TREATY RESEARCH SERIES
TREATY OF WAITANGI RESEARCH UNIT

Anthropological, Ethnological and Ethnographic Concerns in Colonial Australia in the 1840s.

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Most studies of the development of anthropology in Australia during the nineteenth century concentrate on the latter half of the century when the subject had established its institutional foundations in learned societies, museums and even universities in Britain, elsewhere in Europe and in North America. The "experts" associated with these centres relied on correspondents abroad for ethnographic information, and material on the Australian Aborigines was particularly pertinent to their speculations on the origins and early stages in the evolution of humankind. Much has been written on these connections and the leading figures involved.[1] But very little has been said about earlier nineteenth century general interest in anthropology in Australia, how this was connected with developments in the subject abroad, and how this might be linked to the development of ethnographic collecting on Aborigines.

The aim of this paper is to examine how anthropology, and its related fields of ethnology and ethnography, was discussed in various colonies in Australia before 1850. Anthropology, broadly conceived, is the study of humans in all their aspects: ranging from philosophical (and earlier theological) considerations of what it means to be human, to the importance of social and cultural aspects of being human including the comparison of humans in relation to other living species in terms of their biology. Ethnology is concerned with the relationships between humans, usually on the basis of cultural aspects, including language, within and between particular groups connected by geography and/or history. Ethnography is the description of the social and cultural aspects of a particular group of people based usually on direct observation that has occurred within a limited period of association and which may have been focussed on only one aspect of their lives. In certain parts of Europe, particularly Germany, at the period with which this paper is concerned, these related subjects had been named and their fields established, but in Britain, elsewhere in Europe and in North America,

[1] See particularly the work of D.J. Mulvaney: "The Australian Aborigines 1606-1929: opinion and fieldwork [Parts 1and 2]. *Historical Studies; Selected Articles*, London: Melbourne University Press, 1964, pp.1-56; "The Ascent of Aboriginal Man: Howitt as Anthropologist". In M. H. Walker, *Come Wind, Come Weather: a Biography of Alfred Howitt*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1971, pp. 283-312; [with J. H. Calaby] *So Much that is New: Baldwin Spencer, 1860-1929: a Biography*. Carlton: University of Melbourne, 1985. See also L. R. Hiatt, *Arguments about Aborigines: Australia and the Evolution of Social Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Russell McDougall and Iain Davidson eds, *The Roth Family, Anthropology, and Colonial Administration*. London: Routledge, 2006; and Helen Gardner and Patrick McConvell, *Southern Anthropology: a History of Fison and Howitt's Kamilaroi and Kurnai*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

they were still in the process of being formulated and organized. [2]

James Rennie's Lectures on Anthropology in Sydney in the early 1840s

In November 1840 newspapers in Sydney in the Colony of New South Wales reported on two lectures given in late October by a "Professor Rennie" in the Mechanics' School of Arts on the subject of the "Method of Studying and improving the Mind". Among the topics covered was "ANTHROPOLOGY or the Study of man".[3] The following June, the Committee of the School of Arts, announced that "during the current Session" lectures would be delivered under "Five Divisions of Knowledge". [4]

Essentially the lectures would follow the divisions of knowledge used to organize the previous October series, but in extended form. The first of the five Divisions of knowledge was entitled "Anthropology, or Man Study'".[5] As announced, the Anthropology lectures were to be divided in two subfields: Mental Anthropology and Material Anthropology. Under Mental Anthropology six areas were identified with separate addresses delivering a series of lectures ranging from four to six on ideology, or "the Study of Ideas'", four on aesthetics, two on painting, two in criticism, illustrated by Byron's poetry and Sterne's prose, "several" lectures on the philosophy of modern history and finally one lecture on the Crusades. Material Anthropology was to include five lectures on phrenology. Of particular interest were the lectures on Ideology, which were to include "experiments illustrating the Ideas of Power, of Cause and Effect".

These were to be delivered by "James Rennie, Esq., M.A., A.L.S." and were intended to introduce the entire series covering the major divisions of knowledge as conceived of in early Victorian society.[6] Given that the term "anthropology" was little known at the time in the English-speaking world, why had it been adopted for intellectual consideration in what was Britain's second most distant colony? Who was James Rennie and why would be present such an ambitious series of lectures in what had been initially established as a convict settlement rather than a British colony whose population deserved enlightenment?

James Rennie was born at Sorn, in Ayrshire, Scotland in 1787 and died in Adelaide, South Australia in 1867. He graduated with an MA from the University of Glasgow in 1815 and soon moved to London where he developed a career as a public lecturer on scientific subjects and as the author of scientific books for popular consumption. In 1830 he was

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[2] On the eighteenth century German roots of anthropology and its related fields see Han.F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015; on developments in Britain, George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*. New York: Free Press, 1987.

[3] For a contemporary summary of these lectures see Document 1, appended.

[4] The announcement appeared in most of the colony's leading newspapers between the June 10 and 15, 1841. See *The Australian, The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, Australasian Chronicle, The Sydney Monitor and Commercial Advertiser* and *The Sydney Herald*.

[5] The other Divisions were: II. Zoology or Animal Study; III. Cosmology or Earth Studv of the World; IV. Physics or the Mechanism of Nature and Art; V. Peritropology or Change Study (two lectures on "Electricity and Galvanism" and four on Chemistry with experiments on poisons, etc.).

[6] The only previous mention of these 1841 lectures I can locate, and the fact that they included anthropology, was made by Michael Roe in his *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851*. Parkville: Melbourne University Press, 1965, p.160.

appointed Professor of Natural History in the newly formed King's College, London, but in 1834 he was made redundant, reputedly through a lack of students enrolled in his subject. He continued to publish and received support from the Royal Literary Fund, which in 1839 assisted him and his family to emigrate to New South Wales. [7]

During his time in Britain Rennie's career was marked by controversy. His published works covered a wide range of topics, from works on medical subjects and pharmacopoeia to writings on gardening, butterflies, moths, birds, the nests (or "architecture") of birds and insects, mammals (including a study of primates) and general science.[8] As reviewers noted, not all his arrangement of subjects conformed to accepted usage and he rejected Linnaeus's classificatory system. Many also noted that his ideas were not always original and he was directly and indirectly accused of plagiarism. In one case he was taken to court on this issue and although the judge found him not guilty, public opinion was not in his favour. Although the evidence is unclear, the loss of his professorship at King's College and his emigration to Australia may not have been entirely disconnected with his troubles in Britain. Certainly, controversy followed him to Australia and his life there was far from easy.[9] At first, however, he was successful in the new colony.

By 1840 the leading citizens of Sydney were attempting to distance themselves from the colony's convict origins. Although by 1840 the transportation of convicts had ended, in 1836 at least 17,000 of the Colony's almost 50,000 inhabitants had once been convicts. A large number lived in Sydney, which in the same year had a population of almost 20,000. By 1841 Sydney's population had increased to almost 30,000, mostly through immigration. According to one contemporary report, the city retained signs of its convict past, with its numerous "gin palaces". But the same report noted the attempts by Governor George Gipps to "improve the minds" of the population by fostering "a love of the arts, and to excite a laudable spirit of emulation amongst the convicts". The city had a number of libraries, the best of which was "connected with the school of arts."[10] It was to this institution that Rennie had travelled to the other end of the earth in order to promote enlightenment.

From 1830 onwards a number of schools based on the model of English private schools of the period ('public schools') were established in Sydney and surrounding settlements, although education was divided along Protestant and Catholic lines. This division continued in attempts to establish higher-level educational institutions.[11] Attempts to provide broader enlightenment to the population included the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, established in 1833. While intended for artisans, it also included the library mentioned above, intended for all classes, including women, to encourage (as its founding charter stated) "social, intellectual and physical recreation" through "lectures, seminars and workshops on issues of current affairs,

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[7] Some aspects of his life, career and publications can be found in Frederick G. Page, "James Rennie (1787–1867), author, naturalist and lecturer." *Archives of Natural History*, 35 (1), 2008, pp. 128-42; and A. M. Lucas, "James Rennie (1786–1867) in Australia, 1840–1867." *Archives of Natural History*, 40, (2), 2013, pp. 320-23.

[8] Page, "James Rennie (1787–1867)…", pp.138-42, provides an annotated bibliography of his major works.

[9] See Lucas, "James Rennie (1786–1867)…", and below.

[10] E.P.N., "Present state of Sydney, New South Wales." *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial Maritime Journal*, 5 (19), May, 1841, pp. 291-98: quotes are taken from pp. 292, 294.

[11] Geoffrey Sherington and Craig Campbell, "Education", *Dictionary of Sydney*, 2008, http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/education, accessed 15 June 2016; this source includes a good overview of the history of education in the city. See also the separate entry on the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts in the *Dictionary.*

literature, science and the arts."[12] Shortly after its foundation, one Daniel Taylor gave a lecture under the auspices of the School on the "Natural History of Man". A local newspaper noted the "peculiarity of hearing a plain mechanic combat the principles and opinions of Lords KAIMS, MONBODDO, and other learned men" and promised to report later in more detail on the lectures.[13] While no report appears to have been published, the study of humankind was clearly on the early agenda of the School.

At first sight, to at least to a modern anthropologist, the range of subjects covered by Rennie in his lectures does not appear very anthropological. But a closer examination of the leading writers and works named indicates that, at least in terms of "anthropology" of the time, he identified a number of its leading promoters. All these also have been identified by modern historians as important in the development of anthropology later in the nineteenth century. Rennie identifies these leading figures as "Herder, Blumenbach, Bory St Vincent, Virey, and Lord Kames", and adds that "Lawrence's notorious lectures are chiefly copied from Cuvier,[14] &c".

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), the noted eighteenth century German philosopher, is now recognized as an important precursor in the development of German anthropology and ethnology.[15] Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) is perhaps the most easily identified as an "anthropologist" in Rennie's named sources. A famous Goettingen scientist, doctor, anatomist and writer, Blumenbach is widely recognized as the founder of the natural science approach to human variation and central to the development of anthropology as a science in Germany and other countries from the end of the eighteenth century into the first half of the nineteenth century,[16]

The two British authors mentioned by Rennie have also been recognized as important in the development of anthropology. Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), was a Scottish lawyer, philosopher and promoter of practical science His significance for the development of anthropological ideas has been identified in the context of writers of the Scots Enlightenment and their conjectural speculations on the origins and social and cultural stages in the development of civilization.[17] The reference to "Lawrence's notorious lectures" is to William Lawrence (1783-1867), an English surgeon whose lectures on human nature (*Lectures on physiology, zoology and the natural history of man*), published in 1819, were deemed blasphemous by the then Lord Chancellor. Lawrence's role in the development of anthropological ideas in Britain has recently been reassessed.[18]

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[12] See Garry Wotherspoon, *The Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts: A History*. Sydney: ARMEDIA, 2013.

[13] *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 29 June 1833, p. 3

[14] Georges Cuvier (1769-1832), noted French naturalist, zoologist, and early researcher in palaentology.

[15] John H. Zammito, *Kant, Herder, and the Birth of Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

[16]. On Blumenbach, his work and promotion of the term "anthropology", see Vermeulen, *Before Boas*.

[17] George W. Stocking, "Scotland as the model of mankind: Lord Kames's philosophical view of Civilization." In his *Delimiting Anthropology: Occasional Inquiries and Reflections*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001, pp. 78-102.

[18] Efram Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813-1871*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013, Chapter 1.

The other major figures Rennie mentions are important in the development of French scientific approaches to the development of "anthropology".[19] They are connected with French imperialism and the formulation of rational, post-Enlightenment ideas in association with advances in anatomical analysis and medicine.[20] Julien-Joseph Virey (1775 -1846) was a French naturalist, a medical doctor and writer, in many ways seen as the founder of the scientific study later named "anthropology" following the publication of his *Histoire naturelle du genre humain, ou, recherches sur ses principaux fondements physiques et moraux, précédées d'un discours sur la nature des êtres organiques* (1801).[21] Jean Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent (1778-1846) was another French naturalist; appointed to Nicolas Baudin's naval expedition to Australia in 1798, he left Baudin's ship in Mauritius. He was the author of *L'Homme (homo) ou Essai zoologique sur le genre humain* (1825/27) and, although of very different political views, Bory, like Virey, held polygenisist views of race.[22]

The other figures mentioned in the newspaper reports have not achieved quite the same standing in studies of the history of anthropology, but do not go unmentioned (they are identified in the footnotes to Document 1). What is significant is that they clearly reflect, as does the description of the field covered in Rennie's lectures, the ambivalent inheritance of ideas that at this period were often included under the rubric of "anthropology".[23] On the one hand there is still a theological dimension in which humans as seen as part of God's creation. On the other hand the physical nature of humans in relation to other animals and their anatomy and physiology are considered in more rational terms and on the basis of scientific principles including empirical observation and systematic classification. Finally, there is the philosophical dimension that draws on both much older and more recent debates and critical arguments on the nature of the soul, mind, thought and knowledge.

Through his education and later studies Rennie was well grounded in both philosophy and natural history. His knowledge of sources came perhaps not only through continued study, including reading books in different languages, but also from direct contact with foreign scholars. It appears he was well travelled and visited, if not studied abroad, including in Germany, in whose universities anthropology was taught and discussed earlier than in most other places in Europe.[24] In the year following the lectures Rennie attempted, with his son Edward, to establish a "College High School" in Sydney "to preclude the necessity of sending pupils to Europe" for preparation for higher education. The advertisement for the school stated

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[19] On the development of the concept of anthropology and its relation to the science of man, see Claude Blanckaert, "L'Anthropologie en France, le mot et l'histoire (XVIe-XIXe siècles)." *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, n.s. 1 (3), 1989, pp. 13-43.

[20] Elizabeth A. Williams, *The physical and the Moral Anthropology, Physiology, and Philosophical Medicine in France, 1750-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

[21]. Claude Blanckaert, "J.–J. Virey, observateur de l'homme (1800-1825)." In Claude Bénichou and Claude Blanckaert eds, *Julien-Joseph Virey: Naturaliste et Anthropologue*. Paris: J. Vrin, 1988, pp. 97-182.

[22] See the discussion of their careers and views in Martin S. Staum, *Labelling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire, 1815-1848*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003, pp. 40-49.

[23] On this see Stephen Gaukroger, *The Natural and the Human: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1739-1841*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

[24] See Page, "James Rennie (1787–1867)…", pp. 131-32 for his foreign travels.

that Edward had been "educated in France, Prussia, and London" and that the intended courses would follow educational plans approved by "London, Edinburgh and Prussian Schools".[25]

The outline of anthropology reported in the account of the lectures was broad and general. In spite of his reference to Blumenbach, important aspects of the field are missing from Rennie's lectures. As reported, there was apparently no discussion of any classificatory scheme of humankind based on physical variation, nor any connection with variations in language or custom. Blumenbach's classificatory schema were widely discussed and adopted (occasionally with changes), most significantly in Britain, by the medical doctor and anatomist James Cowles Prichard. In 1813 Prichard published the first edition of his *Researches into the Physical History of Man* and a second edition had begun to appear before Rennie emigrated to New South Wales.[26] It is unlikely that Rennie was unaware of this work by a fellow graduate of a Scottish University, so it is surprising that he fails to mention him as a source. His disinterest in classificatory schemes may be a reflection of his rejection of Linnaean approaches. The second thing to note about Rennie's lectures is that, in spite of his passing reference to a kangaroo, there is no mention of Australian Aborigines or indeed any other specific group or their language or cultural customs. On the other side of the Australian sub-continent at this period, however, a doctor, Henry Landor, was making a connection between new scientific ideas on human variation in physical form, language and customs on the one hand and the Australian Aborigines on the other.

Henry Landor and the Aborigines of the Swan River

Henry Landor was the eldest of three brothers who emigrated from England to the Swan River settlement in Western Australia in 1841. The middle sibling, Edward Wilson Landor, trained as a lawyer, had been advised by his physicians to seek a better climate for health reasons.[27] Henry, a graduate of the Aldersgate School of Medicine in London in 1837, was also a certificated apothecary so he accompanied his brother to help his recovery. Henry was born on the Island of Anglesey in 1815 and raised in Liverpool.[28] The brothers had intended to farm on their arrival in Australia, but Edward soon found himself involved in legal matters and Henry

[25] Advertisement in *The Colonial Observer* 1(3), October 21, 1841, p. 21; it also appeared in later editions and other newspapers. On Rennie's educational schemes in Sydney, see Lucas, "James Rennie (1786–1867)…", pp. 320-21.

[26] See George W. Stocking, "From chronology to ethnology: James Cowles Prichard and British Anthropology 1800–1850". Introduction to James Cowles Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Man*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1973; Hannah Franziska Augstein, *James Cowles Prichard's Anthropology: Remaking the Science of Man in Early Nineteenth-century Britain*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999.

[27] For an autobiographical account of the emigration and settlement see, Edward Wilson Landor, *The Bushman: Or, Life in a New Country*. London: Richard Bentley, 1847, published after Edward Landor returned to England. He later settled in Perth as a lawyer: see M. Medcalf, "Landor, Edward Wilson (1811–1878)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/landor-edward-willson-2324/text3023, accessed online 6 July 2016.

[28] Biographical details can be found in Stephen Lett's biographical sketch of Landor following his death in 1877, although Lett confuses Henry with Edward when he states Henry came to Australia as a lawyer; see Lett, [Biographical sketch of Dr Henry Landor], *The American Journal of Insanity*, 34, 1877/78, pp. 205-09.

in scientific research and geographical exploration. He produced accounts of the local Aborigines, which he published in the local Perth newspaper, the *Inquirer*.[29] The first, untitled contribution appeared as a letter to the editor where Landor offered "a few observations" on the "Australian Native"; the two contributions that followed, although also presented as letters to the editor, were entitled "On the Physiology of the Western Australian Native". [30]

A later comment by the editor of the *Inquirer* reveals that Landor "originally designed" his papers for submission to "the 'Colonial Society' in London" and, as they would "still be forwarded to that body", comments by knowledgeable colonists would be welcome.[31] This is a reference to the Colonial Society of London, founded in 1837, which from 1838 published the *Colonial Gazette* to "excite in England an interest in Colonial questions commensurate with their Importance".[32] Published weekly, it included news from the colonies extracted from local publications, and it also published "Original Papers" such as that Landor proposed. The *Colonial Gazette* was received and read in all the Australian colonies.

What is clear, however, is that although presented as "original" contributions, large sections of Landor's account were derived from existing, published sources but without proper acknowledgement. His general comments on human anatomy were taken, almost entirely, from Joseph Henry Green's recent Hunterian Oration before the Royal College of Surgeons.[33] Green, a professor of anatomy at the College, was Samuel Coleridge's physician and literary executor. His writings mixed and muddled scientific and literary themes.[34] The material Landor reproduced was derived mostly from Green's Appendix D, "Characteristics of Man's Bodily Frame" (pp. 60-78). It is perhaps significant that when, in 1847, his brother Edward reprinted parts of Henry's letters in the book on his experiences in Western Australia, the plagiarized sections were not included.[35]

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[29] *The Inquirer: A Western Australian Journal of Politics and Literature* became a weekly on July 7, 1840. Its motto was "Occulta vitia inquirerc" and it was edited by its proprietor, Francis Lochee; see John Hay, "Literature and Society." In C. T. Stannage ed., *A New History of Western Australia*. Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1981, pp. 604-605.

[30] Henry Landor, Correspondence: *Inquirer*, 4 May 1842, pp. 3-4; 22 June 1842, pp. 2-4; 29 June 1842, pp.5-6: see Document 2, appended, for texts.

[31] *Inquirer*, 22 June 1842, p. 3

[32] Advert for the *Colonial* Gazette in *The Quarterly Review* (London) December, 1839, p. 45.

[33] *Vital Dynamics; the Hunterian Oration before the Royal college of Surgeons in London 14th February 1840*. London: Pickering, 1840.

[34] Trevor H. Levere, *Poetry Realized in Nature: Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Early Nineteenth-Century Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 44-45.

[35] Landor, *The Bushman*, Chapter XV, "Remarks on the Physical Organization of The Natives" (pp. 196-207), which is based on "observations …. by Henry Landor… who resided five years among the natives of Western Australia, and is intimately acquainted with all their habits and peculiarities" (p. 196 footnote). In London *The Athenæum* (No. 1045, September 6, 1847, pp. 1141-42), reproduced most of Henry Landor's observations on the Aborigines in its notice of *The Bushman*, and no doubt someone would have recognised Green's text if it had been included. Later, Brough Smyth would quote from "one of a series of letters to the Perth *Inquirer*, dated June 1842" by his "friend the late Dr. Henry Landor"; see R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria, with Notes Relating to the Habits of the Natives of Other Parts of Australia and Tasmania*. Melbourne: John Ferres, 1878, Volume 2, pp. 239-42. By this time no one had noticed the unacknowledged borrowings.

Further sections Landor presented were also derived, unacknowledged, from other sources, probably from texts he studied as a student.[36] When it comes to specifics on "race", however, he relies on Prichard (miss-spelt as Pritchard) and puts at least one section in quotation marks. It would appear that he had a copy of Prichard's third edition with him, or a related source. It is interesting, however, that a correspondent challenged the editor of the *Inquirer* for not enumerating the "correct" number of "varieties" of humankind. In defending Landor against earlier attacks, the editor had written:

> We believe the object of Mr. Landor in these researches is purely scientific — to endeavour to ascertain whether the Australian native in to be classed with one of the *five acknowledged varieties* of the human race, or whether he must be classed by himself, and considered to form the sixth variety. It has been proved already, most learnedly and satisfactorily, by Pritchard, in his 'Researches into the physical history of Mankind,' that all the varieties of our race are traceable to one common origin.[37]

The correspondent argued there were seven, not five varieties of humankind, a position more consistent with that of Prichard: see Document 3, appended.

While Landor's account may have borrowed large sections from the works of other writers, his writing did not entirely lack originality. It is obvious that he had examined the anatomy of Aborigines at first hand, and had acquired some skulls he compared with those he had encountered during his anatomical training. His highly prejudicial "ethnographic" comments, however, were quite rudimentary and subject to severe criticism from a number of local correspondents.

There were already good, published accounts of Swan River Aborigines that were relatively free of the negative sentiments expressed by Landor.[38] Dr Scott Nind, a naval surgeon involved in the establishment of the settlement (1827-29) had communicated an account of the Aborigines of King George's Sound to the Royal Geographical Society, and this was subsequently published in the Society's *Journal*.[39] Two years later a local settler of Scots descent, Robert Milne Lyon, published a favourable account of the Aborigines in the *Perth Gazette*.[40] Lyon, who believed he could convert the Aborigines to Christianity, stressed the importance of learning their languages. He also championed the cause of the Aborigines, and in 1833 he proposed a resolution to the colony's major intellectual institution, the Agricultural Society, that Aboriginal rights over land and resources be recognised and protected. He followed his idea up with a detailed set of proposals.[41]

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[36] I have indicated some of these where relevant in Document 2, appended.

[37] *Inquirer*, 22 June 1842, p. 3.

[38] On relations between Aborigines and the new settlers, including the writing of "ethnographic" accounts (although without mention of Landor), see Neville Green, "Aborigines and White settlers in the nineteenth century". In C.T. Stannage, ed., *A New History of Western Australia*. Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1981, pp. 72-123.

[39] Scott Nind, "Description of the Natives of King George's Sound (Swan River Colony) and Adjoining Country." *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1, 1831, pp. 21-51.

[40] R. M. Lyon, "A glance at the manners, and language of the Aboriginal inhabitants of Western Australia; with a short Vocabulary." *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, 30 March 1833, pp. 51-52.

[41] The proposals were published in the *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, 11 January 1834, pp. 215-16; see also Ann Hunter, "Treaties? The impact of inter-racial

Henry Landor, however, dismissed Aboriginal languages as "a combination of snapping, squeaking, whining, grunting sounds". He was equally dismissive of the evidence given by missionaries in London in favour of better treatment for Aborigines (see Document 3 for details). Surprisingly his elder brother, Edward, defended Aborigines charged with murdering another Aborigine, suggesting that:

> because this territory [is] acknowledged by occupancy and not by conquest, the aboriginal inhabitants could not be subject to our laws for offences committed amongst themselves without their previous assent to and acceptance of those laws.[42]

While the court did not accept his argument, his sentiments were consistent with the opinion of others involved at the time in presenting evidence to the British Parliament in London concerning the legal position and rights of aboriginal people in other British colonies. Leading this campaign was a mixed group that had emerged from the long struggle to get the British government to suppress the slave trade. The anti-slavery movement included missionaries and clergymen, often non-conformists, and medical men, often also non-conformists, including some Quakers. In 1837 they had formed an Aborigines' Protection Society (APS) and their efforts at reform were well reported in the British colonies, including in Australia.[43] The reports stimulated discussion and comment as well as debate, including in Sydney where James Rennie was to be involved in the discussions.

Debating Societies, Aborigines, Ethnology and Ethnography

One of the roles Rennie took up on settling in Sydney was to act as secretary to the Sydney Debating Society. According to his report on the Society's activities, written in 1843, public debates had existed prior to 1841 in connection with the Mechanics' School of Arts.[44] But during 1841 several members of the School of Arts who "had been connected with similar Societies in Britain" reinvigorated the practice and a Debating Society was properly constituted

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violence in Tasmania on proposals for negotiating agreements with Aboriginal people in Western Australia in the early 1830s**.**" [2006] *Australia and New Zealand Law and History E-Journal*, 2006; and Ann Hunter, *A Different Kind of Subject: Colonial Law in Aboriginal European Relations in 19th Century Western Australia, 1829–61*. North Melbourne, Vic.: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2012.

[42] On the case of *R v Wewar* (1842) see contemporary reports in the *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, 8 January 1842, p. 2; see also *Inquirer*, 12 January 1842, p. 4 and subsequent issues; see also Ann Hunter, "The boundaries of colonial criminal law in relation to inter-Aboriginal conflict ('*inter se offences'*) in Western Australia in the 1830s and 1840s" *Australian Journal of Legal History*, 8(2), 2004.

[43] See Ronald Rainger, "Philanthropy and science in the 1830's: The British and Foreign Aborigines' Protection Society". *Man* (n.s.), 15, 1980, pp. 702–17; James Heartfield, *The Aborigines' Protection Society: Humanitarian Imperialism in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Canada, South Africa, and the Congo, 1836–1909*. London: Hurst 2011; and Alan Lester and Fae Dussart, *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[44] Rennie's report, entitled "Sydney Debating Society", appeared in *The Australian*, 12 May 1843, p. 2.

in October of that year. In eighteenth century Britain debating societies developed strongly, associated with a variety of groups. Some encouraged literary discussion among men and women; others brought men of science together to investigate new ideas, theoretical and practical. Of more concern to the authorities were the debating societies of political activists who discussed radical ideas in an age of revolution and political turmoil.[45] In many ways, in science at least, they preceded the development of learned societies devoted to particular fields of knowledge that would later be established in the nineteenth century.

In Sydney, the Debating Society proved highly popular and soon became an important event for the more respectable citizens of the town to attend. In the first year over 200 members were enrolled, and the debates were held in the School of Arts. The numbers attending caused concern for the Committee of the School, but according to Rennie, these problems were resolved. The debates involved the leading officials, merchants and other important figures of Sydney. They often extended over a number of nights, with many citizens also expressing their opinions. Important social and political issues were broached. This was a period of considerable political activity in the colony, including elections to various positions of influence in Sydney and the wider colony. There had long been demands from William Wentworth and others that the colony be allowed to elect a democratic assembly. In 1840 Sydney Town Council was established, and although New South Wales did not obtain a formal constitution until 1856 it had also been permitted to elect a Legislative Council. Everywhere politics was being discussed: political rhetoric filled newspapers and pamphlets, and were canvassed in many fora, from gin houses to debating societies.

The first question considered by the Sydney Debating Society was: "Would it be expedient to give to ladies the same education as is given to gentlemen?" After three nights' discussion, it "was decided in the negative".[46] In 1842 the fifth subject debated was, "Have the Aboriginal Blacks of this colony an indefensible right to the soil of Australia?" The choice of subject was informed not just by local considerations, but undoubtedly also by an awareness of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 between Maori and the British government in New Zealand. The debate was opened by Samuel P. Hill who argued for the affirmative and the time for debate had to be extended as so many wished to have their say.[47] In the end, after twenty speakers had addressed the subject over five nights, the proposition was decided "in the

[45] Trevor Fawcett, "Eighteenth-Century debating societies." *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 3 (3), 1980, pp. 216-29; Donna T. Andrew, *London Debating Societies, 1776-1799*. London: London Record Society, 1994; Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995; Jon Mee, *Conversable Worlds: Literature, Contention, and Community 1762 to 1830.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

[46] Other early topics included: "Was the career of Napoleon Bonaparte beneficial to Europe?" It was decided it had been, perhaps a reflection of radical political opinion in Sydney. The seventh subject, "Ought Coolies to be permitted to be introduced into Australia?", was decided in the negative, but only after two nights of discussion.

[47] *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1842, p. 2; Samuel Prout Hill (c.1820-1871), born in Devonport, Devonshire, was active in the social and cultural life of Sydney and the School of Arts before moving to Tasmania in 1848; he was an author, painter and lecturer on a range of topics.

negative". One report singled out the speech by the barrister and journalist Richard Windeyer, for the negative, as having the greatest impact.[48] It reported that Windeyer had:

> distinctly proved not only that the Blacks have no right to the soil of Australia, for want of settled occupancy and cultivation; but that they have no right even to the kangaroos more than we have, the game laws of England agreeing precisely with the great law of nature, that wild animals not confined by enclosure are not, and cannot be, the property of any man.[49]

The debate obviously created considerable interest but not without opposition being expressed in the press to the wording of the proposition that suggested that "Whites" were not "aborigines" in their own land, or that "negroes" had rights over land in "New Holland".[50]

A Sydney correspondent described the Debating Society as "Mr. Rennie's 'little band of oratory' [which presented] the most singular admixture of the solemn and burlesque, the sublime and the ridiculous, which we ever perused".[51] The item then drew attention to an one reproduced elsewhere in the newspaper from an English source, the *Comic Almanac*. This lampooned the newly established British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) as the "Society for the Confusion of Useless Knowledge":

> At the Annual Meeting of the British Fill-us-off ical [i.e offal] and Feeding Association, at Plymouth, the following ingenious plan was promulgated. … It is intended, by the Company, to supply the present enormous mental appetite of the public, with a full feed of science, and literature, in a series of sixpenny bits, or bites. To prevent the appetite from becoming cloyed, by too continuous a fare of any one kind, the bits will be so intermingled, and diversified, as to keep biters always expecting; and never satisfied.[52]

Established in 1831, the BAAS would eventually become the major forum where in Victorian Britain the general public outside London gained access to men of science, for it held its meetings annually at a different location in the rapidly industrializing nation.[53] It was organized into various sections that reflected the divisions of knowledge as recognized at the time. While "Anthropology" only gained a section of its own after a long struggle, in principle the subject, was discussed earlier under "ethnology" in a section that included geography.[54]

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[48] On Richard Windeyer (1806-1847), see, J. B. Windeyer, "Windeyer, Richard (1806–1847)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/windeyer-richard-1060/text4017, accessed online 3 July 2016.
[49] *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 September 1842, p.2.
[50] Letter from "Ferreter" in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August 1842**,** p.3.
[51] *The Australian*, 8 August 1842, p. 2.
[52] *The Australian*, 8 August 1842, p.3.
[53] J. D. Morrell, and C & A. Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science: Early Years of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
[54] Paul Sillitoe, "The role of section H at the British Association for the Advancement Of Science in the history of anthropology." *Durham Anthropology Journal*, 13(2), 2005, http://community.dur.ac.uk/anthropology.journal/vol13/iss2/sillitoe/sillitoe.html

Just a year after the Association was established, James Cowles Prichard presented an important paper on human variation [55]

In 1839 Prichard delivered another paper to the BAAS meeting at Birmingham. By now he was an active supporter of the Aborigines' Protection Society (APS). His paper, entitled "On the extinction of some varieties of the human race", linked the concerns of the APS with scientific endeavor and stressed the need to gather new information on the variety of humankind for both scientific and humanitarian reasons. Prichard made this linkage of science with philanthropy explicit in a letter, addressed to the 1839 Anniversary Meeting of the APS, which probably contained the essence of his address to the BAAS. Prichard's letter was republished in a South Australian newspaper, most likely from an English newspaper source (see Document 4, appended).[56]

Although Prichard did not suggest a name for a science to gather and analyse facts on human variation, a number of names were available to him. While one was "anthropology", another was "ethnology", a term developed along with anthropology in Germany in the course of the eighteenth century.[57] It was "ethnology" which eventually found favour with other members of the APS, and in 1842 an Ethnological Society of London (ESL) was established. This is generally recognised as the first anthropological institution in Britain and the direct predecessor of the current Royal Anthropological Institute. Its early members included not only some who were active in the APS and the Royal Geographical Society, but also a number of medical men active in both groups, including Prichard. Thomas Hodgkin and Richard King.

The lead-up to the creation of the ESL, initially through links with French ethnological societies the year before, was reported in Australian newspapers.[58] The *Colonial Gazette*, published in London, whose reports were republished in the colonies, was enthusiastic about its founding (see Document 5, appended). The ESL's founding in 1842 is also the same year as the Sydney debates on the rights of Aborigines. Similar debates were held in Melbourne. The first debate focused on the legal position of Aborigines and whether or not they should be subject to British law, concerns also current in the Swan River Colony as well as elsewhere in other British colonies at this time.[59] The second topic proposed a theme much closer to

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[55] J. C. Prichard, "Abstract of a comparative review of philological and physical researches as applied to the history of the human species." *Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 2, 1832, pp. 529-44.

[56] *The South Australian Colonist and Settlers' Weekly Record of British, Foreign and Colonial Intelligence,* 7 July 1840, p. 279; this paper was printed in London. Prichard's letter does not appear in the APS's own *Annual Reports,* but in 1840 it reported that information and papers of the Society had appeared in the *Monthly Chronicle* and these had been republished in South Australia. Prichard's letter may be included in a collection published by the APS, entitled *Ethnological extracts*. London: Spottiswoode, n.d [c. 1839/40] which is not available to me.

[57] Vermeulen, *Before Boas*.

[58] "Thomas Hodgkin, Esq., M.D., and Richard King, Esq., M.R.C.S., left London for Paris on the 8th April, as a deputation from the Aborigines' Protection Society, to the Ethnological and Ethnographical Societies of Paris, and to communicate with Monsieur Isambert, a member of the British Society, and M. Guizot, on subjects of great interest to the aboriginal races of America, Africa, and the Australias." *The Australian*, 10 August 1841, p. 3; *The Courier* (Hobart, Tasmania), 27 August 1841, p. 4; the *Geelong Advertiser* (Victoria), 27 September 1841, p. 3.

[59] Early in 1842, for instance, the topic proposed for debate was: "Whether is it consistent either with justice or that enlightened policy which ought to distinguish the British judicature

Prichard's 1839 address to the BAAS, as it concerned the fate of the Aborigines in the face of "civilization": "Whether is civilization or extermination the probable destiny of the aborigines of New Holland". The outcome of the debate, as reported in the local and Sydney press, was that the "probable destiny of the Aborigines of New Holland was extermination."[60]

One outcome of Prichard's 1839 address to the BAAS was an agreement at the next meeting held in Glasgow to publish a list of *Queries Respecting the Human Race,* a research questionnaire based on an existing French list.[61] Funded by a grant from the BAAS, a small pamphlet was published the following year, the first in a series of increasingly complex questionnaires that would gather ethnographic information well into the next century.[62] The small pamphlet, asking a series of questions ranging from details on physical appearance to details on language and customs, was widely distributed across the world, particularly in British territories and colonies. Once the ESL was founded, the *Queries* were distributed under its auspices, although the BAAS continued to fund its printing and subsequent revisions with reports to its annual meetings.[63]

In 1845 a newspaper in Australia's colony of Port Phillip reprinted the entire questionnaire suggesting it might be of assistance to the Protectors of Aborigines, offering to forward replies to Britain and even suggesting a prize be awarded for the best essay on the Aborigines (see Document 6, appended). Nothing further of relevance to such issues seems to have appeared in the newspaper, however. But the editor and owner of the newspaper was a Scot, Thomas McCombie, who in 1856 became a member of the Legislative Council for Port Phillip.[64] In 1858 he was instrumental in the establishment of a select committee established to

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to hold the aboriginal natives of New Holland amenable to the same laws which govern the white population", *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser*, 27 January 1842, p.3.

[60] There are differences in detail in the local reports, with the absence of the Protectors of Aborigines noted: *Melbourne Times*, 1 October 1842, p. 2. Others (the *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser*, 10 October 1842, p. 2; the *Patriot (Australasian Chronicle)*, 3 November 1842, p. 2) suggest that ethnological issues such as the origins and possible cultural connections of Aborigines were also discussed.

[61] The British Association. Tenth Meeting: Glasgow. *The Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences etc.*, 24 (1236), September 26 1840, p. 620; see also *The Athenæum*, 674, September 26 1840, p.746.

[62] *Queries respecting the Human Race, to be addressed to Travellers and others. Drawn up by a Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, appointed in 1839.* On the history of questionnaires in British anthropology, see James Urry, "*Notes & Queries on Anthropology* and the development of field methods in British anthropology, 1870-1920." *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1972, pp. 45-57 (reprinted in Urry, *Before Social Anthropology: Essays on the History of British Anthropology*. Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993); and George W. Stocking, "Reading the palimpsest of inquiry: *Notes and Queries* and the history of British social anthropology." In his *Delimiting Anthropology: Occasional Essays and Reflections*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001, pp. 164-206.

[63] In 1844 the Asiatic Society of Bengal reprinted the entire questionnaire in its *Journal*,and the address of the Secretary of the ESL is given as the place to forward information (13, (155), 1844, p. 932); for a response, see the report to the BAAS meeting in 1846 in *The Athenæum*, 926, 26 July 1845, p. 747.

[64] Fergus Farrow, "McCombie, Thomas (1819–1869)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mccombie-thomas-4068/text6489, accessed online 5 August 2016.

consider the treatment and condition of Aborigines. McCombie chaired the committee and, in order to gather information on Aborigines, he re-circulated the 1841 BAAS *Queries*.[65] He seemed unaware that the BAAS, in conjunction with the ESL, had subsequently revised the series of questions into a *Manual of Ethnological Inquiry*.[66]

The original 1841 *Queries*, however, continued to draw responses from a number of amateur ethnographers in Australian colonies. In the same year McCombie reprinted the *Queries* in his newspaper, David MacKenzie published a guide to emigrants to Australia and noted that he had used the questionnaire to gather information in New South Wales to write his chapter on Aborigines.[67] Shortly before McCombie established his commission of enquiry, Edward Stone Parker, a Member of the Legislative Council of Victoria, and formerly Assistant Protector of Aborigines, delivered a lecture in Melbourne also based around the 1841 *Queries*.[68] Parker noted:

> The science of Ethnography has of late years engaged more of the attention of the philosophic world than formerly. To examine the different races of mankind, - to note their peculiarities, - to investigate the sources of their diversities, - to rescue from oblivion the varied details illustrative of the physical and psychological history of the uncivilized portion of the human race, - these are pursuits fraught with deep interest to the natural philosopher, and involving many important results to the cause of humanity.

But he stressed that to a Methodist minister such as himself, "and to the Christian philosopher", such "enquiries have a far higher interest."

> The study of human nature should be pursued … with reference to the attainment of infinitely superior objects than the acquisition of merely scientific intelligence … man, whatever be the Varieties of his colour, his social grade, or civil condition, stands forth as the CREATURE OF GOD, the offspring of a common parent, the

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[65] See Leigh Boucher, "The 1869 *Aborigines Protection* Act: vernacular ethnography and the governance of Aboriginal subjects." In Leigh Boucher and Lynette Russell, eds, *Settler Colonial Governance in Nineteenth-Century Victoria*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2015, p. 90.

[66] *A Manual of Ethnological Inquiry; being a series of questions concerning the Human Race, prepared by a Sub-committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, appointed in 1851 (consisting of Dr. Hodgkin and Richard Cull, Esq.), and adapted for the use of travellers and others in studying the Varieties of Man*; see *Report of the Twenty-second Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science Held at Belfast in September 1852*. London: John Murray, 1853, pp. 243-52.

[67] David MacKenzie, *The Emigrant's Guide; Or, Ten Years' Practical Experience in Australia*. London: W. S. Orr, 1845, pp. 248-49; see also "Mackenzie, David (?–?)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mackenzie-david-2408/text3187, accessed online 5 August 2016.

[68] Edward Stone Parker, *The Aborigines of Australia, a Lecture Delivered in May 1854 the Mechanics' Hall, Melbourne, Before the John Knox Young Men's Association, on Wednesday, May 10th, 1854*. Melbourne: Hugh M'Coll, 1854, p. 7 footnote. This was reprinted as "The Aborigines of Australia." *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, 10 December 1854, pp. 1080-85; see also H. N. Nelson, "Parker, Edward Stone (1802–1865)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/parker-edward-stone-4363/text7093, accessed online 5 August 2016.

> inheritor of a nature identical with his own, in its origin, its capabilities, and its destination. [The study of]… the diversity of nations … is not for the gratification of mere philosophic curiosity, but [for a Christian] to gauge and estimate the extent and urgency of the claims of his fellow-men.[69]

Parker himself did not think the Aborigines were doomed to extinction, but would endure.[70] Whether he believed they were to be saved for Christ or for science, however, was less clear to him.

Conclusion

James Rennie did not stay in Sydney for long. His attempts to establish a private school, and other failed ventures, led his family into debt and eventually, bankruptcy.[71] It then moved, first to Hobart in Tasmania, then to Port Phillip, before settling in Adelaide, where James eventually died in 1867. Although he appears to have repeated his lecture series in Hobart, including those on anthropology, details have not survived.[72] He does not seem to have developed any deeper interest in ethnology, ethnography or the Australian Aborigines, although he continued to gather zoological information. Henry Landor returned to Britain with his brother Edward in 1847 and was immediately appointed Colonial Surgeon "for the Forts and settlements on the Gold Coast".[73] Within a couple of years he was invalided home after contracting a tropical fever, for which the area was infamous. He became the medical superintendent and administrator of asylums for psychological conditions, first in England and later in Ontario, Canada where he died in 1877.[74] Like Rennie, he appears not to have sustained any long-term interest in anthropology or its related fields.

Without their further input, the Australian colonies were soon well established as a major source of ethnographic information, centred on its Aboriginal population. Aborigines were increasingly viewed as representatives of the lowest stage of the evolutionary ladder once the Victorian imagination adopted stadial theory. By contrast, in some ways thinkers in the 1840s had been "pre-evolutionary" in their views of Aborigines, especially among educated men with direct experience of Australia. One of the earliest papers read before the ESL was contributed by Edwin C. Suttor on Aborigines in the Bathurst area of New South Wales (see Document 7, appended). Having been born in Australia, Suttor had considerable knowledge of Aborigines, and he raised questions concerning Prichard's comments on Aborigines as being primitive. A few years later, the explorer and colonial administrator Edward John Eyre, presented a paper to the ESL, "displaying" two Aborigines he had brought to England to illustrate his address.[75]

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[69] Parker, *The Aborigines of Australia*, p. 5.
[70] Parker, *The Aborigines of Australia*, p. 30.
[71] Lucas, "James Rennie (1786–1867)…", p. 321
[72] "Mechanics' Institute." *The Observer* (Hobart), 10 March 1846, pp. 2-3, where it is reported only that Rennie spoke on the "'Philosophy and Science of Man (*Anthropology*)" divided "into six subdivisions." As he later lectured in Melbourne and Adelaide, he might have included references to anthropology at this time, but no record survives.
[73] *London Gazette*, 1, 1847, p. 9.
[74] Lett [Biographical sketch of Dr Henry Landor].
[75] On other cases of such displays of peoples at the ESL meetings and elsewhere, see Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-century Britain.* Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2011.

The ethnographic information presented by both Suttor and Eyre was based on direct knowledge; at other meetings during the 1840s, reports were communicated from Australia and notice taken of others' publications.[76] From the 1850s onwards the flow of information from Australia to Europe continued, establishing a kind of division of labour and responsibilities: just as the colonies provided produce to feed the bellies of the people of industrial Britain, so their local European men-of-knowledge provided ethnographic information to nourish the anthropological and ethnological musings of "experts" back home.

In recent years academic accounts of the development of nineteenth century Australian anthropology have emphasized the originality and independence of colonial researchers resident in Australia. Attempts have been made to reverse previous arguments concerning the relationship between those living on the "periphery" in Australia, often with direct access to "native" peoples, and the alleged anthropological "experts" living in the "centre" (or "metropole" as it is styled) in Britain and elsewhere in Europe. Whereas it earlier had been presumed that the "centre" generated the major arguments and intellectual developments in anthropology, in the new proposed model it is the "periphery" that asserted a degree of autonomy (or "agency") and intellectual and methodological originality.[77]

While not denying that this "corrective" might have some merit, unfortunately a degree of teleology is often involved in its construction and presentation. Too often it is fuelled by retrospective, post-colonial Australian nationalism, rather than by detailed scholarly analysis of the evidence. While such revisionist argument has been criticised as lacking substance from soon after it was first proposed, it has continued to find a degree of favour.[78] It basically confuses the development of ethnography and ethnographic research with the development of anthropology, unfortunately not an uncommon misunderstanding even among those who identify themselves as anthropologists.[79] This confusion is also apparent in other attempts to place nineteenth century science within their colonial contexts.[80] Ethnography is not anthropology, and the wider discussion of "anthropology" that Rennie had broached in his lectures did not really occur in Australia until the 1920s when A. R. Radcliffe-Brown was appointed to the first chair in Anthropology in Sydney, in the city in which Rennie had lectured eighty years earlier.

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[76] These were reported in the annual surveys of the ESL's activities and of the state of ethnological knowledge that usually constituted the presidential addresses of the ESL during the 1840s and 1850s.

[77] The argument is clearly expressed by Howard Morphy in his "Gillen – Man of Science". In John Mulvaney, Howard Morphy and Alison Petch eds., *My Dear Spencer: the Letters of F. J. Gillen to Baldwin Spencer*. South Melbourne: Hyland House, 1997. For an example of the development of the argument, see Gardner and McConvell, *Southern Anthropology*, pp. 12-14.

[78] For criticism of Morphy's view, see Diane J. Austin-Broos, Review Article: Bringing Spencer and Gillen Home. *Oceania*, 69(3), 1999, pp. 209-16, specifically p. 211.

[79] See James Urry, "The ethnographicisation of Anglo-American anthropology: causes and consequences." *Sites: a Journal of Social Anthropology & Cultural Studies*, (n.s.) 3 (2), 2006, pp. 3-39; see also Tim Ingold, "Anthropology is *not* Ethnography: Radcliffe-Brown Lecture in Anthropology." *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 154, 2007, pp. 69-92 (Reprinted in his *Being alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge, and Description*. London: Routledge, 2011: Epilogue).

[80] For Australia see especially, see Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*. London: Cassel, 1999.

Document 1: Rennie's 1840 Lectures on Anthropology as reported in the Sydney press.

SCHOOL OF ARTS. PROFESSOR RENNIE'S LECTURES[81]

On Wednesday the 28th, and Friday the 30th ulto. … Mr. Rennie delivered two Lectures on the" Method of Studying and improving the Mind" to a crowded audience. …. With the view, then, of giving his hearers an opportunity of examining what branches of knowledge each individual might feel himself to be deficient in, as well as what branches each might be desirous of studying or cultivating, he gave a sort of map or chart of most of the chief branches of knowledge, arranged in five great divisions The arrangement he said, which he proposed had no pretension to logical accuracy; but was more for the purposes of convenience His five divisions were –

I ANTHROPOLOGY or the Study of Man. II. ZOOLOGY or the Study of Animals. III. COSMOLOGY or the Study of the World. IV.PHYSICS or Natural Philosophy. V. PERITROPOLOGY or the Study of Changes

I. The first division of ANTHROPOLOGY comprehending the Philosophy of Man, he subdivided into *Intellectual* and *Material*.

A. The Intellectual portion he arranged under three lending heads, Psychology, Ideology, and Grammar

1 Under *Psychology* or the Study of the Soul, he would introduce all the newest discoveries of M de Biran[82] and M Victor Cousin,[83] which have changed the whole aspect of this science.
2 Under *Ideology* or the Study of Ideas, he would introduce the doctrines of the same great philosophers, and point out the bases of Law and Government, Chronology, History, Moral Philosophy, and Logic.
Under *Grammar* or the Study of Words, he would introduce the newest and most approved views of the general principles from Sir John Stoddart[84] and the great German writers.
B. The material portion of Anthropology he arranged under three leading heads, Anatomy, Physiology, and Pathology.

[81] *The Australian*, 3 November 1840, p. 2 (also in *The Colonist*, 3 November 1840, p. 2, and *The Sydney Herald*, 3 November 1840, p. 2).
[82] François-Pierre-Gonthier Maine de Biran (1766 - 1824), French philosopher.and author of *Essai sur les fondements de la psychologie*, 1812 and later, *Nouveaux essais d'anthropologie ou de la science de l'homme interieur*, 1823/24.
[83] Victor Cousin (1792-1867) French philosopher.
[84] Sir John Stoddart (1773-1856) lawyer, diplomat and writer; he published an article on "Grammar" in the first volume of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. The first volume began in 1817 and was later developed into a book with William Hazlitt, Stoddart's son-in-law, *Philosophy of Language: Comprehending Universal Grammar, Or The Pure Science*, 1849.

1 Under *Anatomy* or Dissection, he would introduce from Cloquet[85], Meckel[86] and other approved authors *Osteology* or the Study of the Bones, *Myology* or the Study of the Muscles, *Neurology* or the Study of the Nerves, &
2 Under *Physiology* or the Study of Functions, he would introduce an outline of the healthy functions of digestion, &, and the chief causes of their derangement,
1 Under Pathology, diseased structure and functions-the basis of medical science.
….

In the second lecture, Mr Rennie proceeded to go on with the first division of his map of general knowledge, namely, *Anthropology*, or the study of man, on which the chief authors are Herder, Blumenbach, Bory St Vincent, Virey, and Lord Kames, Lawrence's notorious lectures, are chiefly copied from Cuvier,[87] &c.

In defending his division of the subject into Intellectual and Material, he took occasion to show the absurdity of the Materialists who trace the origin of the words *soul* and *spirit* to a material source. *Anima*, for instance the Latin for "soul," signifies originally "breath,'" consequently, say the Materialists, the soul is nothing but breath. But by reciprocation, he showed the breath must also be soul, and he inferred that a chemist with the proper gases could make a soul. The word *Animal* being from the same root, he inferred that the soul is an animal — (such as a sheep or a kangaroo) and an animal the soul-and that a chemist could therefore make animals if he could make breath. All led to the conclusion, that the words we use for the soul are all derived from material objects, but are used in a figurative sense-they are the spectacles used for our imperfect vision as to things unseen.

He then gave a very brief account of the soul and its attributes, which is called the science of Psychology.
1. – 1 PSYCHOLOGY, from ψυχή and ῆς or "SOUL STUDY -authors De Biran, Royer Collard,[88] Victor Cousin, Cudworth,[89] and Dr Price.[90] The existence of the soul is revealed to

[85] Hippolyte Colquet (1787 -1840), French anatomist and physician whose important work, *Traité d'anatomie descriptive*, 1828, was quickly translated into English by the anatomist and later controversial anthropologist, Robert Knox (1791-1862), see Henry Lonsdale, *A Sketch of the Life and Writings of Robert Knox, the Anatomist*. London: Macmillan, 1870, pp. 118-19.
[86] Johann Friedrich Meckel (1714-1774), Berlin-based German anatomist whose research included identifying racial differences through the dissection of blacks, see Miriam Claude Meijer, *Race and Aesthetics in the Anthropology of Petrus Camper (1722-1789*). Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999, pp. 72-73, 180.
[87] Georges Cuvier (1769-1832), noted French naturalist, zoologist, and early researcher in paleontology.
[88] Pierre Paul Royer-Collard (1763-1845), French statesman and philosopher, not particularly noted today as contributing much to the development of psychology.
[89] Undoubtedly the Cambridge theologian, philosopher and associate of the Platonist movement, Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688).
[90] This undoubtedly refers to Dr Richard Price (1723-1791), non-conformist minister, radical thinker and moral philosopher; for his role in the development of ideas on the mind see D. O. Thomas, *The Honest Mind: The Thought and Work of Richard Price*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977 and in the larger context, Edward S. Reed, *From Soul to Mind: The Emergence of*

us by *Consciousness* which has three elements—the Sensible, the Voluntary, and the Rational; and every manifestation of this consciousness, has three terms:- 1. The limited and finite, the self or what is me, and the not self and what is not me; 2. The unlimited and infinite; 3. The relation between the first and second, that is, between the limited and the unlimited
1. *Sensible Consciousness* or *Sensation,* connects the soul with the both in which it dwells and with the things out of the both, by means of the his senses of smell, taste touch, vision, and hearing and these have no activity of themselves till acted upon by the next two elements
2. *Voluntary Consciousness, Volition, Will, or Attention* is the free active, or personal manifestation of the soul, without which the two other elements could not exist. Without perfect liberty and freedom there could he no will.
3. *Rational Consciousness* or *Reason* the foundation of knowledge, which is not, like the will, personal to us, has three inseparable elements or laws of thought 1. The element of unity, identity, infinity or which is unlimited absolute and unconditional. 2. The element of plurality and variety, or what is finite, limited, relative and conditional. 3. The element of relation between the first element as a cause, and the second element as an effect. Reason is developed either, first, Spontaneously and intuitively, with out and before reflection, and is then termed Intuition; or, 2nd Non spontaneously, with and after *reflection* and is then called judgment. Spontaneous reason acts by faith or the "evidence of things not seen," and is the dilute reason which "lighteth every man that cometh into the world," revealing from on high truths which we cannot gainsay if we would.

Memory, from belonging to consciousness, is necessarily of ourselves—without it there could be to us only a present now. Ideas connected in the memory by Association become the foundation of *Conception, Imagination, Fancy,* and *Faith,* the origin of *Belles Letters* and the *Fine Arts.* The soul of man is immortal "the spirit will return to God who gave it," —a truth which can not be proved by natural reason, inasmuch as "life and immortality were brought to light by the Gospel."

He then proceeded to the second division. *Ideology*, or "Idea-Study," and pointed out a fundamental error of Locke,[91] who says, ideas are primarily simple, and that out of simple ideas we form complex ones The very reverse is the fact. We first form complex ideas, such as the idea of an orange, and then separate the simple ideas of roundness, size, colour taste, smell, &c. He showed, after Victor Cousin, that Locke confounds the idea of both with the idea of space, and that Locke's system forced him into this radical error. The idea of body, of an orange, or of the universe, is accidental, and can be supposed to be destroyed or annihilated; - the idea of space, on the contrary is not accidental and is indestructible when once awakened in the mind. Besides the idea of space, there are seven other non-accidental and indestructible ideas, which form an important part of the basis of all knowledge. 1. The idea of time or the succession of events. 2. The idea of infinity. 3. The idea of personality, by which a man feels that he is not another man, the basis of sanity and the foundation of law and government. 4. The idea of substance, whether that be matter or spirit. 5. The idea of cause and power. 6. The idea of good and evil, right and wrong just and unjust. 7. The idea of truth, not what any man *trueth* or believeth, but of indestructible truth. Not one of these eight important ideas come

Psychology, from Erasmus Darwin to William James. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997

[91] The philosopher John Locke (1632-1704); Rennie is referring to his 1690 work, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.

either from sensation or reflection, the only origins of ideas according to Locke, and therefore his whole system is contrary to truth and fact.

He concluded by showing how an infant or a child gets experience and knowledge by experimenting on the things around it - but by a beautiful law of Providence, we forget all the mistakes we make in our infant experiments (as this would lead to great confusion) and remember only the ascertained results

Document 2: Henry Landor's "anthropological" observations on the Aborigines in the region of the Swan River, 1842

CORRESPONDENCE [First letter "On the physiology of the Western Australian native"][92]

To the Editor of the "Inquirer."

If a few observations on the "Australian Native" would be of any interest to your readers, I shall feel pleasure in throwing together the few light and superficial observations I have had the opportunity of making, which I shall transmit to you, to be inserted whenever a paucity of more interesting matter leaves sufficient space in your columns.

I intend only to examine in this particular race some of its most apparent differences from the other races of men, and to compare some of these differences with the corresponding differences in animals. Whether this race is derived from a stock distinct from the rest of mankind, or whether it is to be regarded as a variety of some of the known varieties, is a point of difficult determination: but the animals of this country have furnished no less than forty distinct and new species to the naturalist, some of them presenting the strangest compounds of other species, and exhibiting the most remarkable dissimilarity in structure and habit to those of the other regions of the earth.

Where so little exists among the animal or vegetable races in common with the continental world — where all is novel in the inferior races, [page 4] may not the Australian himself, so far beneath the rest of the human race, so little higher than the brutes, be also a separate creation?

We can hardly obtain a due estimation of the acquirements or intellectual powers of savage people without instituting some comparison between them and the more favoured and more cultivated race of men, which has so long held the highest place in religion, arts, and civilization. In the white races alone we meet with true love of liberty, and other passions and virtues of great souls — they alone have been as generous and mild towards the weak and vanquished, us terrible towards their enemies — they alone have treated females with respect, deference, and affection — in them alone are compassion and benevolence fully developed — also the feeling for the pains and distresses of others, and the attempt to relieve them, which is not confined to friends, or even to country men, but is extended to all mankind. Free government, protection from lawless violence, the defence of the weak against the strong, freedom of opinion and conscience, the spirit of liberty, the unconquerable love of

[92] *The Inquirer: A Western Australian Journal of Politics and Literature*, 4 May 1842, pp. 3-4.

independence, the enthusiasm of patriotism, have been chiefly, or rather entirely, confined to those races whose cerebral hemispheres have received their full development.

How dark is the contrast exhibited by these wretched Australians, without laws, without government, without arts, without ingenuity, without, agriculture, without clothes, without abode, without other shelter than the rudest shed of bark or grass! No arms or warlike implements beyond the simplest wooden spears. Their remorseless cruelty — their barbarity to women and children — their immoderate revenge for the most trifling affronts — their want of natural affection — all these qualifies hardly redeemed by the slightest trait of goodness. When it is added that they are insensible to distinctions of right and wrong, destitute of any religion, with no idea of a Supreme Being, nor any notion of a future state, what can be wanting to render the picture more disgusting! what a wide field is open to English philanthropy, and to Christian energy!

I shall now proceed to make a few remarks upon the bodily frame of man generally. My next letter will treat of the external appearance, osteology, &c, of the native; the succeeding one, of the skull, its capacity, figure, and intellectuality.[93]

In a comparison of the frame and capacities of man with those of the inferior animals, if we take the human frame as the standard of form, it will be found that all others present so many declensions from the idea, by exaggeration or defect. Man is unquestionably endowed with that structure, the perfection of which is revealed in such a balanced relation of the parts to a whole as may best fit for a being exercising intelligent choice, and destined for moral freedom. He has not the quick hearing of the timid herbiverous animals, for it was not intended that he should catch the sound of distant danger, and be governed by his tears; he has not the piercing sight of the eagle, nor the keen scent of the tiger, for neither was he intended to be the fellow of the tiger, or a denizen of the forest. Hence the departure from the perfect proportion of man which we observe in the inferior animals, may be regarded as deformities by exaggeration or defect, dependent upon a part that necessitates a particular use, or the absence of a part that deprives the animal of a power, and in both instances alike abrogates that freedom for which provision is made in the balanced relation of the constituents of the human fabric, which permits the free choice of means, and the adaptation to any purpose determined by an intelligent free-will. Dilate the head, and you have a symptom of disease; protrude the jaws, and you have a voracious animal; lengthen the ears, timidity is expressed; let the nose project, and the animal is governed by its scent; enlarge the belly, you are reminded of the animal appetites; long arms may fit man for an inhabitant of trees, and a companion for the ape; and pre-dominant length of legs is infallibly associated with the habits of the wading or leaping animals. In all, regarding man's form with reference to his destination as the standard, the means become ends, deformity prevails, and becomes the badge of unintelligent slavery to the mere animal nature. This may be further illustrated by a comparison of the component parts of the skeleton in the vertebrated animals with that of man. In considering the skulls, it will be found that man has the largest and roundest cranium; from the Australian and the ape to the fish, the brain decreases in capacity, in correspondence with a proportionably diminishing development. But in the same ratio the parts allotted to the senses, and the parts subservient to the preparation of food,

[93] From here on, the general comments on human anatomy, complete with literary illusions such as the quote from Milton, are derived, almost word-for-word, from Green's *Vital Dynamics*.

increase in size. In looking at the head of the horse and the dog, it will be readily observed how much the cranium recedes, and the jaws protrude; in birds, reptiles, and fishes, the whole head appears to consist of jaws: witness the pelican, the crocodile, and the shark. Man is the only animal possessing a prominent chin. From the proportion of the brain-case to the jaws, when compared with inferior animals, or with inferior races of man, Camper devised the ingenious method of determining the capacity of the cranium by means of the "facial angle."[94] According to this method of relative admeasurement, it appears that the facial angle of the white exceeds that of the black races of mankind, and it is the exaggeration of this angle which has given such an intellectual and noble expression to the best statues of the Greek sculptors. It follows that the size of the brain-case in man, proportionate to the development of the brain, indicates the predominance of intellectuality over the senses, and is the mark, symbol, and condition of man's characteristic excellence, as pre-eminently gifted with mind. I shall consider this when speaking of the Australian skull in particular.

The head is poised with only a slight preponderance anteriorly at the top of the vertebral column, and a plumb-line dropped from the point of its support, falls through the centre of gravity between the feet; which present the base of support to the whole fabric. The spine is bent like the Italic *S*; it recedes at the chest, is inflected forwards at the loins and neck, to facilitate its balance over the points of support; these curves contribute to the capability of bending and changing the position of the trunk without endangering the loss of balance. The lateral breadth of the pelvis throws the head of the thigh bones to some distance from the line that falls through the centre of gravity, and in order to provide a compensating adjustment, the thigh bones incline obliquely towards each other, so that in the upright position with the feet together, they touch at the knees, and the weight is received at the tibiæ, which stand perpendicularly under the centre of gravity, and these are again planted upon the arch of the foot, upon which the whole weight of the body securely rests.

Thus the whole column of the human body is raised and built upon its pedestal, and the living pillar, readily maintaining its equipoise, bears aloft its capital, whilst the upper limbs are left free to perform whatever is suggested by the will. Thus the place of the head, the disposition of the senses, the harmony of the frame, all impress us with the conviction that even the skeleton cannot be intelligible to us, without admitting that the human bodily frame was designed for the instrument and dwelling-place of a being contradistinguished from, and elevated above, all other animals —

> ---- A creature who, not prone
> And brute as other creatures, but endued
> With sanctity of reason, might erect
> This stature, and upright, with front serene,
> Govern the rest, self-knowing.[95]

[94] Green (*Vital Dynamics*, p. 63) provides a footnoted reference here that Landor omits: "See Camper's Treatise *Uber den natuerlichen Unterschied der Gesichtszuege im Menschen.* Compare Cuvier on the view of the profile and tranverse section of the cranium: *Lecons d'Anatomie Comparee,* Tom. ii. p. 9. and Blumenbach's view from above, or bird's-eye view of the cranium: *De generis humani vurietate native.*"

[95] From John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book VII.

Man alone is erect. But it is the equipoise of his body in connection with the erect position which gives unity to any totality of motions, and determines the attitude or carriage necessary to preserve its balance. The inflections of the trunk, the motions of the limbs, and the play of the several joints, all tend to the circular or curvilineal in their movements — a circumstance which mainly tends to confer on human motion the character of Beauty. And it may safely be affirmed that, under all the varieties of expressive movement, the very structure and mechanism of the body tend to reduce its motions to the form of the beautiful, or resolve them into grace — a fact of which we may convince ourselves by watching the movements of the dance, which present a harmony by continuity, a problem of grace ever solving and ever beginning anew. No attitude can be beautiful in which the idea of rest is not conveyed by that permanence and security which results from a perfectly-felt balance. Look at the body in any of the incidental or casual attitudes arising out of the free and unconstrained movements of man, healthy in frame, and unshackled by conventional usages, and the conviction of beauty and grace will force itself upon you. Beauty is equally exhibited in the strength of Hercules, as in the grace of Apollo, the sports of children, or in the wild inhabitants of an American forest, or even in the Australian, lowest of his race. No proof is needed to show that grace and beauty are inherent in, and not accidents of, the human body, as the fit instrument of human intelligence, and the medium, as it were, of man's proper and spiritual being. There is a "chasm between man and animals which no ingenuity can fill up or over-bridge;" and we pause with wondering awe when the researches of anatomy bring us suddenly back, with startling evidence, to that record of primeval wisdom which marks the most distinctive epoch of creation — "God created man in his own image."

HENRY LANDOR,
M.R.C.S., F.M.S.A.

ON THE PHYSIOLOGY OF THE WESTERN AUSTRALIAN NATIVE. LETTER II.[96]

SIR, — Of the five varieties of the human race, it will be necessary to consider two more particularly — the Ethiopian, and the Malay. The natives of Van Diemen's Land approached nearer to the former, while the Australian more resembles the latter. In the Ethiopian the skin and eyes are black, the hair black and woolly, the forehead low, narrow and slanting, the cheek-bones prominent, the jaws narrow and projecting, the upper teeth oblique, the chin recedes, the nose broad, thick, flat, and confused with the extended jaw, the lips thick; the knees turn in, in many instances. The Malay has the skin brown, approaching to black, although often not darker than that of the Spaniard; the hair black, more or less curled, and abundant; the head rather narrow, bones of the face large and prominent, nose full and broad towards the apex, mouth large. The Australian, in the form of his face and the texture of his hair, more closely resembles the Malay than the Ethiopian: his forehead is narrower, and his cheek-bones more prominent, and his knees turn in; in these points bringing him nearer to the Ethiopian. There is a remarkable difference between the jaws and teeth of the Australian and those of any other existing race. The incisores are thick and round, not, as usual, flattened into edges, but resembling truncated cones; the cuspidati are not pointed, but broad and flat on the masticating surface, like the neighbouring bicuspides. This may be attributable to mechanical attrition, depending on the nature of the food the teeth are employed in masticating. The under jaw does not overlap the

[96] *The Inquirer: A Western Australian Journal of Politics and Literature*, 25 May 1842, pp. 3-4.

upper, but the teeth meet at their surfaces. This peculiarity of teeth has been noticed by Blumenbach as a characteristic of the Egyptian mummy, but he thinks the nature of the food not sufficient to account for it, and imagines it to depend on a natural variety; and he observes, that " although it seemed most easy to account for this appearance by attributing it to the nature of the food used by the Egyptians, yet the generality of its occurrence in Egyptian mummies, and its absence in other races, are remarkable, and affords some probability that the peculiarity depends upon a natural variety. " A constant uniformity in the structure and arrangement of the teeth is an important particular in the identification of species, and if any human race were [page4] found to deviate materially in its dentition from the rest of mankind, the fact would give rise to a strong suspicion of a real specific diversity. I have examined the teeth of infants and of children, and found them in every respect similar to those of Europeans of similar ages. Moreover the process of degradation may be traced in natives of different ages up to the teeth worn to the level of the gums in the old man; I therefore consider it the effect of attrition, but it becomes an interesting question to determine what can be the nature of the food which produced the same character in the ancient Egyptian and the modern Australian? Did the fathers of science live on barks and root? like the wretched Australian? Although attrition may cause this singular appearance of the teeth, the real question is, why does the lower jaw so perfectly and exactly meet its fellow? and is this confined to these two examples ?

There is no fixed law determining invariably the human stature, although there is a standard, as in other animals, from which deviations are not very considerable in either direction. Some varieties exceed, others fall short of, the ordinary stature in a small degree. The source of these deviations is in the breed; they are quite independent of external influences. In all the five human varieties, some nations are conspicuous for height and strength, others for lower stature and inferior muscular power; but in no case is the peculiarity confined to any particular temperature, climate, or mode of life. The Australians in general are of a moderate stature, with slender limbs, thin arms, and long taper fingers. Although in general stature there is nothing to distinguish one variety of man from another, yet in the comparative length of the different parts of the human frame there are striking differences. In the highest and most intellectual variety (the Caucasian) the arm (*os humeri*) exceeds the forearm in length by two or three inches — in none less than two. In the monkeys the forearm and arm are of the same length, and in some monkeys the forearm is the longer. In the negro the ulna, the longest bone of the forearm, is nearly of the same length as the os humeri, the latter being from one to two inches longer. In a negro in the lunatic asylum, Liverpool, says Mr. White, the ulna was 12 ½ inches, and the humerus only 13½. In the Australian the ulna in some I have measured was 10½, 9, 10, 11½; the humerus was in those individuals respectively 11½, 10½, 11½, 12½ ; — thus in none of the measurements did the humerus exceed the ulna two inches, which in the Caucasian variety is the lowest number. In all the black races the arm is longer in proportion to the stature than in the white. The length of the leg averages 36 inches: in one man it was only 33½; and the tibia of that man measured 16½, leaving only 17 to the forearm — a very remarkable disproportion. Thus in the proportion of their limbs the Australian ranks far below the European, nay, even below the negro, and approaches far nearer to the simiæ than any of the other races of mankind. Peron, in his voyage, made an estimate of the average strength of the arms and loins of the Australian and some French and English; this is the result in French measures: —

	Arms.	Loins.
	Kiliogramrnes.	Myriagrammes
Australian....	50. 8	10. 2
Natives of Timor....	58.7	11.6
French	69. 2	15.2
English....	71.4	16.3

Thus in whatever manner the capacity of the race is tested, its inferiority is strikingly exhibited. We shall find, when examining the skull, that the coronal suture falls on the temporal instead of the sphenoid-bone, which is one of the strongest marks of the simiae, and does not occur in any other human skulls.

I have no desire to place the Australian lower in the scale of intelligence than he is fairly entitled to rank, but I cannot shut my eyes to facts; and if his organization is in conformity with his inferiority, there he must rank, in spite of the wishes of his warmest friends : at the same time, I agree with the most enthusiastic philanthropist, that no attempts should be left untried to amend his condition, and bestow upon him the benefits which a wonderful providence has lavished so unsparingly upon us ; but I cannot help fearing that the result will be disappointment.

A fair comparative experiment, says Mr. Lawrence, has been made of the white and dark races of North America, and no trial in natural philosophy has had a more unequivocal result. The native races have not advanced a single step in 300 years, neither example nor persuasion has induced them, except in very small number and in few instances, to exchange the precarious supply of hunting and fishing, for agriculture and the arts of settled life.

The colour of the skin is chocolate or like wood root, and resembles the Malay, although perhaps a little darker. I consider the colour of the skin to be greatly dependent upon the nature of the climate and the constant exposure of the surface of the body to the sun; the parts under the arms are of a brighter colour than those less exposed. We find in human races as in vegetation — that every successive level alters its character, thus indicating that the state of the temperature of high regions assimilates to high latitudes; if therefore complexion depends upon climate and external conditions, we should expect to find them varying in reference to elevation of surface, and if they should be actually found to undergo such variations, this will be found a strong argument that these external characters do in fact depend upon local conditions. The Swiss in the high mountains above the plains of Lombardy, have sandy or brown hair.[97]What a contrast presents itself to the traveller who descends into the Milanese, where the peasants have black hair and almost oriental features. The Basques of the tracts approaching the Pyrenees, says Colonel Napier, are a strikingly different people from the inhabitants of the low parts around, whether Spaniards or Biscayans. They are finely made, tall men, with aquiline noses, fair complexion, light eyes, flaxen hair; instead of the swarthy complexion, black hair, and dark eyes of the Castilian. And in Africa, what striking differences of complexion exist between the negro of the plains and of the mountains, even while the osteology is the same, (*see Pritchard*) therefore I pass over the hair and skin of the Australian as parts too much subjected to the influence of climate to afford means of legitimate deduction.

[97] This, and the following comments on European colouring, is derived, word-for-word, from Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, 2, 1837, p. 336.

It is the general opinion that these natives are not a long lived race, the poverty of their food may account for this together with the want of shelter from the vicissitudes of the climate. The care taken by civilized man to preserve health, is, by increasing susceptibility, the indirect cause of disease; the more rigid is the observance of regimen, the more pernicious will be the slightest aberration from it, but a total disregard of all the comforts of regular food, and efficient shelter, the habit of cramming the stomach when food is plentiful, and of enduring long abstinence when it cannot be procured, has a far more baneful effect upon the human constitution than all the excesses of the white man. As man recedes from one hastener destruction, he inevitably approaches another —

> Gross riot treasures up a wealthy fund
> Of plagues, but more immedicable ills
> Attend the lean extreme.[98]

I have not been sufficiently long in the colony to draw inferences from the nature of their food, but I have observed that they mix the gum on which they chiefly live at this season, with the bark of a tree, and masticate both together. This is attributed to the difficulty of masticating the gum alone, but I am persuaded that it has another cause also, and that it arises from that experience of the necessity of an additional stimulus to the digestive organ, which has taught the Esquimaux and Ottomacs, to add sawdust or clay to their train oil. It arises from the fact, that paradoxical as it may appear, an animal may be starved by giving it continually too simple and too nutritious food; aliment in such a state of condensation does not impart the necessary stimulus, which requires to be partly mechanical and partly chemical, and to be exerted at once on the irritability of the capillaries of the stomach to promote its secretions, and on the muscular fibres to promote its contractions. This fact also displays the impropriety of giving to convalescents whose digestive powers are impaired — sago, tapioca, jellies and so forth, consisting as they do of simple and highly concentrated matters, and they are still worse from being generally given in a liquid state. Many a patient would recover on a "tough old cock boiled to rags" a favorite prescription of the late Dr. Williams,[99] who perish on broths and the slipslop appurtenances of a sick room. The experiments of Raspail and Edwards, and Magendie, amply bear out these remarks.

I shall in my next, proceed to the consideration of the skull, and deduce from its consideration the measure of intellectuality of the Australian, despite the phillipic of Migo. [100]

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[98] From the Scottish-trained physician John Armstrong's poem "The Art of Preserving Health" (1744); Landor has derived this and the essence of the sentence preceding it (as well as other details), from John Fletcher's *Rudiments of Physiology, in Three* Parts: *Part II On Life, as Manifested by Irritation*. Edinburgh: John Carfrae, 1836, p. 131.

[99] Fletcher (*Rudiments of Physiology*, p. 120 footnote) gives the doctor's name that prescribed the old cock as Willan, not Williams and the "recent" experiments were by Raspail, Edwards and Balzac, not Magendie. But he might have been using another source here as Magendie was a noted French physiologist.

[100] A rather detailed criticism of Landor's observations, especially on the morality and customs of Aborigines and his negative attitude, was supplied by a correspondent who signed themselves "Migo", the name of a local Aborigine who was undoubtedly not the author of the piece, see *The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, 7 May 1842, p. 3; The *Gazette* and the *Inquirer* were rival newspapers.

Yours truly,
H. LANDOR,
M.R.C.S., F.M.S.A., & L.A.C.
For the information of the curious L.A.C. means Licentiate of the Apothecaries Company.[101]

ON THE PHYSIOLOGY OF THE WESTERN AUSTRALIAN NATIVE.
LETTER III. [102]
"To the Editor of the "Inquirer."

SIR, — I cannot avoid using technical terms in describing a few of the points of difference between the skulls of this race and those of other races ; but it is of little importance, as medical men are sufficiently numerous in the colony to afford a ready explanation.

Whilst describing the form of the Australian skull, I shall point out the difference between it and those of some other races without giving a description of skulls in general, which would unnecessarily lengthen my letter.

"Of all the peculiarities in the form of the bony fabric, those of the skull are the most striking and distinguishing. It is in the head that we find the varieties most strongly characteristic of the different races. The characters of the countenance, and the shape of the features, depend chiefly on the conformation of the bones of the head."[103] The Australian skull belongs to that variety called the prognathous, or narrow, elongated variety; yet it is not so striking an example of this variety as the negro skull. If the skull be held in the hand so that the observer looks upon the vertex, the first point he remarks is the extreme narrowness of the frontal bone, and a slight bulging where the parietal and occipital bones unite. He also sees distinctly through the zygomatic arches on both sides, which in the European skull is impossible, as the lateral portions of the frontal bone are more developed. The summit of the head rises in a longitudinal ridge in the direction of the sagittal suture, so that from the sagittal suture to that portion of the cranium where the diameter is greatest the head slopes like the roof of a house. The forehead is generally flat; the upper jaw rather prominent; the frontal sinuses large; the occipital bone is flat, and there is a remarkable receding of the bone from the posterior insertion of the occipito-frontalis muscle to the foramen magnum.

It is a peculiar character of the Australian skull to have a very singular depression at the junction of the nasal bones with the nasal processes of the frontal bone. This may be seen in an engraving

[101] A rather sarcastic correspondent identified only by the letter "C" noted Landor's use of letters ("enigmatical symbols ") after his name and enquired as to their meaning so that he could "dissect" Landor's "epistle; the editor pointed out they stood for Member of the Royal College of Surgeons and Fellow of the Metropolitan Society of Arts, *The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, 7 May 1842, p. 3. Here Landor not only answers his critic, but challenges him; there would be further exchanges with "C' who was probably a fellow medical man.

[102] *The Inquirer: A Western Australian Journal of Politics and Literature*, 29 June 1842, pp. 5-6.
[103] The section in quotation marks is from Prichard's *Researches*, 1, 1836, p. 275.

in Dr. Pritchard's work. I have before described the teeth. I also mentioned in my last letter the remarkable junction of the temporal and parietal bones at the coronal suture, and consequently the complete separation of the sphenoid from the parietal, which in European skulls meet for the space of nearly half an inch. Professor Owen has observed this conformation in six out of seven skulls of young chimpanzees, and Professor Mayo has also noticed it in the skulls he has examined.[104] But although this is a peculiarity found in this race alone, it is not constant. I have a skull in which the sphenoid touches the parietal on one side, whilst on the other they are separated a sixth of an inch; and in the engraving before referred to the two bones are slightly separated, but by no means to the extent that they are in European skulls. The supra and infra orbital foramina are very large, and the orbits are broad, with the orbital ridge sharp and prominent. All the foramina for the transmission of the sensiferous nerves are large — the auditory particularly so; while the foramen, through which the carotid artery enters the skull, is small. The mastoid processes are large, which might be expected, as their hearing is acute. The styloid process is small; in monkeys it is wanting. The position of the foramen-magnum as in all savage tribes, in more behind the middle transverse diameter than in Europeans, but this arises in a great measure, though not entirely, from the prominence of the alveolar processes of the upper jaw. Owing to constant exposure to all seasons, the skulls of savages are of greater density, and weigh heavier than those of Europeans: —

	lb. oz. avoirdupois
Skull of a Greek ...	1 11 ½
Negro ...	2 0
Mulatto....	2 10
Chinese ...	1 7½
Gipsy ...	2 0
Australian...	1 12½

Upon an examination of the foregoing points of diversity, it is unquestionable that the Australian skull is inferior in development to the European, and the capacity of the cranium much less. In my first letter I observed that the size of the brain-case, in man proportionate to the development of the brain, is the mark, symbol, and condition of man's characteristic excellence, as pre-eminently gifted with mind. Cuvier has remarked that," 'It appears that there are always certain relations between the faculties of animals and the proportions of the different parts of their brain; thus their intelligence appears to be great in proportion to the development of the hemispheres and their commissures. Man has all these parts thicker, more voluminous, and more complicated, than other animals; and as we recede from man, they become thinner and more simple. In like manner man excels other animals in intelligence." If the whole brain

[104] This refers to the osteological research on apes of the noted anatomist Richard Owen (1804-1892) carried out in the 1830s and published mainly by the Zoological Society of London; Landor's source, however, is more likely to be the lectures of his teacher, William Cummin; see Cummin's "Lectures on Forensic medicine. Delivered at the Aldersgate School of Medicine". *London Medical Gazette*, November 5, 1836, pp. 161-69 where Lecture VI includes a discussion on the varieties of the human race and mention of Owen's findings on similarities between human skulls and chimpanzees with almost identical wording, (p. 164). Professor Mayo is either Johann Christophe Andreas Mayer (1747-1801) of Berlin, an anatomist who wrote on the brain and skull, or August Franz Josef Karl Mayer (1787-1865), a noted anatomist at the University of Bonn, who dissected apes.

presided equally over all forms of thought, how are monomanias, partial insanities, to be accounted for? How is it that frequently only certain forms of thought are disturbed, whilst others are unimpaired? But it is useless to multiply instances: the various forms of apoplexy will furnish many. It is a leading principle, that in animated nature size is, cæteris paribus, the measure of power; for instance, the dog possesses a large nose, corresponding to the acuteness of his smell. But although certain faculties and propensities be admitted to depend upon peculiar development of certain parts of the brain, it is a very different question whether such development of the surface of the brain be recognisable by any certain marks on the surface of the skull. All I at present contend for is the broad principle, that the front of the head is the seat of Genius and Talent, the base, of the passions, &c. " In order, " says Cabanis, "to have a just idea of thought, it is proper to consider the brain as an organ specifically adapted to produce it, in the same way as the stomach and intestines are adapted to produce digestion." The faculty of thinking is born and developed, decays and dies with the body — but it is with the brain alone that it has any immediate connexion. Trace the gradual development of mind in the works of creation. In the zoophite there is no appearance of brain or of nerves, and no indication of thought or of sensation. In the testaceous animals, where there is no brain, but a spinal marrow, thought is wanting, but they certainly possess sensation. In insects there is an appearance of brain, and their intellect is in proportion. How infinitely superior are the habits of the spider and ant and the bee to those of the worm and sponge and oyster! Birds, which have a complicated brain, differ only in degree in their faculties and propensities from the human race. They learn to put in practice the proper means for their preservation, to procure food, to regulate their conduct by circumstances. They have judgment, comparison, memory, discrimination, recollection, and, unlike mere instinct, are susceptible of a greater or less degree of education. Man is capable of advancing from what he does know to what he does not know, from what he can do to what he gradually perceives that he may do, and, being capable of leaving behind him records of his attainments, he is capable of progressive civilization. It is to the want of such records that it is mainly owing that savage races, which are only guided by tradition, remain in statu quo. It is not my object to write an essay on phrenology, which will ever stand firm on its broad principles, although the locality of every faculty or idea may be disputed at present.

The narrowness of the fore-part of the Australian skull indicates deficiency of genius and talent, and the width of the base shows a predominance of the passions. Their habits and acquirements accord with this development: of ingenuity they are deficient, and ignorant of the simplest arts. Their courage is the excitement of passion. Their morality cannot be at a lower ebb than it is at present. The females are many, if not most of them prostitutes from childhood, and the men not only connive at, but openly offer their wives for the worst of purposes. It is lamentable that the iniquitous example set to the aboriginal inhabitants has, in all countries occupied by the English, been attended with the like evil results — the retardation of Christianity, and the introduction of European vices, and fatal diseases (some of the latter have not yet arrived in this colony, but they assuredly will come whenever immigration is extensive.) It needs only to refer to our own experience, and to the report of the select committee on aborigines published in 1837, to prove all this.[105] There three able missionaries are asked, "' Is it your opinion that

[105] This is a reference to the Select Committee of the House of Commons that took evidence on the treatment of Aboriginal people in settlements colonized by British subjects. It is unclear whether Landor is referring to the actual *Report*, that issued by the Aborigines Protection Society. *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes, (British Settlements) Reprinted with Comments by the "Aborigines Protection Society"*

Europeans coming into contact with native inhabitants of our settlements tends to deteriorate the morals of the natives, to introduce European vices, to spread amongst them new and dangerous diseases, to the seduction of native females, to prevent the spread of Christianity, and that the effect of European intercourse has been upon the whole a calamity on the heathen nations? Mr. Ellis[106], Mr. Beacham[107], Mr. Coates: Yes, yes, yes. ?— As far as you know, in instances of contention between Europeans and natives, has it generally been found that Europeans were in fault? Mr.Coates, Mr. Beacham: Yes, yes. — Mr. Ellis: I have not met with an instance in which, when investigated, it has not been found that the aggression was on the part of Europeans."

The present state of degradation and immorality of the natives is beyond a question; that it is also owing in a great measure to evil example is not to be denied. It is also undeniable that no effort of government could have prevented this result. More has undoubtedly been done, and is doing, in this colony than in any other, to improve and protect them, but there is also much [Page 6] remaining to be done. Strenuous are the efforts now making to teach them the blessings of the Gospel; and it would be well to provide them with the means of honestly maintaining themselves by teaching them some handicraft, or by planting the castor oil tree, which will flourish in any situation; they might pick the seeds preparatory to pressing, and the oil might eventually become an article of export to any extent. Silk might also find them employment.
Although they are physically inferior to most races, and their conformation precludes them from arriving at great attainments, individuals are to be met with possessing well made heads, and perhaps with talents superior to many white men — and cultivation will undoubtedly in a few generations effectually improve them. Experience and research have shown that inferior mental powers accompany inferior development, and that gradual cultivation of the mind improves the developement. In the examination of the skulls found in the barrows and burial-places of the ancient British, there is a striking departure from the Grecian model ; the amplitude of the anterior parts of the cranium is very much less, giving a comparatively small space for the anterior lobes of the brain. In this particular the ancient inhabitants of Britain appear to have differed very considerably from the present. The latter, either as the result of many ages of greater intellectual cultivation, or from some other cause, have much more capacious brain cases than their forefathers.

Dr. Pritchard shows that those negro nations of Africa which exhibit greater civilization, and superior mental culture, have a greater anterior developement; he instances the Mandingos and Jolofs.[108]

London: William Ball, 1837, or the selection of evidence given by missionaries he later singles out for criticism below, see D. Coates, Rev. John Beecham and Rev. William Ellis, *Christianity the Means of Civilization: Shown in the Evidence Given Before a Committee of the House of Commons*. London: R. B. Seeley, 1837.

[106] A reference to the London Missionary Society missionary, William Ellis (1794-1874) whose *Polynesian Researches* appeared in three volumes between 1829 and 1832 and who was an advocate for the humane treatment of people coming into contact with Europeans.

[107] Actually John Beecham

[108] West African peoples held in high esteem by missionaries and philanthropists at the time.

Before concluding, I should remark that Major Mitchell describes the New South Wales native as a much superior tribe.[109] He calls them active and industrious, possessing arts and customs, exhibiting self-control, and labouring even when it contributes nothing to their physical comfort. He says they are fowlers and fishermen, with as much system as our decoy-men, and their nets equal in workmanship to ours: possessing also a wooden spade, and huts displaying neatness and contrivance. They are, then, much superior to these natives, who never labour except to contribute to their physical wants, are neither fowlers nor fishermen excepting with the spear, have no nets nor spades, and huts without either neatness or contrivance.

It may be urged that I have drawn conclusions from too few facts, and too limited observation. I admit that the observations are more limited than I could have wished, but if facts as well authenticated be opposed to these, and observations more extensive be made, I shall not hesitate to alter my opinions. I hope these few observations will stimulate others to examine also; the field is a wide one, and will bear many cultivators. Upon every subject of physiology, one opinion must be better supported than another; and any opinion founded on the best information which the present state of our knowledge affords, and taken up not more as a resting-place for the present than as a stepping-stone to the future, must be better than no opinion at all, since it rather invites than opposes itself to further investigation. It has been well remarked, that he who dares not form an opinion must be a coward, he who will not must be an idler, and he who cannot must be a fool. Let us have an opinion upon every thing, but let us form our opinion after a dispassionate consideration of all the established facts which bear upon the subject, and be ready to qualify or to resign it, should any new facts occur to stagger or overthrow us. It is no reproach to be wiser to-day than yesterday.

HENRY LANDOR.

I have not said anything about the language of the natives, because all I can learn of it is, that it is a combination of snapping, squeaking, whining, grunting sounds.

Document 3: "C" on the number of "varieties" of humankind, 1842

To the Editor of the Perth Gazette.[110]

SIR,—In the last number of the *Inquirer* I observe that the Editor of that learned publication has started forward as a champion for his friend "Delta," who has slunk into the rear. Truth, whether in or out of fashion, is the measure of knowledge, and the business of the understanding; whatever is contradictory to truth is nothing but ignorance, or something worse ; and, as I do not labor under the profound ignorance which the Editor of the *Inquirer* endeavors to palm on a listening colony, I shall just convict him of one error. There are more than five varieties of the human race, viz.:—

1st, the SAMOEIDE, including the Laplanders, the Esquimaux, the Greenlanders, the Nova Zemblans, the inhabitants of the northern regions of the Russian Empire, and the people of Kamschatka.

The 2nd is the TARTAR race, to which may be attached the Chinese, and the natives of Japan.

[109] The noted explorer Thomas Mitchell (1792-1855).
[110] *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, 25 June 1842, p. 3.

The 3rd variety is that of the HINDOOS, or southern Asiatics, the form of whose features and persons may easily be distinguished from the Tartar race.

The 4th variation in the human species is to be found in the Negroes of Africa, who may be said to extend from the southern parts of Africa, from 18° north of the line to its extreme termination at the Cape of Good Hope.

The aboriginal inhabitants of America are a fifth race, different in color as they are in habitations.

The European is a sixth race, and being the most elevated in the scale of human intellects, comprehends the Europeans, and those of European origin; amongst which may be classed the Georgians, Circassians, and Mingrelians, the natives of Asia Minor, and the northern parts of Africa, as well as a part of those countries that lie N.W. of the Caspian Sea.

The 7th sub-division of the human race comprises the inhabitants of Australasia, and those of New Zealand.

I own that I am surprised the Editor of the *Inquirer* has forgot his learning, and stated on vague authority that there were only five species of the human race, when it is well known there are SEVEN. With regard to Mr. H. Landor, it occurs to me that, as his remarks were originally designed for the Colonial Society in London, he need not have made such an appendage to his signature, as his titles of honor must have been well known to that body, and duly appreciated by the members thereof.
C.

Document 4: James Cowles Prichard's 1839 letter on the need to establish a science of "colonial races", South Australia, 1840.[111]

INTEREST OF SCIENCE IN THE PRESERVATION OF THE COLONIAL RACES. –

If an apology were needed for calling on science in aid of justice; to relieve the coloured races from oppression and utter ruin, the contents of the following letter, in which the cause of the Aborigines is ably advocated, both on Christian and scientific grounds; will fully justify the appeal: —

"I much regret that the circumstances over which I have no control, will prevent me from attending the Anniversary Meeting of the Society for the Protection of the Aborigines. I hardly need say to you that there is no undertaking of this comparatively enlightened, and as I trust it may be called, Christian age, which appears to me calculated to excite A deeper and more lively interest than this truly admirable attempt to preserve from utter ruin and extermination, many whole tribes and families of men, who, without such interference, are doomed to be swept away from the face of the earth. Certainly there is no undertaking of the present time, that has a stronger claim on humanity, and even on the justice of enlightened men. For what a stigma will be placed on Christian and civilized nations, when it shall appear, that, by the selfish pursuit of their own advantage, they have destroyed and rooted out so many families and

[111] *The South Australian Colonist and Settlers' Weekly Record of British, Foreign and Colonial Intelligence (London, England : 1840)*, 7 July 1840, p. 279.

nations of their fellow-creatures, and this, if not by actually murdering them, which indeed appears to be even now a practice very frequently pursued, by depriving them of the means of subsistence, and by tempting them to poison and ruin themselves. For such a work, when it shall have been accomplished, the only excuse or extenuation will be, just what the first murderer made for the slaughter of his brother and we might almost be tempted to suppose, that the narrative was designed to be typical of the time when christianized.Europeans shall have, left on the earth no living relic of the numerous races who now inhabit distant regions; but who will soon find their allotted doom if we proceed on the method of conduct thus far pursued, from the time of Pizarro and Cortez, to that of our English Colonists of South Africa. But independently of the claim of humanity and justice, which this admirable, undertaking presents, there are numerous points of view into which it is particularly interesting to the philosopher, and to men devoted to the pursuit of science. How many problems of the most curious and interesting kind will have been left unsolved, if the various races of mankind become diminished in number, and when the diversified tribes of America, Australia, and many parts of Asia, shall have ceased to exist? At present we are hut very imperfectly acquainted with the physiological character of many of these races, and the opportunity of obtaining a more accurate and satisfactory knowledge; will have been for ever taken away. The physical history of mankind; certainly a most interesting branch of human knowledge, will have been left for ever- imperfect, and but half explored. There are even many curious and interesting questions connected with philosophy of the human mind, which can only obtain a full elucidation by observing the various phases and different aspects which human nature presents, and by comparing the moral phenomena displayed in human action under all conditions, and in all the different branches and families of our race, and how can this study be pursued when half those branches shall have been lopped off and the whole stock occupied by engraftings from one single stem ? For instance, the Anti-Lockian system of innate principles, seems to have been almost established as matter of fact, by the remarkable analogy, and almost uniformity, which has been traced among; nations the most widely separated, in sentiment and in belief and in: some of the most recondite and mysterious phenomena of the human mind. If the moral philosopher pursues his study in his own closet, and; deduces all his facts from men like himself, and formed under similar external conditions to similar habitudes of action and thought, all his theories will be hypothetical; they will display to our view in every; quarter the "idols of the cave." It is only by studying on a large view; the mind of many nations and races, and the moral character of mankind in all their different stages of development that any sound philosophical theory on the nature of mental phenomena, the elementary principles of human action can be raised on sufficiently extensive foundations. But more than one half or than three-fourths of the great families of mankind, if we count their races, will have vanished from before our view in no long space of time if we do not interfere to protect them from the daily encroachments of the one more powerful tribe. The theory of language is again a subject which has excited the minds of celebrated philosophers. It may safely be asserted, that more light has been thrown upon this investigation, by philological researches, as to the actually existing languages of the so-termed barbarous nations, than by all the crude speculations of metaphysical writers, or even of scholars, whose scope was limited to the classical languages of antiquity. Compare the posthumous work of the late William Humboldt; a magnificent work raised by a great philosopher on a most extensive field of inquiry, combining the fruits of comprehensive induction, with the jejune theories of Harris[112], of Monboddo[113], and even of

[112] James Harris (1709-1780) English writer on the idea of a universal grammar.

[113] James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-1799) Scottish judge, philosopher particularly interested in the origin and development of language; for a recent consideration of his

Adam Smith, and you will be convinced how much more sound and philosophical are the results of actual inquiries into the facts which really exist or can be shown to exist, than any speculation as to what may probably have taken place under supposed circumstances. The great field in which these results have been obtained, was found principally among the barbarous or half-civilized nations of the East and of the West. But even the work of Humboldt is in some degree premature: a considerable part of it consists necessarily of anticipations, or of reasonings from facts as yet but imperfectly known; and the opportunity of completing this inquiry and of perfecting a most interesting branch of human knowledge, will have been for ever lost, if entire races of men at present uncivilized .and without self-defence, and with them, whole families of languages should be rooted out and lost, as they are certainly doomed to be, unless preserved by the intervention of this truly philanthropic society.

"Bristol, May 20, 1839. J. PRICHARD."

The South Australian Colonist and Settlers' Weekly Record of British, Foreign and Colonial Intelligence (London, England: 1840) 7 July 1840, p 279. This is not in the *Annual Reports of the Aborigines Protection Society*. However, the third Report of the APS (1840) notes that reports of the Society have appeared in a number of sources including in South Australia and: "the essays of Dr. Prichard, and Dr. Hodgkin, which originally appeared in the *Monthly Chronicle*, have, with the consent of the editor, and at the expense of a member of the Committee, been reprinted under the title of Ethnological Extracts, and extensively distributed." *Ethnological extracts*. London, Spottiswoode, n.d. c. 1839/40, reprinted Prichard's essay and Hodgkin's and "On the Practicability of Civilising Aboriginal Populations", "from the Monthly Chronicle.

Document 5: Australian Announcement of the Establishment of the Ethnological Society of London, 1843.[114]

ETHNOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY - A number of gentlemen have been holding periodical meetings this season in London, by way of trying experimentally whether it is possible to organise an Ethnological Society m London. Several interesting papers have been read - on the Esquimaux; and other races - and spirited discussions raised upon them by gentlemen whose connexion with the colonies, or other avocations, have led them to mingle with the tribes described by the Essayist. There is an Ethnological Society in France patronised by the Government, and of which the most distinguished *savants* are members. Without appealing to the national vanity - asking whether our great rival in the of peace, as once in the art of war, is to be allowed to leave us behind in so interesting a field of equity - it may surely be said that England has a greater interest in the prosecution of the study than France, and greater opportunities of advancing it. Above all, the colonial public have opportunities of advancing the science, and may be materially benefitted by its advancement. This consideration has induced us to draw the attention of our readers to the fact that an effort is at present making to institute a society for the purpose. It is doubtful whether the meetings can be prolonged beyond the present season, its existence depends upon a sufficient number of gentlemen, fond of such investigations, coming forward to join it. If, as we hope it may be the case, the Ethnological

thought in context see Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

[114] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 October 1843, p. 2.

Society is to take its place permanently among the kindred institutions of London, we shall not fail to describe from time to time its most novel and important transactions - a duty which we also hope to gratify our readers by discharging to a society of equal importance to all colonists and friends of colonies (the Geographical), which has already attained a permanent rank among scientific associations - *Colonial Gazette.*

Document 6: Announcement in a Melbourne newspaper of 1845 of its intention to reproduce the British Association's *Queries Respecting the Human Race* in order to gather information from local correspondents on Aborigines.[115]

THE ABORIGINES.

We publish a list of queries which were forwarded by the committee of the British Association for the promotion of Science to the Editor of the *Gazette*, requesting his attention to the several points to which they relate. The letter goes on to state, "that the study of ethnology is now increasingly cultivated, but nothing can more essentially contribute to place this science on a sure basis, than extensive end careful investigation, conducted on a systematic plan. The list of queries, compiled from various sources promises to promote this object, and replies, whether made to few or many of the questions, will be very acceptable to the Association."

Thinking that the same request would have been made to some other scientific gentleman in this colony, we deferred entering on the subject, having but little time to spare at the present; but not having ascertained that any other person has been applied to, we publish the list of queries in to-day's *Gazette*, A copy of which we forward to those who have a thorough acquaintance with the subject. We request each to consider the question, and forward us replies to any of them for which we shall feel much obliged, and affix their names to each reply in the answer we return to Britain. We would particularly call the attention of the Protectors of aborigines to the questions, as they may be fairly supposed to be acquainted with the subject. One or two persons to whom we have mentioned the matter, have suggested the propriety of subscribing a small sum, to be given as a prize to the author of the best essay on the aborigines; and we may call the attention of the few who interest themselves in such matters, to this, as it might elicit much –valuable information, which otherwise would be lost to the world.

Document 7: Australian Ethnographic Papers read before the Ethnological Society of London, 1843/1846, as reported in Britain and the Australian colonies.

Ethnological Society.— Mr. Holt Yates in the chair. The attention of the meeting which met at Dr. Hodgkin's, 9, Lower Brook-street, on the evening of the 19th, was engaged in hearing a paper from the pen of Edwin C. Suttor, Esq, on the Bathurst tribe of the Australian variety of mankind. The author corrected the opinion pretty generally prevalent of the inferiority of the Australian race, both physically and intellectually over the other divisions of the great human family. In stature the Bathurst natives range from five feet, ten inches, six feet not being

[115] The Aborigines. *Port Philip Gazette*, 19 April 1845, p 2; the text of the *Queries* was reproduced in the *Port Philip Gazette*, 19 April 1845, p. 4 and receipt of a copy of the *Queries* had been announced earlier, *Port Philip Gazette*, 15 February 1845, p. 2.

uncommon; and in intelligence they hold a fair average rank in the scale of uncivilized man. They calculate time by the changes of the moon, and distances by their night sleeps. In speaking of a very distant event, they reckon by the changes of seasons. They have a considerable knowledge of astronomy, assigning names to particular stars by which they guide their wanderings. They indulge in an idea, which is purely Australian, that after they die they become white men—" tumble down black-fellow jump up white man," being a common expression with them; and thus they are better reconciled to the white intruder upon their hunting grounds than aboriginal men in general. Their dances, both of war and of the chase, were described as particularly manly, and the author did not doubt, had Dr. Prichard been an eye witness to them, that he would have hesitated before he called the Australians, in his Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, "the squalid companions of kangaroos crawling in procession in imitation of quadrupeds." The paper was full of facts, for such they must be called, since Mr. Suttor from his earliest infancy has been associated with the people of whom he writes. The conversation which followed the reading of the paper was animated and varied in its character. Dr. Anthony Todd Thomson drew attention to the author's statement, that the Australian native had an aversion to salt; the Baron de Bode to the fact that "gin," the name for woman in the Australian language, is the same among several divisions of mankind. Dr. Hodgkin pointed as existing in this race a remarkable breadth of the outer part of the os froutis, as well as a flatness. Messrs. George Ramsay and J. A. St. John, and Dr. Richard King also addressed the meeting, which separated at a late hour.[116]

Ethnological Society. - At the last meeting of this society some information was supplied respecting the Bathurst tribe of the Australian variety of mankind, by Edwin C. Sutton, Esq., who, from his earliest infancy, has resided amongst them He corrects the opinion generally prevalent that they are an inferior race. Both physically and morally, in his opinion, they hold a fair average rank. In stature they range from five feet seven inches to five feet ten, six feet not being uncommon. They have a considerable knowledge of astronomy, assign names to particular stars, by which they guide their wanderings. They are described as excellent mimics, very witty, generally good-natured, quick in comprehension, and particularly honest. They have an idea that after they die they become white men. The meeting was very numerous, and the discussion very animated. Dr. Holt Yates presided.[117]

The Aborigines of Australia.- At a recent meeting of the Ethnological Society, a paper was read "On the Natives of Australia," by Edward John Eyre, Esq.[118] The subject was partially illustrated by two youths, brought to this country for a short time for education. Mr. Eyre is of

[116] *Medical Times* (London), 8 May 27, 1843, p. 143; Edwin Clark Suttor (1818-1898) was born in Australia to a leading pioneer farming family and trained in London as a lawyer before returning to New South Wales where was a magistrate and author of legal texts.
[117] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 October 1843, p. 4; also *Weekly Register of Politics, Facts and General Literature* (Sydney), 21 October 1843, p. 186); both sources incorrectly give his name as Sutton.
[118] On Eyre's Australian period see Geoffrey Dutton, 'Eyre, Edward John (1815–1901)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/eyre-edward-john-2032/text2507, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 8 August 2016. The new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* provides another perspective: Gad Heuman, "Eyre, Edward John (1815–1901)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33060, accessed 8 Aug 2016

opinion that the natives of Australia present a striking resemblance to each other in physical appearance and structure, and general character, habits, and pursuits. The man is well-built, and muscular, and from five to six feet in height. His skull is thick and flattened; his forehead bold; his eyes, which are large, black, and expressive, sunk; his nose flattened, and his mouth wide; his lips rather thick; his teeth perfect and beautiful, though, in the dental arrangement in many, a difference exists between the incisor and canine teeth; his chest is broad and deep; his carriage erect; and there is considerable natural grace and dignity of demeanour. A single garment only is worn, made in the form of an oblong cloak or coverlet, of the skins of the opossum, the kangaroo, or the wallabie, and where animals are scarce, of an ingeniously manufactured article of sea-weed or rushes, and is very becoming. It has the fur outwards, and is thrown over the back and left shoulder, and pinned on in front with a little wooden peg. The open part is opposite the right side, so as to leave, in the man, the right arm and shoulder bare. The character of the Australian is, frank, open, and confiding, and when once on terms of friendship has a freedom and fearlessness that would give little countenance to the impression so generally entertained of his treachery. Having no vessels capable of resisting the action of fire, they are unacquainted with the simple process of boiling; their culinary operations are, therefore, con-fined to broiling, baking, and steaming. Cannibalism does not appear to prevail extensively through the continent, though it exists in a few tribes. The following account was given to Mr. Eyre by the natives of the Murray of their idea of the creation:-That there are four individuals living up among the clouds, called Nooreele, consisting of a father and his three male children, but there is no mother. The father is all-powerful, and of a benevolent character. He made the earth, trees, water, &c, gave names to every thing and place, placed the natives in their different districts, telling each tribe they were to inhabit such and such localities, and were to speak such and such languages. The Nooreele never die, and the souls {*ludko*, literally a shadow) of dead natives will go up and join them in the skies and will never die again. Other tribes give an account of a serpent of immense size, and inhabiting high rocky mountains, which, they say, produced creation by a blow of his tail. The Australasian believes in sorcery and witchcraft. The ceremonies and superstitions of the natives are numerous and involved in much obscurity. The mode of disposing of the dead varies greatly according to the usage of the district and the age of the deceased; simple burial; the burning of the body; the drying of the body in the sun until it is mummied, are all had recourse to. The lamentations for the dead do not terminate with the burial; frequently they are renewed at intervals by the women, during late hours of the night, or some hours before daybreak, and piercingly as those cries strike upon the traveller in the lonely woods, if raised suddenly or very near him, yet, mellowed by distance, they are soothing and pleasing.[119]

[119]*Melbourne Argus*, 3 July 1846, p. 4; Eyre's address is also reported briefly by Charles Malcolm in his "Address to the Ethnological Society of London Delivered at the Anniversary, 26th May 1845." *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London,* Vol. 2, 1850), p. 61.