

# Fiagaí na gCeann Gaelach

Na hAlbaim Grianghraf le

Charles R. Browne

# The Irish Headhunter

The Photograph Albums

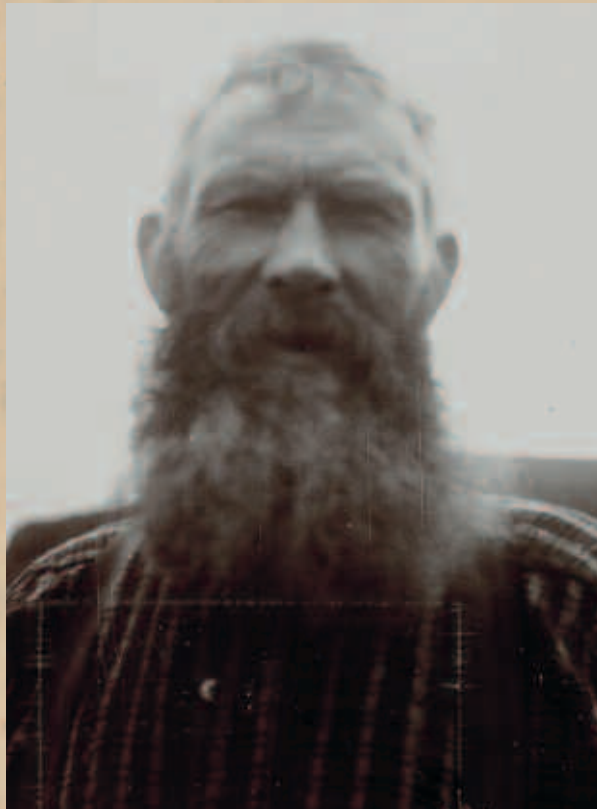
of Charles R. Browne

Ciarán Walsh | [www.curator.ie](http://www.curator.ie)

Dáithí de Mórdha

Charles R. Browne, M.D.

66 Harcourt Street  
Dublin



MS 10961/3/11v (detail), Edward O'Malley:  
Clare Island and Inishturk, 1896.

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of Charles R. Browne

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TCD MS 10961/4/5v, Anthropometry in Inishbofin: Inishbofin and Inishshark, 1893.

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**Aistriúcháin | Translation:** Dáithí de Mórdha  
Micheál de Mórdha  
Séamas Mac Philib



# Réamhrá: Ar thóir Fhiagaí na gCeann Gaelach

## Introduction: In pursuit of the Irish Headhunter

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Ciarán Walsh

Tá taispeántas 'Fiagaí na gCeann Gaelach' ar cheann de na cartlanna fótagrafaíochta is tábhachtaí atá tagtha ós comhair an tsaoil le blianta fada. Tá sé bunaithe ar ghrianghraif a bhailigh Charles R. Browne (1867 - 1931), dochtúir agus antraipeolaí ó Baile Átha Cliath a rinne suirbhéanna ar phobail sna bólaí ab iargúlta in Éirinn idir 1891 agus 1900. Cuireadh na grianghraif i gcoimeád i sraith albam, sé cinn acu atá fós slán agus atá i dtaisce i Leabharlann Choláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath. Tá siad á gcur ar taispeántas don chéad uair riamh le caoinchead Bhord Choláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath.

Thug iníon Browne na halbaim do Choláiste na Tríonóide i 1997. Chur Felicity O'Mahony, cartlannaí sinsearach i Leabharlann Choláiste na Tríonóide, mé ar a an eolas fúthu agus mé ag obair ar thaispeántas de ghrianghraif le J. M. Synge, atá sa Choláiste chomh maith. Is grianghraif eisceachtúla iad grianghraif Browne, agus de bharr chomh maith is a glacadh leis an dtaispeántas de ghrianghraif Synge den iarthar, ní fhéadfainn gan smaoineamh ar thaispeántas eile dá leithéid a chur ar bun. Tá an smaoineamh sin tagtha chun foirfeachta a bhuíochas do thacaíocht Bernard Meehan, Ceann na gCnuasach Taighde agus Coimeádaí na Lámhscríbhinní, Jane Maxwell, Príomh-Choimeádaí, agus Tim Keefe, Stiúrthóir na Seirbhíse Íomháithe Acmhainne Digitigh, Coláiste na Tríonóide. Déanann aiste Jane Maxwell tábhacht an togra seo i gcomhthéacs cartlainne agus for-rochtana i gcoitinne, a mheas.

Seasann cartlann Browne ar a bhonnaibh féin maidir leis an tslí a léiríonn sé an saol in iarthar na hÉireann sna 1890daí. Is é an difríocht atá idir iad seo agus

'The Irish Headhunter' exhibition represents one of the most important photographic archives to come into the public domain in a long time. It is drawn from photographs collected by Charles R. Browne (1867 - 1931), a G.P. and anthropologist from Dublin who surveyed communities in the remotest parts of Ireland between 1891 and 1900. The photographs were filed in a series of albums, six of which survive and are held in the Library of Trinity College Dublin (TCD). They are being exhibited for the first time ever with the permission of the Board of Trinity College Dublin.

The albums were given to TCD in 1997 by Browne's daughter. They were brought to my attention by senior archivist in Trinity College Library, Felicity O'Mahony, when I was working on an exhibition of photographs by J. M. Synge, which are also in TCD. The Browne photographs are exceptional and, given the reaction to the exhibition of Synge's photographs of the West, the idea of another exhibition was irresistible. This has been realised with the support of Bernard Meehan, Head of Research Collections and Keeper of Manuscripts, Jane Maxwell, Principal Curator, and Tim Keefe, Director of the Digital Resource Imaging Service, TCD. Jane Maxwell's essay considers the importance of this project in the context of archives and outreach generally.

The Browne archive is singular in terms of its depiction of life in the west of Ireland in the 1890s. The difference between these and other photographs of the same time lies in the systematic way Browne recorded his subjects, all part of the anthropometric and ethnographic methodologies used in the surveys. The photographs feature, amongst others, Myles Joyce, the



TCD MS 10961/4/5v, Group of men and boys in barley field Westquarter, Inishbofin: Inishbofin and Inishshark, 1893.

grianghraif eile a tógadh ag an am céanna ná an tslí chórasach inar dhein Browne a chuid ábhar a thaifeadh, iad ar fad mar pháirt de na modheolaíochtaí antraipeaiméadracha agus eiteagrafacha a úsáideadh sna suirbhéanna. Ina measc siúd atá sna grianghraif tá Myles Joyce, máistir scoile Inis Bó Fine, lena iníon (níor breacadh a hainm); Seán 'An Common Noun' Ó Dálaigh agus na leanaí scoile ar fad i mBaile Bhiocáire, Dún Chaoin; na grianghraif is luaithe de phobal an Bhlascaoid Mhóir; ríthe Inis Gé Thuaidh agus Inis Airc; Edward O'Malley ó Oileán Chliara; Michael Conneelly ó Árann; fir agus mná Charna, Gharumna, Leitir Mealláin agus Mhaínse; gearrchailí Oileán Chliara; sclábhaithe feirme agus tógálaithe bóthair in Iorras. Tá ainmniú na ndaoine ar cheann de na gnéithe is spéisiúla d'albaim Browne. Níor ainmníodh cuid mhaith de na daoine ach bhí Dáithí de Mórdha in ann Peats Mhicí Ó Catháin, Rí an Bhlascaoid agus é ina óige, agus An tOileánch, Tomás Ó Criomhthain, a aithint, mar shampla. Is dócha go mbeidh a thuilleadh daoine in ann a gcuid sin-sin-sean-

schoolmaster on Inishbofin, with his daughter (her name is not recorded); Seán 'The Common Noun' Ó Dálaigh and all the schoolchildren in Vicarstown / Baile Bhiocáire, Dún Chaoin; the first photographs of the people of The Great Blasket Island / An Blascaod Mór; the kings of North Iniskea / Inis Gé Thuaidh and Inishark / Inis Airc; Edward O'Malley of Clare Island / Oileán Chliara; Michael Conneelly of Árann; the men and women of Carna, Garumna, Lettermullan / Leitir Mealláin and Mweenish / Mainis; the girls of Clare Island / Oileán Chliara; the farm labourers and road builders of Erris / Iorras. The naming of subjects is one of the most striking features of Browne's albums. Many people have not been named but Dáithí de Mórdha has been able to identify a young Pádraig Ó Catháin, King of the Blasket, and An tOileánch, Tomás Ó Criomhthain. It is probable that many more people will identify their great great grandparents during the run of this exhibition. It is hoped that these names can be permanently added to the library descriptions of the originals.



TCD MS 10961/3/13v, Natives of Inishturk, Clare Island and Inishturk, 1896.

thuismitheoirí a aithint i rith an taispeántais. Táthar ag súil go mbeifear in ann na hainmneacha seo a chur le sonraí na mbun-ghrianghraf sa leabharlann go buan.

Cuirtear na portráidí ina gcomhthéacs le haistí fótagrafacha, sraitheanna faoin gcósta agus an dromchla, seaniarsmaí, nósanna, tithíocht agus modhanna taistil ina measc, rud a thugann léiriú dúinn ar gach aon phobal ag an am a rinneadh suirbhé air. Táimid tar éis béim a chur ar an ngné seo sa taispeántas.

Bhí sé i gceist agam i gcónaí go dtabharfaí an taispeántas go dtí na ceantair ar a rinne Browne a chuid suirbhéanna. Bhí cinneadh Ionad an Bhlascaoid Mhóir tacú leis an dtogra rí-thábhachtach ina thaobh seo. Tháinig Dáithí de Mórdha, a bhain céim máistreachta amach ó Roinn an Bhéaloidis, UCC, le déanaí, ar bord mar chomh-choimeádaí. Scrúdaíonn sé Browne trí shúile na bpobal a rinneadh suirbhé orthu; tá áitribh a shin-sean thuismitheoirí le feiceáil i ngrianghraf a tógadh i nDún Chaoin in 1897. Gluaisfidh an

These portraits are contextualised with photographic essays on the coastline and surface, antiquities, customs, housing and modes of transport amongst others, providing us with a snapshot of each community at the time it was surveyed. It is this quality that we have chosen to emphasise in the exhibition.

It was always my intention that the exhibition would be shown in the districts surveyed by Browne. The decision of Ionad an Bhlascaoid Mhóir to support the project was critical in this respect. Dáithí de Mórdha, who recently completed a Master's degree with the Dept. of Folklore and Ethnology, UCC, joined the project as co-curator. In his essay he considers Browne from the perspective of the communities that were surveyed; the homes of his great grandparents are featured in a photograph taken in Dún Chaoin in 1897. The exhibition moves to Inis Oírr where it will be curated by Mairéad Ní Ghallchoir of Ionad Ealaíne Áras Éanna. It returns to Connemara and Galf-Chúrsa Eanásh Mheáin thanks to Liam Ó Maolaotha and Oireachtas na



TCD MS 10961/3/12v, Clare Island girls: Clare Island and Inishturk, 1896.

taispeántas ar aghaidh go hInis Oírr áit a ndéanfaidh Mairéad Ní Ghallchoir ó Áras Éanna obair choimeádachta air. Leanann sé conair Browne ar ais go Baile Átha Cliath agus Roinn na hAnatamaíochta, Coláiste na Tríonóide, faoi stiúir Paul Tierney. Filleann sé ar Chonamara agus Galf-Chúrsa Eanách Mheáin a bhuíochas do Liam Ó Maolaodha, Oireachtas na Gaeilge. Tiocfaidh an chamchuiart seo chun críche in Ard-Mhúsaem na hÉireann - Saol na Tuaithe i gCaisleán an Bharraigh. I 2013 beidh an taispeántas ar crochadh i Leabharlann Haddon um Sheandálaíocht & Antraipeolaíocht, Ollscoil Cambridge faoi stiúir Aidan Baker.

Bhí áit lárnach ag Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann inár dtaighde ar Browne agus ar an tSaotharlann Antraipeaiméadrach a bhunaigh sé i dteannta le Alfred Cort Haddon i gColáiste na Tríonóide in 1891. Chur an tAcadamh maoiniú ar fáil don bhfiosrú antraipeolaíoch a spreag Browne, Haddon, Cunningham agus eolaithe eile a bhí bunaithe i gColáiste na Tríonóide. Dá bhrí, léadh sraith suirbhéanna eitneagrafacha ar gach ceantar isteach i dtaifead an Acadaimh agus foilsíodh iad ansan in imeachtaí an Acadaimh. Tá fianaise iontu ar cheann de na gnéithe is spéisiúla de na halbaim, is é sin go bhfuil cruthúnas ann go raibh 'fiach cloigeann' ar siúl in iarthar na hÉireann. Ba ábhar inspéise an-mhór do Browne agus a chomhghleacaithe cloigne na dtuathánach Éireannach, beo nó marbh. B'ábhair mór i

Gaeilge. The current tour ends in The National Museum of Ireland - Country Life in Castlebar, County Mayo. In 2013 the exhibition will be shown in The Haddon Library of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge under the direction of Aidan Baker.

The Royal Irish Academy was central to our research on Browne and the Anthropometric Laboratory that he established with Alfred Cort Haddon in TCD in 1891. The Academy provided the funding for the anthropological enquiry that motivated Browne, Haddon, Cunningham and other scientists based in TCD. In return, a series of ethnographic surveys of each district were read into the records of the Academy and these were then published in the proceedings of the Academy. They confirm one of the most striking aspects of the albums, the evidence of headhunting in the west of Ireland. Alive or dead, the head of the Irish peasant was a source of intense interest to Browne and his associates. Cranial capacity - the human skull - was a major site of anthropological enquiry at the time and the taking of skulls is recorded in both the photographs and the ethnographies. Browne and his associates took advantage of a new generation of portable cameras using cartridges of dry photographic plates or rolled film, the latest in photographic technology at the time. This played a significant role in the development of anthropology and, as a consequence, the way Irish peasantry was represented and perceived by Irish

bhfiosrúcháin antraipeolaíochta na linne é acmhainn cráiniach - an cloigeann daonna - agus léirítear sna grianghraif agus sna heitneagrafaíochtaí gur tógadh cloigne daonna ós na ceantair inar rinneadh na suirbhéanna.

Bhain Browne agus a leathbhádóirí úsáid as ghlúin nua de cheamaraí soghluaiste a d'úsáid cartúis de phlátaí fótagrafaíochta tirime nó scannán spóil, an teicneolaíocht fótagrafaíochta ba nuálaí ag an am. Bhí tionchar nach beag aige seo ar fhorbairt na hantraipeolaíochta agus, dá bharr sin, ar an tslí a léiríodh tuathánaigh na hÉireann agus ar an tslí a shamhlaigh Viteoiriaigh Éireannacha iad. Fiosraíonn aiste Justin Carville na himpleachtaí ar aitheantas na hÉireann a bhí ag an modh a bhí ag Browne agus a chomhghleacaithe an ghrianghrafadóireacht a úsáid chun teacht ar 'saghsanna' agus sonraí eitneagrafaíochta agus antaipeaiméadracha eile agus iad ag iarraidh teacht ar an Éireannach 'gorm'. Tá sleachta as na heitneagrafaíochtaí foilsithe anseo le caoinchead Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann, maraon le hathchló de ghrianghraif a tógadh i gConamara, agus is fianaise é seo seans go bhfuil ceann de na halbaim in easnamh. Gabhaimid buíochas le Siobhán Fitzpatrick agus a foireann i Leabharlann an Acadaimh as ucht a gcuid cabhrach.

Tá na grianghraif á n-atáirgeadh mar atáid sna halbaim, a bheag nó a mhór. Níor úsáideadh an iomarca athchóiriú digiteach. Cé nach raibh cruth ró-mhaith ar na halbaim - bhí uisce tar éis díobháil a dhéanamh do chuid acu agus tá an dath tréigthe as cuid mhaith acu - is deacair a chreidiúint an méid a d'éirigh linn a thabhairt chun solais arís. Táimid buíoch do Tim Keefe agus do Sharon Sutton ón tSeirbhís Íomháithe Acmhainne Digitigh, Coláiste na Tríonóide, a rinne scanadh ar na halbaim agus do Ciarán Rooney ó Filmbank a rinne iad a phriontáil.

Is deacair a bheith ag obair mar choimeádaí neamhspleách ar na saolta seo. Tá ról lárnach ag an oideachas for-rochtana sa togra seo agus tá gá le catalóg chun go mbeidh teacht go forleathan ar an gcartlann, go háirithe ag sliocht na bpobal atá le feiceáil iontu, agus iad scaipthe go dtí na cheithre hairde. Toisc gur ceantar Gaeltachta atá i ngach ceantar sna grianghraif seachas ceann amháin, chaithfí an dá theanga a úsáid sa togra. Ní fhéadfaí aon phíos den obair seo a dhéanamh gan tacaíocht Oifig na nOibreacha Poiblí agus An Chomhairle Oidhreacht. Tacaíonn sé go mór le saothar na ndaoine agus na n-institiúidí a chur an taispeántas seo le chéile.

Victorians. Justin Carville's essay considers the implications for Irish identity in the way Browne and his associates used photography to capture 'types' and other anthropometric or ethnographic detail in their search for the 'black' Irish. Extracts from the ethnographies are published with the permission of the Royal Irish Academy along with reproductions of photographs taken in Connemara, evidence of a missing album possibly. The assistance of Siobhán Fitzpatrick and her staff in the Library of the Academy is acknowledged.

The photographs are reproduced more or less as they are in the albums. Digital restoration has been kept to a minimum. Given the condition of the albums - some were damaged by water and many of the photographs are faded - it is incredible how much detail we have been able to recover. We are indebted to Tim Keefe and Sharon Sutton of the Digital Resource Imaging Service, TCD who scanned the albums and Ciarán Rooney of FILMBANK Colour Management who printed them.

Working as an independent curator is tricky in the days that are in it. Education and outreach is central to the success of this project and a catalogue is essential in making this archive widely available, especially to the descendants of the communities featured, some of whom are well represented in the Irish diaspora. Given that all but one of the communities featured is a Gaeltacht, this project was always going to be bilingual. None of this would have been possible without the support of the Office of Public Works (OPW) and The Heritage Council. It underpins all of the efforts of the individuals and institutions who made this exhibition happen.



# Charles R. Browne: Beathaisnéis A Biography

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Ciarán Walsh

Saolaíodh Charles R. Browne ar an 21 Meitheamh, 1867 i dtigh thuismitheoirí a mháthar i mBaile Mhic Oistín, Co. Thiobraid Árann. B' iad John Browne (Cigire Scoileanna Náisiúnta) agus Georgina Hueston a thuismitheoirí. D'fhreastail Browne ar Scoil Ghramadaí Chorcaí agus chuaigh go Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath in 1885 agus é ocht mbliana déag d'aois. Bhain sé céimeanna BA; BAO; BCh & MB amach in 1890 agus MD in 1893.

Bhí sé go mór faoi thionchar Daniel J. Cunningham, Ollamh na hAnatamaíochta & na Máinliachta i gColáiste na Tríonóide idir 1883 agus 1903, agus thug sé blianta fada ina chúntóir aige. Bhí dlúthbhaint aige le Alfred Cort Haddon, bitheolaí mara, a tháinig go Baile Átha Cliath in 1880 chun a bheith ina Ollamh Zó-eolaíochta i gColáiste Ríoga na hEolaíochta.

Bhí páirt nach beag ag Browne, Haddon agus Cunningham i bhforbairt na hAntraipeolaíochta i gColáiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath. Bhí baint acu chomh maith le Rannóg na hEolaíochta in Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann. Rinneadh ball den Acadamh de Browne ar an 13 Iúil 1892. Luadh gurb iad Leigheas agus Antraipeolaíocht a phríomh-dhisciplíní.

In 1891 d'éirigh le Browne agus Haddon a chur ina luí ar an bPropast agus ar Chomhaltaí Sinsearach, TCD, páirt de Mhúsaem Shaotharlainne Chomparáidigh an Choláiste a chur ar leataoibh mar Shaotharlann Antaipeaiméadrach. Feistíodh é le cabhair deontais ó Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann. Ba é a bhí mar phlean ná an saotharlann a bogadh i rith 'na saoire fhada' chun suirbhéanna a dhéanamh ar thréithe fhisiceacha agus nósanna na ndaoine a mhair iontu mar bhealach le 'giving assistance to the anthropologist in his endeavours to unravel the tangled skein of the so-called Irish race.'<sup>1</sup>

Charles R. Browne was born on 21st June, 1867 at the home of his maternal grandparents at Ballykisteen, Co. Tipperary. He was the son of John Browne (an Inspector of National Schools) and Georgina Hueston. Browne attended Cork Grammar School and entered Trinity College Dublin (TCD) in October 1885 aged 18. He graduated BA; BAO; BCh & MB in 1890 and MD 1893.

He was much influenced by Daniel J. Cunningham, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in TCD between 1883 and 1903, and served as his assistant for many years. He was closely associated with Alfred Cort Haddon, a marine biologist who moved to Dublin in 1880 to take up the Chair of Zoology in the Royal College of Science.

Browne, Haddon and Cunningham were instrumental in the development of Anthropology in Trinity College Dublin. They were also associated with the Science Section of the Royal Irish Academy. Browne was elected as a member on 13th July 1892. His main disciplines were recorded as being Medicine and Anthropology.

In 1891 Browne and Haddon persuaded the Provost and Senior Fellows, TCD, to make a portion of the College's Museum of Comparative Anatomy available for an Anthropometry Laboratory. It was equipped with a grant from the Royal Irish Academy. The plan was to transfer the laboratory during the 'long vacation' to a carefully selected district in order to carry out surveys of the physical characters and habits of the inhabitants as a way of 'giving assistance to the anthropologist in his endeavours to unravel the tangled skein of the so-called Irish race.'<sup>1</sup>



TCD MS 10961/5/16v, 66 Harcourt Street September 1899 (the Browne Family).

Thosaíodar in Árann in 1891 agus, ar an 12 Nollaig 1892, léadh *The Ethnography of the Aran Islands*, County Galway ós comhair Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann, páipéar go mbeadh tionchar nach beag aige in imeacht ama, agus foilsíodh in *Imeachtaí an Acadaimh* é ina dhiaidh sin.

Chuaigh Haddon ar ais go Cambridge chun staidéar a dhéanamh ar an antraipeolaíocht in 1893 agus bhain cáil amach mar eitneagrafaí ceannródaíoch. Bhain sé clú amach chomh maith mar 'Fiagaí na gCéann' agus meastar go raibh tionchar nach beag aige i bhforbairt na hantraipeolaíochta sa Bhreatain.

D'fhan Browne i mBaile Átha Cliath agus bhunaigh cleachtas ginearálta leighis. Bhí sé ina chónaí i 66 Sráid Fhearchair, agus pósadh é ach níl puinn ar eolas faoina shaol phearsanta. Bhí sé ina chónaí lena bhean Mary Edith nuair a tógadh daonáireamh na bliana 1901. Luaigh sé gurb Dochtúir agus Antraipeolaí é.

Lean sé air ag obair le Cunningham agus le Coiste Eolaíochta Acadaimh Ríoga na hÉireann. Rinne sé suirbhéanna ar cheantair eile in iarthar na hÉireann le cabhair 'an gnáth' dheontas de £25 ón Acadamh. Léadh a chuid taighde isteach sa dtaifead agus foilsíodh na eitneagrafaíochtaí seo leanas in *Imeachtaí Acadaimh Ríoga na hÉireann*:

1893	Inishbofin and Inishshark, County Galway.
1895	The Mullet, Inishkea Islands, and Portnacloy, County Mayo.
1897	Ballycroy, County Mayo.
1897	Clare Island and Inishturk, County Mayo.
1898	Garumna and Lettermullen, in the County Galway.
1900	Carna and Mweenish, in the Parish of Moyruss, Connemara.

They started in Aran in 1891 and, on December 12, 1892, the seminal *Ethnography of the Aran Islands*, County Galway was read into the record of the Royal Irish Academy and subsequently published in the proceedings of the Academy.

Haddon moved back to Cambridge in 1893 to study anthropology and went on to earn a reputation as a pioneering ethnographer. He also became known as Haddon 'The Headhunter' and is regarded as a very influential figure in the development of British anthropology.

Browne remained in Dublin and set up a general practice. He lived in 66 Harcourt St., and at some stage he got married; there is little information about Browne's personal circumstances. He was living with his wife Mary when the census was taken in 1901. He gave his occupation as a General Practitioner and Anthropologist.

He continued to work with Cunningham and the Science Committee of the Royal Irish Academy. He surveyed other districts in the west of Ireland with 'the usual' grant of £25 from the Academy. His research was then read into the record and the following ethnographies were published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*:

1893	Inishbofin and Inishshark, County Galway.
1895	The Mullet, Inishkea Islands, and Portnacloy, County Mayo.
1897	Ballycroy, County Mayo.
1897	Clare Island and Inishturk, County Mayo.
1898	Garumna and Lettermullen, in the County Galway.
1900	Carna and Mweenish, in the Parish of Moyruss, Connemara.



TCD MS 10961/5/14r, Opening cist grave, Newcastle, Co. Wicklow 25th May, 1897.



TCD MS 10961/1/7v, 1891.

In 1897 rinne Browne suirbhé grianghrafadóireachta ar Dhún Chaoin ach níl tasc ná tuairisc ar an suirbhé scríofa sin le fáil, faraor, pé acu ar foilsíodh nó nár foilsíodh é. I 1903 lorgaíodh maoiniú ón Acadamh Ríoga chun suirbhé a dhéanamh i dTír Chonaill ach is cosúil ná rinneadh aon suirbhé ansin. Go deimhin, is é an t-iarratas seo an tuairisc dheireanach ar ghníomhachtaí Browne i dtaobh na Saotharlainne Antaipeaiméadraigh / An Mhúsaem Antraipeolaíochta i dtaifid Acadaimh Ríoga na hÉireann. Is cosúil gur imigh Browne go Sasana áit ar ceapadh é mar Mháinlia Leifteanaint sa Tríú Cathlán Óglach de Reisimint Gloucestershire i nDeireadh Fómhair na bliana 1904.<sup>2</sup>

Ainmníodh é mar dhuine a bheadh intofa mar bhall den Choiste Eolaíochta (1896-7) ag cruinniú de Chomhairle an Acadaimh ar an Luan, 1 Márta 1897. Ag cruinniú de chuid na Comhairle ar an 16 Márta 1932 deirtear go 'Academy lost by death within the year ... Lieut. Colonel Charles Robert Browne, Elected 1892.' Fuair sé bás i Falmouth i gCorn na Breataine, i 1931.

Sa London Gazette ar an 29 Meán Fómhair 1931, thug Rannóg na Monarchan san Oifig Ghnóthaí Baile le fios go 'in consequence of the death of Dr. C. R. Browne an appointment as Certifying Surgeon under the Factory and Workshop Acts at Falmouth, in the County of Cornwall, is vacant.'<sup>2</sup> Mhair a bhean céile Mary Edith Courthorpe Browne ina dhiaidh. Ní luaitear aon leanbh san uacht, ach rugadh iníon dóibh, Gwendolen Georgina, in 1903 i mBaile Átha Cliath.

I 1997 bhronn a iníon na halbaim ghrianghraf ar Choláiste na Tríonóide go gairid sular cailleadh í. Go nuige seo ní rabhamar in ann teacht ar aon duine eile de shliocht Browne.

In 1897 Browne carried out a photographic survey of Dún Chaoin but no evidence of an ethnography has been found, whether it was written or not. In 1903 funding was sought from the Royal Irish Academy to carry out an ethnographic survey of Donegal but it does not appear to have taken place. Indeed, this application is the last recorded action of Browne in connection with the Anthropometric Laboratory / Anthropological Museum in the records of the Royal Irish Academy. Browne appears to have departed for England where he was appointed Surgeon Lieutenant to the 3rd Volunteer Battalion of the Gloucestershire Regiment in October 1904.<sup>2</sup>

He was nominated as being eligible for membership of the Committee of Science (1896-7) at a meeting of the RIA Council on Monday 1st March 1897. At a meeting of the Council on 16th March 1932 it was recorded that the 'Academy lost by death within the year ... Lieut. Colonel Charles Robert Browne, Elected 1892.' He had died in Falmouth in Cornwall, England, in 1931.

In *The London Gazette* of 29 September 1931, the Factory Department, Home Office, gave notice that 'in consequence of the death of Dr. C. R. Browne an appointment as Certifying Surgeon under the Factory and Workshop Acts at Falmouth, in the County of Cornwall. He was survived by his wife Mary Edith Courthorpe Browne. There is no reference to his children.

In 1997 his daughter presented the photograph albums to Trinity College Dublin shortly before her death. To date we have been unable to trace any known living relations.

1 *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1889-1901)*, Vol. 5 (1898-1900) [ 269 ]XII. "Report on the work done in the Anthropometric Laboratory of Trinity College, Dublin", from 1891 to 1898. By C. R. BROWNE, M.D. (Read May 9, 1898).

2 *British Medical Journal*, Royal Navy and Military Medical Services, Oct. 22 1904, p. 1122.



TCD MS 10961/3/20v, Village on the Great Blasket: Dunquin and the Blasket Island, Co. Kerry, August 1897.

# Browne i nDún Chaoin: Dearcadh Comhaimseartha

## Browne in Dún Chaoin: A Contemporary View

### Dáithí de Mórdha

Nuair a tháinig Charles R. Browne go dtí cósta thiar na hÉireann ag deireadh an naoú aois déag, níorbh aon turasóir neamh-aistreach é, ag imeacht ó áit go háit ar a bhog-steobhar gan aon ró-chúram air fé mar a bhíonn formhór na ndaoine a ghabhann timpeall Chinn Sléibhe ar na saolta seo. Togra eolaíochta a bhí idir chamáin aige; togra chun staidéar ghrinn a dhéanamh ar phobail an chósta sin chun iad a chur i gcomparáid le pobail nó ciníocha eile. Ní móide gur mar ghrianghrafadóir a tháinig sé inár measc - gné thánaisteach dá chuid oibre ab ea obair an cheamara - ach mar sin féin d'fhág sé taifead gan sárú de shaol na ndaoine a mhair i nDún Chaoin agus sa Bhlascaod Mór i bhfómhar na bliana 1897.

Níorbh é Browne an chéad chuairteoir ón iasacht a tháinig go dtí na pobail sin. Leathchéad bliain roimhe, tháinig Mrs. D.P. Thompson, duine díobh siúd a bhí gníomhach sa Dingle & Ventry Mission, go dtí an t-oileán, agus dar léi ba i 'state of African barbarity' a mhair na daoine.<sup>1</sup> I gcroílár an Ghorta Mhoir a tháinig Lydia Jane Leadbeater Fisher go Corca Dhuibhne, agus dála Mrs. Thompson bhí a cuid tuairimí siúd fé mheáchan thuiscintí chiníochaí na linne:

*She says that Dunquin where they were first stationed is the wildest place in the whole wide world. The women dress like men, and the men like women indiscriminately. The men wearing petticoats till they are going to be married, when, by hook or crook, the manly toga is provided in which to go before the priest, and to uphold from thenceforth the dignity of the sex; that they have no law, nor respect for the law; and if they misbehave, they are so afraid of the priest, that if a rumour reaches them that he is coming, they run away and hide for days in the mountains, living on such berries and roots as they can get, until he leaves the neighbourhood. Thus their guilty consciences inflict most probably a severer penance than their pastor would.*<sup>2</sup>

When Charles R. Browne came to visit the western coast of Ireland at the end of the 19th Century, he was no idle tourist, lazily going from one place to another without care or worry like the majority of the modern-day travellers who journey around Sleat Head. His was a scientific journey; a project to study closely the peoples of that coast in order to compare them to other communities or races. Neither did he come amongst us as a photographer - photography being a secondary aspect of his work - but even so he left an incomparable record of the lives of the people who lived in Dún Chaoin and An Blascaod Mór in the autumn of 1897.

Browne was not the first outsider who came amongst those communities. Fifty years before his visit, Mrs. D.P. Thompson, one of the activists of the Dingle and Ventry Mission, came to the island, and it was her opinion that the people lived in 'a state of African barbarity'.<sup>1</sup> Lydia Jane Leadbeater Fisher came in the midst of the Great Famine, and, like Mrs. Thompson, her opinions were pre-loaded with the racist thinking of the time:

*She says that Dunquin where they were first stationed is the wildest place in the whole wide world. The women dress like men, and the men like women indiscriminately. The men wearing petticoats till they are going to be married, when, by hook or crook, the manly toga is provided in which to go before the priest, and to uphold from thenceforth the dignity of the sex; that they have no law, nor respect for the law; and if they misbehave, they are so afraid of the priest, that if a rumour reaches them that he is coming, they run away and hide for days in the mountains, living on such berries and roots as they can get, until he leaves the neighbourhood. Thus their guilty consciences inflict most probably a severer penance than their pastor would.*<sup>2</sup>



TCD MS 10961/3/22r, Dunquin and the Blasket Island, Co. Kerry, August 1897.

Sé bliana roimh Browne a tháinig Jeremiah Curtin don pharóiste. Ba dheacair leis a thuiscint conas a bheadh éinne in ann iad féin a chothú san áit: *“On the way we passed through Coomeenoole, one of the poorest hamlets in Ireland ... the cabins are old and in most cases windowless ... how the people who live in Coomeenoole can get food enough to sustain life is a mystery.”*<sup>3</sup> B’í bean chéile Curtin, Alma, a thóg an ghrianghraf is luaithe atá againn de bhaile an oileáin, cé nach bhfuil aon radharc iontu ar bhunadh na háite.

Toisc nach bhfuil aon chuid de scríbhinní Browne i dtaobh an pharóiste ar marthain anois, fé mar atá leis na heitneagrafaíochtaí a scríobh sé ar na pobail eile ar a thug sé cuairt, níl againn ach na grianghraif chun éachtaint a fháil ar thuairimí Browne ar an áit. B’fhéidir gur mar sin is fearr é; fágfar fén nduine féin teacht ar a dtuairimí féin fén bpobal.

Jeremiah Curtin came to the parish six years before Browne did. He found it difficult to understand how anyone could eke out an existence there: *“On the way we passed through Coomeenoole, one of the poorest hamlets in Ireland ... the cabins are old and in most cases windowless ... how the people who live in Coomeenoole can get food enough to sustain life is a mystery.”*<sup>3</sup> It was Curtin’s wife, Alma, who took the earliest known photograph of the island village, although the island people are nowhere to be seen.

Because of the fact that none of Browne’s writings regarding the parish have survived, unlike the ethnographies that he had wrote on the other communities which he visited, we have only the photographs to illustrate his opinions of the place. This could very well be an advantage; it is left to the observer to create his or her own opinions about the community.



TCD MS 10961/3/22v, Dunquin and the Blasket Island, Co. Kerry, August 1897.

Is in albam a trí de bhailiúchán Browne i Leabharlann Choláiste na Tríonóide atá na grianghraif a bhaineann le hIarthar Duibhneach, seachas leathanach fánach amháin atá i lár albam a cúig. Dála an turasóra chomhaimseartha, tosnaíonn an sraith i gCeann Sléibhe; tugtar sin ar an mbóthar tríd Chom Dhineoil, le faobhar na haille ón mbaile sin go Baile Ícín, Baile an Ghleanna, Baile Bhiocáire, Gleann Loic & Ceathrú an Fheirtéaraigh; as sin siar go himeall na farraige agus thar bealach isteach go dtí an mBlascaod Mór. Ar ais dtí'n muintir ansan agus ó thuaidh go Baile an Fheirtéaraigh.

Ní mar a chéile a fhéachann aon bheirt ar aon ghrianghraf. Díríonn duine ar rud áirithe sa ghrianghraf gur spéis leo féin, agus ní fheiceann siad gach a mbíonn ós a gcomhair. Nochtadh é sin go soiléir domh-sa agus an bhailiúchán seo á chíoradh agam féin agus Ciarán. Sa ghrianghraf de Myles Joyce, máistir scoile Inis Bó Fine agus a iníon (MS 10961/4/6r, p.8), is é Ciarán a thug

Browne's photographs of West Kerry are contained in the third album of his collection in the Trinity College Library, with the exception of a solitary photograph in the middle of album number five. Like the modern-day tourist, the series begins at Sleah Head; we are brought along the road through Com Dhineoil, along the cliff from that hamlet to Baile Ícín, Baile an Ghleanna, Baile Bhiocáire, Gleann Loic and Ceathrú an Fheirtéaraigh; from there, west to the coastline and over the sound to An Blascaod Mór. Then back to the mainland and north to Baile an Fheirtéaraigh.

No two people look at any photograph in the same way. The viewer zooms in on something in the photograph which interests them, and not everything in the photo is readily visible to them. This was made abundantly clear to me as Ciarán and I were discussing this collection. In the photograph of Myles Joyce, headmaster of the school on Inishbofin and his daughter (MS 10961/4/6r, p.8), it was Ciarán who

fé deara go raibh leanbh i bhfolach laistiar den chlaí sa chúlra agus í ag faire ar lucht an cheamara, rud nach raibh feicthe agam-sa in aon chor. Ón dtaobh eile den scéal, ní raibh Ciarán chun an ghrianghraf de rámhainn adhmaid (MS 10961/4/18v) a roghnú don dtaispeántas, ach bhí ana-shuim agam ann; talamh boireannach, creagach atá i gcuid mhaith de na háiteanna ina raibh Browne - gan iontu ach 'fóide cnapánacha carracha' fé mar a dúirt An Chadhnach - agus é deacair go leor an talamh a riastáil le rámhainn ceártan, gan trácht ar a bheith á shaothrú le arm adhmaid.

Ní mór féachaint ar na grianghraf seo trí shúilibh éagsúla. Ar bhonn phearsanta, trí shúilibh dhuine de mhuintir Dhún Chaoin, feicim áitribh thriúr de shin-sin-seanaithreacha m'iníne, siad sin tigh Pheats 'ac Gearailt i gCom Dhíneoil (MS 10961/3/19v) agus tithe Shéamais Bhig Uí Lúing agus Phádraig 'Deibhinn' de Mórdha i mBaile an Ghleanna (MS 10961/3/19v, p.25). Feicim Faill Móir, sara tógadh an ché agus an cosán coincreíteach ann; Fiall Cliadh, sean-chaladh báid Dhún Chaoin, agus naomhóga ar stáitse inti; tigh Freáilí cos abhann, mar ar mhair duine dos na daoine ba bhoichte i bpobal bochtáin. Tá garsúin agus gearrchailí sean-scoil Dhún Chaoin ann, agus is cinnte go bhfuil mo shinsir féin agus sinsir mo chomharsan ina measc, cé ná fuil aon duine ar marthain anois a d'aithneodh iad.

Trí shúilibh dhuine gur suim leis cultúr agus stair an Bhlascaoid, cím an grianghraf is luaithe atá ar marthain de phobal an oileáin. I measc na ndaoine tá beirt a bhain cáil amach ina dhiaidh sin; Tomás Ó Criomhthain, gan é ach daichead bliain agus é ina fhear cruaidh láidir (MS 10961/3/22r, p.22), agus Rí an Oileáin, Peats Mhicí Ó Catháin (MS 10961/3/22v, p.23). Baile beo, beathaíodh atá ós ár gcomhair, deatach ag éirí ós na simnéithibh, gasra thall agus gasra abhus.

Trí shúilibh an eitneolaí is féidir féachaint ar an mbailiúcháin mar thaifead luachmhar ar shaol an tuathánaigh ag deireadh an naoú aois déag mar le héadach, tithíocht, uirlisí feirme agus farraige agus modhanna taistil. Fara sin, is léir nach pobal aonchineálach bhí ina chónaí ó cheann ceann an chósta. Féach, mar shampla, ar na difríochtaí idir úmacha na n-each agus na n-asal sna pobail dhifriúla, nó an chluthairt chinn a bhí á chaitheamh ag na daoine. Caipíní nó hataí a bhí coitianta i gCorca Dhuibhne, agus bhí caipín ar phátrún an *Tam O'Shanter* coitianta ar bhólaí eile.

noticed that a child was hiding behind the wall in the background, watching the scene, a feature which I had not noticed at all. On the other hand, Ciarán had decided not to include the photograph of the wooden spade (MS 10961/4/18v) in the exhibition, but it interested me greatly; much of the land in the areas Browne visited is rocky and craggy - 'gnarled and stony clods' as the Irish writer Máirtín Ó Cadhain said - and it is difficult enough to work this land with a forged metal spade, never mind trying to work it with wooden implements.

One must view these images through different sets of eyes. On a personal level, through the eyes of a Dún Chaoin person, I see the homesteads of three of my daughter's great-great-grandfathers, those of Peats 'ac Gearailt in Com Dhíneoil (MS 10961/3/19v) and Séamas Beag Ó Lúing and Pádraig 'Deibhinn' de Mórdha in Baile an Ghleanna (MS 10961/3/19v, p.25). I see Faill Móir, the landing place, before the pier and winding concrete path were built there; Fiall Cliadh, the old harbour in Dún Chaoin, with the naomhógs on their stands in the cliff; Freáilí's house by the riverside, in which lived one of the poorest people of a poor community. The boys and girls of Vicarstown National School are there, and my own people and those of my neighbours must be amongst them.

Through the eyes of a person interested in the culture and history of the Blasket, I see the earliest existing photograph of the island people. Amongst those people are two who became famous in the 20th Century; Tomás Ó Criomhthain, author of *The Islandman*, forty years old, hale and hearty (MS 10961/3/22r, p.22), and the Island King, Peats Mhicí Ó Catháin (MS 10961/3/22v, p.23). We see a vibrant, living community, smoke rising from the chimneys, groups of people coming and going.

Through the eyes of an ethnologist, the collection can be seen as a valuable record of the lives of rural people at the end of the 19th century regarding clothing, housing, farm and fishing implements and modes of transport. As well as that, it is evident that the coastal communities were not one homogeneous group of people from one end of the coast to the other. See, for example, the contrast between the panniers being carried by the horses and donkeys in the various communities, or the choice of headgear being worn. Caps and hats were most common in West Kerry, and a



TCD MS 10961/3/19v, Dunquin and the Blasket Island, Co. Kerry, August 1897.

Sa réamhaiste a ghabhann le cnuasach grianghraif Thomáis Uí Mhuirheartaigh, *An Muirheartach*, a foilsíodh sa bhliain 1970, deir Seosamh Ó Duibhgin gur *"Ealaín an Phobail atá sa ghrianghrafadóireacht. Tá sí ar na healaíona is foirfe san aois seo chun léiriú a thabhairt ar ghnáthshaol na ndaoine, ar a dtimpeallacht, a gcaitheamh aimsire, a ndéanamh corpartha féin, a gcuid éadaigh fiú, gan trácht ar a gcuid oibre agus a n-uirlisí."*<sup>4</sup> D'fhéadfaí an rud céanna a rá fé ghrianghraif Browne agus an tslí a gcuireann siad lenár dtuiscint ar shaol na Gaeltachta ag deireadh an naoú aois déag.

caps similar to the *Tam O'Shanter* were common in other areas.

In the preface to 'An Muirheartach,' a collection of Tomás Ó Muirheartaigh's photographs, published in 1970, *An Muirheartach*, Seosamh Ó Duibhgin states that *"Photography is the art of the people. It is the most complete art now available to illustrate the daily lives of the people, their surroundings, their activities, their physique, even their clothing, not to mention their work and tools."*<sup>4</sup> The same could be said for Browne's photographs and the way in which they add to our understanding of Gaeltacht life at the end of the 19th century.

1 Thompson, Mrs. D.P, as reported in *The Essex Standard*, 24/07/1846.

2 Fisher, Mrs. Lydia Jane Leadbeater: *Letters From the Kingdom of Kerry in the Year 1845*, Webb and Chapman, Dublin, 1847, p.78.

3 *Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtin*, quoted by Uaitéar Mac Craith: *Turusanna Jeremiah Curtin in Thaithin Sé le Peig*: Iris na hOidhreacht 1, Pádraig Ó Fiannachta (Ed.), Baile an Fheirtéaraigh, 1989, l.37.

4 Ó Duibhgin, Seosamh (Ed.): *An Muirheartach*, Clódhanna Teo, Baile Átha Cliath (1970), p.xiv.



# Mar a Fheiceann Tú

## As You Can See

Jane Maxwell

Is minic a tharlaíonn sé nach mbíonn sa mhéid de shaothar nó d'éispéireas éigin daonna a fhanann sa tairfead stairiúil, ach blúirín gioblach lena mbíonn a oiread céanna míshásaimh agus sásaimh ag baint leis agus sinn ag iarraidh eolas a bhailiú faoi na laethanta atá imithe tharainn. Sna bailiúcháin lámhscríbhinní agus cartlainne, atá i gcoimeád i Leabharlann Choláiste na Tríonóide, níl i gcuid den ábhar atá ar marthain ach macalla de mhórán eile atá caillte.

Is cruthúnas ar an bhfíric seo grianghraif Charles Browne. Faobhar le faobhar leis an áthas a bhíonn orainn gur tháinig na grianghraif slán, tá an léan faoi na heasnamh atá sa bhailiúchán agus faoin meath fisiceach atá tagtha orthu. Is féidir na fadhbanna fisiceacha a ionramháil, go pointe áirithe, le caomhnú shaineolach agus trí ath-grianghrafadóireacht a dhéanamh orthu, faoi mar a rinneadh don dtaispeántas seo. Ach cad is féidir a dhéanamh faoi na bearnaí atá sa bhailiúchán, toisc gur dóichí ná tiocfar ar na grianghraif atá in easnamh go deo na ndeor? Braitheann an-chuid ar an méid a cheaptar a bheith luachmhar. Chomh fada agus a bhíonn Charles Browne ar na bioráin againn, caithfear a bheith ochlánach mar gheall ar chailliúint na coda eile dá chartlann. Má aistríonn an té atá ag breathnú ábhairín, áfach, tagann níos mó den bpictiúr faoin solas, rud a thugann nithe eile faoi aird thaighde stairiúil, nithe lena bhfuil a luach méadaithe san eatramh.

Tá stair na heolaíochta le fada ina chlár láidir i scoil na staire 'ollinsinte', a chuireann síos ar mháirseáil náisiúin i dtreo thodhchaí dosheachanta. Sa leathchéad bliain seo imithe tharainn tá an 'stair ón dtaobh thíos', a chuardaíonn stair na ndaoine a bhí faoi chois ag na náisiúin sin agus iad ag máirseáil ar aghaidh, tar éis taighde staire a leathnú agus a chuimsiú. Tá sé thar a bheith deacair guth na ndaoine a fágadh ar lár ón dtaifead stairiúil a chloisteáil; daoine bochta, mná,

It is so often the case that what remains in the historical record, of some human experience or endeavour, is a ragged fragment that frustrates as much as it satisfies the desire to know anything of the past. In the manuscripts and archival collections, held in the Library of Trinity College Dublin, some of what survives echoes much more than has been lost.

The Charles Browne photographs are a case in point. The delight at their survival is immediately tempered by their obvious incompleteness and by their physical deterioration. The physical problems can be addressed, to a certain extent, by expert conservation and by re-photographing them, as has been done for this exhibition. But what can be done about the fragmentary nature of the collection, given that it is unlikely that the images which have been lost will ever be found? Much depends on what is considered to be valuable. As long as Charles Browne remains the centre of attention, the loss of his remaining archives must be lamented. A slight shift of the observer's position, however, allows light to fall more widely across these images, bringing into the focus of historical research other things which have gained in value in the intervening years.

The history of science has long been a strong plank in the 'grand narrative' school of history, describing the march of nations towards an inevitable future. In the last half century historical research has been rendered more diverse and more inclusive by 'history from below', which searches for the history of the people upon whose backs the nations marched. It is notoriously difficult to hear the voices of the people who have been omitted from the historical record; poor people, women, most men, children, people who were ill - it is not a short list - but an attentive ear, an observant eye and inventive questioning of the surviving record can uncover previously unlooked-for evidence and thus add to the historical record.



TCD MS 11332, John Millington Synge, Inis Meáin, c. 1898.

formhór na bhfear, leanaí, daoine breoite- ní haon liosta gearr é - ach is féidir leis an gcluas aireach, an tsúil ghrinn agus fiafraí airgtheach fianaise a nochtadh sa taifead atá fós againn, fianaise ná rabhthas á lorg roimhe agus mar sin a chuireann leis an dtaifead stairiúil.

Caithfidh go raibh muintir oileáin chósta Thiar na hÉireann ar na pobail is mó in Iarthar na hEorpa a tháinig faoi shúile an cheamara ag deireadh na naoú haoise déag agus tús na fichiú aoise. Deirtear go minic faoi na bailiúcháin atá fós ar marthain - is é ceann Synge an cheann is mó cáile, ach tá cinn nach é ann - gur taifid iad de na pobail atá léirithe iontu. Ní fíor é sin go baileach. I dtéarmaí cartlainne is é atá i bhfíor-thaifead ná taifead atá cruthaithe ag an ngníomh atá á thaifeadadh aige. I gcás Browne, is taifead de Browne féin, dá ghníomhaíochtaí agus dá spéiseanna atá ina chuid pictiúir, de na rudaí a *rinneadh* leis na daoine atá sna híomhánna, seachas rudaí a *rinneadar* féin. Tá rud éigin ná taitníonn leis an meon nua-aoiseach faoi eolaíocht a bheith á 'chleachtadh' ar ghéillsinigh gur rinneadh beag is fiú díobh, daoine nár thaitin leo go dtógfaí a ngrianghraif, dar le scríbhinní Browne. Is é Browne an t-aon duine a bhain aon tairbhe as an idirghníomhaíocht eatarthu ag an am.

Faoi mar is léir do chách, d'aimsigh John Millington Synge béithe na filíochta ar Chósta Thiar na hÉireann, agus in Oileáin Árann, sa teanga mar a spalpadh í sna háiteanna ar a thug sé cuairt. Bhunaigh sé caidreamh le cuid de mhuintir na n-oileán ar feadh tamall de bhlianta agus am á chaitheamh aige faru. B'fhéidir gur chuma leis na daoine a casadh leis go raibh sé ag tógaint grianghraif dóibh, cé nach féidir linn a bheith cinnte de seo. Ba rud ceannródaíoch agus nochtach an méid a léirigh Synge don stáitse, ach ní hamhlaidh é agus guth neamh-eadrána na ndaoine a casadh leis. Ní haon taifead de shaol mhuintir na n-oileán iad drámaí Synge, ach oiread le grianghraif Browne. Bhaineadar beirt tairbhe éigin as an méid a fuairadar san Iarthar, ar mhaithe leo féin. Tá luach eile, áfach, ag na nótaí garbha a bhreac Synge mar chuid dá thaighde, sular athmhúnláíodh iad mar ealaíon liteartha, luach ina bhfuil macalla d'fhíor-stair na bpobal a raibh oiread

The people of the islands off the West coast of Ireland must have been among the most photographed communities in Western Europe at the end of the 19th century and the early 20th century. The various collections of photographs that remain - Synge's most famously, but there are others - are sometimes referred to as records of the communities that they depict. This is not strictly true. In archival terms a true record is a record produced by the activity it records. In the case of Browne, his images are records of him, of his interests and his activities, of things which were done to the people in the pictures, but not by them. There is something repellent to modern sensibilities about science being 'performed' on patronised subjects whom we know, from Browne's own writing, strongly disliked having their pictures taken. Browne alone benefited from their interaction at that time.

John Millington Synge famously found his muse in the West of Ireland, and on the Aran Islands, in the language as it was spoken in the places he visited. He formed a relationship with some of the island people over a period of years as he spent time with them. It may be that the people he met did not mind him taking their pictures although we cannot know that for sure. What Synge produced for the stage was revelatory and pioneering, but it is not the unmediated voice of the people he met. Synge's plays are no more a record of the island people's lives than are Browne's photographs. They both made something out of what they found in the West, for their own good purposes. However the rough notes Synge took as part of his research, before they were remoulded into literary art, have a different value, one which resonates with the true history of the communities he so admired. In his notebooks, which exist in Trinity College Library, Synge sometimes recorded a line of speech or a story, for possible inclusion in one of his plays, while also giving the name of the person from whose mouth he first heard it. The early critics of *The Playboy of the Western World* objected to passages such as that wherein Pegeen Mike says accusingly to the Widow Quinn 'Doesn't the world know you reared a black lamb at your own breast'. This story is returned to the community it originated in, and an new audience for it

PROC. R. I. A., SER. III., VOL. V.

Plate IV.



1



2



3

TYPES AT GARUMNA AND LETTERMULLEN.

'The Ethnography of Garumna and Lettermullen, in the County Galway.'

*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (1889 - 1901), VOL 5 (1898 - 1900) [23] XI.

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measa aige orthu. Ina leabhair nótaí, atá ar fáil i Leabharlann Choláiste na Tríonóide, bhreac Synge ar uairibh abairt chainte nó scéal, le húsáid seans i gceann dá dhrámaí, maraon le ainm an té ónar chuala sé ar dtús é. Chuir criticí luaithe *The Playboy of the Western World* i gcoinne sleachta áirithe ar nós an chinn ina gcuireann Pegeen Mike i leith an Widow Quinn 'Doesn't the world know you reared a black lamb at your own breast'. Seoltar an scéal seo ar ais go dtí an bpobal as ar tháinig sé, agus nochtar é do lucht féachana nua, nuair a léirítear gur chuala Synge an scéal ar dtús i dTigh Philly Harris ag Stad an tSléibhe, in aice leis an Néidín, i 1905 (TCD MS 4401 f.7).

Bíonn sé mar aidhm ag tograí for-rochtana, pé acu foilseacháin ar-líne, vicithe, léachtanna nó taispeántais iad, na cartlanna a thabhairt ar ais go dtí na pobail. Sa chás seo d'fhéadfadh an próiseas seo cúiteamh a thabhairt as an tslí dea-rúnach ach antuisceanach inar chleacht Browne a chuid eolaíochta. B'fhéidir, agus an méid sin ama caite, gur féidir an scéal a iompú ar a cheann agus gur féidir leis na hoileánaigh rud éigin a fháil ar ais ó Charles R. Browne. Trí ghrianghraif Browne, atá ós cionn céad bliain ann, a thabhairt faoi sholas an lae arís, is féidir leis an dtaispeántas seo buntáiste a bhaint as an t-aon rud gur féidir le grianghraif a dhéanamh agus a thaitneodh leis na daoine gur cuireadh iachall orthu dul ós comhair an cheamara. Cuireann siad leis an gcuimhne, go háirithe, an chuimhne ar ainmneacha daoine. Tá tábhacht nach beag ag baint le hainmneacha i bpobail dhlútha - sloinnte, leasainmneacha, ainmneacha lena mbaineann urrús nó cáil, ainmneacha de ghnéithe den dtírdhreach áitiúil. Léirítear é seo sa mhodh traidisiúnta ina n-úsaidtear meascán de ainm thuismitheora nó sean-thuismitheora in aon ainm amháin; léirítear é i slí eile i sár-shaothar an Chadhnaigh, *Cré na Cille*. Má cuirtear fiú giota amháin eolais leis an méid atá ar fhios faoi na daoine agus na háiteanna atá sna pictiúir seo, trí phobal níos leithne a chur ar an eolas faoi na hÍomhánna seo, beifear tar éis cur go foirfe leis an dtaifead stairiúil.

is opened up, by the knowledge that Synge first heard the story in Philly Harris' house in Kenmare in 1905 (MS 4401 f.7).

Returning the archives to the communities is one of the aims of outreach projects whether they take the form of online publications, wikis, lectures or exhibitions. In this instance the process could go some way to addressing the debt left by Browne's well-intentioned but ultimately high-handed practice of science. Perhaps after all this time roles can be reversed and Charles R. Browne can be made to give something back to the islanders. By exposing his century-old images to the gaze of the wider world this exhibition exploits the one thing photographs can do which might have impressed the people whose likeness were captured against their will. They prolong the memory, especially the memory of people's names. Names are very significant in tight-knit communities - family names, nicknames, names that reflect prowess or reputation, names of features of the local landscape. It is reflected to a degree in the traditional manner of combining the name of more than one parent or grandparent in a single name; it is reflected in another way by Máirtín Ó Cadhain's great *Cré na Cille*. If, as a result of alerting a wider audience to the existence of these images, one single piece of information could be added to what is known of the people and the places in these pictures, the historical record will have been made more complete.



TCD MS 10961/4/1v, Boy, St. Columcille's Well: Aran Islands, 1892.

# An Aghaidh Chlaonaíoch: An Ghrianghrafadóireacht i Suirbhé Antrapaiméadrach Alfred Cort Haddon agus Charles R. Browne ar an gCine Éireannach

## The Deviant Face: Photography in Alfred Cort Haddon and Charles R. Browne's Anthropometric Survey of the Irish Race

Justin Carville

Agus é ag scríobh in 1862 ina eitneolaíocht ar shaintréithe chiníocha na hÉireann agus na Breataine Móire, dúirt an lia, John Beddoe, go raibh Éire, ag an am láithreach sin, ina croílár geografach in iomadúlacht na dtréithe gné-eolaíocha daonna ar a dtugtar *prognathism* san antraipeolaíocht fhisiceach.<sup>1</sup> I ndioscúrsa na hantraipeolaíochta fhisicigh ba é '*prognathism*' seo an rangú a rinneadh ar ghabhadh dreacha an chorráin géill, agus bhí Beddoe le hath-chatagóiriú, mar 'Afracóideach', a dhéanamh ar an ndreach suaithinseach seo i gcomhthéacs na sainaitheanta a rinne sé ar a mhinicíocht i measc an chine Cheiltigh, téarma lenar rinneadh iarracht comhtháthú a dhéanamh ar shaintréithe an chine Éireannaigh leo siúd a bhí ar marthain an tráth chéanna sin in iargúlacht na hAfraice.<sup>2</sup> Rud a tháinig salach ar rangú seo Beddoe, maidir le teacht chun cinn na tréithe Ceilteach 'Afracóideach' seo i measc an chine Éireannaigh, is ea go raibh an aghaidh Éireannach geal, aimhrialacht aisteach a rinne ciapadh mór ar an eaglaiseach Anglacánach agus an sóisialach Críostaí, Charles Kingsley, agus é ar chamchuairt trí chontaetha iarthair an oileáin in 1860. Chásaigh Kingsley, agus é trína chéile ag an rud ar a thug sé '*simpeansaithe geala*', '*if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours*'.<sup>3</sup>

Writing in his ethnology of the racial characteristics of the British Isles in 1862, the physician John Beddoe remarked that at that present moment Ireland was the geographic centre for the prevalence of the human physiognomic features identified in physical anthropology as *prognathism*.<sup>1</sup> In the discourse of physical anthropology '*prognathism*' was the classification given to the facial protrusion of the lower jaw, and Beddoe was to re-categorise this distinct physiognomy in the context of his identification of its incidence amongst the Celtic race as 'Africanoid'; a term that sought to conflate the lineaments of the Irish race with that of their remote contemporaries in Africa.<sup>2</sup> Beddoe's identification of the genesis of this Africanoid Celt amongst the Irish race was hampered by the fact that the Irish face was white, a peculiar anomaly that famously 'haunted' the Anglican clergyman and Christian socialist Charles Kingsley as he travelled through the western counties of the island in 1860. Kingsley, troubled by what he identified as 'white chimpanzees', lamented that '*if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours*'.<sup>1</sup>



TCD MS 10961/1, T.C.D. 1891.

Ba é a bhí mar bhunús d'inní Kingsley ná an t-idirdhealú débhríoch idir cuma fheiceálach chiníoch an Cheiltigh agus an Angla-Sacsanaigh araon, éiginnteacht a rinne Beddoe iarracht ar a leigheas lena 'Innéacs Gormachais' a rinne sainscagadh ar staitisticí uimhriúla de dhathanna gruaige agus súl chun teacht ar scála meilín craicinn i measc chiníocha na hÉireann agus na Breataine Móire.<sup>4</sup> Ba réimeanna físeacha ba ea na sainmharcanna saghsanna ciníoch seo ar fad - dath gruaige agus súl - a thaispeáin ar an dtaobh amuigh den chorp iarsmaí d'fholaíocht chiníoch a bhí i bhfolach go domhain i bhfréamhacha bitheolaíochta an chine. Agus iad ag teacht amach tríd an gcráiceann, d'fhéadfaí na réimeanna sofheicthe seo a chur le sainmharcanna físeacha chiníoch eile ar nós dreacha chun folaíocht saghas ciníoch Éireannach ar leith a léiriú.

Ní raibh de rath ar iarrachtaí Beddoe chun a léiriú go raibh a leithéid de rud ann agus 'An Ceilteach Afracóideach' ach cúpla ráiteas uireasach gan an cineál chomhthacaíochta staitistiúil céanna a d'úsáid sé agus é ag cur a innéacs de shaghsanna ciníocha le chéile go cúramach.<sup>5</sup> Mar sin féin, ní hé an rud is tábhachtaí

At the root of Kingsley's anxiety was the ambiguous distinction between the visible racial appearance of the Celt and that of the Anglo-Saxon, an uncertainty that Beddoe sought to remedy through his Index of Nigrescence which collated numerical statistics of hair and eye colour to establish a scale of skin melanin amongst the races of the British Isles.<sup>4</sup> These markers of racial type - hair and eye colour - where all visual registers that revealed on the exterior of the body traces of a racial lineage buried deep in the biological origins of the race. Seeping through the surface of the body, these visible registers could be combined with supplementary visual markers of race such as physiognomy to establish the lineage of a distinctive Irish racial type.

The success of Beddoe's efforts in establishing the existence of an 'Africanoid Celt' was at best limited to a few unqualified statements that lacked the statistical corroboration that he so meticulously compiled in his index of racial types.<sup>5</sup> However, what is significant about his efforts is not so much the lack of evidence it supplied to support his claims of an African lineage to

faoina chuid iarrachtaí an easpa eolais a chuir sé ar fáil chun tacú lena áitiú go raibh foláíocht Afracach ag baint leis an gcine Éireannach, ach na modhanna a d'úsáid Beddoe chun rindreáil uimhriúil a dhéanamh ar thréithe chiníocha an choirp a bhaineann leis an staidéir a rinne an antraipeolaíocht Victeoiriach ar Éireannaigh.<sup>6</sup> Ba dhuine lárnach i suirbhéanna eitneagrafaíochta Alfred Cort Haddon agus Charles R. Browne ar an gcósta thiar é Beddoe. Agus misneach faighte acu óna mholadh dul ag lorg na nÁrannaach ag a raibh 'their own strongly marked type, in some respects an exaggeration of the ordinary Gaelic one', d'úsáideadar an *innéacs gormachais* mar ghné lárnach dá modhanna antraipeolaíochta.<sup>7</sup> Agus iad ag leagadh amach na modhanna a úsáidtear chun teacht ar an *innéacs gormachais* agus ar thoisí an choirp agus an chloiginn chun an Innéacs Ceifileach a ríomh, luann na heitneolaithe uirlisí ón 'Travellers Anthropometer' go dtí an 'Flowers Craniometer' mar uirlisí riachtanacha chun gan aon ní a dhéanamh de na hÁrannaigh ach figiúirí uimhriúla grafacha.<sup>8</sup> Maraon leis na huirlisí grádaithe coirp seo, thug Haddon agus Browne ceamara leo, uirlis a rinne tomhais ar chorp an duine ar phlána réidh pictiúrtha na híomhá fótagrafaí. Agus iad ag scríobh faoina úsáid ina mhodhanna 'Antraipeagrafacha' deir siad:

*A considerable number of photographs were obtained of the people. In some cases groups were taken, but full-face and side view portraits were secured of thirteen of the subjects we measured. We found that the promise of a copy of their photograph was usually a sufficient reward for undergoing the trouble of being measured and photographed.*<sup>9</sup>

Ar aon dul le háirimh uimhriúla Beddoe ar 'Gormachas', cheap Haddon agus Browne gur nocht an ghrianghrafadóireacht réimeanna físeacha saghsanna ciníoch a bhí le feiceáil i ngné-eolaíocht agus i ndathanna na n-aghaidheanna a bhí á scrúdú ag lionsa neamhchlaonta an cheamara. Ba é a bhí riachtanach chun na sainmharcanna físeacha ciníoch seo a nochtadh i bhfoirm phictiúrtha an ghrianghraif ná dian-mhodh a chur i bhfeidhm, próiseas oibiachtúil agus córasach chun an aghaidh Éireannach a léiriú.

the Irish race, rather it is the methods Beddoe utilized to generate the numerical rendering of the racial characteristics of the body that are of relevance to Victorian anthropology's study of the Irish.<sup>6</sup> Beddoe was a pivotal figure in Alfred Cort Haddon and Charles R. Browne's ethnographic surveys of along the western seaboard. Encouraged by his suggestion to seek out the Aran Islanders who 'have their own strongly marked type, in some respects an exaggeration of the ordinary Gaelic one', they employed the index of nigrescence as a core feature of their methods of anthropography.<sup>7</sup> Outlining the methods employed to calculate the index of nigrescence and the cranial and bodily measurements to ascertain the Cephalic Index, scientific instruments from the 'Travellers Anthropometer' to 'Flowers Craniometer' are identified by the ethnologists as essential apparatus to reduce the Aran Islanders to a set of graphic numerical figures.<sup>8</sup> Along with these tools of bodily calibration Haddon and Browne brought a camera, itself an apparatus that measured the corporality of the individual on the flat, pictorial plane of the photographic image. Writing of its application in their 'Anthropographic' methods they state:

*A considerable number of photographs were obtained of the people. In some cases groups were taken, but full-face and side view portraits were secured of thirteen of the subjects we measured. We found that the promise of a copy of their photograph was usually a sufficient reward for undergoing the trouble of being measured and photographed.*<sup>9</sup>

No less than Beddoe's numerical calculations of Nigrescence, photography was perceived by Haddon and Browne as illuminating the visual registers of racial type manifest in the physiognomy and colour of the faces and bodies scrutinized by the camera's dispassionate lens. What was required to reveal these visible markers of race through the pictorial form of the photograph was the application of a rigorous method, an objective and systematic procedure for visualizing the Irish face.

## 2. The People.



*Anthropometry in Aran.*



*Colman Faherty (Don) and  
Michael O'Donnell (John)  
Profile*



*Boy at St. Columcille's well*



*Colman Faherty (Don) and  
Michael O'Donnell (John)  
Full face*



*A typical Aran man*



*Group of men at entrance to Town Council house  
Inishmaan.*



*A typical Aran man*

Ba ghné den antraipeolaíocht an ‘phortráid saghais’ cheana féin faoin am ar thug Haddon agus Browne faoi Oileáin Árann agus bhí béim níos mó á chur air agus modhanna chórasacha á gcur i bhfeidhm san Antraipeolaíocht, modhanna a d’fhéadadh eolas físeach inmhacashamlaithe agus cainníochtúil a ghiniúint.<sup>10</sup> Thug an t-eiginicí Francis Galton, col ceathair Charles Darwin, comhairle agus treoracha ar úsáid na grianghrafadóireachta sa tsuirbhé eitneolaíochta ar Éirinn agus ar an mBreatain Mhór inar raibh Saotharlann Antraipeaiméadrach Bhaile Átha Cliath, a bhunaigh Haddon agus ollamh na hAnamataíochta i gColáiste na Tríonóide D.J. Cunningham in 1891, páirteach.<sup>11</sup> Bhí Galton tar éis modhanna fótagrafaíochta a fhorbairt ina staidéar ar shaghsanna coiriúla claonaíochta, modhanna a thug sé mar threoracha don gCoiste Eitneolaíochta, ach bhí Haddon ag teacht ar a shmaointe coimpléascacha féin ar an tslí ina gcuirfeadh grianghrafadóireacht le léiriú eolais antraipeolaíoch.<sup>12</sup> Tar éis do iompú ón Zó-eolaíocht go dtí Antraipeolaíocht in éis a thuais ar Chaolas Torres in 1888, áit ar úsáid sé grianghrafadóireacht mar uirlis antraipeolaíoch den chéad uair, tháinig Haddon ar a leagan féin ar úsáid na grianghrafadóireachta i samhlú féiniúlachtaí agus cultúir.<sup>13</sup> Dá bharr seo bhí an tsuirbhé d’Oileáin Árann agus na tsuirbhéanna a rinne Browne ina dhiaidh sin ar oileáin agus pobail iargúlta an chósta thiar in ann baint as na treoir a bhí leagtha síos chun eolas físeach antraipeolaíoch a ghiniúint, in ionad cloí go docht le cur i bhfeidhm a chuid modhanna.

Mar a chéile le heolas uimhriúil Beddoe, ní raibh na grianghraif iontu féin in ann puinn fianaise a chur ar fáil mar chruthúnas ar shaghas ciníoch Éireannach ar leith, agus ní raibh tábhacht eolaíoch ag baint leo mar phortráidí aonaracha ach bhí nuair a cuireadh le chéile iad in eagar le grianghraif den t-sórt céanna agus réimeanna ciníocha eile. Ar nós na gcairteacha a chuir Cunningham agus Haddon le chéile chun eolas antraipeaiméadrach a chnuasach, agus na táblaí de thoisí corpracha agus Gormachais a chur Browne le chéile chun cur lena thuairiscí foilsithe, bhí na grianghraif faoi smacht loighic chóirithe spásúil.<sup>14</sup> Sna tuairiscí éagsúla ar na tsuirbhéanna eitneolaíochta a

The ‘type portrait’ was already a feature of anthropology by the time Haddon and Browne undertook their journey to the Aran Islands and had increasingly become subjected to a wider concern with the application of systematic methods in Anthropology that could generate replicable, quantitative visual information.<sup>10</sup> The eugenicist Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, advised and provided instructions for the use of photography in the ethnological survey of the British Isles which included the Dublin Anthropometric Laboratory established by Haddon and the professor of Anatomy at Trinity College D.J. Cunningham in 1891.<sup>11</sup> Galton had developed methods of photographic portraiture in his study of deviant criminal types which he issued as instructions to the Ethnological Committee, but Haddon was already formulating his own complex ideas of photography’s advancement of visualizing anthropological knowledge.<sup>12</sup> Having converted from Zoology to Anthropology in the aftermath of his visit to the Torres Straits in 1888 during which he used photography as an anthropological tool for the first time, Haddon developed a nuanced understanding of photography’s applicability to picturing identities and cultures.<sup>13</sup> The survey of the Aran Islands and Browne’s subsequent studies of the islands and remote communities along the west coast, thus tended to abstract from the prescribed guidelines of generating visual anthropological information rather than strictly adhering to the rigorous application of its methods.

As with Beddoe’s numerical data, the photographs in themselves provided little in the way of evidence of the persistence of a distinctive Irish racial type, their scientific import deriving not from the individual portrait on its own but its combination and arrangement with similar photographs and additional visual registers of race. Like the charts devised by Cunningham and Haddon for the accumulation of the anthropometric data, and the tables of corporeal measurement and Nigrescence compiled by Browne to populate his published reports, photographs were subjected to a logic of spatial arrangement.<sup>14</sup> In the various accounts of the ethnological surveys undertaken between 1891 and the turn of the century,



TCD MS 10961/4/1v, Anthropometry in Aran: Aran Islands, 1892.

rinneadh idir 1891 agus deireadh an chéid, cuireadh grianghraif le táblaí uimhriúla agus le cairteacha de thoisí gné-eolaíochta, agus i gcartlann albaim phearsanta eitneolaíochta Browne, bhíodar comhordaithe i ngreillí siméadracha agus in oird patrúnaithe d'aghaidheanna agus de choirp.

Bhí an tsiméadracht fhíseach a tugadh do ghothaí liodánacha leadránacha d'aghaidheanna mionroinnte an-oiriúnach d'anailís chomparáideach agus rangach trí fhoirm phictiúrtha ghléineach an ghrianghraif. Rinne athúsáid frámú pictiúrtha agus láithriú tanáí greille an ghrianghraif códú don té atá ag breathnú air ar a fheidhm mar léiriú fhíseach an eolais antraipeolaíochta. Rinne diansaothrú na difríochta chiníoch ina leithéid d'eagrú ar ghrianghraif, 'aeistéitic ionannais' a chur i láthair le saghsanna ciníocha eile mar thróip de staidiúir, uillinne agus socrú an choirp i spás pictiúrtha den íomhá, rud a d'éirigh chomh feiceálach de dhreach gné-eolaíochta d'eolas antraipeolaíochta físite agus a bhí comhrianta na haghaidhe.<sup>15</sup> Cé nach raibh na sonraí teicniúla céanna

photographs where combined with numerical tables and charts of physiognomic measurements, and in Browne's personal ethnological archive of albums, collated in symmetrical grids and patterned arrangements of faces and bodies.

The visual symmetry given to the repetitive, monotonous poses of atomised faces was ideal for comparative and classificatory analysis through the transparent pictorial form of the photograph. The repetition of pictorial framing and sparse, grid-like presentation of the photograph codified for the viewer their function as the visual articulation of anthropological knowledge. The intensification of racial difference in such arrangements of photographs also introduced an 'aesthetic of sameness' with other racial types as the tropes of pose, angle and arrangement of the body in the pictorial space of the image became as visible a physiognomic feature of visualized anthropological information as the contours of the face.<sup>15</sup> Although lacking the technical detail and specificity of the other anthropometric methods



MS 10961/4/2r, Inishmaan: Aran Islands, 1892.

ag baint leis agus a bhí le na modhanna antaipeaiméadracha eile a d'úsáid Haddon agus Browne, bhí an cóiriú spásach seo den ghrianghrafadóireacht cruinn a dhóthain i gcomhthéacs an dioscúrsa antraipeolaigh le cáiliú mar fhianaise thurgnamhach fhulangach de chuma fhíseach sheachtrach charachtair chiníoch.

In ainneoin na muiníne a léirigh Haddon agus Browne san íomhá fhótagrafach mar foirm neamhchlaonta d'eolas físeach, bhí an cumas a ceapadh a bheith ann chun eolas antraipeolaíochta de chiníocha a léiriú go físiúil, trí dhreach na haghaidhe agus an choirp, dlúth cheangailte, i bhfírinne an scéil, le líonra dioscúrsaí a bhí ann cheana féin agus a bhain an bonn ó údarás an ghrianghraif. Bhí fiú an choincheap ann féin de saghas ciníoch á cheistiú cheana féin agus chuir ionannas liodánach na portraíde saghais, cóirithe i gcolúin agus i ngreillí, níos mó cruthúnais ar fáil go raibh ábhar d'ealaín na filíochta i modh antraipeolaíochta chun eolas a léiriú ná mar ar chruthaigh sé go raibh cineál ciníoch Éireannach ann.<sup>16</sup> Do bhí sé soiléir go raibh

employed by Haddon and Browne, this spatial arrangement of photography would have been sufficiently precise within the context of anthropological discourse to qualify as passive empirical evidence of the outward visual appearance of racial character.

Despite the faith demonstrated by Haddon and Browne in the photographic image as a dispassionate form of visual data, its perceived ability to visually depict anthropological knowledge of race through the physiognomy of the face and body, was, in fact, tied to a network of existing discourses that undermined the authority of the photograph. The very concept of the racial type was itself already open to question and the repetitive monotony of the type portrait, arranged in columns and grids, provided greater evidence of the existence of a poetics of an anthropological method of visualizing knowledge than it did the existence of an Irish racial type.<sup>16</sup> The mechanical objectivity of the camera that Galton envisaged as policing the scientist in their generation of visual knowledge had clearly



TCD MS 10961/4/2r, Village in Inishmaan. The woman at the cabin door is carding wool: Aran Islands, 1892.

suibachtúlacht aeistéitiúil an ghrianghrafadóir tar éis an lámh in uachtar a fháil ar oibachtúlacht mheicniúil an cheamara, a cheap Galton a chuirfeadh an t-eolaí faoi smacht sa ré eolais fhísigh inar mhair siad.<sup>17</sup>

Sna suirbhéanna eitneagrafacha a rinne Browne níos déanaí bhí níos mó fadhbanna aige portráidí saghais a chruthú. San *Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishshark* luaigh sé ‘the people have a strong dislike to having their portraits taken’ cé gur éirigh lena dheartháir, J.M. Browne, portráidí saghais a fháil maraon le ‘a considerable number of typical groups’ agus radhairc de ‘modes of life and environment’.<sup>18</sup> San *Ethnography of the Mullet*, chur Browne an ‘ceamara láimhe’ lena chnuasach fearas, agus ba mhór an chabhair é; ‘[this] proved to be a great advantage, enabling portraits of unwilling subjects to be taken, and adding to the value of the photographs of occupations by admitting of their being taken when the performers were in motion. It could also be used on occasions when high winds would not allow the setting up of a tripod stand’.<sup>19</sup> Faoi am ar thug Browne faoi na suirbhéanna deireannacha do bhí sé éirithe as portráidí antaipeaiméadracha ar fad, nach mór, agus dhírigh ina ionad ar ghrianghraif

succumbed to the aesthetic subjectivity of the photographer.<sup>17</sup>

In his later ethnographic surveys Browne increasingly ran into difficulties in producing type portraits. In the *Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishshark* he noted that ‘the people have a strong dislike to having their portraits taken’ although his brother, J.M. Browne, succeeded in obtaining type portraits as well as ‘a considerable number of typical groups’ and views of ‘modes of life and environment’.<sup>18</sup> In the *Ethnography of the Mullet*, Browne introduced the ‘hand camera’ to the repertoire of apparatus, which ‘proved to be a great advantage, enabling portraits of unwilling subjects to be taken, and adding to the value of the photographs of occupations by admitting of their being taken when the performers were in motion. It could also be used on occasions when high winds would not allow the setting up of a tripod stand’.<sup>19</sup> By the time Browne undertook his final surveys he had almost given up on anthropometric portraits altogether, concentrating instead on photographs of material culture, housing and social customs; influenced no doubt by Haddon’s broadening of anthropological visualization to include

de chultúr ábhartha, tithíocht agus nósanna cultúrtha; é faoi thionchar Haddon, is dócha, a bhí ag leathnú scóip an léirsamhlaithe antraipeolaíochta go dtí caidreamh sóisialta agus fonn suibiachtúil an eitneagrafaí chun cleachtais cultúrtha a shábháil ó thruailliú na nua-aimsearthachta.<sup>20</sup> Ní raibh líofacht na grianghrafadóireachta de léirithe físeacha eolais na hantraipeolaíochta in ann, mar sin, an Ceilteach Afraicóideach a bhí á lorg ag Beddoe, agus dreach ar leith na haghaidhe Éireannaigh a bhí á lorg ag Browne agus Haddon, a aithint. I gcartlann Browne de phorthráidí fótagrafacha bhí an aghaidh Éireannach claonaíoch, ní sa tuiscint a bhí ag Galton go raibh an aghaidh sin iomrallach le meon normatach aigne agus le meabhair an duine dhaonna, ach sa tslí nár chloígh sé leis an bhfonn a bhí ar an Antraipeolaíocht go ndéanfadh an ghrianghrafadóireacht a cruthú go físeach ós comhair an tsaoil go raibh a leithéid de chlaonaíocht ann.

social interaction and subjective desire of the ethnographer to salvage cultural practices from their corruption by modernity.<sup>20</sup> The identification of the Africanoid Celt pursued by Beddoe, and the distinctive physiognomy of Irish face sought by Haddon and Browne thus remained elusive to photography's articulation of anthropology's visual expressions of knowledge. In Browne's archive of photographic portraits the Irish face was deviant, not in Galton's sense of being aberrant to the normative disposition of human mentality and temperament, but in its refusal to conform to Anthropology's desire for photography to visually register its deviancy for all to see.

- 1 John Beddoe, *The Races of Britain: A Contribution to the Anthropology of Western Europe*, [1862] (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1885), pp. 10-11
- 2 Beddoe remarked; "Though I believe this Africanoid type to have been of very high antiquity, it must be acknowledged that we have no evidence carrying its presence, in any of the British Isles.... But the best authenticated ancient skulls may have belonged to it ... These show the inclination to prognathism to be of a remote date in Ireland, as well as the peculiar form of low, straight brow that still prevails there." (11-12).
- 3 Charles Kingsley quoted in L. Perry Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1968), p. 84.
- 4 Beddoe assigned numerical points to various hair colours (Dark, Neutral, Red-haired and Fair), calculating a gross index through the mathematical formula (D+2N-R-F=Index), to provide an Index of Nigrescence of racial types. There is not the space here to chart the 'racism' of Beddoe's theories on the Irish but see the criticisms in Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*, and his *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, revised edition (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).
- 5 See Peter J. Bowler 'Race Theory and the Irish' in Séamas Ó Siocháin (ed.) *Social Thought on Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: UCD Press, 2009), pp. 135-166.
- 6 It should be noted that very little attention has been given to Victorian anthropology in Ireland. The Most comprehensive history of Irish Anthropology cites the Clare Harvard Surveys as the beginning of modern anthropology of the island. See Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, *The Anthropology of Ireland*, (Oxford: Berg, 2006), p. 17.
- 7 Beddoe, *The Races of Britain*, p. 267.
- 8 Alfred Cort Haddon and Charles R. Browne, 'Ethnography of the Aran Islands, Co. Galway' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 3rd series (1891-93)*, p. 776-777.
- 9 Haddon and Browne, 'Ethnography of the Aran Islands', p. 778.
- 10 Elizabeth Edwards 'Photographic "Types": The Pursuit of Method' *Visual Anthropology*, Vol. 3 (1990), pp. 243-245.
- 11 James Urry, *Before Social Anthropology: Essays on the History of British Anthropology* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood, 1993), pp. 83-101.
- 12 Galton noted that a selection of photographs of each person would suffice to convey the characteristics of the race, but his more rigorous methods necessitated the production of twelve portraits of side and front profile be taken with each subject posed at equal height on a chair, and if possible the use of a measured grid for each. This was to assist in the production of composite portraits which Galton had produced in his study of criminals in the late 1870's. Through this process he sought to distinguish the physiognomic features of the normal 'civilized man' in opposition to the 'deviant, criminal type'. See in particular 'Address to the Department of Anthropology' *Nature*, (August 23, 1877), pp. 344-347 and 'Composite Portraits' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 8 (1878), pp. 132-148.
- 13 Elizabeth Edwards, 'Performing Science: Still Photography and the Torres Strait Expedition' in Anita Herle and Sandra Rouse (eds.) *Cambridge and the Torres Strait*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 122.
- 14 D.J. Cunningham and A.C. Haddon, 'The Anthropometric Laboratory of Ireland' *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 21 (1892), pp. 38-39.
- 15 Deborah Poole, *Vision Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 119.
- 16 George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 55.
- 17 Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, 'The Image of Objectivity' *Representations*, No. 40 (Autumn, 1992), pp. 103-104.
- 18 Charles R. Browne, 'The Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishshark, Co. Galway' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 3rd Series*, (1893), p. 322.
- 19 Charles R. Browne, 'The Ethnography of the Mullet, Inishkea Islands, and Portacloy, County Mayo' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 3rd Series (1893-1896)*, p. 591-592.
- 20 Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001): 164.

## Breac-Chuntais ar na Coimeádaithe/Ranníocóirí Curators'/Contributors' Profiles

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### Ciarán Walsh

Is saor-choimeádaí, oideachasóir agus scannánóir é Ciarán Walsh atá lonnaithe i mBuailín Séar, Co. Chiarraí. Is céimí de chuid an Choláiste Náisiúnta Ealaíne agus Deartha (1984) é, áit ar dhírigh sé ar oideachas ealaíon. Tá obair déanta aige i gcomhthéacsanna oideachais éagsúla, Ionad Ealaíne Triskel agus An Chomhairle Ealaíon (Oifigeach Oideachais, 1992-5) ina measc. Luigh sé le Siamsa Tíre mar Stiúrthóir Físealaíne i 1995. I 2009 rinne sé obair choimeádacht ar thaispeántas de ghrianghrafadóireacht J. M. Synge a taispeánadh i bPáras agus a cuireadh le taispeántas 'The Moderns' in Áras Nua-Ealaíne na hÉireann (2010). I 2010 bhunaigh sé [www.curator.ie](http://www.curator.ie) mar áis chun tograí neamhspleácha obair choimeádacht agus scannáin a chur chun cinn. I 2011 thaispeáin sé ealaíon Síneach an lae inniu i gCorcaigh i bpáirt le Dánlann Don, Shanghai. Chomh maith leis sin, rinne sé bainistiú ar athchóiriú an 'Maid of Erin' le Pat McAuliffe ó Lios Tuathail (1912). I 2012 rinne sé coimeádachtar Chun na Farraige Síos le hÁine Moynihan agus Áine Ní Cíobhain sa Lab, An Daingean. I measc a chuid ábhar foilsithe tá grianghrafadóireacht R. J. Welch i *Framing the West*, Irish Academic Press, 2007, Eag. An Dr. Ciara Breathnach. Tá sé i mbun taighde faoi láthair ar shraith faisnéise ar stair na grianghrafadóireachta in Éirinn.

Ciarán Walsh is a freelance curator, educator and film maker based in Booleenshare, Co. Kerry. He is a graduate of NCAD (1984) where he specialised in arts education. He has worked in a number of educational contexts including Triskel Arts Centre and the Arts Council (Education Officer, 1992-5). He joined The National Folk Theatre as Visual Arts Director in 1995. In 2009 he curated an exhibition of photography by J. M. Synge that was shown in Paris and incorporated into 'The Moderns' exhibition in IMMA (2010). In 2010 he established [www.curator.ie](http://www.curator.ie) as a vehicle for independent curatorial and film projects. In 2011 he showed contemporary Chinese art in Cork in association with the Don Gallery, Shanghai. He also managed the restoration of 'The Maid of Erin' by Pat McAuliffe of Listowel (1912). In 2012 he curated Chun na Farraige Síos by Áine Moynihan and Áine Ní Cíobhan in An Lab, An Daingean. Published work includes the photography of R. J. Welch in *Framing the West*, Irish Academic Press, 2007, Ed. Dr. Ciara Breathnach.

### Jane Maxwell

Is cartlannaí í Jane Maxwell agus is í an Príomh-Choimeádaí sa Leabharlann um Thaighde ar Lámhscríbhinní & Cartlanna i gColáiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath. Tá ábhar léi foilsithe ar fhoinsí i dtaobh Éirí Amach 1798 agus ar pháipéir liteartha Samuel Beckett. Is mac léinn PhD í faoi láthair agus í i mbun taighde ar úsáid litreacha mar fhoinse maidir le stair na mban in Éirinn.

Jane Maxwell is an archivist and is Principal Curator in the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library in Trinity College Library Dublin. She has published on sources for the 1798 Rebellion and on the literary papers of Samuel Beckett. She is currently a PhD student researching the use of the letter as a source for the history of women in Ireland.

## Dáithí de Mórdha

Is as Baile an Ghleanna i nDún Chaoin, Corca Dhuibhne é Dáithí de Mórdha. Bhain sé B.A. amach le Stair & Gaelainn ó Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh, i 2005 agus M.Phil ó Roinn an Bhéaloidis i gColáiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh i 2012. Tá sé ag obair in Ionad an Bhlascaoid Mhóir, Dún Chaoin, ó 2006, agus suim ar leith aige in oidhreacht litríochta agus teanga an oileáin úd agus Corca Dhuibhne i gcoitinne. Bíonn sé gníomhach i ndearadh taispeántas éagsúla san Ionad, agus oibríonn sé i gcartlann an Ionaid chomh maith. Rinne sé taighde agus tráchtairacht do roinnt scannán faisnéise maidir le hoidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne, agus ghlac sé páirt i dtograí seachtracha eile ar nós Tionscadal Gréasáin Cheirníní Doegen le Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann, agus i scéim Béaloideas na mBan le Roinn an Bhéaloidis, UCC.

Dáithí de Mórdha is from Baile an Ghleanna, Dún Chaoin. He achieved a B.A in History and Gaelainn from NUI Galway in 2005, and an M.Phil from The Dept. Of Folklore and Ethnology, UCC, in 2012. He has worked in The Blasket Centre since 2006, and has studied the literary heritage, language, folklore and culture of that island and of West Kerry in general. He is involved in designing and curating various exhibitions in the Centre, and also works in the Centre's archive. He has researched and narrated several documentary films on the heritage of West Kerry, and also took part in other projects such as the Doegen Records Web Project for the Royal Irish Academy, and in the 'Béaloideas na mBan' folklore collection scheme for UCC.

## Justin Carville

Múineann Justin Carville Staidéir Stairiúla & Teoiriciúla na Grianghrafadóireachta agus Staidéir sa Chultúr Fhísiúil in Institiúid Ealaíne, Deartha & Teicneolaíochta Dhún Laoghaire. Is iar-Scoláire Sinsearach Taighde Rialtas na hÉireann sna Daonnachtaí agus Eolaíochtaí Sóisialta 2003-2004 é, agus fuair sé Comhaltacht Taighde de chuid an IRCHSS i 2008 i dtaobh taighde ar na naisc idir grianghrafadóireacht, eitneagrafaíocht agus féiniúlacht Éireannach. D'fhoilsigh Reaktion agus an University of Chicago Press an chéad leabhar óna pheann, *Photography and Ireland*, i 2011.

Justin Carville teaches Historical and Theoretical Studies in Photography and Visual Culture Studies at the Institute of Art, Design and Technology, Dun Laoghaire. He is a former Government of Ireland Senior Research Scholar in the Humanities and Social Sciences, 2003-2004, and received an IRCHSS Research Fellowship in 2008 for research on the connections between photography, ethnography and Irish identity. His first book *Photography and Ireland* was published by Reaktion and University of Chicago Press in 2011.

## Ciarán Rooney

Is céimí de chuid Coláiste na Tríonóide é Ciarán Rooney. Is comhairleoir bainistíochta datha & máistir-chlódóir fótagrafach agus mín-ealaíne é. Ba é Ciarán a bhunaigh Filmbank, saotharlann fhótagrafach phroifisiúnta lán-seirbhíse a bhí lonnaithe ar Shráid Bhagóid, Baile Átha Cliath ar dtús.

Ciarán Rooney is a graduate of Trinity College Dublin. He is a fine art and photographic master printer and colour management consultant. Ciarán was the founder of Filmbank, a full services professional photographic lab originally located in Baggot Street, Dublin.

Album

2012-03-14

Date

18 Apr 2012 13:54



# Na hAlbaim Grianghraf le Charles R. Browne

## The Photograph Albums of Charles R. Browne



TCD MS 10961/3/10r, Harbour - Clare Island: Clare Island and Inishturk, 1896.

(1895) PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY SERIES 3 VOL III 1893-6.

**'THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE MULLET, INISHKEA ISLANDS, AND PORTACLOY, COUNTY MAYO.'**

*Owing to the rain and rough weather as much could not be done in this department as had been hoped, but in spite of the difficulties of cloudy skies and high winds a number of photographs were taken, including, 17 portraits, 14 of them individuals measured, 12 groups, taken in all parts of the district, 30 illustrations of the occupations, modes of transport, and habitations of the people, also several of the antiquities of the district, and a set of views showing surface of land and nature of coastline, etc.*

*Some of these photographs were taken by myself, others by my brother J. M. Browne. The addition of the hand camera to our appliances has proved to be a great advantage, enabling portraits of unwilling subject to be taken, and adding to the value of the photographs of occupations by admitting of their being taken when the performers were in motion. It could also be used when the high winds would not allow the setting up of a tripod stand.*



TCD MS 10961/4/6r, Group of men of Inishbofin & Inishshark (King of Shark third from left, front): Inishbofin and Inishshark, 1893.

## Albums & Ethnographies

### **Album: MS10961-4 (1892)**

1892 The Ethnography of The Aran Islands, County Galway.

### **Album: MS1096-4 (1893)**

1893 The Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishshark, County Galway.

### **Album: MS1096-4 (North Erris, 1894)**

1895 The Ethnography of The Mullet, Inishkea Islands, and Portacloy, County Mayo.

### **Album: MS1096-3 (1895, Erris / Ballycroy)**

1897 The Ethnography of Ballycroy, County Mayo.

### **Album: MS1096-3 (1896)**

1897 The Ethnography of Clare Island and Inishturk, County Mayo.

### **No Albums were located for the following Ethnographies:**

1898 The Ethnography of Garumna and Lettermullen, in the County Galway.

1900 The Ethnography of Carna and Mweenish, in the Parish of Moyruss, Connemara.

In 1897 rinne Browne suirbhé grianghrafadóireachta ar Dhún Chaoin ach níl tásc ná tuairisc ar an suirbhé scríofa sin le fáil, faraor, pé acu ar foilsíodh nó nár foilsíodh é.

I 1903 lorgaíodh maoiniú ón Acadamh Ríoga chun suirbhé a dhéanamh i dTír Chonaill ach is cosúil ná rinneadh aon suirbhé ansin. Go deimhin, is é an t-iarratas seo an tuairisc dheireanach ar ghníomhachtaí Browne i dtaobh na Saotharlainne Antaipeaiméadraigh / An Mhúsaem Antraipeolaíochta i dtaifid Acadaimh Ríoga na hÉireann.

In 1897 Browne carried out a photographic survey of Dún Chaoin but no ethnography has been found, whether it was published or not. (MS1096/3)

In 1903 funding was sought from the Royal Irish Academy to carry out an ethnographic survey of Donegal but it does not appear to have taken place. In fact this is the last recorded action of both Browne and the Anthropometric Laboratory/Anthropological Museum.

*Inishbofin and Inishshark  
1893*

*1 Coast-line & Surface*



*Bofin Harbour*



*Bofin Harbour showing fish curing station  
and couple. Inishshark in the distance.*



*Natural bridge at Port Island  
outside mouth of Harbour*



*Royal Oak Cove, North Coast.  
Inishbofin*



*The Slags. Westquarter.*



*View of Westquarter showing moorland  
Lough Bofin and cultivated land.*

### 3 Mode of Life



Quern still used in Inishbofin



Quern in use in Middle-quarter  
Inishbofin



Spinning-wheel



Mode of washing clothes. Inishbofin.



*School children. Vicarstown NSS  
Dunquin.*



*Boys of Vicarstown NSS  
Dunquin*

Top: TCD MS 10961/3/21v, Schoolchildren, Vicarstown NSS Dunquin: Dunquin and the Blasket Island, Co. Kerry, August 1897.

Bottom: TCD MS 10961/3/21v, Boys of Vicarstown NSS Dunquin: Dunquin and the Blasket Island, Co. Kerry, August 1897.

4. Antiquities



Lough Bofin, showing rock strata which the White Lias was transformed



Bloghan Lee. Inishshark.



Temple Colman with Inishbofin in the distance.



Temple Colman, founded AD 617 from the north.



Temple Colman. East window interior



Temple Colman. East window exterior



TCD MS 10961/4/12r (detail), Philip Lavelle, King of North Iniskea:  
North Erris, 1894.

1893     *PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY SERIES 3 VOL III 1893-6.*  
**'THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF INISHBOFIN AND INISHSHARK, COUNTY GALWAY.'**

*In addition to the observations made on the living subject, the measurements of a series of crania, the first ever put in the record from this island (Inishbofin) were obtained at St. Colman's Church, in Knock townland. As they could not be removed at the time of my first visit, I was forced to measure them on the spot, and, as it turned out afterwards, it was well that this precaution had been taken, as, in revisiting the place some time after, I found that they had all disappeared, having in the meantime been removed to some place of concealment.*



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