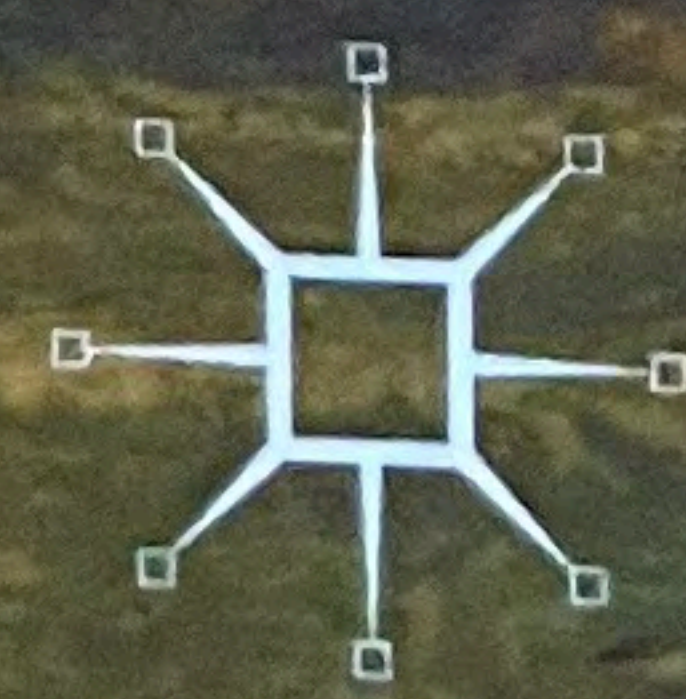


PALGRAVE STUDIES IN
PACIFIC HISTORY

Science, Museums and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia

PAUL TURNBULL



DAVIS AND GEORGE AUGUSTUS ROBERTSON

Davis instead focused on continuing to collect racially typical skulls, in the belief that they would ultimately expose the empirical poverty of Huxley and his fellow Darwinians' case for humankind's evolutionary origins. His desire to obtain more Australian specimens led him to ingratiate himself with the aged George Augustus Robinson, whose 'friendly mission' to the Tasmanian tribes between 1829 and 1934 ended with their removal to Flinders Island where most lived in despair and died from diseases to which they had meagre immunity.

Robinson had returned to England in 1849, and by the early 1860s was in frail health (Ryan 2004). Davis had learnt that Robinson had brought with him a skeleton and at least six crania of Tasmanians. Some of these he may have acquired when postmortem examinations were conducted by James Allen (d. 1856), the first medical officer assigned to the Flinders Island settlement (Davis 1865c; Robinson 1987, p. 950), but it is more likely that they were the remains of relatives carried to Flinders Island by the Tasmanians whom Robinson persuaded to go there. James Bonwick (1817–1906), educator and historian of the fate of Tasmania's native people, claimed:

So many skulls and limb-bones were taken by the poor natives when they were exiled to the Straits that Captain Bateman [master of the government brig transporting them] told me that, when he had forty with him in his vessel, they had quite a bushel of old bones among them. (Bonwick 1870, p. 10)

Regardless of how he acquired the bones, Robinson was unwilling to sell them. Davis tried to change his mind, praising him as the 'Saviour of the Tasmanians', who 'knew more about the race than any living person' (Davis 1862). This stratagem succeeded to the extent that Robinson invited Davis to come to Bath and examine the remains.

Davis was to pay Robinson several more visits, and returned from Bath in April 1865 with the gift of a skull. Robinson also let Davis examine the detailed journals he had kept when journeying through Tasmania to persuade the island's surviving tribal bands to put themselves under government protection, as well as his notebooks as Protector of Aborigines in the Port Phillip District during the 1840s. He also confided to Davis that he had planned to use the journals to write the definitive account of a people

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who by then were generally believed by Europeans to be all but extinct, but now found the task beyond him.

On Robinson's death in 1866, Davis persuaded his family to lend him the Tasmanian journals, to assess whether he could use them to write a book paying tribute to Robinson's 'ardent desire to accomplish his benevolent missions', and from which his widow would receive a generous share of the royalties. Once in possession of the journals, Davis delayed returning them for as long as he could. He told the family that they were of little monetary value, but out of respect and friendship he would buy them for what he assured Robinson's widow was a very generous price (Davis 1862). The family refused to sell the journals, but did offer him several infant bones and a burial bundle that Robinson had most likely acquired on Flinders Island, which Davis bought (Davis 1875, p. 65). A year or so before his death in 1881, Davis gave these relics, along with the rest of his collection, to London's Royal College of Surgeons

'NOTHING MORE LOATHSOME': THE WILLIAM LANNE AFFAIR

Davis's efforts to secure more Tasmanian remains were severely hindered by the infamous postmortem mutilation of William Lanne (c.1835-1869), or 'King Billy' as he was patronisingly called by Europeans. Essentially what happened was that Lanne, whom settlers regarded as the last 'full blooded' man of the Tasmanian race, died in early March 1869 of a severe gastro-intestinal infection. As Stefan Petrow has shown, his body became the object of an obscene competition between the Hobart surgeon and influential politician, William Crowther (1817-1885), who sought to procure the skeleton for London's Royal College of Surgeons, and leading members of the Royal Society of Tasmania (Petrow 1998). Crowther, an honorary medical officer of the Hobart hospital, secured a coroner's order to have Lanne's corpse sent to the hospital morgue. He then approached Richard Dry (1815-1869), the island's premier and colonial secretary, for permission to secure the skeleton, only to find that Morton Allport (1830-1878), a prominent Hobart lawyer and councillor of the colony's Royal Society, had already requested the skeleton for its museum. Dry needed Crowther's political support so asked the Society's council to give Crowther the skeleton, which it refused to do, arguing that it had a claim to the remains that was 'altogether paramount to that of any scientific institution in the world' (Agnew 1869). Dry thought it prudent not to alienate the prominent Hobart citizens making

up the council, and agreed to their retaining the skeleton on the understanding that they would create casts of Lanne's skull and other bones judged scientifically interesting, along with large-scale photographs of the skeleton, which they would give to the College of Surgeons and other interested metropolitan scientific institutions. It was arranged that the society would receive Lanne's skeleton at a decent interval after he had received Christian burial. To placate Crowther, Dry told him that the colony would put 'no impediment' in the way of his securing skeletal material from the graves of other Aboriginal people if it could be done 'without violating the feelings of individuals or the community' (News 1869). Dry instructed George Stokell (1846-1878), the hospital's resident surgeon, to ensure that Lanne's body went to the grave free of mutilation.

What is said to have then happened is that Crowther invited Stokell to visit him at home, while he and his son Bingham Crowther (1850-1924), a medical student, went to the hospital morgue and hastily removed Lanne's skull, replacing it with one from a nearby corpse. After nearly an hour of increasingly strained conversation with Crowther's wife, Stokell realised he had been tricked and rushed to the hospital. His fears confirmed, he hurried to fellow surgeon James Agnew (1815-1901), the secretary of the Royal Society, who spoke with Morton Allport and a third counsellor, John Graves (1795-1886). They agreed to foil any further theft by rendering the remaining bones scientifically valueless. Stokell sawed off the hands and feet and they were taken to the society's museum. He then had the mutilated corpse sealed in a coffin for burial the following Saturday.

By the time of the funeral it was widely known that Lanne's corpse had been mutilated. Embarrassed and angered, Premier Dry placed the grave under police guard and directed there be an inquiry and the body be exhumed on the Monday. However, from late on the Saturday night there was no guard on the grave. By morning the body was gone.

Crowther was the prime suspect. A trail of blood stains allegedly led from the cemetery to near the warehouse of a company in which he had a financial interest. He was suspended from government medical duties and his son was temporarily banned from studying at the hospital. However, Crowther was determined to prove he was no grave-rober. With several friends he confronted Stokell at the hospital and forced open a room which was found to be strewn with fat and blood. He openly accused Stokell of removing Lanne's head. Yet when an official

inquiry into the gruesome affair was held, Crowther refused to answer any questions.

There is no doubt that Crowther was responsible for the removal of Lanne's skull, but it seems clear that the Royal Society was behind the grave-robbery, as Fred Seager (n.d.), who at the time was the dispensary assistant at the hospital, admitted to J.W. Beattie (1859-1930), the Hobart photographer, in 1893. Beattie wrote that the now elderly Seager told him that

It was he & Dr. Stokell who cut up the body of 'Billy' when his carcase was removed from St. David's Churchyard ... Stokell told him one night that he had Billy's body in one of the storerooms, and asked him if he would assist him to cut him up & get his skeleton. He agreed, and as it was a dirty job they took Sergt. Townley into their confidence & he took charge of several bottles of beer, giving the pair 'swigs' from the bottles as the dissection proceeded and when their feelings prompted refreshment. (Beattie 1912)

At the time, nothing could be proved. Furthermore, the Dry government was unwilling to pursue matters too strenuously for fear that its initial agreement to allow the Royal Society Lanne's bones would become publicly known.

DR. DAVIS AND MR. ALLPORT

The Lanne affair had its aftermath in public indignation across Tasmania that doctors could so abuse a corpse in their care and that grave-robbing should go unpunished. New anatomy legislation was passed that recognised the rights of the deceased and their relatives to declare that their body would not be subjected to dissection, except when the cause of death needed to be determined. Thereafter, the island's medical practitioners were loath to risk being implicated in the procurement of Indigenous Tasmanian bodily remains before or after their burial.

Davis's chances of procuring subsequent Tasmanian specimens diminished, although he still found one scientifically active Hobart resident who was not only willing to help advance his craniometric research, but to do so despite having risked moral censure for his involvement in the ghastly contest over Lanne's corpse. This was Morton Allport, whose acquaintance Davis made when Allport approached him as secretary

of the Anthropological Society of London, seeking to become a corresponding fellow.

Allport had represented his fellow councillors of the Royal Society in arguing that Lanne's skeleton should be preserved in its museum, imploring the colony's government not to allow 'so essential an element of a national collection to be lost to the country'; but within two years of the affair, he arranged 'with no small amount of difficulty' for the secret exhumation of two skeletons that he sent the Royal College of Surgeons. One, the skeleton of Pinnanobathac (known to Europeans as Bessie Clarke), Allport stole from the cemetery of the Oyster Cove settlement, to where the handful of men, women and children who had survived the rigours of life on Flinders Island were moved in 1847 (Allport 1871, p. 191). The other came from the graveyard of the Flinders settlement. Allport was able to get the skeleton under the cover of obtaining geological samples, being part owner of an exploration company with leases on the island (Flower 1907; Mines 1869). At the time of his election to the newly formed Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1871, Allport had promised to send its museum a complete skeleton, also exhumed 'with considerable difficulty' from the settlement's cemetery (Allport 1871, p. 11). In April 1872 he presented a second skeleton from the cemetery to Belgium's Musée royal d'histoire naturelle.

It would be mistaken, however, to conclude that Allport used the island's Indigenous dead to enhance his standing with metropolitan scientific authorities. It seems more likely that in robbing graves on Flinders Island and Oyster Cove he genuinely sought to contribute to the advancement of anthropology, and to create stronger intellectual ties between the Royal Society of Tasmania and leading European scientific institutions. His determination to see the Society have William Lanne's remains, while sending the bones of other Tasmanians to London, needs to be assessed in the light of his regarding Lanne's bones to be, as he told Richard Dry, an 'essential an element of a national collection'. In other words, he, and doubtless other executive members of the Royal Society, saw the value of Lanne's body to lie in its being the remains of the last survivor of the Tasmanian race. Indeed, in 1872 Allport was offer the College of Surgeons a third skeleton that he had taken from Flinders Island, in exchange for it giving William Lanne's skull to the Society.

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The Society assumed that the college had received Lanne's skull from Crowther, but Allport was to learn that his skull and neck vertebrae were in the hands of Crowther's son, Bingham, who had left Hobart to study at London's Guy's Hospital. Allport contacted a friend and legal colleague with rooms near the college, asking if he could 'devise any method of obtaining it', adding that he 'would willingly give £10 to recover it & the young fellow daren't make any disturbance if he loses it as he well knows it does not belong to him' (Allport 1871, f. 59).

Joseph Barnard Davis learnt of Allport's donating skeletons from Flinders Island and Oyster Cove to the Royal College of Surgeons. Very likely hoping to secure remains for himself, he began corresponding with him, sending him his *Thesaurus Craniorum* and others publications, and supporting his election to the Anthropological Institute. He also offered to help Allport get Lanne's skull and neck bones out of Bingham Crowther's hands, although what actions he may have taken, if any, are unknown. At any rate, by May 1872 Davis had received a skull and bones that Allport had taken 'no small trouble to see ... were disinterred from a spot where none but other Aborigines were buried'—that is, the Flinders Island cemetery. The following January, Allport informed Davis that he had secured 'a treasure for you in the shape of an adult male Skeleton of Tasmanian native all but absolutely perfect except as to the styloid processes which always seem very fragile' (Allport 1871, f. 107). These were probably the last bones that Allport was willing to risk removing from the island. As he explained in a letter of May 1874 to Charles Gould (1834-1893), son of the famous ornithologist and a partner in his mineral exploration company, he was unable to procure skeletal material for Professor Wyville Thompson, then visiting the Australian colonies as naturalist on the *Challenger* expedition: a box being carried from the island, said to contain geological specimens, had broken open when dropped, spilling human bones. 'There is now a row in the camp', Allport warned Gould, '& and I have had dark hints of a parliamentary enquiry at which I would carry the grave legislators all round if they were to give me such a chance' (Allport 1871, ff. 56-57).

Allport's renunciation of grave-robbing denied Davis his only viable means of securing more Tasmanian remains. By the mid-1870s, in any case, there was little possibility that what he would have made of these bones could challenge what Darwinians claimed they disclosed about human evolutionary history. Davis's health had also begun to weaken, restricting his participation in anthropological events and debates. On

his death, he was remembered by the few scientists who still shared his belief as to the fixity of species and the unchanging nature of racial characteristics. Leading Darwinians overlooked his anthropological opinions, praising his tenacity as a collector and his generosity in bequeathing his remarkable collection of racial skulls to London's Royal College of Surgeons. As will be shown in the next chapter, it was the Darwinian George Rolleston (1829-1881), Oxford University's first Linacre Professor of Anatomy, who came closest to rivalling Davis as a collector and analyst of racial skulls. And when Rolleston died unexpectedly less than a month after Davis, it was he, not Davis, whom obituarists feted as Britain's leading craniologist.

The static, polygenetic interpretation of racial diversity championed by Davis and other active participants in the London Anthropological Society increasingly lost explanatory power against Darwinian explanations of bodily, cognitive and psychological differences among the peoples of the Earth as evolutionary adaptations. While the Anthropological Society of London could boast 700 members at the time of Davis's exchange with Huxley in the mid-1860s, only a small circle of active members of the society endorsed and actively championed the idea that the comparison of European and Indigenous Australian skulls provided one of the strongest proofs that humankind comprised separately originating species, each exhibiting biologically distinctive and historically immutable 'race characters'. Moreover, while these critics of Darwin were medically trained, they were amateur researchers who, like Davis, worked outside contemporary medico-scientific institutions. Their Darwinian opponents on the other hand, were generally younger professional scientists employed in Britain's growing number of universities, medical colleges and museums, and thus far better placed to convince scientific colleagues, students and the wider educated public that racial differences among humankind were the product of largely endogenous human populations exhibiting differing adaptive traits. What also undoubtedly also contributed to the suaveness of the Darwinian account of human history was its potential to alleviate European settler colonialism of responsibility for the destruction of indigenous societies. It enabled their demise to be understood as a natural, irresistible process, in the course of which supposedly evolutionarily primitive races were unable adapt to rapidly changing conditions of material and social life.

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Davis's static racialism by contrast, offered what at best was an attenuated yet still morally unpalatable version of Knox's vision of history. Knox, as we have seen, believed racial antipathy to be the prime determinant of historical change. It was inevitable, he reasoned, that the colonial ambitions of the Anglo-Saxon race would result in Australian and other indigenous peoples being killed to extinction (Knox 1850, 99).

Davis nonetheless contributed to growing scientific interest in the Indigenous Australian body from the 1860s onwards, by making its morphology a key issue in his challenge of Huxley's claim of affinities between the Neanderthal and Australian skulls. This had the effect of convincing Huxley's fellow Darwinians—and possibly anatomists and anthropologists previously inclined to side with Davis—that Australian remains were likely to yield further important evidence illustrative of humankind's evolution and more recent racial genealogy. In any case, the apparent correspondence between Darwinian theory and Indigenous Australian morphology established by Huxley was to have disturbing consequences. As we will see in Chapter 7, it was to stimulate widespread plundering of Aboriginal burial places and scientific trafficking in bodily remains. In addition, the collecting and examinations of crania and other relics of the Indigenous dead had the fateful effect of representing Australia's first peoples as survivors of an earlier phase of human evolutionary history whose seeming physical and mental unfitness for life in colonial society was imagined to all but assure their extinction.

successive stages 'from the lowest or from any existing black race' (Turner 1911, 452).

Turner's study of Tasmanian skulls also confirmed to his mind that reconstructing the evolutionary emergence of the human genus required further investigation of primate fossils to see whether they exhibited any morphologically hominid characteristics. Here it seemed to Turner that an important clue was to be found in a fossilised skullcap discovered in Java in the early 1890s by Eugène Dubois (1858-1940), a young Dutch anatomist working as an east India Army medical officer. In shape, the skullcap—which Dubois believed was that of an ape-like species he named 'Pithecanthropus erectus'—appeared to Turner to be 'more in a direct line with existing man than with any form of ape with which we are presently acquainted' (Turner 1911, 453).

Turner's conclusions were the starting point of Berry's Australian anthropological research. After rectifying deficiencies he found in the teaching of anatomy, Berry used a private bequest to equip Melbourne's medical school 'to study the physical attributes of the Indigenous inhabitants of Tasmania and Australia'. Turner thought it unlikely that many more 'racially pure' Tasmanian crania would be found, yet within three years of his arrival in Melbourne, Berry was to report that with the help of junior colleagues and students he had discovered thirty-three skulls in Tasmanian museums and private collections that were hitherto unknown to scientists. Half of these specimens, he lamented, were in private hands, and while he had been able to measure them, 'nothing would induce the owners ... to part with them' (Berry 1909, 13). Yet in the summer of 1908 he acquired a further nine crania from graves on land owned by the family of one of his students near the site of the Oyster Cove station, to where the few Tasmanians to survive exile on Flinders Island had been moved in 1847 (Crowther 1949, p. 83). The student in question, incidentally, was William Crowther (1887-1981), the grandson of the Hobart surgeon who had mutilated the corpse of William Lanne, the so-called 'last Tasmanian man'. In the 1970s Crowther spoke regretfully of his youthful involvement in the removal of these and other remains from graves at Oyster Cove (News 1981, p. 2). He explained that at the time he had seen these relics as scientifically invaluable, and had no sense that what he was doing was morally wrong or illegal (Evans 2011).

Berry measured these finds and other skulls in Australian collections with the aim of building on Turner's work to the point of being able to determine the likely 'relationship of the Tasmanian to the anthropoids

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Palgrave Studies in Pacific History

ISBN 978-3-319-84766-5

ISBN 978-3-319-51874-9 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-51874-9

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Softcover re-print of the Hardcover 1st edition 2017

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Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Erratum to: Science, Museums and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia

Erratum to:

P. Turnbull, *Science, Museums and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia*, Palgrave Studies in Pacific History,
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-51874-9>

The original version of this book was revised. The author's affiliation was updated to "University of Tasmania, Launceston, TAS, Australia" and "University of Queensland, Brisbane, QLD, Australia".

The updated online version of the book can be found at
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-51874-9>

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P. Turnbull, *Science, Museums and Collecting the Indigenous Dead in Colonial Australia*, Palgrave Studies in Pacific History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-51874-9_14

Palgrave Studies in Pacific History

Series editors: **Matt Matsuda**, Professor of History, College Avenue Dean, Rutgers University, USA
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This book draws on over twenty years' investigation of scientific archives in Europe, Australia, and other former British settler colonies. It explains how and why skulls and other bodily structures of Indigenous Australians became the focus of scientific curiosity about the nature and origins of human diversity from the early years of colonisation in the late eighteenth century to Australia achieving nationhood at the turn of the twentieth century. The last thirty years have seen the world's indigenous peoples seek the return of their ancestors' bodily remains from museums and medical schools throughout the western world. Turnbull reveals how the remains of the continent's first inhabitants were collected during the long nineteenth century by the plundering of their traditional burial places. He also explores the question of whether museums also acquired the bones of men and women who were killed in Australian frontier regions by military, armed police and settlers.

Paul Turnbull is Professor of History and Humanities at the University of Tasmania, and Honorary Professor in History at the University of Queensland. He is the author of numerous essays on Western biomedical interest in the indigenous peoples of Oceania and is co-editor of *The Long Journey Home: the Meanings and Values of Repatriation*.

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ISBN 978-3-319-84766-5



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