Exploring Travel and Tourism

Exploring Travel and Tourism: Essays on Journeys and Destinations

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For Pilar
who always asked me to do my best,
but who loved me no matter what.
You made every day a joy.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all of the contributors assembled here for sharing their research with me, first at the Travel and Tourism panels I organized at Mid-Atlanic Popular/American Culture Association (MAPACA) conferences, and then later in this volume. I also thank MAPACA itself for holding an entertaining, thought-provoking and very welcoming conference every year. Special thanks to Shawn Martin and Dr. Anu Vedantham for their counsel and skill, respectively. Very special thanks to Kevin Yoshimitsu for his talent as a photographer and his love and support during this project. And finally, thank you to my parents for instilling and supporting my love of travel.

INTRODUCTION

JENNIFER ERICA SWEDA

The twelve articles that comprise this collection were presented at Travel and Tourism panels at the Mid-Atlantic Popular/American Culture Association (MAPACA) annual conference between 2007 and 2010. Over those four years, scholars from disparate backgrounds gathered to explore topics like heritage tourism, the tourist identity, and the construction and reception of travel narratives.

The essays collected here offer a broad treatment of topics in travel and tourism studies around the world; they are authored by scholars working in the fields of history, gender studies, literature, art history, rhetoric and performance studies. Through archival research, close readings and case studies, the authors examine the significance of travel and the tourist experience over the last two hundred years, from Borneo to Cuba to Niagara Falls, and places in between. The contributions seek to unpack the meanings of nationality, postcolonialism, place, gender, class and the Self/Other dyad as they bump up against the framework of travel studies. Taken together, the articles speak to central issues in current scholarly debates about travel, tourism and culture from various historical, geographical and disciplinary perspectives.

The contributions are grouped thematically into three sections. Part I, "The Personal Travel Narrative: Constructing the Self Through Encounters with the Other," offers close readings of travelogues, both published and unpublished. Part II, "Constructing a National Identity Through Tourism," details the ways that countries market/present themselves to tourists and the impact of those efforts. Part III, "The Meaning of Journey; The Meaning of Destination," investigates places, both real and created, and the ways people travel to get to them.

Part I ("The Personal Travel Narrative: Constructing the Self Through Encounters with the Other") begins with Matthew Schauer's "A Beautiful Savage Picture: Adventure Travel, Ethnology, and Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century Borneo." Hiram Hiller and William Henry Furness, two American medical school friends and amateur ethnographers, traveled to Borneo in 1896. Theirs was still the era when traveling to a distant place

and "going native" could trump scholarly knowledge. Schauer maintains that Hiller and Furness were well aware of this fact and used their exotic five-month trip to fashion themselves into the recognizable explorer/adventurer figures popular at the time in order to reinvent themselves to the American public upon their return.

"Self-Fashioning in the Nineteenth-Century American Literary Scene and the Travels of N. P. Willis" also highlights the ways that travel can function as an act of self-fashioning and national identity creation. Author Cansu Özmen Pushkin argues that political exceptionalism is not the only standard found in nineteenth-century travelogues by Americans overseas. Özmen Pushkin's reading of two 1830s-40s writings of American magazinist, editor and author Nathaniel Parker Willis uncovers the ways in which Willis used celebrity culture and fashion, not political and economic factors, as categories of analysis on his trip to Europe and the Orient.

My chapter, "Re/Negotiating Gender, Tourist, and National Subjectivities in Edith Walker's 1888-1889 Travelogue," is a focused analysis of the unpublished letters of a young nineteenth-century Pennsylvania woman on an eight-month Grand Tour of England, Europe and the Near East. I argue that the liminality of travel highlights the fluidity of Edith Walker's identities as a woman, a tourist and an American. Reading her narrative allows us to unpack the distinct tensions within her letters, tensions that point both to the instability inherent in her own subject position and to the instabilities inherent in the larger discourses upon which her letters draw.

In "The Antebellum South in Fredrika Bremer's Travel Letters," Sirpa Salenius investigates the published correspondence of Swedish novelist and women's rights activist Fredrika Bremer. Published in 1853, Bremer's letters detail her impressions of the growing tensions between the American North and South and the institution of slavery. Salenius' analysis highlights the contradictory opinions so many travelers of the era shared about the South: delight at the mild climate and exotic foliage but disgust at public whippings and human bondage. Ultimately, Salenius maintains, Bremer was, herself, unable to rise above those contradictions and transcend the contemporary racist beliefs that informed her letters.

Images of slave and free labor in Cuba are the focus of Sarah Holian's "George Washington Carleton and *Our Artist in Cuba*: A Commentary on (American) Slavery." Her research analyzes the published sketches made by American artist and publisher George Washington Carleton during his 1864-65 trip to Cuba. Like Fredrika Bremer's letters, these drawings are rife with contradictions. Holian suggests that Carleton's sketchbook, which took a deliberately humorous and ambiguous approach to depictions

of slavery, appealed to an American audience facing the tensions created by the Civil War and the possible annexation of slave-holding Cuba.

Part II ("Constructing a National Identity Through Tourism") begins with Donald Hempson's "Branding a New Nation: Czechoslovakia's Use of Industrial Tourists." Hempson's work documents the path that Czechoslovakia, a state created at the end of the First World War, forged in its attempt to define itself to the rest of the world. Turning to industrial tourism, Czechoslovakia invited American businessmen to visit local mills and factories and the American Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce was born. Through its relationship with the United States, Hempson argues, this new democratic state was able to gain recognition, acceptance and security, becoming known as the "Yank" of Central Europe.

"Beaded Heritage: Tourism, Gender, and Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa," investigates the ways that contemporary South Africa attempts to present its culture through international tourism. Author Mary Klann, who maintains that handicrafts, women and tourism are inseparable in this part of the world, looks specifically at the women of South Africa who are the heart of the tourism industry there. Klann unpacks the contradictions in the policies of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism that attempt to help improve women's lives while maintaining a gendered division of labor that, in turn, counteracts that same help.

Lacy Marschalk explores issues surrounding national identity in India in her chapter "Toy Histories and Regional Flavor: The Effects of Cultural Tourism in Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*." She sees Roy's 1996 novel as a cautionary tale about the importance of maintaining balance in tourism. Through close readings of kathakali dance performance passages, Marschalk teases out the ways in which tourism in Kerala heightens the tensions between locals and foreigners, noting that while Indians actively challenged colonization during British imperialism, they now actively court foreign tourists, to the detriment of their own native culture.

Part III ("The Meaning of Journey; The Meaning of Destination") begins with Richard Gassan's "Trains to Niagara: Railroads and the Culture of Tourism, 1820-1860." This interpretive essay traces the evolution of the transportation infrastructure of New York State, from roads to canals to railroads, over the first half of the nineteenth century. Drawing heavily upon primary sources, Gassan explores the ways in which the journey to the falls was affected by the growth of tourism to Niagara, one of the top US travel destinations of the period. Gassan shows how the pull of Niagara helped propel improvements in the local

transportation infrastructure, which in turn enticed even more tourists to visit the falls.

Janice Chernekoff's article "The Rider Stories of *Randonneurs*: Pilgrims' Tales That Constitute a Virtual Community" discusses the significance of pilgrimage to travel. For Chernekoff's subjects, the important element is more the journey (by bicycle, over significant distances) and less the destination itself. The locus of this pilgrimage is almost entirely within, with only the open road seen—not any of the typical tourist sites—as evidenced by the fact that for the Paris-Brest-Paris bike race, the destination is the same as the starting point. The riders do indeed travel, but as their written narratives make clear, the goal of the journey is an internal one.

For the travelers in Karalee Dawn Mackay's research, the method of getting from one place to another is far less important than the destination of Edinburgh, Scotland. "Tartans, Kilts and Clans on Tour: Exploring Issues of Mobility, Heritage and Cultural Homecomings at The Gathering 2009" unpacks the motivations and opinions of tourists who feel they are coming "home" to a place most have never before been. What are the implications of setting such a place as home, especially one so heavily created and mediated? Through its investigation of the Homecoming Scotland campaign, Mackay's essay highlights the manufactured nature of much of organized heritage tourism.

Finally, Joshua Fisher's article "Re-Creating Rushmore: The Enchanted Highway of North Dakota" investigates the importance of another created environment, this one in Regent, North Dakota. This tourist attraction, reminiscent of other massive tourist sites in the American West like Mount Rushmore, has one man at its center; teacher-turned-artist Gary Greff is attempting almost singlehandedly, through colossal metal sculptures and a proposed theme park, to revive a struggling town. Fisher's project addresses the questions: Can art really (help) create a tourist infrastructure? And how do tourists engage with art, specifically outdoor/roadside art?

PART I.

THE PERSONAL TRAVEL NARRATIVE: CONSTRUCTING THE SELF THROUGH ENCOUNTERS WITH THE OTHER

A BEAUTIFUL SAVAGE PICTURE: ADVENTURE TRAVEL, ETHNOLOGY, AND IMPERIALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BORNEO

MATTHEW SCHAUER

Introduction

The lights in the hall of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia rose to the sounds of "thundering applause."[1] The speaker, a thin man with a waxed mustache, retired humbly, walking through the glow of lantern slide projections portraying stoic natives holding spears. He was then called back on for an encore by the crowd of "four or five hundred" to talk of "some of the difficulties and dangers" that he faced during his several months in Sarawak, Borneo.[2]

The speaker was a Missouri-born physician named Hiram Milliken Hiller (1867-1921). He received his M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1891, where he met his eventual traveling companion and the photographer of the previously mentioned lanternslides, William Henry Furness III (1868-1920). Hiller was a middle-class midwesterner, while Furness was from a wealthy and prominent Philadelphia family. The two men would travel around the world nearly two and half times between 1896 and 1901. The Furness family would fund these trips as adventures for their son and in order to donate the artifacts and specimens collected on the journeys.

The speech described above occurred on April 21, 1897 and was entitled "Borneo and Its Inhabitants." It would be one of Hiller's most successful, and was one of his first speeches after returning to Philadelphia from a trip with Furness to Asia. The men spent five months in Sarawak from May 6 to September 24, 1896. There they collected the natural specimens and ethnological artifacts that would form the founding collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology. This collection includes implements of warfare, such as numerous

parangs, or native machetes, tattooing tools, rice-husking tools, and animal traps.[3] The natural specimens included insects, fish, birds, mammals and several of the first orangutan skeletons ever to be held by an American museum.

Hiram Hiller and W. H. Furness attempted to fashion themselves into the mold of explorer/adventurers through their depictions of their journey to Borneo and their collection of ethnological knowledge, cultural objects, and natural specimens. The experience of this journey to the interior of Borneo was portrayed as one that was so exotic and physically taxing, that it would be sufficient to reinvent Hiller and Furness in the eyes of the general public. They characterized themselves as aloof scientific observers, who were immersed within fundamentally primitive cultures and living conditions for the goal of collecting information and artifacts. They were amateur ethnographers guided by the work of previous explorers and the recommendations of learned societies, who published rules for amateur ethnographers to follow when gathering objects and information.

In their writings the men asserted their own expertise, while stressing the strangeness of their encounters with native customs and culture.[4] Hiller and Furness also focused upon the natives as being demonstrative of an earlier natural state of humanity that theoretically gave an insight into the fundamental primitive state of mankind through their cultures and personalities. Their writings describe the primitive nature and savagery of these indigenous tribes, while emphasizing Hiller and Furness' cultural and racial superiority. This sense of superiority caused the men to be supremely confident in their abilities to understand and gather information without knowledge of the local languages, and to avoid potentially succumbing to the alluring simplicity of the natives' lifestyle. Hiller and Furness also demonstrated the "superiority" of Western civilization by using their medical training to treat several natives for a number of different ailments. Instead of winning the natives' universal admiration for their "civilized" skills, they were nearly murdered when one of their patients died.[5]

Furness and Hiller's expedition had two primary goals. The first was to create public reputations for themselves as explorer/ethnologists. They planned on achieving this by observing an isolated tribe that practiced headhunting, and collecting specimens of the "Wild Man of Borneo," or the orangutan. Secondly, they were seeking an adventure, during which they could gather anecdotes to entertain the public. They hoped to achieve the adoration of the social circles of Philadelphia and the eastern United States as well as respect from the numerous prestigious academic societies

of the United States and abroad. Their writings and recollections reflect this dual goal, by stressing their prowess as scholars and adventurers, while portraying Sarawak and its people in a sensational light to attract their audience.

Furness wrote in the introduction to his work *The Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters* that his goal in writing the book was primarily to inform his readers about the "charm" of the "daily round of the natives' dateless life," and that he omitted useless details such as those describing "my personal comfort or health, or as to the number of men who carried my luggage, or what I had for breakfast, or dinner."[6] His assertion that his personal well-being was of no concern reinforces his image as an adventurer driven in the pursuit of knowledge. Furness assured his readers that he attempted to record this information "wholly unprejudiced" and "even free from all tendency to despise as gross superstition that which by the natives [was] deemed holy and religious."[7]

Their journey was informed and facilitated by imperialism, in that they were working from the precedent of ethnological work done by Charles Hose. Hose, who was an administrator in the colonial regime of Rajah Charles Brooke, also organized Hiller and Furness' journey down the Baram River in Sarawak. The "civilizing" of empire emerges in Hiller and Furness' letters and journals, as they admire the achievements of the Brooke regime in establishing law and order in Sarawak and its generally successful attempts to eliminate particularly "savage" practices such as headhunting and supposed human sacrifice in the region. As ethnologists, Hiller and Furness also expressed some ambivalence toward the expansion of Western civilization within Sarawak, as they saw this as potentially causing the destruction of native cultural practices, and pushing the villagers further and further from their primitive natural state. Hiller and Furness sought to preserve a glimpse of this state of nature, and the urgency of this mission added another element of adventure to their journey and greater sense of importance to their academic endeavors.

Hiller and Furness were conscious of the fact that their collections needed to be unique to the United States and broad in scope and variety. In an interview with a Honolulu newspaper on their way to Asia, their expedition is described as "a private enterprise backed by unlimited capital (the Furness family)…to gather curios for the University of Pennsylvania."[8] Hiller and Furness are seen as

> professional men who are well known to the scientific world [seeking]…to secure the most perfect collection possible [with] money not really being an object.[9]

They are also described as adventurers who "will have a siege of rough life such as they have never experienced before."[10] The combination of this construction of the men as professional and well-respected, as well as rugged adventurers, served to excite the contemporary newspaper reader with stories of potential danger, and publicly validated the expedition as academically fruitful and unique. This image of the men as explorer/adventurers, and the publicly perceived academic utility of the collection, would be essential for the success of the expedition in terms of gaining personal respect for the men as anthropologists and in gaining philanthropic prestige for their patrons, the Furness family.

The Explorer/Adventurer and Borneo as a Land of Adventure

Victorian-age travel writers and adventurers characterized Borneo as a land isolated from time. It was described as teeming with primitive and violent tribes, and strange flora and fauna, such as the carnivorous pitcher plant and the orangutan. They described an inhospitable environment of disease and giant leeches, and the danger encountered by other explorers solidified the island's image as one of peril and mystery. Borneo was also portrayed as an ideal setting for research in ethnography and the natural sciences, due to its isolated interior and the precedent established by serious scientific researchers such as Alfred Russel Wallace. Explorers and adventurers specifically sought out remote areas and tribal groups that had little contact with British and Dutch colonial administrators. Borneo's exotic image caught the interest of the public and of academic societies in Western Europe and the United States.

Much like with the search for Eldorado, explorers undertook expeditions to Borneo based upon the validating of fantastical myths in an attempt to excite the public. For instance, explorer Carl Bock, who traveled in Borneo and Sumatra in the late 1870s, set out in service of the Dutch colonial government to find evidence of cannibalism and of the *orang buntut* (men with tails) among the Bornean tribes.[11] His work would eventually be published as *The Head-Hunters of Borneo* in 1881 and would become one of the more popular and influential books on the ethnology of the peoples of Borneo.

Hiller and Furness followed the lead of previous explorers and consciously constructed themselves in their image. For instance, they would specifically seek to hunt and trap orangutans for anatomical research and study in captivity. This directly follows the model of Alfred Russel Wallace who described in great detail his hunts for the orangutan

and his attempts to raise an orangutan baby in his seminal book *The Malay Archipelago*, which was published in 1869. They also specifically focused on tribes that had previous contact with anthropologists, and that were known to practice tattooing and headhunting, two subjects of great interest to the general public.

Beyond reproducing some of the sensationalism and specific scientific foci of earlier works, the men also followed the Victorian-era model of the gentleman explorer and the trappings of his expedition. The historian Trevor Millum gives an excellent overview of this image in his model of the explorer:

> The [explorer's] expedition employs numerous servants, whether guides, interpreters, cooks, and porters. There is much baggage including provision for samples of flora and fauna to be preserved. The expedition enjoys the backing of either government or well-placed civil servants and/or some prestigious learning society. He has firm opinions and believes he is serving mankind. His attitude to the native population is benign paternalism combined with clear-cut prejudices about certain racial groups (and about women). The explorer is male and white.[12]

Hiller and Furness exemplify this definition through their actions and their records of their travels, observations, and collecting practices.

The men followed the guidelines of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, which was the handbook of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. It was aimed at standardizing the research and collection practices of the amateur researchers who made up the budding field of anthropology in the late nineteenth century. The book was intended to "provide accurate anthropological observation on the part of travelers, and to enable those who are not anthropologists themselves to supply the information which is wanted for the scientific study of anthropology at home."[13] The handbook detailed the various aspects of "civilized" culture and physical characteristics of which travelers were supposed to be especially observant. The book contained a colored palette of hair, skin, and eye shades, as well as a ruler embossed on the front cover for measuring specimens. The topical guidelines of *Notes and Queries*, such as the different aspects of advanced and primitive civilizations, would serve as Hiller and Furness' frames of reference throughout their journey in Borneo.

The major surviving sources dealing with Furness and Hiller's first journey to Sarawak are Hiller's complete journals of the voyage, the public speeches that each presented in the years following, several of the letters that Hiller sent home to Kahoka, Missouri during his voyage, and

Furness' book *The Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters*, which was published in 1902. The letters home also provide a sense of Hiller without the posturing of an adventurer, which often permeated his journals. This posturing is present in his journals due to the fact that Hiller was writing his journals in duplicate books, which he sent home for his family as an official record. Furness' work is filled with examples of similar adventurous characteristics, and is examined later in this chapter. The original labels from the *Borneo Room* Exhibition at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, photographs of the exhibition, and a list of objects on display still survive, along with many of the objects collected by Hiller and Furness. These sources convey Hiller and Furness' anthropological methods, their analysis of the degrees of civilization among the peoples of Borneo, and conceptions of themselves as they transformed into the image of adventurers.

Colonial Comfort in Kuching

At the time of the Furness-Hiller Expedition of 1896, the island of Borneo was divided into three European-controlled sections, and the Sultanate of Brunei. North Borneo was controlled by the British North Borneo Chartered Company. The southern half of the island, Kalimantan, fell under the control of the Dutch colonial government of the Netherlands Indies. Sarawak was governed by the Brooke family raj. After James Brooke's death in 1868 his nephew Charles Johnson Brooke became the second white rajah of Sarawak, continuing his uncle's work of suppressing headhunting and piracy. After being initially taken aback by Brooke's feeble appearance, Hiller expresses nothing but admiration for the rajah and his altruistic rule, which in Hiller's opinion was not exploitive, like that of the Dutch in their colony.[14] After a meal with the rajah, Hiller proclaimed: "The history of Sir James & Charles Brooke, when once written will be interesting history, but only when one has seen this country can he realize what heroic self-sacrifice, what bravery has been expended by them."[15] Furness described Brooke as a "wise and beneficent ruler"[16] and lauded his attempts to bring law and order to Sarawak through the deft cultural management of his administrators. Furness also acknowledged Brooke's hospitality and his "liberal permission to collect Ethnological and Natural History Material."[17] Without Brooke's continuation of his uncle's efforts to end tribal warfare and headhunting, and to open communication with the tribes, Hiller and Furness would have had little chance of successfully securing their later safe homestay with the Kenyah Chief Tama Bulan.

Furness and Hiller integrated themselves within colonial society in Sarawak's capital of Kuching. The city served as an outpost of European civilization and comfort where the men recuperated between their journeys and stored and cataloged their objects and specimens. Hiller described his feelings of excitement and unease with the strange blend of European and native cultures upon arrival in Kuching by writing:

> It was very warm, but thundershowers soon relieved the "weights" of the atmosphere and stretching out on long rattan chairs—while the two monkeys chattered & played—We tried to realize that this was Borneo & not our own dooryard at home. It's a curious fact that Man's Egoism makes all climes & countries seem as though he had been born there once he has pitched his tent and lighted his pipe.[18]

With this quote in his journal Hiller asserts his own adaptability as an adventurer, and simultaneously comments on the Westernization of Kuching. Hiller and Furness integrated themselves quickly within colonial society and the exported Western culture of Kuching. They passed the time conversing with other Western travelers over tea and elaborate meals at the British-style Kuching Club, with the discussions ranging from local politics to the type of "white duck" tropical clothing they had chosen to purchase. They also fostered relationships that would allow them to undertake their jungle adventure as efficiently and safely as possible.

"A Siege of Rough Life:"[19] Jungle Living and Collecting

The expedition was organized such that the men were able to alternate between living in "civilized" luxury, as in Honolulu or Kuching, and this rough life in the jungles. This reluctance to completely immerse themselves in the natives' manner of daily life was symptomatic of this sense of aloof integration that would characterize the men's journey and experiences in Sarawak. This aloof integration involved the men stressing their complete immersion into native life to their audiences, while remaining outside observers due to their status as collectors, their sentiments of superiority, and their fear of embracing the allure of the simplicity of the native life. For instance, servants and a Chinese cook kept Hiller and Furness from undertaking exhausting manual labor and eating native cuisine, except when doing so would later serve as an adventurous tale or was unavoidable. Hiller's descriptions of his fondest memories of early morning canoeing give a sense of the nature of their position as privileged travelers; he states that [while the men were canoeing] "I was

usually awakened by my cook's hand thrust inside the mosquito curtain as he offered me a cup of coffee and a biscuit."[20]

During their six-week stay with the family of the Kenyah Chief Tama Bulan, Hiller and Furness were treated as esteemed guests being that they were friends of Rajah Brooke and Charles Hose. Hiller and Furness were kept in a separate section of the longhouse away from the villagers. Furness wrote that he could identify with "freaks at a circus" as random villagers kept peering in at them.[21] The other relative discomforts they had to manage were the constant unwelcome companionship of the local dogs and voracious insects, and the occasional coerced tastes of native food and drink. Furness described how they had to hang their shoes out of the reach of these "crafty curs"[22] so that they would not eat them, and of the dogs' unwelcome attempts to share his bed. Furness wrote: "They [dogs] are particularly troublesome and quarrelsome and seemed to prefer our bodies to any other couch."[23] Hiller and Furness both mention the "torment of the myriads of rapacious and voracious mosquitoes."[24] Furness described the annoyance of the Bornean insects during one later instance when he was trying to complete a photograph in a swamp:

> When I threw the focussing [sic] cloth over my head, I had entrapped unwittingly so many mosquitoes that I could hardly see to focus; in one minute they had stung me on the lips, cheeks, eyelids, and within the nostrils, and on the ears. I am not a coward, but I really could not face, literally, the overwhelming onslaught for the two minutes which, on account of the dim light, were necessary for the exposure; the poor wretch of an Iban [tribesman] who was with me, clad only in his loin-cloth, actually cried and moaned with the suffering.[25]

Furness characterized himself as being able to withstand the pain more easily than his Iban tribesman, and in turn reinforced for his audience the discomfort he had to withstand in order to create the photographs that illustrate his book. Hiller and Furness also endured the Kenyah's food and drink, when they were unable to seek refuge with the cuisine of their Chinese cook. Furness described how he and Hiller reluctantly waited their turn to drink a ceremonial drink at a Kenyah naming ceremony:

> We had quite awhile to await our turn, and to speculate on the ingredients of the awful drink,—it was almost adequately nauseating that we should have to take it out of that family, that tribal spoon. My turn came at last. It was a ghastly dose, make no mistake. It was lukewarm, it was fiery hot with peppers, it was salty, it was pungent, it was sweet, it was flat, it was sour, and it tasted strongly of brass bowl. All of this was administered from a spoon that without washing or wiping had already been in the mouths of

> thirty or forty black-toothed predecessors. Our uncontrollable and immeasurable disgust created infinite amusement and prolonged laughter.[26]

Besides engaging in these cultural experiences and observing the practices of the natives, Hiller and Furness spent their time gathering natural and ethnographic specimens to bring back to Philadelphia.

As a representative of the raj and a fellow anthropologist, Charles Hose facilitated the experiences that would color Hiller and Furness' later speeches and their collection of ethnographic objects and natural specimens. Hose provided several Dayak hunters who were "experts in skinning and preserving,"[27] for the ongoing collection of natural specimens. Although Furness and Hiller did often hunt with the Dayaks, the natives continued to collect and preserve birds, fish, insects, and mammals while Hiller and Furness were occupied with more anthropological pursuits. These pursuits primarily involved buying objects from natives who lived in the villages along the Baram River, sketching objects and personal adornments, such as tattoos, or recording conversations and observations with the natives.

Hose's Dayak hunters, Hiller, and Furness were able to collect and catalogue a wide variety of natural specimens. Following the instructions of *Notes and Queries*,[28] the specimens and ethnographic artifacts were catalogued and labeled upon the men's return to Kuching. Hiller described their bungalow in Kuching as a scene of scientific carnage:

> Boxes of birds + animals…strew the house + pelts + skins + monkeys [on] the lawn. A rough scaffold on the lawn holds four mias skins, several monkeys and birds, two armadillos, 3 monkeys, a civet cat, + a huge water snake.[29]

In addition to the orangutans they had killed, they were able to follow in the footsteps of Alfred Russel Wallace and capture a juvenile orangutan. Furness would attempt to raise the animal as a pet, and devote his later life to the study of possible speech in primates.

Hiller and Furness collected the anthropological artifacts by attending special markets, or merely spotting things around the villages and asking for a price. Word of their tastes preceded them as they traveled down the Baram River. This created a market from which the men could easily select artifacts without having to specifically seek them out. For instance, the warriors at Chief Tama Bulan's village immediately offered their shields, blowpipes, and parangs for possible sale. Hiller stated that there was very little bartering, as "money was no object" so the men "bought right + left and feeling under obligations to the men for bringing us up [they] did not haggle with our old friends on the prices."[30] There was one

exception when Hiller and Furness bargained extensively with a woman in an attempt to purchase some of her tattooing tools and for her to give Furness a small tattoo. Hiller wrote,

> Bill had to almost steal her tools to get them and she wanted $2.00 more for making a star half an inch in diameter on his leg—you can scare [sic] make out the design it is so poorly done.[31]

The men did actively seek the beautiful and the exotic, as well utilitarian and quotidian, items in accordance with their mission to gather a "complete" collection. This was in keeping with the guidelines of *Notes and Queries*:

> The commonest things in use are generally the most valuable from an ethnological point of view, through masterpieces of native art are of artistic value, and therefore should not be despised. Models should be obtained when the originals cannot be obtained or are too large for transport, e.g. canoes, houses, etc.[32]

It is through this collecting rationale that the "Bornean Collection of W. H. Furness and H. M. Hiller" contained models of long houses, a Kayan tomb, and a forge, as well as an "old wooden bowl" and an "Old Dyak [sic] jar (broken)."[33] This was in addition to the more spectacular and exotic artifacts such as war parangs and tattooing instruments. Tattooing and headhunting would serve as exciting and sensational topics of ethnographic discussion and presentation to the general public upon Furness and Hiller's return to Philadelphia. In order to specifically emphasize these topics, and to lend validity to their roles as explorers, the men added their own personal experiences and anecdotes as background for their collections. Hiller and Furness' particular efforts towards gathering a complete collection would eventually secure for them a legacy, as their artifacts served as a portion of the founding collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Violence and Nature: Depictions of the Peoples of the Baram River

Hiller and Furness specifically chose to spend time living among the Kenyah and the Kayan tribes, which they likely chose due to the natives' reputation as being one of the more isolated and violent of the headhunting tribal groups of Sarawak. This reputation is represented by Hiller's descriptions of numerous violations of Brooke's anti-headhunting laws.[34]

In terms of writing an interesting exploration narrative or creating groundbreaking fieldwork, life among the more "civilized" tribal groups was not necessarily always desirable. *Notes and Queries* states:

> The more remote and unknown the race or tribe, the more valuable the evidence afforded of the study of its institutions, from the probability of their being less mixed with those of European origin.[35]

Hiller also practiced his own version of "salvage anthropology" by focusing on collecting objects from and observing tribes that he saw as being on the brink of extinction. Hiller stated:

> On more than one occasion [Alfred Harrison, a traveling partner] and I have met the last man of his tribe. Such tribes as the Kyans [sic] seem to hold their own…but it would seem idle to prophecy for the future.[36]

Hiller saw these extinctions as resulting from ongoing tribal warfare and the economic expansion of European colonial interests.

This sense of salvaging the Kenyah culture caused both Hiller and Furness to detail observations of the more mundane aspects of the Kenyah's daily lives, such as their diet and their lack of cleanliness. But a large bulk of their writings focused on the more violent and exotic aspects of the tribes' lifestyle, such as headhunting. Both their observations of the mundane and the exotic aspects of tribal life are used to characterize the natives' condition as fundamentally primitive and barbarous. There are exceptions to this characterization, as Hiller and Furness also stressed certain attractive aspects of primitive life, such as certain tribal leaders exhibiting fundamental ideas of nobility, and the unencumbered sexuality of female tribal members.

Hiller and Furness were excited by the prospect of living with a tribe, even though they had no knowledge of the local languages. Furness did not allow this simple deficiency in skills to keep him from observing a ceremony that he "doubt[ed] if any Caucasian has ever witnessed."[37] He stated:

> We were totally unacquainted with Tama Bulan's language—the Kenyah,—or even Malay, the Lingua Franca throughout Borneo, and the greater part of the adjacent islands—but what of that? Sign language is all sufficient at a pinch, and furthermore, a vocabulary of one-hundred and fifty to two hundred words is soon acquired, and, in simple Polynesian dialects, will prove adequate for all ordinary purposes.[38]

Hiller and Furness were confident that their superior intellects allowed them to master the simple language and cultural practices of the Bornean natives, and enabled them to record their experiences for academic research.

The men's first extended contact of the natives of the Baram River was through the spectacle of a tribal council with the rajah, which Hose had organized especially for the travelers. The natives were dressed in their traditional warrior clothing decorated with hornbill feathers and bright colors. Likely with the help of Hose, Hiller was able to differentiate between the tribes by their various costumes and the differences in their ceremonial demonstrations of military techniques. Hiller also observed Hose's considerable influence over the natives, as when Hose ordered the tribes to compete to see who could impress Furness and Hiller the most with their torchlight dances. Hiller described Hose as "play(ing) one people off against the other, for they are but children after all."[39]

Hiller and Furness perceived Rajah Brooke and Hose as bulwarks against barbarism. Their influence had regulated headhunting and in general extended modern conceptions of cultural civilization up the river. Even with this increase in law and order, Brooke and Hose recognized that headhunting was such a deeply ingrained cultural practice that it had to be managed instead of abolished completely. Furness wrote that Brooke was a "wise and beneficent ruler" and that

> Brooke occasionally allows "wild justice" and allows injured parties to raid neighboring tribes for revenge as punishment, in instances where he perceives large groups have attacked small villages.[40]

The two travelers described the Kenyah tribespeople as existing in a "state of nature," which was fundamentally violent and childlike. Both men focused on headhunting practices extensively in their writings and saw it as a deeply ingrained cultural practice that was reflective of the natives' amoral existence. Furness referred to it as the "one ruling passion of the people."[41] Hiller perceived the major driving forces of native life in Sarawak to be: violence, the quest for heroism, revenge, and the desire "to secure a sufficient store of rice,"[42] all of which were combined in the practice of headhunting. The Kenyah described to Furness the mythological importance of gathering heads to ensure the health and good fortune of the tribe, as well as to ensure the placement of a warrior within the mystical afterlife of Bulun Matai.[43] A captured skull held a place of power and honor in the village and in the home. Hiller observed that "over the fireplace…[there were] smoke blackened skulls," and that the natives even made wooden replicas or used monkey skulls in place of them.[44]