

# Examining Specimens, Evaluating Objects: Early Anthropological Photographic Albums and Western Ethno-Anthropology <sup>1</sup>

OCHIAI Kazuyasu  
Hitotsubashi University, Japan

## 1. Ethno-Anthropology in The Modern West

Ethno-botany, ethno-medicine, ethno-pharmacology and ethno-astronomy, among other terms, have two meanings: first, they suggest the knowledge on each subject owned and practiced by non-Western ethnic groups at a given time; and, second, they refer to the research about them. Many anthropologists have been engaged in these studies to understand people's cosmology, to enrich comparative views, or to gain tangible profit from them. Meanwhile, botany, medicine, pharmacology and astronomy, all without the prefix "ethno-", indicate sciences established in the modern West. The lack of the prefix "ethno-" guarantees scientific universality over time and space.

Anthropology, of course without "ethno-", was regarded in the West as an official science when talking about the Other that was out there somewhere beyond the border. Those good old days are over, however. Anthropology has been under scrutiny in the last decades in at least two aspects. First, anthropology today is no longer a science about the 'Other beyond the border,' but a field of study about what is happening **on** the border. Anthropology deals with the cultural interface in which anthropologists themselves are the persons concerned. Second, the science called anthropology is now more regarded as an intellectual system circumscribed by Western thought and humanity. Anthropological practices are considered to be cultural monologues of the modern West which, by referring to the Other, confess an understanding of the outside. If it is an intellectual system peculiar to the modern West, it would more appropriately be referred to as one of many ethno-anthropologies (Mason 1990:7, 14; Magana 1982).

In this paper, I will deal with examples of such ethno-anthropology: anthropological photographic albums compiled in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. In them, I want to listen to the cultural monologue of the modern West which stood facing the outside. This monologue is not heard exclusively in the West but echoed in some modernizing non-Western societies allured by, and bound up

by Western ideas of enlightenment. By examining this notion, I want to reflect on the unseen premise implied in "Crossing Cultural Borders" which is the general theme of this symposium.

## 2. Anthropology and Photography

It has been thought that features of mankind are reflected in the history of the human group and its individual qualities. Anthropological criminology relied on this thesis, and physiognomy stands on this assumption. So-called primitive societies were long thought to be "living fossils" which revealed the lithic age of Europe or its archaic society. To exemplify this, anthropologists were engaged in the physical measurement of a variety of human groups in an effort to define the human typology of each group. The typology was a general and standard feature in one group that differentiated it from other groups. Scholars compared types to determine *scientifically* certain cultural phases of each type in the evolutionary scale (Edwards 1990:237).

Photography was a new and ideal device that made a man/woman an object of easy measurement by removing personality from him/her. The expansion of colonialism and the development of means of transportation made it possible for more merchants, missionaries and travelers to go abroad, cameras in hand. Observations of the Other until then had been recorded only through letters or, as in the case of James Cook, with words and sketches/drawings executed by accompanying artists. The change was revolutionary. As early as 1852, the *Manual of Ethnological Inquiry*, published by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, referred to the usefulness of photography in ethnological studies (Spencer 1992:99). The value of photography became widely recognized in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology, for the Use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands* published in 1874 by the same association (Edwards & Williamson 1981:v; Stocking 1987:258).

Early anthropological pictures reflected evolutionist interests: front and profile portraits of the different human races. The introduction of standardizing portrait making made scientific measurement seem more secure. John Lamprey of London, for example, proposed in 1869 to take frontal and profile pictures of each individual with a black backdrop of two-inch meshes. The method invented by the British scientist Thomas Henry Huxley was no less scientific: he made individuals stand next to a measuring rod, taking their frontal and profile pictures, frontal pictures with an arm extended and pictures in profile with arms slightly bent.<sup>2</sup> In the late 1860s Huxley started a grand project of collecting pictures of human types using his standard in all the colonies of the British Empire. He actually put it into operation in some places

(Spencer 1992:99-100). At his death in 1895 he left in his laboratory several hundreds of photographs of various races of men (Stephen & Lee 1901:900).

The desire to defining types by scientific method was directed not only to physical measurement but also to landscapes: "a typical Burmese market" and "a typical Mexican native hut," for example. Utensils without ethnographical context were put into the picture, if they were thought to strengthen the typology.

### 3. Photographs of The "Natives" from The Colonies

Countless such photographs are now stored in archives, and are roughly classified by region, in many cases without information about the subjects, places, dates or photographers. It is not uncommon that the relation between the pictures in a given box is unknown. There are, however, photographs that have been purposefully edited in album format. I will discuss in the following paragraphs several such albums stored in the Museum of Mankind in London.

J. Forbes Watson and John William Kaye edited *The Peoples of India* in 1868. The album contains 340 mounted photographs of humankind and architecture. Its title page states that the volume was made "under the authority of the government of India, and reproduced by order of the secretary [*sic.*] of State for India in Council." The album was published by the India Museum of London, of which Watson was in charge. It is noted that the "ethnographic illustrations," or the pictures of the natives, were taken during the governorship of Charles J. Canning (1856-62), after the Sepoy Mutiny which broke out during 1857-59. It may safely be said that the album was intended to compile information about the lands and peoples of India just after the suppression of the revolt.

There are two more albums from India: *The Original Races and Tribes, Residents and Visitors of Bombay* and *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*. The former was edited in 1863 by William Johnson of the Bombay Civil Service and contains fifty-one original photographs pasted on thick mounts with explanations. James Wilkinson Breeks, commissioner of the Nilagiris of the Madras Civil Service, compiled the latter in 1873 with eighty-two pictures mounted with descriptive letterpress. A resemblance between the two albums is evident: first, administrators of the colonial government edited both; second, the format is the same; and, third, the illustrations are commonly composed of portraits and landscapes. These features demonstrate the editors' common concern in administrative interests and in anthropological science.

*Sud-See Typen. Anthropologisches Album des Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg,*

1881, contains 175 portrait pictures pasted in twenty-eight large mounts. As the title shows, the album intends to display pictures of the "typical" features of men and women from the South Pacific. Almost all the illustrations are anthropometrical pictures of naked or semi-naked "natives." The last mount, the twenty-eighth, however, is filled with photographs of the "acculturated natives": a man with a gun, a man or woman wearing Western garments, a couple in Western attire, and a woman holding a thick book in her arm. This album edited by the Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg not only manifests anthropological interests but also emphasizes the historical and cultural contribution of the German colonization to the South Sea islands.<sup>3</sup>

A. B. Myer and R. Parkinson published *Album von Papua-Typen. Neu Guinea und Bismarck Archipel* in 1894 in Dresden. Anthropometric interest in types pervades the volume: many of the 107 photographs mounted are frontal and profile pictures of men and women. Myer also edited *Album von Philippinen Typen* (Hutchinson, *et al.*, ca.1905:86-87), but I have yet to see it.

*Les Habitants de Suriname*, 1884, is the album of pictures with explanations about the Carib, the Maroon, the Creole and the houses exhibited in the Colonial Exposition in Amsterdam the year before. Prince Roland Bonaparte, grandnephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, produced the photographs, sixty-one in all. They are mainly anthropometrical, but some are scenes of the "human zoo" in the exposition. Roland Bonaparte was a scientific man who studied geography and ethnology. Ca.1883 he provided funds to take anthropometric photographs of the North American Indians in Jardin d'Acclimation de Paris. He crossed the Atlantic in 1887 to study the American Indians and took their pictures in Washington, D.C. "By 1906, he had amassed a collection of over 7,000 negatives" (Fleming & Luskey 1986:216), and he bequeathed 17,000 photographs and negatives to the Societe de Geographie of Paris at his death in 1924 (Fierro 1986:7).

#### **4. *Anthropologisch-Ethnologisches Album in Photographien* by Carl W. Dammann, 1873-76**

Apart from these albums that compile anthropological pictures of *typical natives* by region, there are albums that enumerate photographs of different peoples of the world under distinctive concepts. Among them is *Anthropologisch-Ethnologisches Album in Photographien*, edited by Carl W. Dammann and published in Berlin in 1873-76. I shall henceforth in this paper refer to this album as the Big Album.

Dammann was a photographer, born in 1819 in Mecklenburg in northern Germany. In the late 1860s, he moved to Hamburg to establish his studio and died

there in 1874. When a Zanzibar fleet was in port in Hamburg in 1870-71, the Society of Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory of Berlin (Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte) asked Dammann to take photographs of the Arab and African crew.<sup>4</sup> Dammann also took portrait pictures of some members of a Japanese acrobatic troupe that was staying in Hamburg at the time, perhaps by the order of the Society. These pictures are believed to have created a sensation. The Society saw a demand for photographic materials intended for scientific study and decided to edit an album of anthropological and ethnological pictures. The Society asked its members from all over the world to contribute pictures. It then commissioned Dammann to make a selection from among the contributions and from its archives in order to make reproductions. The Big Album is the result of this endeavor. Dammann died in 1874 before the fruit of his work fully ripened, but his brother Frederic succeeded the project and finished it in 1876 (Edwards 1982:258-259).

The Big Album contains 642 pictures of individuals or groups, directly pasted onto fifty folio-sized mounts. They are classified by region to distinguish racial features. Dammann collected subscribers, to whom he distributed five sheets at a time to complete the collection in ten distributions. The price of the first distribution (i.e., the first five sheets in the list below) was twelve Thaler.

The names of the continents and the plate numbers are found on the upper right of each sheet. In the upper center, more precise regional divisions and/or ethnic names are printed. One sheet contains eight to eighteen pictures of racial types from an identical region. The aforementioned Lamprey pictures are used in three sheets.

The following is the order of the sheets in the Big Album. Notice that some place names are not in common use today.

The Eastern coast of Africa (Africa Plate 1)	16 photos
The Eastern coast of Africa (Africa Plate 2)	16 photos
Asia and Eastern Siberia (Asia Plate 1)	8 photos
Japan (Asia Plate 2)	8 photos
Asia (Asia Plate 3)	8 photos
Sunda Islanders, Java and Sumatra (Asia Plate 4)	8 photos
The Philippines and the Indian Islands (Asia Plate 5)	8 photos
Asia and Eastern Siberia (Asia Plate 6)	8 photos
Micronesia and Polynesia (Australia Plate 1)	8 photos
North America (America Plate 1)	17 photos

North America (America Plate 2)	16 photos
Indo-China (Asia Plate 7)	8 photos
Near India and Indo-China (Asia Plate 8)	8 photos
Borneo and Celebes (Asia Plate 9)	9 photos
South Africa and Madagascar (Africa Plate 3)	9 photos
The Archipelagoes of New Caledonia, Fiji and Caroline (Australia Plate 2)	15 photos
Middle Egypt (Africa 4)	10 photos
Southeastern America, Botocudo (America Plate 3)	15 photos
Brazil and the Blacks (America 4)	18 photos
The Indian Archipelago (Asia Plate 10)	8 photos
The Malay Archipelago (Asia Plate 11)	11 photos
Calcutta and Madras, Caconada (Asia Plate 12)	7 photos
Australia (Australia Plate 3)	17 photos
West Africa and South Africa (Africa Plate 5)	17 photos
The Amazon Basin (South America Plate 5)	6 photos
The Indian Archipelago (Asia Plate 13)	8 photos
The Amazon Basin (South America Plate 6)	6 photos
Peru (South America Plate 7)	15 photos
Siebenburgen and Wallachia (Europe Plate 1)	18 photos
Poland (Europe Plate 2)	18 photos
South Africa (Africa Plate 6)	18 photos
South Africa (Africa Plate 7)	18 photos
South Africa (Africa Plate 8)	18 photos
South Africa (Africa Plate 9)	18 photos
The Amazon Basin (South America Plate 8)	6 photos
South Africa (Africa Plate 10)	18 photos
Montenegro and Rumania (Europe Plate 3)	18 photos
Caucasus (Asia Plate 14)	18 photos
The Malay Peninsula and Indian Archipelago (Asia Plate 15)	8 photos
South America (America Plate 9)	11 photos

Near India (Asia Plate 16)	8 photos
The Finn and the Lapp (Europe Plate 4)	13 photos
South Africa (Africa Plate 11)	18 photos
South Africa (Africa Plate 12)	18 photos
North America (America Plate 10)	16 photos
Indo-China (Asia Plate 17)	8 photos
South Africa (Africa Plate 13)	18 photos
South Africa (Africa Plate 14)	18 photos
New Guinea, Andaman, Palau Islands and Tahiti (Australia Plate 4)	15 photos
Polynesia (Australia Plate 5)	15 photos
Total	642 photos

The sheets are not arranged in geographical order. This suggests that Dammann prepared the sheets whenever he gathered a sufficient number of photographs for a new distribution set. The complete set of the Big Album in the Bonaparte Collection at the National Library of Paris is unbound, but another complete set stored in the British Library is bound in three volumes in this order.

There are seventeen plates from Asia, fourteen from Africa, nine from North America and South America, five from Australia and Oceania, and four from Europe. Colonial expansion is reflected in the large number of sheets allotted to South Africa, eleven, and to Southeast Asia, ten.

Table 1 summarizes the geographical composition of the Big Album and shows that pictures from Africa and Asia amount to some 60% of the total.

Table 1. Composition of *Anthropologisch-Ethnologisches Album in Photographien* by Carl W. Dammann, 1873-76

Europe	67 photos (10.4%)
Asia	149 photos (23.2%)
Africa	230 photos (35.8%)
The Americas	126 photos (19.6%)
Oceania and Australia	70 photos (10.9%)
Total	642 photos (99.9%)

Brief information about the pictures is letter-pressed at the bottom of the sheets. While the pictures are designed for racial comparison, the written information deals mainly with regional histories as well as with linguistic and ethnic relations.

There is a word characteristically repeated all through the explanatory information: "interesting." For example, "Especially interesting are the islanders of New Caledonia and Fiji, "racial diversity [in the islands of Southeastern Asia] is the most interesting point," "the interesting features of the M'Pongwe," "Very interesting and numerous types of Melanesian natives," "gradually dying out but very interesting Hottentots," and "The most interesting type here are the Tecuna or the Ticuna," among others. The word "interesting" is repeated perhaps to emphasize that those peoples with marked racial differences are good specimens to pictorially explain evolution.

Two pictures of Australian Aborigines are explained as "cannibals" and "courtship." The latter is a photograph staged in a studio to create an atmosphere of promiscuity, where some men with axes on their shoulders or lances in their hands go around a few women seated on the ground.

It is suggested that colonization was a boon to the "natives": some portion of the Aborigines "reached the stage of half-civilization as the result of British humanistic endeavor," and the Kaffir in South Africa were long enslaved by the Xhosa, but "they have been politely accepted by the British Cape Colony after 1835." There is a note on a naked woman from the eastern colony of South Africa: "The Fingoe girl bred under the influence of civilization shows very balanced physical growth." In contrast, Bushman without the boon of colonists are perceived to be "evidently under grown, ... not civilized at all and can barely be civilized." The Botocudo of southeastern Brazil "terrified the colonists with their savageness during the first decade of our century [the nineteenth century], lived naked, and were sometimes said to be cannibals." By settling them down successfully, however, "these pagan hunters gradually became Christian and peasants or day-laborers." The Vancouver Indians "became half-civilized after the Gold Rush." For Dammann, the enlightenment of the "natives" was the *sine qua non* for their survival and development.

Dammann was not affirmative about racial mixture. He comments that the Peruvian *mestizos* are "rude and likely to commit crimes and are always incited to rebellion," and "the lower class of the Chilean capital city" were those who "could not escape from blood mixing with the Indians."

It is especially "interesting" for me how Europeans are represented in the album. There are only four sheets of Europeans: one for Siebenburgen (Transylvania) and Wallachia of Rumania, one for Poland, one for Montenegro and Rumania, and one for the Finn and the Lapp (the Sami). These lands and peoples were regarded as



underdeveloped, marginal and not yet modernized in the nineteenth century. Like peoples from other continents, they were positioned to be seen by fully modernized German or British who do not appear on any sheet. This exemplifies Dammann's Western Eurocentrism and social evolutionism.

The North American sheets are filled with pictures of the native Indians. No photographs of European migrants or their descendants are found. No mention is made of the European colonies of the world, although the majority of the pictures in the Big Album were contributed by European descendants, mainly German, living outside their homeland. Perhaps it reflects Dammann's view that Westerners are transparent beings; they are not the seen but the seers.

The British historian of photography Elizabeth Edwards points out the difference between Huxley and Dammann: while Huxley intended to corroborate Darwinian evolutionism with pictures of mankind all over the world, Dammann was interested in the variations of mankind and their cultures (Edwards 1990:254). I would suggest that the difference between Huxley and Dammann, correctly pointed out by Edwards, was derived from their common point of view from an evolutionary panopticon: both tried to include all groups of mankind in their photographic projects in order to allot each group a place in the whole system. The Big Album was exhibited at the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873 and won a bronze medal (Edwards 1990:253), perhaps on the merits of the contribution to the science of man.

### **5. *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of The Various Races of Men* by The Dammann Brothers, 1875**

In 1875, a year after the death of Carl Dammann, his brother Frederic published in London a reduced-sized *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Men*. I call this album the Small Album hereafter.

The Small Album is composed of twenty-four sheets. Three to ten pictures are mounted on each sheet. The total number of the photographs is 167. Some pictures are also used in the Big Album, but many others are new. In contrast to the Big Album, the sheets of the Small Album are numbered according to the traditional European geographical order: Europe first, Asia second, Africa third, America fourth, and Australia and Oceania last. The complete set stored in the Museum of Mankind in London is bound in this order. Nor are the individual pictures numbered, which is another difference from the Big Album. These facts lead me to conclude that the twenty-four sheets of the Small Album were published all at once, or distributed separately, but in a planned order.

For me, the most "interesting" aspect of the Small Album is that, again in contrast to the Big Album, some examples from England and Germany are to be found. The English *specimens* are David Livingstone and his father-in-law and the pioneer missionary to South Africa, Robert Moffat. They appear in the upper row of the first sheet, along with the German *specimens*, Otto von Bismarck and Hermut von Moltke. Von Moltke and the Dammann brothers are fellow provincials from Mecklenburg. In the lower row of the first sheet, there are portraits of four unknown women from Switzerland, Bavaria, Hamburg and Wales. Pictures of women are not always pasted in the lower part of the sheets in the Small Album.

The following lists the numbers and titles of the twenty-four sheets:

No.1. Germanic or Teutonic Types	8 photos
No.2. Romanic Types	5 photos
No.3. Slavonians, Finns	8 photos
No.4. Types of the Balkan Peninsula	8 photos
No.5. Arabia, Persia	8 photos
No.6. India (West)	8 photos
No.7. India (East)	8 photos
No.8. Sunda Islands	7 photos
No.9. Philippine Islands	6 photos
No.10. China	6 photos
No.11. Japan	7 photos
No.12. North of Asia	6 photos
No.13. Mediterranean Africa	8 photos
No.14. Niger District. Upper Guinea	7 photos
No.15. Congo	7 photos
No.16. Zanzibar Coasts	6 photos
No.17. Cape Colony	10 photos
No.18. N. America. Northern part	6 photos
No.19. N. America. Southern part	6 photos
No.20. S. America. Eastern part	7 photos
No.21. Amazon District	3 photos
No.22. Cordillera-Andes District	6 photos
No.23. Continent of Australia	8 photos
No.24. Polynesia, Oceania	8 photos

Total 167 photos

The Small Album places an "advanced" Europe at the top of the social evolution of mankind, while the Big Album is more interested in the observation of the Other from the Western point of view. The Small Album opens with the pictures of the Englishmen who contributed to British colonization in Africa and those of the German politician and military man who succeeded in unifying the country and transforming it into a modern nation. The second sheet shows the photographs of Luis Thier, the first president of the Third Republic of France, and Vittorio Emanuele II, the first monarch of the unified Kingdom of Italy. Mounted on the following sheets are pictures of unknown Croatian, Polish, Estonian, Slovakian, Finn, Lapp, Armenian, Greek, Hungarian, Dalmatian, and Turkish men and women. While the photographs are arranged geographically from Western Europe to Eastern Europe, the order also represents the developmental stages of these peoples from the Teutonic point of view.

Here again, pictures from Africa and Asia amount to almost 60% of the total, as Table 2 shows.

Table 2. Composition of *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of The Various Races of Men* by Carl and Frederic Dammann, 1875

Europe	27 photos (16.2%)
<b>Asia including Near East and Middle East</b>	<b>58 photos (34.7%)</b>
Africa	38 photos (22.8%)
The Americas	28 photos (16.8%)
Oceania and Australia	16 photos (9.6%)
Total	167 photos (100.1%)

The explanations at the bottom of the sheets were written independently of the Big Album. The sources of information, such as ethnological studies, travel accounts and guidebooks, are listed. The Small Album manifests more interest in linguistic families than the Big Album. For example: "The Germanic family of the Indo European race was very early divided into three branches," "being mixed with the native dialects, "originated the different Romance languages," "The languages spoken in the North of India by the Hindoos [*sic.*] proper are descended from the ancient Sanscrit [*sic.*]," "The Siamese language is exceedingly simple in its construction," "The Chinese tongue is unquestionably the most ancient spoken, with the exception of Hebrew, the most ancient written language," "The languages of the various tribes of Negroes are

very numerous" and "there are a dozen or more classes of languages differing from each other as much as the more remote Indo-Germanic languages do," "The language of the H. [Hottentots] has been called the 'Click language'," "The language of the Chippewas is the most prevailing among the Indian tribes," and the Japanese language is polysyllabic [*sic.*] and has an alphabet of 47 letters, which are written in four different forms; one of which is used exclusively by men, and another by women."

Readers find countless descriptions, sometimes too subjective, about the physical features of the "races." For example, the Armenians "belong physically to the finest variety of the I-G. [Indo-Germanic] race. The women are remarkable for the delicacy and regularity of their features," the Lapp are "with great muscular power." "the Persian portion is still strongly marked by distinctive features," "the countenances [*sic.*] of the Hindoos, which are often remarkable for a symmetrical beauty," some Hindoo tribes "being nearly as dark as Negroes, others more of a copper colour and others but little darker than the inhabitants of S. Europe," the Siamese "have a lighter coloured skin than the W. Asians but darker than the Chinese" and are "distinguishable that the men are better looking than the women," the Siamese men "are generally very fat," the Javanese are "of yellow hue," the Balinese are "a handsome race" and "are of a yellow copper colour, and have regular features," the inhabitants of Celebes are "fairer in complexion than the Malays," the Japanese are distinguished "by broad skulls and high cheek bones, small black eyes obliquely set; long black hair, and yellow or sallow oval complexion," the complexion of the Berbers "varies from a red to a yellow brown," "the true Negro" people are "with black skin, unctuous and soft, woolly hair, [and] thick lips," and their skull is "remarkably solid and thick," there exists "a very striking general physical resemblance between the native inhabitants of America throughout the whole of both continents," and they are "almost all of a reddish brown or copper colour," the Amazonian Indians are "with long black hair, deep set black eyes, [and] aquiline nose," and the Australian natives are "of a sooty brown colour," among other observations.

The Small Album shares the Euro-centric philosophy of civilization found in the Big Album: the Macassars "supply the Dutch with their bravest and most faithful soldiers," the natives of Congo "seem less intelligent than the other Negro tribes. This circumstance, together with their indolence is a great obstacle to their civilization," the Fingoes enslaved by the Amaxosa Kaffre tribe were "rescued by Sir B. Durban in 1835 and settled by him along the frontier of the Cape Colony," and the Indians of Guatemala are "characterized by, indolence, immorality and an utter absence of all principle." Readers may be shocked by the description of the natives of the Fiji Islands: they are cannibals, and the sacrificed are "thrust into an oven, and roasted alive."

## 6. *Bankoku Shashincho* by Masao Uchida, 1867

Natives of Japan were first allotted roles as anthropometric objects. For example, Shinpachi Seki, interpreter to the Japanese diplomatic mission to Europe in the late Edo period, has left us two pictures taken in Paris in 1864. They are frontal and profile portraits of a two-sworded *samurai* (Edwards 1990:242).

The Japanese, however, have not always been merely the seen. Photographs of world peoples were imported from early days. Tsunejiro Uchida (1838-1876), who took the changed name of Masao Uchida after the Meiji Restoration, was one of nine young *samurai* students sent to Holland by the Tokugawa shogunate in 1862 to research naval affairs. Uchida, however, was more interested in fine arts and geography than in battleships (Kinoshita 1993:117; Miyanaga 1990:653-654). He wrote: "When I was in Europe, I found spare time to collect photographs which at last amounted to as many as three thousand in twenty volumes" (Kinoshita 1993:118; Miyanaga 1990:35). To be precise, he personally imported 3,867 photographs from all over the world bound in twenty-one albums when he returned to Japan in the tumultuous days of 1867 on the eve of the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate. According to art historian Atsushi Ikeda, Uchida bought photographs mainly in The Hague (1992:29).<sup>5</sup>

Uchida's photographs are classified by countries, and then categorized according to manners, Nature, products, cities, architecture, and places of scenic and historic interest. They are mounted and bound in twenty-one albums under a general title in Dutch, *Photographisch Wereld Album* (Ikeda 1992:27-29). Some years after his untimely death in 1876, the Uchida collection came into the possession of zoologist and educator Hiroshi Hirasaka (1855-1904) who sold it to the Tokyo National Museum (then The Imperial Museum) in 1903. The museum stores the collection under the name of *Bankoku Shashincho*, or *World Photographic Albums* <sup>6</sup>. Its twenty-one volumes are:

Volume 1	England	182 photos
Volume 2	England	210 photos
Volume 3	England	211 photos
Volume 4	England, Spain and Portugal	194 photos
Volume 5	France	176 photos
Volume 6	France	174 photos
Volume 7	France	174 photos
Volume 8	Switzerland	176 photos
Volume 9	Italy	183 photos

Volume 10 Italy	186 photos
Volume 11 Holland	166 photos
Volume 12 Belgium and Germany	192 photos
Volume 13 Germany	199 photos
Volume 14 Germany	204 photos
Volume 15 Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Turkey and Greece	218 photos
Volume 16 Supplement to Europe	116 photos
Volume 17 United States of America	144 photos
Volume 18 Mexico and the West Indies <sup>7</sup>	145 photos
Volume 19 South Africa, Tunis, Algeria, Egypt, Asian Turkey	212 photos
Volume 20 British India, Dutch India and Australia	209 photos
Volume 21 Siam, Annam, China and Japan	196 photos
	<b>Total 3867 photos</b>

There are no British or German pages in Dammann's Big Album, and Western Europeans show up only at the beginning of the Small Album. In contrast, the 2,961 European photographs in the *Bankoku Shashincho* make up three fourths of the entire volume (see Table 3). Quantitative attention is paid, in particular, to three countries: more than 600 photographs of England with a portrait of Queen Victoria at the beginning, more than 500 of France, and over 400 of Germany. While pictures from non-Western countries make up the majority in the two Dammann albums, the *Bankoku Shashincho* contains only 762 pictures from Latin America, Africa, Australia and Asia, less than one fifth of the total. Even with the addition of photographs from the United States of America, the total non-European content does not reach one fourth of the entire volume. The Dammann albums and the *Bankoku Shashincho* offer a sharp contrast in this respect.

Table 3. Composition of *Bankoku Shashincho* by Masao Uchida, 1867

Europe	<b>2961 photos (76.6%)</b>
British India, Dutch India and Australia	209 photos ( 5.4%)
Asia (Siam, Annam, China and Japan)	196 photos ( 5.1%)
Africa including Asian Turkey	212 photos ( 5.5%)

The Americas	289 photos ( 7.5%)
Total	3867 photos (100.1%)

It is certain that there was more circulation of non-Western pictures in Europe in the 1870s than in the 1860s. The difference here, however, can be explained by Uchida's strong interest in a materially advanced Europe, and by his appetite for modern knowledge. This taste he shared with the Edo shogunate in its last years. The Dammann brothers' two albums seem to make a claim for an advanced Europe as the seer, and, by extension, that it would be looked-up to if seen. Uchida, bathed in the light of European advancement so espoused at the time, expressed this same idea through his album: that Japan had to turn her eyes to the world, especially to an advanced Europe in order to plan her future. Even though the regional allotment of the pictures in the Dammann albums and the *Bankoku Shashincho* seems to be in striking contrast, they share the same sense of social evolution which had divided the world into "the West and the Rest" (Hall 1996) and put the former at the apex of development. The contrast shows merely the difference in the personal choices made by their respective editors. The result is the same; the Dammann brothers identified themselves as part of an advanced Europe, while Uchida saw himself as part of a yet-to-be-modernized Japan.

Uchida was on good terms with a photo-album maker from The Hague (Miyana 1990:182-184). It is likely that at least some of the pictures were collected and bound in albums by this friend (Ikeda 1992:29). Uchida might have told him about Japan at the end of the Tokugawa Era, the reason for which he had been sent to Europe by his government, and about his eagerness to bring the latest knowledge of the world back to Japan. The photo-album maker, a modern European, perhaps well understood what Uchida wanted and responded positively, with his knowledge of photography and professional skills, to Uchida's expectations. In this sense, the collection is, at the very least, a joint work by an advanced Europe with a Japan willing to adopt European civilization.

### **7. *The Living Races of Mankind* by Hutchinson, et al., ca. 1905**

Photopress technology was invented in the 1880s, and soon anthropological photographic albums began to be published for general readers. A good example is *The Living Races of Mankind* (Hutchinson, et al., eds. ca.1905) published in London in the heyday of British colonialism. In its introduction, the editor H. N. Hutchinson expresses his "acceptance of the doctrine of Evolution, in which he can see no sufficient reason for refusing to believe that Man has ascended from some humbler type" (Hutchinson, et

*al.*, eds. ca.1905: iv).

The volume is composed of an introduction and twenty-four chapters. It opens with pictures of a Swazi warrior and hairy men and women, and then explains the varieties of races in the world with 648 illustrations, 623 of which are printed pictures:

Introduction	4 photos
I. Fiji Is., Polynesians, Polynesian Religion, Tonga or Friendly Is., Samoa, Hervey Is., Society Is., Pitcairn I., and Sandwich Is.	25 photos
II. New Guinea, Bismarck Arch., Admiralty Is., Solomon Is., New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and New Zealand	26 photos
III. Australia and Tasmania	26 photos
IV. Celebes, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Philippines, Malay Peninsula	27 photos
V. Siam, Anam [ <i>sic.</i> ], Cambodia, Burma	27 photos
VI. China and Mongolia	24 photos
VII. Japan, the Hairy Ainu, Korea, Formosa, Liu-kiu Is., and Tibet	24 photos
VIII. The Andaman Is., the Veddas of Ceylon, Census Returns of Population, Classification of Races, the Aryan Invasion, Castes, Kols, Gonds, Todas, Khonds, etc.	22 photos
IX. India ( <i>continued</i> ), Wolf-reared Children, Kashmiris, Parsis, Khasis, Religion in India, Aryan Theology, Literature, etc., Afghanistan and Baluchistan	34 photos
X. Turkestan, Bokhara, Siberia, and Persia	42 photos
XI. Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Armenia	20 photos
XII. Africa: Introduction, the Pygmy or Negrito Races, the People of Madagascar	25 photos
XIII. The Negro in general, the Bantu Negroes	24 photos
XIV. The Bantu of Eastern and Western Africa	24 photos
XV. The Equatorial and Nilotic Negroes	24 photos
XVI. The Soudanese [ <i>sic.</i> ] and Guinea Negroes, and the Abyssinian and Ethiopic Groups	25 photos
XVII. The Hamitic and Semitic Races of North Africa	24 photos
XVIII. Europe: Russia, Caucasia, Finland, Lapland, Norway, Sweden, and Iceland	24 photos
XIX. Greece and Isles, Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania, Servia [ <i>sic.</i> ], Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Austria-Hungary, the Gypsies	29 photos
XX. Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal	25 photos
XXI. Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Great Britain and Ireland	26 photos



XXII. Arctic America and Greenland	14 photos
XXIII. North America	32 photos
XXIV. Central and South America (including Mexico)	30 photos
	Total 623 photos

Africa is allotted one fourth of the total 584 pages. Descriptions of Oceania and South Asia also occupy many pages. Photographs from Asia and Africa combined amount to some 60% of the total, as Table 4 will show. This high figure is comparable to Dammann's two albums and surely reflects British colonial expansion of the day. Also, it is "interesting" for me that more than 100 pages are dedicated to a systematic and minute description of European ethnic groups.

Table 4. Composition of *The Living Races of Mankind* by H. N. Hutchinson, *et al.*, ca.1905

Europe	104 photos (16.7%)
<b>Asia including Near East and Middle East</b>	<b>220 photos (35.3%)</b>
Africa	146 photos (23.4%)
The Americas	76 photos (12.2%)
Oceania and Australia	77 photos (12.4%)
Total	623 photos (100.0%)

### 8. *Chiri Fuzoku Sekai Shashincho* by Mitsuyuki Segawa and Yasutaro Shoda, 1906

In 1906, a photographic album called *Chiri Fuzoku Sekai Shashincho*, or *World Photographic Album of Geography and Manners*, was published in Tokyo (Segawa & Shoda, eds. 1906). While the *Bankoku Shashincho* had been a very special set of pictures collected and bound privately, *Chiri Fuzoku Sekai Shashincho* was the first photographic album ever printed in Japan in copperplate. It contains 631 pictures with explanations in Japanese and Chinese, covering such aspects of world lands and peoples as royal families, political leaders, commoners, public buildings, and main streets in big cities, ports, Nature, and scenic views.

In its foreword, the editors have this to say about the aim of the publication: "it will be our greatest pleasure if this book improves our peoples' knowledge of the world as well as provides an elegant decoration and refined pastime for the prosaic households of this country." The editors expected the album "to be made available not

only in schools as an indispensable reference, but also in every above average household." The publication was successful and was reprinted three times by 1913.<sup>8</sup>

The album shares with the *Bankoku Shashincho* a similar intention to survey the world through photographs accompanied by descriptive letterpress. Also, the two albums commonly pay special attention quantitatively to Europe. The pictures of Europe and Asia combined, account for as much as 74% of the total in *Chiri Fuzoku Sekai Shashincho* as Table 5 shows. The high percentage perhaps reflects the complex meanings behind one of the national slogans of the day: "Leave Asia-Join Europe." While the Japanese recognized their deep historical and cultural relations with Asian peoples, national policy urged more westernization.

Table 5. Composition of *Chiri Fuzoku Sekai Shashincho* by Mitsuyuki Segawa and Yasutaro Shoda, 1906

<b>Europe</b>	<b>264 photos ( 41.8%)</b>
Asia	204 photos ( 32.3%)
Africa	54 photos ( 8.6%)
The Americas and the Caribbean	82 photos ( 13.0%)
Oceania and Australia	26 photos ( 4.1%)
The Antarctica	1 photo ( 0.2%)
Total	631 photos (100.0%)

In contrast to the Dammann albums, portraits in *Chiri Fuzoku Sekai Shashincho* are predominantly collective and descriptive and less anthropometrical or typological. This contrast shows an expansion of interest from man typologically defined, to man defined by social and natural environments.<sup>9</sup>

This album, in contrast to the *Bankoku Shashincho*, places photographs from Japan at the beginning of the volume. Precisely speaking, however, what we have on the first page in this case are not pictures of scenes and manners of Japan in the late-Meiji Era, but photographs of the Emperor Meiji, the Empress and Mount Fuji.<sup>10</sup>

Why is Meiji Japan otherwise transparent and unseen in this album? One may recall that the nation won the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 against the superpowers of the day. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was concluded in 1902. In some sense, these developments may have led the editors and readers of the *Chiri Fuzoku Sekai Shashincho*, published in 1906, to take a stance of

superiority over the rest of the world, and to leave Japan transparent and unseen as a result. The album shows how deeply the Meiji elite, eager to follow the same path of development as was taking place in the West, were immersed in modern Western ideas of enlightenment and its corresponding ethno-anthropological notion about world peoples.<sup>11</sup>

In another sense, late-Meiji Japan, in reality, had yet to have scenes and manners, cities, ports and architecture worthy of being exhibited in such an album as could compete with its European counterparts. The editors may have hesitated on this account.

In my view, however, photographic remnants of "pre-modernity," as a reason for not including Japan in the album, are not the real problem. The problem concerns a dilemma suffered by all non-Western nations on their path to modernization: is westernization a synonym for evolution as Westerners so take for granted? Is it possible to pursue universal development within a background of local context? Is there no other way for non-Western nations other than to follow Western modernization? Is there any language with which to speak about non-Western development other than the Platonic language on which the Western Enlightenment is grounded? These questions remained unanswered. Such perplexity may explain why editors kept silent about anthropometrics and evolutionism in the *Chiri Fuzoku Sekai Shashincho*, even though almost forty years had already elapsed since the Meiji Restoration, and Western scientific and social theories about man had already been introduced to Japan.

## 9. From Specimens to Objects

The Big and Small Albums of the Dammanns were large-scale collections of anthropological photographs, rare before phototypy was invented. Their primary aim was anthropometrics and typology. Photographers were interested in types and specimens, rather than individual personalities. Many individuals in the Dammann albums, sullen and dubious, looked at the lens with no sign of anger, fear or ferocity, as if they were unaware of the reason for standing there. They were, no doubt, quite unaware: photographers did not need to explain the shooting to the *specimens*. They were not conscious that the camera was recording their figures, that their images might be conserved for decades, that somebody far away might examine them, that they might be interpreted and given some new context without their consent, and that somebody might appear more than a century later who would view them again. Although some posed for their pictures, they seldom posed with an awareness of being seen. No mutually defined modern sense of the relation between self-conscious seers and the

self-conscious seen had yet been established.

For Western consumers of the albums, the purpose in seeing the pictures was to confirm the unlikeness and discontinuity between them and the outside world. For them, a majority of the people in the Dammann albums were *specimens*, almost like corpses, though they were alive at the moment of shooting.

The head in profile from New Caledonia that is noted as "especially interesting" in Australia Plate 2 of the Big Album is in reality a severed head. In 1996, I saw, in the Museum of Mankind, a copy print of the same picture in a scrapbook bequeathed by medical doctor Joseph Barnard Davis to the British Museum in the 1870s or in the 1880s. The description with the picture reads that it was the head of Jack, a New Caledonian chief from Dumbia or Noumen tribe in Port-of-France, and that a Dr. A. Le Roy de Mericourt had presented the picture to Dr. Davis in August 1861. There are also pictures of dead infants from Peru in the Dammanns albums.<sup>12</sup> The objects, already being dead, did not pose any contention between the seers and the seen from the onset. The trophy head and the dead infants speak for other pictures: the Dammann albums are filled with *specimens* unconscious of being photographic objects.

Some pictures in *The Living Races of Mankind* date back to the 1870s or even earlier. The relation between objects and readers or seers, however, had changed greatly in the period leading up to its publication. The social influence of photography expanded drastically after the 1880s with the improvement in the portability, function and quality of photographic devices, as well as with improvements in mass printing and the photo press. Through such widening of the possibilities of expression, photographers began to take pictures of outdoor scenes and everyday life of *natives* in *natural* settings. The relation between seers and the seen became more contemporary. Readers may have felt a reduction in their distance to and from the *natives*. Some *natives*, in return, became conscious of being photographic objects and played the role of *the seen native*. Here we find newly defined self-conscious objects called *natives*.

In this context, it was the American photographer Edward S. Curtis who had a definitive influence on anthropological picture making in the twentieth century. He started a grandiose photographic project in 1896 to record native North American Indians who were vanishing with the advancement of modernization (Curtis 1907-1930). With his romantic primitivism, Curtis viewed the Indians as nostalgic and glorious beings. He thus created "ethnological objects" in photography. We can hardly deny that the spirit of this visual practice, relativist in appearance and backed by modernist ideas, continues to underlie Western ethno-anthropology today.

## 10. Is De-Enlightenment Anthropology Possible?

For its inclusive nature, modernity and the ideas of enlightenment are not supposed to have an outside. When something unknown is detected, it is swallowed, digested and left as the known. Thus, real Otherness, the unconceivable Other, primal individuality, or *genotype*, cannot exist as such in the modern world. It has no other alternative than to be placed in the prescribed discourse of plurality and be treated, within this context, as a secondary and already known *phenotype*. Metaphorically speaking, the Other understood must bear the characteristic of a commodity, as we have confirmed it in some early anthropological photographic albums. The translation of genotype to phenotype is only possible with conversion software known as the ideas of the Enlightenment, which are embodied in Western ethno-anthropology. Can we question whether software other than enlightenment anthropology is possible or available? Recent decades have produced numerous critical practices to overcome modern anthropology. However, dialogical anthropology, for example, has not been sufficiently conscious of a fundamental question: the politics of dialogue are inevitably derived from the ideas and practices of the Enlightenment.

Is it possible to be set free from enlightenment anthropology? Is a de-enlightenment anthropology imaginable? On the other hand, isn't it contradictory, to begin with, to try to relativize anthropology in the context of our modern languages for it? Should we invoke Georges Bataille who was fascinated by the fertile darkness of ambiguity and corporality? Without posing these questions to ourselves while, at the same time, doubting the feasibility of conceiving them in our own languages, we will be at a loss to discuss the general themes of this symposium: "Crossing Cultural Borders."

### Notes

- 1 This paper is partly based on my research at the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and the Bibliothèque National in Paris in 1991 and at the Museum of Mankind in London in 1996. All the research was made possible by grants from the Ministry of Education of Japan. Each study was carried out as a part of projects designed by Professor Takeru Akazawa (International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto) in 1991 and by Professor Kenji Yoshida (National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka) in 1996. I express my sincere appreciation to them, Dr. Paula Robertson Fleming (National Anthropological Archives), Mr. Michel Florin (Societe de Geographie, Paris), Mrs. France Ducros (Bibliotheque National), Dr. John Mack and Mr. Harry Persaud (Museum of Mankind). I am also grateful to Mr. Atsushi Ikeda (Tokyo National Museum) who not only permitted me to have access to portions of Bankoku Shashincho but also

kindly supplied me his latest observations on this collection.

- 2 Huxley published in 1865 an essay "On the methods and results of ethnology," in which he maintained "a scheme of classification of the races of mankind, based on the characters of the hair, the color of the skin, and the cranial index" (Stephen & Lee, eds., 1901:900).
- 3 Museum Godeffroy was a museum of natural sciences and ethnology founded in Hamburg in 1860 by Johan Cesar Godeffroy, a successful oversea trader and shipping agent. His business covered the Americas, the Caribbean, the South Pacific and Australia and made it possible for him to amass a huge collection. Godeffroy's business success influenced Bismarck's colonial policy to have protectorates in the South Pacific after 1885. The museum was active until at least 1910. After the dissolution of the trading firm, the collection was transferred to the Ethnological Museum in Leipzig and the Natural History Museum in Hamburg (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1964:494-495)
- 4 Although Dammann was commissioned to take pictures of the crew (Edwards 1982:258), all the pictures were actually taken by a naval man of the corvette El-Magidi (Dammann 1873-76: Afrika Tafel I, Afrika Tafel II).
- 5 The Uchida collection contains pictures of 2,306 different scenes and objects (Ikeda 1992:38), comprising 745 mono photos and 1,561 pairs of stereo pictures.
- 6 I have yet to conduct comprehensive research on the *Bankoku Shashincho*. My information has been derived from Atsushi Ikeda's article (1992), his personal communication (23 March 1999) and my half-day research into Volume 18 at the Tokyo National Museum (10 December 1999). The Tokyo National Museum is scheduled to edit a catalogue of *Bankoku Shashincho* in March 2000.
- 7 I have confirmed, at the Tokyo National Museum on 10 December 1999, that this volume also contains photographs from Peru and Brazil.
- 8 The editor and illuminator Mitsuyuki Segawa (b. 1868) was a pressman, politician, publisher, iron-master, and later a member of Parliament and tanning company director, active at least until the late 1920s (Noe 1930:"se":1). On the strength of the connections he formed through his multiple activities, Segawa obtained prefaces to the album from such eminent figures of the day as Shigenobu Okuma, former Prime Minister, Yasumasa Fukushima, intelligent officer who had made a successful solitary ride across Siberia, Sanae Takata, the politician, educator and later president of Waseda University, Akamaro Tanaka, limnologist who had studied in Europe for more than ten years, Chuta Ito, professor of architecture at the Imperial University of Tokyo, and Makita Goto, pioneer educator of science. Little is known about the other editor, Yasutaro Shoda.
- 9 In the *Chiri Fuzoku Sekai Shashincho* there are only a score or so of pictures with typological interest taken in the 1880s or earlier. On the grounds that these pictures also appear in *The Living Races of Mankind*, and that the Japanese description of some peoples (Dakota-Sioux and the Zulu, for example) is derived without doubt from the English language album, I find it probable that the Japanese editors copied a portion of the pictures and text in the English album and used these materials again in their album without making any mention of where they had been derived.
- 10 Since the Emperor Meiji passed away in 1912 and his son acceded to the throne as the Emperor Taisho, the first page of the fourth printing in 1913 was replaced with the photographs of the Emperor Taisho, the Empress and Mount Fuji. There was no other revision of the contents.
- 11 It is noteworthy that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was officially an agreement between the two

governments, but was upgraded in Japan and translated as a treaty. The Japanese literary figure Soseki Natsume in London, however, took a sober view of things. He wrote a letter to Tokyo in 1902: "Through correspondence columns, I am informed of the huge excitement that the [Anglo-Japanese] alliance has caused to my home country. The people seem to have been set agog as if a pauper, being overjoyed at its matrimonial alliance with a wealthy family, made much ado in the village" (Natsume 1957:167).

- 12 Taking pictures of dead infants before burial, *angelitos* in Spanish, was once practiced in some parts of Latin America, especially in Mexico and Guatemala.

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