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"No mere travelogue": material-semiotic bodies/texts in science, safari, and spectacle

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"No mere travelogue":

Material-semiotic bodies/texts in science, safari, and spectacle

by

Lisa M. Hermsen

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For the Major Program

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ABSTRACT

Where and how might we alternatively understand *science as representation* and figure *rhetoric as material*—and thus trace the ways meaning comes to be constructed in scientific and rhetorical practices, in particular historic moments, for the benefit of some and at the cost of Others? This exploration is situated in a study of anthropology as a social science, emerging as a discipline in the early part of the twentieth century. It treats Osa Johnson's travelogue/ethnography, *I Married Adventure*, and Martin and Osa Johnsons' ethnocinematic films *Simba* and *Congorilla*, in what Thomas Gieryn describes as "boundary work" across science, safari, and spectacle. The Johnsons' texts work here as what Susan Leigh Star terms "boundary objects," the history of which traces the rhetorical and cultural work involved in anthropology as science and ethnography as scientific method. Mary Louise Pratt and James Clifford have shown us how to think about the rhetorical tropes of travel writing as apparatuses for global scientific expedition. And Donna Haraway has argued for understanding science as a "material semiotic" cultural event. The notions of disciplinary tropes and the extended material- semiotic cultural events allow me to trace what Bruno Latour terms "quasi-objects" along networks, as they work to purify always, already-contaminated boundaries. In sum, I explore the overlapping discourses of science and travel, as these interweave in the uncontainable boundaries of pre-disciplinary anthropology, and thus enact other material boundaries and borders between the civilized and primitive, familiar and strange, American and African.

PREFACE

Osa and Martin Johnson

dressed in riding breeches,

laced boots, and pith helmets.

A dead man slung on a pole

–"Long Pig," the caption said.

Babies with pointed heads

wound round and round with string;

black, naked women with necks

wound round and round with wire

like the necks of light bulbs.

Their breasts were horrifying.

I read it straight through

I was too shy to stop.

And then I looked at the cover:

the yellow margins, the date.

I –we– were falling,

our eyes glued to the cover

of the *National Geographic*,

February, 1918.

(Elizabeth Bishop, 1971, "In the Waiting Room")

The dissertation examines the written and visual ethnographic work of Osa and Martin Johnson, popular early twentieth century explorers and adventurers. I situate this examination in a study of anthropology as a social science, emerging as a discipline in the early part of the twentieth century. I concentrate on Osa Johnson's text, *I Married Adventure*, and on Martin and Osa Johnsons' films *Simba* and *Congorilla*, as objects whose history traces the conceptual, rhetorical, and cultural work of anthropology as science and ethnography as scientific method. I focus, in particular, on the life of Osa Johnson, an early 20th century scientist, adventurer, and entertainer by reading her text, *I Married Adventure*, as it circulated across the domains of scientific exploration, safari expedition, and spectacular travel. The dissertation challenges those readings of the Johnsons' work that too easily dismiss this work as "nonscience." I argue here that such readings leave much of the Johnsons' scientific credibility and consequent social relevance unexplained. My central claim is that the Johnsons' work, far from being expelled from the realm of science, was actually pushed into it and was advanced in its context as at least a quasi-legitimate science. Moreover, I argue that this text resists any strict distinction between professional science and its popularization.

Studies of science by sociologists, historians, philosophers, and rhetoricians have spent much time and energy attempting to identify principles of demarcation that would define the essence of what really makes science *science*: who is a scientist? what is scientific? where is science? However, it seems now that such attempts have failed because no such principles for demarcation seem available. That is, insofar as attempts have been devoted to discover an epistemological and ahistorical essence of science that could be demarcated by certain common properties, the attempts have been doomed because there is no epistemological or ahistorical essence to be found. And yet, even though there are no

essential principles that demarcate science from non-science, science retains a certain epistemic and ahistorical privilege.

More recent work in the studies of science have posited that science emerges at this epistemic privilege in a nonepistemic way. The argument posits that the demarcation of science from nonscience is contingent and local, mapped by a variety of conceptual, rhetorical, and social practices of disciplinarity.

Throughout this dissertation, I draw upon the concept of "boundary" as it has been brought to bear in contemporary theorizing in studies of science to make sense of a variety of cultural practices and productions in those spaces where difference becomes manifest. Specifically, in the dissertation, I borrow Thomas F. Gieryn's concept of "boundary work," Susan Leigh Star's concept of "boundary object," and Bruno Latour's concept of "network" and "circulatory reference." In the dissertation, I draw on these helpful theoretical and analytical tools: 1) Thomas F. Gieryn has introduced the rhetorical strategies for "boundary work" that separates science from non-science in local and episodic contexts. 2) Susan Leigh Star has created the concept of "boundary object" to talk about objects which inhabit several intersecting worlds and thus serve as "obligatory passage points" across those spaces in which lines of demarcation separating science from non-science are simultaneously ordered and disordered, contested and accepted. 3) Bruno Latour offers a network system of "circulatory reference" through which "quasi-objects" move and are dependent upon both coordination among multiple network participants and on the maintenance of that coordination over time.

Together, the notions of boundary work, boundary objects, and networks of circulatory reference trace the variety of material, rhetorical, and cultural movement of texts in and out of professional and popular categories, as well as the simultaneous existence of texts in these different categories at any one moment—and for the benefit of some and at the cost of Others. As I examine the Johnsons' texts, I am interested (allow me to re-emphasize) not only with the deployment of science but also with creations and re-creations of reality and subsequent materialization of bodies. The story I tell in the dissertation is one of closely networked sites at which the discourses of science, safari, and spectacle link and collide—and do so in overtly ideological and violent encounters. The argument is that this text, by circulating across and between the boundaries and borders of professional science, public education, and popular entertainment, worked to construct Other boundaries and borders between gender and race and between American and African—the civilized and savage, domesticated and wild, familiar and strange.

The dissertation takes up science as it was conducted under the guise of expedition—or expedition as it was conducted under the guise of science—in a study of representation and materiality, particularly in circulation across the boundaries of professional science, public education, and popular spectacle. Important to note, however, is that my interest is less with critique of the newly disciplined field of anthropology than with the way the subject has been deployed in the service of the dichotomized framework of science/culture and in the consequent deployment of our own modern demarcations between legitimate professional science and crude popular culture, demarcations that are historically contingent and simultaneously slippery.

INTRODUCTION

The True Adventures of Osa on Safari:

Rhetoric of Science, Safari, and/or, neither/nor Spectacle

Osa and Martin Johnson, between 1917 and 1933, traveled to the South Sea Islands, Borneo, and Africa. Their stated goal was to produce scientific, educational, and entertaining pictures and films recording the peoples, customs, and wildlife of these far off places and bring the film records back to the American United States. They promised that their cameras would provide an accurate record of Africa and would thus have "enormous scientific value." So with financial support from George Eastman (of Eastman Kodak) and the official sponsorship of the American Museum of Natural History, Osa and Martin set out to document the real Africa. In fact, Osa and Martin were among the first to film in some of the remotest parts of Africa and were the first ever to make a live sound picture in Africa. After each excursion, the Johnsons returned to America where they joined the vaudeville circuit, lecturing and entertaining. In all, the Johnsons acquired enough footage for 40 feature-length and short films. Their first safari lecture film premiered in New York in July 1918 at the Rivoli Theater, where it played to a packed room and received great critical acclaim. Five of their feature films—*Trailing African Wild Animals*, *Simba*, *Congorilla*, *Baboona*, and *Borneo*—were box office hits, received world-wide acclaim, and were shown in theaters throughout America and Europe. The immense popularity of these films made the Johnsons the foremost interpreters of Africa to an Euro-American public. In fact, the Johnsons have been credited "more than any other filmmakers" with giving a "box-office-oriented" look at Africa to England and America (Cameron 46). And they have even been credited with making "safari" a household name in the English language.

Indeed Osa and Martin's careers were not ordinary: "In their heyday, the Johnsons were movie stars of the first magnitude. Theater marquees and gaudy posters trumpeted their films, the press eagerly recorded their comings and goings, their adoring public turned out to greet them wherever they went. They maintained residences in New York and Nairobi, hobnobbed with the rich and famous" (Houston 145). When Martin and Osa signed with the Orpheum Vaudeville Circuit, they opened on Broadway at the Criterion Theater and played to a packed house. Osa (1941) describes their lives as vaudeville troupers: "Martin would lecture in any and all halls and theaters, and I danced and sang" to add variety (36). Whether Osa and Martin Johnson's films succeeded at education or acted rather as side show entertainments, at the height of their popularity, the films "shaped the perception of [Africa] and its wildlife for millions of Americans" (Preston 14). For her part, Osa captured the imagination of the American public as she became a Hollywood personality of sorts. Osa, donned in a wardrobe of zebra skin shoes and antelope skin coats, was named one of America's best dressed women in 1939 by the Fashion Academy (with Bettie Davis and Mrs. Vanderbilt) and later launched her own line of clothing trademarked "Osafari" in a variety of colors, including Kenya blue and Uganda flame, and with buttons in the form of African masks. Osa also published recipes in the *New York Times*, composed several articles for *Good Housekeeping*, wrote short children's stories, and marketed a line of stuffed toy animals, "Osa's Jungle Friends," endorsed by the National Wildlife Foundation, all to great commercial success. Osa's autobiography, *I Married Adventure*, was the number one national best-seller in nonfiction for 1940. It remained on the *New York Times* best-seller list for almost a full year. In the forward, F. Trubee Davison, president of the American Museum of Natural History, comments on the Johnsons' contribution to the museum's exhibits and projects, and suggests that Osa's "story about everywhere else in the world" is "no mere travelogue."

Osa and Martin continued to travel to Africa and make motion pictures until Martin's death in 1937. Upon Martin's death, American Museum administrators publicly grieved the "loss to natural history science in general and to the American Museum in particular." Others noted that "the world of science, exploration, and education loses a great soul, loveable personality, and tremendous force." Aside the announcements of grief from the Museum and other sponsors, newspapers across the country reported the good news that Osa would carry out the express wishes of these scientists and educators by continuing the scientific and film work of the noted couple. After Martin's death, Osa continued to draw large audiences as one of the most popular lecturers in the country and came to excel as a motion picture producer. The success of her films earned Osa an honorary Doctor of Science degree from Rollins College, presented with these remarks: "Osa Johnson, scientist, explorer, aviator, motion picture producer, for your unique achievements in science and art, for your most daring and adventurous life, probably unequaled by any modern woman . . . for these and for all your fine womanly qualities" (Imperato 212).

No doubt, Osa and Martin's scientific achievements and artistic endeavors contributed to America's intense curiosity in Other peoples during the early twentieth century. Osa and Martin were keenly aware—as were George Eastman and the American Museum of Natural History—that both the commercial success and the scientific value of their film depended, in part, on their ability to get thrilling footage while maintaining the film's "scientific integrity." Osa and Martin thus concentrated their efforts at making authentic, thrilling and entertaining, wildlife films, with an acute understanding of their investment-supported, scientifically-sponsored agenda. So, Osa and Martin promised to meet both their investor's needs and the museum's mission by providing a film record of cannibals in Africa. No one else had done so yet. And it would be important work, Osa (1940) tells us, if they could film a "good, honest complete motion picture"

(90) of cannibals and thus prove conclusively that cannibalism was still practiced there, in that part of the world.

Osa expresses in her autobiography, *I Married Adventure*, concern at the nature of her and her husband's African safari expeditions by asking, "are we going to those places where they have cannibals?" (90). Osa describes an encounter with cannibals in the South Sea Islands, when as she and Martin came upon a native celebration, they knew they had finally got what they came for. They were witnessing a cannibal feast and had pictures to prove it: "Martin secured some excellent pictures of the roasting human head." Moreover, he had wrapped the head and intended to bring it home for "double proof" (165). These, she tells us, "were considered important for the reason that they . . . proved conclusively that cannibalism there is still practiced." Osa continues by describing her own response to the event: "suddenly I was sick." And, she continues:

> I don't know when I've ever been so happy at the thought of going home. Eight months among dirt-encrusted man-eating strangers had brought on a homesickness that was almost beyond my bearing. I was hungry for dear, familiar things—for my own people, and most of all, for the places where I had spent a simple and uncomplicated girlhood.
>
> (165).

Osa's stories of cannibalism and her representations of "primitive" African "natives"—reproduced in numerous verbal and visual images throughout her texts—informed seemingly unshakable Euro-American discourses about non-Western cultures. These depictions might, rightly, make modern readers cringe. But that these depictions exist in our not-so-distant past and thus mark our more present representations is, finally, so troubling as to demand our

attention. The cannibal scene continues to be featured prominently and to do metaphorical work with the mutual cooperation between science/social science and literary/cinematic representation.

The Johnsons' film footage has been used regularly in National Geographic specials, by public television stations, and even in a Levi-Strauss feature on the history of khaki. Moreover, we still see in *National Geographic*, on the Discovery Channel, and at Disney's Animal Kingdom reverberations of discourses, like Osa's, which harness scientific authority to popular representations of Other bodies. A zoology newsletter, *Zoogoer Current*, in 1997 reviewed the Johnsons' work and stated, "their films and photos continue to be of great value to filmmakers, historians, botanists, zoologists, and anthropologists" (Froehlich). The newsletter concludes by noting: "Because the Johnsons' films and photographs represent some of the earliest and best quality images of our natural world, they continue to be used in documentary programs in the U.S. and abroad. It is remarkable that their work continues to educate people about wildlife conservation issues—more than a half-century after their travels." Much of their work—their negatives, prints, and film—are preserved in collections at various institutions, including the American Museum of Natural History, the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, and the Museum of Modern Art. The largest collection, however, is preserved at the Martin and Osa Johnson Safari Museum, were their photographs and films can still be viewed in a public theater. This museum was opened in 1961 in Chanute, Kansas, and since its opening, the museum has expanded its facilities and its scope to house one of the largest African art collections in the Midwest. The museum and its archives, photographs and displays, and current collections provide a fascinating resource for studying how it was that Americans developed cultural attitudes toward Africans and Africa. The reprint of Osa's *I Married Adventure* and the reproduction of her stills and films continue to inform potent meanings in science and culture today, in the late twentieth century.

Martin and Osa Johnsons' film and text works remain difficult if provocative and force upon us the occasion for considering powerful, quite complex questions about how professional, public, and popular rhetorical practices collude to construct long-standing cultural images, about the moral and political culpability of these practices. The Johnsons' works prohibit us from easily separating scientific practice from its culture and demand that we investigate the intersections of professional scientific activity with public and popular communicative productions. These works were ambiguously situated at the turn of the century as anthropology was just emerging to establish professional practices and to accommodate Western fascination with images of non-Western culture. That is, the works circulated across a field of contestation, as academic anthropology was simultaneously professionalized under Enlightenment premises of cool scientific rationality and within a more lurid preoccupation with primitivism in exhibition, road shows, and the newly invented cinema. Let me emphasize: Martin and Osa's works occupied a critical juncture, at a distinct point as anthropology emerged as mediator between the "high cultural discourses" of academic science with an affiliation for "method" and the "low popular discourses" which shared a lurid desire for "the Other." Martin and Osa's works—at once professional and popular—were writ within a modern, rationalist power of civilized science that produced, packaged, and marketed uncivilized Africa as spectacle. As such, it participated in a duplicitous modern project: scientific rationalization of the modern Euro-American world and exotic mystification of African past. And at the center, the "cannibal feast" marks the relationship between anthropology and its Other.

In this introduction I preface what will follow in the dissertation with a preliminary examination of the heterogeneous nature of Osa Johnson's text, *I Married Adventure*—as it moved around multiple locales and thus trafficked across a plurality of sites, from the American Natural History Museum to *Natural History*, and from Holly wood to *The New York Times*. I

focus on Osa's text because it inhabited professional, public, and popular spheres of influence all at once, and this co-habitation across sites secured credibility for her perceptions of the far away Others and those of more familiar kinship at "home." In sum, Osa Johnson's *I Married Adventure* illustrates the slippages across and liaisons within professional anthropological discourses, "scientific" expedition as public education, and spectacular travel tales as popular fiction. While I do not want to intimate that these categories are reducible to, or identical with, each other, I do want to emphasize the ways in which these categories came into existence through reciprocal and intimate relation to each other, and argue nevertheless that these categories have been and continue to be shifting and unstable.

When anthropology developed as a discipline in the early twentieth century, it took shape within the natural history movement most notably in museums, which were centered in large urban centers and thus dominated by cosmopolitan clientele. Because anthropology did not develop in universities of higher education until later, the discipline required public funding in the form of both private and governmental support. Appeals for public funds were often couched in terms of education in race relations, but were also heavily marked by popular curiosity of Other cultures. In fact, a history of the disciplinization of anthropology is as much a history of contemporary public interests and popular imaginations as it is a history of emerging science. Anthropology was seized upon and supported by a public fascination with the behaviors of peoples and cultures.

Here I urge an approach to textuality and representation that situates scientific work across complex and multiple professional and popular settings. First I join other scholars who have advocated for analyses of scientific work as it has been conducted by diverse groups of actors, including professionals, amateurs, and lay persons. To emphasize this complex

multiplicity and diversity, I follow Greg Myers' recommendation in pursuing Susan Leigh Star's theoretical concept of "boundary object." After outlining Star's notion of "boundary object" I model her analytic framework, using the "boundary object" concept as I provide partial analysis of Osa Johnson's text, *I Married Adventure*. In this analysis, I use the description of cannibalism quoted above as a touchstone passage to situate the text on the boundary between science and spectacle, in a blurred space between the rational and liminal desires of anthropology, as it manufactures for a modern Euro-American audience the mysterious African Other.

In an admittedly limited analysis of the rhetorical strategies and literary devices in the touchstone passage from Osa Johnson's *I Married Adventure*, I highlight my central argument: this text participated in a duplicitous project, at once professional and popular, as anthropology emerged a scientific discipline dependent on both rational facts and exotic myths. This text circulated in the border zone between the dual project created by anthropology—fact-finding and myth-making—because it was allied both with professional anthropology and with popular imagination. Indeed, in this text, scientific and popular discourse merge, mutually influencing "the primitive" as a theoretical differentiation from civilized order. The cannibal device is used as an anthropological tool to confirm already established difference between the savage and the civilized. As such, and moreover, cannibal fantasies belong to a much more complicated and elaborate discursive interchange between Euro-American interlocutors and native populations. The coupling of gender and race in the touchstone passage is clearly marked by the hierarchies inscribed by sexual inequality and racial superiority.

I begin this dissertation, then, with a challenge to the proposition that texts come to represent knowledge, gain legitimization, and retain authority by working within a semi-stable set of bounded, professional parameters and isolated, disciplined structures. And I favor

another—that texts sometimes, perhaps often, come to represent knowledge, gain legitimization, and retain authority by strategically crossing and criss-crossing what are largely unstable borders and boundaries between professional, public, and popular domains. That is, I argue that texts come to be powerful precisely because they tread across borders and transgress boundaries and thus inhabit different domains, many worlds, and multiple settings all at once. Therefore: scholarly analyses in the rhetoric of science claiming to treat the heterogeneous sites of knowledge production in the sciences must involve analyses of shifts and slippages within and across multiple settings, from professional to the popular and back again.

Science, Safari, and/or Spectacle: Reading the Literature

"Travel is a form both of work and of play"—Barry Curtis and Claire Pajaczkowska

Rhetoricians have aptly demonstrated that texts can never be pinned to single and isolatable meanings, because they are replete with multiple, historical relations to other texts. As such, treatment of any text requires treatment of multiplicity and intertextuality. Such treatment, however, must mediate between placing the text within a too narrowly circumscribed set of relations and an infinitely deferred set of sites, events, and activities. The question: How does the rhetorician identify the appropriate intertextual links? I want to propose here that it is increasingly untenable to believe that the communicative relations between professional, public, and popular texts and audiences can be isolated. That is, I argue that it is no longer reasonable to separate professional communication from the broader field of popular culture. And so, I recommend that rhetoricians expand the scope of their inquiry. I push for work that takes up the challenge of exploring the links and knots between academic science, public policy, and mass-cultural productions and that pushes the envelope for selection of research sites, topics, and subjects.

I support this argument with citation to Katherine Durack's definitional work in her *Technical Communication Quarterly* article, "Gender, Technology, and the History of Technical Communication," in which she scrutinizes our assumptions about "what counts" as technical writing and technology, as workplace writing and work. Durack here identifies the problematic definitions of professional communication that rest upon illusionary distinctions between "public" and "private" realms. As she challenges the kind of dualistic thinking that severs public and private work, she argues "for the relevance and significance of texts that might otherwise be omitted from our history" (258). I want to extend Durack's argument here to challenge a similar dualistic kind of thinking that separates labor from leisure. Certainly, Durack notes the difficulty in holding distinctions between labor and leisure in women's work, especially in the domestic work of mothering the children and keeping the home. Indeed, I believe that we can no longer ignore the intersections between labor (both paid and unpaid) in science, education, politics, industry, home, etc. and the leisure activities that shape our daily lives: painting, gardening, cooking, dancing. As such, I too want to "test our disciplinary boundaries" (258)—in this case to challenge our assumptions about the distinctions we can hold between labor and leisure, work and play, professional and popular. To that end, I argue for following texts from the factory to the field, laboratory to living room, and hospitals to households.

More specifically, I cite Charles Alan Taylor's article, also from *Technical Communication Quarterly*, entitled "Science as Cultural Practice: A Rhetorical Perspective" to justify my argument that we "broaden the range of discourses relevant for analysis by critics of scientific rhetoric" (68). Taylor proposes: "By casting our analytical net more widely to capture discourses that we have generally considered peripheral to 'real' science, we can begin to come to grips with science as a complex network of cultural practices rather than simply

laboratory practices and the claims issuing from them" (69). His point, he says, is that "what we have traditionally thought of as nonscientific rhetorics can, in many contexts, be read (and criticized) as among the important cultural practices of science" (76). He concludes by recommending the notion of "scientific eco-system" to investigate the "myriad points at which these rhetorics converge to produce science in contemporary culture" (77). That is, he suggests we reconceive the boundaries between science and society, and craft more inclusive analysis of scientific practices in laboratory reports, public deliberations, policy decisions, and coffee-klatch discussions. I agree with Durack and Taylor, then, in believing that as we construct a rhetoric of science and identify those activities we deem relevant and significant intertextual links, we will need to highlight the exchanges between science/discipline/laboratory and society/politics/culture.

Greg Myers too calls for more work that follows texts "out of the laboratory and down to the bay" as he cites a need in the rhetoric of science to deal with how knowledge is organized when boundaries are drawn around "the professional" and 'the public" (7). Myers' *Written Communication* review article, entitled "Out of the Laboratory and Down to the Bay," contributed important ideas to my thinking about potential new directions and alliances for a broadened research agenda in the rhetoric of science[1]. In this article, Myers argues that we can

[1] Greg Myers recommends an alliance between scholarship in written communication and other work in science studies, and he looks to actor-network theories as particularly useful to interrogating the wider cultures in which texts are situated. Myers recommends Bruno Latour's concept of "network" to describe a continuous chain that links the heavens and the natural world, society with interests and stakes, and discourses, texts, rhetorics. And he refers to Donna Haraway's "material-semiotic worldview" as the "technical, mythic, economic, political, formal, textual, historical, and organic" relations of networked elements. Myers suggests that Latour, Haraway, and Star might be linked usefully and recommends this line of research for study of the material world as it emerges as meaningful within a field of communication practices. While the theoretical work of Latour and Haraway is too complex to summarize here, I must recognize the great influence these theories have had upon my own thinking, as these have provided a methodological apparatus and analytic framework by which to investigate science as practice and

no longer take boundaries between natural and cultural, thing and text for granted, and so advocates an attempt to move beyond claims in rhetorical studies about the construction of knowledge to explain how boundaries get drawn around specialist and public knowledge, and between scientific and popular literature (21). This work will require that we move beyond a study of texts to consider "the development of professions, bureaucracies, businesses; the changes in sense of place; as well as changes in work and leisure" (21). That is, Myers challenges us to complicate the understanding of written communication in professional science by stressing the roles that ordinary people and popular knowledge play in building scientific networks (18). As Myers focuses our attention on these links, networks, and boundaries, he also asserts that "it is not enough to study texts" (21), and argues, rather, that studies of science must link texts "to technology, politics, and society" (36). To this end, Myers recommends to *Written Communication* readers the work of Susan Leigh Star, a scholar who, he suggests, might be very useful to writing researchers.

I want to join Greg Myers in recommending an alliance with the studies of science and technology, and suggest that this alliance may have the epistemic value as well as moral and political benefits for investigating the emergence of meaning in written communication practices. In this dissertation , I similarly argue that consideration of the spaces in which professional communication and laboratory science meets its public is not enough. Rather, a much richer, more explanatory, and more useful approach will take as its subject everything from 'genuine' science and disciplinary practice to the representations of science and discipline in popular production, "from coffee houses to comic books and chemistry sets, from pulpits to

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culture. Further, Haraway offers a brief introduction to Martin and Osa Johnson's work in her seminal work: Primate Visions. And I am working to tease open this site of implosion to elucidate another network of material-semiotic elements.

pubs and picture palaces, from amateur clubs to advertising companies, from Science Park to Jurassic Park" (Cooter and Pumfrey 237). That is, I argue that research into the specific links which hold professional, public, and popular exchanges has hardly been encouraged, and as such, the continuous shift of borders and the constant slippage of texts and images across those borders remains to be properly addressed. To that end, I want to take up the messy task of tracing borderlines as those are drawn around professional science, public audiences, and popular culture, by following texts and images as those circulate, demarcate, or violate the science/nonscience borderlines. The explicit argument I make is that twentieth-century scientific work often and strategically crossed with new popular culture forms: photographs, films, and comic strips. As such the relationship between scientific and popular culture is complexly interrelated. An adequate analysis of either scientific or popular texts must explore the complex and interrelated crossings from official and institutional scientists to apprentices, amateurs, and outlaws—and back again.

Throughout this dissertation, I draw upon the concept of "boundary" as it has been brought to bear in contemporary theorizing in studies of science to make sense of a variety of cultural practices and productions in those spaces where difference becomes manifest. Specifically, in the dissertation, I borrow Thomas F. Gieryn's concept of "boundary work," Susan Leigh Star's concept of "boundary object," and Bruno Latour's concept of "network" and "circulatory reference."

In *Cultural Boundaries of Science*, Sociologist of science, Thomas F. Gieryn, defines his concept of "boundary-work" as "the discursive attribution of selected qualities to scientists, scientific methods, and scientific claims for the purpose of drawing a rhetorical boundary between science and some less authoritative residual non-science" (4). Gieryn also argues that

"the time is ripe" to look at science—not in its making—but as it moves from laboratories and journals to the "rest of the social world," where it is "called upon to settle disputes, build airplanes, advise politicians, ascertain truth" (ix). Here Gieryn is interested not in what science "really" is, but in what science becomes in culture. That is, he treats the *representations* of science in cultural spaces. Gieryn argues that science is no single thing, but that it gets "stretched and pulled, pinched and tucked" in always contingent, immediate settings. As such, what science becomes depends upon the local contingencies of the moment—"its edges and contents disputed, moved all over the place, settled here and there as decisions about truthful and reliable claims are acted upon by jurists, legislatures, journalists, managers, activists, and ordinary folk" (xii). Gieryn thus calls for a "cultural cartography of science" and draws upon feminist thought (Donna Haraway's work, in particular) to proceed with his examination of "boundary work" (4). In sum, he requests "detailed examinations of local and episodic constructions of science" and the ever changing, always discrepant arrangement of boundaries and territories and landmarks (xi).

Susan Leigh Star, too, reminds us that "most scientific work is conducted by extremely diverse groups of actors—research from different disciplines, amateurs and professionals, humans and animals, functionaries and visionaries" ("Institutional" 505). Here, Star and Griesemer develop the concept of "boundary object" to explain how the coordination among different members and different worlds is facilitated. Star tells us that "boundary objects" are produced when scientists, sponsors, amateurs, and audiences "collaborate to produce representations of nature" ("Institutional" 517). Put simply, boundary objects emerge when the work of diverse groups coincide and intersect. Elsewhere, Star emphasizes that an "ecological analysis" ought to account for those who are so often unrepresented and without delegation in engagements with science and technology. Here Star refers to "groups traditionally

dispossessed or oppressed in some fashion" —the abused child, half breed, cyborg, ethnic minority, woman of color, and the monstrous self ("Power" 33). And this, I will argue, is as Star says, where "an opportunity for new ground in science studies arises" ("Power" 43). Star recommends a break with traditional analysis of science and technology in favor of a more moral, democratic analysis. The key question of this "more analytically interesting" and "more politically just" analysis, she suggests, is that of general political and feminist theory: "who benefits?" ("Power" 43). That is, while Star remains cognizant of the importance of studying the complex links between various kinds of entities and actors as these intermingle and circulate around networks, she argues for making concerns about multiplicity and power *primary* in her analysis. And, let me emphasize here, she mandates the study of networks with the explication of marginality placed *at the center* ("Power" 51).

The notion of extended networks of science receives its most material and yet ephemeral expression by Bruno Latour, who insists that science must be redefined as the process by which "stars, prions, cows, heavens, and people" are brought together (*Modern* 261) into a collective, "that which collects us all" in a cosmopolitics (*Modern* 297). Latour insists upon treating the history of things just like other historical accounts. For example, the history of science will not document the travel of a thing through time, as if the thing always already existed. Rather, the history of science will treat things as if they have a "relative existence" (*Modern* 156). In this treatment, things do not exist always and everywhere or never and nowhere. Rather, the task is thus to take up an exploration of "what holds with what, of who holds with whom, of who holds with what, of what holds with whom" (*Modern* 163). Here Latour adds, "One simply has to go on historicizing and localizing the network and finding who and what make up its descendants" (*Modern* 168). He uses the term "articulation" to describe this activity and suggests that science studies out to capture the history of such activity—the collection, association, and substitution of

things into a durable whole (*Modern* 162). In the end, then, according to Latour, "an entity gains in reality if it is associated with many others that are viewed as collaborating with it" and loses reality if, on the contrary, it has to shed associations or collaborators" (*Modern* 158).

Science, Safari, and Spectacle: Boundaries and Borders

"[Ethnography] poses its questions at the boundaries of civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders" —James Clifford

In order to grasp the duplicitous professional/popular boundary object, *I Married Adventure*, let me emphasize Star's point that scientific work is accomplished among a network of actors and articulate plainly my argument that anthropology came to be within a space where boundaries between professional texts in scientific work and popular texts in cultural practices materialized as murky, indecipherable, and/or contested. The key assumption sketched early in this introduction is that professional anthropology emerged within a paradigm of intellectual rationalization and vicarious excitements. Within this paradigm, the Johnsons managed to secure a place in professional science, craft an amusing public performance, and compel an entertaining popular persona. The Johnson's work provides us with a valuable opportunity to observe the dialectic between professional and popular texts and thus the process through which an anthropological Other has been constructed and disseminated for a Euro-American audience. My reading will call upon key sources to demonstrate that disciplined anthropology, and thus public and popular images of the Other, have been informed by a persistent and systematic paradigm of evolutionism. In fact, the crucial point of my argument is this: at the center of anthropology, proponents of evolutionism were successful at securing evolutionary epistemology in mainstream Western thought precisely because they trafficked promiscuously across the boundaries of the professional and the popular, so that even as evolutionism came to be rejected in professional

anthropology, it nevertheless remained (and remains) seriously present in scientific racism and popular opinion.

Johannes Fabian, in *Time and the Other*, discusses the epistemological conditions under which anthropology took shape. He argues that anthropology promoted a firm belief in "evolutionary Time": "It promoted a scheme in terms of which not only past cultures, but all living societies were irrevocably placed on a temporal slope, a stream of Time—some upstream, others downstream." (18). He notes then that "civilization, evolution, development, acculturation, modernization (and their cousins, industrialization, urbanization) are all terms whose consequent content derives, in ways that can be specified, from evolutionary time" (18). That is, these terms all have an epistemological dimension setting them apart from terms such as "primitive, savage (but also tribal, traditional, Third World, or whatever euphemism is current)" (18). For emphasis, Fabian notes that at the axis of evolutionary Time, early anthropology negotiated between the modern and the premodern, between progress and history. He argues that evolutionary Time operated as "the very paradigm that made anthropology a science worthy of academic recognition" (19) and then linked Enlightenment science in contemporary society to primitive culture in "unchanged history." So anthropology achieved its scientific respectability at the turn of the (last) century by adopting evolutionist concept of Time, and ever since, its "efforts to construct relations with its Other by means of temporal devices implied affirmation of difference as *distance*" (16). And this distance was temporal as well as spatial. Anthropology emerged and established itself as a science of Others in other times and other places, so that travel to distant lands to observe primitive peoples was to travel back in time and discover man's origins, our ancestors.

Anthropology marked the center in a story of its own making: a simultaneous creation of romanticized but fading human past and construction of a faith in the power of civilized advancement. Anthropology accepted responsibility for its particular exercise to quest for the secrets of human origins so that it might have a hand in determining and shaping our progress and destiny. The study and exhibit of cultures thus required organization and categorization that would demonstrate the development of a particular idea, weapon, or apparatus from its earliest and primitive manifestations to its most perfect and elaborate advancement in the industrialized and civilized nations. Anthropology adopted a rhetoric of evolutionism to insist upon unity and progress from prehistory to history.

Fabian adds that the adoption of evolutionary Time "was, for a science of man, sadly regressive intellectually, and quite reactionary politically" and "was soon violently rejected on both sides of the Atlantic" (17-18). However, because the basic assumptions of competing paradigms were so like those of evolutionism and because the idea of evolutionary Time had become so powerful by the end of the nineteenth century, this paradigm easily endured and without dilution or any major reorientation. Fabian summarizes: "When, in the course of disciplinary growth and differentiation, evolutionism was attacked and all but discarded as the reigning paradigm of anthropology, the temporal conceptions it had helped to establish remained unchanged" (147). While disciplined anthropology strove to develop strictly rational, universal principles of culture from methodological fieldwork, the anthropological project continued to offer, now with "redoubled vigor," mythologized accounts of the primitive, the savage, within ethnographic accounts, literary projects, and autobiographic amusements.

Without doubt, anthropological knowledge and its objects yielded both rational power and mythologized nature to an enlightened citizenry by utilizing public forums that were

inevitably both professional and popular. Indeed there remains in contemporary scientific and popular culture, traces (more than merely hints or fragments) of the historical conditions under which anthropology emerged as a profession and became the foremost interpreter of "the West and its Rest" to popular imagination.

This is so, perhaps, because according to Fabian's critique, few anthropological paradigms hesitated to follow evolutionism. One instance of digression can be identified as Boasian cultural anthropology. However, Fabian argues that even the Boasian argument for a cotemporal study of cultural identities and abandonment of the search for universal origins and developmental sequences of human progress failed to influence mainstream anthropology in the early twentieth century. In fact, he asserts that "the supposedly radical break with evolutionism propagated by Boasian . . . cultural anthropology had little or no effect" on the "unbroken reign of evolutionist epistemology" (20). Finally, he reminds us that this epistemology remains, even now, attractive to Western intellectuals.

It is no surprise and not a new assertion to posit that anthropological work is a historical, political, and overtly gendered as well as racialized act. Professional anthropology emerged almost simultaneously with the emergence of thought about race in America in the early twentieth century. The years from 1917 to 1930 mark a significant battle in the history of anthropology's professional organizations, institutional contexts, internal divisions, and intellectual advancements—and might be identified as a pivotal point in the manifestation of racial politics in the United States. One particular scientific and overtly political battle interests me here—that between Franz Boas and Boasian anthropologists, proponents of cultural relativity and progressive politics, and Madison Grant and the Galton Society, leaders of evolutionary racism and the American eugenics movement.

The Boasian viewpoint concerning race and culture struggled to achieve authority over the Galton Society in anthropology in the 1930s and 40s.[2] This struggle was conditioned by significant battles over explanations of human difference that circulated just prior and just after 1920. According to Stocking, "in the long run, it was Boasian anthropology—rather than the racialist writers associated with the eugenics movement—which was able to speak to Americans as the voice of science on all matters of race, culture, and evolution" (*Race* 307). But it was indeed a long run. In 1919, no single professional viewpoint had yet to win out; in fact, "there were complex pressures on the Boasians from several directions—political, cultural, and scientific—that made them feel as if their work was in serious danger of being preempted" (Cravens 118). The next years would be crucial in the battle for professional authority and the accompanying interpretation of racial difference—and Osa and Martin Johnson's travel narratives, composed from 1917 to 1941, must be understood in the context of this battle. When in 1924 Osa and Martin Johnson entered into an agreement with the administration at the American Museum of Natural History to travel to Africa and record its inhabitants with the technical accuracy of the camera, they became allied with that institution's scientific mission and enrolled into its central eugenics movement.

Science, Safari, Spectacle: Texts and Bodies

> *"The principles of exclusion, boundary, and difference which enter into the debasement of the primitive are connected to the fear that the white race could lose itself in the darker ones" —David Spurr*

When Osa Johnson recounts in her travelogue *I Married Adventure* her travels with filmmaker Martin Johnson, she told of an adventure that lasted almost twenty years, was told and

[2] In the post-World War II years, the Boasians succeeded at shaping a new anthropological science based upon cultural relativism rather than racial evolutionism.

re-told in various films and lectures, and captured the imaginations of millions of Americans. Unlike other Africa films, Osa and Martin's films would be "authentic" (132). Osa describes other, commercial films of "primitive people and wild animals" that were often "staged" on Hollywood lots. These films, she asserts, were hoaxes and were not at all "representative of the actual lives of savage men or wild animals" (133). Rather than presenting such inaccurate and sensationalized accounts, Osa and Martin wanted to tell a more genuine, full story of the country and its peoples and its animals: "It would show the natives of Africa at war, at peace, at work, at play unconscious of the camera. And it would show the animals, not hunted and afraid, but natural and unaware, untroubled by man" (133). This would be possible, Osa says, because "photography is an exacting science" (132). Osa and Martin believed their films would document, with the photographic image, the truth—both the beauty and the mystery—of Africa. They promised that their cameras would provide a record of the real Africa with "an exactitude that no human being could attain" and would thus have "enormous scientific value" (126).

The American Museum of Natural History agreed. And its administration funded and endorsed the scientific endeavor. As such, over the next decade, the Johnsons' work, including Osa's *I Married Adventure*, circulated in the deep critical gap within professionalized anthropology, between the professional arguments posited by Franz Boas and those secured more publicly by the eugenicists. The Johnsons' work contributed to the survival and development of ideas in evolutionary anthropology among a constellation of professional, public, and popular audiences by offering technologically advanced and lushly exotic photographic reports. Neither Osa nor Martin Johnson were anthropologists by the institutionalized criteria we recognize for the discipline today. However, their work contributed both to the debates of professional anthropology and to the richness of a still present evolutionary paradigm in our mass public.

In the remainder of this paper, I move from this contextual analysis toward a discussion of the rhetorical strategies and literary devices used in my touchstone passage from Osa Johnson's *I Married Adventure* so as to demonstrate the second point of my twofold argument: 1) As anthropology developed at the boundaries of fact and fascination, science and spectacle, method and myth, Osa Johnson's *I Married Adventure* circulated across the boundaries and in the spaces between the borders of professional science, public education, and popular spectacle; 2) This circulation of Osa's text across and between boundaries and borders of science, safari, and spectacle worked to construct, authorize, and legitimate Other boundaries and borders between America and Africa.[3]

I will return now to the problematic passage from Osa's *I Married Adventure*. And I will take up the theoretical challenge of reading that passage:

> I don't know when I've ever been so happy at the thought of going home. Eight months among dirt-encrusted man-eating strangers had brought on a homesickness that was almost beyond my bearing. I was hungry for dear,

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[3] Here I also take Star's (1995) work as a model by starting this study of science with this series of questions: "Whose side are we on in the social studies of science and technology? What hierarchies are we tacitly or explicitly assigning? And what language can we invent to investigate these questions honestly?" (p. 1). I therefor complicate my analysis by raising similar questions: How have the scientistic practices of Osa as a white western women enabled the deconstruction and/or reconstruction of gendered systems of representation while simultaneously both problematizing and/or deepening the racialized systems of western cultural imperialism? How, if western scientistic practices are themselves masculinist and racialized systems of discourse, do my own critical/analytical practices (positioned as I am as a white western woman) both intervene in and contribute to the representation of sexed and raced bodies? That is: How does my analysis, in reproducing systems of masculinist and racialized discourse and reproducing representations of sexed and raced bodies, implicate myself and my audience (positioned as women and men who inhabit different locations) in the troubling tropes of gender and race? I need to ask whether or not masculinist and racialized systems of discourse are recoverable as feminist strategies of interventions in mythologies of gender and race or whether such recovery works merely as replication of such mythologies.

> familiar things—for my own people, and most of all, for the places where I had spent a simple and uncomplicated girlhood.
>
> (165).

This section emphasizes close textual analysis more than historical or contextual study. Before beginning this analysis, allow me to emphasize once again, that here in Osa's story, science and spectacle are virtually inseparable. The body at the center of Martin's photograph of the cannibal feast as it was described by Osa in her travel narrative might be understood as a boundary object, hovering at a pivotal point in an assemblage of practices, processes, pleasures, passions. That is, the body captured in photography and as specimen must be understood within the complex intertwining of science and spectacle. In the course of this textual analysis, I hope to show how Osa's story articulates and re-articulates the use of cannibal myth, symbol, and metaphor to construct a representation of non-Western Other as evolutionary degenerate in the name of Euro-American racial and cultural superiority. Certainly, Osa's story mimics traditional insistence that the savage is stranger, or other and different from our own familiar and civilized origins. However, as David Spurr reminds us, the savage is also located within us, in our own psychic structure as modern, civilized beings and thus leads to "an inherent confusion of identity and difference" (7). Here I want to emphasize the metaphor of cannibalism in the process of Othering, a process in which boundaries materialized, disappeared, and re-materialized between a wild jungle and a domestic home. And I also want to draw attention to the blending of science and spectacle in the entanglement of gender and race.

In so doing, I want to approach the messy, incoherent, and dangerous reading of this text with an understanding of the myriad of ways in which white women have been complicit in the mechanics of gender and race systems. I hope to construct a reading at once sympathetic to the often-restricted positions of white women who have been acted upon by the enterprises of

scientific sexism, and critical of the often-privileged positions of white women who have acted in the enterprises of scientific racism. My argument is that Osa was ambivalent about gendered behavior in her role as a woman adventurer, but nevertheless engaged deliberately in the complex negotiations and articulations of domesticity available to her so as to produce strategic connections and distinctions.

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, anthropologists, ethnographers, adventurers, missionaries, colonial administrators, and tourists all traveled more freely and more frequently than ever before. During this period, sometimes referred to as "the golden age of exploration," Euro-American white middle-class attempted to define themselves in relation to Others. In this attempt at "othering," a network of images influenced by evolutionary racism developed to compose the critical, salient representation of Other as "primitive" and "savage" and even cannibalistic. Gananath Obeyesekere asserts that tales of cannibal feasts existed as a cultural construction: "cannibalism is a discourse on the Other, defining out-groups in terms of their horrifying man-eating propensities" (63). This image originated in travel reports, later circulated as scientific fact, and thus rendered public opinion receptive to the most fantastic preconceptions of Africa and its inhabitants. In fact Gustav Jahoda argues that "the most powerful symbol" of Other as savage is that of the cannibal (97). And notes that the image of cannibal has long been present in travel accounts, was adopted and reinforced by science, and taken up by popular entertainments. Indeed, the cannibal existed as monster, as Other who lived between human and animal. The cannibal hunted on the periphery, feasting on flesh, indulging an animalistic appetite, and threatening civilization. Cannibal narratives have been so conventional in Euro-American travel and adventure writing as to evoke questions about why

these scenes mean so much.[4] In the Introduction to *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*, Peter Hulme asks: why does cannibalism feature so insistently as trope in different forms of writing? He argues: "the history of its transmission, elaboration, and embroidery provides evidence of a fascination which requires more analysis than it is usually given" (19).

Of course, I must begin to decipher Osa's textual piece with reference to the very material threat posed by "the gaze" throughout Osa's book, but in this passage in particular. Osa's position is the classic position of the Western explorer surveying the landscape of Africa, its interiors and its people, from a privileged vantage point. But the gaze is not only that of a leisured tourist, but rather that of a literary agent of scientific ideas. Even though Osa uses the conventional narrative form of autobiography in her book, she works to invest her observations with the power and authority of scientific discovery. That is, Osa's gaze falls repeatedly on the bodies of African people as objects of Western scientific study; and therefore, Osa's work contributed to the spread of scientific ideas about the evolution of race. Indeed, Osa's scientific interests may have worked on the peripheries, confined to the marginal activities of observation and description, rather than research and publication. Nevertheless, Osa enters "science" through the power of her gaze. This power is, moreover, amplified by the work of the camera and consequent inclusion of photographs depicting specimen and spectacle in Osa's text. The "gaze" now allows the reader to collude in the panoptic vision, as the photograph significantly functioned for the reader in lieu of the act of seeing by rendering Africa and its peoples nevertheless fully visible. David Spurr says of the gaze: "it offers aesthetic pleasure on the one hand, information and authority on the other" (15). And, he adds, "this combination of pleasure

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[4] I do not want to argue here whether cannibalism was ever practiced, whether the practice did or did not exist. whether the practice was a product of Euro-American imagination or tool of Empire. I will admit to skepticism, but suggest that whatever else cannibalism was, it was indeed a subject of fascination in colonial discourse.

and power gives the commanding view a special role in journalistic writing, especially in the colonial situation, for it conveys a sense of mastery over the unknown and over what is perceived by the Western writer as strange and bizarre" (15). As Osa describes African bodies, she does so in the interest of science, offering "evidence" of cannibalism as a cultural practice in Africa, and in the commercial interest of entertainment, offering voyeuristic glimpses of the cannibal as "stranger."

As Osa works at this double task of "scientific" racism and "commodity" racism (McClintock 132), she does so by imposing a very complex and contrary set of narratives. The cannibal scene offered evidence for scientific racism as it was embodied in the rationalist discourse of anthropology. And the cannibal story offered up a consumer spectacle as it was converted in mass-produced popular fiction. This intricate dialectic emerged in *I Married Adventure* to bolster images of primitive savage, and thus augment evolutionary racism.

According to Fabian, the term "savage" operates as a technical term in evolutionary discourse to denote a stage in developmental sequence. The description of the "dirt-encrusted-man-eating" savage establishes the bestial nature of these strangers and marks in scientific and ideologic terms, the African as an intermediary creature between animal and human on a temporal and developmental scale of evolution.

He says: "As an indication of relationship between the subject and object of anthropological discourse, it clearly expresses temporal distancing" (75). He adds: "*Savagery* is a marker of the past, and if ethnographic evidence compels the anthropologist to state that savagery exists in contemporary societies then it will be located, by dint of some sort of horizontal stratigraphy, in *their* Time, not ours" (75). On the other end, the term "kinship" also denotes

temporal distancing by marking degrees of advancement and modernization (75). In this passage, Osa uses the metaphors of strange and familiar not incidentally, but with the intention of what Fabian calls "temporal uncoupling" (78) to signify temporal distancing and thus developmental distancing between the stranger as object and herself as writer, and moreover between an uncivilized land and a modern nation. As such, literal and metaphorical hunger mingle in the image constructed from feeding and eating to become a way of creating clear boundaries between cultural identities. In Osa's description, "they" are barbaric and feed savagely while "we" are civilized and eat properly (Kilgour 239).

In analyzing Osa's text and the cannibal scene described in my touchstone passage, I emphasize yet again the delicate work that professional anthropology accomplished by constructing itself as a discipline within its own strategic construction of its primitive and cannibalistic object. That is, anthropology managed the quite difficult task of justifying modern Western science by fostering lurid glimpses of the primitive Other for commercial appeal. Osa's sophisticated speculations about the practice of cannibalism and her ready submission of [questionable] "scientific" evidence certainly conjoins the coolness of rationalistic credibility to the subjective appeal of the irrational and imagined exotic Other. Osa's text certainly occupies a boundary zone governed at once by rational laws and lurid desires. As a boundary object thus located, the text bolsters evolutionary racism by marking degrees of distance. But the emphatic defilement marking the strangers in this passage requires closer interpretation, as it also marks degrees of identification.

In the cannibal images that Osa provides, the cluster of opposites between savage strangers and familiar kindred are indeed both confused and clarified. Madan Sarup, speaking of crossing strange frontiers and of occupying home places, notes that strangers blur a boundary,

"standing between the inside and the outside, order and chaos, friend and enemy" (102). So in this passage, boundaries between the order of American home and the chaos of African jungle, and between those recognized as friends and those identified as enemy—are simultaneously blurred and mapped. When boundaries are crossed, Sarup says, "there are friends and there are enemies" and: "The enemies are the *wilderness* that violates friends' *homeliness*, the *absence* which is a denial of friends' *presence*. The repugnant and frightening 'out there' of the enemies is both addition to, and displacement of, the cozy and comforting 'in here' of the friends" (101). The appalling cannibal, the stranger in Osa's story, negotiates the boundary between enemy and friend.

Here a strong repudiation and a terrifying desire co-mingle in the image of the cannibal. Jahoda describes the *frisson* of Western repulsion and fascination with cannibalism as a process of inversion by which disgust is generated by desire, and says: "the combined repulsion and—usually unacknowledged— attraction of cannibalism points to deep-rooted sources within the [Western] psyche" (110). In Osa's description of the cannibal feast, a "fascinating horror" stems from the unsettling loss of difference. That is, Osa's condemnation of cannibalism, as Jahoda describes, "arises not simply from fear and recognition of difference but also, on another level, from a desire for and identification with the Other which must be resisted" (80). Here Osa's description might be read within what Spurr describes a "process of psychic interiorization" by which savagery exists in human imagination but is projected onto the racial Other (77). That is anxiety over our own inner savagery, wildness, and animality is projected to the other, out there.

Certainly, this anxiety is heightened by Osa's own experience in the jungle and likely by her own fears at "going native." The cannibal is a particularly strong symbolic presence in these terms, as boundaries between inside and outside of the body are transgressed, as are thus the

boundaries between the self and that it must exclude or between self and other. The cannibal, by consuming human flesh, refuses the boundary between one's body and an other's. Maggie Kilgour tells us that cannibalism is "the place where desire and dread, love and aggression meet, and where the body is made symbolic, the literal and figurative, the human reduced to mere matter" (240). Cannibalism, she says, "involves both the establishing of absolute difference, the opposites of eater and eaten, and the dissolution of that difference, through the act of incorporation which identifies them, and makes the two one" (240). This is the monstrous and inhuman threat that must be abhorred and resisted in order for Osa to maintain her difference from Other.

So, then, cannibalism is a conventional trope, traditionally used to assert the superiority of a rational Euro-American mind over liminal and prehistoric Others. More than mere difference, "otherness is dependent on a prior sense of kinship denied" (Hulme 6). Put simply, the cannibal is both human like us and inhuman or subhuman. These strangers are granted some shared or common prior humanity before they are alienated from our more civilized human nature, with our more cultured manners and customs. But we cannot forget that the voice of a white woman spins this particular tale of cannibalism in this adventure story. I argue that gender converges and diverges with race in Osa's text in powerful, often problematic and even violent ways. I do not mean to conflate the themes of gender and race or to treat them as separable and isolated categories. What is important for my purposes is the crucial position of Osa's text at the nexus of theories of race and sex. At this nexus—in this turbulent border zone, licentious liaison, and violent venture—between the domains of the primitive and the civilized, the boorish and the cultured, the savage and the domesticated, the bodies of white women materialized. As such, the fate of white, Euro-American, middle-class culture rested in the bodies of white, Euro-American, middle-class female bodies, which marked off polite, civilized society from the chaotic, sensual

depth of primitive life. With this in mind, it is important to note the contradictory status of Euro-American white women.

As the bodies of white women materialized in a political space, within anthropological writing, scientists continued to hold that Euro-American men were superior to Euro-American women. But they also concluded that Euro-American women were superior to Other (non- Euro-American) men and women. Euro-American men thus ruled over the disorderly nature of women's bodies, so that Euro-American women might stand at the hostile but decisive boundary between civilized culture and primitive nature. In this scheme, white, middle-class, Euro-American women were charged with upholding the requisite stability and order of the civilized society, but were simultaneously always in danger of slipping back into a disordered and diminished state of nature lying deep within them. As such, European women were expected to regulate their bodies, desires, and choices to impose order on their own sensual and primitive natures—and to mark the moral and cultural superiority of all white European bodies from the depravity of all Other bodies.

Osa, in her passage, utilizes a familiar trope of infancy and childhood to recall evolutionary theories of humanity. The child metaphor worked in evolutionary science to stress the development of humanity along the chain of being, from primitive to civilized conditions. This metaphor worked differently and was supported by different evidence at various periods in the history of scientific racism. During the late nineteenth century, "recapitulation theory" was applied consistently, as Jahoda says, to describe mental evolution, "viewed as the genetically determined ascent of mind from animals to humans and, thereafter, human races advancing at differing rates, indicated by their levels of culture, towards the true rationality of the West" (160). The biogenetic formula: "ontogeny repeats phylogeny." To explain further, Jahoda offers: "it

was postulated that the cultural stages of the progress of humanity were functionally related to the biologically fixed phases of the psychological maturation of individuals" (161). Jahoda here quotes from Sir James Frazer, an anthropological theorist who describes recapitulation: "To put it otherwise, a savage is to a civilized man as a child is to an adult" (161). The recapitulation theory was used ambitiously in scientific and popular publications and by the 1920s was taken for granted to establish an evolutionary scale on which Euro-American men ranked highest and non-whites ranked lower, on a level with children. Osa's careful employment of an image of "girlhood" thus requires some exploration. According to the recapitulation theory, on the evolutionary scale, white women ranked lower than white men, but higher than children and non-white others. However, this position was tenuous and white women were consistently in danger of degenerating to a lower, more child-like form. Let me borrow again from Spurr, who asserts that "the supposed danger of the [Euro-American's] degeneration in the presence of the primitive becomes both the source and the pretext for an obsessive reprehension of the Other" (83). Osa, in the quoted passage, marks an important border as she longs for girlhood. Here, I argue, Osa marks off her own rank as white woman, and even the threatened degenerative state of her girlhood, above that of the primitive savage. That is, she works ambitiously in this passage to place distance between her evolutionary state—be that of woman and/or girl—and the evolutionary state of the cannibal.

Further, in the passage, Osa resists any notion of the idealized savage living in a natural landscape in ease, abundance, and harmony—in an Edenic state of purity and simplicity—to posit the savage occupying a darker and seamier side of human nature. Osa's passage locates an Edenic past in America rather than Africa and thus affirms the values of cultivated taste over wild abandon, purity over wickedness, order over chaos, and cleanliness over filthiness. Here I want to reiterate my earlier argument that condemnation of Africa and African savages is linked, as

Spurr emphasizes, to these deeply rooted fears: "the loss of will, the yielding to the forces of a wild and rank human nature" (80). This rank nature lacks boundary and restraint and thus poses a seductive power and lustful danger. In the image of the cannibal, Osa imagines herself in danger of being literally swallowed up. But the danger is erotic, as well. The cannibal story Osa tells here echoes similar stories she and Martin tell in their films, travel accounts, and fiction of an encounter in which Osa only closely escapes the sexual advancements of the cannibals. Aware that the dark forces of Africa's sinful and wicked primitives, Osa fears the precarious state of her position. So Osa's vilification of the defiled strangers establishes, in Jahoda's words, "a prohibition designed to protect the boundaries of Western cultural value against the forces of this destructive desire" (79). In Osa's body, margins were marked between order and anarchy, pure and impure, virtue and deviance, beauty and beast. Her homesickness symbolizes the moral authority of her domestic body, opposed to the sexual disorderly conduct of wild African male and untamed African female bodies.

In Western strategies of classification, then, the female body is designed as symbolic object to protect Western cultural values against the forces of disease, disorder, and darkness of the Other. Osa's horror at the ghoulish nature of the cannibal appetite clearly provides a perfect tool by which she can comment on the unnatural, even perverse and monstrous, man-eating habits of the Other while prescribing for herself a more civilized taste for cultured society. The distancing gesture Osa makes in the above passage marks the distinction between her own dear people and the cannibal strangers or between us and them by drawing attention to "dirt." Mary Douglas tells us that "as we know it, dirt is essentially disorder" (2). I draw upon Douglas's work to argue here that Osa employs a sophisticated discourse of dirt to draw an analogy and "for expressing a general view of the social order" (3). As Douglas explicates: "Where there is dirt, there is a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting

inappropriate elements. This idea takes us straight into the field of symbolism and promises a link-up with more obviously symbolic systems of purity" (35). In Osa's text, the cannibal image is embedded within a highly symbolized discourse of dirt and purity—one that offers contact with cannibals as a dangerous polluting threat and thus "carries a symbolic load" (Douglas 3) as it cements the organization of gender and race.

Significantly, the above passage from the domestically entitled *I Married Adventure* is embedded within a larger discourse of dirt and domesticity, as Osa tells about her efforts to "make home" in the jungle. Douglas says of cleaning, decorating, and tidying activities: "Dirt offends against order. Eliminating it is not a negative movement, but a positive effort to organize the environment" (2). Anne McClintock's work is helpful for understanding how a discourse of domesticity worked at "controlling a colonized people" (35). As she argues, "women who were ambiguously placed on the imperial divide served as boundary markers and mediators" (48). These women were "tasked with the purification and maintenance of boundaries" as policymakers and administrators feared that "the bounds of empire could be secured and upheld only by proper domestic discipline and decorum" (47).

For her part, Osa easily stepped into her title as "The First Lady of Exploration" by negotiating a complex public image as both an adventurous, courageous safari explorer and a lady of fine womanly qualities and taste. Osa carefully cultivated her image, crossing traditional American feminine roles as woman adventurer and wife. Osa played the role of heroine, stalking wild animals, chasing big game and shooting a charging rhino in the dense jungle terrain. In this role, she was an equally-skilled shot with a camera and a rifle. Osa also adopted the role of a homemaker and was accustomed to baking pies and breads and decorating the camp site with curtains, furniture, and flowers. Here her portrayal emphasizes her role as gracious and dutiful

wife. In the travel films, Osa is portrayed at one moment shooting and killing a lion and in the next moment baking and serving an apple pie. Photographs capture her in safari pants, hunting boots, and brimmed hat as she displays a string of fish—and then in satin pajamas as she lounges at a linen-spread table with crystal wine goblet in hand. She said of herself: "I'm a woman even in the jungle" and often offered recipes, homemaking advice, and fashion tips her appearance. A *New York Times Magazine* interviewer says:

> She told me that she had always carried silk lounging pajamas with her on her trips; that almost every evening, no matter where camp happened to be, she had dressed for dinner; that cosmetics and manicuring implements were as necessary a part of her luggage as cameras. (Woolf 10).

In the interview, Osa says, "Wherever we camped I tried to make a home." She adds, "Whenever we stayed in one particular place for any length of time I set out a vegetable garden . . . I made all the pies, cakes, and bread myself, and we had these things often. We have eaten many a meal with wildflowers for table decoration and the roar of lions for dinner music." She describes herself: "When I wore khaki I always managed to have a gay handkerchief in my pocket, and if I had an ordinary hunting hat, I never failed to see that it was tipped at a becoming angle." And, she adds, "Martin always appreciated my efforts to look my best" (Woolf 17).

In her text, Osa authorizes a sexual identity for herself, at once subverting and simultaneously deepening her feminized role within the cult of true womanhood. As such, by locating herself strategically on the terrain of sexual differentiation behind a rifle and at the stove, she also locates herself strategically within evolutionary hierarchies at the boundaries of civilization and culture. Osa imagined herself just outside of the natural limits of her sex, but firmly inside a doctrine of domestic duty and polite citizenry. She thus was able to advance some rights for white women while carefully reimposing white male domination and white racial

supremacy. Like that offered in Osa's text, a rhetoric of domesticity demonstrates, as Robyn Wiegman notes, just "how widely prized was the white woman for her civic roles and responsibilities" as these roles "where themselves crucial elements within narratives of social progress and national identity" (45). That is, within race science, sexual difference served a useful rhetorical tool for marking race and racial hierarchies. The difference in human status between the white woman and the African (both male and female) became crucial to articulating the asymmetrical relationship between an enlightened citizenship and an inhuman savagery. This asymmetrical and very complex manifestation of sex and sexual difference and of race and racial hierarchies under the direction of both professional science and popular iconicity has, from the 1920s onward, been increasingly used to figure corporeal locations, analogies, distinctions for both the individual and social body. Osa's sickness and her homesickness at the sight of the cannibal feast might rightly be read as her response to the anxiety of so unstable an identity within a gender/race contradiction, and one without easy resolution in either the scientific or political discourses of twentieth-century America.

Before I finish this introduction, I want to posit that Osa and Martin Johnson's rapacious fascination with cannibalism, their fervent belief in cannibalistic practices, their desire for proof to confirm their suspicions about cannibal rites, and their readers' consumption of the cannibal bodies provide an example of the nearly limitless Euro-American appetite for difference. First, as William Arens argues, the cannibal image provides a material example of anthropological dependence on the exotic Other for its disciplinarity. That is, Arens speculates about how anthropology itself cannibalizes the primitive to justify its ethnographic doxa about Other. As Maggie Kilgour puts it, "anthropology constructs itself as a discipline through the opposite image of anthropophagy" (240). Further, Arens reminds us that anthropology "creates cannibal cultures for the popular imagination" (55). Here, Osa and Martin and the readers of their texts might

themselves be engaging in "fascinating cannibalism" (Rony 10). As Fatimah Tobing Rony argues: "The Johnsons speak for the natives' desire, but what is revealed is their own fear, their own fascinating cannibalism, and consequently the audience's fearful delight in confronting the 'gaze' of the cannibal" (90). So too, as a critic of Osa and Martin's work, I also feed on those pronounced as cannibal. As such, because my own work references sexist, racist prejudices and stereotypes and reproduces a variety of images of ethnocentric curiosity, and because interventions can always be hijacked, regardless of my own intentions and strategic choices, I have to ask how my audience will be positioned and enabled to respond—from complicity and curiosity or outright fascination to discomfort, horror, and outrage.

For Osa, "going native" meant an estrangement from herself and her own culture so that her homesickness signaled a desire to return to her origins in a space of domestic comfort. The point I want to make is this: the root metaphor and ordering symbol of the cannibal at the center of Osa's text appropriates racial science to represent Otherness in popular terms. A newly disciplined science of anthropology and an expanding consumer culture colluded in an important dialectic between professional texts and popular writings—as race science required consumer culture to make public its race theories and consumer culture required race science to objectify and naturalize its spectacle. Osa's text accomplishes a dual movement, employed and employable by scientific fields of the day and at the same time deeply implicit in the popular production of the racialized Other. By parasitically linking with the formal character and legitimate authority of disciplined anthropology, Osa's text constituted Otherness as unalterable natural law, rationally discovered and objectively given. In popular terms, Osa represented Otherness as illogical, childlike, sexually promiscuous. Osa's text garners support, scientific and financial, from the anthropological Galton Society; but though the text borrows from anthropology, it lies strictly beyond these academic confines. Osa's text thus circulated at the fringes of professional science,

as it constructed popular ideas about the distant and racially other primitive African. In Osa's text, the import of the two co- and/or counter-discourses—professional science and popular entertainment—is uniquely illustrative of my claim that Otherness is furnished by dual practices of academic research and practical observation, exhibited in universities and museums, written in professional journals and popular films.

The significance of this dual accomplishment is quite vexing. The passage from Osa's *I Married Adventure* is emblematic of colonial discourse that simultaneously contains and opposes reason/civilization and wild/monstrous. In the era of expansionism and imperialism, the boundary line separating the explorer from the cannibal, scientist from specimen, a national peoples from the Others needed to be materialized and re-materialized. In the body of the cannibal, the material and symbolic boundaries between civilization and savagery, citizen and native, Euro-American and African, colonized and colonizer informed the hierarchical relations central to the realm of empire across the globe. As such, in Osa's text, the boundaries requiring enforcement are those, not only between the civilized and uncivilized body, but between the civilized and uncivilized body politic. This distinction marks the uncivilized individual body as a reflection of a more general savagery in African culture at large. This distinction operates as a symbolic exclusionary tactic: a repudiation and debasement of Other, which clearly serves as justification for imperial conquest and rule.

The cannibal scene means so much because it circulated as both fact and fetish, in the center of a dialogue between America and Africa, but also between Americans and raced others in America. That is, the cannibal story allowed a science of anthropology to demonize Other, and thus justify racial boundaries across the globe in the United States. The cannibal image fully exoticized not only the African body but the African-American body, as well. And when the

American public understood how thoroughly other the African in America really was, that public could fully distance the African-American from the privileged ranks of citizenry. In the cannibal image, the African-American was cast as chaotic, dark, dangerous—and potentially threatening to national economic currency and social coherency. As such, as the most extreme deterriorialization of the human body, the cannibal image consolidated the psychological fears of a nation during its post-reconstruction years. And this image figured more dangerously as justification for the other extreme deterriorialization of the human body: lynching.

Science and spectacle likened the African savage as gregarious beast and thus reduced African-American bodies, with parallel animality and bestiality, to sub-human monstrosities of excess, transgression, abject. The image of the African was likened to a wild beast, a devouring fiend, ferocious and murderous, with an overdeveloped appetite for blood and uncontrollable instinct for sexual passions. The portrayal of these cannibalistic urges of the African led to the most extreme defamation of Africans in America as these images were directed toward the contention that black men possessed incendiary fits of rage and smoldering lust, so much so that the monster must necessarily succumb to the desire to violate white women. In these terms, as criminals and rapists, Africans did not have a right to live. In this way, science and spectacle sanctioned lynching as the preferred way to protect the sacrosanct rights and privileges of the public sphere against the murderous and lewd animal in our species.

So the cannibal image functioned to bolster the status of western identity and mediate the subsequent domination and subordination of sub-groups in western society. Arens tells us that the cannibal was figured within a Euro-American experience of the internal other: that "of women, witches, and heretics" (43). Interestingly, the savage otherness came also to form part of a cluster of images that represented a whole series of European Others as well as the urban poor,

criminals, and the mentally ill. The anthropological cannibal flourished at the boundaries of American identity in a nation marked by class, gender, racial, and ethnic tension, within debates about the status of women and discussions about the "equality" of immigrant groups from southern and eastern Europe. In particular, the dirty and degenerate cannibalistic Other came also to represent immigrant others who resided in fetid slums and thus endangered the purity of a national identity with their foreign, ethnic origins. Here science, as it circulated in professional texts, and society, as it reflected an Anglo-Saxon Protestant American identity, interacted to demarcate WASP culture from the lower quality of peoples living within America's geo-political borders. Obviously, as so many critics have emphasized, it is no accident that evolutionary science and popular travel literature interacted intimately at the turn of the century and participated dually in the construction of images that fed issues of suffrage, segregation, and immigration.

Conclusion

"Every voyage can be said to involve a re-siting of boundaries"— Trinh T. Minh-ha

This introduction has argued that science and spectacle trafficked at the turn of the century across professional and public domains to subvert and reinvent fundamental distinctions between rational coolness and irrational fervor, and thus also to organize the science of evolutionary racism for a domestic market on a scale so large and so diversified as to have been unimaginable theretofore.

The following chapters take up the life and work of Osa and Martin Johnson—scientists, travelers, and filmmakers—and follow their work in American at the turn of the century as it so tantalizingly traversed boundaries of science and spectacle, anthropology and vaudeville, museum and cinema—and, in doing so, inhabited a significant space in the cultural matrices of science,

education, and entertainment. To corroborate my assertion that texts circulate, sometimes promiscuously, across disciplinary boundaries and public borders, this case emphasizes the places that Osa and Martin Johnson occupied within a network of university anthropology, museum display, and Hollywood film. Osa and Martin's travelogues, photographs, and films intersected the zones occupied variously, sometimes multiply, by professional anthropology, public education, and popular culture. Osa and Martin Johnson allied themselves both with the profession of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History and with popular cinema in Hollywood and thus enrolled in a network that mangled the boundaries of science, safari, and spectacle. As such, Osa and Martin's joint body of work—whether it was archived in scientific institutions, performed in public lectures, or sold at fairs and in cinemas—circulated across and between the boundaries and borders of science, education, entertainment.

Donna Haraway discusses the interweaving activities at the American Museum of Natural History at length in her seminal article "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936." In this article, Haraway notes that in our American democracy, official science, public education, and popular entertainment have been interwoven activities all cooperating in visions of social progress in the face of an endangered peace and threatened politic. At the Museum, the practices of exhibition, eugenics, and conservation were charged with a "hygienic intervention" in protecting the health of personal and social bodies in the face of extraordinary threat of decadent and diseased relations among sex, race, class: "Exhibition was a practice to produce permanence, to arrest decay. Eugenics was a movement to preserve hereditary stock, to assure racial purity, to prevent race suicide. Conservation was a policy to preserve resources, not only for industry, but also for moral formation, for the achievement of manhood." All three activities were "prescriptions against decadence, the dread disease of imperialist, capitalist, white culture" (*Primate* 55). Elsewhere, Haraway reiterates:

"Exhibition, conservation, and eugenics were part of a harmonious whole. Race was at the center of that natural configuration, and racial discourse, in all of its proliferating diversity and appalling sameness, reached deep into the family of the nation" (*Modest* 237). Behind the activities of exhibition, conservation, and eugenics, lies an elaborate network of relations. As Haraway explains, "The social and technical apparatus of the colonial African scientific safari and the race-, class-, and gender-stratified labor systems of urban museum construction organized hundreds of people over three continents and two decades" and as such, "required all the resources of advanced guns, patented cameras, transoceanic travel, food preservation, railroads, colonial bureaucratic authority, large capital accumulations, philanthropic institutions, and much more" (*Modest* 236). At the center of these activities and resources, Martin Johnson was thought to be "the man who would tame specular entertainment for the social uplift promised by science" (*Primate* 45). So, if "sciences are interwoven of social relations throughout their tissues" the concept of science and its social relations must "include the entire complex of interactions among people; objects, including books, buildings, and rocks; and animals" (*Primate* 55). As such, the story of Osa and Martin Johnson requires a story-telling practice that follows these explorers, travelers, and entertainers as they moved around richly complex networks.

Before I move from this introduction to the chapters of this dissertation, however, I want to attach a cautionary caveat to my recommendations. In Haraway's words, boundary splicing is work, "including, but not limited to, the semiotic, logical, and rhetorical work of convincing people who are both alike and different from oneself" (*Modest* 67). As we ourselves travel to explore new spaces and new destinations, testing and erasing boundaries, we are engaging in sites of action, power, interpretation, and authority. Certainly, these adventures are pleasurable and playful. But we must remember that travel is experienced differently along lines of gender and race. And we ought not play so freely at metaphorical or theoretical travel across borders and

boundaries without a material understanding that our articulations are consequential. As Haraway says, "they matter" (*Modest* 69).

Throughout the dissertation, I assemble the various contexts operating in the creation of professional and popular boundaries around and across anthropology, adventure, and entertainment, as I investigate historical boundary zones—between specimen and spectacle, mutation and monster, dissection and display. Throughout, I treat the "boundary-work," the "boundary objects," and the networked activities by which science emerges and differentiates itself from other disciplinary or extra-disciplinary practices. I treat this boundary-work as rhetorical and have approached the project of boundary-work as it creates boundary objects that circulate around networks in rhetorically constructed spaces with very material consequences.

To that end, the dissertation breaks down into three main chapters. The first chapter uses Gieryn's concept of "boundary work" to highlight the Johnsons' overlapping alliances with professional anthropology and popular film making. This chapter makes use of work in the cultural studies of science, particularly and Fatimah Tobing Rony's *The Third Eye*, as it situates the film *Simba* within a history of ethnographic cinema. The chapter provides a close reading of the Johnsons' "natural history" film, *Simba*, which was filmed, produced, and marketed with the financial and scientific support of the American Museum of Natural History. The second chapter looks at Osa Johnson's autobiographical, travel and adventure book, *I Married Adventure*. In using Star and Griesemer's analytic framework as a model and employing their concept of "boundary object" in this chapter I map the spaces in which Osa Johnson managed to construct her text both within the professional scientific establishment and the popular entertainment market. This chapter borrows particularly from the critical work of Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* to place Osa's text within a larger tradition of travel literature and

ethnographic writing. I also emphasize in this chapter what Star elsewhere describes as the "problem of identity, and its relationship to multiplicity" ("Power" 33) as I analyze the ways in which Osa Johnson, in her autobiographical text, negotiated her identity across different membership groups. The third chapter takes up the Johnsons' box office spectacular, *Congorilla*, as it too occupies many and multiple sites. In this chapter, Latour's concept of network is used to observe and document the movement of *Congorilla* across "variable ontologies." The chapter draws upon Latour's argument that as things come into contact with one another, they are defined and modified by the many differences between them, "without anyone knowing in advance if these differences are big or small, provisional or definitive, reducible or irreducible" ("One More" 286). This chapter draws heavily from Donna Haraway's *Primate Visions* as her text takes up the material-semiotic relation between nature-culture, nonhuman-human and insists upon the local, material, and discursive character of scientific practices.

CHAPTER 1

Simba: At the Boundary of Science

The film *Simba* is considered to be Martin and Osa Johnsons' finest film. It was the result of the four years the Johnsons spent on safari in East Africa and Northern Kenya at "Lake Paradise," with the prestigious support and financial backing of the American Museum of Natural History. The film, in its 82 minutes, represents the distillation of 200,000 feet of film shot in East Africa and assembles the best of the excursion. Even now, it retains critical merit for its technical quality. As the film *Simba* opens, the first image shows a beautiful, light African landscape, shaded slightly by trees, framed by a distant hillside, and populated by natives with spears and shields. The image stands between credit and title pages announcing the film's intent "to record a vivid picture of untouched Africa." Martin describes his destination in East Africa: "It is paradise, literally as well as figuratively." If this locale were charted, he says, "it would appear on the maps as Lake Paradise" (*Camera* 3). He goes on, warning "there are snakes in that Eden" (*Camera* 3). But he also reminisces: "If there ever was a place that could be called God's country that place is Africa" (*Camera* 4). Of the animals, Martin speaks of his desire to "live at peace" with the lions and elephants and to make a picture record "that will show the life of each species from birth to death" (*Camera* 9). He worries that not much time remains in which to do so and expresses his fear regarding extinction. Of the peoples, Martin expresses "no illusion about them" (*Camera* 6). His descriptions are quite stereotypical: "The natives we met were primitive folk; they were dressed in skins and wore terrifying head-dresses and carried spears. Like most savages, they liked fighting better than anything in the world" (*Camera* 6). Even so, Martin tells us that at Lake Paradise, he was able to film wildlife and native peoples with greater care and more patience, and covering greater distance with more afforded time, than any other film-maker.

Martin and Osa Johnson were, perhaps, some of the very first ethnographers, filmmakers, and celebrities to make their lives by the cinema.[5] While our twenty-first century technologies have made science and nature material commonplace on public television, in the 1920s and 30s, when intercontinental travel was difficult and cinema was still a new invention, the Johnsons' films attracted large audiences and adoring critics. The film *Simba* composed some of the most terrific wildlife footage ever taken and helped to make Martin and Osa Johnson the most celebrated wildlife photographers and filmmakers of the early twentieth century. The Johnsons truly believed that cinematography could tell the authentic story of remote continents, endangered wildlife, and primitive peoples. They promoted the value of photography as an investigative technology and championed its use for recording and preserving places and people. For the Johnsons, photography, cinematography, and filmmaking provided visual data, pictorial representations, and objective catalogues—all contributing to a genuine process of inquiry. With the production of *Simba* Osa and Martin succeeded at their scientific mission, as described by the American Museum, to capture disappearing African life on film, to secure a permanent record of endangered species and vanishing cultures. But the Johnsons were also quite aware, early in their careers, of the artistic and narrative possibilities of film. In the very early moments of cinema, the Johnsons were also among the first to recognize the art of imagination, dramatization, and performance in filmic anthropology, education, and entertainment. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how the film *Simba* has served duplicitously as science and spectacle and has thus stood as a critical boundary object as a quite functional part of the social network through which

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[5] The film *Simba* is characteristic of rudimentary cinema though accompanied by a more ambitious narrative structure than those, more typical of the early stages of film, showing flexing strongmen, dancing women, natural disasters, street parades, and animal locomotion. With the invention of early cinema, the visible phenomena offered by motion studies, sport, and travelogue linked scientists, sportsmen, and showmen/women in a matter of course for the production of "new forms of knowledge and pleasure" (Williams 45). Of special interest regarding the film *Simba* for my purposes is the parallel, if coincidental, invention of professional anthropology and

national science and national cinema colluded to build a legacy of raced and gendered representations—representations that have thrived well into the twentieth century.

The Johnsons' film *Simba* is a telling link between pre-disciplinary anthropology and popular culture from which the discipline, as a part of its new professionalization, separates itself rhetorically and institutionally from the scene of popular culture. I argue that we might pay attention to the myriad of ways in which the disciplinary activity in anthropology emerged at the turn of the twentieth century. My analysis of the film traces the rhetorical boundaries between science and its public. Whether *Simba* marks the distinction between these social spaces or whether it belongs in one or the other space is the less intriguing question. For *Simba* offers especially interesting opportunity to understand how the demarcation game plays out amid historical, political, social struggles over representations of scientific work and popular images, and with consequent symbolic and material consequences for the benefit of some and at the cost of Others.

In my analysis of the film, I explore the boundary work by which the Johnsons, with the assistance of the American Museum (or vice versa), exploited rhetorical resources to map and remap scientific and popular boundaries toward pragmatic and meaningful ends. I begin this chapter by describing the roots and legacies of ethnographic cinema. I then discuss a history of disciplined anthropology with special attention to the competing academic and social interests of key players. These separate groups were attracted to different versions of anthropological science and thus defended different boundary mappings. My reading will thus situate boundary work, specifically, among the disciplinary disputes in the professionalization of anthropology between

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popular ethnography. At the moment of the filming of *Simba*, science, sport, and show work together in the construction of bodies, both white male bodies and Other bodies.

Franz Boas (frequently cited as "the father" of modern anthropology) and his opponents in the Galton Society,[6] at the American Museum of Natural History. The film *Simba* can thus be incorporated into a wider history of stakeholders and arenas: university professors, museum administrators, research scientists, private sponsors, public corporations, amateur collectors, popular magazines and entertainment venues[7].

The Science of Seduction in Ethnographic Cinema

Although many scholars would argue that in time *Simba*'s scientific intent may have become overwhelmed by its more seductive pleasures, I believe that at its origin, science and seduction were indeed interconnected in the Ethnographic moment. That is, the film invoked the observational stance of science and the romantic excess of fiction, and thus operated as *both* a

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[6] Regarding literature on the history of anthropology, I found George W. Stocking Jr.'s *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* to provides a superb general history. See also John S. Haller Jr.'s *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority 1859-1900.*

[7] Prior to 1865, anthropology could claim little existence as a discipline in America. In its formative years, pre-academic anthropology depended upon "amateur" practitioners. American anthropology at the turn of the century developed as only a minor discipline, with few university connections and limited opportunity for formal training in the science. Anthropology developed in museums, and remained for some time rooted in these centers, as there was, Hamilton Cravens notes, "little interest" in placing anthropology within emerging universities (93). Between 1890 and 1910 anthropology was established as subject of study in American universities, and major professional journals and organizations were founded. While anthropology's "academic expansion" in the early twentieth century "was certainly not spectacular," by 1919, six universities had recognized anthropology as a discipline by creating academic departments and offering instruction and training. Even so, Cravens estimates: "Probably less than one hundred anthropologists worked full time as anthropologists in academic or museum careers as late as 1920" (97). Much anthropological work was carried out "in societies of geographers, explorers and antiquaries" long before anthropology became "disciplined" (Stocking, *Race* 14). In fact, the idea of *travel as science* had been definitively established through the nineteenth century (Fabian 6). The boundaries between the practices of popular and professional science—between expedition and entertainment, entertainment and education, exhibition and museum, amusements and academics, fairs and universities—were ideological and shifting through the 1930s. Amateur travelers and professional scientists had, at any given time, multiple and overlapping affiliations with any and all of these practices. While anthropology claimed to make decisive steps toward modernity by pretending to reject the myth-making practices of secular travelers, presenting the

vehicle for serious science *and* a space for perverse pleasure. The Johnsons struggled at the frontier of art and science, across boundaries in pre-cinema Hollywood and pre-professional anthropology, and within what George Stocking now refers to as a "myth of modernity." That is, the Johnsons worked within a historical moment that, marked by rapid changes, might be defined as a dynamic space in which aesthetic and scientific divisions, which have come to be cartographically more stable, still sprawled and circulated as something more ambiguous and historically complex than either/or options allow us to understand. As the Johnsons enacted the myth of modernity, they participated in the positivist activity of recording scientific knowledge and in the mythic activity of encounter with otherness. We are thus required to perceive the Johnsons' film as both scientific and artistic, to treat the film as though both categories are relevant, and to understand the film as it both prefigured and created our own deep-seated mythic, modern habits of mind.

This chapter will advance the argument that the Johnsons' film *Simba* resisted (and resists) any strict distinction between science and its popularization, between authentic ethnographic, anthropological cinema and commercial, mainstream Hollywood film. This film might, and has been, labeled as both a sample of para-ethnographic and adventure genres. But the film exists only at the margins of even these marginal genres. In coming to understand this film and its import, then, we must analyze the unruly, garrulous, overdetermined cross-purposes with which the film was pursued and the complicated, historically limited context within which the film was composed.

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history of anthropology as a fixed progression, nevertheless, risks creating an illusioned separation between the amateur traveler and the professional scientist.

At its beginnings, as George W. Stocking observes, in the history of anthropology, "an institutionally and intellectually diffused discourse based on traveler's accounts became an academic discipline grounded in systematic ethnographic research" (*Ethnographer's* 4). During early anthropology in the 1920s and 30s, scholar-scientists relied upon professional travelers, semiprofessional ethnographers, and para-anthropologists to collect the data that would be theorized and analyzed within an ethnographic document and larger intellectual project seeking a generalized science of Man. Stocking describes in the "mythistory of anthropology" three stages of "disciplinary past" that can each be "linked to a particular moment, developmental and/or chronological, in the history of the discipline" (*Ethnographer's* 280). These are: "the amateur ethnographer, the armchair anthropologist, and the academically trained fieldworker" (*Ethnographer's* 280). Stocking then defines the first stage, that of the ethnographic amateur, as "a vaguely temporal preprofessional phase, beginning with the accounts of early explorers, travelers, and missionaries, but persisting on into the twentieth century out beyond the margins of the academic realm in which professional values were domesticated" (*Ethnographer's* 280).

Stocking explains, nevertheless, that even in its pre-professional stage, "since the mid-nineteenth century, anthropology has claimed the status of a science—sometimes stridently, sometimes ambivalently; at times by an assertive self-definition, at times, by a flexible redefinition of science itself" (342). He follows up by noting that "in facing the public, [anthropologists] have in general insisted on their status as members of a larger scientific community, and on the whole, the world of science has given credence to that claim" (*Ethnographer's* 342). The later "academicization" of anthropology in the 1920s mark what Stocking regards as the beginnings of the "classical" period in modern anthropology and the "defining moment of the academic fieldworker as disciplinary archetype" (*Ethnographer's* 284). During this period, the fundamental disciplinary and methodological values began to take shape.

Nevertheless, as Stocking says, "method itself was still evolving" and not until "a generation on, when the distinction between amateurs and professionals was an accomplished historical fact" did "proper" methodological investigation become established with the myth of ethnographic reliability of anthropological research we recognize in the present.

The term "ethnography" can be traced to mean "people" and "writing." What Stocking refers to as the ethnographic myth is likely familiar: "the anthropologist venturing bravely across the sea or into the jungle to encounter an untouched people, there to be stripped of the defensive trappings of civilization and reborn in the study of a simpler culture, and returning with a grail of scientific knowledge and a vision of alternative cultural possibility" (*Ethnographer's* 216). The ethnographic document purported to describe some aspect of human culture, often in unfamiliar, distant, and isolated places. This task has been formulated as "ethnographer's magic" in which the anthropologist's "own experience of the native's experience must become the reader's experience as well" (*Ethnographer's* 53). And this is the myth, Stocking suggests, that has made anthropology exciting both to professional anthropologists and to the general public. This task, Stocking adds, has been one "that scientific analysis yielded up to literary art" (*Ethnographer's* 53). In fact, Stocking asserts that the anthropological tradition and ethnographic activity are "inherently dualistic" as the discipline and its method coalesce around two poles: scientific and literary. Interestingly enough, the contradictions between what Stocking has termed the "scientizing strain" and the "literizing relativisms" of anthropology in its history have re-emerged, so that Stocking concludes his own historical account of disciplined anthropology by noting that "the boundaries of relevant theoretical literature have been redefined and extended." Now, he says, "with the concurrent rehistoricization of anthropology . . . all that could once be dismissed as amateur (missionary and travel accounts, records of colonial administrators) becomes relevant source material" (*Ethnographer's* 365).

Martin and Osa Johnson's *Simba*, situated as it was at a critical but powerful juncture within the context of the early professionalization of anthropology and the consequent proliferation of ethnographic texts, provides a unique opportunity to explore the traffic of anthropological science in ethnographic aesthetic.

Ethnographic cinema, David MacDougall reminds us, "is not simply an alternative technology for anthropology but has its own history as part of a larger cinema" (141). This being so, he asserts: "To consider cinema culture irrelevant to visual anthropology is like considering literature irrelevant to anthropological writing" (85). In fact, "most anthropological and ethnographic films are not made exclusively for anthropologists" (140). As such, ethnographic film must be understood within "a broader cultural category than films made within, and for, the discipline of anthropology" (98). No easy task. As MacDougall suggests, the history of film is never simple, and the history of ethnographic film is especially tangled.

Cinema has been defined by Theodor Adorno as "the crossroads of magic and positivism." Indeed, as Robert B. Ray, lauded film theorist, suggests in his recent collection, cinema balances delicately between "the temptations of rationalization on the one hand, and the requirements of seduction on the other" (2). I argue that these observations are even truer for early film by anthropologists and adventurers: the ethnographic cinema. For ethnographic cinema offers simultaneously, both a mode of scientific research film and a mode of fetishized voyeuristic film. Like anthropology itself, ethnographic cinema has proliferated in the meeting space of science and spectacle. The ethnographic film has participated in the rationalist need to record and document vanishing cultures and in the commercial pursuit of pleasure for mass entertainment. Often, ethnographic film has been sanctioned by museums as serious scientific

instrument providing unmediated records for future study in cultural anthropology and then used by the museums as social spectacle to attract interested audiences and potential investors.

Throughout the history of cinema, filmmaking has wrestled with conflicting positions and has occupied a dual provenance between research and spectacle. That is, from the beginning, cinema bifurcated into descriptive and narrative, nonfiction and fiction channels. Many films, especially at the turn of the century, were modeled in the Louis Lumière style, a style that regarded cinema as part of the scientific research tradition. Early in film history, practitioners boasted about the value of photography on a scientific basis as a new technology ideal for gathering and recording empirical data. Such films could be characterized as documentaries, depicting non-acted, unstaged scenes of actual and everyday life. However, these practitioners also saw the potential for transforming raw material into something surprising and strange. As such, other films were modeled after the style of Georges Méliès in the fictional mode, involving reconstructions and dramatic reenactments. Méliès intended his films to entertain a box office public. However, imposing our own distinction between documentary and fictional genres onto early cinema is problematic because the boundaries between the genres were relative—and remain so. In fact, devices and strategies of photography produced images simultaneously "real" and "artistic" and thus dramatically disintegrated the distinction between documentary and fictional narratives. Famous filmmaker Jean-Luc Goddard once said: "I have always wanted, basically, to do research in the form of spectacle."

I believe it necessary, for the moment, to pause just briefly and consider the ways in which motion pictures <u>did indeed</u> flourish as instruments of science at the turn of the twentieth century. Few film histories treat the scientific film as an important piece of early cinema and even fewer attend to what Lisa Cartwright describes as the "technological interdependency of science

and forms of popular culture" (2). In fact, the invention of the motion picture occurred in scientific laboratories. Cartwright concerns her study with the extent to which the science film was integral to the development of other genres of popular cinema.[8] She notes: "The prehistory of the cinema is conventionally told as a tale of early scientific experimentation marked by a break with science around 1895 with the emergence of a popular film culture and industry" (3). However, she warns that "what this narrative leaves out is that the scientific film culture that contributed to the emergence of the popular cinema thrived beyond 1895, extending well into the twentieth century" (3). Her text, *Screening the Body*, treats cinematic motion studies, tracing these across professional, public, and popular visual cultures, "underscor[ing] the place of the popular in this conjuncture" (13). Early in her text, she asserts that the science of motion "was not limited to the intrainstitutional practice of the scientific laboratory" and she thus documents widespread popular interest, highlighting the popular motion picture as a "means for lay-audience participation" in scientific pleasure and public spectacle (18). At the center of Cartwright's text is the argument that cinematic film, as an instrument of both popular entertainment and professional science, functioned as a part of the social apparatus that built, shaped, and disciplined individual bodies and populations.

Too then, the link between anthropology and entertainment was not a fortuitous one. Anthropology and entertainment were conjoined—and not surprisingly nor by coincidence, these were intertwined in ethnographic film. In this regard, anthropological demonstrations were popular culture events. In fact, Franz Boas had hoped for an opportunity to foster collaborative projects that might bring the expert advice of trained anthropologists to popular entertainment,

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[8] Cartwright cites Linda Williams' important text, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the 'Frenzy of the Visible'* to build her argument. Williams' text emphasizes "how thoroughly scientism and prurience interpenetrate" in the early motion studies (53). She argues that "science and spectacle impel each other" in toward analysis and ecstasy in these studies (53).

and he thus suggested the value of partnerships between anthropologists in universities and film-makers in Hollywood. Indeed, Boas' endorsement made ethnographic photography, exhibit, and film an increasingly important tool for assembling data about indigenous peoples. As Jay Ruby tells us, "anthropologists started making motion pictures as soon as the technology existed" (2). Likewise, commercial film producers sensed the possibility of increased profits by associating with museums and universities. In the consequent "ethnographic cinema" anthropological detail coalesced with entertaining visual pictures to produce commercial film images of natives peoples overlaid with ideologies of race and nation.

The visual ethnographic makes an early, if haphazard, appearance in early anthropology, when a new and recurrent interest in what has been labeled "salvage" anthropology provided much impetus for acquiring photographic and cinematic records of supposed "vanishing" cultures around the globe. Ethnographic film during the first forty years of anthropology was produced by amateur researchers "who had no training, perhaps no interest even, in the science of anthropology" (Hockings 509). Russell tells us that "one of the most important cultural ramifications of early cinema was the exchange of images made possible by traveling cameramen and exhibitors" (76). That is, she says, prior to World War II, "ethnographic filmmakers were travelers, adventurers, and scientific missionaries intent on documenting the last traces of vanishing cultures" (12). The consequent film records told the familiar story of the emergence of primitive races, the evolution of the races from savagery to civilization, and the eventual diffusion of cultural traits from well-governed nation-states to remote and newly colonized parts of the globe. Photography and filmmaking, with the collection of artifacts and whatever traditions could be recorded, offered a means of "physical preservation" (MacDougall 66).

As MacDougall tells us, ethnographic filmmaking was "never employed systematically or enthusiastically by the anthropological profession as a whole" (125). In fact, few ethnographic films were produced with or by professional anthropologists in the U.S. during the 1920s and 1930s (Ruby 10). Here the prevailing style of early ethnographic films tended to follow those of Félix-Louis Regnault and used the camera primarily as an instrument for gathering cultural data, or those of Robert Flaherty and regarded the camera as a means for recording language, dance, ritual, etc. and also for leading the viewer through a narrative experience. Ethnographic film in the Flaherty tradition constructed what MacDougall describes as a "filmic discourse" that "required the engagement of the viewer in an imaginary geographical and social space created by the film" (67).

Ethnographic film only became institutionalized within the scientific field of specialized anthropology in the 1950s. Very quickly, however, early enthusiasm for visual anthropology gave way to various irritations and frustrations, both for its technical difficulty and for its links with popular amusement (MacDougall 248). As such, most early ethnographic cinema provoked criticism for lacking "the methodological rigor and scientific perspective of anthropologists" (MacDougall 96). However, these "early calls for ethnographic film to become more scientific—or to acknowledge itself to be art or entertainment—have been tempered by the realization that many previously unquestioned assumptions about scientific truth are now widely questioned" (MacDougall 135). In sum, MacDougall tells us that "the relation between knowledge and aesthetics is always tricky, and that between anthropology and film especially so, in part because the legitimacy for a kind of knowledge expressed in images has yet to be addressed" (141). Certainly, from the very inception of ethnographic film, the sometimes conflicting or otherwise cooperative relationships between scientific and commercial uses have, as MacDougall says, "both fascinated and troubled anthropologists" (64).

Further, what we now know as classical Hollywood did not simply emerge with the codes and connections characteristic of the later institution. That is, while the cinema has developed through history to become primarily fictional narrative, this development was anything but destiny, and under different circumstances might have developed differently. As Russell says, early cinema "was an invention without a future" (52). Robert Sklar, in *Movie-Made America*, opens with just this assertion, explaining that movies "were not foreordained to flourish" as the most popular medium of culture in the United States (1). He cautions:

> Under slightly different circumstances the motion-picture camera and projector might as easily have become primarily instruments of science, like the microscope, or of education and family entertainment, like the lantern slide, or of amateur photography, or of amusement-park diversion. (1).

According to Russell, the "dominant mode of film practice before 1907 was the actuality" —"short films shot around the world, nominally 'unstaged,' although many were documents of performances, dances, processions, and parades" (51). Nonfiction film outnumbered fiction features as late as 1907, and the audience for such educational, nonfiction films grew substantially in 1911 and 1912. Even these nonfiction films, however, contained a strongly dramatic form, depicting exotic amusements and spectacular events. Among these films, the spectacle of "primitive" and native peoples was very popular, exhibiting the quality of both actuality and story films. These early films, in their fascination with exotic subjects, have been described as "ethnological." In fact, theatrical "actualities" are nearly indistinguishable from the earliest ethnographic films (Ruby 7).

The categories between nonfiction and fiction film have emerged historically with quite fuzzy boundaries. The lines of demarcation separating ethnographic film-making and cinematographic fiction-making seem far from stable. These functions never occurred separately.

As Carl Plantinga notes in *Rhetoric and Representation in Nonfiction Film*, "a common position among both film scholars and nonfiction filmmakers is that the distinction between the fiction and nonfiction film is illicit" (10). For example, he notes that both nonfiction and fiction films are rhetorical constructs, both scientifically and artistically fashioned and manipulated. Here Plantinga refers to a long history of original and inventive staging and reenactment practices in nonfiction films. Indeed, as Fatimah Tobing Rony documents in *The Third Eye*, ethnographic film has been used, sometimes simultaneously, for documentary research on cultural anthropology and for dramatic, sensationalist effects in public lectures (64). Further, Catherine Russell observes in *Experimental Ethnography*: "ethnographic film is an inherently contradictory mode of film practice" (10). That is, Russell says, ethnographic cinema emerged as "an apparatus that had not yet distinguished the language of science from that of art" (55).

Here I borrow Plantinga's goal: "the study of the richness, complexity, and expressiveness of nonfiction discourse, and the means by which it is structured to have an influence on the viewer" (3). I agree with Plantinga's assertion that we ought to broaden our studies of nonfiction texts to encompass the "complex meld of images and sounds" in nonfiction film and video (1). Plantinga works toward a rhetoric, or a pragmatics, that seeks to "study how nonfictions perform various social tasks" (1). I also share Plantinga's recommendation for rhetorical study that examines how nonfiction films use persuasive techniques to make meaning in the realm of human action and for study that also contributes to a fuller historical and critical understanding of the use of films in the realm of human action (4). To that end, however, I turn to Russell and Rony, who offer histories and critical analyses of ethnographic cinema, particularly as it intersected with science, travel, and attraction to promote structures of sexism, racism, and imperialism. According to Russell, nonfiction films of early twentieth century "constitute a wealth of documentation that has only recently begun to be recognized by scholars

and archivists" (99). One scholar to which Russell is indebted is Rony, who hopes to break the silence surrounding the pervasive form of objectification of indigenous peoples who are represented as Other—"trapped in some deep frozen past, inarticulate, not yet evolved, seen as Primitive, and, yes, savage"—within ethnographic cinema (5). Rony refers to filmmaker Felix-Louis Regnault's distinction between the cinema of science and the cinema of entertainment to situate her argument that the two kinds of cinema co-mingled in ethnographic cinema and that this co-mingling provided a mode for the objectification of Other. Russell builds on this argument, providing some textual analysis of ethnographic cinema in an attempt to offer an interpretive history and open possibility for new, critical methods in "experimental ethnography." Both Rony and Russell take up Osa and Martin Johnson's film, *Simba*.

In the rest of this chapter I explore the network within which Martin and Osa Johnson's film *Simba* occupied an important site—one of intersection between professional anthropology and popular culture as ethnographic cinema. I do not purport to provide an exhaustive historical account of visual anthropology or a complete theoretical account of ethnographic film. Rather, one of the primary claims is that *Simba* functioned as an important intertext between professional science and popular culture at the point of both climax and collapse in evolutionary anthropology. In the concluding arguments of this chapter, I argue that evolutionary anthropology was closely connected to the science of eugenics at the American Museum of Natural History. In this institutional setting, because *Simba* offered a scientific and popular position with definite attention to evolutionary racism, it was thus promoted by eugenicists affiliated with scientific institutions, public offices, and popular theaters. My argument in this chapter will take up the question, "whose story is it?" and propose the by-now common understanding that the story we tell about others is also and more importantly the story we tell of ourselves. This question and proposal, of course, will lead me to consider how the filmmaker and spectator are embodied in

the flesh, in reciprocity with how otherness is embodied in the film. As such, I have elected in this chapter to scrutinize the white male body as it emerges displayed and dramatized an anthropological symbol of strength and eugenic promise of supremacy.

Sustained Ethnographic in *Simba, The King of Beasts, A Saga of the African Veldt*

While ethnographic film has variously been praised for its potential or considered to be lacking in intellectual substance, exalted for its promise or regarded with suspicion as a "side-line" of anthropology, this practice emerged, nevertheless, as a quite visible means of collecting and cataloguing the world. If ethnographic filmmaking may be defined broadly as a process of description or record of engagement with an other culture, Martin and Osa Johnsons' film *Simba* must be regarded as ethnographic. Indeed there are many kinds of anthropological and ethnographic film, including film which reports data in a theoretical process of inquiry, and film, which while not anthropological in objective, popularizes some anthropological ideas (MacDougall 76). The question at hand, then, becomes not whether *Simba* might rightly be labeled "ethnographic" but whether this label matters, and if so, whether *Simba* can "sustain" the label.

In terms of its early history, Rony offers three "distinct modalities" of early ethnographic cinema: 1) the scientific research film, epitomized in the motion studies of Félix-Louis Regnault; 2) the taxidermic or lyrical ethnographic mode, epitomized by Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North*; and 3) the commercial exploitation film, epitomized by Merian Cooper and Schoedsack's *King Kong*. Ethnographic film, then, might rightly be described, as Rony does so, to include "scientific research films, educational films used in schools, colonial propaganda films, and commercial entertainment films" (8). Rony reminds us that "early film by anthropologists did not

always announce itself as intended for science or for popular culture; the two domains were intertwined" (64).

Rony also chooses Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922) as a most outstanding example (because this picture has been canonized as a marked origin of ethnographic film), here to represent the second mode of ethnographic cinema.[9] Though *Nanook* was never intended to be a scientific research film, it received much praise from Franz Boas for capturing in "authentic" detail the "picturesque" ways of native cultures (Rony 78) and retains its status among filmmakers and anthropologists alike as one of the great works in the history of ethnographic cinema. *Nanook*, Rony says, belongs to a unique genre that emerged "from an accumulation of practices for imagining the exotic—from *la peinture ethnographique*, travel literature, the ethnographic exposition, travel photography" (80). This genre purposed to record vanishing ways of life. As the genre developed, it effectively connected anthropology with tourism and the research film with the commercial travelogue. As such, Rony asserts, *Nanook* "cannot be considered true science" (100). Nevertheless, as she says, the film "is seen as a point of origin: it has been called the first documentary film, the first ethnographic film, as well as the first art film" (99). It is she says, "also an artifact of popular culture" (99).

As Rony takes up a close reading of this film, she focuses on what she describes as an "overlooked aspect" of the film by looking at "what the film and the discourse surrounding it can tell us about the nature of anthropological knowledge and the role of visual media in legitimating that knowledge and other regimes of truth" (100). Rony argues that the "reception of a film as 'authentic' is dependent upon the preconceptions of the audience" and thus supplements her

reading with material from the intellectual and historical context in which the film was situated (123). Here she asserts that "the issue is not 'whether Flaherty was a legitimate anthropologist,' but how the public was led to believe that they were seeing anthropology in a manner that allowed them to play with the boundary between viewer and viewed as vicarious participant observers, while reaffirming the boundaries between representation and reality" (119). In concluding, she says of Flaherty's *Nanook* that it sustained the "Ethnographic" in ways that other films or travelogues of "jokey tourism" did not (103, 126)[10].

Here Rony offers Osa and Martin Johnson's *Simba* as an example of the "Ethnographic picturesque" as the film manages to claim "a dramatic record of sheer reality" and yet "conjures ethnographic spectacle " (90). Unfortunately, as she treats *Simba*, she emphasizes the "humorous" and "cartoonish" nature of the film, with its sensationalist adventure narratives and stereotyped images of indigenous peoples. As such, Rony suggests that this commercial safari film is "markedly different" from other ethnographic "salvage" cinema intended to catalogue cultures perceived to be threatened by ensuing extinction. That is, she seems to suggest that *Simba* offers less in the way of sustained ethnographic cinema than it does "jokey tourism." Rony, admittedly, provides only a brief gloss of *Simba*. What she does provide strikes me as

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[9] Other scholars tend to agree with Rony. MacDougall, for example, describes Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922) as "far and away the most famous" and most discussed cinematic approach to ethnographic narrative (103).

[10] Rony describes how films by anthropologists in the interest of evolutionary sciences fused into a cinematic picturesque in different kinds of film genres, including the commercial travelogue. Rony borrows Stocking's argument to assert that "the empiricism and epistemological underpinnings of anthropological notions of evolutionary time were overlaid with an increasingly romantic Rousseauesque study of 'surviving primitive peoples' and historical analysis was elided" (78). The commercial travelogue, Rony tells us, shared the ideological context and the passion for the picturesque. These impulses came together and created a genre of that might be described as "curious hybrids of documentary and fantasy" (Rony 85). Particularly indicative of this genre and the consequent hybrid linking education and spectacle, according to Rony, is the expedition and/or safari film.

quite right. Indeed, much of *Simba* offers sensationalist accounts of lion hunts and dramatic portrayals of Africans as comical foils or dangerous savages. I admire Rony's reading of the ethnographic picturesque in *Simba*, and I revel in her conclusion that that the film was aligned with conventionalized ethnographic detail—detail that appeased an audience's fearful delight, abstracted guilt, and mythic nostalgia for lost native origins (91). I squabble only with her categorization and too easily dismissal of *Simba* as commercial travelogue, offering a distinctly different view of ethnographic from other, more "sustained" views.

I want to apply Rony's arguments regarding *Nanook of the North* and other picturesque, travelogue, taxidermic, and romantic ethnography to justify a more complete and thus nuanced reading of *Simba*. That is, I argue that like *Nanook* in Rony's reading, an "overlooked aspect" of *Simba* is "what the film and the discourse surrounding it can tell us about the nature of anthropological knowledge and the role of visual media in legitimating that knowledge and other regimes of truth" (100). I argue here for regarding *Simba*, as Rony argues for regarding *Nanook*: the "reception of a film as 'authentic' is dependent upon the preconceptions of the audience" (123). I advocate for defining anthropological ethnographic films as films that become so by virtue of their marketing, use, and circulation. I thus supplement my reading with material from the intellectual and historical context in which the film was situated. Here I argue, as Rony argues, that the issue is not "whether the Johnsons were legitimate anthropologists," but whether and how the public was led to believe that they were seeing anthropology . . . " in the Johnsons' work (119). In concluding, I want to treat *Simba* as Rony treats *Nanook* by believing that it too effectively and artfully sustained the "Ethnographic." By this, I mean that *Simba*, like other ethnographic cinema, influenced representations and reconstructions of indigenous peoples whether in professional science, public museums, or popular culture.

Drawing, no doubt, on Rony's circumscribed reading of *Simba*, Russell also claims (mistakenly, I add) that the Johnsons "claimed no scientific authority whatsoever" (141). She describes *Simba* as a "travel-adventure combination of documentary material and heroic narrative drama" (141). She includes her close analysis of the film in a chapter entitled "Zoology, Pornography, and Ethnography" and says of this "exploitation-entertainment" that it "serves to champion the camera as a device of penetration, ethnography, aestheticization, and industrialization" (141). Again, I am enthralled with this reading of *Simba*. I am quite convinced by Russell's positioning of *Simba* at "the climax of an era, and the triumph of a realist aesthetic" (141). I agree, with little reservation, as Russell says that "the Johnsons' film announces the advent of modernity in the African jungle and the beginning of the end of a history of savagery" (141). And I am more than willing to accompany her as she takes up the task of "teasing apart the various levels of representation in *Simba* and its discourses of colonialism, gender, hunting, and the gaze . . ." (141). Certainly, Russell offers a quite complex and sophisticated analysis of the ethnographic gaze as this gaze operated in *Simba* to inscribe social relations of possession, knowledge, and desire. Russell provides a nicely detailed, close reading in her effort to argue that the "undisciplined" *Simba* is an example of "the failures of the ethnographic gaze" and an instance "in which it breaks down in its own 'frenzy'—its own impossible desires" (120). Again, my squabble has to do with the distinction Russell makes between the "undisciplined" gaze of this safari film and the disciplined gaze in other documentary material. That is, I argue against any steady distinction Russell proposes between the aestheticized film outside of disciplinary science and the diegetic film within disciplinary structures. In the next section, I will inevitably arrive in agreement with her conclusion that "disciplinarity is always tenuous" (156). But I mean to assert that Russell's reading of the film *Simba* demonstrates all the more tenuousness of disciplinarity, not because it was "undisciplined," but because it was simultaneously disciplined and undisciplined.

Repeatedly, the film *Simba* has been cited as a fictional explorer film or popular travelogue and offered as such to be a foil for Flaherty's *Nanook of the North*[11]. I argue here that such readings are asymmetrical and thus leave much of the Johnsons' scientific credibility and consequent social relevance unexplained. Using Rony's modalities, the Johnsons' films ought to be placed in the taxidermic or lyrical ethnographic mode along with Flaherty's *Nanook*. Indeed, the Johnsons' film *Simba* was not a scientific research film. It did, however, serve all of the other purposes of anthropological and ethnographic cinema, as Rony lists those: "educational films used in schools, colonial propaganda films, and commercial entertainment films" (64). My central claim is that the Johnsons' work, far from being expelled from the realm of science, was actually pushed into it and was advanced as at least a quasi-legitimate science. Indeed, as we view *Simba* today, we may like to understand it as mere fantastic and exploitative entertainment. But such a viewing fails to understand *Simba* in its own context, before our distinctions between science and spectacle had been crystallized, particularly before such distinctions were properly disciplined within the field of anthropology. In my advocacy for reading *Simba* as an artifact in the genre of ethnographic cinema, I challenge those readings of the Johnsons' work that too easily dismiss this film as "nonscience."

Supervised Science and Expedition in *Simba, The King of Beasts, A Saga of the African Veldt*

The problem in investigations of boundary work is not, as Gieryn says, "that there is no 'real science' . . . but that there are too many 'real sciences'" (19). For Gieryn, the recurring question concerning the practice of boundary-work has been: what was science then and there? The essential question therefore concerns not what science really is, but "rather how its borders and territories are flexibly and discursively mapped out in pursuit of some observed or inferred ambition—and with what consequences, and for whom" (23). According to Gieryn, boundary

[11] See, for example, De Brigard p. 21; Ruby p. 71& 75.

work is strategic action in a credibility contest among rival players and stakeholders who are competing to pursue goals and protect interests in a variety of institutional or organizational arenas. As such, Gieryn observes that boundary work is particularly visible "in settings where tacit assumptions about the contents of science are forced to become explicit; where credibility is contested; where regnant assumptions about boundaries suddenly appear murky or inapplicable; and—most important—where allocations of epistemic authority are decided and consequently deployed" (24). Tracing the boundary work of competing individuals, groups, and institutions makes visible the sometimes forgotten and thus invisible and absent work that interdisciplinary opposition and extra-disciplinary resistance play in emergent sciences. these questions are important for attending to boundary work: Who are the players, the contestants for epistemic authority? What are the stakes in negotiations of credibility for diverse players? In what organizational or institutional arenas does the boundary work occur? (29). To address this question, Gieryn calls for "detailed examination of local and episodic constructions of science, highlighting different cultural spaces science becomes in order to serve diverse pragmatic ends" (xi).

In this chapter, I have striven to position *Simba* at the very conception of visual anthropology and ethnographic cinema within the above historical narrative. Certainly, the Johnsons were never academically trained anthropologists. The Johnsons were, however, working in what Stocking defines as the first stage of anthropology's disciplinary past, that of the ethnographic amateur: "a vaguely temporal preprofessional phase, beginning with the accounts of early explorers, travelers, and missionaries, but persisting on into the twentieth century out beyond the margins of the academic realm in which professional values were domesticated" (*Ethnographer's* 280). My argument, as stated elsewhere, suggests that the Johnsons worked as professional travelers, semiprofessional ethnographers, and pre-professional anthropologists, and

ought to be considered as "the amateur ethnographer" and/or "the armchair anthropologist" of Stocking's "disciplinary past." The following detailed examination of the construction of anthropology as a social science in the early twentieth century situates the Johnsoms' film *Simba* within not only a "disciplinary past" but also a disciplinary present. The film was located within science as it was located within disciplinary disputes that pit theories of cultural relativism advocated by Franz Boas of Columbia University and against theories of evolutionary racism advocated by Henry Osborn of the American Museum of Natural History (and member of the Galton Society[12]).

Franz Boas, perhaps more than any other anthropologist, has been credited for transforming American anthropology into a legitimate science and respected profession. Boas accepted an appointment as curator of the American Museum and solicited a joint appointment in anthropology at Columbia University in 1896. Notably, in both his university career and museum appointment, Boas fashioned his anthropological work in what Stocking credits, "a sophisticated critique of scientific racism" (Cravens 104). Boas and his students attacked the traditional assumption that primitive peoples had evolved to civilized man, and that civilized peoples were superior. He argued publicly and repeatedly for his conviction that "civilization is not something absolute, but that it is relative, and that our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes" (Hinsley 99). In his position as curator at the American Museum, Boas had hoped, as part of his plan for public instruction, to secure funds for an African Museum that would teach lessons in healthy race relations to the general public. Boas was aware that in hall arrangements and exhibit displays, "the particular grouping of specimens was a classificatory act,

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[12] Regarding literature on the history of anthropology, I found George W. Stocking Jr.'s *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* to provides a superb general history. See also John S. Haller Jr.'s *Outcasts from Evolution: Scientific Attitudes of Racial Inferiority 1859-1900.*

which, in turn, would communicate to the visitor a particular theory of culture" (Jacknis 92). So he planned to arrange the museum accordingly, by grouping specimens according to ethnic similarities rather than in hierarchical arrangements.

However, disagreement over labeling and installation escalated, and Boas found himself in profound ideological disagreement with museum administrators and trustees. Morris K. Jesup, then president of the Museum, called for "a series illustrating the advance of mankind from the most primitive form to the most complex forms of life" (Jacknis 107). Given Boas' difference of opinion regarding the relations of cultures and the arrangement of displays, it was inevitable that Boas would clash with the administration and board, with whom he diverged on both issues. Boas attacked the museum administration and board as dangerously banal popularizers of science who reduced display to the lowest level (Jacknis 107). He resigned from the museum in May 1905. This contest, was of course only the start of the larger battle between Boas and those museum-affiliated anthropologists, who sought to define anthropology in scientific racialist terms. Cravens says that "Boas' views on the equipotentiality of human races were well known" and likely alienated those scientists "who cherished eugenics and other hereditarian nostrums" (113). Boas advanced his case by pursuing, directing, and leading the push for a fully professionalized discipline of anthropology with trained practitioners who followed prescribed methods for fieldwork and communicated findings in specialized journals. In this pursuit, Boas argued for the necessity of professionalization if the "amateur element" were to be weeded out.

Boasian ideas were clearly at odds with the notion of "Nordic" superiority. And Cravens records the growing hostility against Boas and Boasian anthropology "among racially-minded" scientists. He documents the emergence in 1918 of the Galton Society of New York (115). The Society was organized by Charles Davenport, leader of the American eugenics movement, and

Madison Grant, a eugenics supporter, racist propagandist, proponent of immigration restrictions. The Society was organized to oppose Boasian anthropology and to support instead the study of "racial anthropology." That is, the Galton Society was to be a New York anthropological society with members confined to "native" Americans, who would help champion Nordic superiority and harness science to the claims of race enthusiasts. The Society attracted members who argued for the existence of hierarchical racial differences and who were clearly aligned with the eugenics movement; and these members fought their case in the public realm, particularly in the museums. Society members included several well-known natural and physical scientists who hoped to "support racially oriented anthropological studies" and who made racism academically as well as publicly acceptable (Cravens 116). Among Society members—Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History and avid supporter of Osa and Martin Johnsons' scientific safari expeditions.

Henry Fairfield Osborn had studied comparative anatomy in England under Thomas H. Huxley and even met Darwin before returning to the United States and becoming president of the American Museum of Natural History in 1908. Osborn was known in America as a skilled paleontologist, having published widely in his field and receiving numerous scientific honors, society memberships, and academic medals. A renowned scientist, Osborn was also a proponent of race theory and supporter of Nordic solidarity. Osborn joined with Madison Grant in the campaign to champion the achievements of the Nordic race and to advocate for the "right and duty to maintain the predominance of our own race"—a predominance threatened by the presence of inequalities in intelligence and temperament that existed among the degenerate races. That is, Osborn supported theories about race superiority and inferiority within a knowledge for the evolutionary factors at work under the intellectual achievements of his Nordic race and the defects of primitive civilization. He thus contributed to Madison Grant's *Passing of the Great*

Race the preface, in which he joined Grant in arguing for the restriction of immigration on racial grounds. As Museum president, Osborn promoted exhibits that "tend to demonstrate the slow upward ascent and the struggle of man from the lower to the higher stages, physically, morally, intellectually, and spiritually" and thus "put man upwards towards a higher and better future and away from the purely animal stage of life."

In the midst of this critical battle between Boas and his followers and those opponents allied with the Galton Society, Henry Fairfield Osborn, member of the Galton Society, renowned paleontologist, and president of the American Museum of Natural History, expressed some urgency at securing records of natural life and native races from Africa before these vanished and the Museum's African exhibition hall was left incomplete. Although the museum's buildings were publicly funded, the "collections were owned by the twenty-four trustees, who funded expeditions, exhibit installation, and other operating expenses." The museum's supporters were drawn from the city's financial elite and counted Madison Grant among them. And it was this group on nonprofessional patrons who levied the most control over museum displays. At this time. Carl Akeley, who was responsible for designing the African Hall, had hoped that Osa and Martin Johnsons' next expedition would support the exhibition construction by providing a definitive film record—and subsequent film profits. Akeley persuaded Osborn to support the Johnsons' cause. And Osborn, no doubt, obtained additional support from his close friend and museum trustee, Madison Grant. Indeed, there was "strong trustee support for scientifically endorsing the expedition" (Imperato 117). Because the museum board was comprised of wealthy bankers, industrialists, and businessmen, this support provided the Johnsons with access to financial means. In other words, even the museum's nonfinancial sponsorship facilitated connections and attracted investors. Working on behalf of the museum, Akeley and Osborn

convinced George Eastman of Eastman Kodak, for example, to provide financial support for what would surely be "superior wildlife cinematography."

Even with support of Eastman, however, the Johnsons needed to raise additional funds. Martin had been introduced to F. Trubee Davison, a museum trustee and lawyer, and Daniel E. Pomeroy, a prominent banker who had vice-president of the Banker's Trust Company. Davison and Pomeroy worked with A. Perry Osborn, lawyer and son of Henry Fairfield Osborn, to establish a new company—the Martin Johnson African Expedition Corporation. Pomeroy served as president, Davison as first vice-president, and Akeley as second vice-president. The corporation sold stock to finance the expedition. It also entered a trust agreement with the American Museum, "whereby the latter agreed to supervise the activities of the expedition, in addition to editing and endorsing its commercial films. In return, the corporation agreed to hold the museum legally harmless, and to give it all of the expedition's photographs, films, and trophies once it had completed its commercial exploitation of them" (Imperato 117).

In a prospectus from the American Museum, the Foreword says of the Martin Johnson Expedition:

> The Expedition is for the purpose of making scientifically true motion picture records of the primitive tribes of Africa and its rapidly disappearing animal life. Inasmuch as The American Museum of Natural History realizes the urgent need of making these valuable records for science and education before it is too late, it will supervise the expedition, and the negatives taken will become property of the Museum.

The Foreword continues to note the Johnsons' popular, world-wide reception and again emphasizes "the scientific importance of making such films for this and future generations." As

such, the Museum promises to prepare the Johnsons with essentials "such as has never before been assembled for scientific work." The museum credits Martin Johnson with "the proper scientific spirit" and expresses its faith in the quality of the films and their integrity as "permanent historic and scientific interest." In supporting letters Akeley and Osborn endorse the expedition, again noting an "infinite value to science and education." *Science* reported the ratification by the American Natural History Museum Board of Trustees of the agreement between the museum and the Martin Johnson African Corporation, noting that Martin Johnson "has placed himself and his work under the direct scientific supervision of the authorities of the American museum" and saying, "the acquirement of these records . . . will form an unprecedented series of scientific and educational value" (158). Similar announcements appeared in the *New York Times* and in other popular press across the United States.

According to the Johnsons' biographer, the agreement, "galvanized men of means, such as Eastman and Pomeroy" and promised to "result in films that would generate broad public interest" and thus facilitate additional fund-raising (Imperato 117). Imperato notes that "never before in the museum's history had the energies of so many been focused on the work of one man and his wife" (118). Imperato describes the Johnsons' departure in December 1923, noting that Martin and Osa now "had the official backing of the museum, guaranteed financial support for several years, and the friendship of men such as Eastman, Osborn, Pomeroy, and other powerful figures" (118).

When the American Museum took the unprecedented move to endorse the Martin Johnson Expedition and the consequent safari films, it initiated a mutually cooperative relationship between the Museum's scientific mission and the Johnsons' popular achievements. At this intersection, Osa and Martin Johnson and their films were translated by the Museum into

"infinitely valuable scientific records" and sensational animal photography. Announcements regarding the cooperative relationship between the American Museum and the newly formed Martin Johnson African Expedition Corporation drew together the interests of several different stakeholders, all pursuing different interests, around the appeal to "science," an appeal that "often stands metonymically for credibility, for legitimate knowledge, for reliable and useful predictions, for a trustable reality" (Gieryn 1). These announcements brought scientific and social interests together as they detailed the process whereby the American Museum entered a trust agreement with the Johnson Corporation, "whereby the latter agreed to supervise the activities of the expedition, in addition to editing and endorsing its commercial films. In return, the corporation agreed to hold the museum legally harmless, and to give it all of the expedition's photographs, films, and trophies once it had completed its commercial exploitation of them" (Imperato 117).

Spectacular Science and Adventure in *Simba, The King of Beasts, A Saga of the African Veldt*

As the first scenes of *Simba* roll upon the screen, we watch the safari outfit struggle over rugged dirt roadways, across rivers, and through a desert. The titles describe the travel "through hardships and perils of desert and veldt and across Crocodile-infested rivers." And we are indeed provided shots of crocodiles, rhinos, and elephants along the way. The journey is documented as difficult, requiring the assistance a great many laborers. Finally, the outfit reaches Lake Paradise, where Martin made base camp and from where he and the outfit "safaried for a thousand miles in every direction." Amid quite brilliant pictures, we are offered narrative titles that tell us of "the great wild" and "the land of our glorious adventure" surrounding Lake Paradise. This, the titles say, "was a scenic wonderland filled with the magic that is Africa." These are familiar tropes that appear as standard plot elements in Martin's written accounts and photographic records: Martin,

the committed scientific explorer, encounters a geographically isolated Africa and must persevere through hazardous jungle, desert, and mountain terrain to penetrate the continent's mysterious spaces and discover its inner Edenic beauty. Significantly, the plot elements are in accord with Explorer legends that invoke adventure at the heart or center of Africa. In conjunction with this myth, the Explorer must be manly enough to penetrate, conquer, and then domesticate dark Africa so as to enjoy "her" richness and reap her beauty.

The film describes and pictures the African continent suffused with a hint of unreality, a timeless and exotic world "a thousand worlds away" from the United States and its contemporary audiences. The film offers an Africa of the white imagination and from a perspective of the "ethnographer's gaze." The land is beautiful, the animals are exotic, and the natives are uncivilized. Landscapes, wildlife, and native customs all contribute to the emotional appeal of an Africa perpetually in the past, permanently outside of modernity. The film, as such, participates in the making and re-making of the popular vision of pre-colonial and colonial Africa, far from civilized society. In offering up such a vision, the film followed mythical conceptions of the "primitive," thus failing (or refusing) to transmit the complex cultures of African societies and the rich nuances of the continent's contacts with the Western world. Against the film's pretense at ethnographic documentation, the narrative depiction of natural but wild landscape, peopled with "primitive" tribes, delivered Africa as a fantastic and romantic empire, where the white male and his cultured world had yet to triumph, but would most assuredly win out.

The stated scientific purpose of the exploration—the camera hunt—drives the plot of *Simba*, as we are delivered the promised dramatic wildlife footage. First, the elephants. Here, although the titles describe one of the animals as "vexed," in fact, the picture seems quite peaceful. In one scene, we observe Martin and then Osa in front of the camera and realize just

how close they are to the elephants they were filming. Soon, we are told that an angry elephant was trying to decide whether to charge and are warned: "the elephant always charges to kill." More footage shows Martin behind the camera and Osa beside with rifle at the ready as they follow the trail of the elephant herd. Eventually, the elephants are indeed riled by the cameras and another warning of impending peril is issued. This time, however, Martin and Osa retreat. Before they finish filming, though, they notice a brush fire and continue to photograph the elephants as they "start a mad stampede" to the swamp below. We catch a quick glimpse of Martin and Osa running in the same direction, in danger of being crushed by one of the elephants. The next wildlife scene shows us "rhino country" where these animals gather for water. The rhino is described as a "two ton killer with a terrible disposition." We are told: "he is clumsy but deadly, with almost as big a score as the Lion." After the intermission, we are treated to several superb minutes of filming in which we see Zebra, Oryx, Gazelle, Antelope, Impala, Gerenuk, Giraffe, and Ostrich "alert and nervous" at the watering hole. In more film sequences, after months of drought, the water hole dries up. Now hyenas "snarl over carcasses" and vultures "pick bones."

Later, at the film's climax, Martin is presented "at last, with the opportunity of [his] dreams - - Lions as they had never been pictured before." But the opportunity also brings "supreme danger." Martin is nevertheless successful at securing several nice shots of lions bathing each other and napping together. And he revels in his success, noting that "never before in the history of African adventure had such an opportunity and luck come to a camera hunter." In this camera sequence, the titles announce a gathering of fourteen lions, including two small cubs, "a scene without parallel in the history of animal photography." One title emphasizes yet again the danger of this camera hunt with the admission: "We *wanted* to run for our lives -- but we *had to stay* for the pictures." Again, the danger of the camera hunt allows Martin to affirm an

identity at once civilized and masculine, as the camera on safari confers a powerful symbol of both.

Throughout the film, we are to understand that Martin is the principle photographer, though we are occasionally offered glimpses of him with his camera in rare shots that we must suppose to have been filmed by either Osa or their assistants. For her part, then, Osa stands with her gun beside Martin and the camera. She is called upon to use the rifle in three of the wildlife sequences. We see Osa fire her gun and an elephant dead on the ground after we are told that this "big bull leader" had to be stopped from the stampede. We also watch as Martin secures thrilling footage of a perturbed rhino, as Osa prepares to scare it off with a rifle shot. More exciting still, however, when a lion does not retreat "as hoped" and charges Martin's camera, Osa is forced to shoot. Interestingly, in these scenes Osa's role, even as great hunter, remains subservient to Martin's role. We have already been told that shooting animals with a high-powered rifle is a much easier task and less dangerous sport than filming animals with a camera. And this comparison has also implied a hierarchical arrangement of technologies, by which advanced technology has become aligned with white masculinity and with scientific objectivity. During the course of the film *Simba*, that hierarchical arrangement is visualized and applied to the hierarchical arrangements of male/female, white/black: Martin is equipped with a sophisticated camera, Osa is armed with a high-powered rifle, and the natives must rely upon rudimentary spears.

The final sequence turns its attention to ethnographic interest in the "Lumbwa" tribe. The intertitles tell us that this tribe has "reached the pastoral stage." Throughout the film, when Martin turns his camera on the indigenous peoples in Africa, he reports that these "natives were a pastoral race of half savage blacks." We are provided footage of the native peoples with their

herds and at their wells, all amid titles announcing: "Here was the age-old story of Man emerging from savagery." These descriptions of the "primitive" depend upon evolutionist meanings, by using what Fabian describes as the "ethnographic present" to make the people on film representative of an earlier age in evolutionary time. These intertitles allow the filmmaker and his viewers to study people in Africa as natural history phenomenon, evidence of a vanishing race from a distant past. The mythic story Martin narrates for us throughout the film and in the final sequence, in particular, is that of first man, living authentically and romantically in nature with rudimentary technologies for securing food and water necessities. In the final sequence, we are introduced to the "King and Queen" of the Lumbwa and accompany the Lumbwa warriors on their hunt for Simba, "the King of Beasts." The Lumbwa warriors fight the Lion with spears and shields and the consequent dramatic death scene is followed by "a prayer to their gods." We see in dramatic detail that the primitives are devoted to mystical rituals and mired in false religious beliefs.

Upon return to base camp, Martin celebrates with apple pie, baked freshly by Osa, and thus concludes the couples' tale of "the land of romance and magic and mystery." At the film's conclusion, we are thus returned home, not only to our home camp, but to the familiarity of our own homes in the United States. Indeed, to leave home and to enter an exotic world, to study another place and encounter an Other people, is also to return to a familiar world and to a familiar image of "us." Fundamental to this return is a re-imagined ideal of white American man as archetypal Explorer, and the corresponding ideal of white American civilization.

So, then, in the case of Martin Johnson, the relationship between ethnography and cinematography were mutually constitutive in so much as Martin the ethnocinematographer was brought into being as scientist and explorer—and modern (white) man. As we turn to the film

Simba, I want to emphasize the myriad of ways in which anthropological discourses concerning "primitive" and "civilized" nature and culture scientifically justified white male dominance and thus linked white supremacy to eugenics. During the height of Martin's career from 1914 to 1937, anthropological science, photography and film, and vaudeville theater converged as new ways of knowing and prominent ways of representing identities, particularly primitive black bodies and contrasting modern white male identities. To fully understand this convergence in the film *Simba*, we must focus on the strategies employed by the filmmakers, censors, and marketers by which "science" was enrolled to make and remake modernity in terms of civilization, racial dominance, and white male supremacy. Bearing this in mind, Martin's life story, *Simba*'s plot structure, the film's promotional rhetoric, and the Museum's endorsements will need to be linked with the construction of white masculinity in America during the first decades of the twentieth century, and then aligned with discourse of racial superiority central to the extension of the eugenics movement into later decades of that century.

My first introduction to the Johnsons and their films came from Donna Haraway's chapter, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy" in her text *Primate Visions*. Haraway, in this chapter, tells a story of the African Hall at the American Museum of Natural History and narrates this story as one of "the Age of Mammals, originating in the heart of Africa, meeting the Age of Man, culminating in the heart of New York City." Haraway argues that these films, in depicting the white safari scientist-traveler and his camp housewife as they encounter African wildlife and non-white African people, construct abundant hierarchies of race, sex, species, and class. In Haraway's story, the pursuit of science on safari fostered collaboration with the pursuit of science in the Museum, so that a science of collection, conservation, and preservation were retooled in the science of eugenics. And, according to Haraway, the science of eugenics as practiced by Museum administration was dedicated to preserving the social fate of great, white American

manhood within imperialist, colonialist, capitalist culture. Here she introduces key, central themes that have clearly informed subsequent readings of the Johnsons' filmwork. Rony outlines in brief similar themes in the Johnsons' films. She points out what she sees as a gun/camera or taxidermy/photography parallel and a related wild animal/indigenous peoples comparison. In pursuing these implied associations, Rony observes the various scenes in which native peoples are cartoonishly juxtaposed with the American filmmakers, so that at *Simba*'s end, the natives look monstrous or ridiculous, while Martin as the filmmaker and hunter hero is established and Osa as beautiful object of desire is sexualized. Russell calls upon both Haraway and Rony to remind us that the Johnsons' film *Simba* incorporates a kind of crude racism consistent with the eugenics theories and Nordic superiority positions held by many at the American Museum of Natural History. As Russell summarizes for us, *Simba* maps a Darwinian hierarchy with "a rhetoric of natural order" onto ethnographic footage. That is, by narrating a story of human evolution, *Simba* provides visual proof that the savage "primitives" were inferior to the "Great White Man" and thus fulfills a specific colonial, imperial, political imperative. Russell recognizes here the role *Simba* was to play in the rhetoric of natural order promoted as a matter of natural science at the Museum. Indeed, I agree with her assertion that the film was thus intended to participate in an important cultural project[13].

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[13] As Russell works to unfold the layers of discourse in the film, she takes up the representational contradictions, the raced and gendered gaze that marks the film. Like Russell, I am particularly intrigued with the way Osa as a raced and gendered figure appears in the film. Russell does quite apt work at prying apart Osa's position as a courageous and successful hunter, domesticated American housewife, and the civilizing colonial goddess. Russell offers a compelling analysis of "polarization in colonial culture of race and gender" (144). Here she articulates the very sophisticated argument that "Osa among the Africans situates their blackness and her femininity as 'overvisible,' exemplifying the way that both bodies function in the language of silent film as a naturalized opposition of gender and race" (144). In the end, thus, Osa's role is both that of domesticated and domesticator. Since Russell has adequately captured the duplicitous role Osa must play in this film, I offer nothing more here. Rather, I will take this topic up again myself later in my analysis of Osa's autobiographical *I Married Adventure* in some attempt to decipher how Osa had been variously positioned as a white American woman in Africa and how she herself negotiated and re-negotiated this position. In this chapter, I am mainly concerned with

Simba is important in that by affirming scientific studies of race, the film figured in the agendas, public and private, of natural and social scientists and future plans for research coordinated within the eugenics movement at the American Museum. What is most striking in the instance of *Simba* is its success at channeling the conviction of scientific responsibility and the seductive pleasures of ethnographic voyeurism into a powerful and instrumental discourse of evolutionary racism and potential tool for eugenic science. The analysis in this chapter focuses on the institutional and discursive contexts that place *Simba* squarely within both scientific and popular constructions of the African, and thus of the African-American as a species beneath the Anglo-Saxon man within the contours of Western social hierarchy and political struggle. The questions that guide my analysis here speak to how *Simba* approaches various racist representations of Africans, and therefore enters an institutional regime of white supremacy under the American Museum. To that end, the latter part of the chapter moves to interrogate the concept of "primitive" and the question of the "masculine" in *Simba* to emphasize the frequent alliance of racial difference with sexual difference in the subordination of the black male and guaranteed primacy of white masculine power.

Before I continue, I want to highlight these three themes regarding *Simba*: 1) the intersection of science, education, and entertainment in the film; 2) the embodiment of Martin Johnson in the film as the great, white hunter; and 3) the enrollment of the film with anthropological science and the associated eugenics movement. Given the claim asserted thus far, that *Simba* worked as a sustained, anthropological ethnographic film, we cannot now dismiss the film as pseudoscientific propaganda or jokey entertainment without considering the ways in which it operated as knowledge in its own time. In the preceding discussion, I hope to have made

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those discursive contradictions and collisions between Martin, the American photographer, and the filmed African hunters, as these contradictions and collisions are, as Russell says, punctuated

a persuasive argument that science is a cultural, local rather than an essential, universal space. In the case of *Simba*, select qualities of science and certain scientific claims have been attributed to sensational practices by players with different interests and different historical locales. In making this argument, I hope not to have further privileged any science/non-science distinction, but rather to have added to the quite contemporary discussions about "how and why some conceptions of reality acquire the mantle of scientific truth and enter into the domain of common sense while others come to be regarded as arrant nonsense" (Cooter 35). Furthermore, I want to argue that the science/non-science demarcation creates a false binary of sorts. That is, I assert that practices might be both/and, simultaneously science and non-science, truth and error, common sense and nonsense

Martin Johnson courted the company of scientists, adventurers, and explorers. He managed to gain respectability within natural history and anthropological institutions and acquire support from museum professionals and social elites alike. But he was, without doubt, most implicated in production and performance for amusement. As such, *Simba* successfully resonated with the aura of science, even while effectively displaying American cultural fantasies. In the remainder of this chapter, I scrutinize Martin Johnson as production and performance, and explore in this presentation the display of whiteness and maleness, as this display contributed to the meaning of manliness and masculinity that marked modernity. In unraveling Martin's story as it becomes told in and around the circulating film *Simba*, I will discern the ways in which the discourses of science and exploration invoked both "civilized manliness" and "primitive masculinity"[14] in contradictory ways so as to legitimate the dominance of modern white man and invoke ideologies of white superiority. By borrowing the tropes of "civilization" and "the natural

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both by historicism and modernity.

man" in all their contradictions, Martin cultivated historical connections between race and gender to invent a powerful story of Advancement. So illuminating the place of Martin Johnson as "modern man" will help trace patterns of sexual and racial dominance at the turn of the twentieth century. [15]

Woody Register and John F. Kasson both eloquently examine the broad array of actions and identities that characterize a shift in ideal manhood between the years 1900 and 1930 by drawing upon the lives of entertainers who refashioned appropriate strategies of masculinity. Prior to the 1920s manliness was measured by hard work, accumulated capital, and private ownership all achieved "by donning the mantle of duty, responsibility, self-control, and self-ownership" (Register 202). In this shift from Victorian manliness to modern masculinity, organizations like the YMCA and the Boy Scouts concentrated on making boys into men by focusing on manly activities. After that time, following the model set down by Theodore Roosevelt in a context dominated by the new corporate capitalism and an emergent urban landscape, men began shifting emphasis to rough physical activity, rebellious impulses, and exuberant playfulness (Register 203). Manliness required a kind of strenuous life found in boyish activities, like sporting, hunting, and camping. Roosevelt, perhaps more than any other celebrity, best outlined appropriate masculine behavior by advocating vigorous (white) American

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[14] Gail Bederman, in *Manliness & Civilization*, notes that these seemingly contradictory attributes worked simultaneously to construct male dominance (23).

[15] Until quite recently, scholars have concerned themselves with historical and cultural analyses of femininity, but to a large extent have ignored in these analyses the construction of manhood and masculinity. Feminist theorizations of the body have highlighted the striking mechanisms by which bodies are displayed and dramatized in contexts dominated by gender categories, and have emphasized patterns of sexual and racial difference in the common gender ideals that affected women, in particular. Recent studies, however, have begun to pay more attention to the importance of the white male body in the creation of gendered and raced categories. Susan Bordo, for example, recommends study of the male body at the advent of modernity, but warns that such study will need to recognize "historical and cultural variability" (26). That is, she

masculinity for the good of the Anglo-Saxon stock and future of civilization. Roosevelt's own adoption of a vigorous life found its most glorious achievement, perhaps, in his adventure travels on safari hunt in Africa (Kasson 6-7). Certainly, however, Roosevelt was only one of many celebrities who contributed to the new ideal of the modern white man. In sum, Register argues that men such as Fred Thompson, Steward Culin, and Fred Stone worked as pioneers in the entertainment industry to encourage a new boyish male identity as preferred masculine behavior. And Kasson similarly argues that Eugene Sandow, Harry Houdini, and Edward Rice Burroughs worked as artists and performers, acquiring immense fame, becoming part of our cultural language, and thus offering powerful metaphors that dramatized "the transformation from weakness to supreme strength, from vulnerability to triumph, from anonymity to heroism, from the confinement of modern life to the recovery of freedom" (8). In this chapter, I add Martin Johnston this collection of figures, as he too negotiated a very public persona that made his a household name, while personifying the new boyish pursuit of risk-taking adventure, heroic freedom, and triumphant strength.

In short, as Victorian ideals of respectable, restrained manhood were undermined by historical changes, the new era destined a remaking of ideal manliness. As Gail Bederman argues, between 1890 and 1910, a new vitality infused this ideal as boys were encouraged to join Scouting organizations, young men were prompted to read Jack London novels, and frontiersmen were apt to hunt, fish, and fight in the tradition of Theodore Roosevelt. Indeed, Martin invited Boy Scouts to accompany him on safari, acquired his own desire for adventure from his travels with Jack London, and had hoped to boast of accompanying Roosevelt on a hunt in Africa. In sum, Martin Johnson embodied a particularly modern, ideal notion of Western manhood in the

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asserts, "we need to think about the body not only as a physical entity—which it assuredly is—but also a cultural form that carries *meaning* with it" (26).

image of "adventure-hero" and "hunter-naturalist." In the remaining pages, I intend to examine the narrative structure and visual images that made Martin Johnson an adventurer-hero and hunter-naturalist: 1) depictions of dangerous and hostile nature, 2) command of advanced photographic technologies, 3) and documentation of "primitive" cultures. I will focus my reading to three key, multiply linked and overlapping themes by which Martin invited "simultaneous kinship and superiority" to indigenous cultures in Africa and thus culled Manhood in context of American modernity (Bederman 23).

Martin Johnson's life, as detailed in Osa Johnson's autobiographical *I Married Adventure* and in Pascal James Imperato and Eleanor M. Imperato's biographical *They Married Adventure*, began in the prairies of the Midwest. He grew up in Lincoln, Kansas during the late nineteenth century, when a national ideal of boyhood and manhood was given expression in the wholesome values of home, school, and work. In Osa's portrait of Martin, we have the pre-modern concept of the male body as instrument of moral responsibility and productive labor. However, soon enough we are granted another view of Martin as a "problem child," restless and often in trouble, departing by age 14 from ideal boyhood and following his growing desire for freedom and adventure by escaping to Chicago. Osa compares young Martin to a Horatio Alger hero, by which, as Pascal observes, "all his misdeeds are represented as essential preparation for seeking adventure" (10). The often-told and well-known story of Martin as a daring boy, impulsive young man, and heroic fellow marks an important change in perceptions of manhood from "respectable" to "rough" manhood, revitalized with an element of danger, adventure, and risk-taking recreation that violated boundaries between work and play and hence, between man and boy.

Dick Houston, writing for the *Smithsonian* observes that "at a time when leading men were debonair sophisticates" along came Martin Johnson "with his shirt open at the throat, his safari hat pushed back on his head, and a big grin on his open Midwestern face" (145). Indeed Martin quite expertly cultivated his image as Explorer and Naturalist by dressing the part, wearing a costume of khaki breeches, boots, and pith helmet. He worked hard at maintaining a daredevil image, but one always tempered by a kind of innocent, boyish appeal. Martin's first successful adventure was an excursion to the South Seas with already-celebrity and well-known adventurer, Jack London. He joined the Londons as a cook on board their ship, the *Snark*, which sailed from San Francisco in April 1908 on course to Hawaii, Somoa, and Fiji. As he traveled with the Londons, Martin made films documenting the expedition, and on his return to the United States, opened a movie house called the Snark where he showed the films. Indeed Martin capitalized on his connection to the famous adventurer-writer to bolster his own ultra-masculine ethos. Martin portrayed the trip as one rife with excitement and fascination and reveled in the male camaraderie of his fellow adventure seeker. Later, as Martin and Osa's popularity on the Orpheum vaudeville circuit secured financing (from owner Martin Beck and partner Will Rogers) for another trip to the South Seas, Martin recalled his adventure with London, referring to him as "my old comrade."

Whenever and wherever Martin talked of his early beginnings as an explorer, he mentioned his travels with Jack London aboard the *Snark*. The national ideal of rough and rugged masculinity, which can be traced to a popular imagination of the American West as a natural but wild landscape requiring men to tame and dominate its frontier, continued to thrive after the western region had been effectively exploited and industrialized. In absence of a "new frontier," the "rugged virtues" of manhood were fortified, in part, as key figures of the frontiersman (like Theodore Roosevelt) traveled even greater distances in search of "uncivilized" nature. The

challenge of masculinity, then, toward duty in sportsmanship was compensated for with travel to Africa. Here Martin's story follows the best of all adventurer-as-anthropologist narratives, in which the explorer embarks from the modern, urban city and enters isolated jungle terrain to find distant lands as yet untouched by Euro-Americans. In this narrative adventure into the unknown, the Explorer as "ethnocinematographer" turns hero, accepting the challenge of a difficult and even dangerous excursion to remote and exotic places and return with fascinating, but true pictorial tales of native life and landscape. In this narrative, explorations of the primitive re-affirm the dominance of manliness and stabilize existing hierarchies of male over female, and white over black.

At the prospect of returning to the South Seas, Martin resolves to carry out the late London's ideas. He promises: "I am not blessed with a genius for writing, but I believe I can do even better for you by recording the islands in motion pictures." Martin was a consistent and avid champion of the camera and particularly the motion picture for recording reality. He often made overt comparisons to written accounts, which left much to the imagination, and guaranteed pictorial accounts would display the places and peoples with technical accuracy. For Martin, written accounts might have provided readers with tales of savagery and strangeness, but his films by contrast could offer audiences the opportunity to see the real Africa for themselves. As such, Martin testified to the power of the new motion picture technology and was very easily able to call upon the rhetoric of this new technology to reinforce the illusion that he was providing new and more careful or more precise information. He frequently described the camera as a tool of science, a comparison that placed Martin as cameraman in the position of scientist, with special claims for authenticity and objectivity. By emphasizing the link between his camera and the authority of its images, Martin courted claims of ethnographic authority, all the while broadening his appeal to a mass audience by delivering fascinating and thrilling moving pictures

that reinforced or even amplified naïve, inaccurate, and distorted ideas about Africa. Moreover, the camera technology provided for Martin a means of distinguishing himself as the hero from others of premodern and pretechnological culture. The camera as object and artifact of technology in the hands of the white Explorer and Ethnographer archetype marked him as more advanced in the stages of natural evolution. Here, the camera represents the progression of modernity as its technology becomes a standard for measurement on an evolutionary continuum. From behind the camera, then, and within this distinction between a postindustrial and pretechnological society, Martin is endowed with technical savvy and powerful masculinity.

After eighteen months in the South Seas, Martin and Osa returned to the United States for just enough time to advance their professional connections with Carl Akeley and the American Museum of Natural History, thus securing financing for a more lengthy and ambitious expedition to Africa with more permanent housing at Lake Paradise. From Lake Paradise in Africa, Martin published accounts and photographs of the safari. He writes in *The Saturday Evening Post*: "Beyond the narrow cylinder of our camp-fire's glare green eyes of big preying cats shone at intervals. A heavy body rustled through the brush. A hyena laughed hysterically on the rise behind us and was answered by another cackle of his species in a little donga nearby." He tells the reader that "night on the African veldt can easily get to the newcomer," especially:

> when you realize that a half dozen lions are out there a stone's throw from where you are sitting, their long tails slashing in murderous irritation at man's fire which they dare not face; that a shadowy leopard is slinking in your tent's short shadow for a closer look; that an ill-tempered rhino may be at that very moment on his way to investigate the human intruders. ("Desert" 166).

Extracts published from Martin's diary in *Natural History* build upon this sense of danger and excitement. Here Martin insists that a mere hunt is much easier than the camera safari, which

accommodates double the thrills. In this comparison, he says: "the easiest thing to do is to shoot an animal with a high-power rifle at a comfortable and safe distance, or to run it down with a motor car, picturing the process and its excitements. The hardest thing is to picture that same animal in a calm, undisturbed state of nature" ("Picturing" 539). Another article by Martin composed from Africa and published in *World's Work* makes a similar assertion, saying that big game hunting is a tame sport when compared to the thrill of making photographs. He explains further that in making photographs, "man must pit all his keenness and knowledge against the keenness and instinct of the animal" ("Hunting" 135). Martin describes in detail how he has made the accompanying photographs so that the reader may judge for themselves "if this is not the greatest and most thrilling sport on earth."

In these passages, Martin once again calls upon a rhetoric of technology. This time he uses such rhetoric to place the high-powered rifle at a more rudimentary stage of technological advancement than the motion picture camera. In the work of natural history, the camera captures the living animal and makes the creature, as well as its habits, available for study. As Martin describes the camera hunt on Africa safari, we come to know Africa through the trope of danger and the threat of death. However, Martin's particular heroism comes at facing such danger not in the form of a rifle-kill, but the camera-shot. Indeed, the narrative of the hunt on safari achieves a heightened sense of danger with Martin's decision to pursue his game with the camera, and thus the narrative also achieves a heightened sense of what it means to be manly.

Just prior to the production and circulation of *Simba*, the *New York Times* ran a series of feature articles in which Martin "relates the simple pleasures of life far removed from the high road of civilization and describes the strange adventures in hunting wild game with the camera" ("Camera Hunts" 5). In the article, Martin gives the familiar story:

> Eighteen years ago, after returning from my South Sea voyage with Jack London, I set out with Osa, my wife, to show her the world. We have sailed through the South Seas and explored the jungles of the Malay Peninsula. We now find our greatest happiness on the shores of our Lake Paradise home in British East Africa—hundreds of miles from civilization and with elephants and natives for our nearest neighbors" ("Camera Hunts" 5).

He then goes on to describe the jungle: "We have found Africa full of thrills. Wild elephants come right in and eat sweet potatoes out of the back yard up at the lake. Silly ostriches dash madly across the trail when we are motoring. Rhinos tree us. Lions roar and hyenas cackle around our camp" ("Camera Hunts" 5). For Martin and his readers, the concept of rugged masculinity is enhanced by this image of the white male, freed of the conventions of civilized society, exploring uncharted and exotic geography. With this article, however, Martin offers the trope of domestication mixed with that of danger. As such, Martin is able to suggest that he has tamed some piece of the wild and made it his home. His rhetoric now shows him at home and at harmony in this unmediated contact with Africa's inherently wild nature. Interestingly, while domestication in the realm of civilization, as Kasson suggests, would "be tantamount to emasculation," his domestication in the wild signals his power and virility (212). Of concern, though, as Kasson contends, is that the concept of masculinity in the wild is "often explicitly tied to whiteness" so that explorers like Martin "could be strengthened rather than degraded precisely because he holds the best of Western civilization within him" (212). That is, if living in the wild enhances white masculinity, it does not do so for debased African natives.

The *New York Times* articles worked to prepare audiences for the Johnsons' return to the United States and the ensuing premiere of *Simba*. These articles announced the Johnsons' intent to travel the lecture circuit with the film and promoted what was certain to be both an informative

and entertaining exhibition. The articles themselves and the anticipated lecture and film were granted educational value and scholarly import. Once the educational prestige was established in the name of science, Martin could satisfy the audience's desire for amusement by embellishing a bit for the sake of drama. His stories were indeed designed to astonish and amaze. In Martin's performances, fact and fiction reinforced each other in powerful ways. When *Simba* premiered in New York City and circulated across the United States, audiences could purchase programs at cost of $0.25. The program presents "The Story of Martin Johnson" and begins with the query, "What American youth doesn't at some time or other during his boyhood years dream of adventure and travel?" This story continues, again, with certain familiar themes: "Martin Johnson, foremost explorer and camera hunter of wild animals, whose remarkable pictures photographed in the heart of the Jungle have contributed to science and natural history, was one of those American boys who dreamed constantly of adventure and travel." According to this telling, Martin found America's Prairie boring and imagined himself traveling to foreign lands. Far from satisfied with his first expedition to the South Seas and "a pioneer by instinct and a showman at heart," Martin, equipped with motion picture cameras and accompanied by his wife Osa, boarded a ship. The couple's most recent adventure has been in Africa, where they have been exploring the Jungle and creating *Simba*, which "is the story of a Lion war against a Lumbwa tribe of natives." The photographic record "took great skill to catch for the slightest sound will frighten the animals" and could mean "instant death."

Conclusion: The State of *Simba, The King of Beasts, A Saga of the African Veldt*

Before the film *Simba* had even been completed, the *New York Times* announced its premier with this headline: "Museum to Exhibit Martin Johnson Film." The announcement provides these details:

> Henry Fairfield Osborn, President of the American Museum of Natural History, announced yesterday the ratification by the Board of Trustees of an agreement between the Museum and the Martin Johnson African Corporation, whereby the Museum acquires all the photographic negatives and film which Mr. Johnson has secured during his twenty-six years of travel in the South Seas, Australia, Egypt, Africa, and other places. The Museum also became the permanent depository of all the motion picture film, negatives, and other physical material which Mr. Johnson secures during the present African expedition, which is to last five years. ("Museum to Exhibit" 5).

The announcement also says that "the Museum proposes first to show the films privately in its lecture hall" and make subsequent arrangements to show them throughout the United States." It concludes by noting the Museum's endorsement for "one of the most complete photographic outfits that ever went into the field for a similar undertaking." Once the film was finished and ready for distribution, a second announcement in the *New York Times* tells readers that the motion picture film *Simba* would be placed in a vacuum sealed contained and remain unopened for fifty years, because: "it is believed that after half a century a majority of the animals now constituting the wild life in Africa will have disappeared" ("Museum Gets" 52). Much of *Simba* is devoted to showing African animals—elephants, camels, and lions—many of which were new both to Martin and likely to his audience. The titles, at least, seem to indicate as much: "Here was one scene without parallel in the history of animal photography." The camera, at what is perhaps the film's highlight, brilliantly depicts the beauty of lions on the Serengeti. But only momentarily. Soon Martin and his camera are charged by a lion, and Osa is filmed as she shoots "the king of beasts."

At the film's start, the frame offers this forward: "The ensuing picture 'Simba' is the high mark of attainment in the cinematographic recording of adventure in Africa -- the classic land of mystery, thrills and darksome savage drama through all the days of history." As the frames scroll the text continues by recalling "the names of Livingstone, Stanley, DuChaillu, Akeley, Roosevelt, and Rainy." And now "Martin and Osa Johnson, by this film record, unfold a triumph that is both a sequel and a climax." The text thus prepares the audience: "This dramatic record of sheer reality comes to you as a presentation of the true Africa, largely without the presence of the invading white man." The audience will see both thrilling action and peaceful scenes in this, "the most remarkable African exhibition." The next frame, a credit scene, announces that the film was recorded by Mr. and Mrs. Johnson "under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History" and acknowledges the contributions to this work made by Carl Akeley. Copyright permissions belong to Dale E. Pomeroy. The next few screens provide the setting for the film: "In order to make an authentic record of the life of the lion, in the autumn of 1923, Martin and Osa Johnson set out 'into the blue' of British East Africa." As the text tells us, although the audience may have seen lion in circuses or zoos, they had yet to view the lion "as he lives, in the unspoiled freedom of his native wild." The first live pictures show presumably indigenous African peoples preparing spears and then record Osa with rifle in hand and a native guide accompanying. Soon, a map of the African continent appears with British East Africa highlighted.

Osa and Martin Johnson, upon return to the United States, promoted *Simba* as a "natural history picture" with the public endorsement of the American Natural History Museum. Promotional materials for *Simba* highlighted the "endorsement by the American Natural History Museum as a scientific record" of Africa. As the film traveled the country, it was wrapped up within a network of authority and marketed as a discursive representation of science. The film

was accompanied by a cover letter from Daniel E. Pomeroy, "Under Auspices of the American Museum of Natural History." The letter lists the following members of the "National Sponsorship Committee": Hon. Chas. G. Dawes, Vice-President of the United States; Hon. F. Trubee Davison, Assistant Secretary of War; Mr. Gilbert Grosvenor, Pres. National Geographic Society; Hon. Alfred E. Smith, Governor of New York; and Dr. Ernest L. Crandall, Board of Education, NY; among others. The letter again emphasizes the "true record" of this picture and notes that proceeds will go to funding the museum's African Hall. Promotional materials also included a letter on American Museum stationary, signed by Henry Fairfield Osborn, which reinforced the "very valuable contribution" the film *Simba* made "to science in the way of a permanent record of African wild life and natives" and recommended the film as the finest and most "authentic African picture ever produced."

As the Johnsons' picture *Simba* traveled across the country, it was accompanied by much promotion. The Museum's publication *Natural History* describes the film as "informing." Regarding the animal photography, the notes beam: "it is a pleasure to witness a series of films that far from perpetuating error, or more damaging still, swelling the total of untruths, succeeds in presenting unchallengeable facts about animals." As explained in the notes, the captions and pictures have been censored and endorsed by the American Museum, where the picture was first shown. Promotions also tell the story of the film's making, promising that it "is neither a staged nor a movie production but a record of actual happenings." One review of the film, entitled "The Camera as Aid to the Naturalist" and appearing in *Scientific American*, clearly positions Martin Johnson as a naturalist and photographer. The review tells readers that the film showings at the American Museum "were wonderful and the lectures had to be repeated immediately to accommodate those waiting in the exhibition galleries" (153). The review mentions that the original negatives will remain with the American Museum and that the Johnsons will soon start a

new expedition to the Congo, where they will film gorillas, "the habits of which are still little known to scientists" (153).

Even prior to the success of *Simba*, Osa and Martin were widely recognized as preeminent producers of nonfiction film. In a weekly publication entitled *Picture Show*, Martin Johnson is himself pictured above a caption that reads: "The world famed explorer, scientist, who daily risks his life for the films." The introduction says this: "A producer—Yes. A camera-man—Yes. A scientist—Yes. A man—Most" ("Martin" 19). After filming *Simba*, the Johnsons remained so. The picture was first shown at the American Museum to 4,098 people (twice the seating capacity of the auditorium). The film continued to attract large crowds and long lines; receipts "rolled in at an amazing pace" (Pascal 143). After the quick success of this film, the Johnsons received even greater support from the Museum and with such support, immediately began to plan and publicize their next expedition. In a *World's Work* article, Martin Johnson describes his plans "to secure for scientific purposes some new animal unknown or little known to science" ("What" 374). He emphasizes that his main purpose "is to secure a truthful, accurate, complete, and interesting picture of Africa as it is—not a picture of 'The Adventures of Mr. and Mrs. Martin Johnson'" ("What" 374). He says that he has been "going through a sort of tropical school" ("What" 373) or "course of training" ("What" 382) and now is fully prepared to return to Africa to "get a picture that will be a record for years to come" ("What" 374). This record will, he promises, picture "the natives and the animals as they live their lives all but untouched by civilization" and of the continent "before the white man penetrates further into its beautiful wilds, and before the natives and the wild animals have disappeared" ("What" 374). As recent as 1984, the Johnsons were remembered by the American Museum of Natural History in that institution's publication for their great and unusual careers as "explorers, adventurers, scientists, and artists"

who, during their time in Africa from 1922 to 1937, "shaped the perception of that continent and its wildlife for millions of Americans" (Preston 14).

As audiences came to be seated in theaters across the United States, having read news clippings in local papers announcing the scientific exploration of Africa and having seen advertisements highlighting the sensational scenes recorded on film, viewers likely engaged in at least the scientific pretensions as well as spectacular pleasures, signaled by the authority of the "man on the spot" and his camera: "I was there; therefore you can be there, as well." That is to say, in *Simba*, the institutional power of the Museum and the symbolic power of the filmic artifact created persuasive fictions and mythic meanings that were presented to a U.S. public as facts and truth. In retrospect, what might seem to be a confusing hybrid mix of science and spectacle in *Simba* was only a natural mix of approaches and sensibilities in the 1920s and 30s when the classification of fiction and nonfiction had yet to become fixed in rigid categories. No doubt, the distinction between the research film created for a community of scientists and those films that popularized science for the public had yet to be entrenched, and the proliferation of genres and subgenres of film had yet to become developed or narrowed. The cinematic projection of *Simba* offered viewers an apparatus for the positivist quest for truth as well as the imaginative quest for myth, and thus a way of seeing anticipated by the Museum discourses that surrounded the film. In sum, Museum promotion ascribed to the film *Simba* both a scientific and mythic encounter between "here" and "there."

Numerous advertisements for *Simba* in the popular press also highlighted the spectacular nature of the film: "A Drama Of Desperate Realities Picturing Indisputably Wild Beasts Of Jungle And Veldt—Naked Men Against Fangs And Claws!" The billing also emphasizes: "Not a Staged Production. Natural as God Made It." Another advertisement reads: "Bring the children.

Positively the most breath-taking of all spectacles." And: "The Most Thrilling Action Ever Filmed!" And, finally: "Naked Lumbwa Soldiers give battle to raging lions in the open veldt while Martin Johnson's grinds the camera! Thrills! Excitement! Adventure! Laughs!"

Here, as Bill Nichols argues, scientific aims gain motivation and adherence as much from narcissistic, voyeuristic, and scopophilic pleasure as from empirical objectivity (66). In this argument, science and spectacle "entail one another in ways that cannot be easily avoided or denied" (66). In anthropology and ethnography, as Bill Nichols asserts, the separation of "here" and "there" is heightened by "a passage of to and fro, in which visible differences attest to both spatial and temporal separation" (67). Hence, in ethnographic film, the act of travel, represented in a scene of arrival, "conjures associations with spiritual quests, voyages of self-discovery, and tests of prowess, with the pilgrimage and the odyssey, as well as with the expansionist dreams of empire, discovery, and conquest" (68). Such scenes conjure the "impression of being there, while remaining separate" (68). The act of travel does indeed preface *Simba*, as rudimentary cinematic convention is used to map Africa—though not as a continent and a piece of land belonging to a larger world, but rather as a completely geographically separate piece of land, isolated and free-floating. This mapping, as what Nichols would describe as a fetishized image of a pastoral and endangered Eden, demonstrates the largeness of the distance between the travelling ethnographer and the Other culture (Nichols 73). These travel scenes thus confirm the sense of strangeness, unknown and unexplored. But these scenes also heighten the ethnographic guarantee, as Nichols expresses it: "what you see is what was there. I know; I was there." (68). Thus, in the travel scenes, what began as spiritual journey or mythic voyage, "takes on the aura of something scientific and representational" (69). As is the case, in the marketing of *Simba*, myth and science are rendered one in the same, as "science" becomes a "talismanic fetish for the production of

knowledge" (Nichols 73). In the film *Simba*, it was precisely through this alignment of science and spectacle that things happened and work was accomplished.

In *Simba*, the tensions between the scientific and the mythic qualities that oscillate between expository and fictive images of "here" and "there" exist within a larger framework of familiar and strange, and a set of parallelisms from the licit to the illicit. As Nichols explains, ethnographic realism and representation constantly juxtapose the desire to know with the desire for experiencing the unknown. As such, ethnography offers a sense of our own travelling selves by holding the Other at an ambivalent distance. That is, because a desire to possess must be balanced with necessary separation, the fascination with the Other must, in the end, produce a sense of the familiar. Hence, more so than the woman, native, and others who have been the objects of study, ethnography discovers anthropology's own in the predominantly white, male body of "our" traditional Western observer. According to Nichols, between "here" and "there" stands a "border checkpoint" for the passage of bodies (67). As I examine the Johnsons' texts, I am interested (allow me to re-emphasize) not only with the deployment of science but also with the entry through science in popular culture of common peoples' creations and re-creations of reality and subsequent materialization and surveillance of bodies.

The ethnological evidence in *Simba* circulated among popular audiences and scientific interests, and worked to justify full-fledged scientific racism during a pivotal period in history, as the eugenics movement developed in the United States. In the ethnographic phenomena—the filmic artifact *Simba* and its institutional showing at the Museum—anthropology and eugenics were conspicuously linked toward a kind of scientific racism, with implicit distinction between primitive or degenerate and civilized or superior peoples. Because *Simba* was described officially

as a "scientific" expedition, the film was backed by anthropology as an organizing principle and resonated with the social and natural sciences that embraced eugenics.

In the United States, a fully matured eugenics movement can be dated to as early as 1913.[16] Scientific support was provided by a large circle of professionals, including: spokesperson for the American eugenics movement and Carnegie Institution of Washington biologist Charles B. Davenport, paleontologist Henry F. Osborn of the American Museum of Natural History, and "gentleman zoologist" Madison Grant also associated with the American Museum of Natural History. Leading biologists, prominent psychologists, and distinguished sociologists generally endorsed the movement in its formative years. As Cravens assures us: "all of these men had sound professional reputations and taught at major American universities; their statements conferred legitimacy and prestige upon eugenics" (51). Professional associations, including the American Genetics Association, followed suit by stating approval for the goals of eugenics. Further, two leading eugenicists, Davenport and Grant were invited to sit on the Committee on Anthropology.[17] The organizational locus for eugenics was the Galton Society and the American Museum of Natural History in New York. In fact, the American Museum hosted the Second International Congress of Eugenics in September, 1921.

While eugenicists everywhere based their doctrines on the authority of science, the American eugenics movement gathered as much support as it did from the public because,

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[16] In fact, the science of eugenics was founded in England just prior to the turn of the twentieth century by Francis Galton, who concluded that genius tended to be an inheritable trait, and accordingly laid the foundation for a politics of inheritance later known as "positive eugenics." While eugenics was born in England, the legal efforts at heredity restriction and sexual segregation that became known as "negative eugenics" developed mainly in the United States.

[17] Stocking reports that Davenport gained primary control over the committee and subsequently placed the committee in an adjunct position to a general scientific evolutionism, which supported hierarchical racial differences.

perhaps, the movement appealed to broad political agendas. The movement's leaders tended to be elite, well-to-do, White, Anglo-Saxon, predominantly Protestant, and overall well-educated. Some experts were conservative race enthusiasts. But a wider coalition tended to represent the other end of political spectrum and was characteristically progressive. Indeed, many progressive thinkers had hoped the eugenics movement might help solve pressing social problems. The American eugenics movement and its scientific community flourished in a larger society facing nativist tendencies, labor unrest, and ethnic immigrant backlash. As such, the subject matter of the eugenics movement elicited widespread interest and was discussed in popular books, articles, pamphlets, lectures, and exhibits throughout the period from 1895 to 1945. In addition, inventor Alexander Graham Bell as well as author Madison Grant endorsed the science of eugenics. The Carnegie Institute of Washington and the Rockefeller Foundation provided financial backing. A wide range of presidents from the era, including Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Calvin Coolidge, promoted eugenic practices.

I want to reiterate and corroborate the argument that anthropology, particularly in the ethnographic film, has been intimately linked with public media and popular spectacle. In sum, the Johnsons' film *Simba* resisted any strict distinction between science and its popularization, between authentic ethnographic cinema and mainstream Hollywood entertainment; and this resistance allowed the film's racialized narrative and ethnocentric bias to participate both in an empirical construction of nature and in colonial, imperialist representations of Other. I want to pause for a moment and use Stocking's assertion to make my argument explicit: "anthropology through most of its history has been primarily a discourse of the culturally or racially despised." As he explains, the resources that have sustained and constrained anthropological knowledge "have also often been incidentally or adventitiously supported by funds intended for some other purpose, channeled usually through institutions not specifically anthropological"

("Philanthropoids" 112). He adds: "characteristically, this mediation has involved a complex negotiation of not-fully-comprehended cross-purposes" ("Philanthropoids" 112). Further, Stocking suggests that museums stood at the center of this cross-roads and contributed to a degrading and distancing objectification of Others (who were themselves often literally displayed as objects in museums). My argument, at this juncture, is that professional academic anthropology, public museum science, and popular representations of Others colluded at in this "not-fully-comprehended cross-roads" in Osa and Martin Johnson's film to augment the degradation and distancing of African Others.

Moreover—and perhaps more importantly, even if riskier—the alliance between the American Museum and the Johnsons allowed the administrators and trustees at the Museum to mobilize a network of amateur collectors and cooperating scientists to propagate a particular vision of racialized science. That is, Osborn and Grant were able to retain their affiliation with the American Museum as a scientific organization, and thus speak with the reputation of scientific authority, while advancing themes of racial superiority. While the administrators and trustees at the Museum remained committed to a scientific mode of presentation, Osborn permitted, encouraged, and even endorsed the sensationalized work of Osa and Martin Johnson, which pictured exotic accounts of "primitives" as "true facts." The Museum protected its scientific reputation and the scholarly cloak of the Johnsons' work, while the Johnsons themselves remained unconstrained by scientific method and could thus play to popular notions of primitivism. Indeed, the Museum lent its scientific authority to the Johnsons' films and thus validated racist understandings of the nonwhite world. That is, Osborn and Grant, with a scientific mandate from the Museum, quite brilliantly enrolled Osa and Martin Johnson to serve the goals of conservation and preservation of disappearing Africa. So Osborn and the American Museum built an extensive alliance with Osa and Martin Johnson, and this alliance resulted in an

advantageous juxtaposition between the display of museum exhibits and the sensationalized film accounts that debased nonwhite peoples. While the Museum lent scientific merit to the Johnsons' materials, those materials, in turn, reinforced popular notions of racial superiority and thus justified exhibits that constructed a racist vision of the relation between Africa and America. So then, as the Museum translated Martin's and Osa's joint body of work in a way that allowed it to circulate across and between the boundaries and borders of science, education, and entertainment, this body of work fermented Other boundaries and borders between American and African.

In *Simba*, popular representations of race and gender were legitimated by virtue of its quite powerful location as scientific discourse; and in the film, scientific ideas about the relationships between races were popularized by virtue of the film as an amusement. So, then, here the relationship between scientific knowledge and popular culture is rendered in overt ways and as such, illustrate my argument that the blurring of boundaries between scientific and popular anthropological discourse served to substantiate eugenic notions of white superiority. As Thomas F. Gieryn has asserted, "the shelf life of any particular representation of the boundaries of science is short to vanishing" (15). As such, the more interesting analysis focuses on how "knowledge makers seek to present their claims or practices as legitimate (credible, trustworthy, reliable) by locating them within 'science'" at a specific historical moment (xi). Because the borders and boundaries of science get drawn by those who hope to establish their epistemic authority and secure their accounts of reality, what science becomes depends upon "who is struggling for authority, what stakes are at risk, in front of which audiences, at what institutional arena" (Gieryn xi). In conclusion, I argue that this film ought to be understood within evolutionist anthropology and the associated eugenics movement as at least a quasi-legitimate piece of science. To consider the film as otherwise merely bad entertainment is to assume an incongruity between ethnographic cinema as social production and ethnographic cinema as scientific practice. To treat *Simba* as

crude popular scientism mimicking objective scientific truth, without reflecting upon the existence or non-existence of this demarcation in the minds of its historical participants, will result in an inconsistent and distorted consideration.

CHAPTER 2

I Married Adventure: An Object on the Boundary

In the forward to Osa Johnson's autobiography, *I Married Adventure*, F. Trubee Davison, president of the American Museum of Natural History, comments on the Johnsons' contribution to the museum's exhibits and projects, and suggests that Osa's "story about everywhere else in the world" is "no mere travelogue." Rather, "these pages themselves are adventure." Indeed, *I Married Adventure*, combines travel writing with autobiography, and adventure story with ethnographic anthropology. Osa Johnson's work played an important role, in the professional and popular practice of anthropology, as well as in the popular political culture of America during the early and into the mid-twentieth century. Attention to professional science is not merely attention to disciplinary methods or techniques, but also attention to boundary work inside and outside of disciplines. As a boundary object, *I Married Adventure*, part travelogue, part ethnography marks a crucial stage in the development of the genre of anthropological ethnography. Analysis of the document allows us to trace a moment when social "science" has yet to emerge from public and popular culture. As a boundary object, *I Married Adventure* marks the transition Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer and Donna Haraway identify when the public celebrity observer of early science gives way to the "modest witness" of scientific disciplinarity.[18]

In the last chapter of this dissertation, I argued that the Johnsons' filmwork linked the disciplinary structures of anthropology with the spectacular scenes of popular culture. To this point, I have looked to disciplined science and popular culture as categories with boundaries and borders to be managed, negotiated, spliced, and experienced. In addition, I have investigated

difference, and the ways in which some differences cannot be categorized, but enter the contested sites, negotiating more subtle and complex relations. That is, I have followed the disciplinization of anthropology and the popularization of Osa and Martin Johnsons' work to look at the ways each balanced the tensions of standardized science with the ambiguities of popularized culture. Indeed, when anthropologists as a professional group began to promote their strategic work, they enhanced their broad institutional power. However, the whole picture is a much more complicated one, as anthropology operated within multiple professional and popular agendas. As demonstrated in the last chapter and illustrated again here, professional and popular texts situated between communities of practice benefited from their ambivalent membership in one or the other category. This chapter examines another rhetorical genre, the ethnograph, to trace the rhetorical work and practical significance of the process of disciplinization and popularization.

One of the most often quoted passages in *I Married Adventure* details the Johnsons' first encounter with the natives of Malekula, a large island of the Solomon group. This encounter is said to be their first meeting with real cannibals. Martin and Osa pursued their voyage to the island of Malekula because it was disputed territory between France and Britain and therefore had yet to be patrolled or even explored by white men. Furthermore, it was widely rumored that cannibalism was practiced by the head hunters who, more so than any other place in the world, existed "in his savage and original state" (113). As such the trip promised a fine opportunity to document for anthropological preservation this primitive culture in its natural state, before it was contaminated by modern civilization. However, the trip also promised to be quite dangerous, perhaps too dangerous—especially for Osa, the "little lady" (114). Martin and Osa persisted and eventually convinced a few guides to transport them to the island, where they had hoped to

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[18] Borrowing the term "modest witness" from Shapin and Shaffer, Haraway notes that the separation of mere opinion from expert knowledge as the legitimate way for establishing

photograph the "Big Numbers" tribe and their chief, Nagapate. Martin was determined that "it would be worth the whole trip" if they could get these photographs. Indeed Martin began shooting pictures right away, as Nagapate moved across a clearing toward Osa.

Here, Osa describes her encounter with the chief. Nagapate is said to have taken Osa's arm. Osa interpreted the move as curiosity:

> Apparently the whiteness of my skin puzzled the big black man. With guttural grunts he first tried to rub it off with his finger. This failing, he picked up a bit of rough cane and scraped my skin with it, and was astonished, apparently when it turned pink. Shaking his head he then took off my hat and looked at my hair. It was yellow, and I suppose this also puzzled him. He parted it and peered down at my scalp, then he pulled it hard—then he turned me around, tilted my head forward to look at the back of my neck. (121).

At this point Martin steps up to clasp the chief's hand and give a hand shake. Osa notes that the gesture was apparently new to Nagapate and he responded by scowling with disapproval. Now the tale takes on a charged element of adventure and danger. According to the story, Osa and Martin attempted to retreat, only to be chased by the natives. Osa tells us that she found herself seized from behind: "I turned sick and faint, and knew vaguely that I was being dragged backward toward the bush" (122). She admits now that she screamed in terror, as she was certain her nightmare was becoming reality. Suddenly, though, the natives stopped to stare at a British patrol boat. Nagapate, evidently thinking the "Man-O-War" boat had come on Martin and Osa's behalf, ordered their release. As the event has been recorded, Martin and Osa dashed to the shore, narrowly escaping a grotesque fate.

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authority is the "founding gesture of modernity" (*Modest* 24).

Professional Travel as Amateur Ethnography

Travel theorist Steve Clark notes that "the dividing line between fact and fiction, documentation and embellishment, is traditionally elusive" in travel writing (2). Thus, he says, "the genre presents a problem for academic studies," because "it seems too dependent on an empirical rendition of contingent events, what happened to happen, for entry into the literary canon, yet too overtly rhetorical for disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, geography or history" (2). As Clark notes, early travel accounts "served as indispensable data of human diversity" but "with the onset of twentieth-century professionalism, its residually fictive elements contaminated the archive" (2). Though concerning this professional archive, even into the twentieth century, anthropology remains inherently literary, poetic, rhetorical. So that as Micaela di Leonardo aptly expresses: "Anthropology, sententiously self-described as the most humanistic of the sciences, the most scientific of the humanities, is the ground zero discipline representing both of these domains in American public life" (9). Concerning anthropological discourse, then, Clifford Geertz notes that the dividing line between romance novel and lab report, high art and hard science, is more and more puzzling, fascinating, and disturbing. The difficulty, as he states it is "the difficulty of constructing texts ostensibly scientific out of experiences broadly biographical" (*Works and Lives* 10). Further, as he reminds us, anthropological work has never been a stable enterprise.

Disciplines are rarely, if ever, stable enterprises. Much of the work of disciplinarity takes place "outside" disciplinary boundaries. Moreover, disciplinary boundaries are unruly and, more often than not, these unruly boundaries lack discipline. As the dissertation progresses I am more and more interested in what counts as professional and what counts as popular scientific discourse. I am interested, in particular, with how anthropological and ethnographic stories can be read within public and popular discourses. And the reverse. I am interested in how popular

discourses can be read within professional anthropological and ethnographic stories. Here we see clearly the fissioning of the professional sphere of science and popular sphere of culture in an interconnected anthropological motif. I am suggesting that travel writing at the historically specific time in the space-between amateur and professional anthropology offers insight into the fragile boundaries between science and non-science, and that this particular genre as practiced at this specific historical juncture exposes the precarious vulnerability of the border between professional science and popular culture. I am less concerned, however, with the question as to whether either travel writing or ethnographic texts are or have ever been "scientific" than with how well the generic conventions of these texts produce fictional realities out of an array of recorded experiences. In sum, I argue that the lines separating travel literature and ethnographic text have, from the beginning, not only been transgressed but thoroughly fractured and even ruptured, so that an adequate engagement with either of these domains requires an attempt to formulate the continuities, mixes, blurrings that are constitutive of both.

In order to open up this discursive exteriority (in Foucault's terms) I begin with Mary Louise Pratt's literary analysis and James Clifford's anthropological history. The chapter then situates Osa Johnson's text, *I Married Adventure*, as a border text, within a larger analysis of travel literature and a review of ethnographic narrative. Here the chapter takes up the rhetoric of travel writing as it was conducted under the guise of science, or science writing as it was conducted under the guise of travel, drawing upon Pratt and Clifford for analysis of the co-mingling of these genres. The first part of the chapter deals with the conventions of travel narrative and its ethnographic kin. The second part of the chapter reconceives these conventions in light of feminist scholarship and its intersection with postcolonial studies. I set out here to read the tenuous cultural and scientific boundaries between popular text and scientific tract through consequent measured and marked racial and gendered representations. I am arguing that by

identifying the tenuousness of cultural and scientific boundaries we might invoke and articulate the ongoing process of othering productive of familiar racial and gendered distinctions. Because disciplinary knowledge is constructed out of uneven distribution of rights to expertise and authority to witness among women and people of color, the discourse of discipline is not innocent. Rather, disciplinary discourses are necessarily marked by gender and race. Here, I am interested primarily in the ways in which the white, female traveler existed as what Clark describes a "site of generic contradiction" (22) or within what di Leonardo understands to be a "double message" (8), sometimes struggling against and other times benefiting from the popular and scientific discourses of evolutionism and primitivism. The chapter therefore examines Osa's text in terms of the privileges and limitations placed on the text as a site where gender and discipline collude in anthropological discourse of race. At its conclusion, the chapter relies upon the idea that at key moments in the narratives of travel and science, the instability of the feminine subject is revealed as a subject always open to construction and reconstruction in the "contradiction between feminine inferiority and European superiority" (Mills 17).

Mary Louise Pratt introduces *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, by identifying her task—to study the travel writing genre by exploring "its heterogeneity and its interactions with other kinds of expression" (11). She notes that in Europe after the eighteenth century, "travel writing would never be the same again" as the scientific enterprise played a part in travel and travel books, "whether or not an expedition was scientific, or the traveler was a scientist" (27). In her analysis, she notes that a repertoire of travel themes might include: ethnography, natural history, hunting stories, social description, survival tales, and interracial love (91).

In her analysis, Pratt poses the question: "How has travel writing produced the rest of the world for European readerships at particular points in Europe's expansionist trajectory?" Pratt makes the argument that scientific exploration and travel writing in the early eighteenth century became "a source of some of the most powerful ideational and ideological apparatuses through which European citizenries related themselves to other parts of the world" (23). In the second part of the eighteenth century, she argues, travel accounts served as "essential mediators between the scientific network and a larger European public" (29). While Pratt sites the maritime expeditions of Cook in the South Seas as the inauguration of the era of scientific travel and travel writing, she offers a way of reading that "will be suggestive for people thinking about similar materials from other times and places" (11). In sum, she suggests that the crossed and blurred generic boundaries between travel literature and ethnographic text precipitated a unique space in which testimony enacted highly asymmetrical raced and gendered relations.

Pratt's article in James Clifford's and George E. Marcus's *Writing Culture* focuses even more closely on what she describes as the "vexed but important relationship" between tropes of ethnographic writing and those deployed in earlier discursive traditions—notably travel writing. She begins her essay "Fieldwork in Common Places" by quoting from Bronislaw Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) on the advent of professional ethnography: "The time when we could tolerate accounts presenting us the native as a distorted, childish caricature of a human being are gone" because, Malinowski says, "it has been killed by Science" (Pratt 27). According to Pratt, this statement is typical of those offered by "serious scientists" who define specialized ethnographic writing over and against other genres, "such as travel books, personal memoirs, journalism, and accounts by missionaries, settlers, colonial officials, and the like"—that produced by "mere travelers" and "casual observers" (27). However, Pratt argues, "to the extent that [ethnography] legitimates itself by opposition to other kinds of writing, ethnography blinds

itself to the fact that its own discursive practices were often inherited from these other genres and are still shared with them today" (27).

In this essay, Pratt explores "delicate disciplinary boundaries" by taking up the problematic links, messy tangles, and anguished interrelations between "personal experience, personal narrative, scientism, and professionalism in ethnographic writing" (29). Here Pratt uses a case, "an infuriatingly ambiguous book, which may or may not be 'true,' is and is not ethnography, is and is not autobiography, does and does not claim professional and academic authority, is and is not based on fieldwork, and so on" (30). She uses the case to illustrate the confusion between personal experience and scientific authority and by way of introducing the continuity between travel writing and formal ethnography. Pratt then makes her argument explicit: "modern ethnography obviously lies in direct continuity with this tradition, despite the disciplinary boundary by which it separates itself off from travel writing" (35). She concludes by recommending that anthropology be recognized as continuous with its discursive tradition in travel writing as well as within the context of the expansion of "hard science" (49).

Clifford turns our attention to modern anthropology and observes that "writing has emerged as central to what anthropologists do both in the field and thereafter" (*Writing* 2). He introduces his collection by focusing on rhetorical, textual practices and by situating ethnography within complex interdisciplinary, "literary" approaches. Clifford reminds us: "At the close of the nineteenth century nothing guaranteed, *a priori*, the ethnographer's status as the best interpreter of native life—as opposed to the traveler . . . some of whom had been in the field longer and had better research contacts and linguistic skills" ("On Ethnographic Authority" 121). That is, before Franz Boas and Margaret Mead in the late 1930s had established an ethnographic science based upon professional fieldwork and general theory, a quite different modus operandi for gathering

ethnographic knowledge prevailed. Typically, the "man on the spot" drew detailed compilations, amassed from an eclectic range of research and accompanied by low level generalizations, of indigenous custom (Clifford, "On Ethnographic Authority" 121). The quality of these reports, however, could be easily challenged, as they did not confer scientific authority. The issue (even today), as Clifford states it, is that "the specific accounts contained in ethnographies can never be limited to a project of scientific description so long as the guiding task of the work is to make the (often strange) behavior of a different way of life comprehensible" (*Writing* 101). Finally, then, ethnography as a mode of scientific description is essentially a rhetorical accomplishment.

Clifford here observes the quite blurred boundary separating art from science and posits ethnographers as both literary artists and anthropologists (*Writing* 3). In so doing, he also reminds us that ethnography is situated on the boundaries of many fields in which "culture" has become a "newly problematic object of description and critique" (*Writing* 3). And this "blurred purview," he says, includes historical ethnography, cultural poetics, cultural criticism, semiotics, and "all those studies that focus on meaning systems, disputed traditions, or cultural artifacts" (*Writing* 3). So too, Clifford says, ethnography is situated "at the boundaries of civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders" (*Writing* 2). Admittedly, he says, ethnography has been and continues to be implicated in complex relations of power inequalities. Traditionally, ethnography has enacted Western representations of other societies, and has claimed the monophonic authority to represent cultures. That is, ethnography has enacted clearly defined others—"defined as primitive, or tribal, or non-Western, or pre-literate, or nonhistorical" (*Writing* 23).

So then, Clifford concludes, "ethnography is hybrid textual activity: it traverses genres and disciplines" (*Writing* 26). And it traverses notions of other and self. As such, he asserts, while these separations will continue to be drawn and redrawn, their shifting ground can no

longer be evaded, and must be openly confronted. While ethnographers need not give up accurate accounting or true fiction, they do need to understand that criteria for judging an accurate or true account have changed and will continue to do so. Criteria have been and will continue to be conventionally, historically, and institutionally determined—informed by contexts of power, modes of resistance, institutional constraint, and creative innovation.

The argument here—that the lines separating travel literature and ethnographic text have, from the beginning, not only been transgressed but thoroughly fractured and even ruptured—is certainly not a new one. George E. Marcus in *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* takes up the now-familiar crisis of representation in anthropology and the related experimental phenomenon in ethnography. Marcus refers to the present condition of crisis as "postparadigm" or postmodern. He notes, however, that "the intellectual historian must have a sense of déjà vu in contemplating these recent developments, for they recapitulate issues debated in other periods, most proximately during the 1920s and 1930s." Marcus understands the circular or spiraled trend of thought as an "alternate swing of the pendulum between periods in which paradigms, or totalizing theories, are relatively secure, and periods in which paradigms lose their legitimacy and authority" (12). So then: in the 1920s and 1930s the pendulum hovered in a pre-paradigmatic, pre-disciplinary, pre-modern stage in early anthropology; in the 1950s it remained securely in a paradigmatic, disciplinized, modern stage of anthropology; and it now hovers over what we refer to as post-paradigmatic, post-disciplinary, postmodern stage in anthropology. We might thus understand the movements in anthropology to mark our own preoccupations with "modern" science. However, as Stephen A. Tyler states, "all ethnography is postmodern" in that ethnography has never been modern. I refer quickly to Tyler's thoughts concerning ethnography as science: ". . . for the world that made science, and that science made, has disappeared, and scientific thought is now an archaic mode of consciousness surviving for a while yet in degraded form . . ." (123).

Finally, my sense of this crisis of representation can best be articulated in terms Latour might use: ethnography can never be postmodern, because it has never been modern. That is, ethnography has never been anything other than an experimental, interdisciplinary, hybrid.

Feminist scholarship has added to this discussion and advocated important new direction for study. In *Women Writing Culture*, Ruth Behar reminds us of the fact explicated elsewhere in John Clifford's *Writing Culture*, that anthropologists write ethnographies, "a strange cross between the realist novel, the travel account, the memoir, and the scientific report" (3). This observation is particularly important, though infuriatingly late, for women, Behar remarks, because women have consistently crossed the border between anthropology and literature, though usually as "aliens" and "outlaws" who "produced works that tended to be viewed in the profession as 'confessional' or 'popular'" (3-4). As such she and Deborah Gordon bring together essays that explore the autobiographical, fictional, and experimental work of women anthropologists to rethink a history of anthropology. Behar, in her introduction to *Women Writing Culture*, advocates a turn in our attention to the constellation of aliens, outlaws, amateurs, and professionals engaged in the discipline of anthropology. Here she also points out the "paradoxical pursuit" that anthropology presents for women, because while "anthropology makes heroes of men," it has always been ambivalent about the work of wives (16). As Haraway reminds us, the role for women in the narrative life sciences has been to "to read the story, not write it" (*Primate* 281). In Behar's words, anthropology, as "the male quest narrative," has tended to treat the textual labor of wives as unauthorized and thus illicit. By ignoring the work of aliens and outlaws or treating that work as unauthorized and illicit, the disciplinary history of anthropology remains a story of great men and moments with an occasional nod toward exceptional women (i.e. Margaret Mead). In light of Behar and Gordon's collection, it is nevertheless important to note that as history attempts to correct these stories, the mere

recuperation of great women into the discipline risks relying upon recuperation of texts as unmarked contribution to anthropological practice, in place of a recovery of disciplined labor as gendered and raced.

The mangled workings of professional science and popular literature in the field of anthropology, both past and present, documented in detail above and in previous chapters, bears repeating here.

Prior to 1865, anthropology could claim little existence as a discipline in America. In its early form, travelers recorded their observations of newly "discovered" lands and peoples. As voyages of exploration penetrated various parts of the world, travelers provided descriptive accounts of nonwestern Others, and claimed authoritative status as interpreters of exotic cultures and native life. With increased exploration and colonization of Africa, "evidence" not only of differences between the races, but of a gap between and the advanced civilization of western Europe and white North America and the "remaining 'savage' areas of the globe" began to accumulate (Stocking, *Race* 37). The import of attaining scientific coverage of these "remaining" areas across the globe meant reliance upon accurate observations by gatherers of information, rather than formal reports by accredited theorizers of data. Furthermore, anthropology early in its disciplinary history, advanced by embracing two tendencies: social relevance and professional status. As such, anthropology emerged a necessarily public and popular enterprise. While distinctions between lay observation and scientific expertise were later made somewhat more settled, historical analysis based upon the assumption that these demarcations were always robust does not explain the fact that in its context, early travel writing and early ethnography shared a deeply entrenched intellectual project as at least quasi-legitimate science. In fact, the travel account existed as "a close predecessor and contemporary parallel" to professional ethnography.

If we understand the science / pseudo-science split to have been actively created by individuals at key "paradigmatic" moments in the history of anthropology, we can attempt to display travel writing within its historical integrity as a "science" in its own time.

Adventure Tales and Ethnographic Texts

Most readers ought to be skeptical about taking Osa Johnson's text, *I Married Adventure*, as scientific in any sense, and in fact, I share this cynicism. The factual accuracy of her account is suspect, her given motives are dubious, and many of her adventure tales are certainly edited for drama. However, Osa and Martin spent nearly 17 years traveling across various islands and on the African continent, enduring much hardship to reach the places at which they arrived so that they might preserve the land, the people, and the wild life on film. In what follows, I hope to attend to recommendations offered by Pratt, Clifford, Behar, and Gordon: 1) anthropology ought to be recognized as continuous with its discursive tradition in travel writing as well as within the context of the expansion of hard science; 2) thus ethnography ought to be treated as a hybrid textual activity that traverses genres and disciplines; and so 3) anthropology ought to attend to the whole constellation of aliens, outlaws, amateurs, and professionals engaged in the discipline.

Like Pratt, I take up a text that might well be described as "an infuriatingly ambiguous book, which may or may not be 'true,' is and is not ethnography, is and is not autobiography, does and does not claim professional and academic authority, is and is not based on fieldwork, and so on" (Pratt, "Fieldwork" 30). Osa Johnson's text, *I Married Adventure*, combines autobiography, adventure story, and ethnography, and thus aptly illustrates the confusion between personal experience and scientific authority, and the hybridity between travel writing and formal ethnography, thus offering a nice opportunity to attend to an alien/outsider/amateur engaged in the discipline of anthropology. In addition, discussion of this text is a wonderful space in which

to detail the intersections of popular representations of exotic Others with the work of early American anthropology.

The question for this chapter, concerning Osa Johnson's text *I Married Adventure*, in Susan Leigh Star's terms, is "what happens to the cases that do not fit?" (*Sorting* 31). Of course, as Star reminds us, disciplinary categories work as mutually exclusive categories only in an ideal world. Disciplinary categories routinely mix different or contradictory categories in our real world systems. The work of developing and maintaining disciplinary categories, then, relies upon classification systems with stringent standards. According to Star, a standard is an agreed upon set of rules for the production of an object, i.e. a text. For disciplinary standards to be enforceable, those must be mandated by professional organizations. This chapter begins its investigation with the myriad systems of classification and standardization—or lack thereof—of anthropology as social science and ethnography as method. In doing so, the chapter adopts Star's approach to "the fluid dynamics of how classification systems meet up" (*Sorting* 31) by borrowing heavily from her concept of the "boundary object." In Star's topography, the boundary object allows interdisciplinary scientific cooperation as these objects "both inhabit several communities of practice and satisfy the informational requirements of each of them" (*Sorting* 16). As she says of boundary objects, "in working practice, they are objects that are able both to travel across borders and maintain some sort of constant identity" (*Sorting* 16).

When *I Married Adventure* was published in 1940, some indication of its blurred genre appeared apparent in the book reviews published in *The New York Times* and various other newspapers and publications across the country. The book was labeled biography, travel literature, adventure story, and social history. Osa as author was referred to as explorer, photographer, natural history expert, and scientist. The details and photographs in the book are

said to make "valuable records of the habits and customs of elusive savage tribes." The scientific work described in *I Married Adventure* is admired for its authentic information about exotic people and places, and particularly, for establishing the existence of cannibalism among primitive people. And the Johnsons' discovery of Lake Paradise is noteworthy for the consequent film pictures of the vanishing wild life produced for the American Museum of Natural History.

I Married Adventure is introduced in the Foreword by F. Trubee Davison, President of the American Museum of Natural History. In addition to crediting the Johnsons with contributing richly to the project of the Museum, Davison describes the "exotic color" which filled their lives and careers. The book is, necessarily perhaps, both autobiographical and ethnographic. This text, I believe, offers a fine example of Pratt's argument that in travel literature, the "two eternally clashing and complimentary languages" of sentiment and science establish an uneasy accord in a system of global authority (39). That is, the text is at once mainly conventional though not at all codified. It exists at a crossroads, relegated to a domain of the popular but illustrative of an emergent anthropological discipline. As such, *I Married Adventure* is neither a personal diary nor a scientific account, but an interactional text wherein information absorbed from introspective journeying, personal witnessing, and experiential researching is continually negotiated and integrated.

In the following analysis of Osa's book, *I Married Adventure*, I propose to look at the following conventionally enacted norms of the travel genre: 1) mythic resonances of the travel as quest and traveler as hero; 2) scenes of voyage preparation, departure, and arrival; 2) plots based on hardship, danger, and survival; 3) accounts of indigenous people and their manners and

customs; and 4) details of new geography, new plants, and new animals[19]. While Pratt is impressively able to provide a finely tuned range of travel writing along a spectrum between science and sentiment and precisely distinguish among varieties of travel-related writing, I find evidence of nearly all of these varieties in Osa's text, and thus am less successful at tracing any particular apparatus through the text, than at dwelling with the impossible task of categorization in this assemblage of apparatuses. I also propose to look at certain literary traditions of ethnographic writing: 1) close attention to detail of people and places unknown to the reader; 2) accounts of firsthand authority validating the author's presence; 3) claims of scientific purpose to salvage cultures threatened by Western progress; 4) portrayals of exotic societies in an "ethnographic present"; 5) scenes of the author's everyday life and methods of fieldwork; 6) demonstration of language competence and success at penetrating native ways and lives[20]. While Clifford is quite skillful at documenting these traditions from travel accounts to early ethnographic texts, I do not intend to treat Osa's text as a piece of anthropological discourse. I do find, however, that her text participates in many of the literary traditions of ethnographic writing and is thus illustrative of an emergent disciplinary discourse.

The first pages and chapters of *I Married Adventure* are very much autobiographical and biographical, as Osa recalls her own youth and recounts stories of her husband's childhood as well. The narrative figure in these early pages is quite personal and the plot carries the potential of the dramatic. The material here is strategically selected to portray Martin, in particular, as a restless and willful young spirit disillusioned with life in the Midwest prairie and longing for

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[19] I focus, for now, on these select generic conventions outlined by Pratt as traditional for accounts of European travel.

[20] I selected these generic conventions because of the similarities to the travel account. For a more complete and nuanced discussion of the basic characteristics of fully professionalized ethnography based on scientific participant-observation by trained scholars, see Marcus and Cushman, and Clifford.

greater adventure in travel. The portrayal of Martin as would-be traveler is thus set in motion when the chapter illuminates key moments in which the heroic search or romantic quest seems almost inevitable. Further conventional scenes of romantic longings and the urge to set out for the voyage are offered, as Osa describes Martin's mundane work unpacking merchandise in his father's jewelry store. For example, she carefully notes that "Martin always left the boxes from the Eastman Company until the very last" (25). She describes his careful inspection: "Iris, shutter and lens, all were subjected to a careful scrutiny and became a part of his store of knowledge as well as part of the stock on the orderly shelves" (25). Osa continues to describe Martin's fascination with photographic equipment and cameras, snapshots of zoo animals, and especially pictures from foreign lands. Eventually, she tells us that Martin applied through a magazine advertisement to accompany Jack London on a sea voyage around the world, and was selected to join the crew. As Osa tells it, Martin wrote of meeting Jack London: "that is how, for the first time, I really ran shoulder to shoulder with Adventure, which I had been pursuing all my days" (46). Here, the male quest plot is turned profession for Martin. The motif of the intrepid explorer turned naturalist and/or ethnographer for the sake of science is, of course, the norm in the early days of both travel and anthropology.

When Osa relays the narrative of Martin's journey with his companions, informational detail is devoted, as is conventional to both travel writing and ethnography, to the means of transportation. The emphasis on the ship, the *Snark*, and its construction is not surprising given the early historical moment and available modes of transportation. Osa also reviews Martin's travel diary and offers details of danger—ulcers, fevers, and various mysterious island illnesses—all to heighten the thrill of Adventure. Speaking of Martin Johnson's later association with the American Museum of Natural History, Donna Haraway likens this first expedition upon the *Snark* to Darwin's earlier voyage upon the *Beagle* (*Primate* 45). She also considers the

consequent books and films an accurate recording of "the dilemma of manhood in the early twentieth century" (45). Osa chronicles this early trip as a survival story with traditional description of storms at sea, tropical sickness, and threat of attack on the interior islands. In addition to these troublesome travel obstacles, however, Osa offers the reader an eyewitness account of Martin's adventure by including key ethnographic observations from the diary: "Sunday, June 28, 1908: Hundreds of natives ran down the beaches, and, tumbling into canoes, darted after us, all the time screaming at the top of their voices . . ." (57). Osa highlights here the evidence of cannibal practice among the South Sea Islanders, as she picks up this diary thread a bit later: ". . . These natives are all head hunters. This village and the one across the bay are continually at war with each other and each tribe collects the heads of the other. . . . " (58). As Osa tells it, the evidence that cannibals existed in the interior of one of the largest of the Solomon Islands impelled Martin's "first motion picture exploration" (59). Both popular travel accounts and professional ethnographic texts shared this generic convention, "in which the main narrative motif was the romantic discovery by the writer of people and places unknown to the reader" (Marcus and Fischer 24). The narrative figure within this text is not a unitary source of information; certain pieces of the text emanate from a source which is not identical to the narrator but more impersonal, informational, and experiential. While Osa's account is anything but scientific, it does offer what would likely have provided some substantive source material on indigenous people of the South Seas for both popular culture and professional science.

Indeed, as Osa describes Martin's return home to Independence, Kansas, his adventures serve equally as exploration, education, and amusement. Martin had, as Osa puts it, explored places "where no other white men had been" (62). Principal of the high school in Independence requested that Martin speak to students "in the interests of education," stressing that Martin had traveled to "places of great interest geographically, which [young people] will never see" (64).

Martin accepted this invitation, and eventually partnered in a business enterprise to build a theater where he would lecture and show slides, as well as his first motion picture. The theater was named the Snark, after the name of the ship Martin had sailed. Here, Osa notes, Martin found himself "launched in the amusement business" (68). Thus launched, Martin and Osa found their way to New York City and with a contract to cover the Orpheum Vaudeville Circuit with Martin's lectures, slides, and cannibal reel (102). In this context, the Johnson's work was enthusiastically received by the public. Due to their popularity, their work would later be taken up by scientists at the American Museum of Natural History.

After Osa tells of Martin's start as an intrepid adventurer, she describes their first joint venture, a return voyage to the South Seas. Here, the narrative figure writes about her personal experiences traveling from place to place. It is at this point that Osa asks about "those places where they have cannibals" (92), and Martin replies:

> They're—why, they're practically aboriginals down where I went with Jack London, and what I want to do some day is to get a good honest complete motion picture of them to show to people who've had all the advantages of civilization—in big cities and places like that—so they can get an idea of what they themselves were like, maybe half a million years ago" (92).

Martin's classification here of non-Western cultures on a temporal line of development in an "evolving" sequence emulates the language, philosophy, rhetoric of the dominant evolutionary claims in the Museum's strain of anthropology. Well into the twentieth century, anthropological thought has, as Stocking says, treated "human differences as correlates of evolutionary stages" (*Race* 70). The view assumes that humans had gradually evolved from a savage state into a civilized one. While primitive races had remained savage since their creation, advanced races had progressed to civilization. The wording in the above passage illustrates the use of what

Johannes Fabian identifies as anthropological time in an "ethnographic present" which is, in fact, a past. In this sense, traveling to the South Seas is to travel in time to primitive culture, to travel to a space both spatially and temporally distant. By calling upon an evolutionary past in the ethnographic present, Martin conjures Darwinian thought in terms of natural history. In this thought, places, plants, and even peoples are arranged in a spatial configuration and then classed according to a temporal dimension, with correspondent stages of advancement. This comparative method has "played a profound role in nineteenth century-battles to establish a secular-scientific outlook" and has been pervasive in anthropological thought and ethnographic science in the twentieth century (Marcus and Fischer 128). According to this logic: some native cultures are unchanged, have not advanced through civilization, and so studying them will tell us something about our early development. The assumption is that ethnographic evidence from observation of primitive cultures will provide the data for theories about the origins and of contemporary cultures and social structures. Certainly, Martin's attachment to a legitimate institution of science in the American Museum allows him to share the authority of science while crafting opinions of indigenous cultures. And the Museum's attachment to Martin, as field worker to some degree, allowed the dominant scientific claims for evolutionary racism to stand.

Osa speaks of this expedition to the South Seas with great anticipation. The first months, she says, were both "disappointing and anxious" as they sailed from island to island, until "Martin . . . was satisfied he had found savages that were completely untouched by civilization" (112). Martin's mission is represented as important in that he would find territory where primitives had not yet come in touch with other Euro-American explorers or colonial administrators. The urgent tone for documentation of the endangered primitive represents a need for the primitive to be eternally present and thus eternally retrievable as a potential site of "origin" for mankind. Clifford describes this theme of salvage ethnography: "the other is lost, in disintegrating time and

space, but saved in the text" (112). In Clifford's words, this theme is so deeply ingrained that "it is built into the conception and practice of ethnography" (113). In fact, he says the salvage theme is "a rhetorical construct legitimating a representational practice" (112). That is, the work of ethnography as science was to describe and preserve vanishing culture. Marcus and Fischer make the argument that "the salvage motif as a worthy scientific purpose has remained strong in ethnography to the present" (24). Indeed, according to Marcus and Fischer, the salvage motif was developed to advance anthropology's scientific aims and "distance itself from the traveler's account and the amateur ethnographer" (24). And the scientific purpose: "The ethnographer would capture in writing the authenticity of changing cultures, so they could be entered into the record for the great comparative project of anthropology, which was to support the Western goal of social and economic progress" (Marcus and Fischer 24). The salvage motif granted the Johnsons claim to some variety of ethnographic authority and helped them to obtain funding from the American Museum. Within Osa's text, the motif also offered the central trope in both travel and ethnographic storytelling with which to reinscribe some of the images of jungle "natives" and to transport those images to modern, urban university, museum, and theater.

The portrayal of Martin in the pursuit of truth as a professional photographer is threaded throughout the text, and Martin's artistry is repeatedly opposed to the falsified dramatizations of Hollywood film. There were those, Osa tells, who suggested that Martin stage some scenes, as had been done by others. However, "then as always, Martin was a patient, persistent artist who would never be satisfied with anything but the truth" (112). Everywhere, Martin "asked hundreds of questions" and "made hundreds of notes" until his investigation revealed that on the island of Malekula in New Hebrides, there were parts unexplored by white men and rumors of head hunting and cannibalism (113). Notice the ardent attempt Osa makes to distance her and her husband's work from the fictional, fanciful discourse of monstrosities and marvels. Indeed, Osa

and Martin have staked their reputation and built their credibility on just that distinction—between fraudulent and authentic account of the land, the wild life, and the people of the South Sea Islands. As Clifford notes, "the recorder and interpreter of fragile custom is custodian of an essence, unimpeachable witness to an authenticity" (113). Osa's portrayal of Martin assigns him this function of witness. He is obligated to observe and report the scene faithfully. As he does so, he is granted the privilege of authority, a commanding privilege of mastery important to scientific research. In part, the authority of ethnography rests with the author as witness, and the ability to convince a reader that what is being described is a formal and real report, a result of the author having penetrated another land and way of life and returned to inform.

In order to serve as confident witness, however, the ethnographer must convince that s/he has actually succeeded at penetrating the distant land and strange life of the indigenous peoples. So many passages in *I Married Adventure* seem devoted to just such an assertion. Osa describes her and Martin's participation in native celebrations and feasts, which sometimes lasted for weeks. Indeed, the Johnsons used interpreters to help them communicate with native inhabitants. But they also attempted to learn the languages. Osa describes working very hard at learning the accepted language of the South Sea Islands: "bêche-de-mer" (130). She reports that she and Martin even found themselves speaking the language to each other. In fact, she says of speaking this language that it was so habit forming she found herself "actually thinking in this particular patois of the tropics" (130). Throughout the text, then, Osa lays claim to reliable witnessing by constructing signs of authentic ethnographic encounters.

The witness role is indeed essential for aligning scientific observation with mass media imaging/imagining. Osa promotes Martin as "a fine camera artist" even in this "first real attempt at professional motion picture photography" (125). She credits Martin with having done well

"photographing the savages of Malekula" and recalls that within months, the picture was shown on screen at Broadway's Rialto and around the world. Martin's camera took the audience on a survey of the interior spaces of landscape and its human inhabitants. But Martin was not satisfied because he had yet to make a complete record of the tribe. The film's financial success guaranteed that Osa and Martin would have the means to return. And this time, Osa describes how the days spent in Malekula had yielded "some fine and authentic scenes of native life" (141). Not surprisingly, Osa's travel account relies upon a cumulative enterprise of observation and documentation that explicitly identifies the couple with the important task of exploration for purpose of natural history rather than commercialism. That is, Osa's account of filming native life in this passage carefully traffics a zone between offering the native for scientific value as evidence of racial difference and erotic value as commodified object of desire.

The days in Malekula this time gave Osa the "opportunity to study" the houses and the women and children. Here Osa's account reads as a vivid ethnographic description of Malekula natives with conventional report of manners and customs. As such, the narrative figure is again impersonal as the traveler registers a descriptive sight. Osa reports, for example, that the women were dressed in an odd arrangement made entirely of grass:

> Over the head was a sort of widow's veil, solid except for a little peep hole, and a long train that hung down the back almost to the ground. The dress was a bushy purple-dyed skirt that reached from the waist to the knees. It was heavy, cumbersome and unsanitary, and, as they moved about, it gave them the look of animated hay stacks. (140).

For Osa too, then, the natives become material for examination. She comments repeatedly on the bodies of the natives she encounters. The bodies are most always described in terms of difference, and often in terms of abhorrent filthiness. The "wretched creatures" she describes in

the above passage were described as "unspeakably filthy" because "bathing for women was taboo" (140). The Others, then, are presented as inferior in habits of cleanliness and governing morales. As Osa describes exploration of the islands, she continues to report about people and to document their customs. The repertoire of images open to this examination exoticizes difference as irrational. Osa reports, for example, that "old people, as we have been told, and from observation knew, were not permitted to live as "relentless logic" assumed that they had outlived their usefulness. One anecdote refers to a particular chief, who had been permitted to live fairly long, but was then "buried alive, as was their custom" (144). She goes on to include observations about government, religion, ceremonies, medicine, and domestic activity. As is usual for travel writing, the people of foreign landscapes are described as ugly, while the landscapes are represented in quite beautiful terms.

Osa continues in the scientific nature of the manners and customs type report to describe a tribe that lived in the dense overhead foliage of large banyan trees to elude their invaders. She observes: "They had no villages, built no huts, cultivated no land, and raised no live stock. On the contrary, they kept continually on the move and, like monkeys, made the tree-tops their homes" (150). The derogatory comparison in this passage again calls up categorizations and classifications of humans along hierarchical and evolutionary lines. Here Osa's documentation relies heavily upon primitivism. In other passages, her primitivism is even more explicit. She continues with her description of the tribe:

> This aged savage bore so close a resemblance to a monkey that I stared, open-mouthed. His bright shoe-button eyes peered out glintingly from a mass of wooly hair. A set of beautifully white and perfect teeth was visible each time he opened his enormous mouth. His movements were quick, nervous and sure, and

> he wore that alert expression so characteristic of monkeys. Even his feet were apelike. (149).

These descriptions illustrate the real sense in which primitives were sometimes seen as less than human. The image painted here links the black savage to the beastly ape, relying upon enduring evidence of the apishness of savages and the humanness of apes. Osa uses this link to speak to scientific racism and the evolutionary debate concerning, not only the relationship between humans and apes, but the relative relationships of particular racial groups, especially Africans, to apes. Long before Osa had drafted this passage, theoretical ideas posited blacks as an intermediate species between humans and apes. Osa's distasteful description here details the animality of features of the savage and thus reveals the resemblance to be true. These features rendered the savage a less evolved, degenerate Other.

While the apish images conjure animality as one of the most enduring representations of savages, the cannibal image is perhaps the most extreme representations of the exotic Other. Elsewhere, Osa speaks of traveling to the island of Tomman and witnessing an "eerie scene . . . where a group of old savages squatted beside a smoldering fire and gave earnest attention to a human head impaled on a stick and held over the smoke by a very ancient member of their group" (157). Osa documents in detail this craft, as it was explained by the head-curer himself:

> The head, freshly cut from the body, the old man said, was first soaked in a chemical concoction of certain fermented herbs, which both hardened the skin and in measure "fireproofed" it. Next it was held over a fire and turned in the smoke until all the fat was rendered out and tissue dried. Then it was smeared with clay and baked. All of this took some weeks of constant work. Lastly it was hung in a basket of pandanus fiber, and time put its finishing touches to the job. (157).

According to this account, only the heads of friends and relatives were treated with the care described. As Osa reports seeing five heads nearby, in various stages of the seasoning process, we recognize the sensuous and sensationalist documentation of cultural and social drama, which counts as evidence for the intrinsic inferiority of the indigenous group.

With photographs of the head-house and of mummified bodies, Osa and Martin continued their exploration, now to the island of Espiritu Santo. Here the Johnsons caught sight of what Osa reports to be a cannibal celebration, reproduced as an object of accurate ethnographic description. This celebration appeared at first familiar in that "the dance was the usual circular shuffle around devil-devils in the center of the clearing" (160). However, she says, "those pieces of meat spitted on long sticks were not the usual pork—they were parts of the body of a human being" (160). When photographed, the celebrants took the meat from the fire and ran. Luckily for Martin, they left behind a "roasting human head" that made for excellent pictures. Osa states: these pictures not only "rounded out [Martin's] film record of South Sea Island savages," but also "proved conclusively that cannibalism there is still practiced" (161). As photographers, Osa and Martin are able to represent visually what the travel tale narrates. The inclusion of photographs into the book bolsters the claim to representing the real. Furthermore, Osa adds that Martin wrapped the head and intended to carry it home for double proof, arguing: "There's proof nobody can get around!" (161). The indigenous inhabitants of the island are now reduced to objectified ethnographic specimens. Specimens which turn symbolic, figurative tale into scientific, material reality. The now-material specimen establishes absolute difference between the savage and the civilized. Osa recounts their return again to the United States where their second picture, *Cannibals of the South Seas*, had opened on Broadway and was playing to capacity houses. They stayed in the United States only a few months, though, before Martin decided to go then to Borneo "to get pictures of the savages there. The head hunters" (162).

Even so, Osa talks a lot here of their plan to "make a motion picture record of Borneo's wild life" (166). Of interest in this chapter of the text is Osa's fine description of the photographic challenges presented by the color and light in the Borneo jungle. She says of their frustration: "the jungles on either side of the river were teeming with wildlife, but how to photograph it was the problem" (173). Soon enough, however, Martin managed to take some fine shots of elephants and to use nearly fifty thousand feet of film. Osa recounts Martin's vision at the end of the trip: "I've been thinking that instead of making it just a headhunters picture, we ought to put it together as a sort of study of Borneo, natives, animals and all" (186). Osa and Martin thus extend their interest of Borneo more seriously to its animals; however, this interest in animals remains a "part of a continuous process of self-definition (in which, of course, that self is defined in opposition to an animal other or an animalized other)" (Baker 79). As Haraway has argued thoroughly, animals have been granted a special status in that they can reveal our own natural origins in a pre-rational and pre-cultural essence (*Simians* 11).

This time, upon their return home, Osa and Martin were invited to attend a dinner where they were made members of the Explorers' Club. She recounts with pride the honor of being asked "to join the ranks of Theodore Roosevelt and Carl Akeley, the great sculptor, naturalist and director of the Museum of Natural History" (190). Osa details one conversation between Martin and Carl Akeley. Emphasizing the import of Martin's mission, Akeley is reported as saying, "I've made it my mission to perpetuate vanishing wild animal life in bronze by securing specimens for the Museum. You are doing the same thing in film which is available to millions of people all over the world" (190). During these conversations, Osa insists, she and Martin began to shape their future. Now their mission could be explicated: ecological emergency and professional expertise. Haraway emphasizes the Museum's unmistakable space as both a scientific research institution and a popular museum, and suggests that Martin and Osa Johnson were enrolled in the

truth-telling public entertainment endeavor of wildlife photography at the Museum because their work could meet the demands of both research and entertainment (44).

Under direction of Akeley, Martin and Osa Johnson decided British East Africa would be the best place to continue their film studies of wild animal life. This decision placed them in good company, as Osa explains:

> Great men have adventured and explored in British east Africa and left rich and permanent memories. At one time or another we paused at the places where Paul Rainy had camped, where Theodore Roosevelt shot his first lion, where Major Duggmore made his first flashlight picture of the king of the beasts. . . . we journeyed to Mackenzie Camp—so named for Lady Mackenzie, one of the few women to head an east African safari. (231).

While in British East Africa, Osa and Martin heard of a crater lake which had not appeared on any map ever made. Their confidant hinted that the lake was likely "a sort of sanctuary, undisturbed by the white man and his gun," a place Martin could go with his camera and "come back with a record of what animals are really like in their natural, undisturbed state" (207). An important theme at this point in the text is the role Martin plays as heroic adventurer desiring conservation of nature. The African wild life was not something to be hunted with rifle, but shot with camera and preserved on film. The animals were to be read about and watched in cinema for experiencing a close encounter with the rare, the wild, and the foreign. This is the urgent reason for the journey. Again, while the human inhabitants have been described pretty much throughout the text in terms of abhorrent dirt, vulgarity, and ugliness, the African landscape and animal inhabitants burst with rare, natural beauty. Indigenous people have been described throughout Osa's text in terms of animality to accuse the savage races of absolute degradation. The metaphorical relation between indigenous people and animals depict the indigenous group as

subhuman, on a lower rung of the evolutionary ladder. In these depictions, the animal represents the unruly. However, as the Johnsons continue to work at animal photography, some glaring contradictions emerge. Rather than using animal imagery in negative connotation to depict human—or subhuman— characteristics, now overwhelmingly positive human characteristics are used to describe animals. The move from theriomorphism to anthropomorphism evokes a bewildering response,[21] as the reader is moved from hatred, contempt, fear of indigenous people to affection, respect, and pleasure for the wild animal life. The accounts of animal photography at this point in Osa's text stress natural harmony between humans and animals. The troubling passages concerning hierarchical relations to Otherness seem to disappear, as if suddenly the landscape were empty of inhabitants. That is, while African natives had been important to a study of the hierarchical links between the animal and human community, they were irrelevant now to the study of an animal family.

The journey to the interior of British East Africa represents, more than any other journey Osa and Martin had undertaken, a desire to see "unexplored" places, to venture into "unoccupied" space, and to glimpse the altogether "unknown." Osa describes the ardent preparations for the difficult journey, including stories of the cargo. Finally, she summarizes, "For days we marched behind our guide over some of the roughest country I've ever crossed. For another day we climbed steadily and then, completely without warning, we were at the edge of a high cliff overlooking one of the loveliest lakes I have ever seen" (262). She describes the lake, shaped like a spoon, with a hard, washed lava beach, a steep wooded bank, and more animals than could be imagined. She finishes her description of the landscape, noting: "That was how Lake Paradise was given its name" (262). The rhetorical gesture here, in the face of a new geography is an act of motion and marking as a name is given. Here is an exemplary passage for illustrating Pratt's

[21] For an interesting explanation of animal imagery in human representations, see Baker (121).

notion of "discovery rhetoric" (204). In this discovery rhetoric, a tangible relationship materializes between travel and exploration, and thus between pleasurable and professional travel, or between tourism and observation. In discovery rhetoric, the text expands the natural world while aspiring to informational discourse with legitimate scientific status.

Even so, Osa's panoramic description of the lake and the surrounding uninhabited landscape is thoroughly "aestheticized" (Pratt, *Imperial* 204). The pleasure of the sight itself establishes the value of the journey. The author herself is a gazing speaker, registering a picture from her vantage point, as "monarch-of-all-I-survey" (Pratt, *Imperial* 205). She depicts: "A tangle of water-vines and lilies—great blue African lilies—grew in the shallows at the water's edge" (262). This rich picture of the geographical formation of Lake Paradise is followed by description of the creatures and their habitat. She says, "It's Paradise" (262). In this "rhetoric of presence" as Pratt puts it, "the esthetic qualities of the landscape constitute the social and material value of the discovery to the explorers' home culture, at the same time as its esthetic deficiencies suggest a need for social and material intervention by the home culture" (*Imperial* 205). In this case, the only necessary intervention needed is a photographic record of the family life of all the creatures making the place their home. Osa and Martin stayed for three months at Lake Paradise attempting "a complete record on film of elephant family life" (263).

Out of money and at the end of film supplies, Osa and Martin necessarily, but excitedly, returned straight to the United States to raise more funds for their planned return and prolonged stay at Lake Paradise. Osa describes a meeting with George Eastman, who after some prodding agreed to invest ten thousand dollars in the motion picture to be made of the animals at Lake Paradise and who offered his name in securing additional funds. By December of 1923 Osa and Martin had acquired backing from Daniel Pomeroy, George D. Pratt, Harry Davison and others.

Most importantly, however, they had "the official sponsorship of the Museum of Natural History, signed by Henry Fairfield Osborn the President, F. Trubee Davison and all the officers" (272). The leaders of the American Museum envisioned a vast professional research program and public education experience that would express a story of progress from origins to human highest forms with evidence from natural history. The leaders at the Museum entered into an association with the Johnsons in order to secure such evidence in the form of wildlife motion pictures. With this crucial and momentous support, Osa and Martin returned to Lake Paradise, prepared to spend four years there filming their safari.

Once Osa and Martin settled at Lake Paradise, they were visited by their financial backers, as George Eastman, Carl Akeley, and Daniel Pomeroy arrived to join the safari party. The group discussed the plan to build an African Hall exhibiting various animal groups at the American Museum. The type of display in the African Hall has been quite articulately detailed by Haraway in the important essay, "Teddy Bear Patriarch." Haraway describes entry into the Hall as entry into a "privileged space and time" where nature could be experienced "at its highest and yet most vulnerable moment":

> The Hall is darkened, lit only from the display cases which line the sides of the spacious room. In the center of the Hall is a group of elephants so lifelike that a moment's fantasy suffices for awakening a premonition of their movement, perhaps an angry charge at one's personal intrusion. The elephants stand like a high altar in the nave of a great cathedral. That impression is strengthened by one's growing consciousness of the dioramas that line both sides of the main Hall and the spacious gallery above. Lit from within, the dioramas contain detailed and lifelike groups of large African mammals . . . . (29).

In *I Married Adventure*, Osa describes the plan to complete the Hall and the dioramas by gathering the mammal groups within the next year, noting that she had been assigned to collect the impala group. As such, she says, they organized their hunting parties "always with a view to completing the African groups for the Museum" (298). Osa reports that "slowly but with gratifying results, the specimens for the Museum groups were obtained" (300). Haraway continues her detailed description of the finished project as it exists today:

> The animals in the habitat groups are captured in a photographer's and sculptor's vision. They are actors in a morality play on the stage of nature, and the eye is the critical organ. Each diorama contains a small group of animals in the foreground, in the midst of exact reproductions of plants, insects, rocks, and soil. Paintings reminiscent of Hollywood movie set art curve in back of the group and up to the ceiling, creating a great panoramic vision of a scene on the African continent. Each painting is minutely appropriate to the particular animals in the foreground. Among the 28 dioramas in the Hall, all the major geographic areas of the African continent and most large mammals are represented. (*Primate* 30).

The exhibitions in the Hall and the displays in the dioramas articulate natural history, and thus natural order, conserved and preserved in the Museum's scientific collection and popular education. In the Museum, Africa exists, reverently, here and now in a scientific origin story that provides a direct vision of jungle peace woven with social relations and interactions among rocks, plants, animals, and people. As Haraway states, "Behind every mounted animal, bronze sculpture, or photograph lies a profusion of objects and social interactions among people and other animals, which can be recomposed to tell a biography embracing major themes for twentieth-century United States" (*Primate* 27). These are the themes of conservation, preservation, and permanence, not only of the natural world, but of the natural body of man, with its visual hierarchies of race, sex, species, class. Thus Osa's direct participation with the African

Hall meant immediate participation in evolutionary science and the symbolic debate about human place in nature.

At Lake Paradise, Martin continued working at his film record, until Eastman and Pomeroy agreed that it was impossible to "hope for greater perfection either of detail or fact" in the elephant record. And, in fact, the record of animals at Lake Paradise and surrounding country was as complete as could be. Osa remembers knowing that a study of the lion would be their next step. As the safari party broke up, Akeley is reported to have said to Martin: "Go ahead with your work. Get all the data and pictures you can—through them better than any other way the world will come to know about animals—about lions" (303). He added that he wanted so-called sportsmen, too, to know about animals, because he wants them "to know how unsportsmanlike it is to slaughter animals simply for the sake of slaughter" (303). At the height of America's first conservation movement, Osa and Martin traveled to the Serengeti Plains to make the lion their major study. Here, Osa gives readers the most strident statement regarding animal conservation. She describes in detail the domain of the lion, where he has abundance for every need. As she continues, she expresses regret that for thousands of years, the lion has been hunted and captured. She explains: "I am deeply in sympathy with those enlightened zoos, such as that at San Diego, dedicated to education rather than entertainment, which are willing to appropriate sufficient ground to give their lion prizes some of the liberty and color of their native home" (308). She also expresses sympathy for the lion, as he generally minds his own business and is a "thoroughly agreeable personage" (308). As such, she says that she and Martin always worked to encourage the setting aside of game preserves. Their hopes at seeing the Serengeti Plains "made into a protected area where lions could be hunted only with the camera" became fact under direction of Game Warden Moore and his wife. Film footage from the Serengeti Plains produced the lion picture, *Simba*. In the film, Africans are seen hunting, voraciously and threateningly, the true

value in Africa—its wildlife. At this site of implosion, the meeting place of indigenous culture and indigenous wildlife with Euro-American values for conservation and preservation, Osa clearly advocates, through domination of both culture and nature, the protection of wildlife.

In turn, Osa and Martin edited the pictures they had taken at Lake Paradise, once again for release in the United States. The footage required more editing than usual, though, because it was now a two-fold task:

> . . . inasmuch as the camera studies which Martin had taken to meet the scientific needs of the Museum of Natural History required one type of assembling, while those to be released through the regular motion picture channels to defray expenses of the safari and return money to the investors was of another type. (304-305).

Here is a self-reflective, though seemingly unproblematic, acknowledgement of the relationship between official scientific activity and popular political culture, as the distinction between genre and discipline is reduced to editing technique. For my interest, the objectives expressed by Osa here require that we trace farther how anthropological productions have and have not intersected with popular representations and interpretations of high scholarship in depictions of exotic Others.

Osa tells readers of the astonishing celebrity she enjoyed, evidenced by the success of their pictures and requests for personal appearances. However, given the option to stay home and accept these enticements, Osa expresses a somewhat conventional preference among travelers for continued journeying. Despite the many contract offers, then, Osa remains committed to the exotic fieldwork she and Martin had set out to do. Scientific observation has become integral to cultural production and the consequent politicized understandings of far off lands. As Osa

assures us that their film productions will achieve both scientific responsibilities and cultural formations for all those at home, she simultaneously reinforces and conceals the symbiotic relationship by which science and culture are consumed.

On what would be one of their last safari trips, Osa and Martin decided to set out for the Belgian Congo and to photograph apes. This time, as sound had been added to pictures during the last year, sound apparatus would certainly be part of the motion picture equipment. Again, while the task of filming the animals was at first very demoralizing, Martin eventually succeeded in securing pictures of gorillas eating and of a mother gorilla carrying her young. Osa reports about gorilla that "it is the largest of all ape species" (336). She details, "he weighs from four hundred to six and fifty pounds and stands from five to six and a half feet tall. His head juts almost neckless from his enormous, hairy torso, and his long arms and bent legs propel him at amazing speed" (336). Osa documents Martin's inquiry as to the alleged ferocity of the animal: "What truth was there, he asked over and over of every native we met, in the stories so generally accepted in every part of the civilized world, of women and children being carried off by the huge anthropoids, and of men being killed by them" (337-38). Upon the villagers' insistence that the gorilla never used size or strength to hurt any living thing, Martin decided to take one back to the United States for the purpose of debunking all stories of the viciousness of the gorilla. Indeed, a male and a female gorilla named "Congo" and "Ngagi" were transported to the United States and welcomed at the San Diego Zoo. Osa and Martin edited their last feature film, *Congorilla*. A cultural understanding of simian animality is again necessary to treat this "scientific" metaphor for racial inferiority. The next chapter takes up the film *Congorilla* and a more detailed treatment of this half-human simian stereotype.

By the time Osa and Martin returned to the United States after their last safari, it had been seventeen years since they first traveled together to Borneo. Osa suggests to her readers that as long as she has had Martin, she has had a home—wherever they were. Her book ends, then, with a newspaper announcement of Martin's death in a fatal plane crash. The announcement also reports that "Johnson's equally famous wife, his companion on many of his adventure trips" was injured. A basic theme in Osa's text is her ability to follow Martin into the jungle of Borneo, the interior of Africa, and the plains of Serengeti. In Osa's record, Martin consistently finds her to be a valuable partner and often publicly credits her participation in the photograph and film work, as well as the administrative and domestic labor. I would like now to ask what happens when we pause to recognize that the presumed traveler is female, by asking: what are the raced and gendered specifications of the dynamic tension between writer as traveler and as researcher, and of the uneasy mix of popular literature and scientific discourse?

Ambiguous Authority and the Woman Traveler

I have argued, to this point, that the position a reader is encouraged to take toward the text *I Married Adventure* is a somewhat ambiguous one, a hybrid position foregrounding the discursive structures of both travel writing and ethnography. I have asserted in these pages that *I Married Adventure* operates as a boundary object at a specific border zone between popular discourse and modern science by which accounts of the corporal body have been marked with symbolic themes of race and nation. That is, I have demonstrated that boundaries have been only tenuously and loosely constructed between the scientific practices and knowledge claims of professional anthropology and other cultural practices, amusements, and entertainments. And that these boundaries wherever and whenever constructed work for the benefit of few, with consequences for Others. Now I want to inquire, more specifically: How have the popular fictions and scientistic practices of Osa Johnson, as white western woman, enabled the

deconstruction and/or reconstruction of masculinist systems of representation while simultaneously both problematizing and/or deepening racialized systems of representation?

Here I argue for an even more complex view of potential reading positions, because the writing of the text assumes a certain gendered discursivity inseparable from all stages of travel writing and ethnography. At this juncture in my dissertation, I do not want to assume a mere recuperative strategy that either celebrates the contribution Osa Johnson makes to the scientific enterprise of modern museum, or that deconstructs her text as participating overtly in a masculinist account of nature. Rather, I want to examine how Osa worked simultaneously as a scientist and a woman to author her subject. As Alison Brown and others have posited, women writers have had to negotiate travel and ethnographic texts in relation *both* to disciplinarity and difference. Haraway and Star each document the difficulty for scientist women in negotiating the double code of discipline and gender. Taking Haraway's lead, I ask: "should we expect anything different from women than from men?" (*Simians* 82).

As I advance this question, I propose that Osa's account is both derivative of masculinist discipline and gendered as feminine narrative. Following Haraway's argument, "women who seek to produce natural knowledge . . . also must decipher a text, the book of nature, authored legitimately by men" (*Primate* 72). The implication, then, is that scientist women who enter the rhetorical contest of disciplinarity will have inherited masculine values and attitudes and must therefore accommodate an already gendered discourse. Further, the book of nature, Haraway reminds us, signifies women as difference. Thus scientist women will have to struggle with this difference in their attempt to prove their authority.

To explain the inherent difficulty for scientist women, Haraway borrows Shapin and Schaffer's term: "modest witness." In seventeenth-century laboratory science, "the capacity of experiment to yield matters of fact depended not only upon their actual performance but essentially upon the assurance" of a community of witnesses (Shapin 487). The witness, however, requires acceptance as provider of reliable testimony. As Shapin explains: "A man whose narratives could be credited as mirrors of reality was a 'modest man'; his reports should make that modesty visible" (494). This witness, in Haraway's terms, "is the legitimate and authorized ventriloquist for the object world, adding nothing from . . . his biasing embodiment" (*Modest* 24). The modest witness inhabits the unmarked category. As a man "whose only visible trait is his limpid modesty, he inhabited the culture of no-culture" ("Feminist" 431). In modern science, "only those who could disappear 'modestly' could really witness with authority rather than gawk curiously" (*Modest* 25). The scientist practices modesty to acquire self-invisibility and thus work objectivity and with authority at the site of action. Women were "left in the domain of culture and of society" ("Feminist" 431). Thus the woman scientist cannot speak for the object world because she is already subject. The woman scientist is embodied by her gender and thus has no access to unmarked culture. The scientist woman, always subjective and thus unable to inhabit the disembodied and unmarked culture of no culture, risks becoming merely invisible, absent from the scene of action. Star adds to Haraway's discussion by noting that the consolidated identity and disciplined activity of the modest witness produces multiple identities and invisible work for others. She then takes up the kind of witnessing that is possible for those who are not able to disappear modestly, but rather suffer from invisibility. Here is the witness who falls between categories, but stands in relation to both. Historically, the scientist woman has required a simultaneous unmarking and marking. As scientist, women must practice the conventions of self-invisibility thus inhabiting the unmarked category of the modest witness in

the "culture of no culture." And yet scientist women, who are embodied by the experience of being multiple and thus marginal, cannot pass or become pure.

The double code of discipline and gender becomes even more complexly linked when layered once more with the code of race. Haraway argues that while the modest witness inhabits an unmarked category, Englishness has much to do with the possibility for invisibility. She says that Englishness had much to do with the witness's race formation, as it was rooted in civility and nation. In Haraway's observation, the English virtue of modesty was practiced by appropriately civil men to enhance their epistemological authority, but the same virtue practiced by women simply removed them from the scene of action. Is it true, then, that scientist women can watch, but they can not bear witness? Both Haraway and Star warn about the dangers of assuming that identities are predetermined, rather than at stake and in the making.

The concept of the "modest witness" works to explain the activities of laboratories during the seventeenth century. I am interested in how such "modest witnessing" works in the African jungle during the early twentieth century. Who is able to witness, to inhabit an unmarked category, the culture of no culture, within the conditions of gender and race in Africa's interior? I argue that here the white scientist woman, even though marked by gender, manages to inhabit the unmarked category of race, a quite potent space in the culture of no culture. The prominent whiteness of the scientist woman in this case negotiates between marked and unmarked categories of race and culture. Osa, as scientist woman in the jungle, could and did disappear modestly by practicing self-invisibility in terms of her race. She could thus "really witness with authority rather than gawk curiously." And as such, she could at least fleetingly serve as the "legitimate and authorized ventriloquist for the object world, adding nothing from . . . [her] biasing embodiment" (*Modest* 24). Further, it may be modest femininity that renders whiteness

invisible. Through civic virtue of the feminine mind and body, whiteness is denied. Osa is able to make self-visible her gendered embodiment so as to render self-invisible her racial embodiment. Which is to say, at key moments for scientist women, the visibility of gender becomes a way to render the invisibility of race and thus to enter disciplinary discourse from the culture of no culture.

While Osa consistently reminds us of her femininity in matters of dress and decorum, she also makes these an inherent and thus transparent matter of race and civilization in the culture of no culture. That is, as Osa makes her feminine desire for dress and decorum visible, she makes her racial category self-invisible. She describes making a home on safari: "We covered the interior walls with rough, unbleached sheeting—pasting it on, wall-paper fashion, with a mixture of shellac and glue—and were rewarded with an ivory tone and dull soft texture that gave a very pleasing effect" (278). Osa seems to agree that the "true sphere' for the "nobler sex" is indeed the home. When making a domesticated home space in the wilds of the jungle, Osa presents her duties as perfectly "ladylike." And she participates in a rhetoric of rationality by which she accepts her conventional role as keeper of morals, protector of culture, and angel of the household. She continues to describe the rooms, boasting of a pink stuccoed bath and delighting in finding the color of clay in such a delicate shade. She adds, "in no time at all, of course, I had put frilled sash curtains at all the windows" (278). Thus Osa positions her rational, domestic space, vested with innate moral superiority, in the midst of this exotic wilderness. In these accounts, Osa inhabits the culture of no culture by domesticating and inhabiting a cultured space in the midst of the uncultured and exoticized jungle. Here, cultured femininity is the culture of no culture, a culture of objectivity, in an extreme exotic and uncultured wild. In a notable reversal, the gendered practice of home-making, "women's culture," somehow now symbolizes given, culture-free natural law.

Osa speaks with some authority, then, by acknowledging the primacy of her gender and consequently assuming the transparency or naturalization of her race. When Osa and Martin reach their destination and encounter indigenous people, Osa must balance her more feminine reactions with an objective recording of people and places. Osa participates in this quest with particularly feminine hesitations and reactions. She admits first that never before had she experienced so much chaos: "Some experiences can't be measured in actual time. This was one of them. " (154). She describes the scene briefly: "The barbarians milled about us, pushing angrily, shouting orders until we were deafened, and there was something in the voices of these savages that chilled me to the marrow" (154). Then began the "magnificent savage spectacle" as Osa describes in more detail: "Chanting, leaping, screaming, their eyes rolling back, and foam from their mouths spattering their gaudy, naked bodies, it might have been a scene of mass torture out of some inferno. I had felt, and now I was certain, that a sort of madness takes possession of primitive blacks under the hypnotic beat of their drums" (155). Notably, though, as she watches Martin set up his camera, she is amazed, "That I should be so frightened and he should be so cool and have the presence of mind in the face of what might turn out disastrously, held me, staring blankly" (154). Soon, though, Osa exclaims, "I can't stand any more of it. I can't!" (155). Her feminine qualities, thus, eventually come to reinstate a "civilized" and cultured response to the uncivilized activities of the native spectacle. She appeals, and Martin packs the equipment. Hours later, Osa is still shaking, not because she had been frightened, but rather because of "an instinctive horror of the savage orgy we had witnessed" (156). Her cultured reaction to the uncultured act satisfies a culture of no culture (which is Euro-American culture) and works thus to endorse disciplinary discourse about racial divisions in the structural alignment of race superiority. Because Osa reacts with proper modesty to the spectacle, she holds some privilege to witness.

There are, according to Pratt and Mills, certain travel subjects that have conventionally constrained women's writing. For example, discussions of cannibalism , as the archetype of everything monstrous, were too indelicate and thus unavailable to lady travelers (Mills 161). As noted, a dominant theme throughout *I Married Adventure* is the search for real evidence of cannibal practices. While Osa is constantly warned by colonial administrators and missionaries about the dangers of cannibal tribes, she and Martin remain committed to the scientific discovery and photographic record of cannibals and cannibal feasts. As such, then, Osa negotiates a determination with appropriate feminine alarm at this endeavor. She remains a "good sport" even while describing the "shudder creeping up her spine" when she first saw Nagapate:

> Then all heads turned, and there on the edge of the bush stood a figure so frightful as to be magnificent. His face, like those of the rest of the savages, was framed in a mass of greasy black hair and beard. A bone was thrust through the cartilage of his nose. He wore the large pandanus fiber clout, but there was a difference in his bearing—the difference of a man of conscious power. There was power in his height, in the muscles that rippled under his glossy black skin, in his great shoulders, in the line of his jaw. Two furrows, amazingly deep, lay between his brows, and his eyes showed intelligence, strong will and cunning. Here was a chief by every right of physical and mental superiority. (120).

In this detail, Osa treats Nagapate with a certain awe and desire mixed with repulsion that only emphasizes the potential danger, and thus highlights the threat of violence. Osa describes the other island inhabitants as radically uncivilized, saying: " . . . and there at the edge of the clearing we saw peering at us men whose black faces were so seamed and hideous, it was hard to believe they were men at all" (115). The inhabitants are imagined to exist beyond the realms of the human. If, as Star asserts, "power is about whose metaphor brings worlds together, and holds

them there" ("Power" 52), Osa exhibits disciplinary power by employing metaphor of the sexualized savage in a negotiation with her own feminine identity as modest witness.

Elsewhere, discipline and difference work as the scientist woman mediates between nature and Man. In these moments, "nature approaches man through white woman" (Haraway, *Primate* 149). The threat to Osa from these less-than-human savages carries an undercurrent of sexual tension in that: Osa's femininity becomes a sexual commodity threatened by black terror, and thus in need of white male protection. The imagined body of Nagapate and the space in which Osa and he meet become sites that expose the connection between male domination and racial power. The scene in which Osa recounts her meeting with the cannibals invites the reader to imagine the threat of black male sexual assault:

> Nagapate was not to be diverted, however, and caught me as I turned away. He took my hand and shook it . . . . At any rate, when I tried to withdraw my hand, he closed his fist hard upon it, and then began experimentally to pinch and prod my body. I choked back a scream and looked wildly toward Martin. His face was bloodless, and fixed in a wooden smile. (121-122).

At one point Martin attempts to step between Osa and Nagapate, and "returned look for look with the kingly savage" (121). But what finally secures Osa's safety is a British patrol boat that passed into a bay close to the bush clearing. Martin shouted "Man-O-War" and pointed to indicate the ship had come for him. He reminded Osa of the pistol she carried in her pocket and ordered her to walk confidently toward the ship. In the scene, Osa is released from physical threat and protected from sexual violence by powerful British colonial control. More importantly, perhaps, whiteness as a property is protected from black assault and racial integrity is preserved against eugenic pollution.

Osa's white female body becomes its own boundary object to be fought over. While her sexual vulnerability is literalized in this particular scene, for the most part Osa emphasizes her sexual integrity and safety in her dealings with natives. Elsewhere, then, Osa acts as another kind of mediary in the position of exchange between white male and black male bodies. At first encounters with native tribes, Osa engages in sexualized commerce, as it is she who traded tobacco, calico, knives, etc. In return, she often received yams, coconuts, and wild fruits. Martin says of the native gifts that the chiefs had recognized that Osa was the "boss of the expedition" and had used gifts to her as a "way of opening diplomatic relations" (134).

Being a woman and thus participating as witness in the mediation between a nature of no nature and culture of no culture, Osa is permitted to construct "native" women, who were primarily absent, or when present, symbolized by depravity and degradation. Osa says that she "had been puzzled all along at the complete absence of women and children. It seemed to be wholly a man's world. It wasn't until after we'd been at the village for hours that I saw the first one and then another woman peering at us from the edge of the clearing. They were the most miserable creatures I had ever seen" (140). Here, being marked as feminine but unmarked as white permits Osa to construct a scientific point of view grounded in both nature and culture. Frequently, Osa describes native women as hideous creatures and finds them to be objects of disgust. Other times, she emphasizes their wretched state as "daughters of Eve" (140) and expresses sympathy for their poor treatment. She notes for example that "as is the case with nearly all primitive people, a woman does not count in the scheme of things except as a slave, to do the work of the village and bear the children, and this with kicks and abuse for reward" (134). These details nevertheless demonstrate less an allegiance to her sister women, than superiority to the female savage. Later, Osa finds more delight in watching Tenggara women cooking food, weaving fiber, and caring for children: "And it pleased me very much as I watched these women

to see that while they did much of the hard work of the village, nevertheless they were spirited and independent and would tolerate no abuse either of themselves or their children" (177). As an anthropological witness, Osa adopts a dual identity as she negotiates between the marked category of gender and her unmarked category of race. She must practice modesty as gendered feminine and self-invisibility as raced with whiteness. In fact, by practicing the particular kind of civil and chaste modesty expected of the feminine gender, she is able to naturalize her whiteness. Of course, witnessing from a naturalized space of whiteness exoticizes Others.

Conclusion

Johannes Fabian notes that "the [anthropological] discipline 'remembers' that it acquired its scientific and academic status by climbing on the shoulders of adventurers and using their travelogues, which for centuries had been the appropriate literary genre in which to report knowledge of the Other" (87). However, while "travel writing never quite made it" (Geertz, *Works* 130) into the discipline, this "collective memory of a scientifically doubtful past acts as a trauma" precipitating the current "crisis" of representation (87). In looking to the past and the historical beginnings of anthropology as a discipline, Geertz reminds us that history "does not flow like some vast river catching up all its tributaries and heading toward some final sea or cataract, but as larger and smaller streams, twisting and turning and now and then crossing, running together for a while , separating again" (*After* 2). As such "it is necessary, then, to be satisfied with swirls, confluxions, and inconstant connections" (*After* 2). By focusing on Osa Johnson's text, *I Married Adventure*, which was associated both with an emergent scientific discipline and with popular consciousness as entertainment, the analysis brings to the forefront questions about the relationship between scientific knowledge and popular imagination—or scientific imagination and popular knowledge.

It is my contention that any analysis of how so-called science works must include an analysis of the complex, sometime complimentary and sometimes contradictory, relationship with aspects of popular culture. In this case, I argue that anthropology developed as an emergent discipline and later as a serious academic subject out of and therefore within the popular exigencies of a particular historical moment. As such its establishment as a discipline with its own academic domain of study must be articulated in terms of other categories termed "travel" or "adventure" or "romance." This kind of analysis will complicate questions perhaps most interestingly articulated by Geertz, when he poses: "Where has all the science gone?" and "What has become of objectivity?" and "What assures us that we have things right?" (*After* 2). He notes that anthropologists "have been shaken by a general loss of faith in received stories about the nature of representation" and are vexed with the question: Is it possible or is it an unplayable game? (*Works* 135). The only way to grapple with such questions, Geertz suggests, requires that anthropology own up to the fact that it has been and continues to be as much literary and fictional as scientific and factual[22].

The relationship between scientific and popular domains of anthropological knowledge in Osa's *I Married Adventure* is even more complex given what Susan Mills describes as the "largely different discourses of scientificity and femininity" (131). Mills argues, in fact, that "women's texts [were] not supposed to be 'scientific' and authoritative, but rather, supposed to be amateurish" (83). While certain kinds of disciplinary writing required "authorizing" rarely

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[22] The crisis of representation plays out in significant ways regarding the question of cannibalism as documented in ethnographic texts. Accounts of cannibalism, as Gananath Obeyesekere argues, complicate "the relationship between the fiction of ethnography and the ethnography in the fiction" (84). The particular myth of the cannibal draws attention to the ways in which anthropology has been dependent on an exotic Other and to the degree to which anthropology itself has created that exotic Other. William Arens has asserted that anthropology created cannibal cultures as specimens and spectacles for the popular imagination (55). Thus the

available to women, other kinds of extra-disciplinary writing required little authority and were thus in accord with feminine discursive conventions. As she notes, the work of women writers tended to remain at the level of the personal or autobiographical, as a distinctively feminine discursive element. Women writers were not given the same discursive possibilities as their male companions. They were seldom granted scientific merit. As was the case, women writers often adopted contradictory genres, conventions, and voices to authenticate their texts.

In *I Married Adventure*, Osa adopts autobiography, adventure, and ethnography to claim authority of the personal narrative, heroic stature of the travel account, and factual nature of a scientific report. As I have argued, throughout her text, Osa confronts what it means to be a white woman traveler and explorer, as she narrates personal, ethnographic, and anthropological knowledge of places and people in foreign worlds. As an "intrepid" adventurer and explorer, Osa both uses and subverts the gender and race codes to advance her own disciplined authority. The work of the modest witness in Haraway's account manages a "critical boundary between watching and witnessing, between who is a scientist and who is not, and between popular culture and scientific fact" (*Modest* 33). I believe that Osa succeeded only partially (and could not have done otherwise) at enacting a scenario of self-made invisibility. Because she attempted to adopt the "culture of no culture" required by the disciplinary discourse, she attempted to gain access to a space available to her by race, but unavailable to her because of gender. Thus her text is uneasily redescribed from scientific to popular account and back again.

Despite Osa's consistent denial that her text was fiction and her use of various travel and ethnographic writing conventions to exploit a means of assuring credibility and applying a veneer

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discipline emerged as both scientific and popular in well-established institutions as well as at public fairs and exhibitions.

of authenticity, her personal narrative seems more akin to the gendered act of autobiography than to the masculinist authority of ethnography. Even so, given the formations of anthropological discourse, Osa Johnson's travel writing ought not be studied in isolation from emergent ethnographic accounts. Nor should studies of emergent ethnographic accounts be studied in isolation from travel writing, like that of Osa Johnson's *I Married Adventure*, which is immanently associated in their public's consciousness with scientific enquiry.

CHAPTER 3

Congorilla: Of a Networked Collective

While the Johnsons' film *Simba* was being shown in the United States, Martin and Osa Johnson worked at acquiring sound equipment so that they might produce their first "talking" picture. During the production and release of *Simba*, the Johnsons worked side by side with scientists from the American Museum of Natural History, and now for the production of *Congorilla* they attained continued sponsorship from Museum trustees. Nevertheless, their film *Simba* was more closely aligned with the American Museum, since the research film was made under the direction of this institutional community of museum science. By contrast, *Congorilla* was now more closely aligned with cinema under the direction of Fox studios at the emergence of Hollywood commercial film. According to the Johnsons' biographers, Pascal James Imperato and Eleanor M. Imperato, while the Johnsons were always "fettered to some degree by the wishes of investors" this was "the first time that an established motion picture company financed their work and, as a result, had a say in the production" (153). In sum, "the Johnsons' arrangement with Fox represent[ed] a further evolution in the sponsorship of their motion picture productions" (153).

While the film *Simba* was aligned tightly enough with the Museum so as to be mapped by supporters onto a space inside science, *Congorilla* extended alliances outside the Museum so as to build more extensive coordination with areas of public and popular imagination. This is not to say, however, that *Simba* secured a fixed space within the boundaries of science. Or that *Congorilla* transgressed any precise boundary at the edges of science. Rather I believe that attention to the place of these films in the historical development of disciplinary science must contend with boundary-work in two seemingly orthogonal directions, at once propelling the films

inward toward more constricted scientific monopoly and propelling the films outward toward external relationships and extended frontiers. The fascinating thing about the film *Congorilla* is that it works precisely in tension between these two forces. It moves doubly, at once participating more intensely with disciplined science by participating in museum acquisition and exhibition and also more extensively with extra-disciplinary popularization in the visual display of ethnographic cinema.

In the previous chapters, I have articulated the complexly enacted relationship between an emergent anthropological discipline claiming to be "scientific" and cultural vehicles termed "popular." My argument throughout has been that the boundaries around the "scientific" and the "popular" in disciplinary practice and extra-disciplinary activity cannot be fixed. Rather these categories are drawn and redrawn, fluid and variable depending on specific historical and political moments. And, notably, these categories are only imaginatively recoupable, and only fleetingly accessible. To this point, the struggle to locate the Johnsons' work within or outside the gates of science has been frustrated by the ways in which this work participates in the seemingly disparate worlds of disciplinary science and popular culture as this boundary is constricted, expanded, protected, invaded, enforced, and usurped. As such I have treated their work as "boundary object" located multiply in the discrepant spaces of disciplinary science and popular culture. The struggle now to parse the Johnsons' hybrid work and locate it somewhere on the boundary between science and culture is likewise frustrated. Rather than reify this distinction, in this chapter I examine the boundary-work that links rather than demarcates museum exhibition and cinematic display. Because *Congorilla* participates in the collection of animal specimen for natural history museum exhibition and captures the native body for ethnographic display in cinema, the film is simultaneously working boundaries of science and culture in disciplinary science and extra-disciplinary popularization.

Congorilla is what Latour calls a "hybrid article" that sketches out "imbroglios of science, politics, economy, law, religion, technology, fiction" (*Modern* 2). My analysis of the film relies upon Latour's notion of "network." By treating *Congorilla* as a knot in a network of disciplined science and popular culture, I follow the "gestures" that tie pieces of science and the rest of culture tighter along the network rather than cut it away (*Pandora* 87). There are five of the gestures that must be mapped in order to reconstruct scientific discipline and the circulation of facts. These include: the mobilization of the world (in this case, the safari expedition and the museum site that mobilizes all the objects collected and assembled); the autonomization of discipline (in this case, the work of the museum as a scientific institution); the enrollment of alliances (in this case, the cooperation of the museum trustees and Fox film company); sensitivity to public representation (in this case, the public and popular audience); and the conceptual content or links and knots (in this case, the animal and human specimens). Latour demands, that "each of these five activities is as important as the others, and each feeds back into itself and into the other four" (*Pandora* 99). Absent any one of these gestures from the "collective," "science" will not hold. Haraway also insists on a network theory that "traces the stakes, alliances and action of a much-enhanced array of constituents and producers of what may count as fact" (*Modest* 270). And she describes this specific elaborate network of practice: "the social and technical apparatus of the colonial African scientific safari and the race-, class-, and gender-stratified labor system of urban museum construction organized hundreds of people over three continents and two decades" (*Modest* 236) to make natural history and anthropology.

In this chapter I place *Congorilla* as part of a "collective" by which science holds in what Latour describes as "the great book of nature" (*Pandora* 102). *Congorilla,* in the collective network of science, maps onto all five activities: mobilizing the world in expedition and exhibition, autonomizing the profession at the site of the museum as scientific institution,

enrolling alliances to fund and extend scientific work, caring for public representation of science, and solidifying conceptual content. The rest of this chapter will use the network apparatus advocated by both Latour and Haraway to place *Congorilla* among "the institutions, research projects, measuring instruments, publication practices, and circuits of money and people that made up the life sciences" and were thus "the machine tools that crafted 'race' as an object of scientific knowledge over the past 200 years" (Haraway, *Modest* 217).

Museum Collection and Cinematic Exhibition

I am interested in this chapter with how the Johnsons' *Congorilla* film footage participates in natural history and anthropological research method by participating in both collection and exhibition. The collection of objects on expedition and the work of research projects and subsequent exhibition at the site of the museum are tied in the cooperation of science. Because the boundaries of science and culture overlap and blur in practice, so too the consequent formations of museums and cinemas have overlapped and blurred, as have the types of research material collected, the kinds of publics enlisted, and the representational technologies enrolled. This participation seizes a new and important role for visual documentation in what counts as twentieth century science and film-making and in new strategies for scientific popularization.

Steven W. Allison-Brunnell reminds us that the collection of objects for exhibition and the work of research programs for factual authority are blurred both in practice and epistemology at natural history museums (77). Allison-Brunnell argues that because field exploration plays a "crucial role" in generating material for research data and for the museum, the privileged distinction between the amateur explorer and museum scientist cannot be easily or *a priori* formalized. And because the relationship between collection, research, and exhibition is

contingent, so is the relationship between amateur science, real science, and popularized science (78). The film *Congorilla* provides what Allison-Brunnell calls a "point of entry" to analyze the American Museum of Natural History's project to display nature and the consequent relationship between collection, research, and exhibition. Following Allison-Brunnell's line of argument, it would be on African safari where field exploration for collection fuses with collection for museum research, and museum research fuses with public exhibition and thus popular display. As such, it is the Johnsons' exploration activities, the collection of pictorial specimens for research practices and visual exhibition, that make the Johnsons' film *Congorilla* at once scientific and popular. The film *Congorilla* thus maps boundaries that align it with the epistemic authority of science, but also extends boundaries so that the frontiers of science move outward toward the cultural authority of popularization.

The material relation between field exploration and displayed collections is essential to the objective scientificity of anthropology. As explorer's trunks disgorge artifacts, anthropology becomes a science in possession of specimens. Nelias Dias reminds us that the relationships between collection, research, and exhibition blur in the work of authentication, fact-finding, and display. Dias argues that the collection of authentic objects, the emphasis on objective fact, and the strategies for visual documentation converge both to secure the status of anthropology as true science and create a cultural field for public exhibit. Dias first asserts that it was the collection of objects that raised anthropology to the status of science: "Collections were, then, closely associated with a perceived transformation of anthropology from being a speculative endeavor to having proper scientific status" (38). As she explains, "Since rich materials of study have accumulated in public museums and particular collections, it [anthropology] has become a trues science of observation" (39). As such, anthropological collection and anthropological science advance together. Further, the work of anthropological collection advances the anthropological

quest for exhibition spaces. Dias' argument most obviously refers to objects, but cinematic "capturing" of images is also a form of scientific data collection. (Take, for example, NASA's collection of computer-enhanced photographs, images of distant planets and systems that currently offer the best form of scientific data collection for astronomy, captured by the Hubble telescope). In terms of Latour's collective, *Congorilla* presents objects on film "in a form that renders them immediately useful" in writing the book of nature (102). Thus as *Congorilla* contributes to anthropological collections, it also creates a space for visual representations of anthropological science. Rather than a vulgarization of anthropological science, *Congorilla* simultaneously disciplines and popularizes scientific practice.

While on the Congo safari, the Johnsons intended to secure a few specimens of one or more species that could be utilized by museum for scientific study, and as such the film *Congorilla* participates in the collection of specimen for public exhibition. The story line of *Congorilla* takes the Johnsons from their preparations for their trip through scenes and now sounds of wildlife on African plains to the Ituri Forest and the Congo. The Johnsons traveled to the Ituri Forest with the objective of filming the Wambutti pygmies. They hoped to spend several months filming the pygmies in great numbers and even living in villages of the pygmies' own making. The Johnsons also traveled to the Virunga Volcano to visit the gravesite of Akeley and to film the gorillas that Akeley himself had encountered and filmed in that location. Not happy with the filming conditions at this location, however, they set off for Alimbongo, were they found more accessible gorillas and better methods for filming. Here the Johnsons managed to capture two young gorillas and arrange for their transport to the San Diego Zoo. In terms of Latour's collective, *Congorilla* presents objects on film "in a form that renders them immediately useful" in writing the book of nature (102). The film *Congorilla* was thus tensely but powerfully situated among the ambiguous and contested alignments between scientific museum exhibition and

popular cinematic representation. An analysis of this film, its plot structure, its marketing, and its public context will allow us to appreciate the extent to which it participated in boundary work of both constriction to science and expansion to culture.

Museum collection and exhibition share a lineage in the cabinet of curiosities. As the cabinets were repositories for scientific oddities and marvels, collection and display were part of the practice of very early modern science. Critical work on museum representation has recognized that "museums are about cannibals and glass boxes" (Ames 3). That is, "museums are cannibalistic in appropriating other peoples' material for their own study and interpretation, and they confine their representations to glass box display cases" (Ames 3). As it is difficult to separate professional anthropology from its preacademic predecessors, so to it is difficult to separate the modern museum from its predecessors. Again, there is no easy progression to be documented as private collections in cabinets of curiosities gradually emerged as organized public museums with anthropologically designed exhibits. The modern museum's early history must be traced not only to the cabinets of curiosity, but also to travelling menageries, circus side shows, world fairs, amusement parks, and midways. Even a more current genealogy of the museum must recognize the many ways in which "the activities of fairs, museums, and exhibitions interacted with one another" (Bennett 5). For example, natural history museums throughout America "owed many of their specimens to the network of animal collecting agencies through which P.T. Barnum provided live species for his various circuses, menageries, and dime museums" (5). The time period between the years 1880-1920 has been called "the museum age" (Jacknis 75). During "the museum age," newly established scientific institutions like the American Museum of Natural History continued the curio tradition of collection and display. Modern public museums born during this time period, in the Age of Imperialism, have since been a center for the politics of representation. Public science museums also developed in the

autonomization of a disciplined profession by establishing the means, in Latour's words, "to keep the crowds of colleagues together" in institutions and organizations (103).

From 1923 to 1929, the Johnsons enjoyed the patronage of the American Museum of Natural History. Notably, the cabinet of curiosity is unmistakably invoked by the Johnsons' Congo safari with consequent collection of both live and camera, animal and human specimens and in their film *Congorilla* with its fascination for the subject of Congo gorilla primates and native peoples.

The Johnsons were closely involved with plans at the American Museum to construct a proposed African Hall. Carl Akeley, a renowned naturalist with the American Museum, had hoped to build an African Hall that would capture Africa in every detail. According to Martin, Akeley planned the Hall from the beginning with this sentiment: "Everything that has been done in the American Museum of Natural History in the way of African exhibits must be thrown out and completely discarded; we must start all over again" ("Camera Safaris" 48). Akeley and the American Museum of Natural History developed a quite elaborate network of amateur and professional collectors to enhance access to research materials, including cadaver, live, and camera specimens. Akeley himself intended to go to Africa and collect specimens from every animal group. But he would need assistance in the way of a taxidermist, a landscape painter, and an accessory to collect sample rocks, trees, bushes, grass, etc. He also needed photographs.

Akeley had spent time among the mountain gorillas surrounding the Virunga volcanoes, intent to capture a gorilla for the Hall, and had filmed the gorilla trip in a piece entitled *Meandering in Africa*. However, Akeley admitted to being an amateur cameraman and thus enrolled the Johnsons for assistance. Akeley had hoped that Martin Johnson could secure

pictures of the animals before they were skinned—"every contour, muscle and joint, every posture at rest and in motion" (M. Johnson, "Camera Safaris" 48). He hoped to secure films that would provide cinematic access to animal behaviors and represent a true picture of wildlife in Africa, but also bring welcomed publicity and profits for the Museum.

Indeed, Martin and Osa Johnson succeeded at using photographic apparatus as means for gaining visual display of specimens and making authentic but theatrical motion pictures of Africa. In addition, they even helped to secure cadaver specimens for the Hall of African Mammals and live specimens for public zoos. Akeley advised much of the Johnsons' filmic work, and it was he who encouraged the couple to photograph gorillas in the Congo before the animals faced extinction. Unfortunately, Akeley died in November of 1926, leaving the Johnsons without their primary advocate with the Museum. The Museum's direct involvement with the Johnsons' films ended in 1928 with their safari to Serengeti. Even so, the Johnsons returned to Africa to film in the Congo and remained loyal supporters of what eventually became the Akeley African Hall. In fact, F. Trubee Davison, who was appointed president of the American Museum in 1933, joined the Johnsons in Africa to acquire additional elephant specimens for the Hall. With the Johnsons as hosts, Davison shot the five elephants that now inhabit the centerpiece of Akeley's African Hall. In an article written for *Natural History*, Martin bears witness to the accuracy of all the exhibits in the Hall: "We have visited this place at least a dozen times during the past sixteen years and know the scene as reproduced in the American Museum is perfect in every detail" ("Camera Safaris" 53).

Even without Akeley's personal involvement or the Museum's direct support, when the Johnsons made their fourth African expedition, they did have the kind of success from *Simba*, as well as from magazine articles and newspaper or newsreel accounts of their adventures, that

admitted them into the rank of scientists and celebrities. The Johnsons built alliances, enrolling groups, as Latour describes, "that previously wouldn't give each other the time of day" (*Pandora* 103). According to Latour: "Immense groups, rich and well-endowed, must be mobilized for scientific work to develop on any scale, for expeditions to multiply and go farther afield, for institutions to grow, for professions to develop, for professional chairs and other positions to open up" (*Pandora*104). By the time the Johnsons were ready to return to Africa to make a sound picture, they had managed to maintain a good working relationship with the Museum as well as the financial support of the Fox Hollywood studio. They made the first sound motion picture produced entirely in Africa without enhancement by Hollywood stages. While other filmmakers were now entering Africa[23] and sound was being added to silent features, no one had yet completed a sound picture entirely in Africa. The Johnsons were thus the first to do so. They recorded the roar of the Nile, the bellows of hippos, and the calls of gorillas.

Disciplined Expedition and Ethnographic Display

The introductory titles to the film *Congorilla* define "Congo" as "a land where man and beast still live in the Garden of Eden" and "Gorilla" as a "primeval monster" that lurks on the Dark Continent, threatening great peril and even death. The double objective of filming pygmies in the Ituri Forest and gorillas in the Congo—"the smallest of men and the hugest of apes"—offers what one review described as "the neatest contrast." Obviously, the contrast is both artful and real. That is, the native and the animal are literally—materially and semiotically—linked. The very title of the film *Congorilla*, offers an unsettling mix of clinical objectivity and ghoulish perversity in the visualization of both human and animal specimen. While Martin claims to be studying the pygmies and thus clearly stages himself with notebook in hand, and while he

[23] Of note, filmmakers Paul L. Hoefler and W.S. Van Dyke were working from Hollywood on location in Africa for the first time.

claims to be searching for forest gorillas about which science knew little, this film is the most sensational of his work, as it is filled with references to "three-foot humans and eight-foot monsters." *Congorilla*, has been described as both science and spectacle, at times granted authority and praised for its achievements, at others mapped out in the image of burlesque. The Martin and Osa Safari Museum describes the Johnsons' Congo expedition: "In 1930-1931 they safaried to the Belgian Congo where they made the first films ever taken of the forest Gorilla and the most extensive pictorial survey of the pygmies of the Ituri Forest." The film was marketed in its own time as a much more spectacular event. One bill refers to "weird jungle life" in a "real-life adventure thriller" with a "grotesque race of humans" and piercing, penetrating sounds "that humans have never heard." Because *Congorilla* occupied a border zone between museum and cinema as both documentation and display, it easily promoted the theatric construction of both an empiricist and imaginative human Other and gorilla primate, one grounded in both anthropological and popular notions of the primitive and primordial.

The Johnsons' film work has been differently interpreted in the context of different genre expectations. Jay Ruby, for example, describes the stuff as adventure drama and places it in this generic frame: "Hollywood developed its own traditions of Asian, African, and South Sea Island adventure drama that were increasingly at odds with anthropological concerns and accurate portrayals" (9). Arguing otherwise, however, Brian Taves says of the Johnsons' films: "While containing an adventurous aspect through the concerns of exploration, living in untamed lands, or survival against a hostile nature, the use of documentary form and the realist tradition places these films in a category distant from the Hollywood fictional formulas [of adventure movies]" (54). This uncertainty is rooted in the material practices of early film and museum work. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century two developments coincided: the invention of the camera and the emergence of early American anthropology. Professional photographers under auspices

of commercial studios and/or scientific institutions undertook most of the early documentation of foreign places and peoples. The work of these photographers was thus in a broad sense both entertaining and educational, cultural and anthropological, popular and scientific. The photographic records were widely marketed to the public as well as to academic anthropologists. The records influenced Euro-American ideas about Others and participated thoroughly in fostering an emergent anthropological discipline. Certainly, the Johnsons' later films, like *Congorilla*, must be situated at an even more perilous boundary between adventure entertainment and ethnographic cinema, as the film arguably can be mapped even more securely as ethnographic science and also more steadily as popular entertainment.

Because photography seemed to produce astonishingly authentic visual images of Other people, photographs were collected by researchers in anthropological institutions. In sum, whether or not photographs were created by anthropologists for specifically anthropological purposes (and this was so rarely the case), they provided valuable data for early anthropologists. During the first two to three decades of the twentieth century, a body of documentary ethnographic photography larger than ever before was being produced as the anthropological discipline was developing into a fully professionalized pursuit. From the 1930s onward disciplined anthropology sought the authority and prestige of science that would distinguish it from explorers, adventurers, travelers, and other rivals. Still, only a few ethnographic films undertaken by trained anthropologists were produced during this time. Rather, as Jean Rouch comments, 1930s cinematic art and industry became "cannibalistic": "It was a time for exoticism, and Tarzan, a white hero among black savages, was not far away" (84). Not until the 1950s did ethnographic film become a part of American anthropology as an institutionalized scientific field with codified methods and recognized specialists. Nevertheless, identification with science has

always been and remains deviant, allowing various practitioners to bolster their authority by claiming the status of science.

As such, what we have in early ethnographic photography is "a most perplexing form of cinema, occupying a position equally marginal to documentary film and cultural anthropology" (Ruby 2). Indeed, as Ruby acknowledges, "[ethnographic film] seems to defy easy categorization, causing interminable debates about its parameters" (2). One question Ruby asks pertaining to this debate: "If ethnographic film is supposed to have something to do with ethnography, then where do films produced by nonethnographers fit?" (27). Most historians and theorists of ethnographic film recognize that if a historical account of ethnographic film is limited to research films made by scientists, this history would be incomplete. Emile De Brigard acknowledges that study of human culture across the globe "would be severely hampered if all commercial and sponsored films were excluded" (18). In fact, museums and universities often entered into association with commercial film producers in order to increase visibility and pursue profit. As such, De Brigard notes, explorer films that enjoyed great popularity in the 1920s and 1930s, like those of Martin and Osa Johnson, also bolstered visibility and profitability for the Museum.

In part, my own response to Ruby's question rests on reframing that question: What are we to do with films that claim to have ethnographic authority at a historically specific time before nonethnographers and ethnographers could be professionally distinguished? The more interesting question, then, it seems to me, is not whether early film was "ethnographic" by our standards, but rather, whether these practitioners of film not trained in ethnographic filmmaking succeeded, nevertheless, at distinguishing their venue as ethnographic. Or, perhaps, more to the point, how did practitioners discipline film making? how did practitioners succeed at ethnographic filmmaking by working within professional, nonprofessional, and popular networks consisting of

disciplined anthropology, public museum, and commercial theater? and what difference does it make? After all, ethnographic filmmaking had been a "haphazard affair," "never employed systematically or enthusiastically by anthropologists" and, rather, tended to be "by-products of other endeavors" (MacDougall 116). Nevertheless, the relevant questions are broader: What sort of cultural texts are popular ethnographic films? What significance have they had for science and for culture (or science as culture)? What shared features and mutual relationships between scientific anthropology and popular film are discernable?

Ethnographic films may be categorized, as Peter Ian Crawford (1992) suggests, according to content, form, and audience: 1) unedited film footage; 2) research films edited for specialists; 3) documentary films edited for both non-specialized and specialized audiences; 4) documentary television programs edited for a wide, non-specialized audience; 5) education films edited for instruction in classroom or community contexts; 6) non-fiction films including journalistic reports, newsreels, travelogues; 7) fiction films and drama documentaries that treat anthropological subject matter (74). Of course, as Crawford points out, the boundaries between these categories are fluid and in fact, "any one film may well fall into several categories" (74). One feature remains crucial among these categories:

> Early filmmakers went into the field with the most advanced equipment available to them and filmed whatever they wanted with little regard for the sensibilities of their subjects. Their sole objective was to collect images and make a film that would be both scientifically objective and interesting to anthropologists and audiences at home. (Asch 197).

The value of ethnographic film to anthropology has been conceived of as research technique, means of publication, vehicle for popular myth, and medium by which a Western gaze fixes upon the lives of subalterns. In mapping out a history of ethnographic cinema, Andre Bazin (cited

frequently as exemplary theoretician of early cinema) in his essay "Cinema and Exploration" traces the development of the ethnographic film from Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922), "still the outstanding example," to the Johnsons' *Congorilla* (1927) and the culmination, or disintegration, as it may be, in the "shameless" search for the exotic in W.S. VanDyke's *Tarzan* and Cooper and Schoedsack's *King Solomon's Mines*. According to this early history, the contrast between Flaherty and Cooper, for example, in their attempts to present serious or fictionalized anthropological data is significant. That is, if Flaherty and Cooper work as models for early ethnographic film, Flaherty epitomizes an inspired prototype while Cooper represents a degenerated genre. While there was not at this time an identifiable, disciplined ethnographic film practice congruent with what we might recognize today, in this early history, the Johnsons' film *Congorilla* charted a space, sharing ground of overlap with both disciplined science and mass entertainment.

Haphazard By-Product: *Congorilla* as Adventure Film and Ethnographic Cinema

Martin and Osa Johnson, having just finished *Simba* for the American Museum of Natural History, with the express approval of that institution's scientific community, continued to make films with the confident authority of science behind them. The affiliation with the museum was a claim for affiliation with science. That is, because the Johnsons had secured some legitimacy as "scientists" through their professional Museum work, they continued to use motion picture film in the name of scientific inquiry. The Johnsons retained their legitimacy as participants in science because of the quality and quantity of their previous film work and because of their rhetorical commitment to scientific endeavor. As such, even their late film *Congorilla* was coded within a discourse of ethnographic science. In part, the Johnsons were able to produce photographic images that continued to work as visual evidence and authentic record of vanishing cultures. Martin insists his film shall document a year and a half of serious

photography, "as well as to the study of the extremely interesting natives and animals of the forest" ("Our" 51). An advertisement for the film *Congorilla* headlines: "Man's Courage, Science, and Industry Given Acid Test in Producing 'Congorilla,' Latest Movie Taken by Chanute People in Exploring Africa." An article authored by Martin Johnson while filming on safari to be printed as a companion piece to the film *Congorilla* offers this introduction: "Martin Johnson tapped out this article in his tent on the edge of the Ituri Forest—land of pygmy life, animal and human, in the Belgian Congo. Further articles are on the way. In them will be told the story of Mr. Johnson's discoveries, particularly as they relate to the little-known pygmies and their almost wholly unknown land" ("Little" 35). The article begins with a short professional note: "In our study of the vanishing wild life in Africa, Mrs. Johnson and I have photographed thousands of the creatures that dwell in the forests, mountains, and waters of this mysterious continent. Most of our subjects have been the four-footed denizens of the African jungle haunts, but we have also made pictorial records the age-old ways of many tropical savages" ("Little" 35). This trip, Martin says elsewhere, "if we do discover anything new, we feel sure it will be in the form of pygmy life" ("Our" 49). The references to "discoveries" and "studies" and "records" neatly appropriate the discourse of science. In the collection expedition, discovery, study, and record of specimen serve to assert an alliance with science.

Martin Johnson continues to describe in writing what will later appear on film, noting three photographic events from this trip that "stand out as unusual in the history of game photography" ("Little" 35). First, he describes filming a pack of wild dogs from within twenty feet when a group of giraffes suddenly appear. The wild dogs chased the giraffes into the woods, and the occurrence offered "a memorable sight and a rare pictorial opportunity" ("Little" 35). Second, he details the filming of a large herd of Grant's gazelles. He was able to get close enough, he says, to use a four-inch lens, adding: "I have photographed thousands of gazelles, but

never before found these shy and lovely subjects so approachable" ("Little" 35). Finally, he talks of filming a newborn baby giraffe. According to Martin, the creature was only one-half hour old and was attempting to "toddle" for the first time. Martin and Osa Johnson have by now secured their images as proper explorers.

As the film *Congorilla* opens, the drum music and dramatic images of wild life set the now familiar scene for exploration and adventure in "scientific expedition." One opening title refers to the "Dark Continent" as a "land of hardship" where "Peril and Death" threaten any field expedition, but nevertheless "lure the adventurous spirit of the explorer." The first minutes also claim for *Congorilla* a documentation of "the greatest jungle expedition of all time." The first sequences show zebra, giraffes, lions, hippos, elephants, and crocodiles—all accompanied by live sound and edited commentary. These sequences are typical of documentary films produced for public science education, as Martin provides spectacular views with factual information about each animal group. While filming at Lake Nakuru, for example, Martin photographs flamingos. He films their flight in slow motion, noting that there are so many birds that those in the center of the lake cannot find the wingspan to take flight until those around the perimeter have already done so. He also tells us that the birds eat a miniscule life found in the lake water, and he queries as to how the lake can develop a sufficient quantity of the organism to keep so large a number of birds alive. Martin films spectacular scenes of elephants and provides a dramatic look at crocodiles. He informs us that the crocodiles are the largest reptile on earth, measuring 18 to 20 feet long and weighing up to 200 pounds. In essence, these sequences are by now conventional icons of educational and popular safari films. The intertitles, however, again reveal the spectacular and mythical nature of this production. The land is described as beautiful scene "such as might have existed in the days of the Dawn of Life." The rhino is described as "the ugliest, the

most vicious and the worst tempered brute that came out of the Ark" and the hippo is described as a "monster river-horse, the behemoth of Scripture."

The film breaks and continues with the narrative at the point where Martin and Osa reach the Ituri Forest. Martin tells viewers that deep in this forest live the pygmies. He assures viewers that "no big people live here." Only these "funny little savages." The narration is accompanied by picture footage of monkeys as well as indigenous peoples. This introduction reflects the scientific and popular tradition of imagining African savages as a "monstrous race." Indeed the monster in various manifestations has long been the subject of both scientific and fantastic representation. In fact, as Gustav Jahoda documents, "the pygmies are among the most ancient of the monstrous races" (31). Again, on an evolutionary scale from man to beast, the pygmy race was accorded the status of "man-like beast" (33). As late as the eighteenth century empirical anatomy study concluded, according to Jahoda, that the pygmy was "not a man, but an intermediate animal between man and monkey" (36). Notably, the categorization of the pygmy as an ape-like hybrid monster resulted in widespread belief throughout the eighteenth century that the pygmy was just a fictitious creature. Not surprisingly, however, those who believed in the existence of pygmies continued to circulate documented cases of this creature, so that well into the middle of the nineteenth century, belief in the pygmy as a freakish ape-like human with tail persisted. The mythic and mysterious nature of the pygmy race continued to invite speculation as to the monstrosity and ape-likeness of these humans well before and after this film was produced (Jahoda 92).

Martin describes walking for five days through the forest without finding a single pygmy settlement. As he searches the forest, he acknowledges that most viewers will have heard of the pygmy race. He assures viewers that these people are not "dwarfs," but really are "little people

with features symmetrical in every respect." Once arriving at a village, Martin reports the pygmies to be "cheerful, trusting, and not at all warlike." As such, his study of these people begins almost at once, as he and Osa measure the tallest pygmy to be 4 feet and 1 inch tall. Martin's treatment of his pygmy specimens tends to be contradictory in that Martin at once enforces and debunks the myth of pygmy as "monster." Here for example, while he perhaps debunks the image of the pygmy as monster, he nevertheless exaggerates the strange, bizarre, weird characteristics of the native peoples. Elsewhere, the radical difference of the pygmy race seem to reinforce the association of the pygmy with hybridity in terms of childlike mentality and ape-like physicality, and thus with monsterlike primordiality.

Martin continues to note that during their seven months in the village, at least three babies were born. He observes that the babies were the same size as a "civilized baby" when they were born. Martin reports that pygmy babies appear to grow until they are about 10 years of age "and then all development stops so that an old pygmy of 70 years is still a child of 10, both physically and mentally." Martin's description conforms with nineteenth and early-twentieth century scientific theory about the child-likeness of the native. Authorized scientific theory proposed a notion of "arrested development" associated with "biogenic law." In this widely-accepted and validated theory, the development of savage races was believed to have been arrested at an early stage. As Jahoda states, "the biogenetic formula that ontogeny repeats phylogeny was alluring, owing to the apparent facility with which it could be applied to all manner of spheres." Indeed, he says, "it became well known far beyond the range of specialists," and it is likely that many who referred to the child-likeness of savages had been influenced by it (164). The popular image of the child-like savage began to spread widely by the middle of the nineteenth century, and continued well into the twentieth century. Disciplined science provided fodder for this popular conception of the "native." But so too, however, popular conceptions

survived and worked as a useful tool for science. Clearly, then, the child-likeness trope was readily at hand for Martin to use to make ethnographic sense of the "weird" and thus inferior Other of the pygmy race.

In the first moments of the pygmy sequence, then, *Congorilla* borrows from anthropological discourse and reassembles for popular imagination, themes of ape-likeness and child-likeness of indigenous peoples. Bolstering the status of *Congorilla* as scientific artifact for its popular audience, Martin is seen in the film talking with individual pygmies, expressing his intent to "study" large numbers of them in their forest homes, and scribbling in what looks to be a field notebook. The image of Martin as jungle explorer and field ethnographer coincide here, in this brief but vital footage. The reception of this film as authentic and ethnographic was likely further enhanced, again, by the written article Martin submitted prior to circulating his filmed production. In this text, Martin prefaces by citing his plans to become acquainted with pygmies, "these primeval forest dwarfs" ("Little" 35). Up front, Martin summons a notion of the anthropological monstrosity, which works at the space of collision between past and present in ethnographic time. The article thus links anthropology with exploration in this "scientific expedition." Martin later notes having written in advance to a Baron van Zuylen about his "project of studying the Ituri pygmies" and explains that the baron "had been kind enough to gather information for me from the natives" ("Little" 45). That information lead the Johnsons to a location that "promised good material for pygmy study" ("Little" 46). The Piligbo village offered them "the very thing [they] had come to the Congo to study" ("Little" 48). According to Martin, "some sixty pygmies were gathered there in the bright sunshine, dancing and singing around two tom-tom players" ("Little" 48).

The first piece of Martin's "study" provides a physical description of the pygmy race: "Their skin was lighter than that of the big savages, and their bodies were more perfectly formed. Their strong chest development and broad shoulders gave them the appearance of diminutive pugilists" ("Little" 48). More detail of an individual pygmy creates this image: "His hair was thick and kinky, his nose large and flat, his body very hairy, and his physique perfect. His eyes were large and staring, and his mouth turned up at the corners as if to grin" ("Little" 46). The pygmies are procured here as freakish specimens for anthropological science. As Martin continues to write about the pygmies, he offers various ethnographic observations about language, housing, government, etc. He notes, for example, that the pygmies indigenous to the Ituri Forest speak a language that is a mixture of Kilese, Kimbuba, and Babira. Notably, both he and Osa could understand the language, Martin says, because of its similarity to Swahili. As for housing, Martin tells readers:

> They gather poles the size of a bamboo fishing rod, drive the ends into the damp ground, bend the tops toward the center, and tie them together in a cagelike frame. This they cover with leaves—all but a low opening through which they can dart in and out. The architecture of these arbors suggests a miniature haystack. ("Little" 113).

Martin adds that they "can throw up a village in less than one day" and says that they never stay in one place very long, but rather move around the forest. He notes that the largest village he saw "numbered one hundred and fifty inhabitants" ("Little" 113). The villages were generally governed by a young chief, and heredity had no part in the governing system. The relationship the pygmies have with the "big people" is described as slave-like: "they are at the back and call of the big people" ("Little" 114). Martin reports that the pygmies are virtually dependent on their masters for food, utensils, and weaponry. Finally, he speculates here that "far from resenting

their state of bondage, they accept it cheerfully . . . " ("Little" 114). Elsewhere the pygmies are described as "the happiest people on earth" and their lives described as "utopian" ("Little" 35).

Indeed, then, these ethnographic details are not presented without racial ideologies of both science and culture. Martin's text, expectedly, applies the same ape-like and child-like tropes that mark the film picture, as these advance both scientific representation and popular imagination. Upon first visiting the pygmy village, Martin refers to "this group of strange little savages with the wide, startled eyes" ("Little" 48). He describes an elder pygmy named Deelia as a little whiskered man who weighed maybe sixty pounds and "was as agile as a monkey" ("Little" 46). In fact, Martin says of Deelia that he was "as adroit in climbing trees and swinging from tree to tree as any young monkey" ("Little" 48). Upon seeing few more pygmies, Martin describes these as "little wild-eyed creatures that seemed ready to bolt into the forest at any moment" ("Little" 47). But after spending some time in the village with a large group, Martin softens his description a bit, referring to them as "Nature's most unspoiled children" in part because "their outlook on life is that of a sunny ten-year-old" ("Little" 48). Describing them now as "carefree little nomads" however Martin creates an image of them as "happy little people' who "were as joyful as children at their first circus" ("Little" 114). However, in the end Martin reminds us that the "childlike pygmies" are "blithe little creatures" who have "absolutely no idea of providing for the future" as "they make nothing and grow nothing" ("Little" 114).

These kinds of putdowns, marked not only by scientific racism but also by industrial capitalism, are woven throughout Martin's text and appear even more frequently and with harsher manifestation in the film *Congorilla*. When filming the Mbuti pygmies, Martin resorts to stock vaudevillian racial gags. Several of these gags involve the introduction of some Euro-American piece of culture, most often tobacco. When Martin gives cigarettes to a group of Mbuti, he says:

"Now smoke your heads off. I hope you get sick." The Mbuti are filmed with the cigarettes so that they cough almost in choreographed synchronicity, and then continue to smoke. Later two Mbuti are offered one of Martin's cigars. Martin says, "Let me see you smoke it." Then he retreats from the scene and the Mbuti are filmed at length as they attempt with some difficulty to light the cigar. Eventually Martin must help so that "they could smoke happily ever after." Another scene offers a different gag when one Mbuti accepts a gift balloon, blows it up, and is surprised when it eventually bursts. So the Mbuti are ridiculed in the film because of their curiosity. These parodic scenes constructed out of ethnocentrism assumed the native's ignorance. Rather than monstrous now, the Mbuti are portrayed as merely pathological, a category presenting less threat to the white man but maintaining white superiority. There are then additional two scenes filmed with Osa that are equally repellent. In one, she sings "yes, we have bananas" as a very large pile of them are collected as food for the Mbuti. Next, after filming a Mbuti welcome celebration and dance, she uses her phonograph to play a jazz record and tries to teach the Mbuti to dance to this "modern" music. These jokes at the expense of the Mbuti continue to emphasize racial contrast and racial superiority. The jokes are obviously meant to amuse, and in that effort the Mbuti are meant to appear naïve and silly. Finally, a Mbuti wedding includes a groom who is almost "out of his mind" with desire for the young woman who will be his bride. After the ceremony, the celebration includes dancing that, in Martin's thinking, becomes very "boisterous." Here the unbridled lust of the black savage is pejoratively highlighted, once again as pathological. In this film, the supposed authentic ethnographic material is consistently marked by contrived stereotypes and racial put-downs. Again, the anthropological and popular conceptions of the native Other link science and cinema.

Scientific Collection, Evolutionary Racism, and Popular Imagination

Once Martin and Osa completed what they thought was a sufficient film record of the Mbuti pygmies, they moved on to Mount Mikeno, where they hoped to film the gorillas that Akeley had described to them. In the 1930s when the Johnsons were making their film record of gorilla habits, not much was known about the animals other than various tales from tourists and game hunters. These tales constructed images of the gorilla as vicious and violently dangerous, likely to attack human beings and even rumored to have raped women and eaten children. Akeley had hoped to debunk these popular beliefs, as his limited observation suggested that the gorilla was in fact a quite amiable and mild creature, only aggressive when provoked by human hunters. The climax of the film *Congorilla* is described by the title: "Off on our greatest adventure to the mountain domain of the monster man-like ape that for years baffled the scientist, the explorer, and the cameraman." Martin and Osa thus use some of the contradictory accounts of scientists, explorers, and cameramen in their film, alternatively taking poetic license to describe the animals as gentle giants and applying rhetorical embellishment to highlight the potential danger in approaching and risk of photographing the apes.

In an article written for the *New York Times* published while filming in the Congo, Martin claims to have "acquired a good deal of new knowledge about gorillas, and many things we learned at first hand were directly opposite to what we had been told about them before our safari started" ("Trailing" 23). He finds that gorillas "are not dangerous" and asserts that "a good many misconceptions about them need to be cleared up" ("Trailing" 23). He reports then:

> Certainly no one ever provoked gorillas more than I did, first and last, in trying to photograph them. Often they resented my following them into their private domain. Often they turned and asked me, in no uncertain sign language, to go

> away and let them alone. Sometimes they rushed toward me. But not one of them ever charged home. ("Trailing" 23).

He completes his observations by telling readers, "I have now seen many hundreds of gorillas, and my conclusion is that except when it is excited and thinks it is in danger the gorilla is as peaceful as any wild animal, and more so than most" ("Trailing" 23).

Eventually the Johnsons moved from Mikeno to the Alumbongo Hills west of the Virunga Range for better filming conditions. Martin says the safari crew proceeded very cautiously, as the brutes were known to be quite large, not infrequently weighing over 500 pounds and could attack with ample strength to tear a man from limb to limb. Soon they came upon a clearing and noticed bamboo shoots they knew to be food for wild gorillas. Here the film shows a what Martin refers to as a "lucky" encounter with a gorilla group. Martin says there were twelve to fifteen apes altogether, but the animals were so scattered that he could not photograph more than three at a time. He claims that his crew had been undetected and so were able to film the domestic life of a gorilla family. Martin films the apes eating dinner, "a salad of bamboo shoots." And he catches a youngster playing at pulling up small trees and bushes before his mother embraces him. Next, he finds an "old man" gorilla and films the sound of his screams, noting that those came both in play and in quarrel. As two gorillas either play or quarrel with each other, Martin describes their screams as similar to those of a "hysterical woman." Martin narrates a supposed "sudden disruption" as the wind shifts and the gorillas catch human scent. He notes his initial worry that the animals might attack, but films as they run away instead.

Now, however, Martin notes that two young gorillas had been left behind. This presents an opportunity to capture the animals. And indeed the capture is filmed. The two animals sought refuge in the trees, but were easily secured when the trees were cut down. The two were

immediately tied at their hands and feet. And here Martin, expressing pity for them, claims to think about releasing the pair. Now, though, he observes that one gorilla is a male and the other a female, and informs that no such couple had ever existed in captivity. As such, Martin claims the gorillas would increase public knowledge about the animals and that the prospect for breeding the gorillas would be of value to science. Therefore, while Martin seems to ignore his conservationist commitment in this case, in fact, this capture is folded into a larger preservationist agenda. Martin assures that the gorillas would be placed at the San Diego zoo, where they would live out long and happy lives.

The Johnsons report the capture of the gorillas in a wire appearing on the first page of the *New York Times*: "The half-grown gorillas are the largest ever captured. After further research, we expect to find that they are a new species. We saw hundreds of them" ("Three" 1). The acquisition of specimen as evidence and data legitimized anthropology as a true science purported to supply the material resources for objective, methodological inquiry and thus profoundly disciplined investigation. In fact, the Johnsons collected and brought back to the United States a cheetah, two monkeys, two chimpanzees, and three gorillas. Primates became particularly attractive as specimens for anthropological research in the twentieth century as the close relation of primates o humans offered evidence for an evolutionary paradigm. Both the visual primate display in *Congorilla* and the live gorilla specimens at the zoo provided anthropologists and the public alike an encounter with the evolutionary past.

In *Primate Visions*, Donna Haraway describes primatology thus: "As subjects of science, living monkeys and apes were in labs and public or private collections, dead ones were in cabinets and dioramas in universities and museums. Expeditions to the 'wild' were made primarily to collect animals for circuses, the pet trade, medical research, zoos, or museums, and

only incidentally to record the lives of the animals in their own worlds" (24). While, "in its ethnographic dimensions for animals and scientists, 'the field,' later to become such a potent scene of primatology, was only dimly discerned in the first half of the twentieth century" (24), primates nevertheless have always engaged the interest of those who study them and the public alike. She asserts that monkeys and apes "have modeled a vast array of human problems and hopes" (2). Most of all, she says, "monkeys and apes have been subjected to sustained, culturally specific interrogations of what it means to be 'almost human'" (2). As such, she argues that "monkeys, apes, and human beings emerge" inside elaborate stories about the relation between animal and human" (5). These narratives connected apes closely to "primitives" and thus treated the "primitive" as object for study in the sciences of man, including both primatology and anthropology (153).

Not only does the *New York Times* report that the Johnsons returned to the United States with live gorillas received by the New York zoo, but also reports that "the Johnsons also brought back two black Uganda boys" ("Johnsons Return" 16). The Uganda natives accompanied the Johnsons so that they might care for the animals. A second article confirms that Manuel and Diosaner have been tasked with watching the animals at the zoo: "However, Keeper John O'Rourke thinks the native boys have stolen the show" ("Big City" 3). Like in the very early cabinets of curiosities, these native Uganda individuals were treated as spectacles attractions and scientific specimens, akin to the animal (and especially primate) specimens collected at the zoo. Popular perception and scientific doctrine about the animality and, in particular, the apeishness of savages existed unabated into the twentieth century. Indeed, among racial symbols, "the 'monkey' image was and remains the most salient" (Jahoda 244). The display of the "two black Uganda boys" at the zoo demonstrates that indigenous peoples continued to be imagined as near-humans.

As the *Times* continues to trace the activities of Manuel and Diosaner as curiosities, the newspaper runs this story:

> The two Africans have insisted on staying in the zoo, where they sleep on the floor of a vacant pen in the elephant house, with the Johnsons' three gorillas and two chimpanzees as companions and with an elephant as the nearest neighbor. the two large gorillas are caged, but the forty-pound baby gorilla and the two chimpanzees about the same size are permitted the freedom of the pen by the two black boys. Neither has ever slept in a bed. ("Two African" 19).

The *Times* then reports about the most spectacular event. Evidently, residents of the city who had never heard the authentic Swahili language spoken by native Africans persuaded Manuel and Diosaner to "mount a lecture platform and deliver a speech in the Swahili dialect on his life in Africa" ("Harlem Sharpens" 19). According to the newspaper article, an enterprising manager prevailed upon the Manuel to appear again: "Several hundred persons paid 50 cents each to hear him. From the receipts Manuel received a crisp one-dollar note and a pair of knickerbockers" ("Harlem Sharpens" 19). The story notes that "He has appeared seven times since then and got $1 and a pair of knickers for each lecture. His manager is said to have cleared more than $1000" ("Harlem Sharpens" 19).

The trouble, though, according to the same article, is that "the boys were visited by two social workers interested in the uplift of the Negro" ("Harlem Sharpens" 19). These social workers convinced Manuel and Diosaner that it was "unthinkable" that they should receive so little money, sleep in a zoo pen, and be denied Western refinements. So Manuel and Diosaner expressed the following demands to the Johnsons: "They wanted union wages and union hours—$5 for an eight-hour day. They wanted to sleep in a hotel, a big one, downtown. They wanted an automobile to ride in and all the ice-cream they could eat. They wanted clothes, bright

clothes, and shiny shoes" ("Harlem Sharpens" 19). The newspaper reports that Martin was "aghast" and that he then asked the police department to "guard [Manuel and Diosaner] from further corrupting influences" ("Harlem Sharpens" 19). The final line of the article reads: "a little civilization, reflected Martin Johnson, is a dangerous thing" ("Harlem Sharpens" 19). A final *Times* article entitled "Two Ugandi Boys Go Back To Africa" reports that Martin, mindful of his promise to return Manuel and Diosaner to Nairobi in good condition, decided that after three months in New York, it was time to send the boys back to Africa. The article proceeds, quite tragically, to describe how Diosaner "fights in vain to remain in Harlem" ("Two Ugandi" 19). The failure of the "primitive" to count as human could not be more plain.

For officials at the American Museum, Haraway insists, "exhibition, conservation, and eugenics were a part of a harmonious whole" (Modest 237). Describing the Akeley Hall at the American Museum, Haraway lists all the resources required: "advanced guns, patented cameras, transoceanic travel, food preservation, railroads, colonial bureaucratic authority, large capital accumulations, philanthropic institutions, and much more" (Modest 236). *Congorilla* becomes one node in this circulatory system that links nature, state, commerce, industry, education, and entertainment. The film's ties to an array of stakes, alliances, and actions—including as Haraway articulates them, "immigration policy, mental-health assessments, military conscription, labor patterns, nature conservation, museum design, school and university curricula, penal practices, field studies of both wild and laboratory animals, literary evaluation, the music industry, religious doctrine"—were real and material as well as semiotic.

Conclusion

Without a doubt, *Congorilla* was produced and marketed as a Fox-produced picture. It even included a soundtrack that is said to have inspired a dance craze called the "jungle fox trot."

The music is set to these catchy lyrics: "dance that happy gorilla dance/there's romance in every wild gorilla dance/your heart is in a trance doing the Congorilla dance/for life is grand everywhere in Congoland." The production of *Congorilla* as mass commercial entertainment was certainly bolstered by the Johnsons' celebrity status prior to and during the film's distribution. After the work on *Simba* and prior to work on *Congorilla*, Martin published three books, toured with their films (including a lecture film titled *Adventuring Johnsons* that reviewed all of their travels), and released an additional feature, *Across the World with Mr. and Mrs. Johnson*. Osa wrote a series of articles for *Good Housekeeping*, which were later compiled in a very successful book titled *Jungle Babies*. By this time, the comings and goings of Martin and Osa had been regularly covered by articles that would number over one hundred over the course of their career from 1927-1953 in the *New York Times*. They were popular figures in American culture during this thirty-two year period.

But while *Congorilla* can be categorized as a film thoroughly engaged with the popular, it was a film made by filmmakers who had also worked closely with scientists and whose work had been broadly marketed by both scientific and popular institutions as "science" according to criteria of the day. Moreover, Latour makes the point: "Our sensitivity to the public representation of science must be all the greater because information does not simply flow from the three other loops to the fourth, it also makes up a lot of the presuppositions of scientists themselves about their objects of study. Thus, far from being marginal appendage of science, this loop too is part and parcel of the fabric of facts and cannot be left to educational theorists and students of media" (*Pandora* 106).

Congorilla does move with ease between ethnographic science and popular culture. It remains an ethnographic and Hollywood classic. When it premiered. Martin boasted that "all the

New York big shots were there" (Imperato 167). The Imperatos describe the premiere as a "historical event" and argue for the "enduring value" of the film: "it documents, in sound and sight Mtubi customs, which have much changed over the ensuing decades, and the spectacle of wildlife in areas where it has since become almost extinct" (168). Of course, the conception of ethnographic film as a tool for anthropological study of disappearing life survives in the Imperatos' evaluation. This conception, as noted in earlier chapters, is responsible in part for anthropology's complicity with the production of racialized stereotypes. Within this conception, the genre of the ethnographic is distinguished by anthropologically legitimized racial stereotypes. That is, the genre of the ethnographic allowed anthropology to bring indigenous cultures into view as sources of data establishing racial difference for both disciplinary specialists and an image-hungry Euro-American public. The ethnographic film under the disciplined gaze of anthropological observation authenticated difference and placed these on display. Anthropological display provided the discipline a means by which to demonstrate the objective truth of its science in the popular arena where it could be inspected and verified by both a community of scholars and a general public.

My argument in this conclusion is not only that this film explodes the mutually exclusive boundaries of science and culture, but that the film demonstrates the incessant blending across these boundaries along a collective network of activities that holds science together. In this analytical framework, the film highlights the often invisible, ignored, or denied work of popular representation in creating, transforming, and promoting disciplined fields of knowledge. In my analysis of the Johnsons' film work and *Congorilla* specifically, I have tried to illustrate the complex relationships between ethnography and entertainment, discipline and display, science and spectacle. I argue that ethnographic collection by entertainers participates in disciplinary practice by placing evidence on display and thus contributes to the construction of true science.

Too, however, the entertaining display of scientific evidence contributes to the creation of spectacular sights/sites—in this case, the creation of racial difference as monstrosity or pathology. The process is one of reciprocity and is of particular import when contemplating the processes and practices of scientific disciplines. Popular entertainments have been and remain both sites of spectacle and spaces for disciplinary work. And disciplinary work permeates our popular media. As such, the argument in this chapter is that we cannot ignore the communicative relation between professional scientific texts and the range of popular texts that fill our daily lives.

Simply, the realm of disciplined science and the realm of the popular culture, rather than occupying spaces at mutually exclusive boundaries, are mutually constitutive. It is my contention that the relationship between the popular vehicles of culture and the scientific production of knowledge ought to be seen in relation to one another in any analysis of the rise of anthropology as an academic discipline. Indeed, it is my belief that it is precisely due to the relationship between popular culture and professional science that anthropology became recognized as a serious academic discipline. That is, both "popular" and "scientific," anthropology developed as a disciplined subject. As such, we ought not isolate the distribution of disciplined science from the consumption of popular culture. The boundaries are too fluid and, more importantly, the networks are too compelling.

CONCLUSION

During the 1950s, Congorilla appeared as a DC comic hero. In the comic, Congorilla was actually a "great white hunter" named Congo Bill who, via a magical ring, would switch his consciousness with that of a powerful gorilla. A trained tracker, explorer, and expert marksman, Congo Bill, when he rubs the mystic ring he wears on his left ring finger, is able to transport his mind for one hour into the body of the great ape called Congorilla, a beast far stronger and more agile than any other known simian. In 1981 a video game called Congorilla appeared. This game was actually a clone of Crazy Kong, which in turn was a bootleg game of Nintendo's Donkey Kong. In the game a monkey has carried off a helpless girl. Players must rescue her by traversing beams, climbing ladders and riding elevators while avoiding barrels, fireballs and mudpans.

In 1982 the *New York Times* announced the opportunity to rediscover some of the early museum-sponsored expeditions: "Stretching 35.000 miles around the globe and nearly a century into the scientific past is an expedition scheduled to embark from New York on Oct. 1. On the itinerary are some 15 sites on four continents where scientists from the American Museum of Natural History have conducted research as far back as 1894 . . ." An accompanying photograph, placed prominently below the headline and above the announcement, pictures Martin and Osa Johnson with the camera used in filming *Simba* for the museum in 1928. The expedition is called "Rediscover the Great Expeditions" and for $25,000 the traveler will retrace numerous scientific expeditions, including Margaret Mead's studies of Samoa. The expedition will raise funds for the museum's photographic collection.

In 1997 *I Married Adventure* was republished by Kodansha International. It is available at Amazon.com where the editorial review reads:

Osa Johnson's travel adventures and explorations come across as vibrantly today as they did when they were written in 1940. They're richer now with the added perspective of history, and the added wealth of Martin Johnson's photographs of charging elephants, reposing lions, and head hunters roasting heads, marshmallow-like, over a campfire. The life the Johnsons led was nothing like the life Osa expected. From 1917 to 1937 she and Martin were visiting and filming cannibals in the New Hebrides, orangutans in Borneo, and the rich gamut of wildlife available on safari in Kenya and the Congo. Osa led a life the likes of which won't be seen again, and she tells a good story, too.

Customers responded to the new release with much appreciation:

"I'm thrilled to see this book still (again?) in print. It was on my parent's limited and eclectic bookshelf back in the '40s and fueled my lifelong love of adventure and travel writing. When Osa and Martin Johnson went to Africa there were no tented safari camps, complete with martinis at the end of the day's animal sightings. This was true adventure. The book's original cover was faux zebra skin and I rescued it from my mom's throwaway pile. Still have it and always will."

"I read the first edition of this book in about 1947 right after I left the service. (WW2) This book covered parts of Africa, and showed pictures so fine and detailed that to this day I can still see them in my minds eye. I still recall, they had a friend in A. Blaney Percival---Game Warden. Their head man around camp was named Boculy. These and many other anecdotes are still vivid in my memory after all these years. For fine reading, I couldn't recommend a better book. I eagerly await my re-print copy."

"My grandmother gave me this book 20 years ago and told me it was her very favorite book. I began reading it just to please her, but soon found out that it was (and is) my favorite book also. I have recommended it so many times, but I only have one very old, worn out copy. I am so pleased to be able to find it at Amazon. This book is magical, and all the more beautiful because it is true. You will never forget this book once read. A note, I have recently found that there is a museum devoted to the Johnsons in Kansas. I can't wait to go....."

In December, 1999 a documentary on the Johnsons' work entitled *The Adventure Lovers/Les Amants de L'Aventure* premiered on French and German Public Television. This film was shot on location in Chanute, Kansas, New York, and Kenya and compiles hundreds original Johnson photographs and much original Johnson film footage.

The work of Martin and Osa Johnson has so thoroughly penetrated our popular consciousness that we might trace their influence straight to Disney, where visitors can now "safari" to the Animal Kingdom, where they can "capture" real African wild life on film and even visit an authentic African village with authentic African people. At the opening of the Animal Kingdom, widely-known primatologist Jane Goodall presided, introducing visitors to her gorillas and advocating conservation for endangered animals. Disney's Animal Kingdom is Akeley's African Hall for the twenty-first century with the same networked collective of science and culture and politics.

If indeed Disneyland is caught up in the same network as science, in a collection of primatology, conservation, preservation, education, and entertainment, those of us studying the practices of science have our work cut out for us.

Disciplined Science

In the recent past, studies of science by sociologists, historians, philosophers, and rhetoricians have spent much time and energy attempting to identify principles of demarcation that would define the essence of what really makes science *science*: who is a scientist? what is scientific? where is science? However, it seems now that such attempts have failed as no such principles for demarcation appear to be available. That is, insofar as attempts have been devoted to discover an epistemological and ahistorical essence of science that could be demarcated by certain common properties, the attempts have been doomed because there is no epistemological or ahistorical essence to be found.[24] There are no essential principles that demarcate science from non-science. And yet science retains a certain epistemic and ahistorical privilege. And so more recent work in the studies of science have posited that science emerges at this epistemic privilege in a nonepistemic way. The argument posits that the demarcation of science from nonscience is a rhetorical one. These studies have treated science as a contingent and local space mapped by a variety of conceptual, rhetorical, and social practices.

Julie Thompson Klein notes that "although disciplinarity is a relatively recent concept in human history, it has attained enormous influence over the organization and production of knowledge" (185). Klein also observes that the concept is so powerful a concept that it constitutes a "first principle" in studies of knowledge production (185). As such, studies of disciplinarity abound. Most of these studies concentrate on how disciplines emerge by creating and maintaining a coherent and stabilized ensemble of: objects of study, methods of analysis, assembly of scholars and students, specialized journals, and opportunities for grant funding. Because coherence has been the dominant concept in studies of disciplinarity, Klein observes that the "permeation"—the "blurring, cracking, and crossing"—of disciplinary boundaries is "usually

undervalued or even dismissed as peripheral" (186). Klein makes the case that permeation is, however, "is a major aspect of knowledge production with significant implications for the writing of disciplinary histories and the status of discipline as a category of knowledge" (186).

This dissertation has provided a study in disciplinarity. However, given that blurred, cracked and crossed boundaries are indeed key to the development of discipline, this dissertation has assumed that the practice of discipline thrives not only as a coherent ensemble of cooperative elements and activities, but also and perhaps more so as a multiplicity of disparate and contrary properties. When the blurring and blending and the fracturing and refracturing of boundaries is figured into disciplinary work, an expanded perspective illuminates "the full range of forces in knowledge growth" (Klein 191). And so, the dissertation has treated extra-disciplinary events as significant, even essential, to discipline—rather than peripheral to the proper work of discipline.

What the dissertation has offered in terms of a study of disciplinarity has been a study of the formation of anthropology as a social science by traveling with Martin and Osa Johnson as they negotiate expertise, differentiate knowledge practices, participate in museum institutionalization, create a public audience and promote a popular reception, all with significant material consequences. The dissertation has been organized first around the three artifacts—*Simba*, *I Married Adventure*, and *Congorilla*—and second according to a sequence of conceptual frameworks—boundary work, boundary object, and network activity. In what follows, I recommend these conceptual frameworks to scholars in the rhetoric of science so that we might sharpen our grasp of the interpretive space in which science gets done.

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[24] For support and consensus, see Gieryn, Pickering, and Rouse.

Boundary Work

Thomas F. Gieryn describes boundary work as a rhetorical strategy for knowledge makers who "seek to present their claims or practices as legitimate (credible, trustworthy, reliable) by locating them within 'science'" (xi). He defines "boundary work" as "the discursive attribution of selected qualities to scientists, scientific methods, and scientific claims for the purpose of drawing a rhetorical boundary between science and some less residual non-science" (5). Boundary work is thus important work for knowledge makers who hope to "have their claims accepted as valid and influential downstream, their practices esteemed and supported financially, their culture sustained as the home of objectivity, reason, truth, or utility" (x).

According to Gieryn, boundary work is strategic action in a credibility contest among rival players and stakeholders who are competing to pursue goals and protect interests in a variety of institutional or organizational arenas. As such, these questions are important for attending to boundary work: Who are the players, the contestants for epistemic authority? What are the stakes in negotiations of credibility for diverse players? In what organizational or institutional arenas does the boundary work occur? (29). The problem in investigations of boundary work is not, as Gieryn says, "that there is no 'real science' . . . but that there are too many 'real sciences'" (19). For Gieryn, the recurring question concerning the practice of boundary-work has been: what was science then and there? To address this question, Gieryn calls for "detailed examination of local and episodic constructions of science, highlighting different cultural spaces science becomes in order to serve diverse pragmatic ends" (xi). The essential question therefore concerns not what science really is, but "rather how its borders and territories are flexibly and discursively mapped out in pursuit of some observed or inferred ambition—and with what consequences, and for whom" (23).

Notably, Gieryn observes that boundary work is particularly visible "in settings where tacit assumptions about the contents of science are forced to become explicit; where credibility is contested; where regnant assumptions about boundaries suddenly appear murky or inapplicable; and—most important—where allocations of epistemic authority are decided and consequently deployed" (24). Tracing the boundary work of competing individuals, groups, and institutions makes visible the sometimes forgotten and thus invisible and absent work that interdisciplinary opposition and extra-disciplinary resistance play in emergent sciences. Systematic study of local and episodic boundary work as described here will highlight the normally taken for granted boundaries of science and thus fill out visions of conceptual, rhetorical, and social representations of "science."

Figure 1: Boundary Work

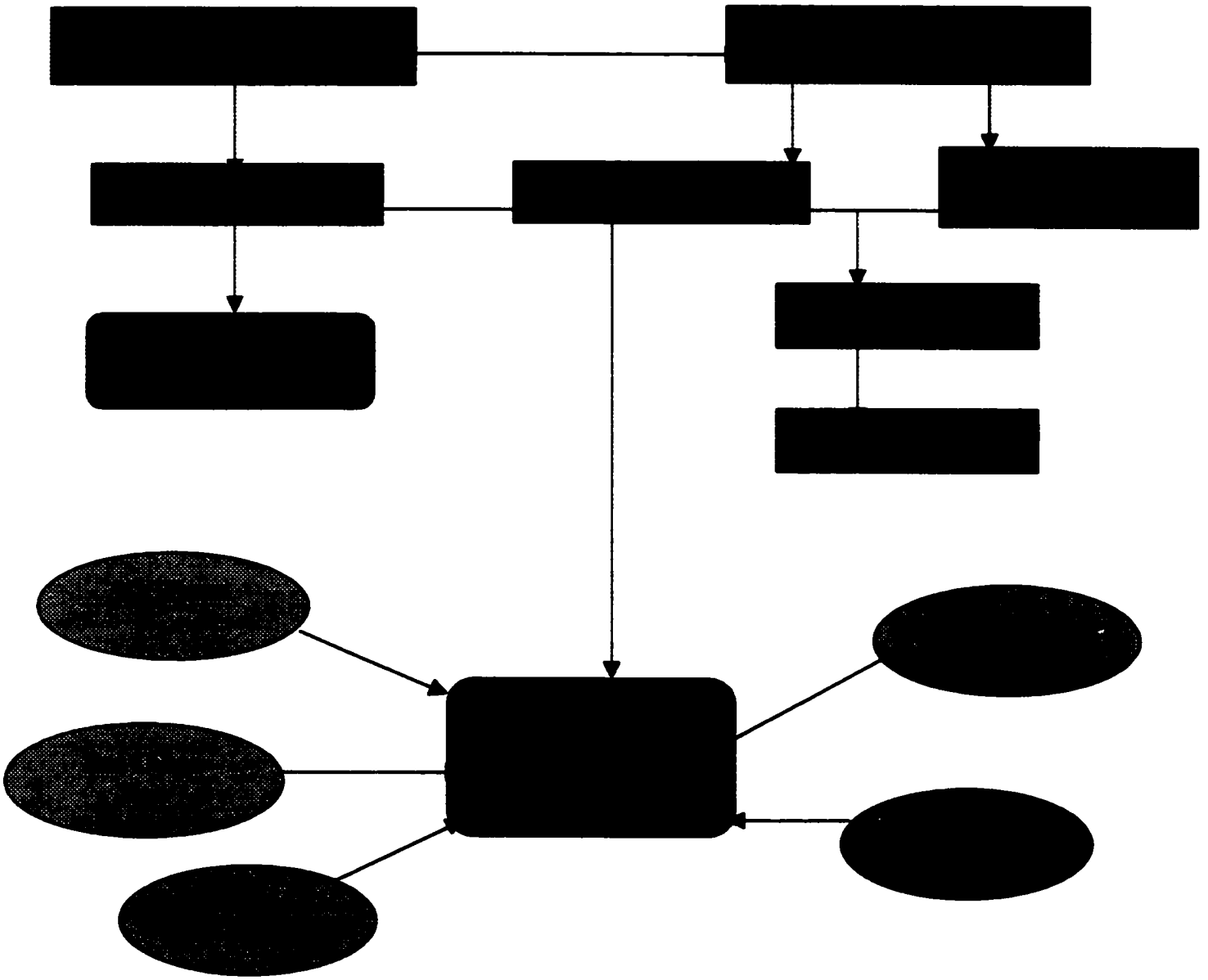

Figure 1 represents a mapping of science. On this map, "science" is defined by the players and stakeholders, their correspondent interests, and the arena in which they operate. The map reflects a contest for the credibility of anthropological science in its early disciplinary formation at Columbia University and the American Museum of Natural History.

In 1891 Henry Fairfield Osborn accepted a joint appointment as Curator of mammalian paleontology at the American Museum of Natural History and professor of biology at Columbia University. By 1901 Osborn wielded real administrative power at the Museum. He became president in 1906 and served as such for twenty-seven years. In 1896 Franz Boas accepted the position of Assistant Curator of Ethnology and Somatology at the American Museum with a parallel position at Columbia University. However, Boas' freedom at the Museum was largely constrained by the expectations of trustees and administrators, and his time as curator was marked from the beginning by tension. Boas and the museum administration disagreed about research exhibit, and Boas resigned his Museum position in 1905.

When Martin and Osa Johnsons' film *Simba* is mapped within the boundaries of an emergent anthropological discipline, this film moves from trivial popular event to epistemic and cultural scientific activity. In the contest for science, Henry Osborn and film ethnographers Martin and Osa Johnson presented an anthropological politics based on evolutionary racism and eugenic science. In opposition, Franz Boas and film ethnographer Robert Flaherty presented an anthropological politics based on affirmation of cultural relativism and the denial of race, gender, and class stratification. All were engaged in boundary work, all attempted to attract allies and converts, and all clothed their work in the authority of science. Moreover, they were all doing science, as it was variously constructed in seeking one or another public policies. In sum, science

was "mapped out in discrepant and changing ways by players with different interests, facing different historical contingencies" (Gieryn 71).

Osborn supported the science of eugenics. He was good friends with Madison Grant, fellow Museum trustee, and wrote the preface to Grant's book *The Passing of the Great Age*, which upheld notions of Nordic superiority. In the preface, Osborn praised the book's scientific method and expressed hope that the true science of eugenics would conserve the integrity of American institutions. Osborn, Grant, and other members of the eugenics movement showed themselves to be strongly anti-Semitic and deeply opposed to Boas and the Boasians' work. Boas and many of his followers were immigrants and/or of Jewish background, and they were all at odds with the notion of Nordic superiority. They advocated cultural anthropology in the service of a more pluralistic America. They criticized evolutionary anthropology, with its assumption that "primitive" peoples were further down the evolutionary scale than "civilized peoples." Boas himself expressed views on the equipotentiality of human races and published raging attacks against eugenics.

During the first thirty years of the twentieth century, this conflict between sciences and among scientists burgeoned. Supporters for eugenics drew rhetorical maps that extended science outward to attract allies and accrue interest. Likewise, supporters of Boas' cultural anthropology drew rhetorical maps that would preserve their work inside of science and also exclude eugenics and evolutionary anthropology from the realm of legitimate science. When Boas writes of Osborn that it was unfortunate for someone who enjoyed such a well-earned reputation in his own area of science to permit himself to be swayed by uncritical race enthusiasts, he attempts to exclude Osborn and the others from real science on grounds that science should be value-free and

disinterested. Nevertheless, Boas's own science, constructed out of a specific politics and morals, was as interested as Osborn's.

Throughout Osborn's administration, the Museum grew with nearly one hundred expeditions per year. Akeley joined the Museum in 1909 to install a hall of mammals and enlisted the already-popular naturalist/film-maker Johnsons for help. Under Osborn's presidency, the Museum endorsed the Johnsons' safari expedition to Lake Paradise in East Africa. And Osborn explicitly and personally supported the Johnsons' film project *Simba* (1928). He praised the film as a pictorial record of vanishing races and animals. He even promoted the film to public and popular audiences, asserting its value to science for "capturing" authentic African life.

Boas, on the other hand, criticized scientific use of museums and insisted that universities form the institutional base for disciplined anthropology. He worked to create a new university science of anthropology in America by developing graduate training for academic anthropologists. And he advocated an anthropology with its own specialized theoretical orientation and research methods that would establish it as professional inquiry. Notably, Boas also commented on the importance of film in providing records of vanishing races. Boas referred to Robert Flaherty's popular film, *Nanook of the North* (1924), as a model tool for assembling data because, in part, he found Flaherty's treatment of the Inuit in the film to be humanitarian.

Both *Simba* and *Nanook* were artifacts of popular culture, and each was seized as scientific artifact by stakeholders in the contest between evolutionary anthropology at the American Museum and cultural anthropology at Columbia University. The case for accepting the films as science depended upon interests—not just scientific interests, but political interests as well. *Simba* represents a boundary on this mapping of science. It occupies a space at the edge of

science, which has been contested terrain between "real science" and "non-science." I have argued that even through *Simba* has been relegated to the realm of "bad anthropology" and thus "non-science," a detailed examination of the local cartography of science serves to illustrate that *Simba was* science, irrespective of what were later to become established disciplinary boundaries. To that end, this analysis has taken up the local space or immediate occasion in which material resources, power, prestige, players, organizations, institutions, methods, practices, etc. all come together to make science-in-culture in the profession of anthropology.

Gieryn reminds us that in struggles for credibility, contestants perpetually "squeeze and stretch" the borders of science to best justify their claims as persuasive. The consequent mappings of science then serve as "guides for those who wish to know what to believe and how to locate the credible knowledge on which they can base practical decisions" (341). Here, public decisions get made concerning investment and funding, guilt or innocence, sickness and health. Thus the best-drawn maps are those that examine *all* the rhetorical contingencies—professional science, public science, popular science—that come together at a historical and local space to make "real science." A good map of anthropology as an emergent social science in the early twentieth-century must include an examination of the work *Simba* does in the making of real science for administrators and for the public at the American Museum of Natural History.

Boundary Object

Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesmer begin their much-cited article, "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations,' and Boundary Objects" by reminding us that "most scientific work is conducted by extremely diverse groups of actors—research from different disciplines, amateurs and professionals, humans and animals, functionaries and visionaries" (505). Star and Griesmer intend here to emphasize the point that scientific work is heterogeneous. Star and Bowker repeat

this assertion elsewhere: "Scientific work is always composed of members of different communities of practice (we know of no science that is not interdisciplinary in this way, especially if—as we do—you include laboratory technicians and janitors)" (*Sorting* 296). However, "too often this sort of work remains invisible to traditional science" (*Sorting* 292).

Star and Griesmer thus argue for what they describe as a "more ecological approach" and they develop the concept of "boundary objects" ("Institutional" 505). As Star and Griesmer make their argument, they take up a case analysis of a research museum and its participants. In this analysis, Star and Griesmer direct their attention away from the preeminence of any one actor, i.e. the professional scientists, and frame their approach, rather, on all the participants, including professional scientists, amateur naturalists, patrons, hired hands, and administrators. They insist: "The ecological analysis does not presuppose an epistemological primacy for any one viewpoint; the viewpoint of the amateurs is not inherently better or worse than that of the professionals" ("Institutional" 507). They continue by arguing that the ecological analysis entails "the *flow* of objects and concepts through the network of participating allies and social worlds" ("Institutional" 507).

Here Star and Griesmer introduce the concept "boundary object" to explain how the coordination among different members and different worlds is facilitated. That is, they offer this concept as a way to talk about the kinds of intersectional work necessary to manage agreements across disparate worlds. They define these objects as "obligatory points of passage" for the whole of the network. These are "scientific objects which both inhabit several intersecting worlds and satisfy the informational requirements of each" ("Institutional" 509). These objects fit both local needs and meet collective needs across divergent social worlds: "boundary objects are both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them,

yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites" ("Institutional" 509). The "boundary nature" of these objects is "reflected by the fact that they are simultaneously concrete and abstract, specific and general, conventionalized and customized" ("Institutional" 517). Put simply, boundary objects emerge when the work of diverse groups coincide and intersect. The boundary objects will have different meanings in different sites, but will nevertheless promote coordinated activity.

Star complicates her conceptual gymnastics in an important way by arguing for a theory of multiple and marginal selves. Star and Bowker note that while the marginal person is often treated as an accident or exception, or as "troubled outsider" (*Sorting* 300), people are more often than not members of various social worlds or communities of practice, and must thus negotiate their heterogeneous selves. Star and Griesmer assert: "Marginality has been a critical concept for understanding the ways in which the boundaries of social worlds are constructed, and the kinds of navigation and articulation performed by those with multiple memberships"—"passing, trying to shift into a single world, oscillating" (*Sorting* 519). This is the work of the monster, "one who has a double vision by virtue of having more than one identity to negotiate" (Star and Bowker 302). Problematically, assumptions about standardization obfuscate the work of the monster, making it invisible. Star says of the multiple, the marginal, the and the monstrous: "We are the ones who have done the invisible work of creating a unity of action in the face of a multiplicity of selves, as well as, and at the same time, the invisible work of lending unity to . . . the executive [in the network]" ("Power" 29). As Star explains, "when this invisible work is recovered, a very different network is discovered as well" ("Power" 29). She suggests, then, that we might begin our studies, not with the executive, but with the unrepresented, the delegated to, the outcast, the monster. Finally, she offers this mandate: Because people inhabit different domains at once, it is

important not to presume either unity or single membership, but to recognize that "at the moment of action we draw together repertoires mixed from different worlds" ("Power" 52).

Figure 2: Boundary Object

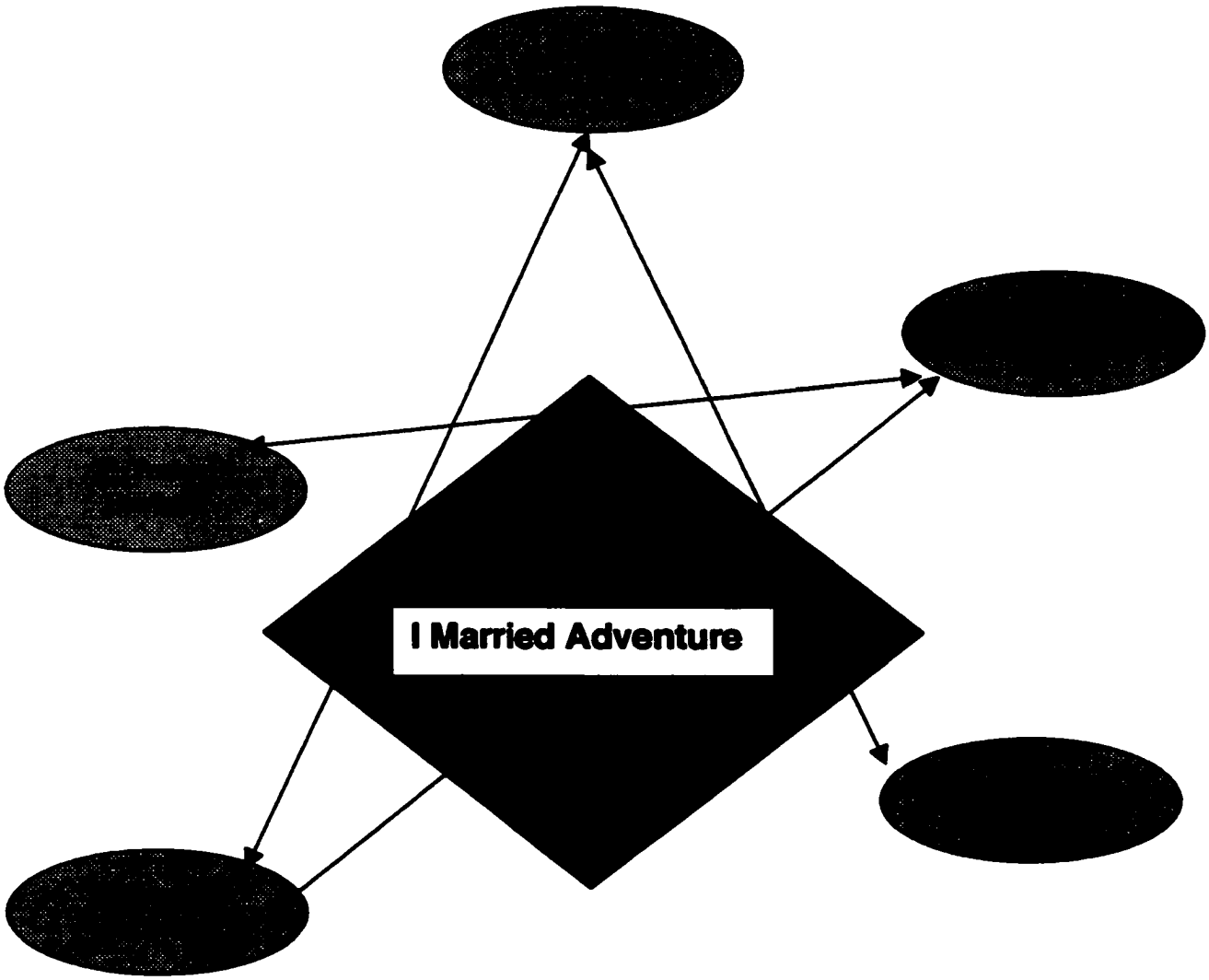

Figure 2 represents a mapping of science, where a boundary object coexists among several participating allies. On this map, a coherent boundary object is created by an amateur anthropologist, professional scientist, museum administrator, and general public, all working as part of a heterogeneous network spanning the intersection of various social worlds. The map highlights the boundary object, *I Married Adventure*, as it inhabits different communities of practice from the American Museum of Natural History to the Book-of-the-Month-Club.

The text *I Married Adventure* serves well as a boundary object because it "travels across borders and maintains some kind of stable identity" (*Sorting* 16). It travels across borders to inhabit different communities of practice, the Museum and the popular press, and yet satisfies the informational requirements of each. It traverses the borders of ethnography and travel literature by satisfying the generic conventions of both. *I Married Adventure* works as a boundary object because it mediates activity, or because it has "material-objective force in its consequences" (Star, *Sorting* 298). That is, the text is "treated as consequential by community members" (Star, *Sorting* 298). The text mediates action for the Museum by advancing widespread popular, though academically threatened, ideas of evolutionary anthropology. And it mediates action for the Book-of-the-Month-Club by creating high adventure travel tales to sell books and for Columbia Pictures by providing film footage for potential profit.

Action is achieved in the text where the category of the "primitive" is naturalized for both anthropology and popular culture.[25] The text unquestionably assumes the category "primitive" of anthropological imagination and thus makes and keeps the category an ordinary piece of popular

[25] See Star's example of "hysteria" in *Sorting Things Out*, upon which my analysis here is closely modeled.

imagination. The category came to be used as a classification for the study of race and culture as well as a justification for imperial rule abroad and racist public policies in the United States. As such it was a category through which anthropological science and popular culture represented Others and came to determine the social status of women and people of color. As Star says, "the point is not who believed what when but rather that the category itself became an object existing in both communities. It was a medium of communication, whatever else it may also have been" (*Sorting* 298).

Because *I Married Adventure* belongs to different communities of practice, the text is a multiple and thus marginal member in these different communities. Often, as Star suggests, these marginal positions are portrayed as residual categories. For example, *I Married Adventure* as travel text might be read as the residual work of ethnography. But because nothing is ever pure, and all things inhabit someone else's residual category in some system (*Sorting* 300-301), it might be just as appropriate to note that *I Married Adventure*, as ethnography, is the residual work of travel literature. However, these kinds of categorical classifications "blind people to the importance of the 'other' category as constitutive of the whole social architecture" (*Sorting* 301).

As Star argues, too often the work of boundary objects remains invisible to traditional analyses of science. She argues thus for a rich vocabulary by which to represent everything populating the heterogeneous arrangements of science. A rich understanding of the mix of people and things that bring anthropology as a science to coherence in the early twentieth century will require an understanding of boundary objects like *I Married Adventure* that managed one world for another.

Actor-Network Theory

Bruno Latour with colleagues Michel Callon and John Law are jointly credited with giving actor-network theory much of its current force in science studies. Actor-network theory has developed in science studies as a way to argue against modernist divisions between materiality, discursivity, and sociality. Law describes actor-network theory in these terms: "It tells that entities take their form and acquire their attributes as a result of their relations with other entities" (3). He suggests that "actor-network theory may be understood as a semiotics of materiality" and explains: "it takes the semiotic insight, that of the relationality of entities, the notion that they are produced in relations, and applies this ruthlessly to all materials—and not simply to those that are linguistic" (4). Latour offers actor-network theory as a way to bypass essential divisions between the real, the narrative, and the social, and to focus attention instead on quasi-objects and circulating reference. A quasi-object is sometimes a real thing, sometimes a discursive narrative, sometimes a collective social bond. As such, these are material, semiotic, and social objects. The actor-network theory, Latour says, allows us to follow quasi-objects as they are encountered across or through laboratories, controversies, and concepts. We might observe and document the movement of these across "variable ontologies":

> The 'same' entity may occupy many states, being impurely social, then purely social, then purely natural, then impurely natural. The 'same' actant will be immanent and then transcendent, made and nonmade, human-made and discovered, freely decided and imposed upon . . . ("One More" 286).

In sum, this method offers us a "way to move from one spot to the next"—and to encounter and record the world-building activities at each site ("On Recalling" 21). Latour's latest work, *Pandora's Hope*, describes what it is that actor-network does at its best. Here Latour enumerates the types of activities and the circulation of references—conceived of as "loops" in a circulatory system—that build worlds.

These activities include what Latour describes as the first loop, the "mobilization of the world"—and by that he means to designate: the instruments and equipment used to capture matter in nuclear physics and the rest of Big Science; the expeditions sent around the world to bring back plants, animals, and trophies; and also surveys used to gather information about society and economy (*Pandora* 100). Latour calls the second loop "autonomization" and includes here the work of disciplines and professions as well as institutions and organizations where colleagues come together. The third loop is that of "alliances." Latour insists: "Immense groups, rich and well endowed, must be mobilized for scientific work to develop on any scale, for expeditions to multiply and go farther afield, for institutions to grow, for professions to develop, for professional chairs and other positions to open up" (*Pandora* 104). In Latour's terms, "groups that previously wouldn't give each other the time of day may be enrolled in the scientists' controversies" (*Pandora* 103). For example, "the military must be made interested in physics, industrialists in chemistry, kings in cartography, teachers in educational theory, congressmen in political science" (*Pandora* 104). The fourth loop, "public representation," involves the "outside world of civilians: reporters, pundits, the man and woman in the street" (*Pandora* 105). Latour warns us here that "this outside world is no more outside" than the previous ones (*Pandora* 105). In fact, he says, "this loop is all the more important because the others largely depend on it" (*Pandora* 105). He adds, far from being a marginal appendage of science, public representation too is "part and parcel of the fabric of facts . . ." (*Pandora* 106). Finally, he insists on the import of public representation because information does not simply flow from mobilizations and alliances to public representation, but rather public representation "also makes up a lot of the presuppositions of scientists themselves about their objects of study" (*Pandora* 106).

The final loop in Latour's actor-network theory is called "links and knots" (*Pandora* 106) and designates the conceptual content of science. Latour emphasizes, however, that to reach this

activity "is not to reach scientific content at last, as if the four others were simply conditions for its existence" (*Pandora* 106). Rather, from the first, "we have not departed for one moment from the course of scientific intelligence at work" (*Pandora* 106). Before Latour discusses what it means to account for the conceptual content of science, he simply reminds us that we cannot look for this content without looking for other activities "that give it meaning" (*Pandora* 108). In this treatment, things do not exist always and everywhere or never and nowhere. Rather things are understood as "existing somewhat, having a little reality, occupying a definite place and time, having predecessors and successors" (*Pandora* 156). When a thing "definitely" exists, Latour explains, "this does not mean that it exists forever, or independently of all practice and discipline, but that it has been entrenched in a costly and massive institution which has to be monitored and protected with great care" (*Pandora* 155-56).

In sum then, according to Latour, "an entity gains in reality if it is associated with many others that are viewed as collaborating with it" and loses reality if, on the contrary, "it has to shed associations or collaborators" (*Pandora* 158). According to Latour, then, science must be redefined as the process by which nonhumans are slowly socialized into the daily life and thoughts of as many humans as possible "through the channels of laboratories, expeditions, institutions, and so on" (*Pandora* 259). That is, science brings together "stars, prions, cows, heavens, and people" (*Pandora* 261).

Donna Haraway also takes up the task of following networks that "inscribe and materialize the world in some forms rather than others" (7). Throughout her latest text, *Modest Witness*, Haraway investigates the processes and practices of what she calls "kinship relations." In *Modest Witness*, Haraway tells us that her investigations are informed by "the implosion of the technical, organic, political, economic, oneiric, and textual that is evident in the material-semiotic

practices and entities in late-twentieth-century technoscience" (*Modest* 12). She argues here that her analysis is one of "distributed, heterogeneous, linked, sociotechnical circulations that craft the world as a net called global" (*Modest* 12). And she investigates several knots on this net: repeated military conflicts, traffic across hypercapitalist markets, production and management of the ecosystem, and proliferation of entertainment and information multimedia. As Haraway works in and against the net of science, she collects Franz Boas and Madison Grant in a complex construction of projects and needs (*Modest* 233). Her interest in these collections follows the traffic of science itself, as it "engages promiscuously" in border passages that link the family, state, commerce, nature, entertainment, education, and industry.

Elsewhere Haraway describes her "game" as "cat's cradle"—a game about tangled knots of "internally nonhomogeneous, nonexclusive, often mutually constitutive, but also nonisomorphic and sometimes mutually repellent webs of discourse" ("Game" 69). Haraway plays this game, she says, to inquire "into all the oddly configured categories clumsily called things like science, gender, race, class, nation, or discipline" ("Game" 69). This game—or this theory, this practice—proceeds much like actor-network theory does, by crossing boundaries and by tracing configurations of actors and actants through various webs, or networks. The point of this game, however, is as Haraway stresses, "to get at how worlds are made and unmade, in order to participate in the processes, in order to foster some forms of life and not others" ("Game" 62). I share Haraway's conviction that border crossing and web weaving is not enough. Rather this game of "antiracist multicultural feminist studies of technoscience" ("Game" 69) must do real work by intervening in material worlds.

Figure 3: Network Activity

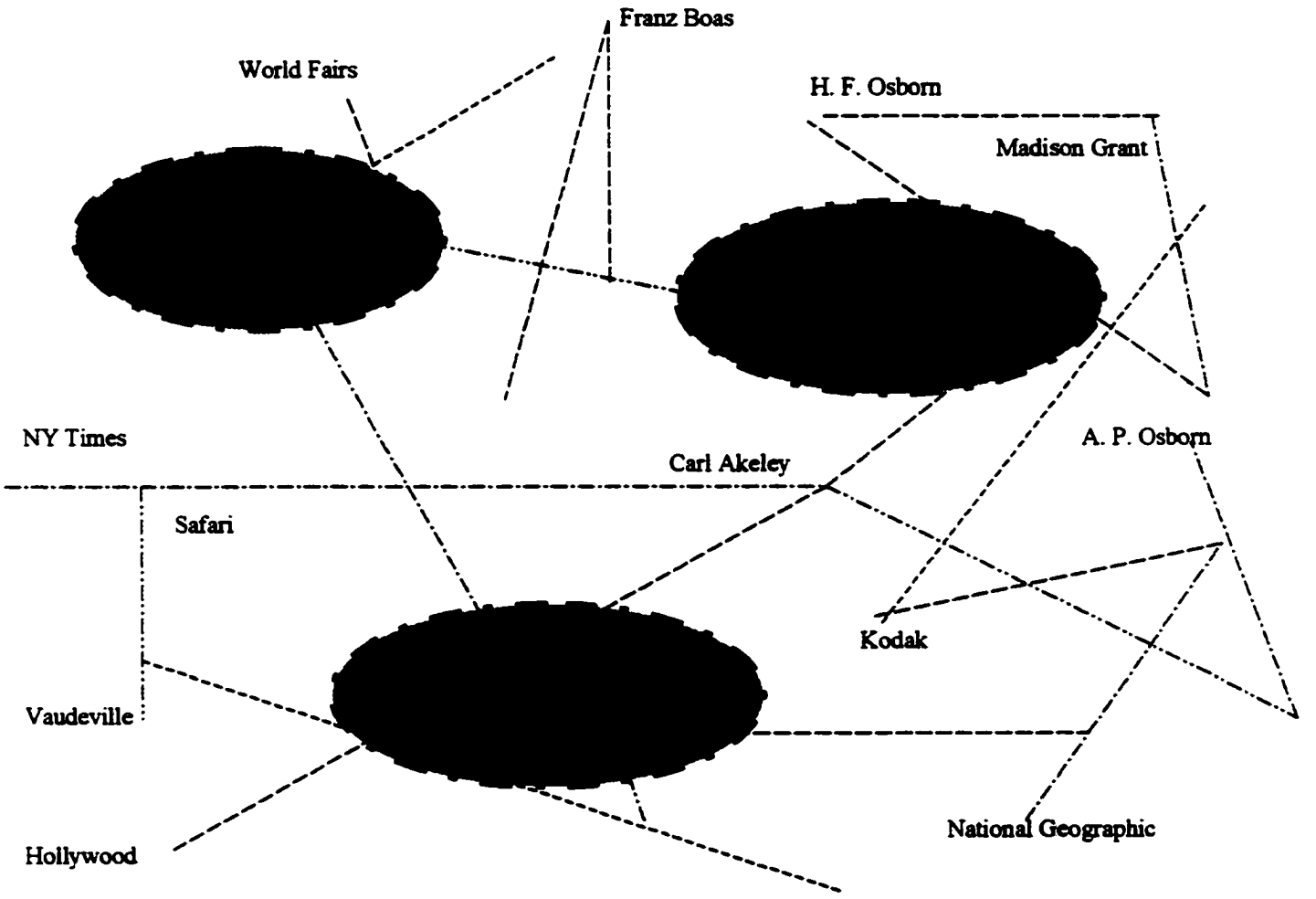

Figure 3 maps a network of material and semiotic practices that highlights the boundaries, or lack thereof, between science and culture. The map traces the mobilization of allies across institutional science and popular cinema by bringing together as many entities as are evident in the particular configuration of anthropology as a disciplined practice in 1930 America. The mapped network highlights *Congorilla* as a quasi-object among the kinship relations with the American Museum of Natural History and the Fox Film Company.

I have traced *Congorilla* through this network so that I may investigate categories no longer taken for granted, crossing (and criss-crossing) border zones between the *material bodies of science* and their *representations in rhetoric*—between specimen and spectacle, collection and exhibition, dissection and display. As such, analysis of *Congorilla* involves a reading of the multiple artifacts and changing arrangements of interlocking, multiple, and heterogeneous elements, including: Martin Johnson Film Company, the Fox Film Company, the Eastman Kodak film and camera, the American Natural History Museum, and the Radio-Keith-Orpheum Vaudeville Exchange, Inc., etc. In tracing *Congorilla* through this network, the analysis has sketched out those spaces where the boundaries between scientific work and cultural practices appear murky, indecipherable, or contested and where they become provisionally negotiated and routinely settled. As *Congorilla* circulates among networked agents—universities, museums, fairs—it simultaneously dissolves and codifies boundaries between science and culture.

In *Congorilla*, symbolic and material meanings come to be constructed in scientific and rhetorical practices, in particular historic moments, for the benefit of some and at the cost

of Others. A network analysis will imagine *Congorilla* within a conceptual apparatus and a political enterprise that will re-theorize the linkage between material reality and linguistic text and give rise to a thoroughly situated and historical analysis of traditional divides between worlds and cultures, bodies and texts, materials and literacies, humans and nonhumans. This is a material-semiotic world-view. Here, the worlds and words that humans and nonhumans embody are relationally produced and inextricably intermeshed.

Rhetoric of Science

When Osa Johnson travels to jungle Africa to explore its landscape and record its wildlife, or when Jane Goodall opens the gates of Disney's Animal Kingdom to advocate for the protection of gorillas as an endangered species, scientific work appears in multiple professional, public, and popular venues. In articulating a provisional relationship between Osa Johnson and Jane Goodall, I recall Haraway's reminder that while articulations among threads are not casual, they are consequential ("Game" 69). What is at stake here, now as much as ever, is an analysis of science and culture sufficient to account for the ways in which multiple and complex networks produce knowledge. And what is needed, now more than ever, is a conceptual apparatus—boundary work, boundary objects, networks—to catch the multiplicity, complexity, and richness of doing science/culture.

This dissertation draws on the above approaches developed by Gieryn, Star, Latour, and Haraway to develop a rhetoric that might go beyond claims about the construction of knowledge to deal with how "knowledge is embedded in things" and how lines are drawn between things and texts (Myers 7). The move in this dissertation is, as Jack Selzer describes, a "sustained meditation" on the "material dimension in rhetoric and the rhetorical dimension in the

material" (9). Such a meditation requires us, as Selzer explains, "to sustain two complementary general positions." First, we must "insist that material, nonliterate practices and realities—most notably, the body, flesh, blood, and bones, and how all the material trappings of the physical are fashioned by literate practices—should come under rhetorical scrutiny" (10). Second, we must "demonstrate how literate practices—the speeches and texts that are the traditional staple of rhetoric, as well the ads and virtual spaces and languages associated with the new media—ought to be understood in the serious light of the material circumstances that sustain them" (10). Selzer calls for an invigorated study, with new methodologies and approaches, to delineate "the complex relations that hold between rhetorical force and one or another kind of body" (9).

As Haraway tells us, we no longer have texts and contexts, but rather co-texts, hybrid entities that are woven together in webs and networks. If we as writers, rhetoricians, and professional communicators are to understand the work of texts (our own and others'), we cannot limit our study to one thread or one strand in the web of scientific/social interactions, but must attend to the many material, semiotic, technological, organizational, professional, political, and popular relations of nature and culture as they come together in networked collectives. Work in rhetorical studies must interrogate the boundaries among science, academic research, organizational writing, technical communication, and mass culture—if for no other reason than to acknowledge, as Sharon Crowley does, that boundaries are always interested and rhetoric has "always taken the study of partisanship as its province" (363). I hope that the line of inquiry, the questions posed, and the knowledge produced in this dissertation concerning the intersections between academic science, public politics, and mass-cultural productions will add to this work and encourage further exploration of crosses between what have been fractious boundaries between disciplined communication and popular texts.

By answering Selzer's call for a "sustained meditation" I hope we might trace out in more richness the relations between those pieces of matter and/or text as they come to be assembled and arranged in a series of somewhat stable and intermittently intelligible moments. Moreover, I hope we might come to more justly design and redesign the material realities and literate acts that assemble our body politic. To do so, however, we will need to move beyond traditional thought, which attempts to account for knowledge-making by dichotomizing nature and society, science and rhetoric. That is, while traditional thought finds knowledge *either* to be dictated by scientific studies of nature at one end of the spectrum *or* by rhetorical acts in society at the other, we will need to make the radical move of rejecting the very distinctions upon which this spectrum is contrived.

My claim is that an understanding of the material and semiotic dimensions of science and rhetoric is necessary to understand the place of communication in a mapping of contemporary culture, and by implication, necessary to strategic interventions in bodies and texts. But my claim is an overtly political one: I am committed to full destabilization of boundaries between science and culture and devoted to a radical rethinking of race and gender. I am cognizant of the difficulty of imagining a conceptual apparatus in which traditional dualisms between nature and society, matter and text, physical bodies and cultural practices are no longer taken for granted. I am also cognizant of the difficulty of imagining a political enterprise that elucidates the nexus between matter, bodies, texts and practices. Nevertheless, the (perhaps overly ambitious) goal here is to do just that.

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