads none would stay to be photographed. When we turned a camera on a group the components scattered as if we were firing upon them, girls & woman fled to their houses whipped up the children & barred their doors. As we could not understand Irish we had to guess the nature of their remarks. At last matters got to such a pitch the we both rapidly retreated in different directions.[304]

[303] There is extensive correspondence between the two in various folders in CUL and this is referred to in the next chapter.
[304] *Op. Cit.* Appendix 2.

This incident was exceptional and they managed to photograph several informal groups of islanders. Haddon also made a lot of drawings,[305] but his sketchbook reveals the advantage of field photography and, possibly, the circumstances that led Haddon to adopt photography as his primary ethnographic method. Haddon and Dixon attempted to photograph a regatta on the Monday, August 3. Haddon recorded in his journal that

> It was too dull & sunless for instantaneous photography. Dixon did his best but his results were not satisfactory. The high wind also bothered him, even with his 1/4 plate camera. It was impossible for me to work mine'[306]

Haddon recorded the event in his sketchbook, but his considerable skill as an illustrator failed him and his sketches of "matchstick" men carrying curraghs were no match for either the photographs that Dixon took on the day (Fig. 6.10) or, according to Haddon, written accounts: as quoted above, he declared that a written account would 'be as tedious for you to read as for me to write.' Haddon also informed his readers that 'The collection of photographs which Dixon is taking will illustrate Aran better than my sketches or imperfect description' [307] and, again, that the photographs would illustrate all that he had seen 'better than I can describe them.' These statements mark a pivotal moment in Haddon's ethnographic practice: the moment when he decided that photography was far more effective than text and sketches as a method of collecting ethnographic data in the field and representing it in the metropolitan centre.

Haddon returned to the metropolitan centre with a substantial amount of visual material.[308] He sent Dixon's negatives to Welch in Belfast to be processed as lantern slides and he wrote a commentary for a slideshow, which he titled "The Aran Islands."[309] This document, which is transcribed in full in Appendix 3, is held in the

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[305] Aidan Baker found the sketch book in the Haddon Library in 2013 (Folder P.88.H).
[306] Page 48 of Haddon's journal (Appendix 2).
[307] *Ibid.*, 50.
[308] Among the items collected was a ninth century bronze pin brooch (Haddon to Mary Haddon, July 30, 1890, HP F22 CUL), an anchor (Uncatalogued "Dixon" photographs), a pair of rawhide sandals (uncatalogued TCD) and, of course, a skull from 'Tempul Brecain, Onaght ("Seven Churches"), Aranmore, August, 1890.' (Haddon 1891B: 763).
[309] Haddon. c. 1890. MS of "The Aran Islands," (P.88.H., Haddon Library). Appendix 3.

Haddon Library, where it was found in 2013 in Haddon's file of material relating to the Aran Islands. The commentary comprised a short introduction to the islands and a series of captions for ten 'illustrations, which are from photographs taken by Mr. A. F. Dixon of Dublin.'[310] The captions are brief and, like the sketches in Haddon's letter to Ernest, they function as an informational armature for the images that Haddon projected using a magic lantern. This was a major innovation that operated on two levels. The first was Haddon's adoption of a social-documentary or "instantaneous" style of photography. The second was Haddon's adoption of the magic lantern and the substitution of a performed, visual ethnography for text based representation.

Instantaneous Photography

Haddon's slideshow of "The Aran Islands" opened with a photograph of David O'Callaghan, a school teacher, conducting a reading lesson in the open air; it would not have been possible to take the photograph in the classroom with the cameras and negatives available to Haddon and Dixon in 1890. The second lantern slide showed

> a group of two men and a boy on the top of the ancient stone fort at Inishmaan, the men are wearing pompooties and the boy the characteristic petticoat which the small boys wear as well as girls.[311]

These photographs are very different from the "type" portraits recommended by Flower, which Haddon used to illustrate in the "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands" three years later. This distinction is important because it establishes that the photographs of Michael Faherty and the women of Inis Meáin were not exceptional, rather, they were consistent with the social-documentary style that Haddon and Dixon experimented with in 1890.

Haddon referred to social-documentary photography as "instantaneous" photography in a manifesto that Charles Hercules Read and Haddon included in the third edition *Notes and Queries*. Haddon recommended that:

> some unarranged groups should be taken *instantaneously* so as to get perfectly natural attitudes, for it must never be forgotten that when a native is posed for photography he unconsciously become set and rigid, and the delicate "play" of the limbs is lost. (Haddon / BAAS 1899, 239, emphasis added).

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[310]) *Op Cit.*
[311] Haddon. c. 1890, MS of "The Aran Islands," (P.88.H., Haddon Library).

This could be interpreted as Haddon arguing for more naturalism in anthropometric portraits however contradictory that may seem, but he added a small change to this section in the fourth edition of *Notes and Queries* that makes it clear that he was distinguishing between meaningful ethnographic representation and 'the stiff profiles required by the anatomist,' (Haddon / BAAS 1912, 270), which means that we need to think about Haddon's experiments in 1890 as marking the beginning of modern, visual anthropology.

In this context, Anita Herle, citing James Urry (1972), described *Notes and Queries* as 'a barometer of methodological and theoretical shifts within the discipline.' (Herle 2009, 242). Urry, however, described the third edition as 'almost a reprint' of the second edition (1972, 47), missing the fact that the section on photography was completely rewritten. Haddon's promotion of instantaneous photography in the this edition departed significantly from the traditional role of photography as a tool of comparative anatomy, to such an extent that Garson added "additional" notes on anthropometric photography (Garson / BAAS 1899, 240-246). Garson and Haddon, as stated, had worked together on the field manual for the ethnographic survey of the UK, although Francis Galton wrote the photography manual (Brabrook/BAAS 1894, 423). Haddon did cover "physical" portraits in a general way in *Notes and Queries* (3), but the division of labour suggests that he passed responsibility for photography as a precise instrument of anthropometry to his colleague. This separation of ethnographic and strictly anthropometric photography was formalised in the fourth edition in 1912, in which Haddon referred ethnographers interested in 'photographs intended for anthropometric purposes, or for precise comparison of racial types [*to the*] Report of the British Association's Committee on Anthropometric Investigation.' (BAAS, 1912, 270).

In both editions, Haddon stressed the importance of inconspicuous camera work in avoiding interference in common actions and the distortion of natural attitudes. This was radical, but it was embedded in a much more revolutionary proposal. Haddon and Read argued for the primacy of visual forms of ethnographic collection and representation. In his prefatory notes, Read endorsed Haddon's view that the best plan for every student of anthropology was to 'devote as much time as possible to the photographic camera or to making careful drawings.' (Read 1899, 87). Haddon had convinced Read to rewrite the ethnographic manual and thereby established a practical and a philosophical foundation for the development of visual

anthropology, a development that has its origins in Haddon's adoption of the magic lantern as an ethnographic medium in 1890.

The Magic Lantern

Haddon performed his first ethnography using a magic lantern in the Royal Dublin Society on February 20, 1890, when he presented "Life of A Savage or Native Life in New Guinea," the first of two lectures illustrated by photographs projected by lime-light. Haddon based the lecture on the text of "Incidents in the life of a Torres Straits islander," which he wrote for *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine: A Popular Journal of General Literature, Science, and Politic* (Haddon 1890A). Haddon structured the lecture around lantern slides of photographs he had taken in the Torres Strait (Fig. 6.11). The lecture was well attended and well received according to reports in the *Freeman's Journal* and *The Irish Times*,[312] which confirm that Haddon adopted the same format as that used in the letter to his son Ernest in 1885 (Fig. 6.2). Words acted as cues for pictures and one can imagine how Haddon explained that he went to Papua or New Guinea (slide), to study coral reefs (slide), where he met the Papyan people (slide), inhabitants of the Western islands (slide), and inquired into their condition (slide) and customs (slide), their initiation ceremonies (slide), modes of dressing, (slide), dwellings, (slide) fishing (slide) and so on. The lantern slides were supplemented by an exhibition of dancing masks (Fig. 6.12), grass petticoats, and other examples of material culture from the region.[313] that he sold to Museum of Science and Art in Dublin in 1890 and are now held in the ethnographic collection of the National Museum of Ireland (Fig. 6.12).

Haddon did not exhibit any of his head-hunting curios; he sold the trophy skulls he collected in Papua New Guinea to Cunningham in 1889[314] and there is no reference in the newspaper reports to a decorated skull from Mer.[315] These may have

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[312] Anon. 1890. "The Life of A Savage." *Freeman's Journal*, February 20: 2. Anon. 1890. "Royal Dublin Society's Afternoon Lectures." *The Irish Times*, February 20: 3.
[313] *Op. Cit.*
[314] Haddon to Cunningham, November 10, 1889 (uncatalogued letter, TCD "Old" Anatomy).
[315] The skull is held in the ethnographic collection of the National Museum of Ireland. It is listed as 354-1890 and labelled 'Skull (*Lamarmarik*), used for divining purposes; the face restored with black wax; the eyes filled with shell on which the pupil is painted with black; the teeth where wanting are substituted by wood; the rest

featured in a second lecture which was held two days later, when Haddon switched his attention to "British New Guinea." According to a report in *The Daily Express*, he 'described the manners and customs of the inhabitants and the mode in which they existed, and by aid of the lime light photographs of the natives and the houses in which they dwell were thrown onto the screen.'[316] The newspaper reported that the lecture was listened to with very great attention by a very large attendance.

The lectures coincided with the pending publication in the January to June edition of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* of "Incidents in the life of a Torres Straits islander" (Haddon 1890A, 567-572). This article was not illustrated and this may have prompted Haddon to illustrate the same material in a series of complementary slideshows. That is speculative, but there is a lot of evidence that Haddon regarded illustration as the primary source of ethnographic information and, therefore, indispensable to any form of engagement with other civilisations. George T. Bettany, editor of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* was an author and influential literary figure in London.[317] He was also a natural scientist with an interest in ethnology and authored *The World's Inhabitants* in 1888, a well-illustrated popular review of 'the distribution and characteristics of the races of men' (Bettany 1888, vi), in which he reproduced lithographic illustrations based on Beddoe's ethnological photographs as an illustration of race types in Britain (*ibid*. 45). 'Pictures' Bettany wrote 'proverbially teach better than words' (*ibid*., vi) and he stressed the commercial importance of illustration. 'Never before' he wrote 'has a work of this character been obtainable for three half-crowns' (*ibid*.). The combination of ethnology and illustration in Bettany's book had unfortunate consequences however. The text on "the Irish" summarises Beddoe's treatment in *Races of Britain* (1885), but the illustrations represent "the Irish" as a distressed peasantry (*ibid.,* 52), a female peat gatherer (*ibid.,* 53) a peasant girl wielding a whip (*ibid.,* 54), and as "Paddy" with his pig (*ibid.,* 55 & Fig. 6.13).

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of skull stained red. *Murray Islands, Torres Straits.* Bought, 354-431.-1890 10*l.'* (AE:1890.354) A photograph of the skull, taken by Anthony Wilkin, is reproduced as Plate xxii, B (facing page 139) in *Head-hunters, black, white and brown*.

[316] Anon. 1890. "Royal Dublin Society." *The Daily Express*, February 22: 6.

[317] *The Times* published an obituary published that stated that Bettany edited *Science Primers for the People* and was the English editor of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*. Bettany also wrote The *Morphology of the Skull* and a *Life of Charles Darwin* (Anon. 1891. "Obituary: George Tomas Bettany." *The Times, Friday*, Dec 04: 9).

In June 1890, before Haddon embarked on the fishing survey, Bettany informed him that he could not publish any further material on the Torres Strait in *Lippincott's*[318] and advised him publish a popular book instead. A popular book, Bettany argued, would have more 'affect [*than*] any amount of papers in scientific journals'[319] and would translate 'small and transient' notes into a 'permanent and real note.'[320] Haddon did not take his advice. The following September, shortly after Haddon returned from the Aran Islands, Bettany also rejected an illustrated article on the Aran Islands and noted with regret that Haddon was not submitting a 'full book on the Torres Strait.'[321] Bettany's letter is important for three reasons. First, the illustrated article on the Aran Islands is most likely a reference to the ten-page extract of his journal of the fishing survey that dealt with the Aran Islands (Appendix 2), which would explain why it was separated from the rest of the journal. Second, it shows that illustration mattered to Haddon. Third, it marks the moment when Haddon shifted his attention from the Torres Strait to the Aran Islands and from text to the lantern slide.

With regard to illustration, Haddon illustrated "The Ethnography of the Western tribe of Torres Straits" (1890) with a large number of small black and white sketches, some based on photographs taken 1888. For example the sketch of a dugong platform in Plate viii was based on 'a photograph at Mabuaig taken by the author.' (Haddon 1890, 440). If it wasn't for the need to print lithographic plates separately from text, one could imagine a layout similar to that adopted by Haddon in his letter to Ernest. Haddon improved the quality of illustration significantly in the "Tugeri Head-hunters of New Guinea" (Haddon 1891), which he contributed to a volume of the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* that was edited by Johann Schmeltz, a conservator at the Royal Ethnography Museum (*Museum Rijks Ethnographisch*) in Leiden.[322] It was illustrated with a full-colour lithographic or chromolithographic plate, which was accredited to Haddon as the originator and PWMT (Peter Willem Marinus Trap) as the executor. Trap was a lithographer, publisher and overall editor of the journal and he published "Secular and Ceremonial

[318] Bettany to Haddon, June 11, 1890 (HP F3 CUL).
[319] *Ibid*.
[320] *Ibid*.
[321] Bettany to Haddon, September 6, 1890 (HP F3 CUL).
[322] It was renamed as the National Museum of Ethnology (*Museum Volkenkunde*) in 2005.

Dances of the Torres Straits" by Haddon in 1893, which he illustrated with 10 chromolithographic images spread over four plates (Fig. 6.14) and several small black and white illustration embedded in the text.[323] Indeed, the quality of the illustration was such that Macalister drew the attention of the Anthropological Institute to the 'beautifully-illustrated monograph' (Macalister 1894, 404) and regretted that the poverty of the institute 'precluded our publication of papers of this nature requiring expensive plates' (*ibid*.).

Haddon approached Schmeltz after the Queensland Government reneged on a promise to publish a full monograph on the Torres Strait Islanders. Haddon had secured a grant of £50 from the Royal Society[324] towards the cost of the project[325] and drafted[326] a letter to ascertain if Trap would be prepared to use the money as a guarantee against possible losses incurred due to the cost of illustration.[327] Trap did not publish the monograph, whether it was because Trap, like Bettany, did not want any further material on the Torres Strait, or that the cost of illustration was prohibitive.

Whatever the reason, the episode shows how the impact of field photography on ethnographic literature was limited by (a) the impossibility of colour photography,[328] (b) the cost of inserting photogravure reproductions into texts, and (c) the cost of chromolithographic illustration, all of which illustrates John Tagg's point about an 'economy of meaning' (Tagg 2009, 95-96).[329] In 1890, Haddon got

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[323] Haddon included copies of the chromolithographs in the material he sold to the Museum in Dublin (AE:1894.109 - AE:1894.1012 in the Ethnographic Collection).
[324] The Royal Society provided funding for the expedition in 1888 and 1889.
[325] Foster to Haddon, May 28, 1891 (HP F21/2 CUL).
[326] Haddon to Schmeltz/Trap, 31 May 1891 (HP F21/2 CUL).
[327] 'The monograph' Haddon wrote 'would be a reprint of the J.A.I. papers & F.L. [Folk-Lore] … I expect I shd require about 15 photos only a few of wh. need be coloured … four stones should do all that is necessary.' (*Op. Cit.*). He estimated the total cost at £200 for a print run of 200 copies with 104,000 words over 300 pages or 200 pages of smaller type in double columns. Haddon envisaged something along the lines of Volume II of the *Archiv*, but with fewer colour plates. The monograph would include a brief history of the natives followed by chapters on their physical characteristics, ethnography, language, geography, habitat, villages, industries, dances and art.
[328] James Clerk Maxwell took the first colour photograph in 1861, but colour photography did not become widely available until the early 1900s.
[329] The problem of cost was solved with the development of improved half-tone printing processes in the 1890s. Haddon inserted photogravure reproductions or "plates" into "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway" (1891).

around this problem by presenting a series of lectures illustrated by lantern slide made from photographs taken in the Torres Strait, Papua New Guinea and the Aran Islands, which he then developed as the primary method of presenting his ethnographic study of the Aran Islands. This is hardly surprising, given that Haddon, as quoted above, recorded in his journal that he considered text as tedious to write as it was to read, but it is still worth emphasising because it registers the moment when Haddon opted for image over text, using the magic lantern to create an alternative form of ethnography.

Between 1890 and 1894 Haddon presented 6 slideshows on the Aran Islands. There may have been more, but records have been found for the following:

1890/1 Date and venue unknown: "**Aran Islands.**" The Dixon photographs.

1892 October: "**Aran Islands**." Conferring Day *Conversazione*, Royal College of Science, Dublin.

November: "**The Ethnography of Aran Islands, County Galway**." Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

1893 January: "**Ethnographical Studies in the West of Ireland**." Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, Belfast.

1894 April: "**Ethnographical Studies in the West of Ireland**." Anthropological Institute, London.

August: "**On the People of Western Ireland and their Mode of Life.**" Section H-Anthropology, BAAS, Oxford.

1895 March: "**The western Isles of Ireland / On the People of Western Ireland and their Mode of Life**." Temperance Hall in Hexham, near Newcastle upon Tyne.

During the same period, Haddon presented other slideshows as part of a wider ethnographic programme. These included:

1893 November: "**Relics of Olden Time**." BNFC, Belfast.

1895 January: "**Savage Dances**." (BNFC, Belfast.
April: "**Folklore and Photography**." Folk-lore Society, London.

Browne first used half-tone reproductions in the last of the ethnographies, which the Academy published in 1900.

By correlating Haddon's collection of lantern slides (Fig. 6.15), press reports, and–in the case of the BNFC and the Folk-lore Society–institutional records it is possible to recreate what these slides shows looked like. However, the real surprise lies in the focus of public curiosity in ethnical islands in Ireland. Newspaper reports reveal that, unlike "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway," there is very little emphasis on the skull measuring business. For example, *The Irish Times* published a report on the meeting of the Royal Irish Academy at which Haddon and Browne read their reports on the survey of the Aran Islands. The article was succinct enough to reprint almost in full.[330] It stated that Haddon:

> enumerated numerous traits in the character of the people, and gave an interesting account of several of their customs. They were a decidedly non-musical people, as evidenced by the fact that there was not a fiddler or a piper found amongst them. They were a courteous and rather [striking] people ; their stature was [*indecipherable*][331] that of the mainland. When a father made over his property of holding to a married son the father was badly treated and badly fed by the young people. In this respect the people of the islands presented a remarkable contrast to those of the mainland. In the summer they frequently suffered water famine, and in that period their [cattle] were sent to Connemara. The opening of the island to tourists had tended to benefit them. Browne also spoke on the subject.[332]

It is a remarkable document. The reporter reduced the section on the measurement of physical characteristics to one sentence: Haddon 'enumerated numerous traits in the character of the people.'[333] The tables of quantitative data, statistical analysis, and indices were passed over as were the numerous customs. Instead, the reporter goes on to give a snapshot of life on the islands, and what a snapshot it is. There was no music, the old people were mistreated, drought was frequent, but the island economy was boosted by increased revenue from tourism. The last point is especially interesting as Haddon described the island as virtually unknown to tourists in 1890.

Leaving that aside for the moment, the article in *The Irish Times*, the paper of record and an organ of Tory and Unionist opinion, gives an indication of the highly politicised environment in which Haddon was operating. Haddon opened his 1890 commentary by acknowledging that 'the Aran Islands have from time to time come

[330] Anon. 1892. "Royal Irish Academy." *The Irish Times*, December 13: 7.
[331] Some words are either missing or illegible.
[332] *Op cit.*
[333] *Op cit.*

into notice on account of the failure of the potato crop, and it is possible that again this winter the inhabitants will require assistance.'[334] The correspondent for *The Irish Times* acknowledged drought, but not starvation and thereby maintained the official line that reports of famine were unfounded, meaning, in effect, that Irish nationalists and their Liberal allies had exaggerated the level of "distress" in the islands. However, it was the comment about the mistreatment of old people that provoked Haddon. He wrote a letter to the editor stating that 'The meaning of my remarks has been unintentionally altered.'[335] He continued:

> It is true it is stated in the paper[336] that cases of this were known, but on citing the exceptions we desired to emphasise thereby the high morality of these interesting and friendly people, *to which we bear strong and willing testimony in our paper*. (emphasis added).

Haddon was, once again, at odds with the political establishment on account of his sympathy for the islanders.

The Nation Weekly, a nationalist newspaper that was historically associated with the nationalist Young Ireland movement, provided an alternative view of Haddon's treatment of the survey. It published a report[337] of the slideshow that Haddon presented to members of the BNFC in January 1893, just over a month after reading his report of the survey into the record of the Royal Irish Academy. Haddon, according to this correspondent, was well received and opened the lecture with a brief outline of the physiognomy of the Aran Islanders. After a description of the islands and its field systems, Haddon dealt with ancient customs, holy wells, the "Evil Eye,"[338] the physical and moral state of the islanders–idolaters but nominally Catholic–and archaeology, which led into ethnology and the inevitable question of the racial origins of the islanders. Haddon didn't know the answer to that, although Browne and he had tried to find out. They were sure, according to the correspondent,

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[334] Haddon,1890, MS of "The Aran Islands," (Appendix 3).
[335] Haddon. 1892. "Arran Islands" in *Letters to the Editor*, *The Irish Times*, December 14: 6.
[336] 'Occasionally old people are badly treated; when an old man had made over his farm to his married son, the young people have been known to half starve him, and give him the small potatoes reserved for the pigs.' (Haddon & Browne 1891, 800).
[337] Haddon filed a newspaper clipping annotated with the *'Nation Wkly'* and dated 18/1/93, which is held in Folder 3058 of the Haddon Papers in CUL.
[338] "The Evil Eye' is mentioned a lot by Haddon. He collected a version of the curse from David O'Callaghan, a school teacher in the Aran Islands (P.88.H Haddon Library) and he referred to it in relation to resistance to photography.

that the islanders constituted a distinct type, but lacked comparative data to prove it or, if it was distinct, to decide its origin.

There is a lot that could be written about the optics of presenting a slideshow on the "primitive" Aran Islands to a group of naturalists in "industrial" Belfast at the height of the home rule crisis,[339] but that is beyond the scope of this thesis. More relevant is the fact that the newspaper report confirms that physiognomy was a mere preamble for a more considered account of ethnicity and political economy, unlike the enumeration of 'numerous traits in the character of the people' in the Academy a month earlier. That opened a gap between the document published by the Academy and the slideshows that accompanied it. More significantly, it shows that the ethnography of the Aran Islands entered the public domain primarily as a slideshow and was presented as such to the Anthropological Institute in April 1894 and Section H of the BAAS in August 1894, at the same meeting that a field manual was finally agreed for the Ethnographic Survey of the UK.

The records of the Anthropological Institute and Section H provide the title of the slideshows and little else by way of information. Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton argue in *Photography, Anthropology and History*, that 'it is an historiographical commonplace that history is texted by the forms, practices and contexts of its archiving' (2009, 8). Accordingly, the slideshows have remained almost invisible in the historiography of anthropology. Tabitha Cadbury cited 'a manuscript[340] from "the text of [a] lecture on Western Isles of Ireland inc. folk customs etc."' (Haddon quoted in Cadbury 2009, 107), but this is the only reference that I have found to date in the literature, which is dominated by two texts, the manifesto for the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory that Cunningham and Haddon issued in 1891 and the ethnographic study of the Aran Islands that the Royal Irish Academy published in 1893. Furthermore, the manuscript that Cadbury cited is held in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and, as such, is separated from the main body of Haddon' papers. Furthermore, the section of Haddon's journal that

[339] Gladstone began work on a second Home Rule Bill in August 1892. The Government of Ireland Bill 1893 was passed in the House of Commons in April 1893 but defeated in the House of Lords in September.
[340] MAA, WO6/I/6, CUMAA. Haddon's reference to 'Western Isles' suggests that the manuscript relates to the slideshow he presented to Section H in 1894. I read Cadbury's article long after I had completed my research in Cambridge and, despite repeated requests for a copy, I have not seen this document and cannot confirm this.

dealt with the Islands, his sketchbook, the captions for the first slideshow, and the Dixon negatives were “lost” in the 1890s or early 1900s and remained out of the reach of researchers working on the Haddon Papers until 2013 and 2014. On the other hand, copies of the photographs exist elsewhere and Haddon filed a clipping of the newspaper report on the slideshow in Belfast with papers that are held in CUL. Nevertheless, the Aran Island slideshows have left few textual traces in the archive and, as Edwards and Morton have argued (2009, 8), that situation has rendered them more or less invisible to historians of disciplinary anthropology and photography in anthropology.

Conclusion

I came across Haddon’s letter to Ernest early on in my research into the photographic archive of the Irish Ethnographic Survey. In 2014, I discussed the letter at the Anthropology and Photography Conference that was organised by Royal Anthropological Institute and I argued that the letter was the key to understanding Haddon’s attitude to ethnographic subjects. I was right and I was wrong. I knew little of Haddon at the time and I argued that the letter showed that Haddon’s ethnological research was an analogue of the taxonomic practice he had illustrated in the letter. That was wrong. The extraordinary visuality and, to borrow a phrase from Geddes, ‘human sympathy & power of interpretation’[341] of the letter ultimately became the frame through which I viewed Haddon’s study of native agency and resistance in the photographs of Martin Faherty and the women of Inis Meáin. In that sense I was right, the letter does serve as a template for the photo-ethnographic practice that Haddon developed in the Torres Strait in 1888 and, with the aid of the proto-cinematic magic lantern, rolled out in a series of performed ethnographies between 1890 and 1895.

Access to digitised newspaper archives has made it possible to supplement the small number of primary sources in the Haddon Papers, just as the discovery of Dixon’s negatives and the text of Haddon’s first slideshow made it possible to see the underlying structure of the photographic archive compiled by Browne in 1897 as well as Haddon’s own collection of photographs and lantern slides. That made it possible to reconstruct in some detail the content of Haddon’s slideshows and track their

[341] Geddes to Alfred Haddon, 11 December, 1889 (HP F3 CUL).

development as an alternative to text, exposing significant differences between the official account of Haddon's first ethnographic survey–the report that the Royal Irish Academy published in 1893–and Haddon's own version of the survey, his sympathetic treatment of an 'interesting and friendly people'[342] who lived in the most remarkable islands he had 'come across anywhere.' (Appendix 2, p. 219).

This treatment exposes even greater differences between Haddon's photo-ethnographic practice and the static representation of the 'motionless anthropometric body' described by Griffth (1996, 36), or the 'the repetitive and dull pattern of anthropological portraits' described by Carville (2011, 106). If that is the current measure of photography in anthropology in the 1890s, then the combination of Haddon's social-documentary or "instantaneous" style of photography and his adoption of the magic lantern as an instrument of performed ethnography constituted a major innovation.

This innovation has been set up in previous chapters as an effect of the conflict between "physical" and "cultural" factions in organised anthropology, citing the radical view of the practice and purpose of anthropology that Haddon, Geddes, Havelock Ellis and their associates in various reform movements shared in 1890. As stated, "The Life of a Savage" slideshow visualised Kropotkin's credo that the task of the geographer/ethnographer was that 'of dissipating the prejudices in which we are reared' (Kropotkin 1885, 942-3). Likewise, all six versions of "The Western Isles" slideshow visualised Haddon's sympathy for the Aran Islanders and that brought him into conflict with the political sponsors of the fishing survey, the management of the Irish Ethnographic Survey, and ultimately the BAAS and its sponsors. That situates Haddon's formal experiments in the politics of decolonisation in Ireland, but that was merely the local expression of a resurgent humanitarian and anti-imperial trend in organised anthropology in England.

To conclude, between 1890 and 1895, Haddon invented a formally innovative form of visual ethnography that transcended the limits–practical, theoretical, philosophical and political–of conventional anthropological practice in the 1890s and I propose that this constituted a fifth field in anthropology, a formally innovative and

[342] Haddon. 1892. "Arran Islands" in *Letters to the Editor*, *The Irish Times*, December 14: 6.

politically radical experiment in representation that deserves to be considered as a singular modernist achievement in anthropology.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE FIFTH FIELD
(PLATES)

Fig. 7.1 The Skull Passage, "Old" Anatomy, TCD.

Fig. 7.1A Hand-held cameras that Browne used in ethnographic surveys conducted between 1894 and 1900.

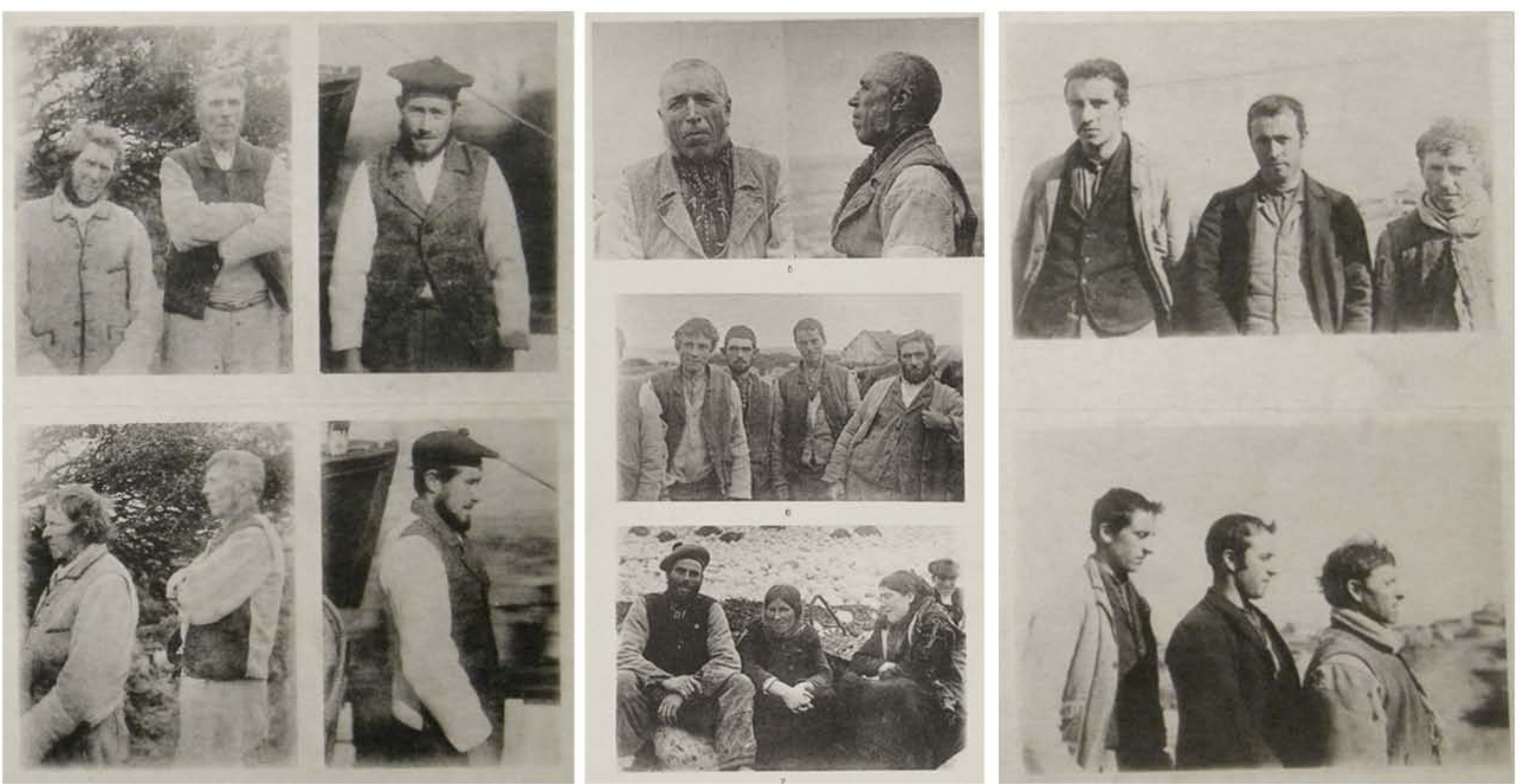


Fig. 7.2 The “fifth field”: Plates XXII-XXIV of “The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway” by Haddon and Browne (1891). These copies are reproduced from galley proofs that Haddon filed in his papers (F4062). This folder is listed as “Ethnographical Survey -Ireland” in a typescript of a catalogue of papers that were deposited in Cambridge University Library in 1968.

Fig. 7.3 Pages from Browne's album of photographs taken in the Aran Islands (© TCD: MS10961-4_0004, MS10961-4_0005).

Fig. 7.4 The Strange People of Ballycroy: pages from Browne's album of photographs taken in Erris, County Mayo (© TCD: MS10961-5_0008, MS10961-3_0009).

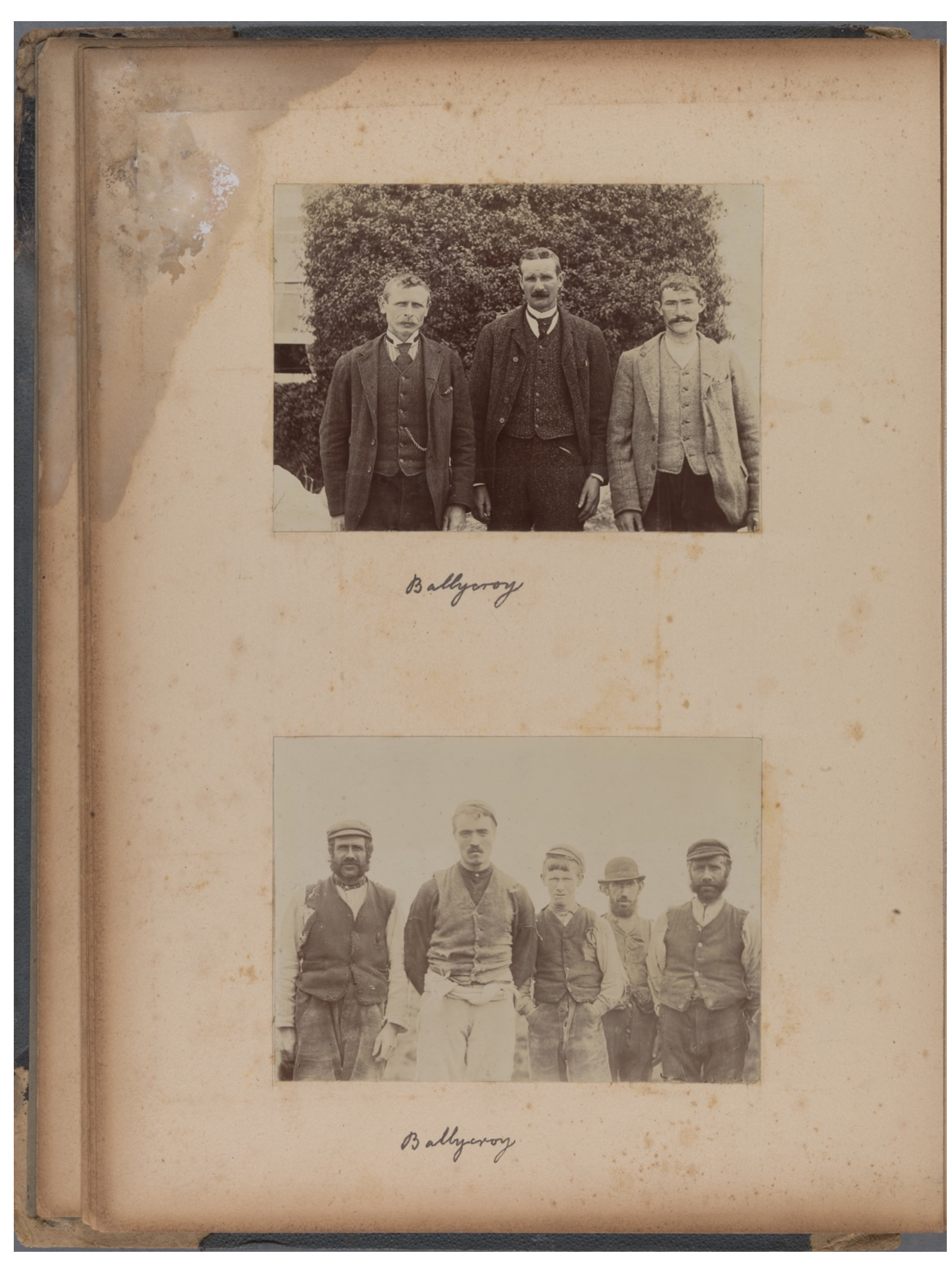
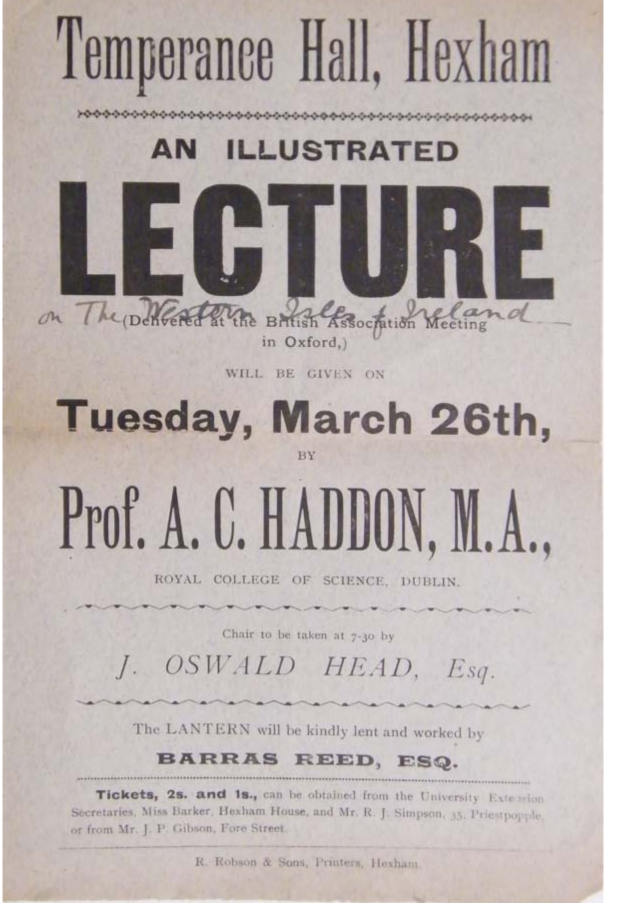


Fig. 7.5 A page from Browne's album of photographs from Erris. Browne reproduced the photographs as Plate VI of the "The Ethnography of Ballycroy, County Mayo" (Browne 1896).

Fig. 7.6 Thomas Fitzpatrick, 1894, *Arran Isles–1894*. *Weekly Freeman & National Press*, April 21 (see Curtis 2011, Fig. 38).

Fig. 7.7

A flyer advertising Haddon's slideshow on "The Western Isles of Ireland," which he presented in the Temperance Hall in Hexham, near Newcastle upon Tyne in March 1895 (HP F3058 CUL).



Temperance Hall, Hexham

AN ILLUSTRATED

LECTURE

on The Western Isles of Ireland (Delivered at the British Association Meeting in Oxford,)

WILL BE GIVEN ON

Tuesday, March 26th,

BY

Prof. A. C. HADDON, M.A.,

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, DUBLIN.

Chair to be taken at 7-30 by

J. OSWALD HEAD, Esq.

The LANTERN will be kindly lent and worked by

BARRAS REED, ESQ.

Tickets, 2s. and 1s., can be obtained from the University Extension Secretaries, Miss Barker, Hexham House, and Mr. R. J. Simpson, 35, Priestpopple, or from Mr. J. P. Gibson, Fore Street.

R. Robson & Sons, Printers, Hexham.

Fig 7.8 Haddon, 1892, *Thomas Colman Faherty and John Michael O'Donnell*, photogravure print (Haddon and Browne 1891, Plate XXII).

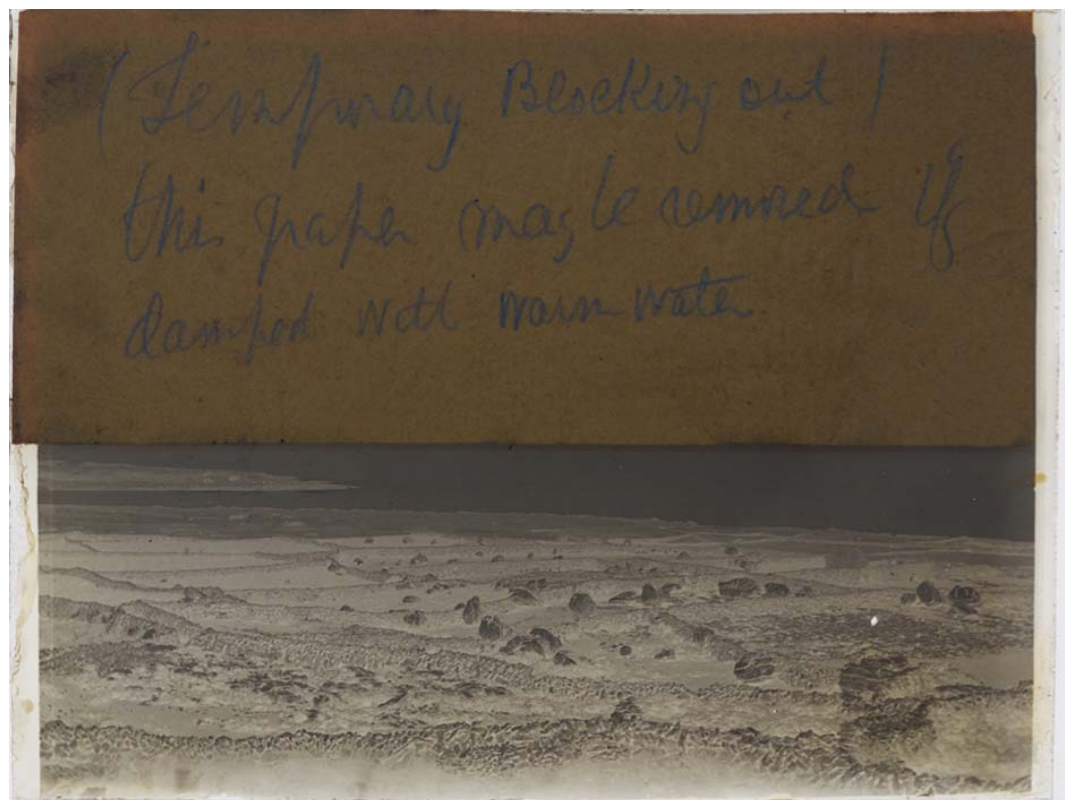


Fig 7.9 A. F. Dixon, 1890, negative of a photograph with temporary masking added by Welch (© TCD).

Fig 7.10 R. J. Welch, c. 1895, *Killeany Holy Well Station and Young Natives*, Aranmore (Inishmore), platinotype (Balfour Album, NUIG).

Fig. 7.11 Members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in the Aran Islands, July 1895 (© RSAI).

Fig. 7.12 Clara Patterson, 1893, *Children playing Poor Mary, Ballymiscaw, 1893*, halftone print (reproduced from Adams 1993, 5).

Fig. 7.13 R. J. Welch, c. 1893, selection of slides used by Haddon in his lectures on the evolution of technologies /carts (© CUMAA).

Fig. 7.14 A still from the short film that Haddon made of the dance of the *Malu Zogo Te* on the island of Mer in 1898 (© National Film and Sound Archive of Australia).

Fig 7.15 Myers recording Ulai singing Malu songs into a phonograph. Gasu is beating the Malu Drum. The photograph was taken on Mer in 1898 (© CUMAA).

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE FIFTH FIELD

My path leads to the creation of a fresh perception of the world. I decipher in a new way a world unknown to you.'

Dziga Vertov. 1922. *We: Variant of a Manifesto*.

Introduction

John Millington Synge (1871-1909), the playwright, opened Act 3 of the *Playboy of the Western World* with a reference to the skull measuring business: Jimmy asks Philly if he 'ever heard tell of the skulls they have in Dublin, ranged out like blue jugs in a cabin of Connacht?' (Synge 1958, 147-8).[343] Philly replies that a lad had described the white, black and yellow skulls on show. Synge was referring to the Anthropological Collection in the "Old" Department of Anatomy in TCD, which was displayed in the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory in the 1890s (Fig. 5) and moved to an L-shaped[344] corridor that runs along two sides of the Anatomy theatre sometime after the Laboratory ceased operation in 1903 (Fig. 7.1). The Skull Passage, as it is known, is lined with two-metre high display cabinets that contain anatomical specimens, mainly skulls although there is a double cabinet full of articulated skeletons. It remains one of the most evocative traces of the Laboratory and Anglo-Irish anthropology in general.

Dixon's negatives were discovered on a shelf under the Anatomy theatre itself, nest to the Skull Passage. The shelf held other pieces of photographic equipment, including the original negative holders. There was no trace of the camera used by Dixon, but the negative holders matched a quarter plate camera provided by the photographer Chris Rodmell (Fig 3). This is a generic version of a model that was widely used in the 1890s. It looks rather "antique," especially the brass lens and its

[343] The 1958 Everyman's Library edition of Synge's *Plays, Poems and Prose* with an introduction by Micheál Mac Liammóir.
[344] The corridor was labelled "Anthropological Collection" on a floorplan from 1926.

rudimentary iris, but this camera represents the beginning of the mobilisation of industrialised photography, an innovation driven by lighter cameras, faster lenses, mass-produced glass plate negatives, and, crucially, public demand. Haddon's account, quoted above (p. 157), of his attempt to photograph a regatta in the Aran Islands in 1890 registers the advance in photographic technology that the quarter-plate camera represented. Two other cameras were found in a cabinet containing the skulls that Haddon and Dixon stole on Inishbofin Island (Fig. 7.1A). These are handheld, falling-plate cameras that Browne first introduced into fieldwork in Erris in 1894 (Browne 1895, 590; Fig 7.1A). Each camera held 12 quarter-plate, glass photographic negatives, which were preloaded into a magazine at the back of the camera and mechanically loaded into position behind the lens before each exposure. The cameras have quick release shutters, fixed focal planes[345], and a mechanical iris. These cameras represented a major advance in the level of technology available to fieldworkers, making "instantaneous" photography possible and solving the problem of subjects who refused to pose for a photograph or submit to measurement.

This new technology revolutionised ethnographic photography. The possibility of recording daily events in the lives of populations of interest coincided with a shift from the study of human bodies (anthropology) to the study of human customs (ethnology), as defined by Frazer in his 1899 memorandum (Hill *et al.* 1899). Haddon's practice diverged accordingly. Stiff anthropometric portraits were treated as an institutional requirement that was imposed by anatomists. Instantaneous photography, on the other hand, offered an opportunity for engaging the public in a radically modern dialogue about the daily lives of "natives" in the colonies–including the Irish colony–and altering the debate about colonialism by introducing the concept of cultural relativity and the philosophical principle of the essential unity of humankind as a counter to the racism that facilitated the extermination of other civilisations by colonists under the pretext of civilising savages.

Terry Eagleton, according to Gregory Castle (2001, 2), argued that the conditions for modernism were created by a confrontation between disruptive new technologies and traditional cultures in the politically unstable edgelands of *ancien regimes* and empires (Eagleton 1995, 274). Castle was comparing the ethnographic

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[345] This was the main innovation box cameras: images projected by the lens unto a plate at the back of the camera were always in focus. This obviated the needed to move the lens back and forth to achieve focus, so there was no need for a bellows.

accounts of the Aran Islands that Haddon and Synge wrote in the 1890s, but the framing of his argument fits the conditions under which Haddon exploited the magic lantern to create a new and engaged form of photo-ethnographic representation, which, I propose, constituted a fifth field of anthropology. The question then is this: Does this field constitute a modernist anthropology?

In this chapter, I will argue that there is a deceptively simple way to "see" this field. Take "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands, County Galway" and strip out the text. That leaves three plates of nine photographic reproductions (Fig. 7.2). However, the photographic archive compiled by Browne in 1897, shows that the scope of photography in the field–the scopic regime of the Irish Ethnographic Survey as it were–was far wider than the anthropometric portraits in these reproductions. Furthermore, I have argued in Chapter Four that the ethnographic study of the Aran Islands was split along political lines: Haddon on the left with the section on anthropography and Browne / Cunningham on the right with the section on sociology. This split becomes more apparent in the photographic archive compiled by Browne.

I will also argue that Browne–as revealed in the text of his ethnographic accounts–regarded the field as a wild place that was populated by people whose primitive mode of life and psychology set them apart from wider society, a politically convenient ahistorical view of a population that was seething with anti-government sentiment. From Haddon's point of view, the same people were the victims of colonialism and the field constituted a practical site for anti-imperialism activism, mirroring the activities of cultural nationalists who entered the field during the same period. Thus, Haddon and Browne presented contrasting images of the edgelands of the oldest colony in the British Empire, representing an unstable political landscape in which the politics of anthropology and home rule were inseparable and photography materialised the political divisions that shaped ethnographic practice in the field.

The extent to which Haddon's anti-colonialism activism influenced ethnographic practice in Ireland is considered in the context of his collaboration with Clara Patterson, a member of Belfast Naturalists' Field Club. Her work on singing games played by peasant children in the uplands of Northern Ireland is presented as a precursor to Haddon's experiments in cinematography in the Torres Strait in 1898, when he filmed the last dance of the *Malu Zogo Te*. Those experiments were the first

recorded use of a cinematograph in ethnographic fieldwork, three years after Auguste and Louis Lumiére patented their version of a *cynématographe*[346] and organised the first public screening of motion pictures in Paris. For sure, Haddon's film meets the criteria set by Eagleton as a gauge of modernism. Yet, the liminal intelligence of Haddon's innovation in ethno-cinematography has been overwhelmed by the mute testimony 'of the skulls they have in Dublin' (Synge 1958, 147) and erased by the emergence of anthropology as a discipline of words (Mead 1975). This chapter attempts to correct this historic oversight.

Edgelands

The photographic component of "The Ethnography of the Aran Island, County Galway" served as a template for seven other surveys that Browne conducted on the western edge of the United Kingdom. Browne used the template 'to ensure as great uniformity as possible, a matter of much importance as facilitating comparison of results.' (Browne 1893, 318). Accordingly, photography was restricted to the illustration of physical characteristics in the reports published by the Royal Irish Academy between 1893 and 1900, the only "physical" element of four categories of ethnographic interest that were routinely photographed during fieldwork. Browne described the categories as follows:

> the investigation was carried out on the same lines as previously—that is, it embraces the physiography of the district, anthropography (physical characters and statistics, vital statistics—personal and economic, physiology, folk-names) ; sociology (occupations, customs, food, clothing, dwellings, and transport) ; folklore, archaeology (survivals and antiquities) ; history, &c. (BAAS 1896, 609)

He assembled a photographic archive in two albums in 1897 (see De Mórdha & Walsh 2012). The first[347] covers the Aran Islands (1892), Inishbofin and Inishshark (1893), and North Erris (1894). The second[348] covers Erris-Ballycroy (1895), Clare Island and Inishturk (1896); and Dunquin and the Blasket Islands (1897). The survey of Dunquin–if undertaken–was never published and there is no trace of any text

[346] Thomas Edison and his team developed the *Kinetoscope* between 1891 and 1893. Guillaume Bouly patented the first *cynématographe* in 1892. The Lumiére brothers bought out Boulty's interest in the *cynématographe,* after seeing a demonstration of Edison's *Kinetoscope* in Paris in 1894.
[347] TCD MS10961-4
[348] TCD MS10961-3

associated with the photographic archive, which means that the ethnographic survey of Dunquin and the Blasket Islands was exclusively photographic and, as such, represents a first in the history of visual anthropology.[349] The photographs of the Aran Islands (Fig. 7.3), are divided into three sections covering Coastline and Surface (7 photographs), The People (14 photographs) and Antiquities (19 photographs). Browne introduced Mode-of-Life as a separate category in later surveys, with transport forming a subcategory in some.[350] The introduction of a handheld camera in 1894 (Browne 1895, 590; 1896, 76) led to a dramatic increase in the number of photographs taken in North Erris in 1894. Browne archived almost three times as many photographs as the section on the Aran Islands and these break down as follows: Coastline and Surface (16); People (31); Mode of Life (36); and Antiquities (21). The anthropometric component represents less than 30% of all photographs taken.

If one was to apply the classification adopted by Browne in his archive, the photographic output of the Anthropological Laboratory–as the mobile version of the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory was now known–was overwhelmingly "cultural," covering geography, social conditions, and archaeology. The term "cultural" needs to be treated with some caution in this context. Geography provided evidence of isolation and antiquities provided evidence of sequestration, the combination of which produced characteristic types and "survivals," relics of barbarism as Haddon described them,[351] although Haddon was looking for evidence of Pre-Aryan village communalism that supported Kropotkin's theory of mutualism (1890) and Proudhon's 1863 definition of an-archy or self-government (Proudhon 1979, 9). By contrast, Browne used the same survivals as evidence of the recalcitrant primitivism of Irish natives who lived outside of the colony. This argument will be developed later in the chapter and it is signposted here because Haddon and Browne's differing approaches photography problematises the conventional association of ethnology in Ireland with an exclusively anthropometric practice.

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[349] Paul Hockings and Mark McCarty repeated the exercise in 1967 (See McCarty in Hockings, ed., 1995, 69-78).
[350] Haddon and Welch were collecting evidence of evolution in transport in Ireland as a case study of evolution in technology in bounded districts.
[351] Page 19 of Haddon's journal of the Survey of fishing grounds, 1890 (HP, F22, CUL).

There is another problem that relates to the scopic regime of the surveys, one that concerns the application of anthropometric methods to the solution of anthropological problems that had a bearing on political debates about home rule-the political project–and de-colonisation–the cultural project. In 1894, Haddon and Browne attended a lecture by Edmund Ignatius Hogan, a Jesuit, Irish language scholar, and Todd Professor[352] of the Royal Irish Academy from 1891 to 1898 (Ó Raghallaigh 2009). Hogan's lecture dealt with '*Punch* and English comic papers [*that*] invariably represented the Irishman as a low savage.'[353] He referred to an article published in the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1836[354] in which the people of Mayo, Leitrim and Sligo were described as being remarkable for their

> Open projecting mouths, exposed gums, advanced cheekbones, depressed noses, and that they displayed all the traces of barbarism. They were five feet two in height, pot-bellied, bow legged and dressed in rags.[355]

Hogan, according to the newspaper report, stated that he 'had got the people measured'[356] and called on Dr Browne of the Anthropological Laboratory to present evidence collected by him in the same districts. Browne was received with applause. He then used 'lantern photographic illustrations' to *prove* that 'the inhabitants of these districts were not a deformed, pot-bellied race as had been stated of them.'[357] (Fig. 7.4). Browne, at Hogan's instigation, had deployed the resources of the Anthropological Laboratory–at a cost of £20[358]–in support of a Catholic nationalist who was campaigning against the racial stereotyping of Irish people in the popular press in the UK and US (see Curtis 2001; Foster 1993; de Nie, 2004).

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[352] James Henthorn Todd (1805-1869) was College Librarian and Senior Fellow of TCD. He served as President of the Royal Irish Academy from 1856-1861. The Academy instituted the Todd Lecture series in his memory (O'Brien & Linde Lunney 2009).
[353] Anon. 1894. "The Irish Race." *Evening Herald*, November 30: 4.
[354] Anon. 1836. "The Attractions of Ireland." *Dublin University Magazine* (Dec 1836): 658-675.
[355] *Op. cit*. (The Irish Race).
[356] *Ibid.*
[357] *Ibid.*
[358] Browne applied for a grant of £20 to assist in carrying out an ethnological survey of the district of Erris, subject to the direction of the Academy's Anthropological Committee.' (RIA Science Committee Minute Book, April 12, 1894, p. 444). The committee recommended that a grant of £20 be made 'to a committee consisting of Rev Dr Haughton, Professor D. J. Cunningham, Professor A. C. Haddon, and Dr. C. R. Browne' (*ibid*.)

Haddon, who was a member of the committee that managed the survey, had a different agenda. He asked Browne for data that might solve an ethnological and anthropologic puzzle created by his failure to clarify the racial origins of the Aran Islanders in the survey of 1892, triggering a search for physical traces of the Fir Bolg, the legendary aboriginals of the islands. He learned from Hogan that the best place to look for the 'missing man'[359] was in Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim and Armagh. Hogan described the Fir Bolg in the same terms as quoted above and the possibility of dwarfs inhabiting a remote district in Ireland presented Haddon with a tantalising ethnological challenge, that is proving the existence of Irish aboriginals. The anthropological problem was of a different order. Pygmies, according to Chris Ballard (2000), occupied pivotal position in debates between positivist evolutionists and degenerationists. The presence of pygmies in the west of Ireland would have been 'a matter of considerable significance.' (Ballard 2000, 133) in debates about degeneration. Browne collected the data and wrote to Haddon in July 1896, stating that the report on the Mullet in County Mayo had been published and enclosed a press cutting entitled "The Strange People of Ballycroy."[360] It covered, Browne wrote, 'most of what can be said in short as to the physical character & life of the people,'[361] adding that there was no evidence of a race of dwarfs and 'no trace of physical degeneracy.'

If, as Hogan claimed, Browne had gone to Mayo at his request, the surveys of Erris North and South involved a very significant collaboration between the agents of organised anthropology and nationalism. That brings the political orientation of the Irish Ethnographic Survey and its sponsors into focus. *The Irish Times*[362] and the *Freeman's Journal*[363] reported Browne as stating that:

> The regulations laid down by the English Ethnographical Society [*sic.*] for measuring and photographing people were not applicable to an Irish village ; all he could do was to take photographs as well as he could, for

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[359] Close to Haddon, December 1, 1893 (HP F3058 CUL).
[360] Anon.1894. "The Strange People of Ballycroy." *The Daily Express,* May 12: 7. The following September, Browne presented a preliminary report on Ballycroy to the committee managing the Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom. He dismissed statements by M. de Quatrefages, M. Devay and others that a race of prognathous, pot-bellied dwarfs were to be found in Mayo and Sligo (BAAS 1896, 610).
[361] *Op. Cit.* (The Strange People of Ballycroy).
[362] Anon. 1986. "Royal Irish Academy." The *Irish Times*, May 12: 6.
[363] Anon. 1986. "Royal Irish Academy." *Freeman's Journal*, May 12: 2.

> the people would not stand it for fear of "the evil eye" and *other things*.' (emphasis added).

The regulations referred to were the schedules of observations adopted by the BAAS in 1894 for use in the Ethnographical Survey of the UK. As stated (p. 130), Browne used a slightly different version to the "English" schedule for physical characteristics that was drawn up by Garson and Haddon (BAAS 1894, 423-4). Galton The was devised the photographic schedule, which consisted of a scheme for producing composite portraits (BAAS 1894A, 4) that Haddon experimented with in Barley (see p. 135, Fig 4.5). For Browne however, taking photographs 'as well as he could' in an Irish village meant ignoring Galton's instructions.

Browne's rejection of English regulation of Irish anthropology would have appealed to the nationalist *Freeman's Journal* and, by the same token, the conflict between science and superstition in village life in Ireland would have appealed to *The Irish Times,* a pro-government newspaper.[364] Hogan's involvement would suggest a nationalist alignment, but a closer reading of Browne's reference to the "evil eye" and *other things* and his treatment of social economy and psychology reveals a primitivist theme that would suggest otherwise.

The "Evil Eye" and the Colonial Camera

Browne does not specify what 'other things'[365] made people wary of being photographed. His account of methodology (1893, 591; 1896, 76) lists weather, terrain, dispersed populations, and unsatisfactory photographic negatives as impediments to the use of photography. There is no reference to "the evil eye." Photography is not mentioned in an explanation of the placing and effect of the curse in the section on Folk-lore that dealt with "Customs and Beliefs" (Browne 1896, 104). Haddon acknowledged in *Notes and Queries* (1899, 236) that the evil eye was a factor in some countries,[366] but he distinguished this from the issue of consent. Browne may have been using superstition as a metaphor for atavistic resistance by a recalcitrant peasantry. There was, according to Browne's informants, a strong

[364] Neither report mentioned dwarfs.
[365] Anon. 1894. "The Strange People of Ballycroy." *The Daily Express* of May 12: 7.
[366] Haddon collected a version of the curse from David O'Callaghan, a school teacher in the Aran Islands (O'Callaghan to Haddon, May 19, 1891 [HP F3058 CUL]) and reported that it was very much dreaded in the islands (Haddon & Browne 1991, 819).

aversion to the payment of rent and cess (local taxes) in the districts surveyed (1895, 615). This tallies with a story that Haddon recorded in 1890. Green told him that, when he sailed into Inishbofin 'he saw all the people driving away their cattle into the interior of the island for they thought it was a gun-boat come to collect the county cess for none had been paid for 5 years.'[367] In January 1892, Mongan, the hotel owner, Poor Law Guardian, and barony constable in Carna in Connemara, led a raid by forty constables on Inishbofin. They travelled there on a gunboat for the purposes of collecting unpaid county cess from the islanders.[368] Browne also recorded that the people of Inishbofin had a strong dislike to having their portraits taken (1893, 322) and this suggests that the failure to induce persons to 'get photographed' (1896, 76) in Inishbofin and Ballycroy may have had more to do with unpaid taxes, gunboats and the failure of people living in remote districts to spot the difference between an anthropologists and a tax collector.

This may seem flippant, but the overlap between anthropology and politics in these districts in the 1890s was considerable. The geographic footprint of the Irish Ethnographic Survey was determined by Haddon's involvement in the fishing survey of 1890, which was a key part of Arthur J. Balfour's strategy for undermining political support in England for home rule in Ireland. Balfour, accompanied by his sister Alice, covered much of the same ground in the winter of 1890, in an effort to ensure that the Conservative government got full credit for the extension of the light railway system, fisheries development, and other public projects (Balfour 1891, 149). Alice Balfour returned to Mayo and Galway in 1891. She published an account of that visit in 1891,[369] a document which deserves a more detailed treatment than is possible here. It is relevant here because Browne challenged her description of Inishkea. 'It has been stated,' Browne wrote, 'by one or two casual visitors[370] that the

[367] Haddon.1890. MS of fishing survey journal, p. 28 (HP F22 CUL).
[368] Anon. 1892. "In Far Connemara." *The Weekly Freeman and Irish Agriculturist*, January 23: 1. Haddon also recorded Green's account of a raid on the Blasket Islands in 1890 (Haddon. 1891. MS of "Harlequin" journal (HP F22 CUL).
[369] Alice Balfour published a partial account in the last volume of *Murray's Magazine* (Balfour 1891). *The Irish Times* printed edited extracts in July 1891.
[370] Alice Balfour was accompanied by Lady Zetland, wife of the Lord Lieutenant, the Queens representative in Ireland. They travelled by gunboat and met Haddon and Green in Carna in April 1891; the fishing survey featured prominently in a carefully planned showcase of relief projects that were patronised by her brother and the Lord Lieutenant.

natives of Inishkea were dwarfed and very degenerate' (1895, 612), a detail that was edited out of the version that *The Irish Times* published.

The *Freeman's Journal* used Browne's data on housing to refute a claim made by Gerald Balfour, who replaced his brother as Chief Secretary for Ireland after the general election of 1895, that an outbreak of typhus fever was due to the 'filthy condition of the houses on Inniskea.'[371] Browne had, in fact, concluded that 'The prevalence of typhoid fever is a result of the unwholesome state of their dwellings.' (Browne 1895, 611). The outbreak became the focus of an anti-government campaign[372] that the Rev Hewson organised. Hewson, one of Browne's main informants (*ibid.*), attracted the attention of Maud Gonne, who arrived in Belmullet in the Spring of 1898. She intended to use the centenary of the 1798 rebellion as an 'opportunity for putting the Separatist idea before the people' (1938, 228), an escalation in the political situation that James Hack, the architect of the strategy of killing home rule with kindness,[373] feared most. Tuke wrote in June 1886 that an 'extreme faction' (Fry 1899, 226-228) was biding its time behind the politically moderate home rule movement led by Charles Stewart Parnell, waiting for an opportunity to take 'the next step in the great socialist or Fenian movement so rampant in Ireland.' (*ibid.*).

The crisis in Mayo had been building since the end of 1895, but the district had, according to Hewson, experienced 'periodic famine'[374] since the 1860s. A reduction in crop yields[375] in 1895 caused a level of distress that surpassed the "second famine" of 1879 and 1880. The most obvious indicator of distress was the provision of relief works. Browne photographed groups of men and women employed in road building

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[371] Anon. 1897. "The Government and Belmullet." *The Freeman's Journal*, Monday 12 July: 5. This article contained a detailed analysis of the economic situation in Erris, which quotes Browne in relation to diet and housing.

[372] Anon. 1897. "The Fever in Inniskea." *Freeman's Journal*, July 7: 5.

[373] Tuke developed a set of "remedies" for the "disease" of poverty in Ireland in the 1840s (see Fry 1899). He persuaded Arthur J. Balfour to adopt them as government policy after the failure of the first Home Rule Bill in 1886 and the formation of a Conservative Government after the general election that followed. Gerald Balfour coined the phrase "killing home rule with kindness" at a constituency event in Leeds in 1895 (see Anon. 1895. "Mr. Gerald Balfour On Irish Prospects: Ireland Tiring of Agitation." *Pall Mall Gazette*, October 17: 7).

[374] Anon. 1897 "The Distress in the West." *The Freeman's Journal,* February 19: 5.

[375] Anon. 1897. "The Government and Belmullet" *The Freeman's Journal,* July 12: 5.

(Fig. 7.5 & 7.4)[376] and working at a fish curing station that was operated in conjunction with the Congested Districts Board.[377] He had to be aware of the situation, yet there isn't a single reference to famine or political unrest in either of his reports on Erris (Browne 1895, 1896). Instead, chronic unemployment, unsanitary housing, famine and fever are represented as functions of a primitive psychology in a wild place that was cut off from wider society. The men, according to Browne, were 'indolent' and 'dislike steady occupation,' but the women 'have plenty of work on hand, and do it.' (1895, 615 & 646). Browne represented the condition of the people in a pair of group portraits in "The Ethnography of Ballycroy, County Mayo" (Browne 1896, Plate IV), copies of which he archived in his albums (Fig. 7.5). He took the upper photograph of the pair outside of Cleary's Hotel in Ballycroy and the lower photograph at the site of relief works. The difference between the prosperous group on top and the ragged group below is striking. It was an exercise in layered and multivalent representation. Physical differences between the two groups of men can be explained, as Cunningham would argue, by lifestyle and labour. This, in turn, activates an explanation for the sociological difference between the two classes: prosperous subjects (on top) are contrasted with ragged, half-starved natives (below). Browne has insinuated a visual sociology into his typical portraits. The text consolidates the affect. He represented the district as being outside of both history and politics (1896, 110), situating the social disparity in the indolence of native men in the edgelands of empire. The combination of text and image constitutes a primitivist narrative that masks a refusal to engage with the political and economic realities that were revealed by the mode of life of the peasantry.

Once again, Browne was sticking to the template established in 'The Ethnography of the Aran Islands" with regard to the treatment of economic conditions and the linked campaigns for land reform and home rule, which was very different from the approach Haddon's adopted two years earlier. Haddon introduced his first ethnographic account of the islands-the commentary for the slideshow

[376] Browne reported that 'More than a third [*of*] the men measured were at work in the bogs preparing the way for a new road.' (Browne 1895, 77).
[377] The CDB established fish curing stations in Mayo and Donegal in 1893 and 1894 (Congested Districts Board for Ireland 1893, 17-21; Congested Districts Board for Ireland, 1894, 14).

presented after his visit to the islands in 1890 (Appendix 3)– with the following statement:

> the Aran Islands have from time to time come into notice on account of the failure of the potato crop, and it is possible that again this winter the inhabitants will require assistance for not only has the blight attacked the potatoes this past winter & spring has been exceptionally unfortunate for the fishermen and scarcely any money at all had been made in the three islands, consequently there will be nothing to fall back upon should the potato crop fail them.[378]

He was repeating a warning that Michael Davitt (1846-1906), the Fenian and co-founder of the Irish National Land League, sounded in 1888, when he issued an appeal for famine relief on behalf of "The Starving Islanders in Arran."[379]

"The Ethnography of the Aran Islands" is, however, silent on famine and the related issues of eviction and anti-landlord agitation. Instead, it quotes a benign description of the landlord that John T. O'Flaherty's wrote in 1824 (Haddon & Browne, 1891, 795), almost seventy years before Haddon and Browne arrived in the islands. Furthermore, the ethnography states that the law courts were dealing effectively with financial difficulties created by the lack of arable land in the islands (*ibid.*). It was a gross distortion of the situation that pertained in 1892. The islands were owned by the Digby sisters[380] and managed by their agent Henry Robinson.[381]William Frederick Johnson, a member of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, visited the islands with Haddon in 1895. He described the islanders as 'very poor, living solely by fishing in the bay … They had no jail, no hospital and no workhouse, and no occasion for them.'[382] Brian Harvey echoed Johnson's description as an illustration of the poor state 'of the infrastructure, facilities and resources on the

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[378] Haddon,1890, MS of "The Aran Islands," (Appendix 3).
[379] Davitt. 1888. "The Starving Islanders in Arran." *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 26: 8.
[380] The islands formed part of an extensive property portfolio controlled by the Digby/Barfoot and St. Lawrence/Guinness families (see Landed Estates Website, Moore Institute, NUIG).
[381] George Robinson managed the Berridge estate in Connemara and his son Henry inherited the agency on his father's death in 1890. He became agent for the Digby Sisters at this time. The Robinsons were unpopular as land agents. They engaged in large-scale evictions during the Land War in the 1880s. George T. Robinson wore body armour and was accompanied by heavily armed bodyguards (Curtis, 2011).
[382] WFJ. 1895. "Belfast Naturalists' Field Club." *Belfast News-Letter*, September 13: 7.

island…' (Harvey 1991, 239). He added the lack of a midwife and grand jury works[383] to the list.

The lack of employment combined with severe pressure on land (Haddon & Browne quoted in Harvey 1991, 239) meant that the Digby sisters were compelled to reduce rents by 40% between 1885 and 1891 (Harvey 1991, 240), but the fragile economy collapsed in 1894 and a 'rash of evictions' (Curtis 2011, 281) followed. The nationalist press responded accordingly (Fig. 7.6) and Haddon and Browne became part of the debate. A summary of their report was published in the press and[384] organised anthropology turned to Haddon for his take on the situation. He presented a slideshow on "Ethnographical Studies in the West of Ireland" in the Anthropological Institute at the height of the controversy over evictions.[385] This was followed by a slideshow 'On the People of Western Ireland and their Mode of Life" at a meeting of Section H on August 13, 1894, which was repeated in March 1895 in a Temperance Hall[386] in Hexham, near Newcastle upon Tyne (Fig . 7.7). Browne began searching for pygmies on Inishkea on the same day that Section H convened in Oxford and the report of that survey, as outlined above, reveals the extent to which his surveys of Erris in 1894 and 1895 were conducted in an atmosphere of social, economic and political crisis politics. Yet Browne stuck to the template established in the report on the Aran Island and the seemingly apolitical or scientific nature of his reports on Mayo show just how political his idea of ethnography was in practice.

A Political Ethnography

Browne's rejection of English regulation may have emphasised the autonomy

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[383] Grand Juries were a form of local government that landlords, merchants, and other high-value rate payers controlled. Its primary function was to raise tax for public works (county cess) and social welfare (poor law rates), functions that were transferred to democratically elected County Councils by the Local Government (Ireland) Act 1898.

[384] Anon. 1894. "Habits and Customs of the Arran Islanders." *Evening Herald*, April 27: 1. The *Kerry Weekly Reporter* carried the same article in May (May 12: 7).

[385] Haddon gave the lecture –illustrated with an optical Lantern– on April 10, 1894 (*The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 24 (1894): 105). The *Freeman's Journal* reported that the evictions were suspended on April 11, leaving 152 persons homeless. However, there 'were decrees still outstanding or proceedings pending, in which is involved the fate of fully a thousand souls.' (Anon. 1894. "Hunger and eviction in Arran." *Freeman's Journal*, April 11: 2).

[386] Seligman (1940) recalled Haddon's puritanical attitude to alcohol.

of the Irish Ethnographic Survey, but his decision to ignore the social and economic situation in Erris points to a more striking political division in Anglo-Irish anthropology in 1894. The first indication was the change in the title of Haddon's slideshow, a minor change that suggests a transition from ethnographic practice to human interest as a prelude to a much more aggressive and controversial engagement with the morality of colonial rule–at home and overseas–in Ipswich in 1895. The BAAS report of the meeting merely records the fact of the slideshow (BAAS 1894, 785), but Haddon's sympathy for the people was a matter of record and the evictions in the Aran Islands posed a real threat to life itself, given the reports of famine in the islands that had circulated since Davitt's appeal in 1888.

This must have raised the spectre of the extirpation of the Tasmanians, which Haddon described as 'legalised murder' in his unpublished critique of the Imperial Institute in 1891.[387]. Colonial policy, Haddon argued, resulted in the extermination 'slowly or rapidly, unintentionally or by force, [*of*] the inhabitants of the countries we annex.'[388] Haddon raised the issue again in Ipswich, an event that is described in this thesis as a well-planned insurgency (see pp. 80-81). It is worth repeating some of the details of that event in the current context. In 1894, Flower reminded anthropologists of their duty to posterity in the face of an unprecedented threat to primitive races all over the world (Flower / BAAS 1894, 773). Flinders Petrie then asked Haddon to challenge existing attitudes to race and civilisation at a meeting of Section H in 1895.[389] Haddon obliged, using the text of his critique of the Imperial Institute as the basis for an impassioned lecture on the evils of Anglo-Saxon colonialism, which he opened with a reference to government policy in Ireland in general and the Aran Islands in particular.

Contrast this with Browne's study of prosperous citizens and indolent natives in Mayo and the events of 1894 and 1895 reveal very real differences–political and practical–between Haddon, Browne, and the Anthropological Committee of the Academy over the political setting of ethnographic fieldwork in the West of Ireland. It has to be remembered that (a) the Committee dismissed Haddon from any further involvement in fieldwork after the survey of the Aran Islands and (b) that Haddon turned to the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club within a month of reading the results of

[387] Haddon. 1891, MS of critique of the Imperial Institute (Appendix 4).
[388] *Ibid.,* 10.
[389] Flinders Petrie to Haddon, April 24, 1895 (HP F5048 CUL).

that survey to the Academy, in a session presided over by Ingram. Haddon's slideshow in Belfast thus situated begins to look like a strategy to get around the pro-government stance adopted by the Anthropological Committee of the Academy and, in the process, Haddon created a fifth field of anthropology. Haddon developed his photo-ethnographic practice into an independent–extra mural–form of anti-imperialism activism and his collaboration with Clara Patterson, a zoologist and naturalist whom Haddon recruited as a photographer of folk and their customs in 1893, provides the best vantage point from which to view that field.

The Fifth Field

Haddon, as stated, entered organised anthropology through folklore and used photography to record customary and material traces of folk and their lore in Ireland. The first two photographs reproduced in "The Ethnography of the Aran Islands" (Fig. 7.8) show 'Thomas Colman Faherty, a typical Aranite, and John Michael O'Donnel, whose ancestors came from Ulster' (Haddon & Browne 1891, 830) They were, as Flower advised Haddon in 1890,[390] photographed in a conventional full-face and profile format in order to facilitate comparison and the production of usable anthropometric information. The caption, however, informs us that the men 'are standing in front of St. Sournick's thorn.'(*ibid.*). There is no other reference to St. Sournick in the text, but the same photograph was used to illustrate the "Folklore of Trees" in a lecture on "Photography and Folklore" that Haddon in presented at the Folk-lore Society in September 1895 (Haddon 1895A).

It is possible that Haddon was simply repurposing anthropometric photographs, but he went to the Aran Islands as a folklorist who was mindful of the requirements of physical anthropologists and not the other way round, as the published ethnography would suggest.[391] Furthermore, Haddon regarded multivalence as an inherent quality of ethnographic photography. He advised would-be-ethnographers to frame their photographs 'to secure views that illustrate several points'(1899, 238) of interest and thus convey different types of information to different types of inquirers in diverse institutional settings. Haddon was, however, primarily interested in documenting folk and their mode of life, including secular and ceremonial customs.

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[390] Flower to Haddon, May 17, 1890 (HP F3 CUL).
[391] The report stated that 'Concerning this important branch of inquiry, we regret that our information is so scanty (Haddon & Browne 1991, 816).

He built a network of fieldworkers in Ireland and Welch, who processed the negatives made by Haddon and Dixon in the Aran Islands in 1890, was a key player in that network. They met through Haddon's involvement in the University extension programme in Belfast[392] and Welch advised Haddon on photographic equipment prior to the 1892 survey.[393] Haddon developed a market within organised anthropology for Welch's "Irish Views"[394], advising Welch to adopt Haddon's system of ethnographic classification of photographs.[395] Welch and Haddon promoted field photography at meetings of the BNFC in 1893 and Clara Patterson,[396] who was one of Alice Gomme informants, joined them and began photographing games played by children in rural districts in the north of Ireland (Adams 1993, 4).

Patterson's decision to adopt photography as an ethnographic method followed Haddon's slideshow in Belfast in January 1893 (see Adams 1993, Beiner 2012; Ó Giolláin 2017). Haddon asked the members of the BNFC to undertake fieldwork for the Ethnographic Survey of the UK, using the survey of the Aran Islands as a model. The BNFC established an Ethnographic Committee in February (Beiner 2012, 148), which reported to the members the following November. This session opened with a 'talk on folklore, the folk and their relation to poetry' by W. B. Yeats, which Ronnie Adams described as 'predictable' (1993, 4-5). Patterson followed with a paper on "A few children's games." Welch then showed a series of photographs 'illustrating Irish peasant life, and the survival of the past in the present.' (*ibid.*, Fig 7.10). Haddon, according to Adams, followed with 'a special plea for local photographers to record local forms of life' (*ibid.*), having made, a 'predictable request for volunteers to measure peasant skulls,' (*ibid.*).

This was the last mention of the skull measuring business in Belfast and it is

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[392] A report in *The Nation Weekly* stated that Haddon was known to members of the BNFC who had attended his university extension lectures (Anon. 1893. "Belfast Naturalists' Field Club." *The Nation Weekly*, January 18).
[393] Welch to Haddon, May 1982 (HP F3058 CUL).
[394] *Ibid.* The letterhead states that '"WELCH'S IRISH VIEWS" comprise Scenery, Prehistoric and other Antiquities, Geological Sections, Wild Birds' Nests, Linen Trade Processes, etc.' Welch sold these "views" to railway companies for display in the carriage panels.
[395] Welch to Haddon, November 29,1985 (HP F3057 CUL). The folder also contains an undated galley proof of an introduction to Welch's Irish views with the reference to Geological photographs struck out and 'Ethnographic' added by Haddon.
[396] W. H. Patterson, her uncle and a prominent member of the BNFC, corresponded with Alice Gomme on the subject of children's games in 1892 (Adams 1993, 4)

clear from the above accounts that photography was at the top of Haddon's agenda. The effect of this is most visible in an extraordinary set of photographs that record the arrival of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in the Aran Islands in July 1895 (Fig. 7.11). Jane W. Shackleton was an Antiquary who visited the Aran Islands in 1891 (see Corlett, 2013), possibly following in Haddon's footsteps. There is insufficient space here to develop this argument or to do justice to Shackleton's pioneering work as a social documentary photographer, but it is necessary to note two things. First, Shackleton and Patterson personify the impact of Haddon's promotion of photography among the members of the field club movement in Ireland. Two, the photographs taken by antiquarians in the Aran Islands in 1895 provide a valuable counterpoint to the archive assembled by Browne in terms of (a) visualising the fifth field of anthropology in practice in the West of Ireland in 1895 and (b) reconsidering the prevailing theme of asymmetry and instrumentality in what Louise Pratt called the contact zone.

Again, there isn't space to develop these arguments here, but, even in outline, they frame the following treatment of Patterson's contribution to the BNFC in 1893, which is remarkable for two reasons. The first is that is that it reveals Haddon's commitment to the participation of women in science, which he considered in three essays on "Science and the Woman Question" in his column for *The Daily Irish Independent* in 1894.[397] The second is that Patterson's contribution illustrates the extent to which his fieldwork in Ireland was influenced by his experience in the Torres Strait in 1888 and, in turn, constituted the groundwork for further experimentation in the Torres Strait in 1898.

With regard to gender, Ronnie Adams noted that Francis Joseph Bigger read Patterson's paper on her behalf and Guy Beiner noted that papers by women members of the BNFC were read by men 'as was the practice in such Victorian clubs.' (2012, 149). Haddon challenged such discrimination in 1890, when he arranged for Alice Shackleton[398] to be the first woman to read a scientific paper (Haddon & Shackleton 1891)[399] to the Royal Dublin Society. Patterson, like

[397] Haddon. 1894. "Science and the Woman Question." *The Daily Irish Independent*, October 15, 22 & 30. Copies are filed in the Haddon Papers in Folder 4008.
[398] Cousin of Jane W. Shackleton.
[399] Anon. 1890. "Royal Dublin Society." *Freeman's Journal*, November 20: 7.

Shackleton, trained as a zoologist with Haddon[400] and, in May 1892, won a bronze medal in examinations[401] conducted by Haddon 'under the auspices of the Society for the Extension of University Teaching.'[402] Geddes, Elisée Reclus, and Havelock Ellis promoted the extension of university teaching as a means of empowering politically marginalised groups (see Havelock Ellis 1890, 14-16) and gender equality was a priority area for political action in this context (*ibid*., 9-12). Caroline Haddon's influence cannot be underestimated in this context. Thus, Patterson's slideshow illustrates how Haddon's practical engagement with photography, folk-lore, and fieldwork became a formal vehicle for the spread of the reformist, socialist and anarchist thinking that shaped his own formation as an ethnologist.

With regard to the Torres Strait, Adams's account of Patterson's paper contains two really interesting and ugly-little-facts. The first is that Patterson introduced the paper with some 'customary remarks about children's games often being the remnants of savage customs.' (Adams 1993, 4). The second is that Patterson informed Alice Gomme[403] that she went 'up the hill [*to Ballymiscaw*] to "real" country children and to try "instantaneous" photos.' (Fig. 7.12). In the first instance, Patterson was paraphrasing Haddon. He published a series of articles on children's games in his column in *The Irish Daily Independent* in 1894[404] in which he focussed on singing games that were dying out, because, he argued, it was possible to 'trace degenerate and fragmentary survivals of the ceremonies and religious practices of our savage ancestors.'[405] The following January, Haddon included savage dances in a lecture on "Modern Relics of Olden Time" that he presented to members of the BNFC. He concluded the slideshow with a demonstration of a bull-roarer, a toy that

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[400] Anon. 1892. "Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, Microscopical Meeting." *The Belfast News-Letter*, March 21: 7. Patterson presented specimens at the meeting, which was 'designed to be an elaborate illustration of the course of lectures on zoology delivered in Belfast [*by Haddon*] under the auspices of the society for the Extension of University Teaching.'
[401] For her work on "Animal Life, illustrated by the Irish Fauna."
[402] *Op. Cit.*
[403] Adams (1993, 4) refers to correspondence between the Pattersons and Gomme, which is held by the Folklore Society in London.
[404] *The Daily Chronicle* published the articles in 1896 and 1897 and Haddon included these in *The Study of Man* (Haddon 1898, 174-347).
[405] Haddon. 1894. "Children's Toys and Games III: "Draw a Pail of Water." *The Irish Daily Independent*, November 27: 6; also HP F4008 CUL. Haddon appealed to readers to send him information on games and promised to forward it to Gomme.

children played with in some parts of England[406] and Torres Strait Islanders used as a tabu musical instrument in initiation ceremonies (*ibid*.).

In the second instance, Patterson was complying with Haddon's preference for "instantaneous" photography, which was explicitly stated in his contribution to *Notes and Queries* in 1899. He outlined a version of Galton's procedure for producing anthropometric portraits in the field, which, as stated, he experimented with in the village of Barley in North Hertfordshire in 1894 (BAAS 1896, 510). His enthusiasm, however, was reserved for instantaneous photographs of people actively involved in ceremonies and the 'common actions of daily life.' (1899, 240). The difference is accentuated in the 1912 edition, when Haddon states that instantaneous photographs produce 'a more pleasing picture than the stiff portraits required by the student' (1912, 270) of physical anthropology.[407]

This tension–practical, epistemic and political–first manifested itself in the photographs that Haddon took in the Torres Strait in 1888 and is a feature of everything he did between return from Oceania in 1889 and his departure from Ireland in 1901, that is his involvement in both the skull measuring business and the folk-lore movement. His collaboration with Patterson reveals the extent to which the former was a pragmatic response to the way anthropology was organised in 1893, but that has been overwritten in accounts that use Haddon's involvement in the latter to set up an opposition between colonial ethnology and cultural nationalism in Ireland in the 1890s.

In this context, Adams's account is interesting for its depiction of Haddon as a skull-measurer who was interested in finding traces of savagery amongst the Irish peasantry. This is consistent with the treatment of Haddon's contribution to the ethnographic programme of the BNFC in a series of interconnected texts by Greta Jones (1998), Guy Beiner (2012), and Diarmuid Ó Giolláin (2017). Jones quoted Haddon's description of folklore as a form of 'psychological palaeontology'[408] as evidence of a evolutionist attitude. Beiner (2012, 151) and Ó Giolláin (2017, 5) repeated the claim, consolidating a trope that is based on a misreading of Haddon's

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[406] Haddon. 1894. "Children's Toys and Games II: The Bull-roarer." *The Irish Daily Independent*, November 27: 6; also HP F4008 CUL.
[407] As stated, Haddon directed the reader to guidelines drawn up by the BAAS in 1909 for 'photographs intended for anthropometric purposes, or precise comparison of racial types' (1912, 270).
[408] Haddon to Havelock Ellis, May 14,1890 (HP F3 CUL).

position. As stated in Chapter One (p. 39), Havelock Ellis asked Haddon to write a general study of anthropology from a biological perspective and Haddon drafted a reply with a wide range of possible treatments, including the treatment of folk-lore as a form of psychological palaeontology. It is worth repeating that Haddon's letter was little more than a series of bullet points that need to be read in the context of a much longer conversation about the dreadful condition of anthropology in England. The example quoted is a succinct representation of a theory of folk-lore, rather than a theory of folk-lore being enunciated by Haddon. Jones misinterpreted one part of an exchange and used it to set up a contest between Haddon, as the personification of progressive evolutionism in anthropology, and Douglas Hyde, the leader of a language-based cultural revival (Jones 1998, 195). There is evidence, however, that Haddon and Hyde were on the same–anti-colonial–side, more or less.

In November 1894, Hyde delivered a lecture on "Irish Folk lore" under the auspices of the Cork Literary and Scientific Society. Denny Lane, whom Haddon was in contact with,[409] was prominent amongst a capacity audience. Hyde, according to the reporter, stated 'that the natives of the wilder parts along the coast' had little contact with 'That rather grimy thing called civilisation [and] should have preserved among themselves the most important and interesting stock of folk-lore in Western Europe.'[410] Hyde had paraphrased Haddon's reasons for using the fishing survey of 1890 as an opportunity for collecting of folklore: that 'a more extended stay in some of these islands would yield many interesting facts - especially in archaic beliefs.'[411] . He also anticipated Haddon's controversial depiction in Ipswich of British civilisation as a peculiar mix of 'Beer and Bible'.[412] Hyde, it seems was well aware of Haddon and his work on Irish folk-lore and Haddon was well aware of Hyde. Indeed, Haddon invited Hyde to join an expedition to Galway and the Aran Islands by the combined field clubs of Ireland in June 1895.[413]

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409 Haddon recruited Lane's son Daniel (Fig. 2.2) as a folklore collector after they met during the fishing survey of 1890 (see Haddon 1893B).
410 Anon. 1894. "Irish Folk Lore." *The Cork Examiner*, November 30: 8.
411 Page 19 of Haddon's journal of the Survey of fishing grounds, 1890 (HP, F22, CUL).
412 Anon. "Meeting of the British Association: Civilisation neither Railway nor Telegraphs." *Dundee Advertiser*, September 18: 2.
413 Hyde to Haddon, June 27, 1895 (HP F3 CUL). Hyde declined the invitation.

Haddon's interest in folklore, I would argue, is more productively understood in terms of a general opposition of *kultur* and civilization (see Ó Giolláin 2000, 64) that was, as argued in Chapter One, informed by anarcho-Solidarist ideas mediated by Geddes and Havelock Ellis. That places Haddon at the radical end of Ó Giolláin's expanded definition of folk:

> Folklore, folk life, folk culture, popular culture and subaltern culture can be more or less synonymous, though on a sliding scale which goes from the philological towards the sociological, and from the conservative towards the radical. (2000, 5).

Yet, Ó Giollain, quoting Jones, described Haddon as a '"Darwinist evolutionist par excellence"' (Jones 1998, 195 quoted in Ó Giollain 2017, 5) and treated a lecture given by Haddon at a meeting of the BNFC in January 1895 'on "progress" in transport' (Ó Giollain 2017, 5-6) as illustrative of a profound epistemological gap between Haddon and Hyde. The lecture drew on Haddon's research into the survival of primitive carts in the Sperrin mountains (see Haddon 1898, 128-173). Haddon used this research to illustrate the application of photography to the collection of folk life material. Welch had taken photographs of the carts (Fig. 7.13) and Haddon developed this into a study of the evolution of transport as a form of technology in the ethnical islands he described in 1891 (Cunningham & Haddon 1891, 32).

Ó Giolláin, building on Jones's scholarship, interpreted the lecture in a narrowly evolutionist context, missing the fact that Irving Goldman, whom Jones cited in relation to 'evolutionary social theory' (Jones 1998, 195 & 207, Fn. 2), referred to Engel's argument that technological transformations–changes in tool-making and subsistence–drove social change **(**Goldman 1959, 61). There is no evidence that Haddon was influenced by Engels, but he was engaged with radical theories of social formation and his collaboration with Clara Patterson illustrates how those ideas informed his engagement with members of the BNFC. Haddon slideshow has, however, been interpreted as evidence of an adherence to the evolutionist wing of organised anthropology instead of a wider engagement with the social reform programmes of the political left.

That supports one of principal arguments of this study, namely, that a preoccupation with evolution–bracketed by race and colonialism–has produced a series of tropes that have (a) limited the scope of historiographical treatment of Haddon's contribution to the development of modern anthropology and (b)

underestimated the significance of Anglo-Irish ethnology in that context. As a consequence the anti-imperial and anti-colonial components of his idea of a reconstructed anthropological field are lost and it is necessary to shift the epistemic register from "survival" to "solidarity" to see how his experiments with photography in ethnical districts in Ireland provided a platform for more advanced experimentation in the Torres Straits in 1898.

The last dance *Malu Zogo Te*

Patterson's work on children's games in Co. Down establishes a definite link between Haddon's photo-ethnographic experiments in Ireland and his experiments with cinematography and sound recording in the Torres Strait in 1898. Haddon, Welch, Patterson, and Browne were engaged in a shared photo-ethnographic enterprise, a network of photographers that overlapped with a network of folklore collectors that Haddon created during the same period. He published the folklore material in "A Batch of Irish Folklore" (Haddon 1893B) and incorporated the work of the both networks in his lecture on "Photography and Folklore" (1895A). He illustrated the lecture with fifty lantern slides and the object of the slideshow, Haddon explained, was to show

> 'that most of the aspects of folk-lore were easily illustrated, and *thus the facts could be made to appeal to the eye as well as to the ear*, and by this means interest might be more generally awakened." (*ibid*., emphasis added).

The lecture marked the culmination of a project that Haddon, with the support of Laurence Gomme, launched in the Aran Islands in 1890. It was also the precursor to a sustained experiment in audio-visual ethnographic techniques undertaken in the Torres Strait in 1898.[414] Tabitha Cadbury noted the shift from comparison to observation and folklore to ethnography as the site of anthropological enquiry moved from 'the homelands [*to*] the 'other' abroad.' (2009, 116). Cadbury concluded that 'material, photographic and written evidence [*demonstrates*] how folklore collecting developed into 'ethnography at home' or the 'other within,' and how these in turn fed into methods of studying others further afield.' (*ibid.*).

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[414] Anthony Wilkins, a student of Haddon, was the expedition photographer (see Herle & Rouse 1998, 1).

When Haddon went further afield in 1898, he introduced an entirely new medium in the form of a Newman and Guardia Kinematograph, one of the first generation of commercially produced cine cameras (see Long & Laughren 1993) and filmed a one-minute sequence of the dance of the *Malu Zogo Te* in Mer, the earliest known use of film as an ethnographic medium (Gooding 2009; Fig. 7.14). Haddon and Myers also recorded several islanders singing traditional songs[415] and Haddon reproduced a photograph of Myers recording Ulai singing Malu songs into a phonograph (Fig. 7.15) in *Head-hunters; black, white, and brown* (Haddon 1901, Plate VI, opposite page 49).[416] Walter Baldwin Spencer and Frank Gillen developed upon Haddon's work in a year-long expedition to Central Australia, during which Spencer shot thirteen short films of various ceremonies of the Arrente (Arunta) people in 1896 (see Griffth 1996). That expedition is beyond the scope of the present study, but it serves to establish the fact that Haddon pioneered the sort of audio-visual strategies demanded by Margaret Mead three quarters of a century later (Mead 1975 in Hockings 1995).

Mead was reacting to the failure of anthropology–as a discipline–to respond to the rapid disappearance of behaviours with anything other than the traditional instruments of the questionnaire, pencil, and notebook (1975, 4). These had, out of necessity perhaps, turned anthropology into a discipline of words that was incapable of conveying the full sense of a 'war dance that was no longer danced, …' (Mead 1975, 5). She was dismayed that every branch of anthropology had not eagerly availed of new methods that were made possible by advances in audio-visual technologies. Mead painted a picture of criminal neglect by a discipline that had become trapped in its own traditions and was stubbornly refusing to give up its outmoded, word-based '"instruments"' (*ibid*., 4), thereby failing to future proof anthropology against the loss of its primary subject and the raw material for future research and theoretical development.

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[415] *Malu* refers to initiation ceremonies on Mer (Murray Island). The sacred name of the culture hero was revealed only to initiates during the ceremony. It could not be uttered otherwise. The *zogo te* was a performer who participated in initiation rites and revealed the *zogo ne* or secret name. (Haddon 1901, 46, see also Philps 1999).

[416] The British Library holds a collection of wax cylinder recordings made during the expedition: https://sounds.bl.uk/World-and-traditional-music/Ethnographic-wax-cylinders/025M-C0080X1096XX-0100V0. (See Clayton 1996; Moyle 1987).

Haddon and Read[417] made the same argument in the third edition of *Notes and Queries* (1899). They advised ethnographers to devote as much time as possible to the photography and drawing, because 'by these means the traveller is dealing *with facts about which there can be no question*,[418] and the record thus obtained may be elucidated by subsequent inquirers on the same spot' (Read 1899, 87). Mead did not refer to Haddon. Her text suggests a timeframe beginning in the 1920s, *after* Boas and Malinowski as it were. However, her forlorn description of gifted and original film makers who have caught and preserved for future anthropologists and theorists of anthropology the last dance of a ritual could be applied to Haddon's filming of the *Malu* ceremony in 1898 and its precursor, Patterson's photographs of children playing "Poor Mary" in a remote Irish townland in 1893.

David MacDougall, a maker of documentary and ethnographic films, described the period between Haddon and Mead as the "dark age" of visual anthropology' (2009, 57). He framed his paper with Mead's trope of 'a discipline of words' (Mead 1975, 5) and he argued that anthropologists refused to build upon Haddon and Spencer's pioneering work in cinematography. Griffith,[419] as stated (see pp. 151), rationalised the refusal as rejection of the compelling realism of motion pictures and the agency it imparted on its subjects (Griffith 1996, 32-33). In so doing, she represented a field of ethnographic photography that bears no resemblance to the practice developed by Haddon between 1888 and 1898. His determination to radically transform the practice of anthropology is most visible in the least visible aspect of his practice: his experiments in photo-ethnography in Ireland.

Stocking once described anthropologists like Haddon as performing like Tylor's blinkered horse (1995, 370) in refusing to engage in the humanitarian programme initiated by the Aborigines Protection Society. It seems that Haddon

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[417] Read is credited with the "Prefatory Note" (1899, 87-88) for the section on ethnography. Read incorporated Haddon's ideas into his text.

[418] Mead's approach to ethnographic film was later characterised by Elizabeth Edwards, one of the most prolific writers on the relationship between photography and anthropology in Britain, as a form of 'documentary certainty and representational nirvana' (2015, 236). The same could be said of Haddon and Read's claim, quoted above, that photographs constituted 'facts about which there can be no question.' (Read 1899, 87-88) Such certainty was, according to Edwards, swept aside in the 1980s and 1990s in 'the much-cited crisis of representation and the growing ferment of cultural politics' (Edwards 2015, 239).

[419] Griffiths also contributed an essay to Edwards and Morton's 2009 review of critical writing about photography and anthropology.

wasn't half as blinkered as Stocking and the historians who deferred to his mastery of the archives (see Urry 1989, 364) and, persuaded by the Kuhnian model of a paradigm shift, built a credible history of anthropology around the "armchair" trope. Griffith may have added Foucauldian instrumentality to the argument, but she was building on a foundation laid by the historicist school of disciplinary historians. Similarly, Edwards, Morton, and Griffith may have attempted to move beyond Foucault and his interpreters in the field of photography–Tagg and Sekula especially–but they did not challenge the basic assumption that–historically–photography *in* anthropology was deployed as an instrument of racialist specification and imperial domination. Thus, a preoccupation with race, bracketed by evolution and empire–a phrase that I have used often in this thesis–prevented them from seeing the modernity of Haddon's photographic project.

Conclusion

Haddon's use of St. Sournick's thorn as a backdrop in a typical portrait is a wonderfully appropriate illustration of the effect that Roland Barthes assigns to the *punctum* in *Camera Lucida* (1981, 26-7): a sharp point that tears the anthropometric surface of the photograph and disturbs a conventional construction of the relation between anthropology and photography. St. Sournick's thorn also points to Haddon's overriding interest in the customs of the people who inhabited the edgelands of colonised territories and his anger at the destruction of those customs under the morally ambiguous pretext of civilising savages. That forces us to reconsider the photo-ethnographic practice developed by Haddon and his network of folklorists/photographers between 1889 and 1895 as a new and formally innovative field of anthropological inquiry: the fifth field of anthropology.

Photography, in this context, becomes a vehicle for sympathetic knowledge of other civilisations and discarding a conventional and structuring preoccupation with asymmetrical power and gaze releases a virtual cascade of interconnected oppositions: anthropometric versus instantaneous; hard science versus soft science; anthropology versus ethnology; physical versus cultural; race versus ethnicity, colonial versus nativist; objectification versus re-presentation; measurement versus art, science versus philosophy; submission versus empathy, bodies versus people, text versus image, data versus affect, and so on and so on. Many of these oppositions cluster around the politics and practice of organised anthropology and have informed

the arguments made in Chapters One and Two. Many of them were pre-empted and neutralised by the "armchair" trope, just as the political heritage and subversive intent of Haddon's photographic collaboration with Clara Patterson has been overwritten by the "survival" trope.

To conclude, I will bring the radical nature of Haddon's achievement into focus by briefly considering his projection of native bodies in Dublin in 1890. Haddon included a provocative display of bodies stripped of their "civilising" calico in his slideshow version of "Incidents in the Life of A Torres Strait Islander" (1890A). Baldwin Spencer worried that such an action might be regards as prurient (see Griffith, 1996, 35), but Haddon was an advanced thinker on sex and gender–his aunt Caroline sponsored the sexologist who commissioned Haddon to write a radical study of anthropology in 1890–and used the idea of sex–male initiation, female agency in courtship–and nakedness to draw a blade across the male gaze, just as Luis Bunuel would do in *Un chien andalou* in 1929. Like Bunuel, Haddon wanted to shock prudish people, his intention being to dispel prejudice by humanising the ethnological subject and relativising the idea of civilisation. It was a formally innovative approach to anti-racism activism that had, at its core, an evangelical approach to conversion through witness, revelation, and, crucially, empathy with the victims of imperialism at a time of intense instability in the oldest colony in the British Isles. Crucially, Haddon employed cutting edge representational technologies to achieve this affect and, if one were to adopt the standard set by Eagleton at the outset of this chapter, that makes Haddon a modernist.

His decision to include a photograph of an acknowledged act of resistance by Michael Faherty and the women of Inis Meáin was equally subversive in the way that it challenged the refusal of the Royal Irish Academy to acknowledge the little wars being fought in the "distressed" edgelands of the United Kingdom. This interpretation is very different to the construction of anthropological visuality presented by Griffith and other post-Foucauldian theorists, whose work featured in Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Morton's 2009 review[420] of the "relationship" between anthropology, photography, and history. They sought to extend theoretical

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[420] This volume revisited themes first explored in *Anthropology and Photography* (Edwards, ed., 1997) in, which subjected the visual residue of Victorian anthropology to analysis using critical frameworks developed by Alan Sekula (1986) and John Tagg (1988 & 2009) for example.

debates about photography and anthropology beyond a narrowly disciplinary frame and 'the homogenising and reductive tendencies of Foucauldian, visual analysis' (Edwards & Morton 2009, 2). Haddon's commitment to the art of photography in representing–visually and politically–the victims of imperialism in the metropolitan centre renders such an exercise less relevant to a critical review of Haddon's theory of photography *as* anthropology.

As an alternative, Alexa Sand's 2012 study of mediaeval visuality provides a much more interesting way of looking at Haddon's sense of the visual in the service of a radical and engaged ethnology. Sand, an art historian specialising in mediaeval art, argues that visuality, as a project, is essentially mediaeval in that 'it prods at the places where visual experience comes loose from rational explanation, and vision serves as a bridge between the unspeakable, invisible, and sublime realm of the sacred, and the physical, tangible essence of bodily life.' (Sand 2012, 94). Substitute "savage" for "sacred" and shift from an internal struggle between mind and body to a social and collective engagement with body and taboo at the 'extremes of human kind' (Haddon 1890A) and one begins to get a sense of Haddon's fascination with ethnographic encounters in the edgelands of empire.

"Savage" does not mean "primitive." The exuviated "natural" body functions as a metaphor for a philosophical commitment to the unity of mankind, an epistemological appreciation of the relativity of civilisation, and a moral stance against racism. Haddon was, in a sense, the very model of a modern, engaged anthropologist and his weapons of choice were the magic lantern and the motion camera. Imagining Haddon filming the last dance of the *Zogo Te* on a beach in Mer–in anticipation of a screening in Belfast perhaps–brings to mind Dziga Vertov's pioneering film *Man With a Movie Camera* (1929). Vertov declared in 1922, as quoted above, that his path led to new ways of perceiving a world that was unknown to the viewer. Haddon might have said the same about his adoption of the magic lantern in 1890 and cinematography in 1898. That, I propose, makes Haddon a modernist and the fifth field–still or in motion–a singular modernist achievement in anthropology. Three quarters of a century later, Margaret Mead was utterly dismayed by the failure of other anthropologists to follow his lead. Indeed, Haddon's modernism had been so thoroughly obscured by the achievements in text of Rivers, Radcliffe-Brown, and Malinowski that Mead does not refer to Haddon. (Mead 1975 in Hockings 1995). That is, perhaps, the greatest irony of them all.

CONCLUSIONS
(PLATES)

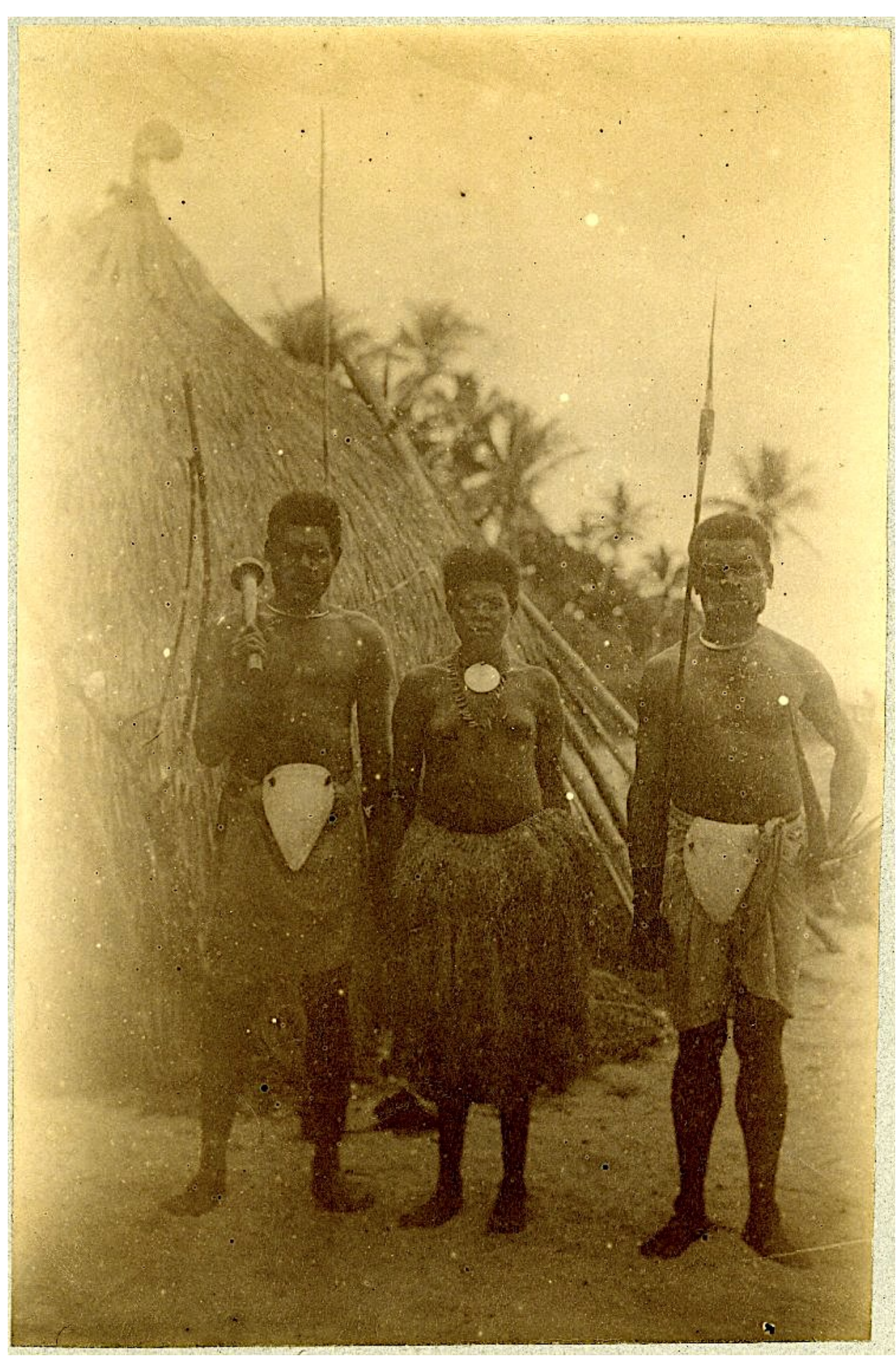

Fig. 8.1 Haddon, 1888, Mer Island, Torres Strait, albumen print (© British Museum, Oc,B40.27).

Fig. 8.2 Haddon & Dixon, 1890, Inishmaan, silver gelatine print (©TCD). This is probably a first generation print from the negative. It is one of three photographs that were discovered with the Dixon negatives in 2014.

Fig. 8.3 John Millington Synge, 1898, *An Islander of Inishmaan*, digital scan from glass plate negative (© TCD: MS11332_28_b).

Fig. 8.4 A member of the Awá tribe in northern Brazil, digital download (Survival International: https://assets-production.survivalinternational.org/static/awa/img-wrapper.png).

CONCLUSIONS

This document represents the culmination of a five year investigation of the skull measuring business in Ireland, which forms part of a wider investigation of ethnographic photography in the west of Ireland in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The current study set out to answer a fairly straightforward question: what was Haddon doing in Ireland in the 1890s? The main task appeared straightforward enough. All that was needed was to re-open Haddon's files on the Irish Ethnographic Survey and establish (a) whether the Irish Ethnographic Survey was in fact an ethnographic enterprise or (b) an instrument for mapping racial differences in the population of the British Isles in opposition to the political campaign for home rule and the associated cultural campaign for decolonisation.

It soon became clear that there was a very serious disconnect between the Haddon files and conventional histories of organised anthropology in Ireland and England in the 1890s: numerous facts scattered throughout the Haddon Papers and related records-the murderous little facts of the title–did not tally with the narratives that constituted the history of disciplinary anthropology that historicists–Kuklick and Stocking among them–created in the 1990s. That generated the conclusion that the history of anthropology in Ireland–as it stands–misrepresents the circumstances of Haddon's involvement in the skull measuring business. The detail of that conclusion took some time to develop, but it was clear from the outset that one of the opening premises of the study had to change.

It was necessary to disregard Haddon's training as a systematic biologist as the defining element of his involvement in organised anthropology in the 1890s. With that out of the way, another Haddon emerged from an English family that was steeped in nonconformism and socialism and it was this, rather than Huxley's construction of anthropology as the human half of zoology, that influenced him as he set out to explore the edgelands of Empire in 1888. On his return, he became an ethnologist–as defined by Frazer–and immediately engaged with a network of idealists and radicals who were united in their desire to reconstruct the institution of anthropology by giving practical effect to the epistemological, philosophical, and political consequences of evolution–as a fact of daily life–for the scientific study of

humans as social and cultural beings, an orientation that I have labelled "post-evolutionist."

That did not explain his involvement in the skull measuring business, as illustrated by the photograph of Haddon and Browne measuring Tom Connelly in the Aran Islands in 1892. As a consequence, my research divided into four distinct modules. The first considered the political battle between "physical" and "cultural" factions for control of organised anthropology in the 1890s. The second considered the practical implications of that struggle for the skull measuring business in Ireland, especially the tension between eugenics and sociology in the context of the Irish Ethnographic Survey. The third developed into a search for evidence of Haddon's radicalisation in material associated with the ethnographic investigation of the Aran Islands in 1892. The fourth had to consider Haddon extraordinary visuality, his interest in art, his preference for image over text as the carrier of meaning, and his commitment to photography as the primary instrument of ethnography and a vehicle for anti-colonial activism.

These modules followed a wide arc through complex epistemological and political territories, moving through the interconnected histories of anthropology, ethnology and bio-sociology in the interlinked contexts of (a) the political struggle to decolonise the oldest colony in the British Empire and (b) the availability of new technologies that transformed the way geographically remote populations were represented in the metropolitan centre at a time of extraordinary social and political unrest. That journey has generated the following findings.

The first finding is that Haddon's involvement in the skull measuring business represented a concession to the anatomists who controlled organised anthropology.

Haddon, as Frazer pointed out to Galton in 1897, was a poor man without independent means. He needed a job which meant moving from an *extramural* involvement in ethnology (folklore) to an *intramural* involvement in anthropology (anatomy). That meant negotiating with Macalister, who controlled anthropology in Cambridge University and regarded craniology as the foundation of physical anthropology. Haddon knew this and always treated the physical anthropology component of fieldwork as a requirement of anatomists operating as physical

anthropologists. That is how Haddon explained the collection of skulls in the Torres Strait in 1888, the study of the craniology of the Aran Islands in 1892, and the taking of "stiff" anthropometric portraits of anthropological subjects in the third and fourth editions of *Notes and Queries*.

The last point is especially relevant. Haddon made a clear distinction between social documentary photography and anthropometric portraiture in the photographic manifestos he wrote for *Notes and Queries* in 1899 and 1912. The later edition is particularly important. Haddon stated explicitly what he had inferred in the earlier document; instantaneous photographs were more pleasing than the stiff portraits *required* by physical anthropologists (Haddon 1912, 248), just as they *required* the collection of skulls and skeletons by Haddon in the Torres Strait in 1888 and by Radcliffe-Brown in the Andaman Islands in 1906. Haddon was advising would be ethnographers that there were two ways to make ethnographic meaning, reflecting the binary nature of his own practice since 1891. The revision of 1912 shows that Haddon no longer felt compelled engage in physical anthropology as a consequence of having being appointed Reader in Ethnology in Cambridge University in 1909.

In 1890, however, craniology was an entry level requirement for anyone who wanted to progress within organised anthropology and the last word on this goes to Radcliffe-Brown, who wrote the following:

> During the second half of the last century the conception of evolution was occupying, or even dominating, the minds of scientists, and the anthropologists of that time *were therefore very largely compelled to take up the evolutionary point of view* in their study of culture. (1923, 127, emphasis added)

Radcliffe Brown does not elaborate on the meaning of compelled, whether anthropologists were compelled by those in authority or by an inner drive to realise the scientific possibilities created by Darwin's theory of evolution. Either way, it is my belief that Radcliffe-Brown was referring to Haddon and this passage could be interpreted as an oblique sort of absolution of Haddon's involvement in the skull measuring business. This reinforces the argument that Haddon positively influenced Radcliffe-Brown's idea of a radical, post-evolutionist version of anthropology. I have concluded, therefore, that (a) Haddon was involved in the skull measuring business because he was compelled to and (b) the compulsion derives from the fact that he wanted a job in Cambridge University.

The second finding is that the Irish Ethnographic Survey–home of the skull measuring business in Ireland–was in fact an experiment in sociological fieldwork that was shaped by the politics of decolonisation.

To recap, Haddon mobilised the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory as the Irish Ethnographic Survey and fieldwork commenced in the Aran Islands in 1892. This was a complex affair. To the anthropologist, the Aran Islands were a geographically and racially bounded laboratory. To the ethnologist the islands were home to an undisturbed village community. To nationalists, the threat of famine and eviction that hung over the islands in the early 1890s provided political leverage in the campaign to drive the British out of Ireland. The British administration in Ireland had for that reason chosen the islands to demonstrate to a wary electorate that it was capable to solving the problems caused by lack of economic development in the west of Ireland. There was a lot at stake. In the Spring of 1892, it looked as though the second home rule bill would be passed by the Imperial Parliament, which would give effect to the break-up of the United Kingdom.

It was highly improbable that a major anthropological experiment in the most visible and emotive conflict zone could have remained untouched by politics, given that race was a prominent feature of home rule debates. As it happened, the ethnographic survey of the Aran Island triggered a power struggle between Haddon, Cunningham, and Ingram over the political function and effect of an ethnographic survey. The result was the insertion of a sociological component into an anthropological investigation of racial origins, which had prioritised the measurement of physical characteristics in line with the power relations in organised anthropology. This may have produced a historic distinction between the study of race and ethnicity, measurement and interpretation, but it was pursued for very different political reasons.

Haddon’s politics were complicated. As Radcliffe-Brown hinted, anthropologists like Haddon were compelled to take up the evolutionary point of view in their study of ethnicity. Haddon tried to square this with (a) his commitment to a reformist agenda in anthropology and (b) his sympathy the victims of Anglo-Saxon colonisation and (c) his support for the de-colonisation programme of the home rule movement. The compromise is most visible in negotiations between the

Folk-lore Society and the Anthropological Institute in relation to the establishment of an ethnographic survey of the UK. Haddon was heavily involved in those negotiations in 1892, while he was working on the survey of the Aran Islands. We know from his contribution to the BNFC in January 1893 that he was using the survey of the Aran Islands as a model for a survey of ethnical islands–village communities–in the UK. The compromise is manifest in his attempt to combine physical anthropology with the geographical model of sociology developed by Le Play and incorporated into an anarcho-Solidarist configuration of anthropology/sociology by Geddes and Havelock Ellis, sociology being defined by the latter as anthropology plus a radical version of political economy. This operated as a study of the relationship between place, race, and political economy; what Haddon called Anthropo-geography, or Anthropography for short.

Cunningham, on the other hand, saw the opportunity for an investigation of social conditions in districts where the threat of famine and eviction was fuelling the political campaign for home rule. Cunningham, a Conservative, was supported by Ingram, a Unionist. Ingram presided over the Royal Irish Academy, which sponsored the survey and any doubt as to the political allegiance of Cunningham and Ingram is cancelled out by the fact that the project was patronised by Edward, Queen Victoria's favourite, and Garnet Wolseley, the loyalist who replaced Edward as the head of the armed forces in Ireland. Cunningham, Edward, and Wolseley were conferred with honours by TCD prior to the opening of the Laboratory in 1891, an event that is used here to illustrate the close links between royal patronage, colonial politics, and science: a veritable *ancien-regime* that Morrell and Thackray (1981) labelled "The Gentlemen of Science." Cunningham and Ingram devised a model of ethnography that would 'elucidate various social problems' (Flower, 1894, 768) in politically disturbed, ethnical districts in the West of Ireland. They called it "Sociology."

That leads me to conclude that two opposed systems of sociologically-oriented anthropological research–Anthropography and Sociology–featured in the report of the survey that the Academy published in 1893. The report opened with a statement that the original terms of reference had been extended prior to the commencement of fieldwork. The document is structured accordingly. A section dealing with Anthropography is followed by a section dealing with Sociology in keeping with the split in the management of the survey and the politics of

anthropology. It is hardly surprising then that the management committee in the Academy dropped Haddon from fieldwork before the next survey commenced. The section on Anthropography was retained, but it was stripped of its reformist agenda and functioned as a programme of orthodox physical anthropology in a four field model of ethnographic research.

The social facts produced by the survey in Erris in 1894 and 1895 were used by both sides in the home rule campaign during the general election of 1895, which followed the defeat of the second home rule bill in 1893. This suggests a degree of scientific objectivity. That was not the case. The political agenda of Cunningham and Ingram is evident in a narrative of productive colonists and indolent natives that became a feature of reports produced by Browne after Haddon's departure, leading to the conclusion that the Irish Ethnographic Survey had become, in effect, an instrument of Tory social policy.

With regard to the skull measuring business, the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory continued to operate as a training facility for medical students rather than the eugenicist enterprise envisaged by Galton. The purpose of that training becomes clear when one considers Macalister's decision to appoint a craniologist to the first post in anthropology in Cambridge University in 1898. Anthropology within-the-walls was defined as a function of anatomy and, in practice, operated as the skull measuring business in the laboratory and the field.

Haddon turned to the field club movement after being dropped from the survey. In 1893, he travelled to Belfast and persuaded members of the Belfast Naturalist's Field Club to become involved in the Ethnographic Survey of the UK. They agreed to collect folklore, but refused to get involved in the skull measuring business, despite Haddon's efforts to persuade them. Ronnie Adams's account (1993) of the negotiation is a valuable guide to Haddon's attempt to sell physical anthropology on behalf of the Anthropological Institute, which co-sponsored the Survey with the Folk-lore Society. There is no evidence that Haddon continued to promote physical anthropology after the initial pitch. Instead, he promoted the adoption of photography as an effective way of recording folklife and customs, including folk-lore.

To finish, the binary nature of Haddon's practice became apparent as he attempted to resolve the dilemma created by the dominance of physical anthropology. Two other aspects of the encounter are equally notable. The first is

Haddon's engagement with cultural nationalists. The second is his promotion of photography as an ethnographic method. These generate the third and fourth findings presented here.

The third finding is that Haddon was instrumental in developing an anti-colonial Anglo-Irish folklore movement in the early 1890s.

Haddon was quick to recognise parallels between the destruction of customary life in the Torres Straits and the dreadful social conditions that existed in disadvantaged, ethnical districts in the West of Ireland. He aligned himself with the anti-colonial strategies of cultural nationalists and this brought him into conflict with the scientific establishment–marine biology and anthropology–and its political sponsors. He deferred to Huxley, Galton, and Macalister initially, but reverted to his radical agenda when asked to present the nativist–humanitarian and anti-colonial–perspective at a meeting of anthropologists in Ipswich in 1895. There is an Irish *seanfhocal* (proverb) that is appropriate here, given that Haddon started his career in anthropology by collecting folk-lore in districts where Gaelic was still spoken. *Briseann an dúchas trí shúileabbh an chait* translates literally as natural heritage reveals itself in the eyes of a cat. Haddon was reared in a radical household and, according to his friend Praeger, was a contrarian who enjoyed shocking prudish people (Praeger 1949, 27). It was inevitable that, when given the opportunity, he would revert to type and lead a reformist insurgency within organised anthropology.

Ipswich is represented here as a controversial event and, as such, hugely significant. Indeed, it has been described here as an insurgency and Haddon's speech provoked a backlash in the press, the anthropological establishment, and the BAAS. The extraordinary thing about this is that it does not feature in conventional histories, despite evidence being readily available in the Haddon Papers. That has had the effect of erasing Haddon's role in the emergence of a radical form of Anglo-Irish anthropology in the 1890s.

The phrase Anglo-Irish anthropology is, as stated, treated throughout this thesis as a provocation: anthropology was something that was done by the "Anglo" to the "Irish." Thus Anglo-Irish becomes a foil for an unprecedented acknowledgement of a movement that was populated by individuals who met at the intersection of radical politics and cultural nationalism. This was where the emerging

practice of folk-lore collection in Ireland and England met the campaign to take Ireland out of the United Kingdom, a point that coincided geographically with the Aran Islands.

Haddon's essay on "A Batch of Irish Folklore" (1893) illustrates his agency in building a network of folklore collectors in Ireland. His 1895 slideshow on folk-lore and photography manifests a modernist complex of tradition, cutting-edge representational technology, a critique of ethnographic form, institutional reform, revolutionary politics, and anti-colonial activism. This event also provides an interesting vantage point from which to view his engagement with Douglas Hyde, the folklorist who, according to Diarmuid Ó Giolláin (2017), set the agenda for cultural nationalism. Haddon's first meeting with the Belfast Naturalist's Field Club in 1893 set in train a series of events that led Haddon and Hyde to share an anti-colonial platform in Belfast in 1894, integrating cultural nationalism into a wider anti-imperial movement that can be traced back to *philosophes* like Herder (see Vermuelen 2015)

Haddon's involvement with the BNFC and his collaboration with Clara Patterson established a common ground with the "De-Anglicisation" project launched by Hyde in 1892. Indeed, as argued, Hyde used Haddon's arguments–a combination of observations made in the field and anti-colonial rhetoric–in a speech in Cork in 1894. One year later, Haddon identified himself as a supporter of the home rule movement in Ipswich in 1895, when he drew the attention of the anthropological community to the connection between colonialism in Ireland and overseas and criticised British rule in Ireland as a pretext for calling for the "De-Anglicisation" of all subjugated territories.

Ipswich was a well-organised and well-attended confrontation between the anthropological establishment and a band of ethnologists who had revived the humanitarian agenda of the Aborigines Protection Society and the breakaway Ethnological Society of London. The first draft of Haddon's speech was written as a critique of the Imperial Institute in 1891, immediately after Haddon had returned from an extended tour of the West of Ireland. Just before Ipswich, Haddon organised an expedition by the combined field clubs of Ireland to the Aran Islands, where the eviction of islanders had provoked nationalist outrage prior to the 1895 general election. Haddon asked Hyde to accompany them, thereby linking the expedition with the cultural agenda of Irish nationalism.

Despite this, conventional histories treat Haddon and Hyde as representing very different–if not antagonistic–attitudes to folklore. Haddon's biological attitude becomes a foil for Hyde's cultural vision in key texts by Adams (1993), Jones (1998), Beiner (2012) and Ó'Giolláin (2017), an accumulation of knowledge that consistently represents Haddon as a cultural zoologist operating in an imperial context. Furthermore, Haddon's speech in Ipswich has been either forgotten or overlooked and his outspoken support for the de-Anglicisation of Ireland missed as a result. Worse still, his critique of the Imperial Institute has entered the history of anthropology as a shameful–diabolical even–deal between anthropology and the imperial / colonial / missionary complex. Yet, Huxley's warning that the document would not be acceptable to government confirms–if any confirmation was needed–that Haddon had declared himself an anti-imperialist to the most powerful men in organised anthropology when he asked Huxley, Galton, and Macalister to review the document in 1891.

Likewise, the bitter criticism of the correspondent for *The Daily News*[421]–which Haddon kept on file–confirms that his speech in Ipswich was regarded as an outrage in some quarters. The sanctions imposed by the BAAS–withholding funding from a second expedition to the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea–and Macalister–blocking Haddon's appointment in Cambridge–locate those "quarters" at the centre of organised anthropology. They also suggest that the importance I have attached to the speech is not overstated and, in fact, supports the conclusion that Haddon was a key player in the mobilisation of an anti-colonial, Anglo-Irish folk-lore movement that was aligned with nationalists like Hyde.

There is, however an important distinction to be made between Hyde and Haddon in relation their involvement in the study of folklore. Haddon was an internationalist. Hyde was a nationalist. They may have agreed on the mobilisation of the folk-lore movement as an instrument of decolonisation, but Haddon's philosophical commitment to a deracinated construction of civilisation was very different to Hyde's political investment in a racinated construction of culture. In that context Haddon has to be regarded as the more progressive figure, rather than the blinkered biologist portrayed by Stocking (1995, 370).

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[421] Special Correspondent. 1895. "Anthropologists and Missionaries." *The Daily News*, September 1895: 4 & 5 (HP F5408 CUL).

That brings us back to Adams's 1993 account of Haddon trying to persuade the members of the BNFC to engage in the skull measuring business. Adams, as stated, missed Haddon's consistent advocacy of instantaneous or social documentary photography as an effective ethnographic method. If we concentrate on what Haddon actually presented to the BNFC between 1893 and 1895, it is clear that folk-lore was, for Haddon, a site of formalist experimentation and innovative meaning-making.

Thus, the fourth and final finding of this study is that Haddon was first and foremost a photographer, whose practice represents a singular modernist achievement in anthropology in the 1890s.

Haddon may have tried his hand at zoology and craniology, but these were compromises made in pursuit of a job in the natural sciences and, later, in anthropology. Haddon's early experiments in ethnology reveal an interest in art, but his major achievement was the application of social documentary photography to anti-racism activism at a time of relentless colonial expansion and consolidation. Haddon was concerned with the way the victims of colonialism were represented as much as he was concerned with the problem of colonialism itself. He expressed his horror at the racism embedded in the language of colonists in his 1891 critique of the Imperial Institute and developed the theory of sympathetic knowledge in response, a strategy that was heavily influenced by the nativism of James "Tamate" Chalmers and the anti-racism credo of Pyotr Kropotkin, which added a practical and theoretical structure to the intuitive 'human sympathy & power of interpretation'[422] that Geddes acknowledged in 1889.

Haddon converted this into a form of activism through performed ethnography when he adopted the magic lantern as an alternative to text. He developed an entirely new and popular way of representing other civilisations to a metropolitan audience. This began with his first experiments in visual ethnography in the Torres Strait and Papua New Guinea in 1888, the results of which he presented in his first slideshow on record in Dublin in 1890. His experience in the Aran Islands in 1890 convinced him of the efficacy of photography as both an ethnographic

[422] Geddes to Alfred Haddon, 11 December, 1889 (HP F3 CUL).

method and a means of affective engagement with geographically remote, antecedent societies.

Over the next five years he developed his technique and advocacy. He presented a manifesto in slide form to the Folk-lore Society in 1895 and, as stated, contributed a manifesto on photography to the third edition of *Notes and Queries* (1899), which was the only major revision of the 1892 edition of the field manual for ethnographers and other travellers. This provides us with a snapshot of the availability of photographic technologies that had the potential to revolutionise ethnographic representation and establish photography as the fifth field of anthropology. That leads me to conclude that Haddon was an innovator in the theory and practice of ethnographic representation, albeit in a field that remained, according to Margaret Mead (1975) invisible to anthropologists for most of the twentieth century. The question is whether this is sufficient to conclude that Haddon was a modernist?

Haddon's engagement with post-evolutionists like Geddes and Havelock Ellis and their associates in the anarcho-Solidarist movement generated a critique of anthropology in England that produced a formally innovative and theoretically radical programme of institutional reform and reconstruction. Haddon's 1995 essay on *The Study of Anthropology* (Appendix 5) functions as a manifesto in print for that movement. Furthermore, the absurdly ironic tone of Haddon's critique of colonialism in Ipswich added a modernist tone to that event. Likewise, his performance with a bullroarer in Belfast in 1895 establishes Haddon as a trickster or, in modernist parlance, a situationist.

Provocation was fundamental to his idea of performed ethnography. Picture the scene in Dublin in February 1890. The lecture room of the Royal Dublin Society was packed as Haddon lit a magic lantern and threw limelight photographs of native life in Papua New Guinea onto a screen. It sounds quaint until one considers that few people had explored Papua New Guinea as Haddon had in the company of Chalmers. The slideshow represented an unprecedented opportunity to "see" a land that was regarded as unsafe for white travellers and missionaries. Haddon exploited this to get "standard" men and women to engage imaginatively with the lives of "savages," immersing his audience in an alternate visual reality and, as quoted earlier, creating 'an intimate and friendly acquaintance with savages [that] breaks down many prejudices.' (Haddon 1890A, 567). Haddon illustrated taboo subjects like nakedness

and the role of sexual attraction in courtship, using the exuviated native body to shock his audience and to render the exotic familiar and the familiar absurd (Fig. 8.1). Haddon was inventing a radically new form of ethnographic representation.

The experiment continued in Belfast in 1893, when Haddon recruited Clara Patterson and sent her up a hill in County Down to take instantaneous photographs of peasant children playing games that might represent fragments of long forgotten rituals. This was the precursor of the filming of the last dance of the *Malu Zogo Te* in the Torres Strait in 1898, the first recorded use of a cinematograph as an ethnographic instrument in the field. To put this in perspective, the invention of the cinematograph in 1895 is represented as a singular milestone in most chronologies of modernism and Haddon was the first ethnographer to exploit the potential of the first generation of commercially produced motion picture cameras.

That is not surprising. It represents the culmination of ten years of experimentation with photography as the primary instrument of ethnographic capture, representation, and engagement. By the time he retired from Cambridge University, he had amassed a collection of 10,000 photographs and lantern slides. Some of these record his involvement in the skull measuring business, such as the "selfie" taken by Haddon and Browne in the Aran Islands in 1892 (Fig. 1). Others materialise his radical, anti-racism agenda and his nativism, like the wonderfully subversive photograph of Michael Faherty and the women of Inis Meáin who refused to be identified or submit to measurement (Fig. 6.5).

There is another photograph that better represents this aspect of Haddon's work. It was taken by Haddon and Dixon in the Aran Islands in 1890 and shows a family gathered around the entrance to their home (Frontispiece & Fig. 6.1). It is the perfect representation of the idea of a village community and, as such, materialises Haddon's fascination with the forest dwellers and islanders who lived in the edgelands of western civilisation. This brings to mind something that the artist Jack B. Yeats said of the writer John Millington Synge. Yeats accompanied Synge on a tour of the Congested Districts in the West of Ireland in 1905, having received a commission to illustrate Synge's reports for *The Manchester Guardian*. 'The Irish peasant' Yeats recalled 'had all his heart.' (Rose 1977, 192-3 quoted in Dalsimer 1993, 219). This statement captures the affect of Haddon's engagement with the Aran Islanders and it points to a much more important aspect of Haddon's impact as a photographer.

Synge is well beyond the scope of this document, but there were enough connections between Synge and Haddon to argue that Synge was merely following in Haddon's footsteps when he landed in the Aran Islands in 1898, acquired a camera, and started taking photographs of the daily lives of the islanders (Fig 8.3). That points to one of the most important aspects of Haddon's legacy as a photographer. He made the West of Ireland visible at a time when the development of a western imaginary was transforming cultural and political nationalism. There is no problem in conferring the status of modernism on Synge. Why should there be a problem in conferring the same status on Haddon?

To finish, Haddon's legacy is wider than that however. His engagement with the victims of colonialism is part of a much wider humanitarian heritage within ethnology and post-evolutionist anthropology. That links Haddon to his epistemic ancestors in the Aborigines Protection Society and to contemporary activists working to support ethnic minorities. That means that we need to think again about his legacy as an activist as much as an innovator in the area of ethnographic representation..

A Legacy?

Haddon was written out of disciplinary histories in the early twentieth century (see Urry 1993, 61). He returned in the 1970s as an evolutionist foil for the by historian who, according to Joan Leopold (1991), were determined to set up an opposition between evolutionary and social anthropology. The formally innovative and politically radical nature of his work in Ireland was forgotten, in the way that Guy Beiner proposes in his 2006 study of selective social memory. I have attempted to correct this act of forgetting and I conclude with a very brief consideration of the relevance–in 2020–of Haddon's work in Ireland in the 1890s.

As I write, 40,000 fires burn in the Amazon, threatening the homeland of the Awá people (Fig. 8.3). The plight of the Awá is fascinating on so many levels in the context of this study. This conflict between colonists and forest dwellers poses a dilemma for anthropologists that is as old as anthropology itself: that is, how do anthropologists engage effectively with the asymmetrical power relations and socio-cultural consequences of globalised trade? Haddon faced a similar dilemma after witnessing the consequences of colonialism in the Torres Strait in 1888. Flower articulated the nature of the dilemma in his address to Section H in 1894, setting the scene for Haddon's controversial critique of colonialism in Ipswich one year later.

Flower reminded anthropologists of their duty in respect of native populations who were faced with the obliteration of their way of life, if not the obliteration of the people themselves (Flower 1894, 774).

Haddon first took action to address this in 1891, when he attempted to publish his critique of Imperial policy in a popular journal. He argued that the injustices of imperialism–extractive economics, habitat loss, socio-cultural degradation, and, ultimately, genocide–demanded a humanitarian response from the anthropological community. The leaders of the anthropological community were not interested in anything that threatened the status quo. Haddon deferred to their leadership, but sought a compromise. He put his arguments into practice when he attempted to synthesise anthropology/sociology and geography as a radical form of field-based investigation that he labelled anthropography. He tested his methodology in the Aran Islands in 1892 and incorporated the model into the research programme of the 1898 anthropological expedition to the Torres Strait.

Haddon justified the 1898 expedition on the grounds that collecting "vanishing knowledge" was the most effective way of combatting the ethnocentrism that enabled genocide in the interests of globalised trade. Haddon was setting an interdisciplinary, humanitarian example that remains utterly relevant as we contemplate the possible extermination of the Awá and their way of life. The key question is this: what happened to the brave new world of anti-colonial activism that Haddon and his comrades in anthropology, geography, and sociology envisaged in 1890? Contained within that question is another question. Why do we remember the skull measuring business rather that the radical experiment in advocacy and form that characterised Haddon's work in Ireland? That then begs the following question: what can we learn from this? Remembering the humanitarian agenda that Haddon and his comrades in utopian, Fabian, and anarcho-Solidarist movements pursued in the face of entrenched political opposition forces us to consider how anthropologists, geographers, and sociologists can act *effectively* in solidarity with the Awá people. Therein lies the relevance of Haddon's work in Ireland in the 1890s. It is possible that therein lies the relevance of contemporary anthropology in 2020.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Selected Correspondence between Haddon, Geddes and Havelock Ellis.

Key: ~~xxx~~ & ~~abc~~ word deleted by writer.
xxx indecipherable word.
(word?) possible version of a word/name.
^ text / text inserted into a sentence.

Geddes to Haddon, December 11 [1889].
Haddon Papers, Folder 3, Cambridge University Library.

Marginalia: Write again xxx xxx xxx especially if I can do anything sys or x specific, But soon, as we
leave xxx in ten days or so for the south I trust

17 Rue Sommerard
11 Dec

My dear Haddon

Is it very bad of me not to have replied sooner? You only asked about next year, so I reflected that the longer the delay, the more I should know about the Ecole d'Anthropologie. I have never had time– you have no idea of how many irons I have in the fire here – to make the personal acquaintance of Retourneau or any other of them yet, but I shall not fail to do so & to get all I can for you. I shall of course be able to give you a few really interesting introduction – both geological & other.

You are certainly right I think in proposing to come here: the society is fairly installed in the top floor of the Musée Depuytren an old church. But now the ~~Anat &~~ Pathol. Museum of the Ecole de Médecine, which surrounds it for a couple of acres of huge buildings. There is really here an extraordinary wealth of varied interests – with all its faults. e.g. woeful ~~xx~~ the ~~xxx~~ chaos & anarchy among the different teachers, subjects &c, this is still far the vastest of universities. Imagine that ~~xxx~~ in the sole subject of history alone, there are at least 50 courses to choose among! Of course you

will miss the sympathetic common life of British science by comparison at least –but you will find the individuals usually very helpful & hospitable, although they are rather tired of foreigners as well they may be!

You need not make up your mind fully for complete isolation why not come over *en famille*, and live here just as you do in London. This is on the whole a much nicer place! Perhaps we shall be here next winter again Who knows. There are many possibilities in fact. I am busy working up new developments, & with one or two of the Univ. Reformers (who happen luckily just now to be in power) have been discussing them, but it is still too soon to speak of this, which might not indeed interest you besides, at least in [indecipherable] states of thinking out.

I am very glad indeed that you are going in to Anthropology, but I am sure it is your human sympathy & power of interpretation which is leading you, & not ~~you're the~~ mere desire of measuring ~~xxx~~ skulls. It is very interesting to xxx how this society, which was when I went to its lectures ten years ago, wr as wooden ^ or rather osteological / as could be, has become essentially human. The lectures are far better – & are not ashamed of being so. So You will get beyond Turner's & Flower's notion of ^ the study of/ anthropology just as you have in fact & practice. In a word the skull measuring business if and when done, is now done by the "Germans", so to speak – I mean the hewers of wood and drawers of water. while of the ~~xxx~~ professor, every one I have yet heard more of less has risen from the anatomical ^ ostatic/ standpoint to the physiological ~~& xxx~~ & dynamic one, & from the xxx individual study of the man as the unit ~~xxx~~ to the standpoint of Comp.~~psychology~~ sociology. Altogether ~~xxx~~ a great scientific movement is beginning in France, & more every year as the men whose characters were disciplined by-the disasters of 70-71 come to the front, & get in their hand. The sweetnesses of adversity are clear & manifest.

I am alone just now, as my wife had to go home on account of her father's illness – which has xxx fatally. She will soon be back however.

With kindest regards everyone P.G.

Havelock Ellis to Haddon, May 8, 1890.

Haddon Papers, Folder 3, Cambridge University Library.

Hotel Corneille, Rue Corneille, Paris.
To Prof Haddon,
8 May 1890

My Dear Sir,
I have for some time been on the point of asking you if you would care to do a volume for this Series. If you are working at anything of suitable character I should be very pleased to hear from you on the subject.

I was greatly interested to hear from Geddes (who recently stayed here for a few days) that you propose to come to Paris next winter to study the condition of anthropology here. I have been staying in Paris for some months chiefly with the same object in view. The condition of anthropology & anthropological teaching in England is deplorable in the extreme, & I should be very glad indeed to cooperate in any movement for putting anthropology in England in its proper position. It seems to me, indeed, that the "psychological moment" has now arrived. In my Series I am giving the first place to the anthropological sciences and I do not find that it is more unpopular on that account, it has, indeed been extremely successful. I have read your papers in the Anth Journal & in Folk-lore with much interest.
Faithfully Yours
H. Ellis.

Haddon to Havelock Ellis, May 14, 1890.

Haddon Papers, Folder 3, Cambridge University Library

May 14 1890

My dear Sir,
Accept my best thanks for your kind & friendly letter and for the invitation therein contained. I am quite prepared to entertain the idea of writing a book for your 'Contemporary Science Series' –

I would much like to hear what suggestions you have to offer on the matter. Personally I rather incline to a general work on Anthropology written from a biological point of view and not as is usually done from the ‘anthropological’ standpoint

I think it should be possible to bring out the essentially geological character of the study & thus help to reconcile Biologists to it! For example. Archaeology is the Palaeontology of Anthropology, & shall only be treated as such. Much of Folk-lore ^(If the term may be allowed) / is ‘psychological Palaeontology’**.** Savages are an “arrested” or “generalised type,” like Chitons – Peripatus, Amphioxus, ~~xxx~~ the Mud-Fish &~~ so forth~~ etc. The Geographical distrib. of man has many correspondences ~~analogies~~ with that of animals waves of migration. Insular ~~types~~ ^ forms/ persistence of low types in the fag ends of continents. Pygmies in the Andaman & in Central African forests. Australians comparable with their own Kangaroos –The geographical distribution of manufactures & especially that of art is now interesting me - & I am making a special study of Papuan art, & its local developments, its evolution & devolution.

The development of customs, & beliefs, ceremonials & so forth of handicrafts & fabrication are embryological features. If you think this line of thought worth following out I will ~~draw up~~ ^ articulate /a skeleton for you, should you desire it.

In writing a general anthropology one would be putting oneself in direst comparison with Tylor & his little and most excellent book; but I f~~ancy~~ ^/ imagine that ~~my~~ ^ such a / book ^ as I have sketched out/ should have ~~xx~~ so sufficiently distinct ~~scheme,~~ ^ an xxx as / to~~ avoid~~ ~~xxx~~ ^ causing any unpleasantness.

I know the books already published in your series. I am much pleased with them. In Geddes & T.- Taylor & Gomme’s there is a distinct influence of the _*Zeitgeist*_. The first and the last certainly appreciate the practical value of their work in reconstruct~~ing ^~~ ion/~~ institution~~ . I am increasingly seeing the importance of anthropological work and heartily echo your wish “to cooperate in any movement for putting anthropology in England in its proper position.”

Believe this to be - yours vy faithfully

A. C. Haddon

Geddes to Haddon, May 1903.

https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1259871109/view

University College
Dundee

10/5/3

Dear Haddon

As I did not get that Edin Museum appt. & must think of doing somethg, I am very seriously planning on coming to London for say two months at least in autumn and perhaps longer. Can you suggest any lecturing or other work? It seems to me quite possible that we might cooperate usefully economically as well as scientifically towards the educational ideals we share, Your approaching sociology through anthropology ^ my approach to anthropolo. through sociol./ only need a little more xxx adjustment (such as we indeed began to give them on your visit to us last summer) to have a more & more distinct effect. (?) any lecturing at Horniman Mus. you can yourself completely undertake, but would it not be possible for us in some way to combine our forces? (of course I could prepare that xxx xxx).

What about (?) Garnett? or is it Geoffrey Webb who arranges U.C. lectures, School Board training for teachers &c? I do not grasp the /outline of the London machinery of educ.// I have written to Dr Roberts, but do not know to whom else to apply. why should we both /you & I not do something with Morant (?), Grant Ogilvie &c on the new departures that are xxx to originate? (Ogilvie xxx lately appd by Morant (?) to a high post with him in Cm. with xxx: xxx &c. is a good fellow; & although inclined to be cautious & conventional, is not at all hopeless. Have you made his acquaintance?)

Yours vy Cordially

P. Geddes

How is Howes? I hear he has been
very ill. is he back again?

Appendix 2 The Aran Islands: 10 Pages from Haddon's Journal of the 1890 Survey of Fishing Grounds (Haddon Library, P.88.H).

Key:	~~xxx~~ & ~~abc~~	word deleted by writer.
	xxx	indecipherable word.
	(word?)	possible version of a word/name.
	^ text / text inserted into a sentence	

41
The Arran Islands are in xxx respects the most remarkable islands I have as yet come across anywhere. I have been told that they were "full of saints" this may have had something to do with it. The north island Inishmore ("Big Island") is the largest of the 3 main islands & has a population of over 2,000 souls. The middle island has about 800 inhabitants & the S. island 450.

The structure formation of the islands is Carboniferous limestone & there is very little else scattered over the island, I shall confine myself to Inishmore xxx are numerous rounded boulders of sandstone & Granite which have evidently been transported by glaciers from the Connemara Mountains. It strikes me that the glaciers planed Arran so smooth it has had no chance of starting a soil since the glacial epoch. The island rises up vertically from the sea in cliffs which are /100-200 feet high in many some places & there are only a few places where the land slopes down to the sea. The surface of the island forms an undulating plateau with a few low hills, all of which are greatly (rounded). The limestone evidently retains more or less, its horizontal stratification & it breaks at right angles to this, thus forming cliffs with an absolutely smooth & vertical face in some places _ or there may be great step-like wearing away of the rock; often the sea eats away beneath the cliff in a horizontal manner, Huge masses of rock overlapping caves & themselves occasionally toppling over into the sea. The coast scenery is in places very fine, impressive wall-like-cliffs futilely withstanding the onslaught of the waves. The black-blue sea dashing with acres of white spray against & the rocks & surfing back from the caves xxx which undermine the rocks. Sea birds wheel around in the air or sit perched on ledges of the rock & add their wailing to the roaring of the breakers.

I imagine that after the planing of the island by the glaciers, the rain & wind storms from the Atlantic prevented the accumulation of soil except in sheltered spots & the porous nature porosity of the limestone absorbs all the rain & so peat-mosses could not originate. Fortunately for the inhabitants a stratum of shale is interstratified with the limestone & this gives birth to several springs. otherwise all the rain water would percolate through the rocks & be lost.

42
This limestone more than most is fissured & and the fissures may be a few inches or several feet deep xxx been often remarked on the great resemblance of the bare rocks to glaciers with their crevasses. The crevices are filled with beautiful plants. Earlier in the year Green says there was almost an alpine richness gentians & other flowers blooming in abundance. The most noticeable flowers are a very fine large var. of the harebell, a splendid crimson wild geranium of large size. Various ferns nestle these sheltered crannies conspicuous among which are luxuriant maiden hair ferns. This the first time I have seen this fern growing wild in Britain. The rain & vegetation

both unite in deepening the cracks in the rocks, It is very strange to see sheep or cows in a walled in field which at a short distance appears as if flagged with immense paving stones or like a graveyard of flat tombstones, but the grass & herbs which grow between the stones are very "sweet." Going uphill is like mounting a flight of stairs, but when the ricks are broken walking is very difficult - in fact it is the most difficult country for walking in which it has as yet been my lot to visit, barring a tropical scrub. In the sheltered part of the island there a few trees. The more one travels the W. coast of Ireland the more surprised one feels when one comes across a tree. When I return to Dublin I hope to have some photographs to show you which will illustrate the physical features better than I can describe them.

Whatever may have been the number of the saints there is no doubt ad to the number of ruins on the island, they are certainly more numerous here than on any area of equal extent anywhere else in Britain & I have spent all the time I could in visiting them & in making sketches & photos,

I cannot to do more than to indicate to you the general character of some of them - of their history I know nothing, but I hope to learn what I can when I return to Dublin in the winter.

The old village of Killeany is mainly remarkable for the number of extremely old people & children, large numbers of young & middle aged people having emigrated to America & elsewhere. The majority of the people are quite fair - yellowish hair & blue grey eyes, The used to have the character of being exceptionally honest straightforward & upright. They were & are great fishermen, but probably not so much so as formerly.

43
[SKETCH]

This is a sketch of Teampull Chiaráin one of the least ruined of the many sacred ruins of Inishmore.

The E. window was originally (but) a very narrow slit and it splayed out inwardly so as to admit of the greatest amount of light possible under the circumstances. The arch of the window is rounded, whereas that of the door is pointed. The four simple crosses on the next page are round about the church.

This little church

[SKETCH]

Teampull Benain is at the top of the hill just above this house it is very small being only 10 feet 10 inches long inside & 6 feet 10 inches wide. It is a beautiful example of an early Irish church. Unfortunately I have no book with me to inform me when St. Benignus lived or when this and the other churches were built. I believe they all date from the 6th. to the 10th. century.

44
[A PAGE OF SKETCHES ILLUSTRATING 10 CARVED STONES]

Gravestone of Thomas, an abbot, at the Seven Churches.

Four crosses at St. Kieran's

Two sides of a broken cross at Killeany

These are three of the crosses at the Seven Churches
the central one is in memory of (seven) xxx [*blot and partial fingerprint*] pilgrims who came to rest here after having been driven out of Italy.

45
This church

[SKETCH]

bears the name of "The Church of the Four Comely Saints." It would be interesting to discover who these comely ones were and what relation their comeliness bore to their sanctity. At all events they can boast of possessing the ^ second / finest church in the island. they themselves lie buried just outside the E. Window in a small enclosure.

[SKETCH]

46
One of the largest of the churches is the Teampull Mhic Duagh at Kilmurray

[2 SKETCHES]

It dates from the 6th. century. The doorway (of) cyclopean masonry

[SKETCH]

is particularly fine there is a massiveness about it which is impressive although it is quite small in size.
The collection of photographs which Dixon is taking will illustrate Aran better than my sketches or imperfect description. One stone in the outer wall of this Chapel has a queer animal cut in it in low relief.

[SKETCH]

47
We were landed in Aran on Thursday morning @ 8.30 & left on the following Thursday about 10 o'clock, having had a splendid time. A sea mist came over the island xxx late on Sunday aft. & on another day the forenoon was wet otherwise we had perfect weather & were able to go about a great deal. There was scarcely a ruin in the island I did not see & some of them I visited twice. Dixon and I stayed with Mrs. Green in Killeany Lodge & all were very kind to us. After 7 o'clock (or so) tea Dixon usually gave Elsie (the eldest girl) a botany lesson & I gave Aggie (the 2d. girl) "school". this consisted of reading out my Torres Sts. letters (to/from) Ernest & Mary and in drawing pictures. I often had to tell the girls the Torres Sts. Legends. Mrs. Green & I used to have miles of discussion on all sorts of subjects, especially serious ones. It was very refreshing.

One of the most interesting of the ruins here is Mr. Killbride, the clergyman. He came here abt. 40 year ago on the 'Irish Mission', a sort of proseletsing [*sic*]

concern. Only a few times had he left the island since then & I believe his wife had not left it for 37 years! He is now a bed ridden invalid & his memory is sadly failing him & he is losing his eyesight. His congregation consists of a dozen at most I believe & his service is of the least edifying character. The man is a good Irish scholar & has tried to make improvements in dictionaries & has made vocabularies of native names for various plants animals etc. Somehow or other his efforts do not appear to have met with any encouragement in Dublin & a great deal of his Ms. is in a more or less chaotic state & must now remain so. If only he had been properly supported & guided he might have done real service to the knowledge of the Irish language, as the Arran dialect is a very pure & ancient one; but being somewhat crotchety he has been ignored & snubbed. It is pitiful to hear him (dilate) on his hobby & then pause having to collect his wayward thoughts. It is a sad spectacle of a good

48
opportunity being wasted. Since we have been here a niece has come to live with him & poor girl she dreads the prospect, for she can have no friend on the island with whom she can be on equal terms.

A Captain Toynbee, a meteorologist is staying here. he is connected in some way with the Mission to Seamen. I hear he is much given to speaking in season & out of season but fortunately he has not tackled me, but he has a fellow-lodger & has much bored him - he is a R.C. a science student at L'pool University College who is studying Irish as a hobby. We have seen a good deal of him, he is very pleasant & keen abt. his work.

On Mon 3rd Aug. there was a regatta - which we of course attended. it was most interesting seeing the people they were very clean orderly xxx & dressed in bright raiment. the women usually affect a beautiful russet col. petticoat & the men white flannel cloth shirt & usually a blue waistcoat & trousers, sometimes especially the boys, they were all white. there was very little drinking during the day & scarcely any smoking. I never was in a pleasanter crowd. The fine upright islanders with their fair hair & white & blue costumes were usually readily distinguishable fr. the men from other places. The Inishmaan (Central Island) men were as a rule larger & darker. The Connemara men had darker hair & wore grey frieze. The Galway men had black coats, It was a fine warm day but too dull & sunless for instantaneous photography. Dixon did his best but his results were not satisfactory. The high wind also bothered him, even with his 1/4 plate camera. It was impossible for me to work mine, The chief race was that between 5 "hookers"

49
as the fishing smacks are called, one however was disqualified by using an oar at the start so as to catch the wind, so the 3 prizes were divided between 4 competitors. One hooker won very easily & the £4 prize was devoted to drink. There was 1/2 pt. of porter for anyone who chose to go for it. The 2nd. (£2.10) & 3rd. (15/-) prizes also I believe went in liquidation. Five curraghs rowed in the 2nd, race the prizes were £3 & £2. The Inisheer (S. Island) men won & the Inishmaan (Middle I.) came in second much to the disgust of the Inishmore men. The reason afterwards assigned was that it was to be expected "that those islanders" would be better oarsmen than the natives of Inishmore, as if the latter was the mainland. Dixon & I went around during the evening to see what was going on but there was no excitement that we could see &

we heard fr. the outside, a man in a pub singing a song in Irish to a genuinely old tune.

[SKETCHES]

These are sketches of curraghs being taken down to the water, a curragh sailing & men rowing at the same time, the latter always goes on when sailing-; & a local boat of a peculiar rig called a "pookhawn."

50
I can't tell you all the excursions we made in Aran it wd be as tedious for you to read as for me to write suffice it to say that Dixon & I left very little unseen & what with sketches & photographs we have a good deal on paper. In the village of Killeany - close by where Mrs. Green's house is I endeavoured to make friends with the people by employing my old tactics of noticing the children - but I had not much time to follow it up. I hoped to take photographs of them later on. The day before we left we took our cameras but with the exception of a few men & lads none would stay to be photographed. When we turned a camera on a group the components scattered as if we were firing upon them, girls & woman fled to their houses whipped up the children & barred their doors. As we could not understand Irish we had to guess the nature of their remarks. At last matters got to such a pitch the we both rapidly retreated in different directions.

one day we passed a village school, the schoolmaster was outside, stick under arm, conducting a class of 5 girls & 3 boys, a girl teacher was teaching a large class arithmetic just outside the school-house, a couple of men were whitewashing the walls & inside there were 3 or 4 classes going on. Dixon took a photograph of the first group. It was interesting to hear the reading lesson & the pedagogue’s questions & comments it appeared doubtful if any of them were understood by the scholars.

At the end of the island are two "puffing holes" These are great holes in the rock one at a considerable distance from the sea. There is an underground passage connecting them with the sea & it is stated that when there is a blow fr. the west the water surges in & spurts up through the hole to a considerable height. This must be a fine sight to see.

51
The Fingal came back in Thursday instead of on Friday as we expected, still we had such a splendid time at Aran that we had no cause to grumble.

Appendix 3 The Aran Islands: Captions for a Slideshow c. 1890 (Haddon Library, P.88.H).

Key: ~~xxx~~ & ~~abc~~ word deleted by writer.

xxx indecipherable word.

(word?) possible version of a word/name.

^ text / text inserted into a sentence

<u>The Aran Islands</u> (over embossed crest of the Royal College of Science).

The Aran Islands ~~lie~~ are situated at the entrance to Galway Bay between the coasts of Connemara in the north and that of Clare in the south-east. They are about thirty five miles from the town of Galway. There are three large islands in the group. Inishmore, or the Great Island, is about nine miles long and averages a mile and a half in breadth, it contains 9525 statute acres and had in 1871 a population of 2,592. Inishmaan, or the Middle Island, is something more than three miles long and about a mile and a half broad and has a population of about 500. Inisheer, or South Island is about two and a half miles long and its population is about 450. The total population in 1871 was 3,521.

The islands are not so much frequented by tourists as they deserve to be. To ~~the~~ a naturalist they are most interesting. The greater part of the surface of the island is composed of base limestone rock ~~within~~ in the crevices of which many beautiful and rare plants and numerous ferns grow, the Maiden-hair fern being very abundant. Erratics of granite, sandstone ~~etc~~ & other rocks, from Connemara are scattered over the surface of the country. Aran is especially famous for its antiquities, pagan and Christian relics abounding, a considerable number of the former dating from many centuries before our era. No area of equal size in the British Islands contains so numerous and so varied remains of archaeological interest. The people too are a fine handsome race, upright men of good physique, ruddy complexion, fair hair and blue gray eyes, there is a large proportion of nice looking and often pretty girls. The men wear a whitish clothes made from the locally made flannel, the costume may be entirely white or the trousers & waistcoat may be blue, coats are not often worn. The women mostly affect shirts dyed of a beautiful russet – red colour. In the west of Ireland the men wear boots & the women go bare footed, here both sexes wear ~~native made~~ sandles, 'pompooties', which they make for themselves out of cow-skins. In almost any cottage wool carding and spinning may he seen in operation, the spinning wheel being turned by the hand. The ancient British coracle also here survives as the canvas covered canoe or "curragh".

Page 2

The Aran Islands have from time to time come into notice on account of the failure of the potato crop, and it is possible that again this winter the inhabitants will require assistance for not only has the blight attacked the potatoes this past winter & spring has been exceptionally unfortunate for the fishermen and scarcely any money at all had been made in the three islands, consequently there will be nothing to fall back upon should the potato crop fail them. ~~What cattle there is~~ The pasturage though

^small/ in extent is particularly good in quality so that the mutton & beef is much prized.

Our illustrations, which are from photographs taken by Mr. A. F. Dixon of Dublin, illustrate (1) a class from national school held in the open air, (2) a group of two men and a boy on the top of the ancient stone fort at Inishmaan the men are wearing pompooties and the boy the characteristic petticoat which the small boys wear as well as girls. (3) Wayside monuments which were erected on the land of the

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deceased the earliest inscription is as follows. These monuments are to be seen by the side various roads on Inishmore.
(4) Granite boulder resting on the limestone which constitute the chief part if an Aran field. (5) Tempalln Benain a ^very ancient/ tiny church 10 feet 10 inches long by 6 feet 10 inches broad, inside measurment, situated on the top of Killeany hill. (6) Killeany church which was for a long time buried by blown sand. (7) ~~View in the church of St~~ E. Window & altar of the Church of St. Breckan Kilmurvy. (8) Dun Aengus a large pre–Christian fort in a very good state of preservation, the outermost wall is surrounded by a chevaux-de-frise of sharp upright stones. (9) a Cloghaun or ancient bee-hive dwelling. (10) A somewhat similar erection made of large stone slabs.[423]
Of the crosses 1-5 are to be found at the Seven Churches that of no.2 commemorating the death of seven Roman pilgrims and that of no 4 was erected to an abbot named Thomas. No. 6, 7 & 8 are the so-called crosses of St. Kieran. There are one or two ~~remains~~ fragments of intricately carved crosses which must have been of great beauty before their destruction.

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[423] Wedge tomb, Oghill.

Appendix 4 Haddon & Stocking: A Critique of the Imperial Institute.

Stocking, George W. Jr. & Alfred Cort Haddon.
1993. "The Red-Paint of British Aggression, the Gospel of Ten-per-Cent, and the Cost of Maintaining Our Ascendancy: A. C. Haddon on the Need for an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology, 1891." *History of Anthropology Newsletter*, 20,1 (June 1993): 3-14.

DOI: https://repository.upenn.edu/han/vol20/iss1/3.

CLIO'S FANCY: DOCUMENTS TO PIQUE THE HISTORICAL IMAGINATION

The Red-paint of British Aggression, the Gospel of Ten-per-Cent, and the Cost of Maintaining our Ascendancy: A. C. Haddon on the Need for an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology, 1891

Late in 1891, Alfred Cort Haddon, still Professor of Zoology at Dublin, sent a twenty page manuscript to Thomas Henry Huxley, his long-time scientific sponsor. During Haddon's recent expedition to the Torres Straits, his interests had shifted from zoology to anthropology, and in the years after his return, he devoted the bulk of his professional energies to establishing a position in (and for) his new field--which at this time was only marginally institutionalized in Britain. Although anthropologists had for several decades been little involved in colonial matters, the imperialist movement of the 1890s inspired a new sense of the discipline's utilitarian potential--and of imperialism's potential utility for the advancement of anthropology. Haddon--who later called his secretary "Comrade"--was a socialist of sorts; but this was a period when socialists like the Webbs and "critics of empire" like Mary Kingsley were advocates of British imperial expansion (Semmel 1959; Porter 1968). What is surprising is not that Haddon (like Boas a decade later) should have used imperial interest as an argument for disciplinary advancement, but that, in making a case for anthropology's imperial relevance he should have characterized British expansion as "aggression," or suggested that the "extermination" of native peoples was "legalized murder." Such language was used by the founders of the Aborigines Protection Society (precursor of the Anthropological Institute) a half century before, but these were not the terms likely to win public support for the discipline at the peak of the imperialist movement.

At the time of consultation (1969), the original document was in folder number 5061 of the Alfred Cort Haddon Papers, and is reproduced now with the kind permission of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Library. I have included Haddon's strikeouts only where they seemed to illuminate his thought, and have made no note of number of minor changes which did not affect the meaning. In one instance where a xeroxing error obscured a line, I have reconstructed the meaning in brackets.

A million and a half of people, three years ago, had the rare opportunity of forming some slight conception of our colonies & dependencies at the Colonial & Indian Exhibition. There in the flesh, in effigy, or in picture, were brought together Brahmin & Veddah, French Canadian & Flathead, Dutch Boer & Bushman, Papuan & Australian--all fellow-subjects with nominally equal rights. There were heaped products from every quarter of the globe except North Asia, which has an almost unique position in having its map free from the red-paint of British

aggression. The pyramids of canned fruits, the mountains of wool, the golden archways & other monuments of patient industry & commercial enterprise were sufficiently conspicuous to attract the attention of the most careless. Samples of new produce, specimens of plant & timber were suggestive of unemployed material and of undeveloped resources. Photographs gave presentments of physical features & opened up vistas for emigration & settlement.

The grand show has long been closed and what remains? ~~Undoubtedly an extension of commerce more buying & selling; but the real lesson of the Exhibition has not yet been learned~~ The success of such an Exhibition is not be reckoned merely from a commercial point of view. The purely financial test is often the worst which can be applied, and a scheme which succeeds fiscally may be in all other respects a failure. Doubtless the fillip to Commerce and a profit of £ were not the only results of the Colonial & Indian Exhibition, but no others are yet apparent. A splendid chance of dealing with our Empire in a manner worthy of its importance ~~was thrown away~~ has been lost. One more opportunity now presents itself.

Between the Albert Hall & the Natural History Department of the British Museum at S. Kensington is arising the building known as the Imperial Institute. The circumstances of its inception & erection are of such recent occurence that they need not be narrated. There lies the inanimate body. What are to be its functions? What manner of spirit is to animate it?

It is not difficult to discover what is the avowed scope of the "Imperial Institute of ~~Great Britain~~ the United Kingdom, the Colonies & India." The programmes and leaflets which are issued at the new building give the following as the objects of the Corporation:

> The formation and exhibition of collections, in London and other parts of the Empire, representing the important raw materials and manufactured products of the Empire and of other countries, in order to illustrate the progress of agriculture, commerce, and industry in all parts of the world.
>
> The collection and dissemination of information relating to trades and industries and to emigration.
>
> The promotion of technical and commercial education and of the industrial arts and sciences.
>
> The furtherance of systematic colonization.
>
> The promotion of conferences and lectures in connection with the general work of the Institute and the facilitating of commercial and friendly intercourse among the inhabitants of the British Empire.

The Corporation allows itself considerable liberty for affiliation with any body formed

for analogous purposes. Buildings may be erected to comprise museums, exhibition rooms, libraries, conference rooms, map rooms, lecture rooms, laboratories, rooms for meeting and for other accomodation as may be deemed fitting for the purposes of the Imperial Institute or of affiliated Societies; and may furnish the same with such books, maps, instruments, apparatus and other appliances as may be necessary. Local branches or provincial Institutes may be established and ~~power is given for the endowment and encouragement of research and enterprise~~ scholarships and prizes founded.

Finally the Corporation may receive and administer funds and accept gifts of property land or buildings.

The Organizing Committee recommended "that a new body, entirely independent of any existing organization, should be created for the government of the Institute. The body should be thoroughly representative of the great commercial and industrial interests of the Empire. The Colonies and India should have a fair share in the government of the Institute, and each Colony should have special charge of its own particular department, subject of course to the general management of the entire Institution."

A "Commercial Intelligence Department" is projected, the information obtained to be published in a Journal and in special Circulars and distributed, under certain arrangements, to public bodies connected with commerce, trade, industries, technical education, emigration and colonization.

We are told that the collection of intelligence is already proceeding by correspondence which will provide, in a great measure, for the continuous collection of all published and hitherto unpublished information, of an authoritative character, respecting the developed or the undeveloped resources, industries and commerce of all our dependencies. This Department takes cognizance of and distributes information regarding everything which affects or may affect all actual and possible trade, commerce and industry; it also collects information on the current condition and prospects of further development of technical and commercial education in Foreign States as well as information in relation to requirements of the Colonies as regards immigrants and colonization, new explorations, public works in progress and contemplation, condition of the labour market, etc., and of information bearing upon the existence or creation of openings for the investment of capital in the Colonial sections of the Empire.

It is abundantly evident that the promoters of the Imperial Institute had for their object in founding it the interest and advancement of commerce and industry. Regard was also had to the development of natural resources, the expansion of the Empire by Colonization and to everything which, on the face of it, promised to add to the material wealth of the Empire. In brief, the highest expression of the magnificence of the British Empire and of Imperial loyalty is to be a Commercial Museum, and the architectural monument of the close of the Victorian age is a temple to the gospel of ten-per-cent!

The first collateral development of the Imperial Institute scheme has been the inauguration of a School of Modern Oriental Studies in imitation of the very efficient establishments of this kind carried on with Government resources in France, Germany and Austria.

A special Committee was appointed to negociate with the authorities of University College and King's College, London, and to organise a system of work. It was arranged that classes for instruction in the Oriental languages required by students qualifying for examinations for the Indian Civil Service, should be held at University College, while Modern Oriental languages, other than Indian languages, should be taught at King's College, and that the Imperial Institute should undertake the general administrative and financial work. The school was officially opened in January 1890, when an inaugural address was delivered by Professor Max Müller at the Royal Institution.

Unfortunately this scheme has, so far, by no means proved a success, since in the published Programme we read [:]

> "Steps have been taken, by means of comprehensive advertisements, by the distribution of Professor Max Müller's Inaugural Address, and the delivery of public lectures by several Professors of the School, at the commencement of the different sessions, to direct general attention to the advantages afforded by the School of Modern Oriental Studies; repeated efforts have also been made by the Committee of Management to obtain for it such public and official recognition as is liberally afforded to similar establishment on the Continent. The suggestion that Oriental languages be made optional subjects at all preliminary examinations for Oriental appointments under Government, has been submitted to the several Government Departments which should be directly interested in the operations and success of the School, but it has not been favourably received by any one of them; hence no special inducements exist, additional to those presented by the excellent nature of the tuition, for students to join the classes, and the numbers attending have consequently hitherto been very small."

The first high note which has yet been officially sounded in connection with the Imperial Institute was struck by Professor Max Müller in the Inaugural address already alluded to. After admitting the enormous value of an intimate knowledge of the vernaculars, both for diplomatic, administrative & commercial purposes he appealed to the National Conscience in these remarkable words[:]

> "For ruling India in harmony with the wishes & the highest interests of its inhabitants & at the same time with a due regard for the tremendous responsibility incurred by England in becoming the guardian of that enormous empire, we want young men who are able to do more than merely chatter Hindustani or Tamil. If we look to the Lectures provided in the Oriental Seminary at Berlin, we shall find that they are not confined to

teaching Oriental languages, or how to write a commercial letter, how to draw up an official document and how to draft a political treaty. In every department the professors have to lecture on the history, the geography, the literature, the manners, customs, laws & religions of the principal nations of the East. This is the kind of knowledge which is absolutely necessary for those who are destined to rule over a population nearly ten times as large as the population of England; a population not only speaking different languages, but thinking different thoughts, believing in different religions, nourished by different historical traditions & divided by different aspirations for the future. It is sometimes supposed to be not altogether easy to govern England, Scotland & Ireland, because on certain points their interests seem divergent. It is said that English statesmen do not understand Ireland, Irish statesmen do not understand England & Scotch statesmen do not understand either. And yet these three countries speak a common language, have a common religion, and in spite of occasional jars and bickerings, would resist with a common indignation any insult offered to their common honour, any invasion of their commonwealth. Think then, what a task is imposed on that handful of young Englishmen, Scotchmen, & Irishmen who are sent out every year to govern India & how much depends on their being well equipped for that task.

"The history of England's taking possession of India is more marvellous than any story of the Arabian Nights, and what is the most marvellous in it is the absence of any plan or plot from beginning to end. It is generally said that India has been conquered by England. But the true conquest of India, it seems to me is still to come. The true conquerers of India, of the heart of India, will be those very men our new School of Oriental Languages means to fit for their work. No doubt they have to acquired the spoken vernaculars but--in order to understand the people, in order to sympathise with, nay, to love the people, with whom they are brought into daily contact, they must do more. There must be a real plan & plot in this new conquest. Our new conquerors will have to study the ancient literature of India, which is still the leaven of Indian thought. They must gain an insight into the ancient religious convictions & superstitions of the present day. They must enter into the spirit of the ancient law of the country before attempting to reconcile native customs with the principles of modern legislation. They must learn to appreciate the beauty of Indian literature before measuring it with the standard of our own poetry, or condemning it unheard. If our young statesmen go out to India, half acclimatised already to the intellectual atmosphere in which they are to spend the best part of their lives, they will not look upon the country as an exile, and on its inhabitants as mere strangers. They are not strangers, they are brothers."

The empire owes a deep debt of gratitude to Professor Max Müller for these ~~noble~~ words, & for his attempt to raise the aims of the Institute above the purely commercial policy into which it was in danger of drifting. The original official programme regarded only the commercial aspects of Imperialism: its emoluments to the exclusion of its reponsibilities. Of course no one would propose to contract the scope of the Imperial Institute as at present

projected. The scheme as far as it goes is admirably adapted for the end in view. But this end can scarcely be considered as adequate, or as sufficiently worthy of an Institute bearing the name of Imperial. It is undoubtedly well to know accurately the minutest details concerning the products of our dependencies, but is is still more important to understand the condition of the producers. It is irrational to consider the one without taking the other into account. The more we know about a people, the easier it will be to trade with them, while a wider & deeper knowledge of subject races would considerably reduce the friction which is always incidental to government. Between ourselves and our dependent races there is a great gulf of tradition, language & religion. It has not yet entered into the mind of the nation, that it is desirable--much less that it is necessary--to have a sympathetic knowledge of any of the races or peoples who collectively make up our Empire. The Anglo-Indian & the Colonial have too frequently a ~~(insolent?)~~ contempt for 'niggers,' a term of reproach which implies ~~the same~~ a hatred & superciliousness similar to that with which the Jews regard Gentiles, the Greeks the Barbarians, & which the Chinese still hold for 'foreign devils.' It is hardly possible for those who have not visited the Colonies to realize how very deep, bitter & undisguised this contempt is. The Anglo Saxon ruthlessly forces every native into his own ~~narrow?~~ Procrustean bed of usage & belief, & in this is supported by the resources of the Imperial army & navy. The result of this policy is that we exterminate slowly or rapidly, unintentionally or by force, the inhabitants of the countries we annex. The story ~~history~~ of our Colonial administration is sad & humiliating. If an impartial foreigner were to write the true history of our dependencies, he would be branded as inaccurate & prejudiced. The blame lies alike with the general public, the legislators & the executive. Ignorance engenders callousness, which is the fertile mother of injustice, cruelty, & legalised murder. Max Müller's noble appeal on behalf of India must be extended to all the dependencies of our Empire. The Imperial Institute would form an admirable basis to work from & might thus become Imperial in spirit as well as in name.

A classification of the objects of an institution which had imperial aims might be as follows:--

I. The Collection of Information & Specimens.

The knowledge respecting any colony or limited section of the Empire may conveniently be classified thus:

A. Geographical position, physical features & meteorology
B. Geology & mineral resources
C. Natural history, including Botany (actual & possible cultivation) & Zoology (useful & injurious animals)
D. Anthropology, in the widest sense of the term, including Linguistics
E. The Arts of Life, Chase, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Aesthetics
F. Sociology, analysis of the Social Condition

II. The systematisation of all such information for the use of
1. local officials & administrators
2. of the Colonial & foreign Offices & of Parliament
3. Of Agriculturalists, Merchants, Emigrants & others
4. Of Scientific men & travellers

III. The dissemination of information & instruction

The existing scheme of the Imperial Institute may be assumed to provide adequately for the collection & dissemination of information respecting those industries & natural resources which are connected with actual or possible trade. But there is no indication in the Offical Programme that the Imperial Institute proposes to concern itself with the scientific basis of administration ~~& ? commerce~~ or with the refinements of life. No place is found for the stimulation of the mental, artistic or musical activities of the Empire. Even when the study of Oriental languages was projected such official countenance as it received was based mainly on its tendency "to stimulate, promote & assist the commerce & the industries of the different parts of the British Empire."

At the present time if any enlightened candidate for the Indian or Colonial Civil Service or any intending emigrant or missionary should be desirous of obtaining precise and recent information about the character, customs, religion and prejudices of the people he is destined to deal with it would be practically impossible for him to procure it. Something he might learn from the Ethnological Galleries of the British Museum, and more by research in its Reading Room. But the most earnest and resolute student could acquire only a very inadequate amount of information and that with great difficulty, while students of inferior calibre could learn little or nothing.

There is an no institution to which any Government Official or any Member of Parliament can apply for authoritative information concerning the domestic, religious, or social life of the innumerable peoples of our Empire. The action of the local executive is unchecked by the knowledge that its deeds can be intelligently criticised and should any question be raised the only available information is that which is supplied by the very department whose actions are called in question. In Paris and Berlin lectures are give on the manners, customs, religions, ~~languages and so forth~~ arts and crafts of the principal nations of the East, but not in London.

The only teaching appointment in Anthropology in the British Empire is the Readership in Anthropology at Oxford which is held by Dr. E. B. Tylor. Anthropology is an additional optional subject in the final examination of the Honour School of Natural Science, a comprehensive syllabus is drawn up in "The Examination Statutes" of the University of Oxford, but no student has ever entered for the course or presented himself for examination. The chief reason for this state of affairs is that there is no state recognition of Anthropology. It has no place in the Civil Service Examinations, nor is there any inducement in our Services for an

official to have a general knowledge of Anthropology or a special acquaintance with one of its branches. It would be grotesque if it were not so lamentable that a candidate for a government appointment can obtain credit for a knowledge of almost any conceivable subject except that of human beings. That which may be fundamentaly important to him, he is not expected to know, nor does the official mind think it necessary that he should equip himself for dealing with other races than his own.

The present writer, in a review of a memoir on Indian Ornaments, at the beginning of this year drew attention in "Nature" [XLIII, Jany. 1891, p. 270] to the need of a Bureau of Indian ~~Ethnology~~ Ethnography analogous to [the] Bureau of Ethnology in Washington. The value of this latter institution may be gathered from some remarks which Professor Max Müller made at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science which was held at Cardiff last August. He is reported to have said [Nature XLIV, Sept. 24, 1891, p. 511:]

> "the publications of that Bureau count among the most valuable contributions to anthropological science and they reflect the highest credit not only on Major Powell and his fellow workers, but also on the American Government which has sanctioned a very large outlay for the prosecution of these studies. . . Our American friends have perceived that it is a national duty to preserve as much as can still be preserved of the languages and thoughts of the indigenous races who were the earliest dwellers on American soil. They know that the study of what might be called intellectual geology is quite as important as that of terrestrial geology, and that the study of the lower strata contains the key to a right understanding of the higher strata in the growth of the human mind. Coming generations will call us to account for having allowed the old world to vanish without trying to preserve its records . . . Some years ago I had succeeded in persuading a Secretary of State for the Colonies that it was the duty of the English Government to publish a Series of Colonial Records, containing trustworthy information on the languages, customs, laws, religions and monuments of the races inhabiting the English Colonies. Lord Granville saw that such an undertaking was a national duty and that the necessary funds should be contributed by the various colonies. Think what a magnificent work this would have been! But while the American Government has pushed forward its work, Lord Granville's scheme expired in the pigeon-holes of the Colonial Office. America may well be proud of Major Powell who would not allow the treasures collected by various scholars and Government Officials to moulder and perish."

The splendid series of Reports and the collections of Ethnological specimens in the [U.S.] National Museum attest to the ability with which this Department is conducted. The appropriation by Congress for the fiscal year 1888-89 "for the purpose of continuing ethnological researches among the American Indians" was $40,000. During the same year five ethnologists were on the staff and two additional ones were engaged for a total of ten months, besides seven assistant ethnologists and four who were temporarily engaged for a total of eighteen, [partially illegible:] while the British Empire has not a single person employed in such work [?].

Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., of the Ethnographical Department of the British Museum says in his Prefatory Note to "Part II Ethnography" of the "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," a small work which is now in press and which is published under the auspices of the British Association:

> "What is needed in this country, with its vast colonial possessions, is a Bureau of Ethnology, such as has now existed for some time in the United States. The value of such an institution for our empire can scarcely be estimated. That its tabulated researches would be of the greatest importance to our science will not be doubted, but its strongest reason for existence as a national institution is the immense service it would render, first to the officers governing our distant possessions, and second, to the central government at home, who would thus have, in the compass of a modest library, a synopsis of the history, manners, customs, and religious beliefs of the innumerable races composing the British Empire. In a word, we should then have at hand the means of undersanding the motives which influence the peoples with whom we are constantly dealing, and thus be able to avoid the disagreements arising from ignorance of their cherished prejudices and beliefs."

Prof. Max Müller and Mr. Read are authorities who have a right to be heard on this subject, nor are they alone in their aspirations. Many distinguished men of science are in favour of the establishment of a Bureau of Ethnology. It is the lack of opportunity rather a lack of interest which has restrained them from expressing their views. It may be assumed that in the opinion of competent authorities a Bureau of Ethnology is really needed and it would not be difficult to indicate its scope and aims.

The first obvious requirement is the collection of information respecting all the peoples who are comprised within the Empire. Owing to the vast amount of accumulated information, this task is difficult but practicable. Voyages, the ~~researches~~ narratives of geographers and travellers of all descriptions, British and foreign scientific journals, blue-books, ~~commercial reports~~ popular magazines, living and extinct, newspapers and all other records will have to be ransacked. The titles of the books, memoirs, articles and so forth will have to be arranged geographically and racially in a classified slip catalogue the value of which it would be difficult to overestimate, and this would every day be growing more complete. At a moment's notice it would be possible to show an inquirer the titles of all the books or papers that had been written on any tribe, however obscure, belonging to the Empire. In process of time cross references and a more analytical system of classification would render the slip catalogue of yet greater value. ~~The task is undoubtedly colossal but it can be accomplished.~~ Special marks on the slips would indicate whether the work referred to was in the library of the Institute or in which public library it would be found.

A library would have to be formed of books, pamphlets and manuscripts. There would be no need to duplicate any book which might be in the general library of the Imperial Institute

or even to have a separate library of any magnitude. The manuscript department would be for the storage of the manuscripts of travellers, traders, Civil Servants and others. An author usually writes a great deal more than can be printed and much valuable information is often lost as the manuscript notes are ultimately destroyed. There is often also matter of a political or of a social nature which it is not expedient to print, but which be available for reference.

As the present writer has elsewhere remarked [:]

> "such a Bureau would serve as a great stimulus to those who are interested in native races, but who require encouragement and direction. There can be little doubt that an immense number of isolated observations are lost for the lack of a suitable depository, the observers being fully aware that these are too casual to be of much value; when accumulated, however, the case is very different. Were it known that a record of any obscure or rarely observed custom would be duly filed and so classified as to be readily available to anyone who was studying native folk-lore, the probability is that many memoranda which otherwise would be lost would find their way to the Bureau. It cannot be too often or too strongly insisted upon that now is the time for the collection of all anthropological data in every department of that far-reaching science. To many, results alone are interesting, and there is too frequently a danger to generalize from imperfect data. Posterity will have plenty of time in which to generalize and theorize, but it will have scarcely any opportunity for recording new facts. This century has been one of most rapid transition. The apathy of our predecessors has lost to us an immense amount of information; let not this reproach be applied to us by our descendants."

The collection of objects of ethnological interest would also form part of the work of the Bureau, the ultimate destination of the specimens would be a matter for further consideration.

The second main ~~object~~ function of the Bureau would be to systematise all the information collected and to render it available (1) to the executive governments of the several colonies and to local officials and administrators; (2) to the India, Colonial and Foreign Offices, to Parliament, or to the Home Government; (3) to all those who, as agriculturalists, merchants or emigrants are engaged in opening up a country and in developing its resources, may require information concerning the natives and how they may best deal with them; (4) to those, whether students of Anthropology or travellers, who desire to obtain precise and minute information on any subject with which the Bureau deals.

The systematizing of the information collected by the Bureau should be carried out by especially trained assistants. The task is colossal, but it can be accomplished by dint of patience and method. Sub-division of labour would be necessary, and it would be most desirable that the organising head of each department should have lived, at least some months, in the district for which he was responsible. Were this the case, any enquirer could be put in communication with all the information accumulated and be guided in the manipulation of the unwieldly mass of material by trained regional experts.

The third task of the Bureau would be educational. This work falls naturally into two classes[:] (1) the publication of memoirs, pamphlets and other documents for the furtherance of the objects of the Bureau; and (2) Instruction. The Bureau should institute or arrange for courses of lectures and classes on General Anthropology (including Linguistics) as well as on such special branches as occasion may suggest and by this means information can be imparted to any who require it. It is also most important to remember that the evidence of the untrained observer is relatively worthless. Hence it will be necessary to have laboratories for practical instruction in anthropological methods. Here the student would learn how to observe and how to use his hands. He would be trained in a thoroughly equipped anthropometrical laboratory to discriminate between shades of colour, to make measurements on the living, ~~the methods of the craniologist~~ to measure and describe skulls, to test the physical efficiency of a person, much in the way that Mr. Francis Galton has rendered familiar. Photography as applied to Anthropology, as well as methods of making casts, and the art of collecting facts and objects would also form part of the technical instruction in Anthropology. ~~Methods~~ Modes of study and of handling statistics would form an important feature in the class work.

The scope and duration of a course of laboratory instruction would naturally depend upon the requirements of the student and whether he had previously undergone a training in Physical or Natural Science.

A careful perusal of the official publications of the Imperial Institute shows that it is only necessary to broaden the aims of the promoters, and the proposed Bureau of Ethnology falls naturally within the organization of the Institute.

But it is not sufficent, as the experience of the Anthropological School at Oxford has proved, to provide for instruction in Anthropology; the subject must receive the support of the Government and of the Services generally. Special credit sould be given to those Government Officials who take up and prosecute these Studies. Given the opportunity, it is not perhaps too sanguine to anticipate that some at least of our army of civil, military and naval officials may have their interest awakened in the subject.

Such a systematic training in anthropological study with its inevitable tendency to develop a more sympathetic and cordial attitude towards our dependencies and to modify our precipitate attempts to uproot institutions which are due to profound ethnic differences would unquestionably reduce the cost of maintaining our ascendancy. Half the little wars on which our treasure of blood and money is squandered are due to the collision between official ignorance and native conviction. This is the most practical answer to those who fear that a Bureau on the lines sketched would be too great a tax on the National Income.

Do ignorance and apathy pay? Incidents are costly. Commerce is disorganised by disturbances on the frontier and by anything that tends to foster mistrust and instability. That this is the case is proved by the delicate barometer of the Stock Exchange. Yet how rarely it

occurs even to the most thoughtful observer that the expenditure of human life is a loss to the Empire, whether it be that of our soldiers or of the natives of a country which we have annexed or are in the process of annexing. Capital, interest, and credit are recklessly squandered. That a knowledge of the language, customs and beliefs of alien peoples would prevent much of thiswaste admits of no doubt. It is not less clear that a well-appointed, energetic and liberal minded Bureau of Ethnology would more than pay for itself. The gain would be incommensurate with the cost.

With the nearly completed building of the Imperial Institute prominently before us it is necessary to have a clear conception of the aims which are worthy of an imperial institution. Shall we be content with the apotheosis of Mammon, or shall we recognize that man does not live by bread alone, and that there are such things as social reponsibilities and social duties? If we do not, we endanger our very national existence.

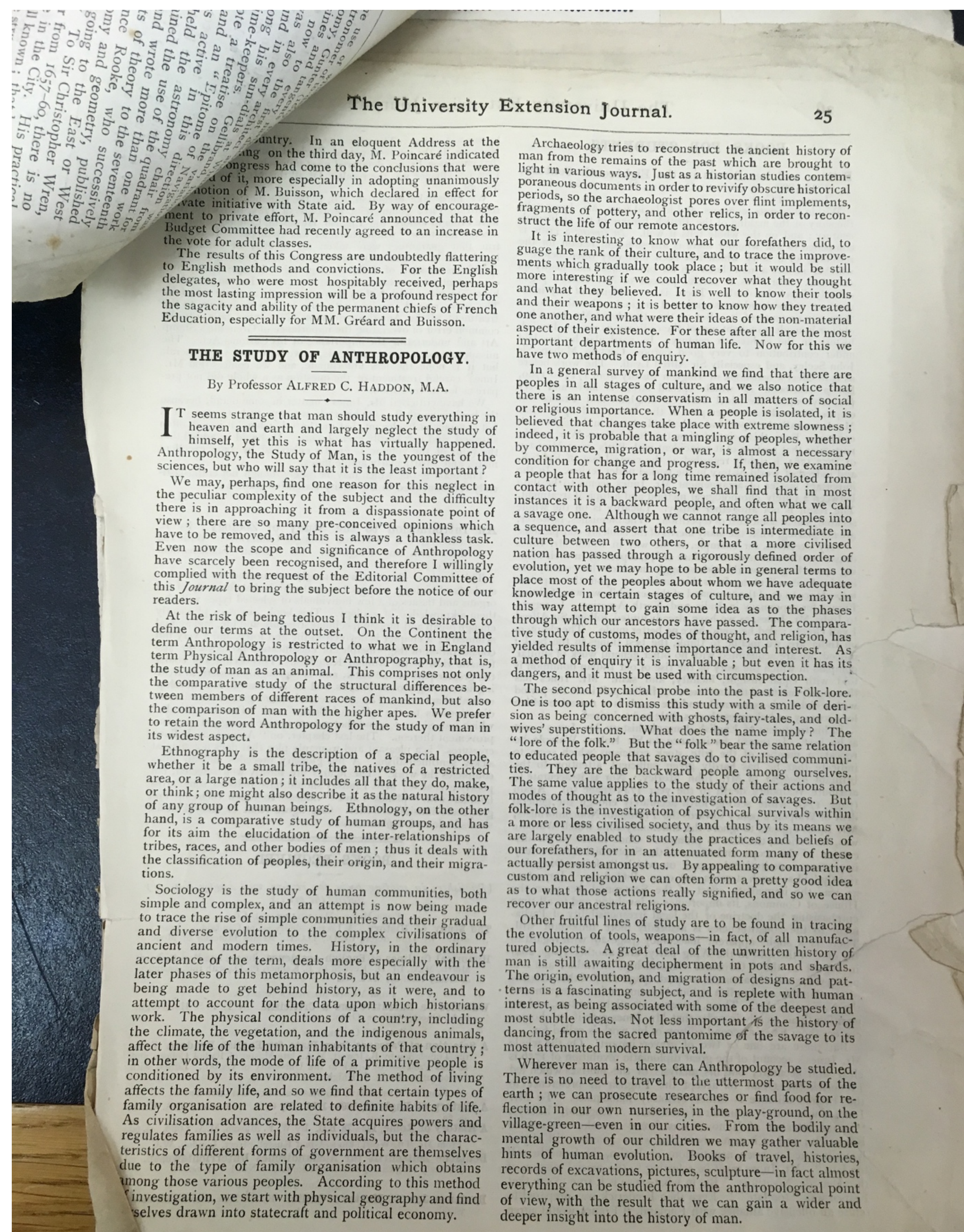
Alfred C. Haddon

There are many comments that might be offered on this text. One notes, for instance, that Haddon, who was to be a leading advocate of "field-work," seems at this point to have conceived his Bureau of Ethnology (at one point, Ethnography) rather more as a kind of Human Relations Area File, than as an organizer of field research--this, despite the emphasis on fieldwork in the U.S. Bureau he appealed to as model. Although he refered at one point to "the art of collecting facts," insofar as he proposed to offer training for anthropological research, it was primarily anthropometric.

In the space available, however, it is perhaps more to the point to consider his mentor's response, which Huxley described as "a bucket of cold water." He felt that "a project for the 'conversion of the heathen'" was more likely than converting the Imperial Institute to anthropological purposes. And even if it were possible, Huxley doubted that it would do much good, since the "too frequent brutality" of Englishmen overseas had "a moral rather than intellectual source," and was not likely to be affected by increased knowledge. In this context, he advised Haddon against publishing his paper (Haddon papers: THH/ACH 1/1/1892).

Although Haddon did not publish his manuscript, neither did he abandon the scheme. Along with other British anthropologists, he pursued the proposal for an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology on a number of occasions in the pre-World War I period (Feuchtwang 1973; cf. Kuklick 1992)--on one occasion using phrases taken directly from his 1891 draft (1897). He did not, however, again refer to "legalized murder" or "the red-paint of British aggression". In the future, appeals for the practical utility of anthropology were to be cast in language that an audience of imperialists might regard as less charged. [G.W.S.]

Appendix 5: Haddon. 1895. "The Study of Anthropology."



...untry. In an eloquent Address at the ...ing on the third day, M. Poincaré indicated ...ongress had come to the conclusions that were ...d of it, more especially in adopting unanimously ...motion of M. Buisson, which declared in effect for ...vate initiative with State aid. By way of encouragement to private effort, M. Poincaré announced that the Budget Committee had recently agreed to an increase in the vote for adult classes.

The results of this Congress are undoubtedly flattering to English methods and convictions. For the English delegates, who were most hospitably received, perhaps the most lasting impression will be a profound respect for the sagacity and ability of the permanent chiefs of French Education, especially for MM. Gréard and Buisson.

THE STUDY OF ANTHROPOLOGY.

By Professor ALFRED C. HADDON, M.A.

IT seems strange that man should study everything in heaven and earth and largely neglect the study of himself, yet this is what has virtually happened. Anthropology, the Study of Man, is the youngest of the sciences, but who will say that it is the least important?

We may, perhaps, find one reason for this neglect in the peculiar complexity of the subject and the difficulty there is in approaching it from a dispassionate point of view; there are so many pre-conceived opinions which have to be removed, and this is always a thankless task. Even now the scope and significance of Anthropology have scarcely been recognised, and therefore I willingly complied with the request of the Editorial Committee of this *Journal* to bring the subject before the notice of our readers.

At the risk of being tedious I think it is desirable to define our terms at the outset. On the Continent the term Anthropology is restricted to what we in England term Physical Anthropology or Anthropography, that is, the study of man as an animal. This comprises not only the comparative study of the structural differences between members of different races of mankind, but also the comparison of man with the higher apes. We prefer to retain the word Anthropology for the study of man in its widest aspect.

Ethnography is the description of a special people, whether it be a small tribe, the natives of a restricted area, or a large nation; it includes all that they do, make, or think; one might also describe it as the natural history of any group of human beings. Ethnology, on the other hand, is a comparative study of human groups, and has for its aim the elucidation of the inter-relationships of tribes, races, and other bodies of men; thus it deals with the classification of peoples, their origin, and their migrations.

Sociology is the study of human communities, both simple and complex, and an attempt is now being made to trace the rise of simple communities and their gradual and diverse evolution to the complex civilisations of ancient and modern times. History, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, deals more especially with the later phases of this metamorphosis, but an endeavour is being made to get behind history, as it were, and to attempt to account for the data upon which historians work. The physical conditions of a country, including the climate, the vegetation, and the indigenous animals, affect the life of the human inhabitants of that country; in other words, the mode of life of a primitive people is conditioned by its environment. The method of living affects the family life, and so we find that certain types of family organisation are related to definite habits of life. As civilisation advances, the State acquires powers and regulates families as well as individuals, but the characteristics of different forms of government are themselves due to the type of family organisation which obtains among those various peoples. According to this method of investigation, we start with physical geography and find ourselves drawn into statecraft and political economy.

Archaeology tries to reconstruct the ancient history of man from the remains of the past which are brought to light in various ways. Just as a historian studies contemporaneous documents in order to revivify obscure historical periods, so the archaeologist pores over flint implements, fragments of pottery, and other relics, in order to reconstruct the life of our remote ancestors.

It is interesting to know what our forefathers did, to guage the rank of their culture, and to trace the improvements which gradually took place; but it would be still more interesting if we could recover what they thought and what they believed. It is well to know their tools and their weapons; it is better to know how they treated one another, and what were their ideas of the non-material aspect of their existence. For these after all are the most important departments of human life. Now for this we have two methods of enquiry.

In a general survey of mankind we find that there are peoples in all stages of culture, and we also notice that there is an intense conservatism in all matters of social or religious importance. When a people is isolated, it is believed that changes take place with extreme slowness; indeed, it is probable that a mingling of peoples, whether by commerce, migration, or war, is almost a necessary condition for change and progress. If, then, we examine a people that has for a long time remained isolated from contact with other peoples, we shall find that in most instances it is a backward people, and often what we call a savage one. Although we cannot range all peoples into a sequence, and assert that one tribe is intermediate in culture between two others, or that a more civilised nation has passed through a rigorously defined order of evolution, yet we may hope to be able in general terms to place most of the peoples about whom we have adequate knowledge in certain stages of culture, and we may in this way attempt to gain some idea as to the phases through which our ancestors have passed. The comparative study of customs, modes of thought, and religion, has yielded results of immense importance and interest. As a method of enquiry it is invaluable; but even it has its dangers, and it must be used with circumspection.

The second psychical probe into the past is Folk-lore. One is too apt to dismiss this study with a smile of derision as being concerned with ghosts, fairy-tales, and old-wives' superstitions. What does the name imply? The "lore of the folk." But the "folk" bear the same relation to educated people that savages do to civilised communities. They are the backward people among ourselves. The same value applies to the study of their actions and modes of thought as to the investigation of savages. But folk-lore is the investigation of psychical survivals within a more or less civilised society, and thus by its means we are largely enabled to study the practices and beliefs of our forefathers, for in an attenuated form many of these actually persist amongst us. By appealing to comparative custom and religion we can often form a pretty good idea as to what those actions really signified, and so we can recover our ancestral religions.

Other fruitful lines of study are to be found in tracing the evolution of tools, weapons—in fact, of all manufactured objects. A great deal of the unwritten history of man is still awaiting decipherment in pots and shards. The origin, evolution, and migration of designs and patterns is a fascinating subject, and is replete with human interest, as being associated with some of the deepest and most subtle ideas. Not less important is the history of dancing, from the sacred pantomime of the savage to its most attenuated modern survival.

Wherever man is, there can Anthropology be studied. There is no need to travel to the uttermost parts of the earth; we can prosecute researches or find food for reflection in our own nurseries, in the play-ground, on the village-green—even in our cities. From the bodily and mental growth of our children we may gather valuable hints of human evolution. Books of travel, histories, records of excavations, pictures, sculpture—in fact almost everything can be studied from the anthropological point of view, with the result that we can gain a wider and deeper insight into the history of man.

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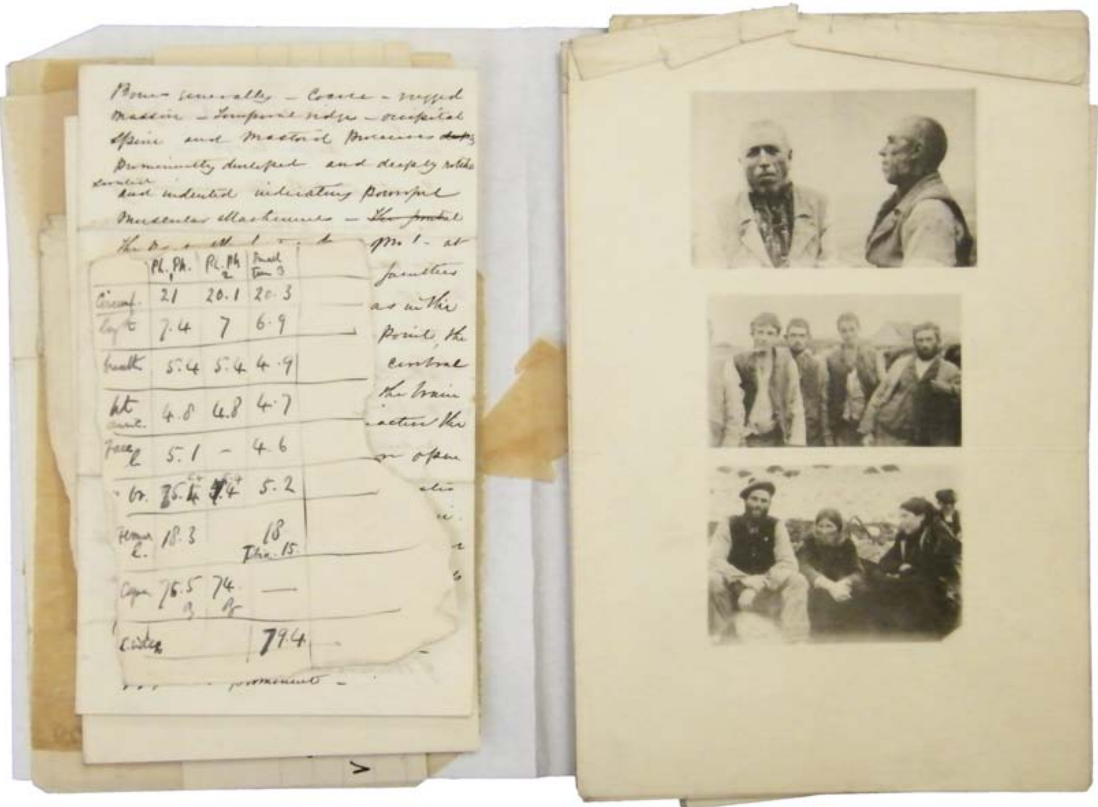

Fig. 9.1 Pages from the manuscript of 'The Ethnography of the Aran Islands" by Haddon and Browne (1891) (© CUL: HP F4062 CUL).

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Haddon. c1891. MS of critique of the Imperial Institute (HP F5061 CUL).

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