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The Anthropology
of Expeditions:
Travel, Visualities,
Afterlives

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For Riki

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Series Editor's Preface

"A sensorium moving through space." That is how James Clifford described expeditions, and that is why the subject of this volume is the perfect vehicle with which to continue our voyage along the edge of that vast and still not fully charted landmass of cultural histories of the material world. Previous books in this series include the eponymous *Cultural Histories of the Material World* (2013), which examines the ways in which different disciplines conceive of the role of material evidence for cultural history and then use that evidence to do cultural history; *Antiquarianism and Intellectual Life in Europe and China* (2012), which looks at specific research practices in a comparative historical context; *The Sea: Thalassography and Historiography* (2013), which investigates a specific material and the historiographical opportunities it creates; and *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge* (2014), which explores how knowledge from working with matter can shift—and slip—the bonds of disciplinary agendas.

Expeditions, understood as amalgams of human, material, technical, and intellectual objects, enable us to broaden our understanding of what is meant by the material world while also focusing it. Expeditions are complex. On the one hand, they are scientific instruments, organized for the pursuit of knowledge. On the other, they are logistical crossword puzzles, in which groups of disparate individuals and their gear are moved long distances for long times in order to tame the unknown. Studying expeditions means studying the practical along with the scientific. Even more, an expedition is an indissoluble compound, which means that we can't

pull out the scientific from the practical. They are intertwined. Politics, pragmatics, and personality all play as important a role as *Wissenschaft* in the life and times of an expedition. Steven Shapin long ago brought the "invisible technicians" into the history of science and so shifted it from a focus on great men and minds to the social practice it was (and is). In the world of expeditions, as Laurel Kendall and Erik Mueggler show us so beautifully here, there are technicians everywhere. Not only are they no longer invisible, they are no longer seen as adjuncts or sideshows. But we have in recent years gone beyond the closet *marxisme* of Shapin. Now we pay attention to the merchant as helpmeet of the scholar and even hero of learning in his own right. All those practical people who make an expedition possible demonstrate that we must connect the *how* of the history of scholarship to the *what*.

Expeditions are also, in some sense, extra-disciplinary, not only because they are all too human, but because they gather the objects out of which disciplines are then built. For this very reason, however, the history of expeditions can serve as an observatory for contemporary reflection on the advantages and disadvantages of disciplinarity for life. If fieldwork à la Malinowski is "an adventure of the self," then the expedition is an adventure of the social collective. Like the laboratory, the expedition is a network: not a static entity but a constantly changing organism. And in the same way that the new history of the laboratory helped give birth to a new history of science (think about Shapin and Simon Schaffer's *Leviathan and the Air-Pump*), we think that this new history of expeditions could give birth to twins: to a new history of anthropology as a discipline, and to a new sense of what counts as material.

And yet, we know very little about expeditions. Their histories are often lost to museum department archives, seen as mechanical rather than intellectual, or dismissed a priori as corrupted by colonialist hegemony. Reclaiming the expedition means broadening intellectual histories to include institutional history, and institutional histories to include intellectual history. That is where Cultural Histories of the Material World comes in, again: by offering a landfall where no questions of that sort are asked it becomes possible, in turn, to ask different ones.

There is, finally, the way in which *Anthropology of Expeditions* heralds a new chapter in the history of collecting. As microhistories of collecting are connected here with microhistories of the purposings and repurposings of the collected materials in their museum afterlife, as in the chapters by Ira Jacknis, Mark Elliott, and Joshua A. Bell, the history of collect-

ing stays fluid. It extends backwards and forwards, from the field to the city, and from the human in motion to the object in its display case. Like expeditions, then, the history of collecting, seen from this vantage point, is also a sensorium, moving through time.

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Each chapter is illustrated with photographs that were an important aspect of the exploration and scientific discovery discussed by contributors. We thank the various museums and archives acknowledged by our contributors for permission to publish the material in their collections.

Introduction: The Anthropology of Expeditions

Erin L. Hasinoff and Joshua A. Bell

Between the 1890s and 1930s, innumerable expeditions from different nations in the Global North traversed the world in pursuit of scientific facts and specimens for natural history and the allied field of anthropology.¹ They justified their pursuits in the guise of science, but they were also driven by a sense of adventure and by imperial and mercantile interests. Varying in shape and scope, expeditions were equally mixed as to their sponsorship, and their funding was private, corporate, governmental, or a combination of sources. This age has been described as the era of “great expeditions,” owing to their multidisciplinary and to the length of time that many of these endeavors spent in the field. Expeditionary collecting aspired to be rigorous: in other words, “systematic” (comprehensive and well-documented) collections were the goal. These great expeditions coincided with the “museum period” of the natural sciences and anthropology, which had museums as their official homeland. During this time, museums reached institutional maturity, in the employment and training of professional personnel and in the support of field research (Stocking 1985: 7–8; Welsch 1998: 565; Farber 2000: 90). Both museums and the expeditions they helped to fund are artifacts of colonialism, and both shaped and were shaped by the emergence of modernity (see Ryan 1997; Barringer and Flynn 1998; Bennett 2009; Glenn 2002). Yet the significance of expeditions to the formation, professionalization, and popularization of anthropology and other sciences has tended to be overlooked or dismissed (Bell, Brown, and Gordon 2013; Kohler 2006; Kuklick and Kohler 1996; Naylor and Ryan 2010; Vivanco

and Gordon 2006). By assembling vast collections, these enterprises and their various products—exhibits, films, photographs, ethnographies, and popular and scientific accounts—impacted the emerging sciences and the public's knowledge and perception of the world.

The Anthropology of Expeditions draws together contributions from North American and British anthropologists and historians of science who have studied expeditions from the perspective of their collected natural and cultural materials and their records in museums and archives.² The “very act of exploration implies some sort of ‘archive,’ some way that what is known about the shape and character of the world can be collected and compared, taught, and learned” (Burnett 1999: 1). This book joins a growing body of work which demonstrates the methodological challenges and analytic rewards for examining these legacies and their archived traces (Stoler 2009; Roque and Wagner 2011; Morton and Edwards 2009; Poole 1997; Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke 2013). The book also sheds light on the complex social life, intimate details of work, and practices of museum-sponsored expeditionary labors carried out in diverse geographies, including Asia, North America, and the Pacific. By eschewing the regional focus of recent work on the topic of collecting and through a series of biographical collections-based histories, this volume examines the multifaceted cultures and patterns of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collecting activities (see, for example, Glover et al. 2011; Berzock and Clarke 2011; O’Hanlon and Welsch 2000; Geller 2004). Contributors are interested in the travels and cross-cultural interactions of a range of participants, their productions, and the ways in which these examples serve as the basis for a critical anthropology, that is, an ethnography, of expeditions. As such, they seek to clarify the collaborations—replete as they were with unequal power relationships—that informed expeditions, and indeed all science, as knowledge acquired became materialized in different forms and circulated through various networks of actors and institutions (Latour 1987, 1999; Haraway 1989, 2008; Hayden 2003; Lowe 2006; Jacobs 2006; Mueggler 2011; Kuklick 2011).

Collecting Patterns

Although anthropology has largely been identified with the study of “other” cultures, in the last two and a half decades there has been a

tremendous shift away from studying the “otherness” of non-Western cultures as wholly opposed to “ourselves” (see, for example, Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus 1999; Ortner, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003). This move has coincided with a push within sociology and the history of science to examine the formation of knowledge and subjectivity, as well as the distribution of agency between human and nonhuman participants in and around the science disciplines (see, for example, Callon 1987; Haraway 1989, 1997, 2008; Law 2002; Latour 1987, 1993, 1999; Latour and Woolgar 1986; Star and Griesemer 1989). Following these turns, and a re-enlivened interest in material culture and museums, anthropologists have scrutinized the material cultures of colonialism and the biographies of collectors, in order to understand the circumstances and histories of exchange, collection, and exhibition (see, for example, Coombes 1997; Fane, Jacknis, and Breen 1991; Gosden and Knowles 2001; Henare 2005; Krech III and Hail 1999; Larson 2009; O’Hanlon and Welsch 2000; Parezo 1985; Thomas 1991). Michael O’Hanlon’s assessment of collecting, in particular, underscores how collections-based research has the “potential to throw light upon unconsidered aspects of local agency, without losing sight of either broader colonial processes or the effect of the collectors’ own agendas[;] it can also illuminate the ethnography of metropolitan institutions where collections are so often held” (2000: 4). The culture of collectors and the nature of collecting have become topics of specific and acute interest in the history of anthropology, as the discipline seeks to understand its roots and the collective legacies of colonialism. In the process, scholars have begun teasing out counter-narratives of these historical practices (Denning 1995; Douglas 1998; Edwards 2001; Fabian 2000; Pratt 1992; Stoler 2009), as well as understanding that these histories may be redressed through their material traces in collaboration with communities of origin (Tapsell 1997; Bell, Christen, and Turin 2013; Brown 2014; Brown and Peers 2003; Edwards, Gosden, and Phillips 2006; Field 2008; Phillips 2012; Sully 2007).

The contributors to this volume do not look at a single “traditional society” located outside the institutions of modernity, in the sense that a classical fieldworker might have attempted to do. Instead, what comes to the fore in these chapters is a focus on the individuals who formed the cosmopolitan lifeworlds of expeditions, the localities of their fieldwork, and the relationship of their collective undertakings to state, economic, and scientific systems. In this way, the anthropology of expeditions, as

presented here, has much in common with the environmental anthropology literature, which articulates how people are involved in the shaping and imagining of natural spaces. This literature, critically influenced as it is by science and technology studies, sheds significant light on the experiences of indigenous peoples, environmentalists, biological scientists, prospectors, entrepreneurs, and consumers who interact through systems of biodiversity survey, conservation, resource extraction, production, marketing, and consumption (see, for example, Cruikshank 2005; Goldman, Nadasdy, and Turner 2011; Hayden 2003; Lowe 2006; Raffles 2001; Tsing 2005; West 2006, 2012). This work advances our understanding of the encounters of a range of interest groups through their experience, use, and creation of environmental resources; it dovetails with what we understand the critical inquiry of expeditions to be.³

By the late nineteenth century, a pattern of expeditionary collecting was firmly established in North America and Britain. Museums moved away from relying on donations and purchasing collections to orchestrating their own scientific expeditions (Shelton 2011: 68). It was then believed that expeditionary collecting, as a methodical collective activity, salvaged reliable material for later technological, formal, typological, and taxonomic museum-based studies. This was a time when the collecting and recording of material culture was considered essential to the understanding of non-European peoples, and almost every anthropologist did some collecting and coordinated exchanges of duplicate material (Parezo 1987: 4, 8; Penny 2002; Larson 2007, 2008).

Two landmark expeditions mark this golden age of collecting in the history of anthropology for the Anglo-American tradition: the American Museum of Natural History's (AMNH) Jesup North Pacific Expedition of 1897–1902, which set out to investigate the cultural relationships of the peoples on both sides of the Bering Strait, and the Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Strait of 1898, which had as its goal a thorough anthropological study of Torres Strait Islanders. In the last two decades, both of these expeditions have been the subject of major museum exhibitions, conferences, and associated publications (Herle and Rouse 1998; Krupnik and Fitzhugh 2001; Jonaitis 1992; Philip 2001). Several contributors to this volume participated in these projects and drew new conclusions about the relationship of these seminal expeditions to the establishment of anthropology as a professionalized discipline defined by the rigors of fieldwork. They also examined the relationship between these collective undertakings and the long-term study of the regions by

some of these same institutions (Bloch and Kendall 2004; Kendall and Krupnik 2003; Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988; Herle 2001).

The Jesup and Torres Strait expeditions were among the earliest expeditions configured along the lines of what the AMNH's own intrepid field scientist Roy Chapman Andrews would later describe as "the method of correlated work": combining a range of natural scientists and professionals into a single team to work on several fronts at once to cooperate in solving one or more scientific problems. Throughout their history, expeditions have been "hybrid in the composition of the exploring party itself, and hybrid in purpose" (Burnett 2002: 6), and that is a central point of this book. But the method of correlated work came to fruition with the Central Asiatic Expedition (1921–30), which the indefatigable Andrews led to investigate the geology and paleontology of Mongolia. In his colorful account of the expedition, Andrews writes about the formation of the expedition:

I retired to New York early in 1920 with the basic plans of the expedition clearly in mind. The main problem was to be a study of the geologic history of Central Asia; to find whether it had been the nursery of many dominant groups of animals, including the human race; and to reconstruct its past climate, vegetation and general physical conditions, particularly in relation to the evolution of man. We were to bring to bear upon our problem every branch of science which could possibly assist in its solution. Moreover, these sciences must be represented by men of the highest scientific ability. We must take the men into the field together, so that each would have the advantage of assistance from the others; correlated work was to be the basis of the scientific organization. (Andrews 1932: 5)

Correlated, or carefully orchestrated, work was what enabled expeditions to find answers to scientific problems and produce ambitious publications on an array of topics in their aftermath. Although the successes of the Central Asiatic Expedition and picturesque accounts of "camel trains against the sky at sunset and Mongol horsemen" overshadowed those of other, much smaller and less dramatic expeditions at the time, they were carried out in its model and paid equal attention to detail and synchronicity among fieldworkers (Kennedy 1968: 195).

While Roy Chapman Andrews's rhetoric about expeditions is instructive about the hopes and rationale of a particular mode of conducting

science, it ultimately belies the messiness and uncertainty of expeditions. As Johannes Fabian (1998, 2000) demonstrates in his examination of the exploration of Central Africa, expeditions were far from sane endeavors. Rather, by involving multiple people and many different material things, they were replete with misconceptions and mental and bodily failures. In order to understand these encounters, Fabian urges the examination of “the effects of alcohol, drugs, illness, sex, brutality, and terror, as well as the role of conviviality, friendship, play . . . the sounds, movements, and objects that made up performances—music, dance, art, material culture, whatever mediated encounters and made it possible for the participants to transcend their psychological and social boundaries” (2000: 9). Doing so not only re-embodies the heroic figures of expeditions by exposing their needs, wants, and failures, but it also helps to reveal a more accurate depiction of the realities of fieldwork. Contributors to this volume, particularly Henrika Kuklick and Erik Mueggler, explore these sensorial domains, thereby complicating and enriching their narratives.

But if messiness in the field prevailed, then coincidence also defined the planning stages of expeditions. As assemblages of persons and things, expeditions emerged out of a mix of personal and professional relationships, as well as institutional and private sponsorship. While these relationships were at times celebrated, they were also easily obviated in official accounts. The following remarks by Edward H. Harriman, railroad tycoon and sponsor of the Harriman Alaska Expedition of 1899, are instructive as to the connections that informed it and that played out variously in the creation of other expeditions:

The expedition . . . was originally planned as a summer cruise for the pleasure and recreation of my family and a few friends. It was intended to extend along the Alaska coast only as far as Kadiak [*sic*] Island, my attention having been directed to that place by a chance conversation with Mr. D.G. Elliot, who especially interested me in the opportunities there offered for hunting the Kadiak [*sic*] bear, said to be the largest in the world. Dr. Lewis R. Morris, our friend and physician, aided me in gathering much of the information for arranging and finally determining our plans. The steamer “George W. Elder” was obtained and outfitted under the direction of President A.L. Mohler of the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company. Our comfort and safety required a large vessel and crew, and preparations for the voyage were consequently on a scale disproportionate to

the size of the party. We decided, therefore, if opportunity offered, to include some guests who, while adding to the interest and pleasure of the expedition, would gather useful information and distribute it for the benefit from others. With this end in view, Dr. Morris and I went to Washington in March 1899 to confer with Dr. C. Hart Merriam. From him we received valuable advice and assistance in planning the research work and in selecting the scientific personnel of the party. With two such associates, there was much pleasure and recreation in working out the details of the expedition. . . . Many of the invited members were connected with the Washington Academy of Science, and the interest shown by them soon came to be shared by that organization, which gave its hearty cooperation. (1901: xxi–xxii)

As Harriman’s remarks make clear, the Alaska Expedition emerged through social relations he had, alongside his personal interests in hunting. Through his personal and professional networks, the expedition, both materially and socially, took the form of thirty scientists, including naturalist John Muir and photographer Edward Curtis. It was through these linkages that the essential element of capital financed the expedition and transformed it from being a “summer cruise for . . . pleasure and recreation” into one augmented and legitimized by science. The scientific involvement resulted in a twelve-volume publication, and numerous collections (Litwin 2005).⁴

It has long been argued that until the interwar period (1918–39) natural scientists and “explorer types” defined cooperative field activities, only to be replaced by the university-trained “book-minded and verbal-minded” scientists (Kroeber 1954: 766). In fact, the manner and method of research during much of the early to mid-twentieth century had more in common with the naturalist tradition of the nineteenth century than has generally been assumed, and diversity in collecting practices appears to have been the norm. For example, many of the anthropological collectors, as the following chapters demonstrate, got their training in surveys and exploration parties, and they referred to the artifacts they gathered as “specimens” (Parezo 1987: 26). Additionally, the naturalist tradition comprised a spectrum of “amateur” and “serious” naturalists—tied together through naturalist unions, explorers’ clubs, and natural history museums—whose field activities catered to collections study and educational public display (Farber 2000: 87–99; Barrow Jr. 2009: 5). Guiding the work of these individuals were volumes issued by learned societies,

such as the British Association for the Advancement of Science's *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, first published in 1874; the Royal Geographic Society's *Hints to Travellers*, first published in 1854; and *The Naturalist's Assistant*, which sought to standardize expeditions and their techniques, tools, and collecting methods (Daston and Lunbeck 2011; Gordon, Brown, and Bell 2013: 4–5; Kingsley 1882; Urry 1993).

As all of the authors in this volume have found, there was a tremendous range in the size, length, and organization of expeditions; some fieldworkers traveled solo for years in familiar places, whereas others formed specialized caravans, which set foot for a fortnight along untraveled paths. There were expeditions that were pioneering acts of exploration and still others that traced the well-worn routes of previous explorers or picked up where they had left off. The authors introduce a variety of expeditioners for whom such excursions were a routine matter—an omnivorous sinologist, a rootless botanist, and a tenacious sculptress—and whose collections found a place in anthropology and natural history museums.

However great or small, expeditions relied on the global social networks and infrastructures of travel (for example, links by ship, road, rail, bridle path, telegraph, telephone, and post), in many cases long established for the expansion of Western imperial powers (Kuklick and Kohler 1996: 7; Headrick 1981; Buschmann 2009). Itineraries were structured by engagements with colonial bureaucrats, local intermediaries and experts, surrogate collectors, and merchants, who played key roles in shaping the collections shipped from the field to museums in Britain and the United States. Central to Anita Herle and Sandra Rouse's assessment of the University of Cambridge's Torres Strait Expedition of 1898 is the idea that the expedition "involved numerous complex and multilateral relationships—it was not an encounter between a homogenous group of Cambridge academics and a homogenous native population" (1998: 4). As Anna Tsing elaborates in thinking through the variations of collaboration, "Parties who work together may or may not be similar and may or may not have a common understanding of the problem and the product. . . . Such collaborations bring misunderstandings into the core of alliance. In the process, they make wide-ranging links possible. . . . [and] make new objects and agents possible" (2005: 246–47). This theme is reiterated by Johannes Fabian (2000) with regard to the diversity of native laborers, those auxiliaries who provisioned, transported, and mediated the movement of expeditions. The way a field team was organized and the kinds of professionals and indig-

enous collaborators it could rely upon meant very different things in the assorted contexts of collecting. As we know from the scholarship on the history of science, particularly colonial science, expeditionary practices were intensely collaborative, but there were inherent tensions and a great degree of variability between social exclusion and intimacy (Jacobs 2006; Raffles 2002; Mueggler 2011). Following in the footsteps of D. Graham Burnett, some contributors embark on ethnographic "think-pieces" by recovering some of the sights, smells, and vicissitudes of difficult travel and the anxieties of exploration in order to offer compelling narratives of the complexities of these interactions (2000: 13; see also Edwards, Gosden, and Phillips 2006).

Building on a vast literature in the anthropology of museums and art, the authors consider how these projects have brought disparate peoples, places, objects, and markets into trans-border relationships, thus forming new spaces of exchange, development, cooperation, and conflict (Ong 2012: 473; Marcus and Myers 1995; Myers 2002; Mitman and Erickson 2010; Clifford 1997, 2013). By bringing these diverse expeditions together, this volume is comparative, shedding light on the multiple ways in which expeditions developed out of one another and were in dialogue and, often, competition with one another (Cole 1985; Schildkrout and Keim 1998; Bell, Brown, and Gordon 2013). Each object, natural-history specimen, and archived document is tangible evidence of a range of social interactions and long-term relations that expeditions initiated, many of which have been sustained over time through various acts of repatriation or collaborative exhibition development. Take, for example, the 2008 landmark contemporary art exhibition *Pasifika Styles* at the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA). The exhibition re-enlivened ethnological collections—sculptures, house posts, and ornaments—gathered during the voyages of Antole von Hügel and Alfred Haddon, who instigated the museum's Torres Strait expedition. In the words of Nicholas Thomas, *Pasifika Styles* "foment[ed] a process of engagement between contemporary practitioners and historic artefacts" (Thomas 2008: viii; Raymond and Salmond 2008). As with such recent exhibitions that have led to a reconsideration of the history and revitalization of museum collections having their origins in expeditions, this book engages a literature that aims to provide alternative views to received disciplinary and institutional histories (see Bell, Brown, and Gordon 2013; Gosden and Larson 2007; Griffiths 2002; Morton and Edwards 2009; Pinney and Petersen 2003).

If the impossible dreams of totality were the rationale of most field collecting endeavors, then *The Anthropology of Expeditions* highlights the idiosyncrasies in collecting patterns and the unexpected and sometimes fragmentary outcomes of these endeavors. The authors discuss the bearing that the study of their travels, collections, and their afterlives could have on the history of anthropology and the natural sciences. The material collected on expeditions was often inadvertently destroyed because of issues with transportation, errors in packing, lack of museum storage space, and inadequate regimens of conservation and collections management (see also Parezo 1987: 17; Hasinoff 2011: 146; Hasinoff 2013: 75). Contributors also demonstrate how collections were divided and made into evidence for different disciplines: their scholarship challenges the naturalized divisions between and material biases within the sciences (Latour 1993). The present volume is, in this way, a response to Jacques Derrida's suggestion with regard to the archive that we discuss "the structures which have resulted in [the] contents being there and surviving" (1995: 58). Doing so, they work to reveal the labor and narratives that the migration and partitioning of their collections has otherwise obscured. By closely examining the field activities, the collections, and the archival and collections management strategies that make them accessible today as meaningful research material, the authors historicize a range of expeditions and push the agenda of turning museums and archives into field sites in order to produce more *critical histories* (Brown and Peers 2003; Clifford 1997, 2013; Christen 2011; Henare 2005; Gosden and Larson 2007; Karp et al. 2006; Silverman 2014). The practice of what is described herein as "re-assembly"—that is, pulling together natural history and cultural objects from within and across museum departments and archives—is key to unsettling taxonomic divisions and "purification" that otherwise preclude the analysis of the discreet linkages between what can be viewed as scientific objects of our own making (Latour 1993: 10–11; Ong 2005; Byrne, Clarke, Harrison, and Torrence 2011; Harrison, Byrne, and Clarke 2013).

The book intersects with and builds upon a number of seminal works within the history of anthropology that focus on field collecting, photography, and filmmaking as a quintessential practice at the time of the discipline's professionalization and its entanglements with colonialism, governmentality, the art market, and museum education (Ames 1992; Stocking 1988; Clifford 1988; Edwards 1994; Thomas 1991; Griffiths 2002). The essays, however, differ from these texts because of their focus on one particular practice: *expeditions*. The contributors reveal the activi-

ties and collection strategies of expeditions that comprised an array of participants who went into the field to collect and observe for the sake of their own curiosity and status and for the sake of science (see Gordon 1997). As Robert Kohler writes, with regard to the modern bio-geographical expeditions of this period: "Survey naturalists took instruments on expeditions—traps, preservatives, books, scientific equipment—but the expedition itself was the chief instrument of survey collecting" (2006: 138). Expeditions, as integrated forms of social organization and practice, were firmly rooted in specific manners and methods of collecting. What emerges through these contributions is how regardless of their size, methods, and periodicity, expeditions shared a common feature, composed as they were of assemblages of people and technology that produced particular forms of knowledge defined by movement and transformation. Among other things, collecting activities of expeditions removed living plants from their ecosystems and turned them into specimens stored in herbariums (Mueggler 2011) and into the basis for new pharmaceuticals (Hayden 2003); animals were shot and turned into mounted dioramas in museums (Haraway 1989; Rader and Cain 2014) or were captured live for zoos (Hanson 2002), while collected objects entered museums (Henare 2005), or homes as souvenirs (Stewart 1993), and community events and performances were documented in still and moving images that were in turn kept in archives, albums, and attics (Edwards 2001; Griffiths 2002; Langford 2001).

An enduring aspect of these movements, and the transformations inherent in these modes of inscription, is how they work to obscure affinities and connections present in the "field" (Latour 1999). The authors collectively examine the itineraries and modus operandi of specific expeditions in order to shed light on their lived realities and to work through the silences inherent to these movements and transformations. *The Anthropology of Expeditions* addresses the contemporary relevance of the museum collections and their records, as an outcome of these coordinated outings, to disciplinary histories.

The Anthropology of Expeditions as Outcome

This volume builds upon and was shaped by three distinct but interconnected Bard Graduate Center (BGC) projects, which laid the groundwork for an anthropology of expeditions: *Confluences: An American Expe-*



Fig. 1. Gallery view of the Itinerary section of *Confluences: An American Expedition to Northern Burma, 1935*, Bard Graduate Center Gallery, April 4–August 3, 2013. Photo: Michael Nagle, 2013.

dition to Northern Burma, 1935 (2013); *Recreating First Contact: Expeditions, Anthropology, and Popular Culture* (2013); and an international symposium entitled “The Anthropology of Expeditions,” which the editors of this book organized for the BGC in February 2012. Each of these projects provided a forum for the scholarly discussion of expeditions and resulted in a publication on the topic.

First, this volume is both inspired by and a result of the *Confluences* exhibition, which was mounted in the BGC Focus Gallery from April 3 to August 4, 2013 (fig. 1). That three-year project showcased the previously unstudied AMNH Vernay-Hopwood Chindwin Expedition (VHCE) and aided us in the shaping of this book. In 1935 the expedition traveled to the upper reaches of the Chindwin River, the major tributary of the Irrawaddy, to conduct a survey of the biogeography and ethnology of the region. Erin L. Hasinoff, who curated the exhibition and authored a companion catalogue,⁵ saw *Confluences* as an opportunity to exhibit an “expedition” in the dual sense of its definition: as a complex social form and as a journey with a mission. *Confluences* drew upon a variety of records to shed light on the social life of this extraordinary three-month enterprise: correspondence,

itineraries, photographs, film, and items of material culture (Hasinoff 2013). At the exhibition’s heart was the idea that expeditions were cosmopolitan adventures that relied on the adroitness and cooperation of numerous local indigenous agents and colonial officials in order to make scientific discoveries. The exhibition featured the collective details of this enterprise, taking account of the contributions of all concerned—visitors and residents—as even-handedly as possible. *Confluences* set in motion a dialogue about the sweat and toil of the various participants who were active in producing a natural history (that is, an authoritative inventory of the flora and fauna) of Burma, and, by extension, the world.

Arthur S. Vernay, a New York City dealer in English antiques, a field associate in the Department of Mammalogy, and an AMNH trustee, financed the expedition. He underwrote a total of fifteen museum expeditions, which were stunning examples of planning and resulted in trophies and stories that dazzled museum staff and readers of *Natural History* magazine. Research into the expedition revealed that he assembled a party of natural scientists, field collectors, *shikari* (big-game hunters), and skimmers from the Bombay Natural History Society, where he served as a trustee. Henry C. Raven, a comparative anatomist at the museum, was the lead scientist, principal filmmaker, and photographer. The caravan included Goan skimmers, Yunnanese muleteers, Madrassi cooks, and Kachin interpreters, who, along with British participants, joined from throughout the Raj. The caravan came in contact with various residents of northern Burma, including Burmese, Kachin, Shan, and Naga peoples.

From the perspective of museum studies, *Confluences* was inspired by and focused on the manner and methods of the diverse expedition members rather than on the biographies of the explorers. Expeditions have long been a successful topic of exhibitions in museums of art, natural history, and anthropology.⁶ Although the personal accounts and activities of organizers, sponsors, and field scientists have been showcased elsewhere, the exhibition uniquely explored the anthropology of expedition life through the assortment of objects carried into the field and collected en route. In this way, Hasinoff, like the contributors to this volume, sought to create a space for contemplation of the various types and forms of collaboration that informed this particular expedition, and by extension the broader project of science.

In *Confluences*, the pieces of equipment carried into the field were seen as tools for understanding the social life and division of labor of its participants. For example, the boric and arsenic powder, tissue paper,



Fig. 2. Charles S. McCann and Goan skinner preparing bird skins, “Lonkin to Hpakan, Jan. 1935,” photographed by Henry C. Raven. Photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Library, Image VHC-E2.

labels, bone cutters, forceps, scissors, and so on recorded in provision lists raised questions about the members of the expedition who used them to prepare bird skins for later museum-based taxonomic study (figs. 2, 3).⁷ Professional Goan skimmers Gabriel Joseph and Fernandez (an employee of the Bombay Natural History Society whose first name is unknown) were well qualified to make bird skins with these supplies, and they packed fine examples for the museum. The skimmers’ surnames, Joseph and Fernandez, suggest that they were Roman Catholic Goans, and as such they would not have had to obey Hindu or Buddhist prohibitions against killing or contact with dead animals. Such prohibitions would have prevented most Indian, Burmese, and Shans from specializing in the trade and participating in hunting expeditions, a point noted by expedition party members.

Arthur Vernay noticed the skimmers’ adeptness at making bird skins and their talent in the field, and he employed them on the Vernay-Cutting Expedition three years later. Their unceasing work on the Vernay-Cutting of 1938–39 was described thus: “I thanked Heaven that I was not a skinner: they had to work until nearly midnight with smarting eyes round a log-fire in an atmosphere of gloom to which only Hamlet

could have done justice” (Stanford 1946: 98). Their skill left an indelible mark on the museum’s well-preserved bird collections, which to this day remain a primary reference for the ornithology of northern Burma. The kind of analysis undertaken for the exhibition departs from more traditional technological studies of instruments, where expeditionary equipment has tended to be analyzed in order to understand the techniques of gathering scientific data (see, for example, Bedini 1984; Larsen 1996). Moreover, it helps to sketch out more detailed biographies of the intermediaries, who made field science possible through their acquired skills.

Structured as an itinerary, *Confluences* exposed the intimate details of the VHCE’s route, labors, cross-cultural encounters, and exchanges omitted from earlier accounts. A selection of the expedition’s ethnological objects,⁸ images of its scientific collections, documentation, photographs, and film footage were located, made accessible, drawn together, and exhibited for the first time to offer a glimpse of the goals, social life, collecting practices, and geographic reach of the expedition. The exhibition content was grouped according to principal collection localities and field stations in the expedition’s itinerary, and to several corresponding themes—provisioning, itinerancy, collecting and subsistence, conflu-

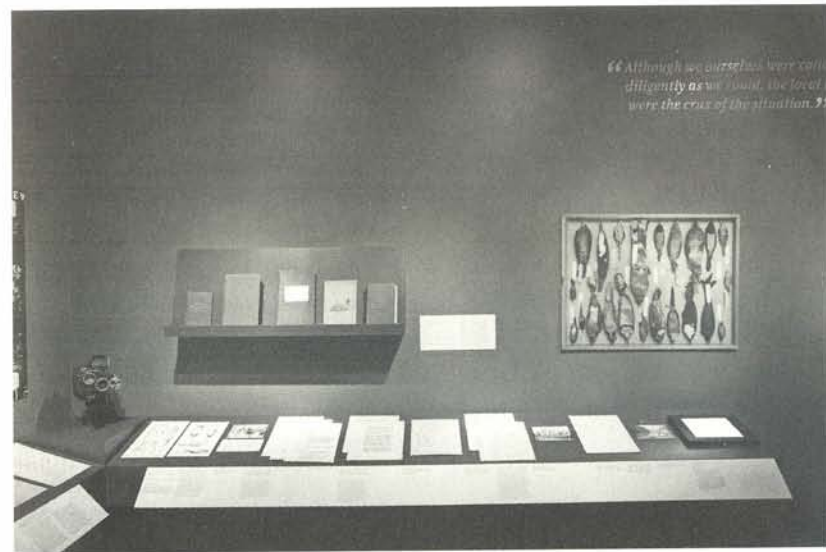


Fig. 3. Gallery view of the Provisioning section of *Confluences: An American Expedition to Northern Burma, 1935*, Bard Graduate Center Gallery, April 4–August 3, 2013. Photo: Michael Nagle, 2013.

ences, reenactment, and outcomes—which highlighted the contributions of various expedition members, auxiliaries, and communities across northern Burma. Archived film footage, correspondence, maps, supply lists, and a field journal were exhibited as facsimiles and in digital format as interactive elements in order to showcase the social life and daily grind of the expedition members. Together, the objects were an important reminder of the materiality of colonialism, science, and expeditions (see also Gosden 2000).

The VHCE, like the “mighty Chindwin River” it was described as navigating, was a confluence of diverse peoples, objects, and specimens assembled in the course of its travels. But there is a twist to this story: the history of the VHCE was told from the perspective of the dispersed collection, which after the expedition was deposited and then fractionalized across the AMNH, so the associated objects, specimens, and documentation are found today in several scientific divisions and departments, including Anthropology, Ichthyology, Mammalogy, Ornithology, Herpetology, and the Research Library. By reuniting and salvaging the collection’s history from across the museum, the exhibition revealed the labor and narratives that such dispersal otherwise erases.

While the planning of *Confluences* was under way, conceptual artist Mark Dion’s *Phantoms of the Clark Expedition* (May 9–August 3, 2012) opened in the trophy room of the New York Explorers Club, an organization with a long history of sponsoring expeditions (1904–present; see Gordon 2013). Dion is known for his archaeological “digs” and interventions at natural history museums that scrutinize various systems of classification that the social and natural sciences bring to bear upon the world (see, for example, Oakland Museum of California 2010). His installation explored the sixteen-month expedition to northern China in 1908–9 led by Robert Sterling Clark, heir to the Singer sewing machine fortune. The expedition covered nearly 2,000 miles, collected zoological and biological specimens, and surveyed the terrain for the Smithsonian Institution’s Museum of Natural History and the British Museum (Clark and Sowerby 1912). Mark Dion describes the exhibition:

Phantoms of the Clark Expedition . . . highlights not only what Clark and his team took away from China but also what they brought to the site of inquiry. Thus, the equipment and provisions to undertake such a complex tour are given a new importance that emphasizes the labor of the journey rather than the particular scientific results. In this way,

the Clark team itself becomes the locus of an ethnographic investigation, an attempt to understand the cultural underpinnings of a distinct social group, based on their physical belongings.⁹

In conducting what he calls an “ethnographic investigation” into the expedition’s history, Dion was struck by the scant material remains of such a formidable expedition. According to the exhibition’s curator, Lisa Corrin, Dion set out to reproduce them using papier-mâché because it was the primary material used by scientists and preparators to create models and discoveries, as well as some of the earliest dioramas.¹⁰ On the main table in the Trophy Room, Dion exhibited the explorer’s ghostly tool kit (fantastically fabricated replicas of crates, mess kits, compasses, pistols, cameras, and helmets) in order to “remind people that human beings are part of natural history” and to recall that “natural history is made by human beings” (Lewis 2012). Although Dion’s “poetic evocations” incisively highlighted the history of exploration and the biographies of Clark and his party, they left unanswered questions about the division of labor, the manner and methods of work, and the social alliances of expeditions—questions that are central to the way in which *Confluences* and this volume have been envisioned.

Second, this book builds upon work that culminated in a recent related volume edited by Joshua A. Bell, Alison K. Brown, and Robert J. Gordon. In *Recreating First Contact: Expeditions, Anthropology, and Popular Culture* (2013), contributors explore how—as theatrical endeavors and interwar-period expeditions from a range of nations (America, Australia, Britain, Germany, South Africa, and the Soviet Union) into varying territorial contexts (Brazil, Central Australia, East Africa, Iran, the Kalahari Desert, Liberia, New Guinea, Siberia, the southwestern United States, and western Canada)—were as much about displaying the superiority of new technologies as they were about documenting seemingly unknown cultural groups, biological facts, and geographic zones. The essays demonstrate how during this period new transport technologies, namely the automobile and airplane, were used by expeditions to travel to regions of the world that were imagined as not yet contacted by Europeans. These new modes of transportation helped reinforce modernist tropes of movement and what was then thought to be the stasis of others (Zweig 1974; Virilio 2008 [1984]). Once they had arrived, expeditions documented their encounters with so-called primitive and untouched societies with small portable still and moving recording technologies, the

results of which they brought home to enchant the popular imaginations of the filmgoing populace (Mitman 1999; Ruoff 2006).

European members of expeditions, besides attempting to discover new places and people, attempted to transform their adventures into money through book and film deals, as well as product endorsements (see Homiak 2013; Lindstrom 2013). This cycle led to ever-increasing attempts to reach the new frontiers and untouched communities, which necessitated more funding and sponsors (Gordon, Brown, and Bell 2013: 3). Exploring this nexus, the essays untangle the ways in which national, commercial, and scientific interests colluded and confounded one another in the formation of this particular mode of knowledge and entertainment production through a variety of media: films, lecture-tours, lantern slides, radio broadcasts, and books (Bloom 2008). The book advances an understanding of this global phenomenon but without obfuscating the particular national renderings of what expeditions did. Essays in *Recreating First Contact*, while bringing together new insights into the knowledge production of expeditions, set the stage for the collection histories explored in *The Anthropology of Expeditions*.

Third, the present volume is the result of an international symposium by the same title that its editors organized for the BGC on February 2 and 3, 2012. The symposium included a range of participants and an audience of scholars working on critical anthropologies of expeditions. They discussed the papers that together form the present volume. Many of the institutional homes of these scholars are the very museums—the American Museum of Natural History, the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum, and the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History—that sponsored early and significant natural history and anthropology expeditions or are the sites where their collections were eventually deposited. Like the field scientists who participated in these earlier endeavors, many of the authors have research interests that are driven by a curiosity about the ethnological objects (defined here as “objects of ethnography,” to which were assigned scientific meanings) and the specimens that these expeditions gathered. The scholars share a common approach in charting not simply an itinerary but also archived sources and museum collecting activities. In their research, they also rely on the expedition's photographs, films, and paper trails to examine the social activities and institutional outcomes of the expedition. Their work on the anthropology of expeditions is both a practical activity—an as-

sembling of sources in a kind of reverse expedition through museum archives and collections—and an analytic task, drawing out the details of fieldwork from various sources when they are reconnected.

Even though this book is not intended to be comprehensive, it presents an insightful cross-section of current scholarship on expeditionary collecting and expeditions themselves as a cultural formation, during a time when anthropology and the natural sciences had a strong foothold in the museum. Although the original bonds that linked the social and natural sciences to museums had begun to loosen, these ties have not been undone (Phillips 2005: 84). As with other volumes in the BGC Material World series, *The Anthropology of Expeditions* puts material evidence—here what might be described as a wide array of expeditionary artifacts and physical records held by museums—at the center of understandings of culture, philosophy, and history. In doing so, each author seeks to demonstrate how these material traces can be used to help tell disciplinary histories that are not just reflective of what is already known, but that challenge grand narratives of science and exploration (Pinney 2004: 8).

The Route

The present volume, like the 2012 BGC symposium, takes a route that explores the fieldwork of expeditions, the material and visual cultures of exploration, and the dispersal, salvage, and reassembly of archival, natural history, and ethnological collections. Presenting various ethnographies of expeditions, together the chapters explore the interlinked processes of what Michael O'Hanlon describes as the “before,” or the theoretical baggage and institutional ties; the “scene,” or the practices and negotiations of collecting; and the “after,” or the legacy of museum collections, in order to investigate the topic of expeditions (2000: 9). In Chapter 1, the late Henrika Kuklick sets the stage for this volume by examining how the research credibility of scientists and anthropologists alike hinged on the feats of their fieldwork.¹¹ Building on her wealth of scholarship about anthropology and the natural sciences, Kuklick argues that since the latter part of the nineteenth century scientists have been able to establish their authority by representing themselves as adventurers: those who are prepared to risk life and limb in the pursuit of scientific discovery and inventory (Kuklick 1991, 2008, 2011; Kuklick

and Kohler 1996). In the case of one of the founding ethnographers, Bronislaw Malinowski, the very experience of doing serious fieldwork created a reliable witness whose judgments the scientific community deemed sound. Malinowski insisted that fieldwork be uncomfortable, so that fledgling anthropologists could not be distracted from the research at hand. For Kuklick, fieldwork is a common trait of the sciences, and it is what makes anthropologists members of a larger scientific family.

Part 1, "Travel and Assemblage," includes chapters about the narratives, biographies, and collecting habits of two of the greatest twentieth-century adventurers in China. In Chapter 2, Laurel Kendall takes as her expeditionist Berthold Laufer (1874–1934), the leader of the Jacob H. Schiff Expedition (1901–4), who was charged with making a comprehensive collection of China for his mentor, Franz Boas, and his institutional sponsor, the AMNH. By drawing on Laufer's archived correspondence and the records of his collecting to reconstruct his itinerancy, Kendall paints a portrait of him as a learned and omnivorous mobile sinologist who worked solo in the field, amassing a vast collection from China. Much like recent histories of collecting in the Pacific, she shows how the China that Laufer collected was well integrated into an international market system that fostered the exchange of soft commodities such as crafts and luxury items (cf. O'Hanlon and Welsch 2000; Newell 2010). Through the character of this solitary expeditionist, Kendall examines what an expedition—in a manner very different from the military connotation of the term—means in relation to Laufer's ambitious project, and the pure serendipity of his collecting and the market in cultural goods in China during the early 1900s.

In Chapter 3, Erik Mueggler explores the travels of the Austrian-born American botanist-adventurer Joseph Rock (1884–1962), the leader of a 1924–27 expedition for Harvard University's Arnold Arboretum to Gansu Province, China (Mueggler 2011). The expedition was the most expensive and difficult exploration of early twentieth-century China. Working from the expedition's archived paper trail and the faint imprints of collaborators erased from published accounts, Mueggler resuscitates the tormented intimate relationships between Rock, as he attempted to overcome the solitude of his adventures, and his Yunnanese (Naxi) entourage, several members of which later became the unacknowledged co-authors of his botanical works on the region. In a region where local power and wealth were rooted in kinship, Mueggler considers how Rock, while looking down upon his assistants as inferiors, envied their house-

hold lives. Although some of his companions eventually offered to make him a fictive father, Mueggler shows how Rock's complex racism defeated his longing for intimacy and connection and returned him to his adventuresome lifetime wanderings. Mueggler's account demonstrates how the social and intimate boundaries of such expeditions were often porous and difficult to maintain.

Part 2, "Visualities," examines the processes, purposes, and encounters of artistic work in the field and the collections and exhibitions that were the outcome of those labors. In Chapter 4, Ira Jacknis focuses on the field activities, specifically the Huntington Southwest Expedition of 1909–21, that went into a linked series of AMNH American Indian halls (Northwest Coast, Plains, Southwest, and the small Eskimo Gallery) which were completed or revised between about 1905 and 1930. Extending the idea of naturalistic habitat groups and murals to their anthropological halls, the museum sent both artists and anthropologists to the field to collect artifacts and accessory materials and to sketch and make visual records. In a manner akin to Elizabeth Ferry's (2010) work on the exhibition history of the mineralogical collections of the then National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, Jacknis examines issues of authenticity and the representation of ethnographic reality; artifact collection; the use of still photography and film as visual notes; the differing approaches of anthropologist, artist, and administrator; and the competing goals of visual education at the AMNH.

In Chapter 5, Mark Elliott explores the outcomes of the solo expeditions to India made by the British sculptress Marguerite Milward (1873–1953) and the current circumstances of her portraits at the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Between 1935 and 1938, Milward produced almost one hundred plaster busts of individual men and women, forming what Elliott describes as a kind of "catalogue in sculpture" of India's different ethnic groups. In the same vein as Marianne Kinkel's (2011) *Races of Mankind*, a history of the three-dimensional models that the Field Museum commissioned from Malvina Hoffman in 1930, Elliott explores the collaborative circumstances under which the sculptures were made and exhibited as racial portraits. The MAA acquired the catalogue in 1948, but it subsequently slipped into obscurity and languished in museum storage. Working beyond the social life of the collection during its years in Cambridge, Elliott draws on his own ethnographic fieldwork in India and raises the question of whether these collections can be made relevant again.

Part 3, "Afterlives and Reassemblage," assesses the research potential of expedition objects, archived documentation, and photographs for museums of natural history and anthropology and their communities of origin. In Chapter 6, Joshua Bell focuses on aspects of the dispersed collections of the 1928 United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) New Guinea Sugarcane Expedition. This undertaking, perhaps more than others in the volume, highlights how expeditions emerged out of a range of partnerships and produced an array of specimens that were later divided up by disciplinary intention and the randomness of history. Today the expedition's resulting collections are dispersed among two natural history museums, three archives, at least two herbariums, and the homes of three of the participants' descendants. Bell shows how in these different settings, the USDA expedition's collections have been put to diverse ends as artifacts for display, scientific specimens, or illustrations, and as mementos or stock for breeding. He describes how bringing these histories and relations back into view allows for the exploration of the ends to which the collections of expeditions were deployed, what has been lost during these performances over time, and what their reassemblage might hold for our understanding of science and for the transformed landscapes and communities of Papua New Guinea and the southern United States.

In Chapter 7, Mark Turin offers an account of his role on the Digital Himalaya Project as a "salvage ethnographer of salvage ethnography." The project is an online portal of ethnographic materials open to the research community and to the "source community," that is, the descendants of the people from whom the material was collected. The focus of Turin's work is the cumulative mass of archived film and photographs from the collecting expeditions of the adventurer-scholars Frederick Williamson (1891–1935) and Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (1905–95) to Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, and northern India, which were generated during the late colonial period, a time when the papers in this volume show that the production of anthropological knowledge was still closely aligned with expeditions. The ethnographic multimedia produced in the field became secondary to the attention that scholars gave to scholarly monographs and were consigned to storage in the United States and Europe. Mark Turin describes how in his work he took up the challenge of reassembling, rehabilitating, and disseminating these "legacy materials" to the descendants of the same communities in which they were produced.

Examining expeditions within these three themes enables a more nuanced rendering of how expeditions emerged, the process by which their participants and collaborators created knowledge, the mechanisms by which their various forms of knowledge circulated and remained static, and the reasons why their material output is relevant to institutional and community histories. The diverse cultures and patterns of past expeditions reveal both their impact on the professionalization of the natural sciences and anthropology and the latent possibilities of the associated objects and records for future ethnographic study.

NOTES

1. As a mode of knowledge acquisition and conquest, expeditions have a long history and various global permutations (see, for example, Bleichmar 2012; Carter 1999; Daston and Lunbeck 2011; Kohler 2006; Naylor and Ryan 2010; Nielsen, Harbsmeier, and Ries 2012; Pang 2002; Raj 2010; Thomas 2014).
2. Examples of expeditions that non-European nations carried out are missing from this volume. Although not present here, such instances can be found in other works (van Bremen and Shimizu 1999; Goss 2011; Low 2003).
3. In a similar vein but to a different end, Tim Ingold (2012) has recently called for a closer merging of material culture studies and ecological anthropology.
4. It is important to note here that such conjunctions of tourism and science continue in various guises. The Earthwatch Institute is exemplary in this regard by putting citizen scientist volunteers onto scientific expeditions with a range of goals. <http://earthwatch.org/> (accessed October 29, 2014).
5. The small-scale experimental gallery is allocated to shows curated by BGC faculty and fellows that embody ambitious research on a single object, type, scholarly topic, or debate developed through intensive graduate seminars and tutorials.
6. Such exhibitions include *Drawing Shadows to Stone* (AMNH, 1997–98), *African Reflections: Art from Northeastern Zaïre* (AMNH, 1999), *The Endurance: Shackleton's Legendary Antarctic Expedition* (AMNH, 1999), *Race to the Snow: Photography and Exploration of Dutch New Guinea, 1907–1936* (Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, 2001–2), *From Nation to Nation: Examining Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection* (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard, 2003–8), *Congo Journey: Photographs and Documents from Robert Hotot's Expedition to Central Africa, 1908–9* (Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, 2004), *Bringing Japan to Boston* (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard, 2005), *Hunters and Collectors: The Origins of the Southeast Asian Collection* (Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore, 2009), *Dakar-Djibouti (1931–1933) y el Fantasma de África* (Museu Valencià de la Il·lustració i la Modernitat in Valencia, Spain, 2009), *Archaeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands* (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,

- 2010–11), and *Through Shên-Kan: Sterling Clark in China* (The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2012).
7. Bird skins resembled most of the external features of a living bird: the structure and colors of its plumage, as well as the general form of its beak, wings, and feet (Chapin 1929: 3).
 8. It was not uncommon for natural history expeditions to collect material culture. In fact, many of the museum's ethnological collections were assembled in this manner, and the contributions that natural scientists made to developing the AMNH Division of Anthropology's collection is an under-investigated topic worthy of an extensive study (see Schildkrout and Keim 1998). This topic is not covered in the recent history of the Division of Anthropology, and it deserves further research (Freed 2011).
 9. Mark Dion, "Artist's Statement," <http://www.clarkart.edu/exhibitions/phantoms-clark/content/artists-statement.cfm> (accessed December 12, 2014).
 10. Lisa Corrin, "Mark Dion's *Phantoms of the Clark Expedition*," in "Phantoms of the Clark: An Installation by Mark Dion," brochure, 2012, 4–13. <http://www.clarkart.edu/exhibitions/phantoms-clark/content/phantoms-of-the-clark.pdf> (accessed April 24, 2013).
 11. The editors have decided to publish Kuklick's essay unedited, because it approximates the final form she intended.

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ONE

Science as Adventure

Henrika Kuklick

In *The Species Seekers* (2011), his recent survey of Euroamerican naturalists, the popular science writer Richard Conniff represents nature study as a sort of divine madness. Of course, in the minds of the earlier figures Conniff describes, the divine was never far away: to inventory the world's species was to document God's creation. But Conniff's emphasis is on naturalists whose activities have been animated by sheer love of adventure—and disregard for self-preservation. For more than two centuries, such types have been prepared to risk life and limb—literally—going so far as to ignore combat raging around them on battlefields in order to capture desirable specimens they chanced upon there. Indeed, the risks they have run have somehow added value to the fieldworkers' pursuit of knowledge, rather than discouraging them from doing their research (Conniff 2011). Conniff's analysis certainly has merit: there are temperamental differences between persons who delight in stalking dangerous creatures, say, and those whose risk-taking behavior goes no further than attempting to solve exceptionally difficult crossword puzzles. And scientists' representations of themselves as heroes have taken extreme forms. Late nineteenth-century Arctic explorers, for example, described themselves as "knights," "pilgrims," and "martyrs" and their ventures as "quests," "crusades," and "pilgrimages" (Robinson 2006: 5). But we must ask why they did so. What social structural factors have shaped scientists' representation of themselves as adventurers? How has this representation enhanced their scientific reputations?