

## Chapter Three

# 'Oceanic Negroes': British anthropology of Papuans, 1820-1869

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Captain James Cook (1728-1779) failed to see much of New Guinea or its inhabitants the Papuans. By late 1770, when the battered *Endeavour* reached the southern shores of New Guinea, Cook and his crew were on their way home and little disposed to attempt contact with the island's reportedly hostile people. But on Monday, 3 September, Cook (1955:408), 'having a mind to land once in this Country before we quit it altogether', went ashore in the pinnace in a party of twelve, accompanied by the naturalists Joseph Banks (1743-1820) and Daniel Solander (1733-1782). The first moment of encounter was pure Defoe: 'we had no sooner landed than we saw the print of Mens feet fresh upon the Sand'. Just two hundred yards further along the beach, the ship's party was attacked by three or four men throwing 'darts' and lime powder. After firing a volley, they retired, followed 'by 60 or as some thought about 100 of the natives'. From the safety of the pinnace, the Europeans:

now took a view of them at our leisure; they made much the same appearance as the New Hollanders, being nearly of the same stature, and having their hair short cropped: like them also they were all stark naked, but we thought the colour of their skin was not quite so dark; this however might perhaps be merely the effect of their not being quite so dirty.<sup>1</sup>

Other than a cursory examination of their 'darts' and a short digression on the curious practice of discharging lime powder from bamboo pipes, this was about all that Cook had to say on the subject of Papuans.

The relative absence of references to New Guinea in the literature of the Cook voyages and in subsequent Cook scholarship weighed heavily on the early development of an anglophone anthropology of the Papuans, as it has also on the historiography of that anthropology. Anglophone debate about 'race' in Oceania has hinged largely on the terms established by the Cook voyage literature, most obviously through the contrast between the 'two great varieties' of South Sea Islanders identified by the naturalist Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-1798) and later re-cast as Melanesians and Polynesians.<sup>2</sup> Until the onset

of concerted European exploration of the main island of New Guinea in the 1870s, Papuans or 'Oceanic Negroes' were the subject of much metropolitan anticipation and speculation. In his instructions for the scientists on Baudin's expedition of 1800-4 (1978:175-6), the French naturalist Georges Cuvier (1769-1832) listed a series of locations whose inhabitants were 'still insufficiently known' and first amongst them were 'the Papuans, or inhabitants of New Guinea, who have long been regarded as Negroes'. Though French voyaging scientists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had been the first to generate systematic descriptions of Papuans,<sup>3</sup> their influence on European thinking about New Guinea and its inhabitants does not appear to have extended much beyond the mid-nineteenth century, perhaps because French interest in Oceania beyond its established colonial territories subsequently waned.<sup>4</sup>

Instead, we find repeated reference in European literature from the mid-nineteenth century to the writings and authority of a trio of British authors: the colonial administrator and philologist, John Crawfurd (1783-1868); the navigator and translator, George Windsor Earl (1813-1865); and the field naturalist and co-founder with Charles Darwin (1809-1882) of the theory of natural selection, Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913). Where previous observations on the inhabitants of New Guinea had derived largely from transient shipboard voyagers, each of these three authors was resident at or closely in contact with one or more of the region's early settler outposts, such as Batavia, Singapore, and Port Essington. All three published their views on the contrasting moral and physical characters of the Malay and the Papuan. Their authority as field observers was widely acknowledged and their reports furnished metropolitan debates with the means to fix these racial categories within a global schema of human difference. Most importantly, they generated their own accounts of these categories, acting as both field observers and metropolitan theorists. However, the importance they assigned to moral traits and questions of character and comportment in the distinction of racial difference sets them apart both from earlier comparative anatomists and from later anthropologists.<sup>5</sup> The dramatic contradictions and value reversals evident in their individual pronouncements on the Malay and Papuan 'types' neatly illustrate the struggles of an emergent nineteenth-century science of race to agree upon standards, or perhaps styles, for field observation, analysis, and comparison.

My focus here is on just three of the themes common to the writings of these authors: the increasing priority accorded to observation or presence in the field; the fundamental role of cardinality or orientation in the regional comparison of human populations; and the gathering centrality during this period of notions of racial purity and boundedness. The period of the mid-nineteenth century, immediately preceding Europe's first substantial engagements with New Guinea and with Papuans, coincided with a broad regional transition from voyager to

resident or settler discourses as the principal conduits for knowledge about indigenous Oceanian people. On a global scale, this was also the era that witnessed the increasing deployment in anthropological observation of a rhetoric of precision (Bravo 1999; Ballard n.d.) and a privileging of new types of more intensive, terrestrial observation, championed by naturalist collectors such as Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) and Alfred Russel Wallace — developments that would prove crucial to the consolidation of a science of race.

The scientific voyages in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries laid the foundations for a re-ordering of the relationships between field sites and metropolitan centres as 'ocular demonstration', or observation in the field, came to be accorded increasing privilege (Withers 2004). The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise to prominence of the naturalist field observer and the Malay Archipelago and New Guinea, along with the Amazon and central Africa, were the type locations for this new genus (Driver and Martins 2005). Yet, if field observation carried new weight, this was still counter-balanced by the metropolitan or textual domination of scientific knowledge. Field observers operated very consciously with a sense of the necessity for accomplishment and the required discovery of new species and their enquiries were permeated by a keen awareness of the concerns of their metropolitan sponsors and audiences. Reports from the field on human subjects represented a complex amalgam of received and anticipated forms of expression of their differences, on one hand, and the material imprints of the encounter on the other. Despite the apparent valorization of ocular demonstration, field observers were often limited in their capacity to confront or contradict metropolitan theories of race and their reports sought systematically to exclude what Johannes Fabian (2000) has recently described as the 'ecstatic' dimension of the encounter — the excess of experience that confounds anticipation but, in descriptions of racial difference, is repeatedly elided in the translation from the relational intimacy of personal diaries to the distanced perspective of published narratives.

Presence, in this context, implies direct experience, principally through the instrument of vision; Fabian's (1983) earlier account of 'visualism' in anthropology offers a useful point of departure for an understanding of the role of observation in the representation of human difference. Visualism, in Fabian's analysis (1983:106), consists of an emphasis on visual and spatial conventions for representation. Subscription to these conventions by observers and their readers endows them with the capacity to communicate the essential character of a culture or a physical type: 'the ability to "visualize" a culture or society becomes almost synonymous for understanding it'. Fabian's visualism supplies a handy metaphor for the process of reduction of human cultural or physical complexity to a few key traits, such that information on stature for Pygmies or curly hair for Papuans becomes all that is required to convey a large body of other implied and associated knowledge about the subject under observation (Ballard 2001).

Under these terms, the physical presence of the observer assumes a heightened priority in the attribution of authority.

The cardinality of comparison is a largely overlooked element in the constitution of regional topographies of difference in Oceania. As implied by Cook's observations above on Papuans and the use of Aboriginal Australians as a comparative foil, trajectories of travel had a pronounced influence on the character of descriptions and the terms of comparison. Most of the major scientific voyages of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had traversed Oceania from east to west, or south to north, approaching Melanesia by way of the central Pacific or around Australia in order to evade the political delicacies of access through the Dutch-controlled East Indies. Under these conditions, what would come to be termed Melanesia in the anglophone literature referred not so much to the island of New Guinea as it did to the extended archipelagic screen of Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and the Solomon Islands which came to serve as the primary negative poles for positive evaluations of Polynesia.<sup>6</sup> What emerges from a reading of the pre-twentieth-century anglophone anthropology of Papuans, however, is that the racial character of Papuans (as distinct from Melanesians) was historically defined not so much through comparison with Polynesians to the east as with Malays to the west. This is evident even in the writing of the French navigator Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville (1790-1842) who, despite his later fame as promoter of the more limited division of the Pacific Islands into Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, nonetheless included New Guinea and Australia within his denomination 'Melanesia'. Dumont d'Urville looked both east and west in his speculations on the racial character and origins of the Papuans: 'Their name, Papuans, according to the most common explanation, indicates their black colour, *by contrast with* that of the Boughis and the copper-coloured inhabitants of the Malaysian Islands'.<sup>7</sup> In comparison with the more holistic vision of the French writers of the period, each of the three anglophone authors addressed here essentially approached and viewed New Guinea from the west. From this perspective, Papuans were described principally through a series of contrasts with Malays.

Finally, this chapter seeks to track the elaboration during the nineteenth century of notions of the boundedness or purity of racial types that began to emerge from the late 1820s as the central problem for a scientific knowledge of race. This development proceeded not through direct theorization of the essential character of racial purity but rather through contemplation of the problems posed by racial 'mixing' or miscegenation — a challenge that had long preoccupied slave-holding communities in the Americas and would continue to fuel racialist conceptions of difference in Oceania, as elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> The accounts of Papuans furnished by Crawford, Earl, and Wallace united what had previously been a largely disparate field of observations. The principal method in each case

consisted of a willingness to distil a multitude of received and personal observations in order to produce an attractively simple opposition between fundamentally *racial* types. The significance and novelty of their contribution is best appreciated in the context of prior European representations of Papuans.

## 'Papuanesia'

Etymologies for the term 'Papua' are illuminating insofar as they track the semantic shifts and slippages between references to people, place, and race. Modern usage itself is scarcely fixed, with Papuans commonly identified either as the autochthonous inhabitants of the main island of New Guinea or as the residents of either of three different administrative regions: the provinces of Papua and West Papua within the Republic of Indonesia, in the western half of the island, and the former territory of colonial Papua in the southern half of what is now Papua New Guinea. Linguists, meanwhile, reserve the term 'Papuan' for a loose set of highly differentiated languages defined negatively as being 'non-Melanesian' or 'non-Austronesian', some of which extend westward to the Indonesian islands of Timor, Alor, Pantar, and Halmahera and south and east to the Torres Strait and the Bismarck Archipelago (Ross 2005). Sidney Ray (1858-1939), noting Earl's earlier work on Papuan anthropology, provided the definitive statement of 'Papuan' as a linguistic appellation in 1892:

For these non-Melanesian languages of New Guinea I used the name Papuan. This did not imply any community of character or origin in the language so-called, but merely served as a convenient term to indicate their archaic features as the probably aboriginal languages of the great island of New Guinea (1926:24).

Solely for the purposes of this chapter, I refer to the main island as New Guinea and to the inhabitants of New Guinea and its wider fringe of associated islands as Papuans, without distinction.<sup>9</sup>

Since the mid-nineteenth century, conventional wisdom has derived the term Papua from a putative Malay source, *papua* or *puahpuah*, usually defined as 'frizzy-haired', with the additional implication of black or dark skin colour. Yet in his search for an origin for this association, the historian and former official of Netherlands New Guinea, Sollewijn Gelpke (1993:320-1), could find nothing earlier to substantiate this association than the series of often conflicting definitions provided by Crawford in 1852: "'*papuwah* (Jav. and Mal.) frizzled", "a negrito of the Indian islands; an African negro"; "'*pâpuwah*, frizzled; the island of New-Guinea; an inhabitant of that island being of the negrito race"; and "'Negro of the Indian Islands: *papuwah*, *puwah-puwah*". Crawford identified the 1812 dictionary of the orientalist and philologist William Marsden (1754-1836) as his key source and yet Marsden's dictionary offers only '*papūah* as "frizzled" and "crisp curled (as certain plants)".<sup>10</sup> Gelpke's careful enquiries have

established that the term Papua was first documented by Portuguese explorers in the sixteenth century and referred loosely to the islands lying to the east of the northern Moluccas.<sup>11</sup> As Portuguese and Spanish knowledge of the region grew, the scope of the term gradually narrowed to encompass the mainland of New Guinea and the neighbouring Raja Ampat and Schouten island groups and reference was made equally to '*as Papuas*' (the Papuan islands) and '*os Papuas*' (the Papuans) (Gelpke 1993:322-6). What was initially a cardinal direction had come to identify, first, a fixed set of locations and then the inhabitants of those places, before assuming its final reference to the physical attributes of black skin and frizzly hair. By the late eighteenth century, Papua (the location) was defined in reverse as the residence of black-skinned and frizzly-haired Papuans.<sup>12</sup>

An additional and possibly prior sense of the term Papua is hinted at in Gelpke's research and in the writings of Iberian and other European explorers. The Portuguese Gábrriel Rebelo observed in the 1560s that, "*Papua, em todas as linguas de Maluco diz Cafre*" ("*Papua*" in all Moluccan languages, means "heathen").<sup>13</sup> *Cafre*, or *kāfir*, the Arabic term for heathen or non-believer, nicely captures this additional quality of Papuan as a negative reference to all those people of the region who remained unconverted to Islam and culturally undomesticated by the Islamic principalities of the Moluccas.<sup>14</sup> The *Raya Papua* or King of the Papuans, rather imaginatively described by Antonio Pigafetta in 1521, was thus the putative sovereign of the non-Moslem population of the interior of Halmahera and the islands to its east. The Spaniard Luis Váez de Torres, arriving in the Moluccas via the southern coast of New Guinea in 1606, similarly wrote that the 'Moors ... carry on conquests of the people *they call* the Papuas, and preach to them the sect of Mahomet'.<sup>15</sup>

How then did European writers and observers come to restrict the term Papuan primarily to physical attributes and how did they set about composing an increasingly precise definition of those attributes? European voyagers apparently first heard of 'Papoia' from about 1511 and, in this moment before the actual encounter, the Portuguese Tomé Pires (1944, I:222) could still record (if not credit) accounts of Papuans couched in the medieval mode as 'men with big ears who cover themselves with them'. From 1526, when the Portuguese Jorge de Meneses landed and 'wintered' at Biak, the terms employed to describe Papuans were dominated by explicit analogy with sub-Saharan Africans. The Englishman William Dampier (1652-1715) in 1700 and the Frenchman Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1729-1814) in 1768 were amongst the many for whom the inhabitants of New Guinea and nearby islands were 'Negroes' while others, such as the Spaniard Diego de Prado y Tovar in 1606 and the Dutchman Jan Carstensz in 1623, referred to them still more generically as 'Kaffirs' or as 'Indians'.<sup>16</sup> Africa's ghostly presence in the Pacific was given further substance in 1545 by the Spaniard Iñigo Ortiz de Retes when he named the main island of

the Papuan archipelago 'New Guinea', reflecting both the perceived similarities between the people of New Guinea and of West Africa and the fond hope of the presence of gold through the alchemy of appellative association.

Beyond this common focus on Africa as a pole of comparison, there was little uniformity amongst the physical characteristics listed for the inhabitants of New Guinea. The variation between different Papuan communities evident to European observers was described in terms of 'types', 'peoples', 'men', 'classes', and 'nations' as well as 'races'. The word race in its modern biological sense did not obviously feature in descriptions of Papuans until the visits to New Guinea of the French Restoration scientific voyages under Louis de Freycinet (1779-1842) in 1818-19, Louis-Isidore Duperrey (1786-1865) in 1823, and Dumont d'Urville in 1827-28 and 1838-40.<sup>17</sup> Hair and skin colour were the two primary physical attributes upon which definitions of 'the Papuan' rested. As Douglas (Chapter Two, this volume) shows with respect to accounts of indigenous communities more generally in Oceania, the wide variation in skin colour reported both within and between different communities by observers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gradually gave way to an increasingly uniform consensus on the more limited chromatic range proper to pure types or races. Where Prado and Torres could write in 1606 of adjacent communities along the south coast of New Guinea as variously 'tall and white', 'tawny', 'not very white', the 'colour of mulattos', or 'very dark' and the Dutchman Henrik Haalbos, sailing with Abel Janszoon Tasman (1603-1659) in 1643, of people along the north coast as 'tawny', 'pitch-black', or 'yellow',<sup>18</sup> from the time of Dampier's encounters with the inhabitants of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago in 1700, Papuans were described simply and almost universally as 'black'.<sup>19</sup> While finer chromatic gradations continued to be discerned amongst Papuans, 'black' in an Oceanic context indicated colour within a hierarchical frame; henceforth, on any axis of comparison, Papuans could safely be presumed to be darker than most other Oceanic peoples.

A similar shift is evident in European descriptions of Papuan hair. For the earlier Iberian and Dutch voyagers, the presence or absence of facial hair was possibly more important than the form of head hair and frequent reference was made to Papuan men with 'thick beards'.<sup>20</sup> Again, Dampier was perhaps the first to emphasize the actual form of head hair, writing of 'Curl-pated *New Guinea Negroes*' with 'frizled' or 'short curl'd Hair'.<sup>21</sup> By the 1760s, Bougainville and the Englishman Philip Carteret (1733-1796) were employing the term 'woolly' along with 'frizzled' while Thomas Forrest (1729?-1802?) introduced the epithet 'mopheaded Papuas' in 1779.<sup>22</sup> But it was the French Restoration voyages that focused especial attention on Papuan coiffure, with lengthy descriptions and elaborate illustration of the 'mopped' or 'bushy' hairstyles sported by men in north-western New Guinea, in particular (Figure 12).<sup>23</sup> The coincidence of this

discovery with the mid-nineteenth century re-definition of 'Papuan' as 'frizzle-haired' is surely no accident. By the 1850s, the racial metonymy was taken for granted, as in the summation of an anonymous reviewer (Anon. 1854:50): 'A black skin and a frizzly head of hair make the Papuan'.

**Figure 12: Jules-Louis Le Jeune, 'Habitants du Port Dori. Nouvelle Guinée' [1823].<sup>24</sup>**



Pen and wash drawing. SH 356. Vincennes, France: Service historique de la Défense, département Marine. Photograph B. Douglas.

A third shift over time in European accounts of Papuans has to do with the other general characteristics deemed necessary for an accurate portrayal of the differences between Papuans and other Oceanic peoples. A striking element of pre-nineteenth-century accounts is the emphasis on nudity and body decoration,



whether clothing, paint, piercings, scarification, or tattoos. Without an established literature and thus a set of preconceptions about Papuans, early European observers concentrated on what was most visually arresting in their encounters. However, by the nineteenth century, clothing and decoration were increasingly of less significance to racial taxonomy than the body beneath. Nineteenth-century descriptions of encounters with Papuans moved almost immediately to questions of height, colour, hair, and bodily form, visually stripping Papuan bodies of the encumbrances of culture. Where early European explorers had imagined near-naked Oceanian people as potentially clothed and converted to Christianity (Thomas 1994:73), their later nineteenth-century counterparts, meeting clothed Oceanians, conceived them naked once again.

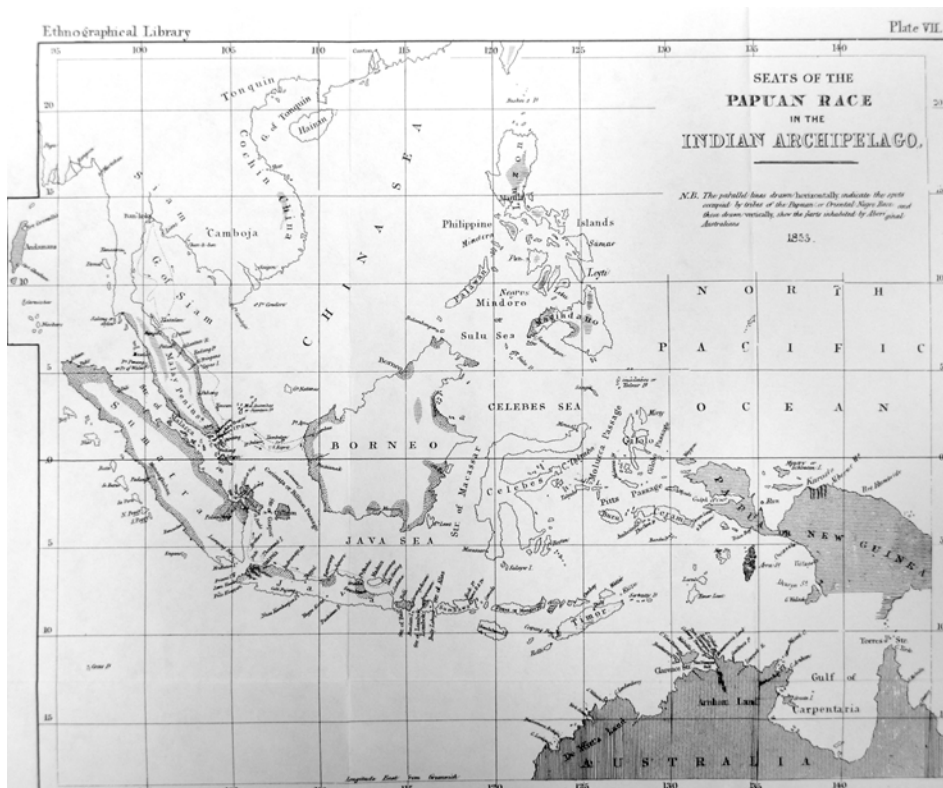
A history of all the other descriptive terms routinely applied to Papuans lies beyond the scope of this paper but it should be stressed that the definition of Papuan-ness for Europeans rested as much upon a host of largely negative attributions, including cannibalism, savagery, treachery, polygamy, and the poor 'usage' of women, as it did upon purely bodily characteristics. For the purposes of this chapter, however, the persistence of a specific axis of comparison for Papuans is of particular interest: for almost all those voyagers for whom encounters with Papuans were deemed worthy of extended comment, the strongest contrast lay not to the east, where apparently more subtle gradations led from what is now Fiji through Island Melanesia to New Guinea, but rather to the west, where a sharper break was commonly discerned between Papuans and Malays.

Dampier noted this contrast in 1700 in the Moluccas, where he distinguished between 'a sort of very tawny *Indians*, with long black Hair' and 'shock Curl-pated *New Guinea Negroes*'; in 1767, Carteret identified a striking break between the Admiralty Islands, peopled by 'woolly headed black, or rather copper coloured Negroes', and the Micronesian inhabitants of tiny Mapia Island, to the north of western New Guinea, whom he described as 'Indien Copper Colour'd ... [with] fine long black hair'; and Forrest differentiated 'two sorts' of inhabitants of the Molucca Islands, 'the long hair'd Moors, of a copper colour, like Malays in every respect; and the mopheaded Papuas'.<sup>25</sup> The Restoration French voyagers vigorously restated this distinction, with the surgeon-naturalists Jean-René Constant Quoy (1790-1869) and Joseph-Paul Gaimard (1793-1858) writing of 'a race ... similar to that of southern Africa, apparently stranded [*égarée*, literally "strayed"] in the midst of the Malay race which inhabits the archipelagos of Sunda, Borneo, and the Moluccas' (1823:117).

If 'Papua' as a location had referred initially to an area east of the Moluccas and subsequently to the inhabitants of New Guinea, during the nineteenth century it also emerged as a biologized or racialized toponym found much more widely throughout island Southeast Asia and the western Pacific. This new,

racially defined region was variously named '*Mélanésie*' by Dumont d'Urville, 'Oceanic Negroland' by the English ethnologist James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848), or 'Papuanesia' by the English colonial lawyer James Richardson Logan (1819-1869) — highlighting the constantly expanding and contracting range of people identified as 'Papuan'.<sup>26</sup> For those authors for whom Papuan encompassed all other forms of 'Negrito', including Aboriginal Tasmanians, Andaman Islanders, and interior communities in Luzon, Mindanao, and the Moluccas, Papuanesia was both a region and a temporal layer in the racial stratigraphy of the region, representing its earliest human settlers. At its broadest extent, the boundaries of this racial zone extended from Fiji in the east, to Tasmania in the south, the Philippines in the north, and the Andaman Islands in the west (Figure 13).

**Figure 13: George Windsor Earl, 'Seats of the Papuan Race in the Indian Archipelago'.<sup>27</sup>**



Engraving. Photograph B. Douglas.

The three anglophone authors considered here, Crawford, Earl, and Wallace, collectively laid the foundations for theories about Papuans during the mid-nineteenth century. The circle of acquaintance and internal reference

amongst the three was almost complete: Crawfurd cited Earl approvingly (though he insisted on referring to him as 'Mr. Windsor East'), borrowed but then misplaced several of Wallace's field notebooks from the Malay Archipelago, and later clashed with Wallace;<sup>28</sup> Earl, in turn, cited Crawfurd's 1820 volume but might not have known much of Wallace as he died before the publication of the latter's major book on the Malay Archipelago; while Wallace had read Crawfurd's writings on the Malay or Indian Archipelago and made frequent reference to the work of Earl. All three were certainly familiar with at least some of the Dutch and French literature on New Guinea. Each of the three authors derived his authority, to a significant extent, through claims to a particular status as an observer in the field. However, the contrasts evident in their varying statements on Malays and Papuans nicely illustrate the transformation in the practice and metropolitan reception of ethnological and anthropological field observations over the passage of just forty years.

### **John Crawfurd — 'two separate races'**

The eminent Scottish orientalist Crawfurd enjoyed a stellar career in the administration of Britain's fledgling overseas empire. Trained as a doctor, he spent five years from 1803 with the Indian Army in the Northwest Provinces. After being transferred to Penang, he took part in the British conquest of Dutch-held Java in 1811. Between 1811 and 1816, Crawfurd served as British Resident at Yogyakarta during the period of Java's British administration under Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826). Following a series of further diplomatic appointments — in Siam, Cochin China, Singapore, and Burma — Crawfurd returned permanently to England in 1828 where he established a reputation as a leading linguist and philologist and as an ambitious if frustrated politician.<sup>29</sup> Much like any writer seeking to capture the headwaters of a particular field, Crawfurd published a series of encyclopedias, general histories, and descriptive dictionaries — on the history of Java, the Indian Archipelago (1820), the Burmese court, the Malay language (1852), and the Indian Islands (1856). Combining these scholarly pursuits with a streak of ruthless ambition, he set about conquering London's academic society, a campaign recently documented in some detail by Ter Ellingson (2001).<sup>30</sup> In alliance with James Hunt (1833-1869), later president himself of the racialist Anthropological Society, Crawfurd engineered a coup within the largely monogenist Ethnological Society of London, of which he was elected president in 1860.

Crawfurd's views on race were decidedly individual and polygenist in all but name (Stocking 1987:100). Although strident in his opposition to slavery, (which led to his break with James Hunt and other proponents of slavery in the Anthropological Society), and contemptuous of anthropological and anatomical attempts to classify differences amongst races on the basis of physical characteristics, Crawfurd also denied any unity to mankind, insisting on

immutable, hereditary, and timeless differences in racial character, principal amongst which was the 'very great' difference in 'intellectual capacity'.<sup>31</sup> His largely intuitive 'ethnological' approach to the question of the origins of these differences relied substantially upon the conventional skills of a gentleman philologist and ethnologist of the day (1820, I:27): 'It is by a comparison of languages,—of customs and manners,—of arbitrary institutions,—and by reference to the geographical and moral condition of the different races alone, that we can expect to form any rational hypothesis on this obscure subject'.

Crawfurd's earlier writing (1820, I:14-16) appears to acknowledge the significance of environmental elements — notably climate and staple foods — in the formation of racial differences. Championing the grains and cereals which he associated with the history of the European races, he regarded non-European staples such as sago and rice with a dislike bordering on revulsion (1856:262): 'Those tribes that live on sago, which embraces the wide region east of Celebes, including New Guinea, are either illiterate, or rude and savage, whether belonging to the Malay or Negro race'. Yet, in the same textual breath, Crawfurd (1856:264) proceeded to suggest that even where the climatic conditions existed for civilization, as on Java, there was little evidence for European-style progress and that the only possible explanation for this was the 'inferior intellectual capacity' of non-European races. The hardening racialism of Crawfurd's views was evident in a prolific series of tendentious and frequently repetitive articles on race published during the 1860s in the *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, under his own presidency. Here (1861a:79, 85, 92), he jettisoned any residual belief in the effects of environment on fundamental human difference, denying any substantial role to either climate or diet, though he allowed for some impact of diet on 'mental development'. While he was dismissive of the Darwinians and of any attempt to align certain races more closely with the apes, Crawfurd placed considerable emphasis on the variety of human races and on the hierarchy of superiority amongst them, concluding that 'practically, the races may be considered as distinct species'.

Crawfurd's three-volume *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820) exerted a considerable influence on early nineteenth-century thinking on race in the region.<sup>32</sup> Probably following the lead of Forster, who had referred his 'two great varieties' in the South Seas to 'the two different races of men' in the 'East Indian isles', Crawfurd noted the 'singular phenomenon' of an '*original* and *innate* distinction of the inhabitants into two separate races'. He defined these two 'aboriginal races' visually through the intersection of hair and skin colour attributes: the first was a 'brown' race of 'Indian islanders' with 'lank hair' and the second a 'black' or 'negro' race with 'woolly or frizzled' hair. Crawfurd sought to illustrate this contrast through an engraving that portrayed 'A Papua or Negro of the Indian Islands' alongside 'Kätut a Native of Bali one of the Brown

complexioned Race' (Figure 14).<sup>33</sup> Though Crawford explicitly denied any connection between the 'African negro' and what he variously referred to as the 'Austral', 'Asian', 'Oriental', or 'Oceanic' Negro, what was transmitted to the latter through the analogizing epithet of 'Negro' was the entire raft of negrophobic assumptions about intelligence, productivity, and so on, long associated with sub-Saharan Africans in European thinking: 'The *brown* and *negro* races of the Archipelago may be considered to present, in their physical and moral character, a complete parallel with the white and negro races of the western world'.<sup>34</sup>

Crawford then mapped this contrast across the archipelago, discerning a physical and moral gradient descending from west to east:

Civilization originated in the west [of the archipelago], where are situated the countries capable of producing corn. Man is there most improved, and his improvement decreases, in a geographical ratio, as we go eastward, until, at New Guinea, the termination of the Archipelago, we find the whole inhabitants an undistinguished race of savages. (1820, I:15-16)

This racialized topography could be accounted for through the comfortably familiar historical scenario of the displacement of inferior by superior races:<sup>35</sup>

The East Insular negro is a distinct variety of the human species, and evidently a very inferior one. Their puny stature, and feeble frames, cannot be ascribed to the poverty of their food or the hardships of their condition, for the lank-haired races living under circumstances equally precarious, have vigorous constitutions. Some islands they enjoy almost exclusively to themselves, yet they have in no instance risen above the most abject state of barbarism. Whenever they are encountered by the fairer races, they are hunted down like the wild animals of the forest, and driven to the mountains or fastnesses incapable of resistance (1820, I:24-6).

Crawford appears to have been largely indifferent to questions concerning the reliability of his often-uncited sources. Indeed, the extent of his personal observations on Papuans seems to have been limited to the inspection of Papuan slaves who had been brought to Java.<sup>36</sup> Writing in 1820, Crawford pronounced the Papuan to be 'a dwarf African negro', amongst whom a fully grown male measured no more than 4 feet 9 inches: 'I do not think I ever saw any that in stature exceeded five feet'. Though he recounted claims by other observers for a 'more robust' Negro in New Guinea, Crawford was careful to point out that he had not seen them himself — a sort of backhanded respect for the value of field observations. Having dismissed most other first-hand accounts of encounters with Papuans as 'indistinct and imperfect', he declared that of Pierre Sonnerat to be 'the best' and duly transcribed the most pejorative portions of what was

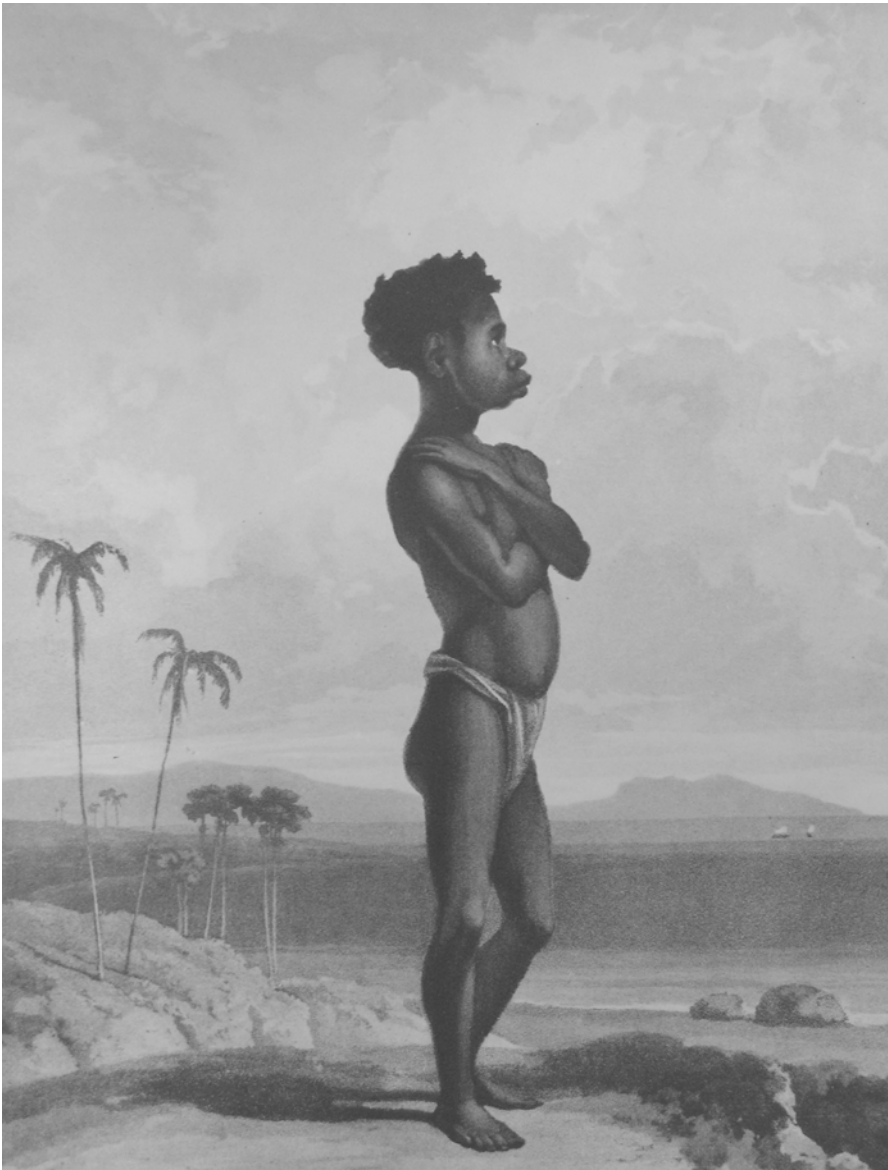
perhaps the least flattering description of Papuans available at the time.<sup>37</sup> Sonnerat, despite the extravagant claim of the title of his book, *Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée* (1776), never reached New Guinea.

**Figure 14: W.H. Lizars, 'A Papua or Negro of the Indian Islands; Kätut a Native of Bali one of the Brown complexioned Race'.<sup>38</sup>**



Engraving. Photograph B. Douglas.

**Figure 15: William Daniell, 'A Papuan or Native of New Guinea 10 years old'.<sup>39</sup>**



Aquatint. Photograph B. Douglas.

Yet Crawford was entirely aware that the 'Papuan' featured in his 1820 volume and used to illustrate the 'puny stature, and feeble frames' of Papuans generally was in fact a ten-year old slave.<sup>40</sup> The Papuan figure in Crawford's composite image was an unacknowledged reproduction of an illustration in an earlier volume by Raffles (Figure 15). Raffles (1817, II:ccxxxv) had taken the boy into his service on Bali 'under very peculiar circumstances' and later took him to

England where 'his arrival ... excited some curiosity, as being the first individual of the woolly haired race of Eastern Asia who has been brought to this country'.<sup>41</sup> The boy, 'whom we sometimes call Papua, and sometimes (more to his satisfaction) Dick', was duly inspected by the physician and anatomist Sir Everard Home (1756-1832), who formally described the 'particulars' in which 'the Papuan differs from the African negro'. Crawford's knowing employment of Raffles's image thus perpetrated a double misrepresentation: creating a general type from a known and named individual and, in support of his contrast between Malay and Papuan, wilfully ignoring the age of his subject in order to advance his claim that Papuans were 'puny'.<sup>42</sup>

### **George Windsor Earl — 'a single glance is sufficient'**

Born in London, George (Samuel) Windsor Earl travelled by ship to India in 1827 as a midshipman at the age of 14 and then to Western Australia in 1830 as an indentured settler. He returned to the sea in 1832, travelling extensively between Batavia and Singapore, and rose to command his own trading brig in only two years, aged just 21. After a period back in England, he became involved in the promotion of permanent British settlement of the north coast of Australia, returning in 1838 to establish Port Essington with the North Australia Expedition. The challenges of the Port Essington settlement and several other ventures crushed Earl and he was invalided from Port Essington to London in 1845. Another attempt to launch his Australian career, this time by promoting cotton cultivation and steam transport between Sydney and Singapore, resulted again in poor health and an enforced convalescence in England. By 1855 he was once again in Australia and Singapore, shuttling from one position as a resident administrator to another until his death in 1865, en route to England from his last post at Penang.<sup>43</sup>

A skilled linguist, hydrographer, navigator, and draughtsman, Earl came to fame initially through the publication of a series of papers and books on the Indian Archipelago, combining his own experiences with a close knowledge of the relevant Dutch sources. He was able to secure a London publisher for his first major work, a translation of Kolff's (1840) account of his 1825 expedition to the Arafura Sea. While in London in 1845, he began to produce a series of articles on racial types for the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, edited by J.R. Logan, his principal sponsor, and published in Singapore. These articles were then collected and reprinted in 1853, when Earl was undergoing another period of convalescence in England, as *The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago: Papuans* — the first and, as it transpired, only volume of a planned series which was to have included separate works on Australians, 'Malayu-Polynesians', and Moluccans.



Earl's *Papuans* would remain the standard reference on the subject throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and his reputation as the first anthropologist of the Papuans endured into the twentieth. Earl's status as an authority on Papuans was widely acknowledged amongst those of his peers with regional field experience, such as the Dutchmen Jan Pijnappel (1822-1901) and Pieter Jan Baptist Carel Robidé van der Aa (1832-1887) and the Englishman John MacGillivray (1821-1867).<sup>44</sup> In the 1920s, reviewing the state of knowledge about the races of the Netherlands East Indies, J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan (1925:83-8) would single out Earl as the point of departure in his canonical sequence of researchers in regional anthropology. Earl himself met or corresponded with leading ethnologists of the day such as Logan and Prichard, with the latter referring respectfully to his field experience (1847:227): 'Mr. Earle [sic] ... is better acquainted from personal observation and intercourse with the Papua race than any former voyager has been'. Even Crawfurd (1852:clxi), not known for generosity in his personal appraisals (and discounting the observations of citizens of other European nations), asserted that 'Mr. Earl saw much more of the Negroes of New Guinea than any other Englishman' and quoted him at length. Another influential metropolitan anthropologist, the Frenchman Armand de Quatrefages (1810-1872), founded his analyses of Papuans and Negritos (1895) almost entirely on Earl's writings. Earl was also cited as a local authority on more general matters by authors such as Darwin and Wallace,<sup>45</sup> both of whom drew on his observations on the influence of deep-sea channels on bio-geographic discontinuities in the Indian Archipelago.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps Earl's most enduring claim to fame, though it is poorly known, was his invention in 1850 of the term 'Indu-nesia', later adopted and modified by Logan as 'Indonesia'.<sup>47</sup>

Whatever his proficiencies as a navigator in the Eastern Archipelago, once amongst the shoals of metropolitan scholarly society, Earl evidently lacked either the social standing, the connections, or the cunning of Crawfurd. Though he addressed the Royal Geographical Society twice (in 1837 and 1845), he never sought to become a member, apparently because he felt snubbed by the lack of acknowledgement in a paper published by the Society of material from his 1845 address.<sup>48</sup> Thereafter, and possibly as a consequence of this perceived rejection, Earl (1853:23, 68) developed a deep antipathy to metropolitan scholarship, citing approvingly only what he termed the 'unbiased testimony' of other field observers whose evidence, being 'perfectly innocent of all ethnological theories ... must be considered incontestible [sic]'.<sup>49</sup>

As had Crawfurd, Earl sketched his image of the Papuan character on a canvas supplied by other inhabitants of the archipelago whom he designated the 'Malayu-Polynesians'. For Earl (1849-50:67), the distinction between the two was almost self-evident: 'The physical characteristics of the Malayu-Polynesians are so distinct from those of the Papuans, that a single glance is sufficient to

detect the difference between the races'. The Malayu-Polynesians, he suggested (1849-50:3), had left their influence even in New Guinea in a 'line of improvement' that extended along the northern coast and eastwards into the Pacific.

Following established convention, Earl (1853:1, 3) opened his book on Papuans with the observation that 'their most striking peculiarity consists in their frizzled or woolly hair', deferring to Crawford's gloss of *pua-pua* or *papua* as 'crisped'. But in place of Crawford's confident 1820 account of a uniform Papuan type, Earl proposed considerable variety in features such as stature and in skin colour. Though he identified the Papuans as a single 'race', Earl (1849-50:2) found evidence for variation between at least two 'tribes': an earlier, short-statured group, limited to the interior of New Guinea, whom he actually labelled 'pygmies', two decades before Schweinfurth's more celebrated 'discovery' of African pygmies (Bahuchet 1993); and tribes of larger — or, occasionally, 'gigantic' — Papuans inhabiting the coastal zones. In his account of the Papuans, Earl (1853:6, 7) chose to challenge or directly contradict many of Crawford's points of contrast between the 'brown' and 'black' races. He regarded the Papuans as 'physically superior to the races of South-eastern Asia', while 'with regard to mental capacity, also, they are not inferior to the brown races'. Earl's explanation for the domination of Papuan communities by Malay traders and raiders was based not on inferiority but on the Papuan 'impatience of control' and 'want of organization'. Their 'inextinguishable hatred ... towards those who attempt to settle in their territory' he explained not in terms of an innate savagery, for Papuan slaves elsewhere in the archipelago were 'remarkable for a cheery and obedient disposition', but in terms of the history of their treatment by Malays and a desire to protect their land from foreigners. 'It is an error', he concluded, 'to suppose that these poor creatures disappear before civilization. Their chief destroyers are the wild and warlike hunting tribes of the brown race'.

Earl's lasting reputation as a field observer conceals a nice irony, however. He read voraciously and 'pumped' other travellers, such as Owen Stanley and Dumont d'Urville, for information; but, as Reece observed more generally, 'gaps in his first-hand knowledge ... did not inhibit Earl from presenting himself as an authority'.<sup>49</sup> Although he travelled widely between northern Australia and Singapore — evidently visiting the islands of Aru, Kai, Babar, Timor, and the neighbouring Serawatti group, for each of which he later published his own word lists (Earl 1848) — I can find no evidence that Earl ever actually laid eyes, or set foot, on New Guinea.<sup>50</sup>

### **Alfred Russel Wallace — 'Had I been blind ...'**

The naturalist and zoogeographer Alfred Russel Wallace enjoys an authority that has endured beyond that of either Crawford or Earl, due in large part to his travels and observations in the Malay Archipelago between 1854 and 1862.<sup>51</sup>

Wallace's account of these travels, first published in 1869 as *The Malay Archipelago: the Land of the Orang-utan and the Bird of Paradise; a Narrative of Travel with Studies of Man and Nature* (1869a), ushered in a golden era of naturalist exploration in New Guinea and the Moluccas. Couching his developing theory of biogeography and species evolution in the form of a travelogue, *The Malay Archipelago* proved to be enormously influential not only for natural history and zoogeography in general but also more specifically for regional scholars; it is still regarded as perhaps 'the most famous of all books on the Malay Archipelago' (Bastin 1986:vii). Immediately translated into German (1869b) and Dutch (1870-71), Wallace's narrative set a standard against which much subsequent writing on the region has been measured. During the 1870s, Wallace was followed by a wave of naturalist explorers, each bearing copies of his book and consciously emulating his earlier feats: amongst them, the Russian Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay (1846-1888); Wallace's German translator Adolf Bernhard Meyer (1840-1911); and the Italians Odoardo Beccari (1843-1920) and Luigi Maria d'Albertis (1841-1901). Though Wallace's fame rests largely upon his work as a naturalist and his position as the 'moon' to Darwin's 'sun' in the development of a theory of evolution, he was equally fascinated by human as by other zoological subjects: 'The human inhabitants of these forests are not less interesting to me than the feathered tribes'.<sup>52</sup>

The lengthy duration of Wallace's field experience was exceptional, by any standards. As his eight years in the Malay Archipelago had been preceded almost immediately by five years of travel and collection in Brazil between 1848 and 1852, Wallace could claim to have spent twelve of these fourteen years in the field. In marked contrast to earlier observers or collectors, he operated independently, depending on the sale of his collections, and not as part of a ship's crew or a well-funded expedition — though the claim to independence conveniently ignores the colonial network of friends and acquaintances upon which Wallace leaned and the equally central contribution of his assistants, such as Charles Allen and Ali (Camerini 1996). While his predecessors had typically spent little more than a few days onshore, Wallace's visit to Dorey or Doreri Bay (Manokwari) during a period of three and a half months in 1858 marked the first sustained presence of a naturalist in New Guinea.<sup>53</sup>

Where Earl had insisted that 'a single glance' was sufficient to distinguish Papuans from Malays or Malayu-Polynesians, Wallace felt the contrast to be so pronounced as to almost preclude the need for visual diacritics. It was at the Kai Islands in the southeast Moluccas, on the last day of 1856, that Wallace experienced something of an epiphany in his conception of racial difference, as three or four canoes containing some fifty men approached his boat:

I now had my first view of Papuans in their own country, and in less than five minutes was convinced that the opinion already arrived at by

the examination of a few Timor and New Guinea slaves was substantially correct, and that the people I now had an opportunity of comparing side by side belonged to two of the most distinctive and strongly marked races that the earth contains. Had I been blind, I could have been certain that these islanders were not Malays. The loud, rapid, eager tones, the incessant motion, the intense vital activity manifested in speech and action, are the very antipodes of the quiet, unimpulsive, unanimated Malay ... These forty black, naked, mop-headed savages seemed intoxicated with joy and excitement ... School-boys on an unexpected holiday, Irishmen at a fair, or midshipmen on shore, would give but a faint idea of the exuberant animal enjoyment of these people ... Under similar circumstances Malays *could* not behave as these Papuans did ... These moral features are more striking and more conclusive of absolute diversity than even the physical contrasts presented by the two races, though that is sufficiently remarkable (1880a:415-6, original emphasis).<sup>54</sup>

While Wallace advocated the comparison of moral features observed in conjunction with physical traits as a guide to racial distinction, he insisted that environmental factors exerted less influence over the moral than the physical and that moral character was thus a more durable and fundamental ground for discrimination (Brooks 1984:164).

Wallace's famous description of the Australasian and Asian faunas of the Malay Archipelago as 'two distinct faunas rigidly circumscribed, which differ as much as do those of Africa and South America',<sup>55</sup> was echoed in the forcefulness of his distinction between Malays and Papuans:

Between the Malay tribes, among whom I had for some years been living, and the Papuan races, whose country I had now entered, we may fairly say that there is as much difference, both moral and physical, as between the red Indians of South America, and the Negroes of Guinea on the opposite side of the Atlantic (1880a:417).

But if Wallace, like Crawford, had first observed Papuans as slaves, appeared to subscribe to Crawford's fundamental division of the Malay and Papuan, and apparently shared the latter's taste for African analogies, his description of the details of these physical and moral differences followed more closely that offered by Earl, again directly contradicting Crawford. In terms of stature, Wallace (1856:202-4) claimed that 'the Papuan decidedly surpasses the Malay, and is perhaps equal to the average of Europeans'.<sup>56</sup> For Wallace, the Papuan face possessed 'an altogether more European aspect than in the Malay' and, although he acknowledged that the 'intellect' of Papuans was 'very difficult to judge', he was 'inclined to rate it somewhat higher than that of the Malays, notwithstanding the fact that the Papuans have never yet made any advance towards civilisation'.

Equally as confident or emphatic in his pronouncements as Crawford, in less than half a century Wallace had produced a valuation of the differences between Malays and Papuans diametrically opposed to that of Crawford.

## The priority of presence

Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* also marked the culmination of a progression in the significance accorded to field observation, or perhaps its very definition. Crawford, Earl, and Wallace all managed to combine the functions of field observer and metropolitan author and ethnologist. But where Crawford's contemporaries could regard his declarations on both Malays and Papuans as authoritative, Wallace's field methods, which owed as much to his formation as a surveyor as they did to established procedures amongst naturalist collectors (Moore 1997), radically raised the standard of evidence for racial discrimination.

The moral imprimatur of presence, or at least proximity, might have contributed to Crawford's standing; but his claim to field observation of Papuans was more the virtual presence of the well read philologist: 'I have never visited the island of New Guinea, but I have paid much attention to the subject, and ought to know something about it'.<sup>57</sup> For Crawford's critics, however, the limited scope of his observations failed to warrant his propensity to theorize. Raffles (1822:122) was not alone in his assessment that Crawford possessed 'a rage for generalizing on partial and insufficient data, and the substitution of bold speculation for the patient investigation of facts. With materials sufficient, perhaps, for an account of one of these islands, the author has attempted to grasp the whole'.<sup>58</sup>

Earl's distrust of metropolitan savants (amongst whom he would probably have numbered Crawford) contributed to his championing of presence in the field as the sole source of authority. The vocabulary of observation in Earl's work is considerably more precise in its identification of locations and of the position of the observer — whether that of a Dutch traveller in translation or Earl's explicit positioning of himself within the frame.<sup>59</sup> Earl's coyness about the exact details of his own encounters with Papuans and with the island of New Guinea is itself indicative of the significance that he attributed to personal observation in the field.

Certainly, by Wallace's time, the entire grammar of observational authority had been transformed and the distinctions between explorers, travellers, and scientific travellers more sharply drawn. Wallace proposed a commitment to field observation that went further than Earl, insisting that observers actually live amongst indigenous communities:

It is only by a long residence among a people, by travelling through the whole district they inhabit, and by a more or less accurate knowledge of the surrounding tribes with whom they may be intermixed, that the

observer is enabled to disentangle the complexities they present, and determine with some approach to accuracy the limits of variation of the pure or typical race (1876:174).

The privileging of field observation through this 'residency rule' was essential if the all-important details of moral character were to be correctly described and made available to ethnologists: 'Ethnologists', complained Wallace, 'have too often to trust to the information of travellers who passing rapidly from country to country have too few opportunities of becoming acquainted with peculiarities of national character, & scarcely even with those of physical conformation'.<sup>60</sup>

However, the sheer fact of presence in the field was no longer sufficient in itself. Wallace (1880b:153) would later damn d'Albertis with faint praise in a review of the Italian's account of his New Guinea expeditions. D'Albertis had 'all the best qualities of an explorer — enthusiasm, boldness, and resource, a deep love of nature, great humanity, and an amount of sympathy with savages', wrote Wallace before delivering a stinging verdict: 'To the character of a scientific traveller he makes no claim, and those who expect to find any sound generalizations from the results of his observations will in all probability be disappointed'. The capacity to deliver 'sound generalizations' from their own field observations was a trait common to Crawford, Earl, and Wallace, but securing recognition for their accounts required that their senses be as keen to the prevailing winds of scientific opinion in London and Europe as they had been to human difference in the Malay Archipelago.

## **The cardinality of comparison**

While field experience became increasingly valorized, the analytical aperture of the observer's vision was becoming steadily narrowed by metropolitan theory and the fashion of the times for a harder, more racist conception of difference. A critical step in this process was the development of a capacity to derive both racial and temporal separation from location — to move from mapping difference across space to proposing hierarchies of value that could be transposed onto these spatialized distinctions and, ultimately, to conceive of separation in space and in race as a fundamental difference in evolutionary time (Fabian 1983).

The function of cardinality with respect to space is similar to that of teleology for time, imposing a moral load on locations and directions (or temporal sequences), and linking them through gradients (or developmental trajectories). The classic distinctions between Melanesian and Polynesian or Malay and Papuan are also fundamentally geographic distinctions, specific valuations of particular spatial end-points that serve to anchor racial clines. Crawford's physical and moral gradient for the Indian Archipelago maps racial difference and social evolution in space. Given his primary focus and point of departure in Southeast Asian philology, the 'monster island' of New Guinea looms on the distant horizon

as a dark foil in Crawford's racial schema.<sup>61</sup> So, too, Earl's Malayu-Polynesian 'line of improvement' links the 'civilised' or civilizable 'brown race' of Malays and Polynesians in space, touching only lightly on the geographically intermediate but 'savage' Papuans of the north coast of New Guinea (1849-50:2-3).

Under these terms, the racial cartographer retains control only over the end points of the gradient. All else, necessarily, is shown in varying tones of grey. A concern for racial taxonomy requires rather more than gradients, however, and seeks instead to establish boundaries. If he was a keen observer, Wallace was an equally avid taxonomist and he was insistent that his human and zoological schemes matched one another (1880a:592-3): 'it is important to point out the harmony which exists, between the line of separation of the human races of the Archipelago and that of the animal productions of the same country'.<sup>62</sup> Though Wallace is famous for his zoogeographic boundary — dubbed the Wallace Line in 1868 by Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895)<sup>63</sup> — less well-known is his 'ethnological' line, running to the east of the Wallace Line (Figure 16):

This line will separate the Malayan and all the Asiatic races, from the Papuans and all that inhabit the Pacific; and though along the line of junction intermigration and commixture have taken place, yet the division is on the whole almost as well defined and strongly contrasted, as is the corresponding zoological division of the Archipelago, into an Indo-Malayan and Austro-Malayan region (Wallace 1880a:590-1).

He first identified this line between human races in March 1857, locating it where it passed to the west of the island of Giloloor Halmahera:

Here then I had discovered the exact boundary line between the Malay and the Papuan races, and at a spot where no other writer had expected it. I was very much pleased at this determination, as it gave me a clue to one of the most difficult problems in Ethnology, and enabled me in many other places to separate the two races, and to unravel their intermixtures (1880a:316-7).

Wallace was by no means the first to propose such a line: Marsden (1834:3) had identified New Guinea as 'the common, though not the precise boundary' between his regions of Hither Polynesia (from Madagascar to the Malay Archipelago) and Further Polynesia (from Island Melanesia to Easter Island); the philologist Robert Gordon Latham (1812-1888) had written of 'lines of demarcation' separating 'the Australians, Tasmanians, and Papuans on one side, and the Malays &c. on the other' (1860:219, 222); and Dumont d'Urville (1832) had published his map of the great divisions of Oceania which showed a boundary between '*Mélanésie*' and '*Malaisie*' lying just off the west coast of New Guinea.<sup>64</sup>

Much as Dumont d'Urville (1832:20) had claimed his quadripartite division of Oceania and its inhabitants to be 'natural', so too Wallace (1880a:19, 591) insisted that his 'line of separation' between Malays and Papuans was 'true and natural' and 'very significant of the same causes having influenced the distribution of mankind that have determined the range of other animal forms'. A number of scholars have suggested that it was the impetus of accounting for human variation at Gilolo that led Wallace to his discovery of natural selection in animal species.<sup>65</sup> He was adamant that 'If mankind can be classed at all into distinct varieties, surely the Malays and Papuans must be kept for ever separate'. By this logic, if people of Malay appearance and moral composition were found to the east of this line, it was as a consequence of their 'maritime enterprise and higher civilization'.<sup>66</sup>

As George Gaylord Simpson (1977) has observed, Wallace's zoological line marked only the western limit of the Australasian fauna; Lydekker's Line, which approximates the submerged continental shelf of Sahul (incorporating New Guinea, the Raja Ampat and Aru islands, as well as Australia and Tasmania), eventually established the eastern limit of the Asiatic fauna but between these two lines there lay an extensive intermediate or transitional zoological zone. Much as later naturalists were vexed by questions of the significance of this intermediate zone, Wallace's ingenuity was put to the test by the problem of the process of 'admixture' or 'commixture' that, in his conception, had produced the human groups geographically intermediate between the Malay and the Papuan. His attempt to resolve this issue leads from the question of the cardinality of comparison to that of a topography of racial purity through which the geographical separation and presumed temporal sequence of Malays and Papuans became transformed into a racial hierarchy.

### **Topography of purity: admixture, commixture, intermixture**

For all of the differences between their individual accounts of Malays and Papuans, each of the three authors considered here subscribed to the central importance of a contrast drawn between a pair of putatively pure racial types. Yet all three also moved uneasily between the security of a simple pair of types and the chaos of encounters with a visual and behavioural variability that demanded either a more complex taxonomy or a more sophisticated account of the genesis of that variation.

Crawfurd's thoroughly contrived contrast of 1820 between Papuan and Malay could hardly stand the test of time. In his later works, he sought to incorporate the reports on Papuan physical appearance by the French Restoration voyagers and others.<sup>67</sup> By 1848, at least, he was writing of three 'groups' (1848:330-1): one of 'brown complexion, with lank hair', which encompassed various 'divisions', including the Malays of the western and eastern portions of the archipelago and



the inhabitants of what Dumont d'Urville had already labelled 'Micronesia'; a second 'division' of 'sooty complexion, with woolly hair', 'usually called Papua', but which Crawford here designated the 'Oriental Negro' or 'Negrito'; and a new, third group 'of brown complexion, with frizzled hair', corresponding to the earlier French descriptions of 'mop-haired Papuans' residing along the coast of New Guinea and its adjacent islands.

Crawford's *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands* (1856) contains three separate entries for 'Malay', 'Negro' (which included Papuans but referred only to non-African peoples), and 'Negro-Malayan Race'.<sup>68</sup> While he admitted that the category 'Negro' was the source of some confusion — 'there may be as many different races of negroes as there are tongues, and in the present state of our knowledge, these are not countable' (1856:295) — Crawford claimed that his awkward 'Negro-Malayan Race' was not the result of mixture between the Malay and Negro races to its west and east, respectively. Rather, it was an intermediate race in its own right and one neatly bounded by a 'line of demarcation' on either side. Characterized by the conjunction of brown skin and frizzled hair, Crawford's Negro-Malay or 'quasi-negro' was to be found in the islands between New Guinea and Sulawesi — and he expressly identified Gilolo as one of the seats of this race (1848:331).

This theme resurfaced in the mid-1860s in Crawford's paper on the 'commixture of races' in which he sought to establish the long-term non-viability of interracial mixtures. Here (1865a:114), he drew a distinction between the 'pygmy Negro of the Malay Peninsula and Philippines' (effectively relocating his original 'puny Negro' off New Guinea's shores) and 'the stalwart Negro ... of New Guinea, New Caledonia, and the Fijis'. He insisted, however, that among these 'native races there has been little commixture, and ... none to the extent of forming a permanent cross-breed'. Crawford's fundamentally polygenist views could not tolerate a systematic 'admixture' of different races to account for this apparent hybridity (1856:296): 'it may be alleged to have arisen from an admixture, in the course of ages, of the Malay and Papuan races ... but we do not observe any such admixture in progress,—and from the repugnance of the races it is not likely to have proceeded to any considerable extent'.<sup>69</sup>

While Crawford could write seemingly indiscriminately of 'our [human] race', 'the Negro race', and 'two races of negroes', all within the one paper (1848), and later of 'principal' and 'minor' races and even 'hybrid' races,<sup>70</sup> his articulation of the notion of interracial repugnance, which was strategically subscribed to by monogenists and polygenists alike, presumed some form of racial purity and required an increasing proliferation of distinct racial types.<sup>71</sup> Amongst his Negroes of the Orient, Crawford (1852:clxv) claimed to be able to detect at least twelve 'varieties' between the Andaman Islands and the Pacific. By the 1860s (1866:238), these different 'varieties' had become 'distinct races', seven of them

alone among the Oriental Negroes — of whom it could 'be safely asserted that there is nothing common to them but a black skin, a certain crispness or woolliness of hair, thick lips, and flat features'. Each separate Negro race was considered aboriginal to the island in which it was now found and no common origin for them could possibly be detected. Crawfurd (1866:232) sought to impose a strong sense of order on this seeming chaos of taxonomic elaboration in the form of a hierarchy of relative 'superiority' or 'degree of civilisation', arrived at through a process of deduction that was arbitrary even by his own standards. Thus the African Negro was 'far above all the races of Oriental Negroes' while the Andamanese in turn were superior to Pacific Negroes because the former did not practice cannibalism. Only where Oriental Negroes came into contact with Malays, as at Dorey Bay, had they 'attained a certain measure of civilisation'.

Earl, who wrote of the 'utmost purity' of the two races of the Malay Archipelago, also struggled with the racial grey zone between the heartlands of the pure Malay and Papuan. He offered an explanation in which successive waves of 'Malayu-Polynesians', each differing from the other, had distributed themselves unevenly across the archipelago, thus accounting for pockets of the 'old Polynesian race' in places such as Ceram and Timor. Unencumbered by Crawfurd's commitment to fundamental racial difference, Earl could allow for mixture, though any such mixture necessarily proceeded from an assumption about the existence of pure types from which mixtures were produced. Diametrically opposed to Crawfurd on the significance of variation amongst Oriental Negroes, for Earl 'all the Negro tribes to the eastward of the continent of Asia, belong to one and the same race'.<sup>72</sup>

Not surprisingly, Wallace's approach to questions of race and the origins of human difference was altogether more systematic than those of Crawfurd and Earl. Wallace appears to have selected the Malay Archipelago as a field site precisely because he regarded it as a possible point of origin for human beings; as the seat, according to the then anonymous author of *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844), of both the 'least perfectly developed' human types, the Negro and the Malay, and 'the highest species of the quadrumana'.<sup>73</sup> Contrary to Crawfurd's taste for a proliferation of racial categories, Wallace's avowed preference — like Cuvier's — was for just:

three great races or divisions of mankind ... the black, the brown, and the white, or the Negro, Mongolian, and Caucasian. If we once begin to subdivide beyond these primary divisions, there is no possibility of agreement, and we pass insensibly from the five races of Pritchard [sic] to the fifty or sixty of some modern ethnologists.<sup>74</sup>

Somewhere in the Malay Archipelago, he reasoned, lay the faultline between two of these three 'great races'.

Wallace approached Gilolo fully anticipating that his observations on its indigenous inhabitants would equip him with the material necessary to challenge the prevailing thesis that Papuans were related to and most probably derived from Malays, as two 'classes' of a great Oceanic race; a thesis which was subscribed to by leading monogenist authors such as Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), Prichard, and his successor Latham. For these men, 'transitional' or 'intermediate' forms between adjacent races served as the guarantee for the essential unity of the human race. Latham (1850:211-2), citing Crawford, had even specified that a search of the 'parts about Gilolo' would yield evidence for the source of the Papuans in the form of a population 'intermediate' between the Papuan and Malay forms. As Wallace wrote later (1880a:529): 'If these two great races were direct modifications, the one of the other, we should expect to find in the intervening region some homogeneous indigenous race presenting intermediate characters'. In terms of Wallace's developing thesis of distinctly evolved zoological and anthropological domains, it was essential that the population of Gilolo mark a sharp break between Papuan and Malay. Once there, he was 'soon satisfied by the first half dozen I saw that they were of genuine papuan race' with features 'as palpably *unmalay* as those of the European or the negro'.<sup>75</sup>

John Langdon Brooks (1984:183-4) speculated that Wallace was seeking evidence for the dying out of intermediate forms between the Malay and Papuan in order to demonstrate the ultimate derivation of Papuan forms from an original Malay. Wallace was certainly not entirely averse to the notion of intermediate forms, invoking them to account for the great variety in his Polynesian or Great Oceanic race (1865:212). However, a more plausible explanation is that Wallace's real goal was to establish the antiquity of man more generally by linking Papuans to African Negroes as related members of the great 'Negro' race.<sup>76</sup> The separation of these two Negro populations by the emergence *in situ* of Malays of the great 'Mongolian' race would then demand a hitherto unsuspected temporal depth for human evolution (1880a:593): 'if these two races [Malay and Papuan] ever had a common origin, it could only have been at a period far more remote than any which has yet been assigned to the antiquity of the human race'. Even where Wallace (1880a:592) allowed for 'mongrelism', in canvassing the possibility that the Polynesians represented an 'intermingling' of Malay and Papuan, he insisted that this must have taken place 'at such a remote epoch, and ... so assisted by the continued influence of physical conditions, that it has become a fixed and stable race'. For Wallace, 'the racial differences were primitive. Malays and Papuans hailed from separate continents, like the other fauna in the archipelago. There could be no true "transitional" forms'.<sup>77</sup>

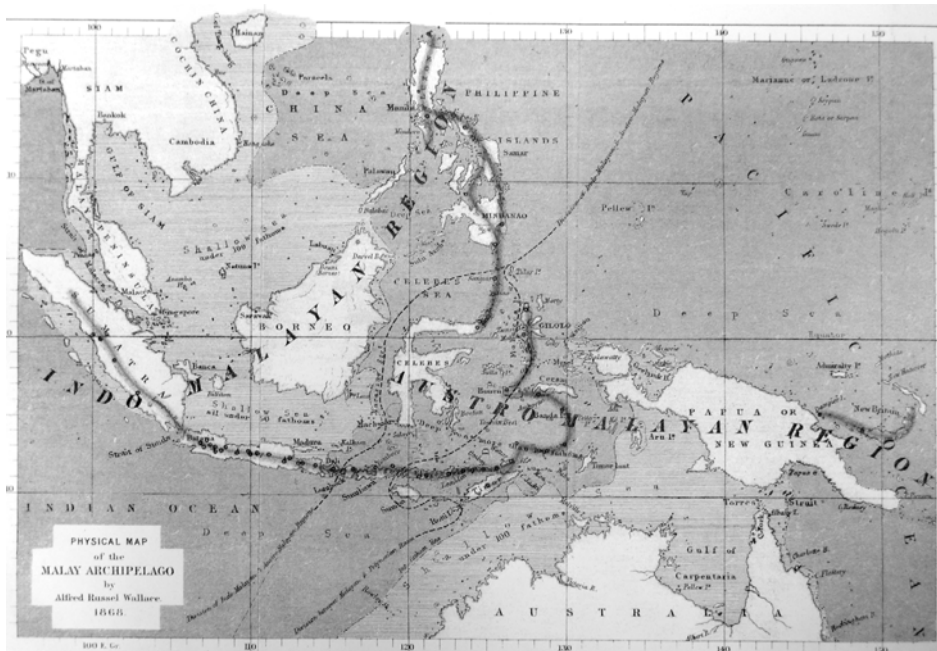
The problem of 'admixture' remained, however, for Wallace's Papuans at Gilolo were evidently not those of New Guinea:

They are scarcely darker than dark Malays & even lighter than most of the coast malays who have some mixture of papuan blood. Neither is their hair frizzly or woolly, but merely crisp or waved ... which is very different from the smooth & glossy though coarse tresses, every where found in the unmixed malayan race.<sup>78</sup>

Here, Wallace oscillated between a verdict of relatively recent 'admixture' between Malay and Papuan, congruent with his suggestion that Malays had overrun the natural boundary between the two, and occasional acknowledgement of a possible third, intermediate race which he identified tentatively as 'Alfuru' or 'Alfuro'.<sup>79</sup> In his commitment to the simplicity of a single line dividing just two races, Wallace had elected to ignore the implications of the unevenness of his zoological line and the possibility that the area he assigned to this third race corresponded to the transitional zone between his line and the line to the east later identified by Richard Lydekker (1849-1915).<sup>80</sup>

Wallace's insistence on extending the contrast between Malay and Papuan eastwards into the Pacific would ultimately bring his ethnological scheme undone. The primacy that he accorded to the correspondence between zoological and human distributions led Wallace to identify all people east of the line, including Polynesians, as variations on a Papuan theme; indeed, his ethnological line is captioned 'Division between Malayan & Polynesian Races' (Figure 16). In this opinion, Wallace ran sharply counter to the established positions of scholars such as the naturalist and surgeon George Bennett (1804-1893) and Marsden who insisted on the closeness of linguistic, moral, and physical connections between Malays and Polynesians.<sup>81</sup> In order to assert 'the close affinity of the Papuan and Polynesian races, and the radical distinctness of both from the Malay', Wallace toyed initially with geological catastrophism or extensionism.<sup>82</sup> Rejecting the evidence of similarity between Malay and Polynesian vocabularies established and published by Marsden (which he ascribed to recent borrowings) and the oral traditions of Polynesian migration (deemed impossible against the prevailing winds), Wallace sought to bring Polynesians and Papuans together 'as varying forms of one great Oceanic or Polynesian race'.<sup>83</sup> This variation, Wallace argued, could be accounted for by an 'hypothesis ... which does not outrage nature, as does that of the recent derivation of the Polynesians from the Malays'; namely, that massive and ancient subsidence across the Pacific had stranded small islands of ancestral Papuans and Polynesians on isolated volcanic peaks and that, 'while man and birds were able to migrate to these, the mammalia dwindled away and finally perished, when the last mountain-top of the old Pacific sank beneath the Ocean'. So much, it would seem, for field observation.

**Figure 16: Alfred Russel Wallace, 'Physical Map of the Malay Archipelago ... 1868'.<sup>84</sup>**



Engraving. Photograph B. Douglas.

## On coming out strong

If I live to return I shall come out strong on Malay and Papuan races, and shall astonish Latham, [Joseph Barnard] Davis, & Co!<sup>85</sup>

Crawfurd, Earl, and Wallace collectively laid the British foundations for the notion of a unified Papuan 'type' as an object for study and they did so principally through the device of opposition to a similarly idealized Malay type. The requirement of Papuan unity for their simple pair of racial types drastically reduced, and also effectively eclipsed, the burgeoning classificatory complexity of their French counterparts. In the cases of Crawfurd and Earl, it might be argued that the simplicity of their initial representations reflected at least in part the limits of their personal experience of Papuans. As they became acquainted with further reports, so their accounts of Papuans gradually became more elaborate and admitted increasing variability. Yet Wallace, despite his considerably more protracted engagement with people across the full breadth of the archipelago, insisted on describing Papuans and Malays in terms that were even more starkly contrasted while emphasising their internal unity to a far greater degree. What was the attraction for these writers of a simple oppositional pair of types, and why — experience apparently to the contrary

— should that attraction have proved even stronger for Wallace than it did for Crawford or Earl?

Raffles (1817) had contributed significantly to this opposition between Malay and Papuan in electing to publish the image of his young ward Dick Papua in a volume ostensibly devoted to Java. Eager to promote the civilized qualities of Javanese culture and history as comparable to those of Europe, Raffles was of course drawing the attention of educated London to his role in Java and thus to himself. As Forge (1994:147,150) observed, to achieve this equation Raffles needed to distinguish 'the civilised Javanese from the undifferentiated savages with which popular imagination peopled the whole archipelago'. Two of the colour plates in the first edition of his *History of Java* — the frontispiece showing a refined Javanese aristocrat looking to the left, and the final plate of the second volume, 'a misshapen and nearly naked savage looking away to the right' — served neatly to establish this contrast.<sup>86</sup> Hampson (2000:62) made the further point that Raffles, with Cook's fate in mind, was 'consciously setting the boundary between Cook's Pacific and his own East Indies'.

As I have suggested, Wallace had another, more theoretical agenda to service through the promotion of a profound distinction between Malay and Papuan, which was the notion of a long chronology for human evolution. As the meeting place of two of his three 'great races or divisions of mankind', the Malay Archipelago provided the perfect stage for a demonstration of the role of biogeography in asserting the depth of human antiquity. If Papuans, along with their Australasian fauna, were native to New Guinea, and Malays and their Asiatic fauna to the palaeocontinent now known as Sunda, then the essential Negroid unity of African Negroes and Papuans could only be accounted for by migrations so ancient that they predated the current form of the continents. All the narrative and rhetorical skill that Wallace could muster was thus directed at emphasizing the sharpness of the divide between Malay and Papuan.

Boon (1990:22) has argued that Wallace's emphasis on dualism in the Malay Archipelago became an all-encompassing 'totemism' in which the zoological and human distinctions that he wished to establish were condensed in the form of the bird of paradise from the Aru Islands, adjacent to New Guinea, and the orangutan of Borneo: 'each fauna pulls its human counterpart ['wild Malay' Dayaks and Papuans] towards its extreme characteristic: lyrical divinity on the one hand, bestial might (beneath apparent docility) on the other: avian grace versus animal urge'. There is something powerfully compelling about the simplicity of a dual opposition, both for the popular readership of Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* and for the intellectual peers whom Crawford, Earl, and Wallace each sought to impress. All three came to London to some extent as outsiders — Crawford from Scotland, Earl from the colonies, and Wallace from a family of reduced circumstances — and all three were concerned with

advancement and keenly aware of the need, apparent to scholars then as now, to 'come out strong'.

The simple opposition of Malay and Papuan propounded by Crawfurd, Earl, and Wallace has profoundly influenced western representations of difference in the Malay Archipelago and continues to find expression in contemporary political debate. Despite the obvious flaws in detail in each of their arguments, the caricatures of Malay and Papuan created through this opposition have become entrenched in popular conception, perhaps most notably through the novels of Joseph Conrad.<sup>87</sup> Having failed to draw on Cook and his literature, the intertextual stream of representations of Papuans sketched in the first part of this chapter found new vigour in the writings of Crawfurd, Earl, and Wallace; which invites the hypothetical question of how Papuans and New Guinea might subsequently have been figured had Cook on each of his voyages entered the Pacific not from the east but from the west, via the Malay Archipelago and the coasts of New Guinea.

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> National Library of Australia and Australian National Maritime Museum 1999:655.
- <sup>2</sup> Forster 1778:228. For more recent discussion of the history of the classification of Pacific Islanders see Douglas 1999; Terrell, Kelly, and Rainbird 2001; Thomas 1989; Tcherkézoff 2003; Chapter Two (Douglas), this volume; but hunt in vain for references to New Guinea in collections on Oceanic encounters such as those edited by Calder, Lamb, and Orr (1999) or Lamb, Smith, and Thomas (2000).
- <sup>3</sup> See Chapter Two (Douglas), this volume.
- <sup>4</sup> Labrousse (2000:258) provides a useful summary of later developments in French anthropology of the Malay Archipelago, noting the increasing influence of anglophone authors on French scholarship during the latter half of the nineteenth century.
- <sup>5</sup> E.g., with little enthusiasm, Wallace (1880a:599-602) extracted a sample of measurements for Malay, Papuan, Polynesian, Australian, and Negro crania from the *Thesaurus Craniorum* of Joseph Barnard Davis (1867), seeking to test his thesis of the distinction between Malays and Papuans, but concluded that the sample sizes were too small to be meaningful and offered no guide to the identity of individuals from any single race, amongst whom the variation was greater than that between different races.
- <sup>6</sup> As Douglas (Chapter Two), this volume, makes clear, French conceptions of the racial cartography of Oceania were considerably more elaborate and holistic in encompassing the entire region (if no less confused in their understanding of ethnic or physical differences). Between 1792 and 1840, the scientific voyages led by Entrecasteaux, Freycinet, Duperrey, and Dumont d'Urville all touched on New Guinea or its surrounding islands, arriving from a variety of directions, with each building in a relatively systematic fashion on the results of their predecessors. A sense of the proliferation of French racial types and of the sheer confusion in their distribution is conveyed in the popular work on the geography and ethnography of Oceania (1836-8) by Grégoire Louis Domeny de Rienzi (1789-1843). Largely summarizing the findings of the earlier voyages, Domeny de Rienzi identified and sought to discriminate between the *Papouas* (of island Melanesia and coastal New Guinea), the *Papou-Malais* hybrids of the Raja Ampat islands, the *Endamènes* or *Mélanesiens* of Australia and interior New Guinea, the *Pou-Andamènes* [sic] (hybrid *Papou-Endamènes*), and the *Alfouras* (see note 15). The demise in significance — for Papuan anthropology at least — of the results of these French voyages after the mid-nineteenth century may be attributed partly to the long shadow cast by the popularity of Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* but also demands a more focused examination and explanation than can be offered here.
- <sup>7</sup> Dumont d'Urville 1834-5, II:194, my emphasis.
- <sup>8</sup> Blanckaert 2003; see also Chapter Eight (Luker), this volume.
- <sup>9</sup> My use of the term 'Papuan' might seem to contribute further to the definitional confusion described in this chapter but its retention does serve to underscore the genealogical links between past and contemporary usages.
- <sup>10</sup> Marsden (1834:64) would later define *Papuah* as 'signifying crisp and curled, in the Malayan language, and applied to certain plants as well as human hair'. As Ter Ellingson (2001) has amply documented, Crawford was not averse to invention in the form of misplaced attribution. If *puahpuah* was a Malay term for frizzled hair, it does not appear to have been applied with reference to any other part of the Malay-speaking world, such as Timor. The more obvious Malay term for frizzled hair is *rambut keriting* (Gelpke 1993:322, 329). By 1838, the German geographer Carl Eduard Meinicke (1803-1876) (without identifying his sources) had moved one step further in confidently asserting that 'The term Papua derives from the remarkable ornament of their hairstyle' and that 'the coastal inhabitants of the Moluccas give the name Papouas solely to those natives of the great northwestern promontory of New Guinea and its neighbouring islands due ... to their peculiar hairstyle, and not in reference to their woolly hair, as has previously been believed' (1838:61, 64-5).
- <sup>11</sup> Gelpke's (1993:326-9) preferred source for the term Papua, identified in the Biak reference to the Raja Ampat islands to their west as "'Sup i papwa'", or 'the land below ... the sunset', conveys a sense not only of place but also of the political dominance exerted over Biak by the north Moluccan sultanates to the west.
- <sup>12</sup> As early as 1779, the East India Company employee Thomas Forrest (1729?-1802?), a fluent Malay speaker, was employing 'Tanna (Land) Papua' as a synonym for 'New Guinea' (1780:v). I am indebted to Diana Carroll for this observation.
- <sup>13</sup> Gelpke 1993:325, 327-8.

<sup>14</sup> Forrest, travelling to the north coast of New Guinea in 1774-5 in the company of Malay ships' captains, described its inhabitants as 'Papua Coffres' to distinguish them from the 'Coffres' of other East Indies islands (1780:62, 95, 148).

<sup>15</sup> Torres 1930:233, my emphasis. In this respect, 'Papua' retains a category resemblance to 'Alfuro', another term for people employed widely in eastern Indonesia. Alfuro appears to be derived from the Portuguese *forrar*, 'free', compounded with the Arabic article *al*, and was a term widely used in the region to denote animist communities unconverted either to Islam or, later, to Christianity. The observation that communities designated as Alfuros were commonly found in the interior of islands in the Moluccas as well as New Guinea led European observers to conclude that they constituted an aboriginal population that preceded the subsequent arrival of both Papuans and Malays. European attempts during the nineteenth century to define the physical characteristics of Alfuros met with understandable confusion and the term had largely passed into desuetude by the early twentieth century. For a sense of the nineteenth-century debate over Alfuros, see Hamy 1877; Latham 1861; Meyer 1882.

<sup>16</sup> Bougainville 1772:322; Dampier 1709:100, 148; Prado 1930a:171; Souter 1963:128.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter Two (Douglas), this volume.

<sup>18</sup> Prado y Tovar 1930a:145, 159, 171; 1930b:244; Sharp 1968:48, 49, 52; Torres 1930:229.

<sup>19</sup> Dampier 1709:122, 126, 128.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., Prado y Tovar 1930a:171; see also Sharp 1968:300.

<sup>21</sup> Dampier 1709:100, 126, 128, original emphasis.

<sup>22</sup> Bougainville 1772:342; Carteret 1965:196; Forrest 1780:68.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., Dumont d'Urville 1830-3, IV:604; Freycinet 1825-39, II:47.

<sup>24</sup> 'Inhabitants of Port Dori, New Guinea' (Le Jeune [1822-5]: folio 131).

<sup>25</sup> Carteret 1965:196, 201; Dampier 1709:100, original emphasis; Forrest 1780:68.

<sup>26</sup> Dumont d'Urville 1832:6; Logan 1850:278; Prichard 1847:213.

<sup>27</sup> Earl 1853: pl. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Crawford 1856:295; Wallace 1858-9; 1880a:602.

<sup>29</sup> For further details on Crawford's life, see the biographical entry by Turnbull (2004), the introduction by M.C. Ricklefs (1971) to the facsimile edition of Crawford's *Descriptive Dictionary* (1856), and the numerous references in Ellingson (2001).

<sup>30</sup> As Ellingson (2001) demonstrates, Crawford was also responsible for re-introducing the pre-Rousseauian notion of 'the noble savage' to modern anthropology and public discourse, crediting it wrongly (and quite deliberately) to Rousseau.

<sup>31</sup> Crawford 1861c:372ff, 368; 1865b:61.

<sup>32</sup> Crawford's *History of the Indian Archipelago* appeared fairly swiftly in both Dutch (1823-25) and French translations, with the latter combining the works of both Raffles and Crawford (Raffles and Crawford 1824).

<sup>33</sup> Crawford 1820, I:14, 17-27, my emphasis; Forster 1778:228, 281-4.

<sup>34</sup> Crawford 1820, I:18, 27-9, original emphasis. See Crawford 1866 for a summary of his own highly pejorative views on the 'Negro races'.

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter Two (Douglas), this volume, for references to the antiquity of this racialized history.

<sup>36</sup> 'I have myself seen in Java several of the Negroes of New Guinea as slaves, and, until better informed, believed them to be Africans — so striking, at first view, is the resemblance between the two races' (Crawford 1866:227). Raffles (1822:113) clearly implied that this might have been the full extent of Crawford's experience of Papuans.

<sup>37</sup> Crawford 1820, I:23, 24, 26-7. Sonnerat described 'the Papuans' as follows:

Their appearance has something hideous and frightening in it. Let us imagine robust men, glistening black, but with rough, coarse skin, mostly disfigured by blotches, like those caused by elephantiasis; let us depict them with very large eyes, a squashed nose, an excessively stretched mouth, very bulging lips, especially the upper one, and frizzy hair of a shiny black or a fiery red (1776:153).

<sup>38</sup> Crawford 1820, I: pl. 2.

<sup>39</sup> Raffles 1817, II: ccxxxvi.

<sup>40</sup> Crawfurd (1820, I:24) made direct reference to this boy's connection to Raffles in the same volume and can hardly have been unaware of Raffles's own text that accompanied the original illustration. In later writings (1848:334-5), he would directly acknowledge and quote Raffles on the age of the boy, prompted perhaps by a devastating anonymous review written by none other than Raffles himself (1822:114), who declared it 'unfortunate for the author's argument, that this very individual here figured ... has already attained the height of five feet two inches, the medium height, according to Mr. Crawfurd, of the brown race'.

<sup>41</sup> See Smithies 1983 for a review of what little else is known of the life of 'Dick Papua'. Boon (1990:37), Forge (1994), and Thomas (1994:88, 232-3) discussed his image further.

<sup>42</sup> Crawfurd's rendition of the Papuan boy 'Dick' continued to exert its baleful influence throughout the nineteenth century. The French anthropologist Armand de Quatrefages, for example, reproduced it as a line drawing captioned 'Negrito-Papuan (After Crawfurd)' (1895:44). Though he was aware of its origins in Raffles's *History of Java*, Quatrefages insisted on the value of this image as a representation of the type, completing Crawfurd's own argument for him (1895:61): 'To be sure, the subject is only a child of ten years, and its [sic] youthfulness may call forth criticism. But we must not forget that the physical development of these races is completed at an earlier period than among European populations. This single thought will make us understand how Earl, so good a judge in such matters, could affirm the resemblance of this portrait to adults whom he saw ... He thus testifies to the accuracy of the English writers, as well as to the extension of this type in the Indian archipelagos'.

<sup>43</sup> For further details of Earl's life, see Gibson-Hill 1959 and Reece 2002.

<sup>44</sup> MacGillivray 1852, II:76; Pijnappel 1853; Robidé van der Aa 1885.

<sup>45</sup> Camerini 1994:85,105, note 47.

<sup>46</sup> Earl 1845. In private correspondence dated to 1859, Darwin, commenting on Wallace's paper 'The Zoological Geography of the Malay Archipelago' (published later in 1860), needed Wallace by drawing his attention to the priority and similarity of Earl's 1845 paper (Marchant 1916:114); Earl (1845:362) had noted the limited distribution of several marsupial species in support of his argument for delineating the 'Great Asiatic Bank' and 'Great Australian Bank' which would later be recognised as Sunda and Sahul, respectively (Ballard 1993). Wallace replied defensively, suggesting that, due to Earl's 'imperfect knowledge of the natural history of the various islands, he did not fully appreciate the important results of this observation' (quoted in Fichman 1977:51-2).

<sup>47</sup> Jones 1973. Like Dumont d'Urville's 'Melanesia', Earl's 'Indu-nesia' was explicitly racial in its reference (1849-50:71): 'the time has arrived when a distinctive name for the brown races of the Indian Archipelago is urgently required ... By adopting the Greek word for 'islands' as a terminal, for which we have a precedent in the term "Polynesia," the inhabitants of the "Indian Archipelago" or "Malayan Archipelago" would become respectively Indu-nesians or Malayunesians'.

<sup>48</sup> Earl's complaint at his treatment by the Royal Geographical Society imparts something of the flavour of the competition for advancement in London's academic societies: 'it was bad enough to be snubbed by the geologists, and to have my labours for years pronounced worthless by a set of quacks who had only a smattering of the science which they professed to lead, but to find them coolly appropriating the very theory they combined to upset, is more than even my patient nature can bear' (Earl to Beaufort, 24 April 1852, quoted in Allen 1969, I:312-13).

<sup>49</sup> Reece 1982:20, 37; 2002:4. Sir Thomas Mitchell, the Surveyor-General of New South Wales, described him more harshly — and somewhat unfairly — as a member of the school of 'theoretical travellers' (quoted in Reece 2002:19).

<sup>50</sup> Quatrefages (1872:622) and other readers of Earl bemoaned the 'truly rare modesty' that had led him to reproduce the descriptions of others rather than offer his own direct observations on Papuans. The German anthropologist and ornithologist Adolf Bernhard Meyer (1880:350) asserted that Earl had travelled widely along the north coast of New Guinea; but the only published claim by Earl, who was usually quick to indicate those locations that he had personally visited, that might suggest an intimate knowledge of the island is the following rather ambiguous statement: 'My limited experience with regard to New Guinea would not authorize me to say that *no* difference exists between the coast and inland native of this great island' (1849-50:3, original emphasis).

<sup>51</sup> Wallace is now well served by biographers, including the recent works by Raby (2001) and Fichman (2004). See the Alfred Russel Wallace website for further details of Wallace's own publications and of writing about his work. Accessed 4 April 2005, online <[www.wku.edu/~smithch/](http://www.wku.edu/~smithch/)>.

<sup>52</sup> Wallace [1856-61]: entry 71; Williams-Ellis 1966.

<sup>53</sup> In the event, Wallace was ill and house-bound for much of his time in Dorey Bay, though this scarcely diminished the benefit to his reputation of his sojourn in New Guinea. Proximity to Papuans failed to translate into empathy, however. Years later, when Thomas Barbour (1944:47) sent him photographs of the Papuans of Dorey Bay, Wallace replied 'that he was sorry I had, for he disliked them so'.

<sup>54</sup> Vetter (2006) nicely identified the additional emphasis placed by Wallace on this contrast by comparing the account in his original journal entry with the more elaborate version published more than a decade later.

<sup>55</sup> Wallace to Bates, 4 January 1858, quoted in Wallace 1905, I:358-9.

<sup>56</sup> For emphasis, and not presumably as the result of any new data, Wallace would revise this statement in his republication of the 1865 paper as the final chapter of *The Malay Archipelago* to read 'equal, or even superior, to the average of Europeans' (1880a:586).

<sup>57</sup> Crawfurd, discussion, in Wallace 1858-9:359.

<sup>58</sup> I thank Gareth Knapman for this point. The naturalist George Bennett (1832:133) also clearly had Crawfurd in his sights when he refuted the current hypothesis of Papuans as 'a dwarfish, puny race, deficient in mental and physical powers. We are, however, too prone to form hasty general opinions from a few instances', he continued, before listing his many varied observations on Papuans throughout the region.

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, the manner in which Earl (1849-50:686) underwrote his authority as observer: 'The process by which these cicatrices are produced and which I have had the opportunities of watching in their progress from day to day ...'.

<sup>60</sup> Wallace[1856-61]: entry 63. Despite the legibility of Wallace's handwriting, there is little agreement amongst published transcripts of his journals (see, e.g., the different version of this section as rendered by McKinney 1972:88). A complete transcript of the Malay Archipelago journals and notebook is now available, held at the Linnean Society of London (Pearson 2005); while invaluable as a guide to the content of the journals, this too must be checked for accuracy against the originals.

<sup>61</sup> '[New Guinea] is a monster island, and, although beyond doubt God created nothing in vain, it appears to our narrow view that New Guinea was created for no earthly good purpose' (Crawfurd, discussion, in Wallace 1858-9:359).

<sup>62</sup> Fichman (2004:11-14, 28, 46-47) provides an excellent account of the importance of boundary-marking as an activity in Wallace's life, from his early employment as a surveyor, through his recognition of the significance of species boundaries in the Amazon, and as the impetus behind his Malay Archipelago line.

<sup>63</sup> Simpson 1977:108.

<sup>64</sup> For Dumont d'Urville's map, see Figure 2, this volume.

<sup>65</sup> Brooks 1984:178-80; McKinney 1972:88-9; Moore 1997.

<sup>66</sup> Wallace 1865:205; 1880a:19.

<sup>67</sup> Crawfurd's deference to the experience of the French voyagers was not entirely reciprocated, at least by the pharmacist-naturalist René-Primevère Lesson (1794-1849), who dismissed Crawfurd's denial of physical analogies between Papuans and Madagascan Negroes as 'in this case, unsupported by any positive evidence' (1829:202, note 4).

<sup>68</sup> Crawfurd 1856:249-53, 294-7.

<sup>69</sup> Crawfurd here appeared to privilege 'observation' but rather hid behind it, for nowhere did he explain how one might observe 'admixture in progress'. Only in Fiji did he allow for some 'admixture' between Oceanic Negroes and Polynesians (1865a:114).

<sup>70</sup> Crawfurd 1861b:169; 1865a:117.

<sup>71</sup> See Chapter One (Douglas), this volume, for an outline of the tangled logic and emotions of mid-nineteenth-century scientific discourses on racial mixing that formed the broader context for Crawfurd's almost neurotic aversion to the 'commixture of races'.

<sup>72</sup> Earl 1849-50:1, 3, 6, 9, 68, 69-70.

<sup>73</sup> Chambers 1994:296, 308; Moore 1997:298.

<sup>74</sup> Wallace 1905, II:128. See Chapters One and Two (Douglas), this volume, on Cuvier's influential general division of humanity into three major races, 'Caucasic', 'Mongolic', and 'Ethiopic'.

<sup>75</sup> Wallace [1856-61]: entry 127, original emphasis.

<sup>76</sup> Wallace (1864) had already made the case for a greater antiquity for human evolution in the form of an address to the Anthropological Society of London in which he argued that physical differences

represented a very early adaptation to different environments and modification from a single homogenous race, after which rapid moral and mental development endowed the different races with varying aptitudes and corresponding historical fates.

<sup>77</sup> Moore 1997:305, fn.10. Hence Wallace's oft-quoted prescription: 'no man can be a good ethnologist who does not travel, and not *travel* merely, but reside, as I do, months and years with each race, becoming well acquainted with their average physiognomy and their character, so as to be able to detect cross-breeds, which totally mislead a hasty traveller, who thinks they are transitions' (Wallace to George Silk, [1858], in Wallace 1905, I:366, original emphasis).

<sup>78</sup> Wallace [1856-61]: entry 127.

<sup>79</sup> Wallace 1865:207-8; 1880a:588.

<sup>80</sup> Clode and O'Brien 2001:118-19.

<sup>81</sup> Bennett 1832; Marsden 1834.

<sup>82</sup> Wallace 1865:212; 1880a:593. Fichman (1977; 2004:51-3) traces Wallace's gradual rejection of extensionism during the late 1860s and 1870s.

<sup>83</sup> Wallace 1991:47. Wallace was fairly swiftly and heavily criticized for his views on Polynesians by his peers, such as Meinicke (1871), as well as by missionaries who did have the requisite field experience in the region, such as George Brown (1835-1917) and Samuel James Whitmee (1838-1925) (Brown 1887; Whitmee 1873).

<sup>84</sup> Wallace 1880a: following 8.

<sup>85</sup> Wallace to George Silk, [1858], in Wallace 1905, I:366.

<sup>86</sup> Forge (1994:123) suggested that these two plates were the only ones in the *History of Java* which appear to have been commissioned from life for the volume, implying some particular significance of the two images for Raffles as a contrasting pair.

<sup>87</sup> See Sherry 1966; Gogwilt 1995; Hampson 2000.