

Claire Wintle. "Model Subjects: Representations of the Andaman Islands at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886." *History Workshop Journal* 67, no. 1 (2009): 194-207.

With the establishment of a British penal colony on the Andaman Islands in 1858, Andamanese and British identities and histories became newly entwined. Throughout their ensuing shared history, multiple versions of an Andamanese ‘identity’ were imaginatively reinvented from a British perspective. For some of the community posted on the Islands in the late nineteenth century, the Andamanese peoples became part of an everyday working and living environment; for others, like the readers of anthropological journals and miscellanies in the UK, the Andamanese were conceived as scientific ‘evidence’, central to sociocultural-evolutionary debates of the period.¹ For a wider British audience, however, with no direct geographical or academic connection, how was an impression of this isolated region and its inhabitants formed? Did such an opportunity for understanding exist, and if so, how was this more popular identity configured? This essay seeks to unpack this configuration, and explore one historical moment when the Andaman Islands were appropriated as part of the ‘tangible fantasy’² of the British imagined Empire.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, diverse events and media generated a constant stream of material which elevated the non-Western ‘other’ into Western consciousness. Ronald Inden, Annie Coombes and Richard White, considering India, Africa and Australia respectively, have led the wide-ranging scholarship which acknowledges the extent to which all corners of the British Empire pervaded British awareness.³ As tiny, remote outposts of the British Empire, the Andaman Islands did not have the same prevalence as other, larger colonies, but they

did pierce British national consciousness on a multitude of occasions. Highlighted in encyclopaedia entries, travel writings, unpublished but institutionalized memoirs, illustrated weekly newspapers and magazines, popular fiction, and at international exhibitions, the Islands were presented in a wide variety of media.

Of all these interpretative vehicles, the ‘international exhibition’ can be seen to have provided Europe with a particularly ‘powerful stock of images’ with which to view itself and the peoples of its Empires.⁴ Despite their modest size, the Andaman Islands and their Nicobarese neighbours cropped up during these cultural and economic programmes with surprising frequency. Such representations ranged from a single photograph of an ‘Andamanese group with Mr Homfray, their keeper, photographed at Calcutta’, displayed at the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle,⁵ and a small contingency of ‘rude spears of the Nicobar Islanders’ again shown in Paris, in 1878,⁶ to the samples of the popular hardwood, Andaman Padauk (or Padouk), prominently displayed in the majority of exhibitions throughout the entire era.⁷ The moment of their most vivid and extensive representation, however, was in 1886, at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in South Kensington. Here, the Andaman Islands were represented by three near-life-size clay or plaster of Paris figures,⁸ positioned together at the east entrance to the Indian Imperial Court, in a ‘sub-court’, or platform enclosed by a bamboo barrier (Figure 1).

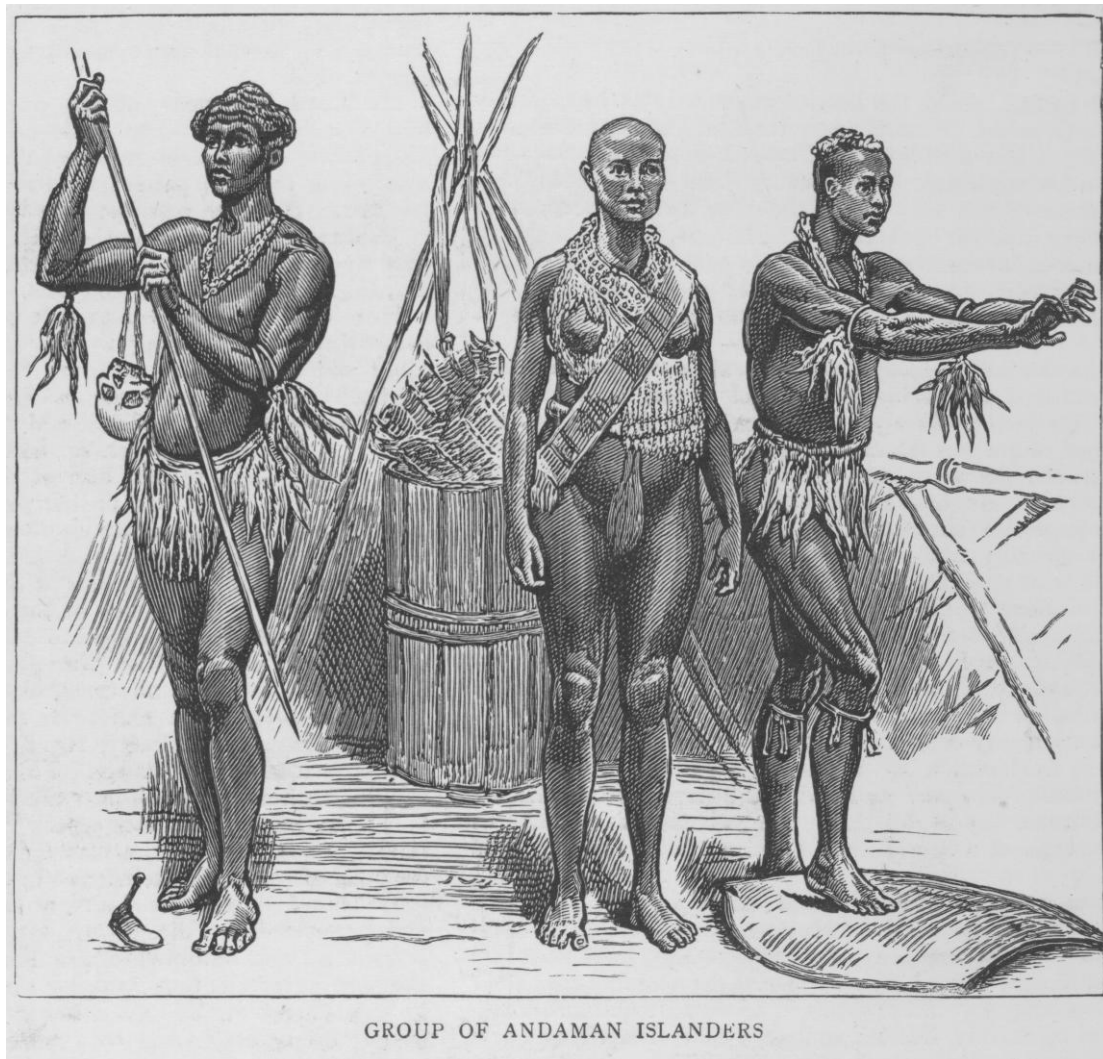


Figure 1: 'Group of Andaman Islanders', *The Graphic*, 15 May, 1886, p.540.

In an examination of the representation of the Andaman Islands at this event, this essay will investigate how racial and cultural perceptions regarding the Andamanese, already fostered by the anthropological community, made interventions into the British popular arena. Using as yet unexamined visual evidence, it will determine the position of the region and its inhabitants in the mechanics of the exhibition paradigm, lending new understanding to how the 'colonial exotic' was employed as dynamic visual entertainment for a metropolitan audience. The essay will explore how, in using clay models rather than human bodies, the exhibit which featured the Andaman

Islands can be seen to have appealed to and infiltrated the psychologies of exhibition visitors. An astonishing five and a half million visitors attended the Exhibition,⁹ and the readership of the periodicals which covered the event was expansive:¹⁰ perhaps due to the popularity of the event as a whole, or conceivably due to the individual exhibit's inventive and provocative display, this was a crucial moment in the development of Britain's vision of her distant colony.

Scale Models: Sociocultural-Evolutionary Hierarchies Revisited

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Andamanese and their material cultures were commonly subject to anthropological paradigms which relegated them to 'the lowest state of human society of which we have any certain knowledge.'¹¹ Consistently judged in scientific circles to be the '*most primitive*'¹² and of 'the *most degraded and barbarous races in existence*',¹³ the Andamanese were similarly categorized by the Exhibition organisers in 1886: subject to the medium of exhibition design, which frequently 'encoded racial, aesthetic, and economic oppositions and hierarchies',¹⁴ here too they were assessed in relation to various physical and cultural scales, and, perhaps predictably, were resoundingly found to occupy their bottom rungs.

The models were commissioned and arranged by the Royal Commission's Special Officer for the Economic Section, George Watt, and modelled by Jadu Nàth Pal of the Krishnagar modelling workshop.¹⁵ They were part of a series of twelve groups of figures each envisioned as representing the 'leading provinces and native states of India'.¹⁶ Replicas of an original set of figures made for the Calcutta International Exhibition in 1883, the models were produced from casts which had

been taken from two anonymous Andamanese couples, and three youths from Car Nicobar Island, all of whom had been sent to Calcutta specifically for the purpose.¹⁷ Although Watt was at pains to emphasize that the exhibit was presented ‘in order to show the leading groups of inhabitants of India, and not to work out any ethnological classification’,¹⁸ the attempt to fix the oriental ‘other’ in a Western taxonomic frame of reference is clear.¹⁹ Indeed, the reception of the figures was closely aligned with contemporary scientific assumptions regarding the existence of discernible differences in evolutionary status between human groups. These hierarchical comparisons, conceived of in both physical and cultural terms, and conveniently colour coded,²⁰ influenced much of the popular commentary on the exhibit. Certainly, the journalist reporting on the Exhibition for the *Graphic* newspaper felt the whole Indian section conducive to such relational evaluation, expressing a desire ‘to compare province with province’ for the benefit of the newspaper’s readers.²¹ A writer for the *Westminster Review* was stirred to employ a similarly comparative approach, selecting a number of sociocultural evolutionism’s preferred modes of differencing as his criteria for comment. His description of India as inspired by the display of the clay models is worth quoting at length:

This enormous population consists of numerous races and tribes, including every imaginable shade of colour – from the purest white to more than negro blackness – and every type of countenance, a fact which is hardly realized by the majority of Englishmen, but which is most clearly placed before us in this Exhibition, by a series of life-sized models in native costume, commencing with the diminutive unclad Andamanese, negroid in colour, and the Nicobarese, taller and

lighter, but almost equally savage, and passing on through tribes decidedly Mongoloid in type, from the North-west Provinces, to the tribes of the Punjab, among whom we find a pale yellow type, and also the very tall, dark Sikh, with naked legs, and hat adorned with a perfect armoury of weapons of all kinds... Then there are the Nagas from the hills, tattooed, and wearing large shell and cornelian bead necklaces of native manufacture, and other hill tribes.²²

Due in some measure, perhaps, to the spatial hierarchy engendered by the positioning of the Andaman figures as the first exhibit at the front of the Court, and also encouraged, conceivably, by Watt's desire to highlight 'a few of the striking peculiarities of this extremely interesting people',²³ the writer for the *Westminster Review* conspicuously placed the Andamanese at the beginning (and at the bottom) of the evolutionary scales of skin colour, body type, and mode of material culture constructed in his or her prose. In a spectrum of 'every imaginable shade of colour', the 'negroid' Andamanese model was formed as a baseline with which to compare the 'lighter' Nicobarese, and the 'pale yellow' 'tribes of the Punjab' residing further along the Court. In the review, the Andamanese models were consistently defined by their shortcomings: in a scale of physical fitness and body type, in the review of the exhibit published by the *Graphic*, compared to the 'very tall', 'stalwart Sikh', the Andamanese were noted as 'diminutive' and 'comparatively puny'.²⁴ Moreover, where the complexity and breadth of a society's material culture was seen as a marker of its producers' progression along an hierarchical scale, the 'unclad' Andaman Islander could not compete with either the Naga models in the Assam exhibit which were festooned with 'large shell and cornelian bead necklaces', or the Sikh figure

whose hat was ‘adorned with a perfect armoury of weapons of all kinds’. Indeed, this description ignores their adornments and tools completely, effectively placing them off the evolutionary and descriptive scale.

In their precise positioning of the Andamanese figures in these rigid aesthetic scales of colour, physique and garb, the writers of both the *Westminster Review* and the *Graphic* can be seen to be echoing wider British attempts, made both at international exhibitions, and in other imperial enterprises, to impose a politically useful, meaningful order on the ‘apparent kaleidoscope’²⁵ of Indian society. By way of their physical ‘peculiarities’, the Andaman models, along with the other figures in the Court, were carefully categorized and controlled. In using representative models rather than real human bodies for the exhibit, produced through the creative practices of mould-taking, casting, sculpting and painting, the literal and symbolic humanity and uniqueness of the original sitter was erased. In the reductive process of producing a scientific model, and in the parallel artistic act of creating a representational form, those (ideologically selected) physical elements of the human body perceived as denoting a person of a particular ‘race’ - a specific skin colour, a particular height, or a precise body shape - were selectively extracted from Andamanese and Nicobarese individuals, creatively assembled, and physically manifested in a stylized ‘type’.

Avoiding the complications of human specificity which had the potential to blur the comparison process, the clay models were far superior to the real human body in facilitating idealized sociocultural evolutionary comparison. Produced through the same ideological lens and artistic eye, and identical in format and media, the models could be displayed both simultaneously and in the same physical space. Through the

mobility and immutability of their re-presentations, the Andamanese and other Indian groups were made (to use Bruno Latour's phrase) '*presentable, readable and combinable*'.²⁶

Paul Greenhalgh, amongst others, has highlighted the regularity with which sociocultural-evolutionary theories underpinned the ethnographic displays at international exhibitions in the late nineteenth century.²⁷ With the 1886 inauguration of the Andaman Islands into such a public event, racial and cultural perceptions regarding the Andamanese which were already familiar to the professional anthropological community made a seminal leap into the popular arena. Observations from a non-specialist audience had identified the Andamanese as the lowest, most 'savage' people in a perceived scheme of human cultural development; here, the Andamanese exhibit lent an extreme new dimension to populist British views of India as an infinity of racial and social variety.

'Decoration for the Courts': The Andaman Islands and Exhibition Ornamentation

Placed firmly within a medium consistently highlighted for its role in entertaining the masses through 'rational amusement',²⁸ the Andaman exhibit was also part of an effort to add visual interest and excitement to the Court. The Imperial Court, or the 'Economic and Commercial Court' as it was also known, had been erected specifically to house an extensive index collection of 'raw products and rough manufactures', and to 'illustrate the material resources of the [Indian] Empire'.²⁹ Concerned, however, that this potentially dreary subject matter might not sufficiently impress the crowds, and bound to the seemingly common aim amongst exhibition commissioners to 'make selling something beautiful and seductive',³⁰ Watt was keen to employ a specific tool which would 'remove the monotony incident to a mere

collection of grains, medicines, and fibres'.³¹ As a result, and inspired perhaps by the regularity with which other (classical) forms of sculpture were used to decorate exhibition buildings, the life-size Andaman figures were commissioned as part of a series which would mitigate the 'scientific system of arrangement' in the Imperial Court and make the area 'more attractive to the public.'³²

Generally described as 'models' or 'figures' rather than 'statues', the clay figures were aligned with scientific representation or the decorative arts, rather than fine art: while their 'considerable delicacy and fineness' elevated their status for some, for others the use of genuine hair and accessories in their construction reduced the workshop's output to the level of 'ingenious toy-making'.³³ In accordance with the dictates of the art world during this period, the application of colour to the models (the close matches of shade had been observed from photographs and descriptions sent from the field³⁴) placed them firmly within the realm of the commemorative, popular or practical arts.³⁵ Nevertheless, Watt's desire to posit the figures as a highly decorative feature of the Exhibition seems to have succeeded. In the *Westminster Review*, it was predicted that it was 'the models of natives in every variety of costume' which would 'most interest the general public';³⁶ similarly, a reviewer for the *Art Journal* found 'much to admire in these figures'.³⁷ Certainly, newspapers like the *Graphic*, whose sales figures depended upon entertaining the reader through rich, lavish illustrations, utilized the visual value of the exhibit: an image of the Andaman display (Figure 1) was part of the newspaper's coverage of the event.

Moreover, this particular illustrator chose to reject the stereotype of the barbaric and menacing savage (but not necessarily that of the sexualized naked,

coloured body), and documented three figures which corresponded well with European ideals of physical beauty. Through careful shading (particularly noticeable in the woman's cheekbones and skull shape), the figures' refined facial features were emphasized; the illustrator paid particular attention to the toned muscles of the men, and the close and the detailed marks of the engraver's tool provide a warm, reflective hue to the models' skin. In this context then, the Andaman Islands, their peoples and their material cultures became tools for beautification, and were seen by the British public as an 'attractive' element with which to adorn her Empire.

'Instinct with Life and Expression': the Andaman Islands and the Colonial Gaze

The tangible physicality of the figures, coupled with their inanimate state as models, also developed public interest in new ways, controlled less by George Watt and his team, but more to do with wider public attitudes towards the non-Western 'other' prevalent at the time. It was the 'very life-like appearance'³⁸ of the models, in particular, that lent new impetus to how the British public viewed their distant colony. A notable focus on the figures' perceived verisimilitude is traceable within both the official literature describing the figures, and the visual and written reactions to the exhibit. In an exhibition environment where British audiences seemed unable to distinguish their experience of the world of objects from their experience of the real,³⁹ the three-dimensional, life-size composition of the models, complemented by their precisely chosen skin tones, actual hair, and 'authentic' accessories,⁴⁰ seems to have evoked a 'psychology of overvaluation'⁴¹ within exhibition visitors: properties normally associated with the real, living body were actively ascribed to the clay figures. One commentator on the Imperial Court imagined the inanimate, abstract models as real people, with dynamic social lives, and even social status: a female figure was conceived to be carrying the skull of 'a near relation', and as standing next

to 'her husband', who, in turn, 'was no doubt a regular dandy among his people.'⁴² The figures were proclaimed as 'instinct with life and expression',⁴³ while the author of a humorous 'bird's-eye' view of the Exhibition described the figures as 'quite startling in their exact resemblance to real human beings.'⁴⁴ Standing on the Bamboo Trophy which overlooked the models (see Figure 2), the Prince of Wales himself is reported to have exclaimed, 'Why, you have India itself here!'⁴⁵

Paradoxically, it was the artificial and inanimate qualities of the models which allowed Western audiences to perceive them as particularly 'real'. Where the agency of the individuals who peopled the 'real-life' 'native villages' commonly reconstructed at such events is increasingly recognized, the models in their material solidity had no such potential. When Liberty's Department Store attempted to increase their sales through the production of a 'living village of Indian artisans' in 1885, all manner of problems were caused as a result of employing real actors brought from India, with their awkward demands for food, warmth, and freedom from physical abuse.⁴⁶ Similarly, 'out of hours' sightings of the so-called 'living exhibits', travelling on tramcars, smoking cigarettes, and wearing European clothing, were known to have shocked visitors into recognizing the theatrical properties of the 'native villages'.⁴⁷ The models in the Imperial Court were, by contrast, a reliable, permanent 'other', upon whose solid surfaces perceived 'truths' concerning the non-Western subject could safely be posited. The clay models could not complain, embarrass, or reverse the European gaze, but were a secure, static option that could only accept the terms of their representation. Echoing recent analysis regarding the photographic frame and the stabilization of the subject,⁴⁸ the immobility of the models rendered them unable to engage with or counter the Western fantasies imposed upon

them; without this restraint, these (un)‘truths’ were cemented and proliferated in a variety of ways.

Underlying colonial fears regarding the violent depravity of the non-Western savage, for example, went quite unchecked: one visitor reported on how the models ‘looked so much alive it was quite startling’, commenting particularly upon how some of the male figures ‘looked rather fierce, and rolled their eyes’.⁴⁹ For particular commentators, tensions seem to have been increased by the bamboo barriers which surrounded the Andaman models: in Figure 2, as though at a zoo, a Victorian lady is shown to be peeping tentatively at one of the arrangements through the window of a tall, wooden trellis. While almost certainly a practical measure, protecting the fragile figures from probing hands, the artist’s depiction of the woman’s hesitant pose, combined with the cage-like formation of the bamboo structure, also emphasizes that what lies behind the barriers may need to be contained and kept under control.

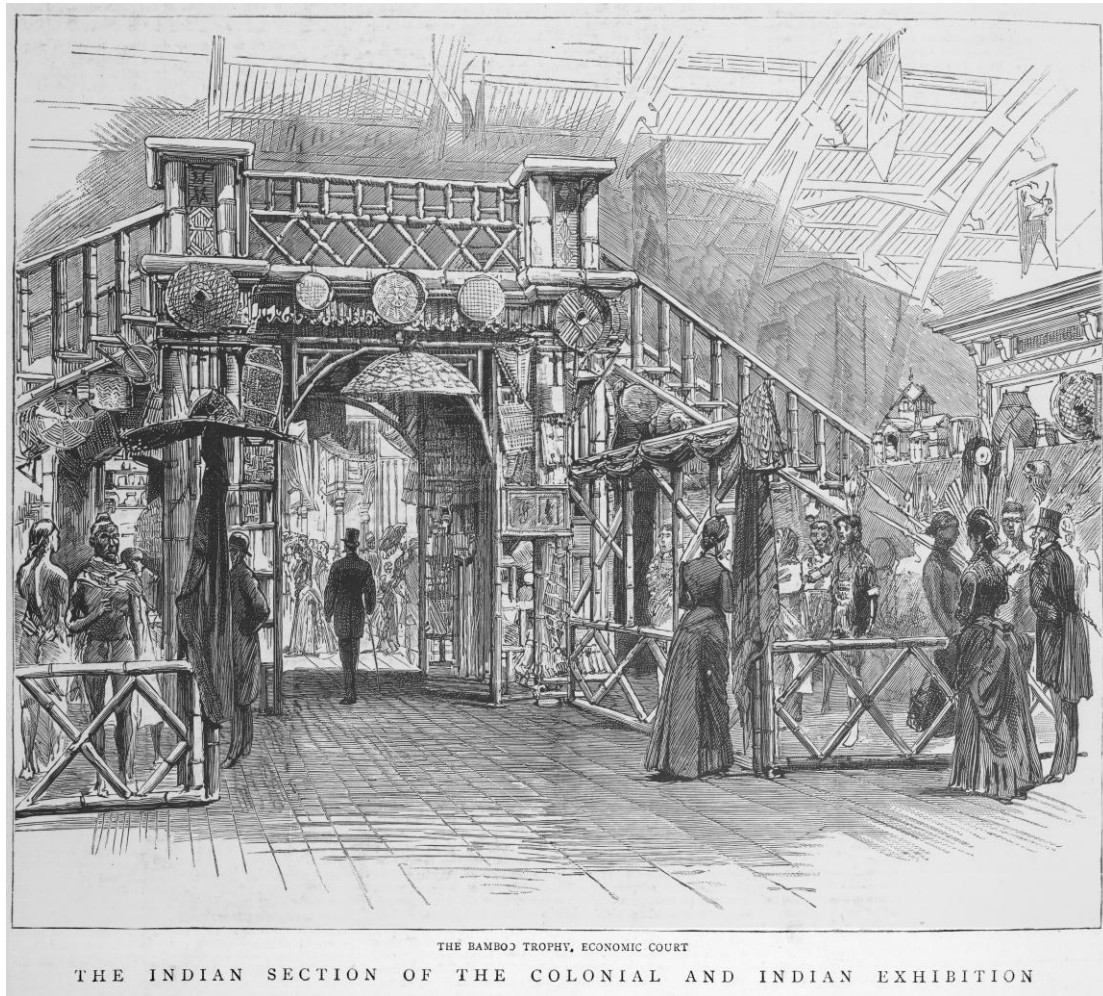


Figure 2: ‘The Indian Section of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition’, *The Graphic* 15 May, 1886, p.536.

Anxieties over the inherent ferocity and violence of the British Empire’s colonial subjects were also perpetuated by the choices made by contemporary artists in the form and content of their representations. A survey of the contemporary printed descriptions of the exhibit demonstrates, for example, that a skull ornament and a bow from Great Andaman Island are often present, but inconsistently allocated to one particular clay figure, and rarely placed together. Skulls of the recently deceased were indeed worn throughout the Andaman Islands as a sign of protection during mourning (by women) and to heal sickness (by both men and women),⁵⁰ but in some depictions

of the display, particular object configurations implied an alternative use. Where Indian art expert, Trailokya Nath Mukharji, described the female model as carrying the skull ornament,⁵¹ the artist John Dinsdale (Figure 3), consciously united the skull with a more-threatening male figure and the bow, used for hunting and fighting. In this arrangement, and by depicting a male figure whose stance and facial expression showed notable aggression and hostility, Dinsdale actively constructed the skull as a trophy rather than as a memorial, reacting to and augmenting the rumours of cannibalism with which the Andamanese were wrongly associated.⁵² Comparable fears were also expressed through a similar marriage of an ornamental skull and an aggressive pose in ‘Andaman Islander’, published in the *Illustrated London News* (Figure 4).

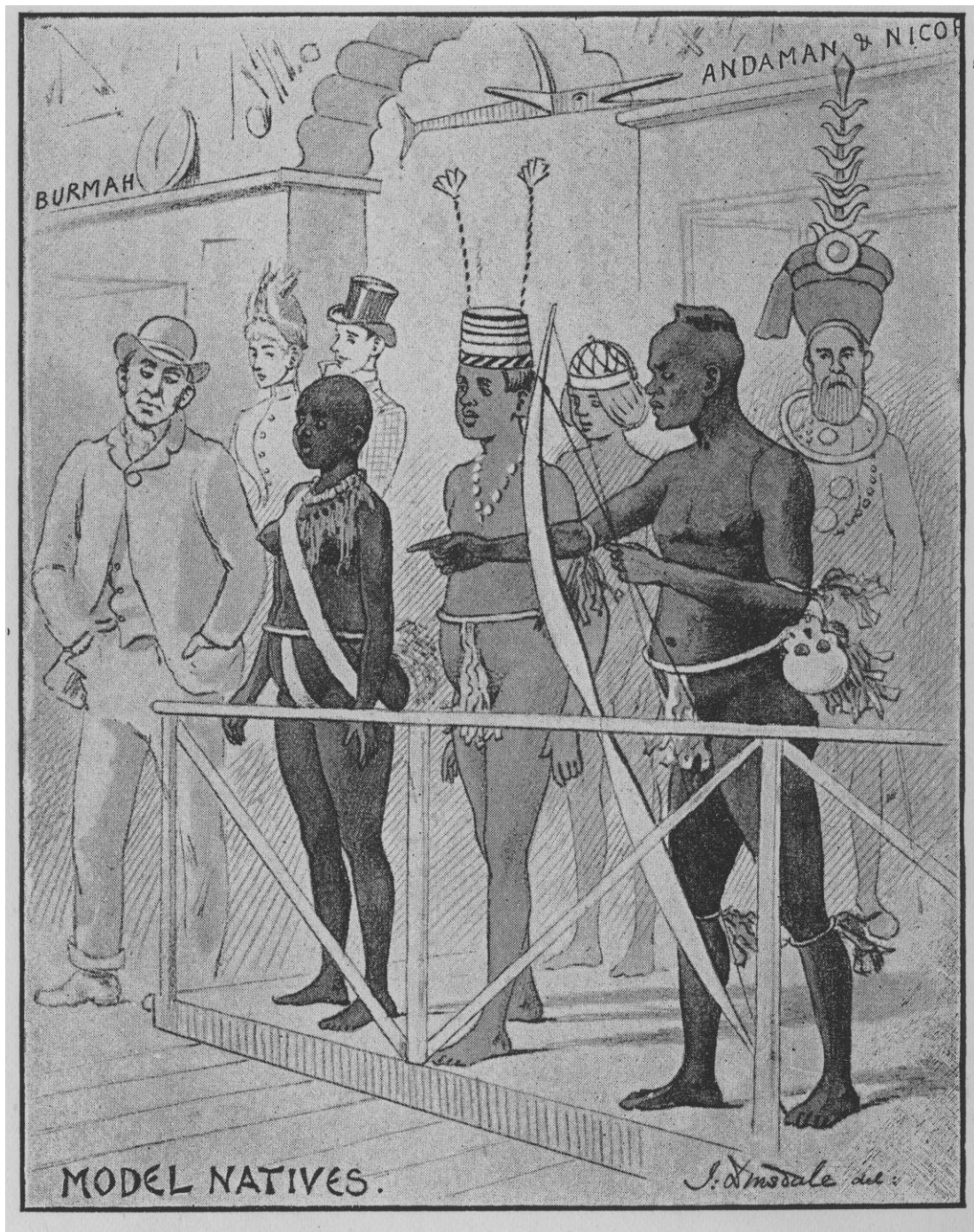


Figure 3: John Dinsdale, *Sketches at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886.*



ANDAMAN ISLANDER.

Figure 4: 'Andaman Islander', *Illustrated London News* 24 May, 1886, p. 92.

Moreover, Victorian illusions concerning the overt sexuality and corporeal availability of the colonized subject were similarly inspired by the life-like qualities of the models, reinforced by their inability to contradict such chimera. Tom Flynn has emphasized the ‘inescapable fact’ of the sculpted object, highlighting the unique psychological engagement which arises when an object occupies the same physical space as the viewing subject.⁵³ Specifically, models as a genre have been seen to invite ‘distinctive *bodily* reactions’ in their audiences,⁵⁴ while the human model as mannequin is considered as a functional stand-in, upon which ‘every imaginable malpractice can be exercised’ without the threat of consequence.⁵⁵ Accordingly, where the aim of the Exhibition was to ‘establish a closer relationship between Her Majesty’s subjects’,⁵⁶ the visually arresting use of the inanimate human form in the Andaman and Nicobar exhibit certainly brought this relationship about, with emotive results.

In his somewhat tongue-in-cheek sketch of the ‘Model Natives’ (Figure 3), Dinsdale highlights the cumulative effect of the static, the three-dimensional, and the exotic upon some exhibition visitors: encouraged, perhaps, by the knowledge that the model could not respond, and by the according assumption that his erotic interests would remain private, the bowler-hatted man to the left of the image is seen to indulge in a surreptitious, voyeuristic examination of the Andamanese female model’s breasts, with the illustrative blurring of his groin area leaving little to the imagination. Furthermore, in an era when adding colour to (classical) sculpture was highly criticized for the corruption and sexuality it inferred upon the ideal body,⁵⁷ in his narrative Dinsdale chose to sexualize the models through his use of strong colouring and shade: the strong contrast between the highly inked skin tones attributed to the

two Andamanese models and white or grey tones of the skin and clothes of the other subjects in the sketch can be interpreted as Dinsdale's salutation to the controversy of polychromy in sculpture, and his intention to debase the Andamanese figures.⁵⁸ Notably, however, in a decade characterized by the social purity movement, Dinsdale also pays homage to the development of a new moralism which denounced the display of the nude at this time: equating sexual desire for the exotic with lower-class tastes, the upper-class couple in the background, identified by their attire, disrupt the working man's privacy, displaying their distaste and concern at his base, erotic thoughts.

But the fantasies imposed upon the models were, ultimately, just that: in addition to these compositions of socially constructed colonial fear and sexual desire, visitors such as John Dinsdale and the illustrator for the *Graphic* also displayed a tendency to process the material objects in the exhibit subject entirely to arbitrary personal inclination. This was the first time Andamanese material culture had been displayed at an international exhibition, and while some individuals and museums had begun to exhibit Andamanese objects by 1886, this display was produced on the cusp of what would eventually become a major influx of objects from this region into many important British museum and personal collections between 1887 and 1923.⁵⁹ Their relatively low profile at this time, however, may have contributed to their slightly disordered depiction by visitors to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. In Figure 3, for example, Andamanese and Nicobarese attributes became confused, when an Andamanese waistbelt was coupled with a Nicobarese *hutu* (hat), and even the more 'realistic' illustration of the model placed at the left of Figure 1 depicted an unusual hairstyle and full waistbelt unrepresentative of Andamanese garb.

Contributing significantly to the ‘powerful stock of images’ of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, then, the groups of clay figures at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition far extended British perspective regarding the Islands. Using tangible, visually arresting source material, commissioner George Watt and modeller Jadu Nàth Pal succeeded in bringing the indigenous inhabitants of the Andaman Islands and their material cultures (in some form) to the fore of British consciousness regarding the region. It is difficult to find traces of a subaltern influence in these representations: the images created are for the benefit of, and within a frame of reference applicable to a non-Andamanese audience only. The models were intended and seem to have been successfully received as tools with which to popularize the understanding that the Andamanese were at the lowest stages of human development. They contributed to a wider appreciation of the ‘colonial exotic’ as material with which to decorate and enliven the visually uninspiring resources owned by so-called ‘civilized’, industrial societies. Finally, in their substitution for real human bodies, the figures acted as an absorbent surface upon which British audience could safely posit their own, unchallenged understandings of their distant subjects. Where ‘living exhibits’ were able to challenge the terms of their representation, the models were seen to verify colonial concerns regarding the violent depravity, overt sexuality and corporeal availability of the non-Western ‘other’. The exhibit embodied a predictably stereotyped vision of one of the British Empire’s smallest colonies, but a mark had been made: the Andaman Islands had been awarded a populist, public identity in Victorian England.

Notes and References

¹ E.g. in Richard Owen, 'On the psychical and physical characters of the Micopies or natives of the Andaman Islands, and on the relations thereby indicated to other races of mankind', in *Report of the Thirty-First Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, London, 1862, pp.241-249 and William Henry Flower, 'On the Osteology and Affinities of the Natives of the Andaman Islands', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 9, 1879, pp.108-135.

² Peter Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*, Berkeley, 2001, p.xv.

³ Ronald Inden, *Imagining India*, Oxford, 1990; Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, New Haven, 1994; Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity, 1688-1980*, Boston, 1981.

⁴ Saloni Mathur, 'Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886', *Cultural Anthropology* 15:4, 2000, p.492.

⁵ Taken in the studio of Saché and Westfield in September 1865, this image was part of a selection of primarily archaeological photographs compiled by the Archaeological Survey of India for the India Office (John Falconer, personal communication, 05.02.07). Eighty-three samples from this series were shown at the Paris Exhibition, but only one made the indigenous Andamanese peoples its subject.

⁶ George Birdwood, *Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878. Handbook to the British Indian Section. Presentation Edition* (London: Offices of the Royal Commission, 1879), p.58.

⁷ See, for example, at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886, the Empire Timber Exhibition, 1920, and the British Empire Exhibition in 1924.

⁸ Such figures were typically modelled of clay, but for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the modellers had experimented with a new medium for some of the figures (Edward Buck, 'Preface', in *Empire of India: Special Catalogue of Exhibits*, London, 1886, p.3).

⁹ Paul Greenhalgh, 'The Art and Industry of Mammon: International Exhibitions, 1851-1901', in ed. John MacKenzie, *The Victorian Vision: Inventing New Britain*, London, 2001, p.273.

¹⁰ The figures of periodical readership are notoriously difficult to assess. For the *Graphic*, which will be used as a key example in this article, the circulation figure for the 1872 Christmas edition, for example, was placed at 200,000 (Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, Chicago, 1958, p.395), but a ratio of 1:5 is considered to be a conservative estimate of the relationship between circulation and actual readership (Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1970-1860*, Oxford, 1991, p.3).

¹¹ Edward Burnett Tylor, 'Wild Men and Beast-Children', *Anthropological Review* May, 1863, p.21.

¹² Richard Owen, 'On the psychical and physical characters of the Micopies or natives of the Andaman Islands, and on the relations thereby indicated to other races of mankind', in *Report of the Thirty-First Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, London, 1862, p.248 (emphasis mine).

¹³ Edward Horace Man, 'The Nicobar Islanders (Part 1)', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 18, 1889, p.365 (emphasis mine).

¹⁴ Peter Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*, Berkeley, 2001, p.30.

¹⁵ 'Museums and Exhibitions Branch', *Proceedings for the Revenue and Agriculture Department*, June 1887, Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library, p.70.

¹⁶ George Watt, 'A Guide to the Ethnological Models and Exhibits Shown in the Imperial Court', in *Empire of India: Special Catalogue of Exhibits*, London, 1886, p.160.

¹⁷ Edward Horace Man, Report on the "Andaman Homes" for July 1883, Proceedings of the Superintendent of Port Blair and the Nicobars, p/1994, Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library, p.52; "Museums and Exhibitions Branch", *Proceedings for the Revenue and Agriculture Department*, August 1885, Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library, p.9.

¹⁸ George Watt, 'A Guide to the Economic and Commercial Court', in *Empire of India: Special Catalogue of Exhibits*, London, 1886, p.50.

¹⁹ Nicky Levell, *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age*, London, 2000, p.80.

²⁰ George W. Stocking, 'Reading the Palimpsest of Inquiry: Notes and Queries and the History of British Social Anthropology', in ed. G. W. Stocking, *Delimiting Anthropology: Occasional Inquiries and Reflections*, Madison, 2001, pp.172-173.

- ²¹ 'India: The Courtyard, Indian Palace', *The Graphic* 15 May, 1886, p.534.
- ²² 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition', *The Westminster Review* July, 1886, p.31.
- ²³ George Watt, 'A Guide to the Ethnological Models and Exhibits Shown in the Imperial Court', in *Empire of India: Special Catalogue of Exhibits*, London, 1886, p.161.
- ²⁴ 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition', *The Graphic* 8 May, 1886, p.495.
- ²⁵ Christopher Pinney, 'Colonial Anthropology in the 'Laboratory of Mankind'', in ed. Christopher Bayly, *The Raj: India and the British, 1600-1947*, London, 1990, p.259.
- ²⁶ Bruno Latour, 'Visualization and Cognition: Thinking with Eyes and Hands', *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present* 6, 1986, p.7, emphasis in original.
- ²⁷ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World Fairs, 1851-1839*, Manchester, 1988, p.96.
- ²⁸ Richard Altick, *The Shows of London*, Cambridge, MA, 1978, p.3.
- ²⁹ George Watt, 'A Guide to the Economic and Commercial Court', in *Empire of India: Special Catalogue of Exhibits*, London, 1886, p.51.
- ³⁰ Carol Breckenridge, 'The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31:2, 1989, p.213.
- ³¹ George Watt, 'A Guide to the Economic and Commercial Court', in *Empire of India: Special Catalogue of Exhibits*, London, 1886, p.51.
- ³² Royal Commission, *Report of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London 1886*, London, 1887, p.104.
- ³³ Cited in Trailokya Nath Mukharji, *Art-Manufactures of India*, Calcutta, 1888, p.59.
- ³⁴ "Museums and Exhibitions Branch", *Proceedings of the Revenue and Agriculture Department*, June 1887, Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library, p.73.
- ³⁵ Alison Yarrington, 'Under the Spell of Madame Tussaud: Aspects of 'High' and 'Low' in 19th-Century Polychromed Sculpture', in ed. Andreas Blühm, *The Colour of Sculpture, 1840-1910*, Amsterdam, 1996, p.84.
- ³⁶ 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition', *The Westminster Review* July, 1886, p.37.
- ³⁷ 'The Colonial and Indian Exhibition', special supplement, *Art Journal* June, 1886, p.16.
- ³⁸ Trailokya Nath Mukharji, *Art-Manufactures of India*, Calcutta, 1888, p.59.
- ³⁹ Timothy Mitchell, 'Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order', in ed. Nicholas Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture*, Ann Arbor, 1995, p.296.
- ⁴⁰ Maurice Vidal Portman, officer in charge of the Andaman Homes, coordinated the collecting and shipping of eight cases of exhibits for the display ("Report of the Andaman Home for August, 1885", *Proceedings of the Superintendent of Port Blair and the Nicobars for the month of August, 1885*, Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library, p.75 and "Museums and Exhibitions Branch", *Proceedings for the Revenue and Agriculture Department*, October and December 1885, Asia, Pacific, and Africa Collections, British Library, p.4 and p.9).
- ⁴¹ Tom Flynn, *The Body in Three Dimensions*, New York, 1998, p.17.
- ⁴² Trailokya Nath Mukharji, *A Visit to Europe*, London, 1889, p.71.
- ⁴³ Trailokya Nath Mukharji, *Art-Manufactures of India*, Calcutta, 1888, p.59.
- ⁴⁴ 'E. V. B.', *A London Sparrow at the Colinderies*, London, 1887, p.9.
- ⁴⁵ Cited in 'Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Indian Empire', *Illustrated London News* 17 July, 1886, p.82.
- ⁴⁶ Saloni Mathur, 'Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886', *Cultural Anthropology* 15:4, 2000, pp.492-524, especially pp.501-504.
- ⁴⁷ Raymond Corbey, 'Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930', *Cultural Anthropology* 8:3, 1993, p.344.
- ⁴⁸ Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'native' people and the Making of European Identities*, London, 1999, p.162.
- ⁴⁹ 'E.V.B.', *A London Sparrow at the Colinderies*, London, 1887, p.10.
- ⁵⁰ Vishvajit Pandya, personal communication, 18.12.06.
- ⁵¹ Trailokya Nath Mukharji, *A Visit to Europe*, London, 1889, p.71.
- ⁵² Marco Polo, for example, passing the Islands around 1285, proclaimed the Andamanese to be 'a most cruel generation, and eat everybody they catch' (cited in Edward Horace Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, Delhi, [1883] 1975, p.4).
- ⁵³ Tom Flynn, *The Body in Three Dimensions*, New York, 1998, p.8.
- ⁵⁴ Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Material Models as Visual Culture', in Soraya de Chadarevian and Nick Hopwood (eds.), *Models: The Third Dimension of Science*, Stanford, 2004, p.449.
- ⁵⁵ Dominique Autie, 'Artificial Bodies or the Naturalist's Chamber', in ed. Nicole Parrot, *Mannequins*, London, [1981] 1982, p.24.

⁵⁶ 'India: The Courtyard, Indian Palace', *The Graphic* 15 May, 1886, p.534.

⁵⁷ Andreas Blühm, 'In Living Colour: A Short History of Colour and Sculpture in the 19th Century', in ed. Andreas Blühm, *The Colour of Sculpture, 1840-1910*, Amsterdam, 1996, p.34.

⁵⁸ See Charmaine Nelson, 'Venus Africaine: Race, Beauty and African-ness', in ed. Jan Marsh, *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art, 1800-1900*, Aldershot, 2005, p.53 for a wider discussion of how 'racing' bodies has implications for their sexualization.

⁵⁹ See Claire Wintle, 'Career Development: Domestic Display as Imperial, Anthropological and Social Trophy', *Victorian Studies* 50:2, 2008, pp.279-288.