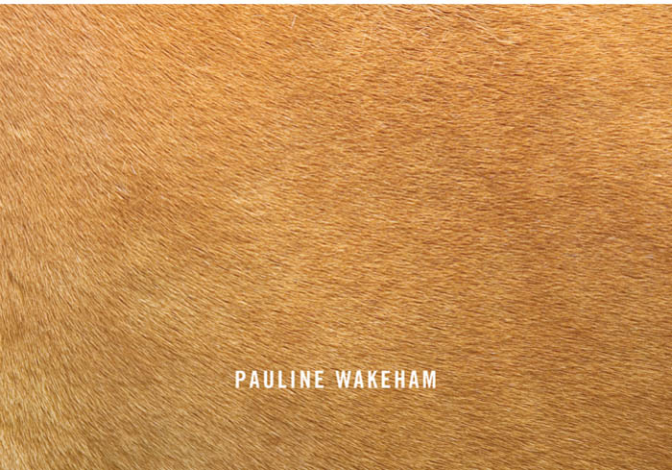
TAXIDERMIC SIGNS | RECONSTRUCTING ABORIGINALITY



PAULINE WAKEHAM

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RECONSTRUCTING ABORIGINALITY

PAULINE WAKEHAM

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Introduction: Tracking the Taxidermic

In the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum, a small exhibition space located in the Rocky Mountain tourist town of Banff, Alberta, a ubiquitous fantasy of aboriginal authenticity is materialized once again in the form of the dioramic mise-en-scène. A series of tableaux utilize plastic mannequins of natives perpetually posed in the acts of tanning hides, preparing pemmican, and gathering around a tipi in order to stage an idealized scene of Plains aboriginal culture frozen in a state of imagined purity. Despite its reiteration of well-worn museological motifs, what renders this installation striking is its emplacement of plastic mannequins in conjunction with taxidermically preserved animal specimens, the latter occupying prominent positions rather than being subordinated to the status of habitat accessory. In an exemplary vignette, a native woman adorned in beaded regalia is positioned in a stiff stance gazing forward with a blank stare. Situated directly in front is a large taxidermically preserved wolf, head cocked upward and teeth bared as if on the verge of emitting a howl. A small mirror is positioned behind the woman's head, allowing spectators to admire the handiwork on the back of her costume while a brief text panel explains: "Ladies' Dance Outfit: Eagle Motif."

Although the mirror and written commentary suggest that the woman's dress is the intended focal point of the display, the taxidermic wolf commands the primary visual attention, appearing far more alert and animated than the mannequin stationed behind. The vignette's rationale of sartorial exhibition is consequently superseded by the installation's foundational assumption about the necessary proximity of animal and native bodies in the portrayal of a supposed state of aboriginal "tradition." Despite the diorama's attempts to naturalize the affiliation between

The troubling proximity between a plastic mannequin of an aboriginal woman and a taxidermically preserved wolf in the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum. Photograph by G. Zezulka-Mailloux; artifacts reproduced courtesy of the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum, Banff, Alberta, Canada.

animality and aboriginality, the incongruity between a native mannequin dressed in dance regalia and a howling wolf temporarily renders this proximity strange, prompting consideration of the ideological stakes of this exhibitionary strategy.[1]

The Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum hearkens back to and yet alters the form of the life group diorama that, in depicting so-called primitive peoples in their rituals of everyday existence, functioned as an integral element of North American museum pedagogy at the turn of the twentieth century. During this period, when taxidermic specimens were incorporated into the mise-en-scène, they usually functioned as mere props that enhanced the realism of simulated environmental backgrounds rather than operating as active, agential bodies. It was instead in the "habitat groups" — staged visions of embalmed wildness in a space evacuated of the presence of Homo sapiens — that taxidermically preserved animals became the protagonists of natural history narratives.[2] While habitat group dioramas continue to thrive as a mode of display, life group tableaux are now, at least in rhetorical lip service, recognized as problematic and passé. In reproducing the diorama form, the Buffalo Nation Luxton Museum blurs the distinction between life group and habitat group, intensifying the troubling ideological assumptions encoded in dioramic display. By constructing an equanimity and proximity between taxidermic animals and native mannequins as affiliated bodies locked in an intense symbiosis, these tableaux amplify the racializing codes inherent in this mode of exhibition. Specifically, the exhibits throw into relief the covert logic of such museum pedagogy: the distinction between life and habitat groups is actually superficial insofar as both dioramic structures use the same conventions to display their object matter and, in so doing, produce native and animal bodies as substitutable focal points in a frozen and simulated spectacle of nature.[3]

While it might be tempting to read these life group exhibits as an affirmation of the Buffalo Nations' cultural relationship with the natural environment and a concomitant refusal of anthropocentrism as a Western ideological paradigm, the semiotic codings put into play by these tableaux are far more dense and thorny than such an interpretation allows. Although the diorama purports to be an idealized space of aesthetic contemplation — what Donna Haraway describes as "a side altar, a stage, an unspoiled garden in nature" — this quasi-spiritual rhetoric masks the

brutal power relations that shape the dioramic field of vision.[4] As a Western invention that renders a spectacle of otherness permanently paused for the fascinated surveillance of the white spectator, the diorama subordinates its object matter to a fetishistic colonial gaze. Framed within these parameters, the construction of animals and aboriginals as proximate bodies is indelibly marked by the colonialist hierarchies of race and species that position native peoples as evolutionarily inferior to the fitness of white supremacy and, hence, much closer to the categories of lesser mammalians. The tableaux are accordingly overwritten by colonial discourse's strategic conflation of the categories of animality and aboriginality—a discursive collapse that racializes native bodies and relegates them to a static space of primeval nature separate from the movement of history and the progressive temporality of Western culture.

While the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum's dioramas conflate the signs of animality and aboriginality, the mediation of these signs via the particular representational technologies of taxidermic specimens and mannequins further complicates the racializing codes of the museological mise-en-scène. If the signs of animals and natives are collapsed in these displays, so too are the technologies of taxidermic specimens and mannequins in ways that erode the assumed distinction between which type of body—human or animal—is affiliated with which representational form. An implicit prohibition usually restricts the practice of taxidermic reconstruction to animal cadavers due to the manipulation of actual corpses involved; in contrast, wax and plastic mannequins, assumed to be at a physical and ethical remove from the literal management of death, are conventionally utilized to create human effigies. If this prohibition is transgressed, it is done under the logic of the racist exception, enacted upon the body of a purportedly inferior human species.[5] Considering the technologies of taxidermic specimens and mannequins in terms of discrete, preconstituted ontologies, however, obscures the complexity of their contingent manifestations in specific contexts. In the museum's dioramas depicting phantasmatic scenes of aboriginal authenticity, these technologies are contoured by colonial discourse and its interimbricated racial and species hierarchies. Within this discursive matrix, when taxidermically preserved animals and caricatured mannequins of aboriginal peoples are placed in such an intense proximity, the semiotic codes produced by these two technologies cannot remain separate; rather, the sig-

nifying systems put into play by the reconstructed specimen and the plastic Indian bleed into and permeate each other. These tableaux consequently skirt the prohibition surrounding the taxidermic reconstruction of human bodies: the taxidermic specimen's semiotic codings, and the macabre traces of death and decay that haunt it, are refracted onto the Indian effigy. As a result, the stuffed animal and the plastic Indian are rendered interimbricated figures of extinction, the lost corpses of an atavistic past. The intimate contiguity constructed between the taxidermic animal and the native mannequin consequently effects a collapse of species hierarchies that racializes the aboriginal figure and spectacularizes it as a synecdochic specter of a vanished population. In so doing, the tableaux amplify the colonial logic embedded in the structure of dioramic display, dramatizing a white supremacist narrative of evolution that fetishizes the supposed lost objects of primitive wildness.

The representational dynamics put into play by the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum constitute an important point of departure for *Taxidermic Signs: Reconstructing Aboriginality*. This book interrogates the troubling proximity between the sign of the taxidermically preserved animal and the sign of "Indianness," a semiotic affiliation that may be most explicitly and literally manifested in the context of museum display but which is reiterated and transmogrified throughout Euro–North American society. Rather than dismissing examples such as the tourist trading post decorated with cigar-store Indians and trophy heads as the hazards of kitsch culture, *Taxidermic Signs* argues that such instantiations are integrally linked to more associative reinscriptions of the conflation of animal and aboriginal bodies that are paused and posed in social texts such as ethnographic photography and film. When the affiliation between literalized forms of taxidermy and figures of aboriginality is hinged together with other examples in which native and wildlife bodies are frozen in uncanny poses of liveness, it becomes possible to reconsider taxidermy as a mode of representation, a way of reconstructing corporeal forms, that is intimately bound up with the colonial disciplining of both animal and aboriginal bodies. If taxidermy denotes a material practice — the dissection, hollowing out, and restuffing of a corpse's epidermal shell — its connotative specters revive fantasies of white male supremacy in "the sporting crucible," of colonial mastery over nature, and of the conquest of time and mortality through the preservation of the semblance of life

in death.[6] In this context, taxidermy functions as a powerful nodal point in a matrix of racial and species discourses, narratives of disappearance and extinction, and tropes of aboriginality that have been crucial to the maintenance of colonial power in Canada and the United States from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present.

According to Haraway, "Taxidermy fulfills the fatal desire to represent, to be whole; it is a politics of reproduction."[7] If taxidermy is "a politics of reproduction," it is also a technology that is particularly *reproducible*—a technology that has been repeatedly reproduced for politically charged uses since the early 1900s. This book argues that "taxidermy" may be conceptualized as a sign system inclusive of but not restricted to the literal stuffing of skins that reproduces a continually rearticulating network of signs that manipulate the categories of humans and animals, culture and nature, and life and death in the service of white supremacy. The semiotics of taxidermy, therefore, are not limited to embalmed animal specimens; they travel and transmogrify across a range of cultural texts such as museum installations, ethnographic cinema, and technoscientific discourses regarding the repatriation of Aboriginal remains. Transmogrification across social texts also involves travel and reinvention across time: the semiotics of taxidermy are not ontologically static or ossified; rather, this sign system demonstrates an uncanny ability to reproduce itself in new eras, revivifying colonial and racist discourses through malleable semiotic codes that find fresh ways to reinforce fantasies of colonial mastery in the current era.

Taxidermic Signs investigates the semiotics of taxidermy in order to critique and strategically reappropriate this sign system as an instrument or heuristic superordinate for deconstructing and defamiliarizing the dominant discourses it has been used to reinforce. Throughout this book, therefore, "taxidermy" occupies a doubled status: it is analyzed as both a specific technology of representation (the literal stuffing of epidermal shells) and as a sign system that travels beyond this material practice. While taxidermy proper is tacitly understood as a mode of representation that hinges upon the willful and viscerally macabre manipulation of its object matter, other representational forms such as photography, documentary film, media reportage, and "maps" of the genome are often considered to be semiotically vexed but also somehow more benign in terms of their material implications. Rather than metaphorizing taxidermic violence, *Taxidermic Signs* returns a recognition of the macabre forms of

material manipulation at stake in literal taxidermic practices to critical analyses of other representational technologies. In so doing, this book seeks to rechannel the visceral and affective powers of taxidermy for the purposes of defamiliarizing the violence effected by other techniques of colonial representation.

The tacit focus upon representational or epistemic over material violence in some (but certainly not all) scholarly studies of Western depictions of aboriginality may be linked to poststructuralist analyses that focus so intently upon the signifier/signified split that the material conditions underpinning the production of signifiers (and, hence, the materiality of signifiers themselves) are overlooked. In more specific terms, many studies negotiate the problem of the crucial disjuncture between the semiotic figure of the native and the real referents of historical and living Aboriginal peoples by focusing solely on Western representations as their object of critique. Terry Goldie explains such a split in the following terms:

> the signifier, the image here presented, does not lead back to the implied signified, the racial group usually termed Indian or Amerindian, but rather to other images. . . . Each representation of the indigene is a signifier for which the signified is the Image. The referent has little purpose in the equation.[8]

I understand Goldie's argument as demystifying the notion of an "originary image" — a supposedly authentic ground — from which the chain of Western representations of the native began. Recognizing the distance and difference between the sign of aboriginality and real historical subjects is crucial for destabilizing the power of Western discourses to define "nativeness" and Native realities. It would therefore be misguided to argue that such a critical approach disavows the "connection between text and 'reality'" or that it necessarily denies the historical and ongoing facts of social and political oppression.[9] That said, it is crucial to not leave aside the question of the referent, to move beyond immanent critiques of an intertextual chain of colonial representations, and to actually interrogate how the production of such images hinges upon the material exploitation and oppression of real subjects. For instance, the production of images of aboriginality have frequently relied upon the photographing and filming of actual historical persons whose economic and cultural systems have been irreversibly changed by these processes. Historically, such representations have reinforced colonial discourses regarding the vanishing Indian, thereby abetting governmental policies bent on eliminating the

obstructions posed by Aboriginal populations to the settlement of the "frontier." In the current era, the "mapping" of Indigenous DNA by initiatives such as the Human Genome Diversity Project also requires the very real extraction, and often exploitation, of flesh and blood from Aboriginal peoples. To address such complex processes, it is important to develop a critical practice that combats the conflation of semiotic figures with real Native subjects while also addressing the manifold ways such representations materially effect and are effected by living peoples.

Taxidermic Signs works to formulate and implement such a critical practice. It does so by first analyzing the material violence of taxidermy in its literal form and then demonstrating how its semiotics are reconfigured across time, space, and multiple social texts. In so doing, this book seeks to turn a tool of colonial discourse back upon itself as a defamiliarizing heuristic that underscores in blatant and often discomforting terms how colonial discourses naturalize linkages between animal and racialized human bodies in profoundly unnatural ways. In tracking the reinscription of the semiotics of taxidermy, this book develops a materialist semiotic critical practice that seeks to retain the insights of poststructural theorizations of semiosis while moving beyond their textual focus with the aid of critical theories regarding the historical and social lives of things as well as the affective powers of material objects as repositories of cultural memory.[10] Armed with these tools, I seek to direct critical attention toward the diachronic reinvention and transmogrification of colonial stereotypes of aboriginality, thereby challenging current narratives of so-called postcolonial progress that risk overwriting the persistence of colonial and racist discourses in North American society today.

GENEALOGIES OF TAXIDERMY

Taxidermy's origins are often shrouded in a haze of mythologies and mistaken assumptions that have contributed to the problematic construction of a proximity between taxidermy and aboriginality, between the stereotypes of skinning and savagery, that have reinforced colonial discourses regarding the primitivism of the native other. Moreover, these invented narratives dissimulate the crucial fact that taxidermy is not an invention of Native cultures but, rather, a product of the colonial enterprise. A genealogical analysis of taxidermy's historical development as a concept and material practice demonstrates that it is a decisively Euro-

pean and Euro–North American technology of representation and imperial intimidation.

The term *taxidermy* is etymologically derived from the Greek words *taxis,* meaning "arrangement" or "preparation," and *derma,* meaning "skin."[11] While the making of the first taxidermic specimen predated the published use of the word, the term initially appeared in the *Nouveau dictionnaire d'histoire naturelle* of 1803–4.[12] Although many taxidermy books and Web sites concede that this technology of representation is a distinctly European and Euro–North American invention, Taxidermy.net — one of the largest online information gateways devoted to the subject — attempts to link the Western practice of stuffing or mounting animal corpses to "prehistoric" origins. Weaving such an affiliation, the Web site asserts: "The first taxidermists were primitive hunter-gatherers who crudely formed animal skins over mud and rock for use in their hunting rituals. Over the eons, as methods to preserve these skins improved and the need for tanned skins increased, the tanner became one of the most important members of the tribe."[13]

Here, the narration of taxidermy's origins in terms of a fierce struggle between "primitive" humans and wild animals fuels a broader white mythology that both links and separates modern commercial and hobby taxidermists from this "prehistory." This white fantasy of primitive lifeways may be mobilized by contemporary taxidermists in order to phantasmatically reimagine their own "indigeneity," their own primary relation to nature. At the same time, however, the Taxidermy.net mythology of origins readily lends itself to the inscription of a discourse of evolutionary progress that marks a critical difference between primitive and modern taxidermists, implying that while primitive man was essentially part of the animal world, the modern taxidermist is nature's master.

Contrary to this mythology, the particular technology of taxidermic reconstruction is distinct from "primitive" practices of tanning hides or "ancient" Egyptian practices of animal mummification. As Karen Wonders comments, "Unlike embalming, by which the dead body is preserved, taxidermy attempts to restore the form, expression and attitude of the living animal."[14] Moreover, unlike practices of embalming or tanning, taxidermy developed with a doubled function: namely, the artistic pursuit of imitating nature and the scientific enterprise of collecting and preserving natural history specimens. As a specific method of preserving animal corpses in the guise of life, taxidermy has only been traced back

roughly 450 years, when the first documented attempt was initiated by a wealthy Dutch entrepreneur who sought to retain in deceased form a collection of birds that suffocated during transportation from the East Indies. Many of the earliest taxidermic specimens on record were similarly "exotic" species, including a crocodile from Egypt held in the Museum at St. Gall, Switzerland, in 1627 and an early seventeenth-century dodo bird from Mauritius displayed in Britain's first public museum.[15] The development of taxidermic methods was thus linked to the rise of colonial exploration and the related desire to collect and study specimens from distant lands.

With the publication of Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae* in 1732, taxidermy was elevated to the status of an important method of preservation integral to the emerging scholarly field of natural history studies and the concomitant growth of private collections and public museums. As Mary Louise Pratt contends, Linnaeus's classificatory schemas solidified the new enterprise of collecting global nature and legitimated it with the weight of academic authority:

> Natural history called upon human intervention (intellectual, mainly) to compose an order. The eighteenth-century classificatory systems created the task of locating every species on the planet, extracting it from its particular, arbitrary surroundings (the chaos), and placing it in its appropriate spot in the system (the order—book, collection, or garden) with its new written, secular European name.[16]

Amassing raw material to feed into his classificatory machines that churned the "chaos" of nature into "order," Linnaeus sent his students out across the globe on free passes with trading companies to gather samples and mount specimens to bring back to the master taxonomist. Taxidermy therefore became a vital technology that aided and abetted the collection of "the planet's life forms" and the systematization of nature as part of Western society's project to master the unknown and to impose a colonial order of things upon the world.[17]

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, continental Europe's prominence in the preservation and classification of global nature via taxidermic reconstruction became challenged by the development of new innovations in specimen preparation in the United States. This shift from the "Old" to the "New" world was in part due to the training of a new cohort of American museum professionals at Ward's

Natural Science Establishment, a private natural history supply house where practitioners developed new taxidermic techniques. Many students from Ward's later formed the Society of American Taxidermists and, through their various positions at museums across the country, collectively brought "scientific legitimacy" to the ostensibly artistic practices of preparing and arranging animal specimens in exhibits. Moreover, with the rise of studies in animal movement and emotion such as Eadweard Muybridge's *The Science of Animal Locomotion and Its Relation to Design and Art* (1887) and Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Men and Animals* (1872), coupled with the emergence of filmic technology and its capacity for portraying animal vitality, taxidermic practice was challenged to enhance its realist techniques. New methods strove to intensify the lifelike appearance of specimens and "to suggest movement without motion."[18]

Two members of the Society of American Taxidermists made particularly important contributions to mounting techniques. William Temple Hornaday, chief taxidermist for the American Museum of Natural History and, later, director of the New York Zoological Gardens, invented a process for creating a clay-covered mannequin upon which skins could be molded. In turn, Carl Akeley, an employee of the Field Museum of Natural History and the American Museum of Natural History, pioneered a more lightweight mannequin by layering papier-mâché over a plaster of paris mold and then using the hollow paper form as the structure around which the skins were arranged.[19] These "revolutions in taxidermic practice" involved a transformation from basic techniques of stuffing skins toward refined forms of sculpture that reconstructed dead animals in more fluid, lifelike, and ostensibly natural poses.[20] "Here," according to Mark Simpson, "the aesthetic ambitions of these taxidermic revolutionaries crystallize: through animal re-creation taxidermy . . . make[s] its mark as an *artless* art — an art *for* nature and *against* artifice, a mode of mediation [ostensibly] beyond mediation itself."[21] Akeley also developed the habitat diorama, which sought to provide an environmental context for specimens by synthetically recreating their natural surroundings. The diorama structure returned violently extracted and reconstructed animal corpses to a phantasmatic scene of wildlife's origins that further accentuated the taxidermic quest for human mastery over the natural world.

Over the past two decades, a growing field of scholarship has brought this period of "revolutions in taxidermic practice" into sharp critical focus. In the late 1980s Donna Haraway published the first seminal essay in the field — the now-famous "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908–1936." Analyzing taxidermy in the American Museum of Natural History's African Hall, as collected and prepared by Carl Akeley, Haraway demonstrates how the museological pursuit of preserving animal life in the form of embalmed death was intimately bound up with eugenics discourses of the era. Taxidermy displays in the African Hall produced an illusion of organic wholeness and "arrested decay" — a fantasy of the "hygiene of nature" that could "cure the sick vision of civilized man." By freeze-framing the gorillas and lions of Africa in poses of eugenic fitness, white men such as Akeley marked their communion with and yet mastery over nature as proof of the virility of their own species. Thus, "decadence — the threat of the city, civilization, machine — was stayed in the politics of eugenics and the art of taxidermy."[22] While Haraway's study provocatively demonstrates how taxidermy came to signify white male supremacy, her focus upon the African Hall and Akeley's hunting on that continent emphasizes the relations between taxidermy, eugenics discourses, and the imperial enterprise beyond America's borders. In this sense, her analysis of the display of "exotic" species leaves open further consideration of how the dynamics of taxidermic collection and representation might shift when investigated in relation to the hunting and embalming of animals at home on U.S. soil.

In his 1999 essay "Immaculate Trophies," Mark Simpson studies taxidermy in North America, focusing upon the work of American William Hornaday and Canadian Norman Luxton in the turn-of-the-twentieth-century period. Examining taxidermy in relation to a transnational politics of white supremacy hinging upon an elite sport hunting culture that frequently crossed the forty-ninth parallel in search of wildlife bounty, Simpson argues that big-game hunting practiced by white patriarchs was integrally linked to eugenics-based health and fitness discourses invested in maintaining Euro–North American racial mastery for perpetuity. As Simpson argues in his essay "Powers of Liveness," a changing cultural climate in the United States fomented a preoccupation among white elites to "restore the vitality" of what seemed to them "(surprisingly enough)

to be a vanishing population": themselves. In an era of increased industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, many white elites feared the devolution of their ruling class. According to Jennie Kassanoff, "the patrician impulse to glorify racial culture and the taxidermic quest to capture eugenic nature shared a common desire — to secure an American identity impervious to hybridization and change." Taxidermy, then, became symbolic of white male mastery over nature and the power to control the forces of racial and social decay.[23]

While Haraway and Simpson incisively demonstrate how taxidermy emerged as a technology of representation crucially bound up with the preservation of the white self, their work leaves open the question of how taxidermy is related to Euro–North America's colonial others. Taking up this question, *Taxidermic Signs* argues that the racial anxieties of white society in Canada and the United States circa 1900 were intertwined with the discourse of the vanishing Indian. As a way of shoring up its own identity in an era of change, white culture could project its own fears of demise onto the figure of the racialized other, making aboriginality synonymous with disappearance. Further complicating Haraway and Simpson's arguments, I contend that while hunting and taxidermically preserving animals reinforced white mastery over nature, these processes functioned in ambivalent ways. At the same time that the hunting and preparation of animal specimens registered colonial authority through the domination of the Western technologies of guns and taxidermy, these sporting rituals also established white mastery paradoxically by enabling settlers to engage in fantasies of indigenization. Taxidermic practice became an ambivalent and yet also resilient nodal point crossed over by doubled narratives of taxidermy as a colonial technology of control over nature and taxidermy as a practice linked to primordial indigenous tactics of hunting and living on the land.

Prefiguring the primitivist fantasies inscribed on the Taxidermy.net Web site, Euro–North American settlers practiced hunting and taxidermy as a distinctly masculinized way of conquering the land while simultaneously "going native" — appropriating an imagined primitive technique as a ritual of indigenization, thereby naturalizing the colonial conquest of so-called New World wildness through a reimagined relationship of belonging with this foreign landscape. As Alan Lawson argues, "The settler subject . . . exercises authority over the Indigene and the land while

translating his (but rarely her) desire for the Indigene and the land into a desire for Native authenticity in a long series of narratives of psychic encounter and indigenization." Through the culture of sport hunting and taxidermic preservation, therefore, white male settlers engaged in a doubled, ambivalent process — "effacement (of Indigenous authority) and appropriation (of Indigenous authenticity)" — motivated by desires for and anxieties about the colonial control of a foreign landscape.[24] Moreover, the practice of indigenization sought to shore up the legitimacy of white power by suggesting that Euro–North American settlers, by virtue of their ability to adapt to their New World environment, were "the proper heirs of . . . the land and resources of the conquered Natives."[25] In this way, taxidermy operated as a complex practice caught in tension between the production of aboriginality and the production of colonial whiteness, between self and other, authority and anxiety.

Fatimah Tobing Rony's *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* initiates the process of considering taxidermy's relation to social texts other than literal preserved specimens. Specifically, Rony investigates the discursive linkages that early ethnographic cinema constructed between taxidermy and racialized representations of aboriginality. Reading Robert Flaherty's 1922 *Nanook of the North* as a form of "taxidermic" filmic representation, Rony contends that *Nanook* frames the native other as "already dying if not dead" and, thus, uses filmic artifice to imaginatively reincarnate and preserve indigeneity on celluloid. In this context, aboriginal others are frozen in simulated, supposedly lifelike poses that ironically inscribe the mark of extinction upon their bodies. The ethnographic filmmaker, Rony suggests, functions as a kind of taxidermist who deploys simulation to produce what he or she believes to be a more authentic image of aboriginality than what nature itself could provide.[26] While *The Third Eye*'s inventive reapplication of the concept of taxidermy has been influential to my own thinking, *Taxidermic Signs* departs from Rony's use of taxidermy as a metaphor for understanding the machinations of early ethnographic film. Rather than reducing taxidermy to a solely metaphorical or figurative function, this book theorizes the semiotics of taxidermy as an active colonial logic and a perpetually reconfiguring sign system that condenses a matrix of colonial, racial, and ecological discourses as it is reinscribed and embedded in a variety of cultural texts. In other words, ethnographic film is not merely *like* taxidermy, it actively reinscribes taxidermic semiosis — a signifying sys-

tem that manipulates the codes of "nature" and "culture," "animals" and "aboriginals," and "life" and "death" in the service of colonial domination — via the medium of cinema.

The works of Haraway, Simpson, and Rony have collectively provided an excellent basis for understanding the relations between taxidermic practices and the conservation movement, elite hunting culture, natural history studies, and anthropological discourses in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century North American society. At the same time, critical focus on the decades around 1900 has prompted me to consider how taxidermy and, more broadly, taxidermic modes of representation have circulated throughout the twentieth century and into the current era. *Taxidermic Signs* constitutes a response to this question — one that takes unexpected shapes throughout the following chapters. By reconceptualizing taxidermy as a transmogrifying semiotic system that travels across a variety of social texts, I do not wish to construct a teleology in which taxidermy has necessarily evolved over time from literal to more figurative forms or to suggest that the literal practice of stuffing animal skins has disappeared and that we must now locate taxidermic modes of representation elsewhere. The status of taxidermy in North American society has indeed changed over the last century: the rationales of wildlife protection movements have transformed such that taxidermy's legitimation as a conservation technique no longer has widespread purchase.[27] In the wake of changing attitudes toward conservation and a shift in taxidermic practice toward more trophy production for individual sport hunters, what was once considered a more elite artistic and museological practice is now often perceived as a kitschy hobby significant only to members of a lowbrow fringe culture. Dismissing contemporary taxidermy as camp without interrogating how its past cultural meanings continue to resonate in the present, however, risks overlooking the persistence of colonial ideology bound up in taxidermic reconstruction. More important still, to confine and reduce *taxidermic semiosis* to taxidermy proper is to overwrite the pervasiveness of this sign system in contemporary North American culture. Taxidermic structures of representation are perpetually shifting, recoding this matrix of discourses regarding preservation and extinction, death and reincarnation, and culture's manipulation of nature in new textual and material forms. It is in this broader context of a transmogrifying sign system vital to colonial power that this book tracks the shifts in taxidermic meaning in North American

society from the beginning of the twentieth century to the current era. In so doing, this book articulates the force of history to a defamiliarizing critique of the politics of taxidermic reconstruction in the present tense.

TAXIDERMY'S SEMIOTICS: THE POLITICAL ANATOMY OF A SIGN SYSTEM

Foucault's "critique of political anatomy" — a study of the ways that power reproduces itself in and through the making and disciplining of bodies — is suggestive for analyzing how the "microphysics of [colonial] power" are enacted through forms of taxidermic semiosis.[28] In this vein, I want to outline some key elements of the "political anatomy" of the semiotics of taxidermy, or the contours of the body of a sign system that works on and through bodies, that seeks to manipulate the relationship between human and animal, live and dead, and real and imagined corporeal forms.

Taxidermy's political anatomy hinges upon bodies positioned in time. In other words, one of the most crucial aspects of taxidermic semiosis is its temporal coding, or the way this sign system inscribes and manipulates time. Haraway points toward the sophisticated temporal dynamics mobilized by taxidermic technologies of representation in her discussion of habitat group dioramas displayed in Akeley's African Hall. Describing the scene, she writes:

> Passing through the Museum's Roosevelt Memorial atrium into the African Hall . . . the ordinary citizen enters a privileged space and time: the Age of Mammals in the heart of Africa, scene origins. A hope is implicit in every architectural detail: in immediate vision of the origin, perhaps the future can be fixed. By saving the beginnings, the end can be achieved and the present can be transcended.[29]

Rather than operating as a temporal vacuum, the African Hall filled with taxidermic monuments travels infinitely backward toward "scene origins" and, through recourse to this phantasmatically reconstructed past, simultaneously projects an imagined future of white evolutionary supremacy for its visitors encountering the installation in the present. Prompted by Haraway's suggestive comments, this book theorizes in more explicit and expanded terms the profound significance of temporality to the semiotics of taxidermy. Taking up Haraway's assertion that taxidermy seeks to "produce permanence, to arrest decay," I argue that, rather than constituting a simplistic antithesis to temporal passage or an easy syn-

onym for stasis or the cessation of time, taxidermic permanence hinges upon putting time into play.[30] Taxidermic specimens are monuments to a past that has been rescued from the detritus of history and preserved not just for the present moment but also for a time yet to arrive. In this sense, taxidermic modes of representation perpetually rearticulate pastness and perpetuity in dynamic configurations.

This book investigates the semiotics of taxidermy's multifarious temporal manipulations as this sign system reconfigures itself from text to text. This analysis of time-warping is informed by Johannes Fabian's assertion that the construction of subjects and objects "through temporal concepts and devices is a political act; there is a 'Politics of Time.'" While Fabian focuses his study specifically upon the temporal politics of anthropological discourses (as a discipline developed in intimate complicity with the broader colonial project), his identification and critique of several temporal strategies used to frame the colonial other as inherently atavistic, and hence inferior to Western civilization, are salient to *Taxidermic Signs*. Of particular interest is Fabian's diagnosis of "the denial of coevalness": "a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse." Fabian uses the term "coeval" to move beyond the meanings of "simultaneity" or "contemporaneity" and to suggest not only the concept of sameness of "age, duration, or epoch" but also "to connote a common, active 'occupation,' or sharing, of time."[31] By disavowing such coevalness, anthropological discourses relegate the colonial other to a discrete — and always already anterior — temporal realm, separate from the movement of history and the time of supposed Western progress.

The denial of coevalness effected by anthropological discourses resonates more broadly with the ways that taxidermy attempts to freeze-frame its specimens in an "allochronic" or "other time" of suspended pastness. Through communion with the taxidermic object, the spectators are able to reimagine and yet also transcend this realm of static pastness and to project themselves forward to a space of temporal movement and progress. As taxidermy's semiotics are reconfigured in ethnographic photography and cinema as well as repatriation and genomic discourses, the denial of coevalness is reinvented and reinscribed through various forms of time-lagging and time-warping that continue to deny the "active occupation" of shared time between Euro–North American society and the

figure of the aboriginal. The native other, therefore, is denied historical agency, paradoxically placed outside of time and yet locked within the confines of a hegemonic, homogeneous notion of Eurocentric temporality.

Also crucial to the political anatomy of taxidermy's sign system is the strategic management of the categories of "life" and "death" and of "preservation" and "extinction." While taxidermy recreates death in the image of life, its hyperrealist tactics of reincarnation effectively inscribe the fatal sign of mortality upon the bodies it claims to revivify. In a related vein, although taxidermic modes of representation purport to engage in the work of preservation, these technologies ironically encode the threat of extinction upon the objects they frame, thereby prophesying the future death of bodies that are supposedly doctored to transcend the force of time. Since the rise of taxidermic innovation during the decades around 1900 and the concomitant championing of this preservation technique by white conservationists and sportsmen, taxidermy's historically and geographically specific meanings within the "New World" have been shaped by key social discourses of this formative period, especially two entangled narratives of death and disappearance: the *grand récits* of wildlife extinction and the vanishing Indian. While these master narratives are at times inflected differently by particular nationalist ideologies in Canada and the United States, both countries have and continue to mobilize such *récits* as vital tools of colonial discourse, legitimating westward expansion as part of the inexorable tide of progress while simultaneously purporting to mourn the casualties of civilization's destiny.

In his 1893 eulogy for the "ever-retreating frontier," Frederick Jackson Turner lamented the loss of this pivotal contact zone — "the meeting point between savagery and civilization" — where white Americans forged a distinct national character through their encounter with raw nature.[32] Implicit in the *grand récit* of the receding frontier was the disappearance of the landscape's inhabitants — animals and native populations collapsed together as the supposed embodiment of the "savagery" that Turner describes. Turner's "frontier thesis" is an integral text for demonstrating how the spinoff narratives of disappearing wildlife and vanishing Indians were not so much about benevolent protection or even feigned sympathy; rather, these narratives focused upon the supposed loss of animals and aboriginals as natural resources with particular use-values for the consolidation of white national identity.

Such was the impetus behind the wildlife conservation movement that became prominent during the late 1800s. American William Hornaday publicized what he perceived to be a crisis of animal extinction in *The Extermination of the American Bison* (1887) and *Our Vanishing Wildlife: Its Extermination and Preservation* (1913). In these treatises, Hornaday lamented the deterioration of animal populations ostensibly symbolic of the nation's defining adventures on the western landscape and exhorted the need for urgent conservation measures. Heeding this call were President Theodore Roosevelt and editor of *Field and Stream* George Bird Grinnell, who spearheaded the creation of national parks as an ostensibly civilized technique for preserving wildness. In a twist of fraught logic, however, Roosevelt and Grinnell championed the conservation movement in order to ensure the future of their favorite pastime: sport hunting. Such conservationist discourses, therefore, were not so much about the protection of nature in and of itself but, rather, the maintenance of nature as a resource for the rituals of elite white culture — the enactment of what Roosevelt called the "frontier virtues" of big game hunting and recreation in the wild that was so crucial to the formation of American manhood.[33]

In Canada, similar discourses regarding the decline of wildlife and the supposed remedy presented by the conservation movement also became prevalent at the beginning of the twentieth century. Layered onto this troubling conservationist rhetoric, however, were nationalist and regionalist discourses of western boosterism that attempted to play up American anxieties regarding wildlife decline in order to promote the frontier north of the forty-ninth parallel as "the last wildlife stronghold on the continent."[34] Canadian narratives of western expansion attempted to turn the nation's developmental time lag — specifically, the fact that Canada had not yet succeeded at fully settling its western territories as quickly as the United States — into an asset by claiming that there was more "untouched" nature, more uncontaminated wildness north of the border. Beneath this boosterist propaganda extolling the purity of Canadian nature, the country's politicians and capitalist promoters that expounded the discourse of conservation and the judicious protection of national wildlife worried not so much for nature's sake but for the continuance of a mythology of superabundance that was key to the health of the white body politic and the vitality of the nation's commercial interests.

While taxidermists and sportsmen like Hornaday bemoaned the decline of animal populations in what he termed "the late lamented Wild West,"[35] white colonists similarly mourned what they believed was the pending extinction of Native peoples. Shari Huhndorf argues that "the end of the military conquest of Native America" — marked by the Wounded Knee massacre in 1890 — led to an intensification of narratives of the vanishing Indian that inculcated nostalgia for the colonial others who were no longer perceived as constituting a significant threat to white nation-making.[36] In Canada, the defeat of the Métis in the North West Uprising of 1885 similarly marked the termination of Aboriginal resistance to colonial rule north of the forty-ninth parallel. In both U.S. and Canadian contexts, the "triumph" of colonial military oppression led to the formation of a complex structure of nostalgia for ostensibly disappearing Indianness that sought to overwrite colonial culpability with sentimental displays of lamentation. The volatile supplement to such nostalgia, however, was pleasure — the perverse enjoyment derived from mourning the disguised fruits of colonial aggression as the purportedly inevitable extinction of an inferior race.[37]

To further dissimulate white culpability by naturalizing the supposed disappearance of Aboriginal populations, such sentimental discourses intertwined the semiotic figures of disappearing animals and vanishing Indians as linked species sharing a similar fate. Harry Ellard's 1899 poem, "The Passing of the Buffalo," articulates such a logic in typically sentimental form:

> On reservations now the blood grows cold
> In savage veins, where once 'twas fierce and bold.
> The Indian — proud — is destined soon to go,
> As in the Passing of the Buffalo.[38]

Ellard's poem spins a nostalgic narrative of disappearance that accepts the decline of animal and Aboriginal populations as a melancholy but natural fact of social progress. In the guise of a sympathetic dirge, the poem dissimulates the material ramifications of colonial violence while reaffirming the colonial order of things by positioning the semiotic figures of animals and aboriginals as lesser, expendable species in the hierarchies of anthropocentric white supremacy.

Haraway summarizes the logic underpinning turn-of-the-century attitudes toward conquest and nostalgia in the following terms: "Once

domination is complete, conservation is urgent. But perhaps preservation comes too late."[39] While white culture lamented the putative loss of animal and Aboriginal populations, Euro–North American society further distanced itself from the culpability of colonial violence by staging two institutionalized "rescue" operations designed to preserve remnants of the frontier's original inhabitants. In this context, the nature conservation movement and the mission of salvage ethnography rose to prominence during the early 1900s as articulated projects designed to preserve the so-called endangered species of wildlife and natives respectively.[40] Rather than constituting concerted efforts to reverse the damages of colonization, these rescue projects worked to overwrite colonial violence and to cast Euro–North American conservationists and anthropologists as culture heroes selflessly devoted to the aid of moribund others.

In the guise of benevolent rescue, however, the fraught logics of conservation and salvage ethnography enabled further colonial exploitation: Roosevelt and his colleagues advocated nature conservancy to sustain the future of sport hunting, taxidermists such as Hornaday flayed animals in order to preserve them, and anthropologists legitimated grave robbing and the expropriation of Aboriginal cultural belongings in the name of salvaging remnants of a vanishing race. The rubric of "rescue" paradoxically constituted yet another way to inscribe, to spectacularize, and to materially hasten the death of the conflated figures of nature and natives. As a result, the "too late" arrival of preservation projects, to recall Haraway's words, was actually a pleasurable time lag for the white colonist: the failure to prevent the loss of wildlife and native peoples was colonialism's success, enabling Euro–North American society to further exploit wildlife and native peoples under the guise of heroic rescue.

Emerging from this turn-of-the-twentieth-century context, the semiotics of taxidermy seek to manage and to capitalize upon the real and manufactured crises regarding the death of the symbolic bodies of the animal in peril of extinction and the vanishing Indian. Collectively, these disappearing bodies signify the success of imperial expansion while simultaneously circulating as unstable remainders marking the fallout of colonial violence. The semiotics of taxidermy seek to control these remainders and to appropriate them back into the folds of colonial logic via a double movement in which putative preservation tactics roll back upon themselves as forms of consumption, ranging from the literal killing of animals to the visual consumption of stereotypes of the vanishing Indian.

In the process, the symbolic bodies of animals and aboriginals are fetishized as remnants of "prehistory" that are incorporated back into the national imaginary as part of the nation's own mythologized origins. Tracking the semiotics of taxidermy over time, this book demonstrates how these complex dynamics of conservation and consumption are reinvented in present-day "rescue" operations that mobilize discourses of benevolent preservation to legitimate their work. For example, state-operated museums continue to assert proprietary claims to retain, study, and exhibit Aboriginal bodily remains and cultural belongings via the rhetoric of safeguarding national heritage. The Human Genome Diversity Project mobilizes a similar discourse in order to legitimate the collecting of Indigenous DNA, arguing for the urgency of preserving such genomic information before all so-called native purity is contaminated by racial intermixing in the wake of globalization.

If the political anatomy of taxidermy's semiotics involves the narration of vanishing bodies, it also entails the manufacturing of bodily skins. The production and manipulation of epidermal surfaces via taxidermic semiosis, I contend, is crucially linked to the racialization of human bodies. More specifically, the semiotics of taxidermy are integrally bound up with the construction of the "racial epidermal schema"—a concept coined by Frantz Fanon but which *Taxidermic Signs* retheorizes in ways that move far beyond visualist paradigms of racial identification. In *Black Skin, White Masks,* Fanon theorizes the psychic and social processes of racialization in the context of a scopic regime that taxonomizes human bodies according to the chromatics of skin. Describing the process of being subjugated to the racializing gaze of a young boy who points and identifies Fanon as "a Negro," the author writes: "Assailed at various points, the corporeal schema crumbled, its place taken by a racial epidermal schema."[41] The "crumbling" of the "corporeal schema" signifies the violent work of racialization through which embodied subjectivity is dissected and reduced to a constructed "skin," or a synthetic, hollow shell, that is overwritten by the nefarious taxonomies undergirding white supremacy. Homi Bhabha affirms the continued salience of the "racial epidermal schema," or what he terms "the signifier of 'skin/race,'" as "the key signifier of cultural and racial difference . . . , the most visible of fetishes, [that] . . . plays a public part in the racial drama that is enacted every day in colonial societies."[42]

While Fanon and Bhabha's theorization of the racial epidermal schema integrally informs this study, *Taxidermic Signs* does not seek to reinstate skin chromatics as the predominant paradigm for understanding the mechanics of racialization. Rather, this book defamiliarizes conventional understandings of the racial epidermal schema, arguing for a rethinking of "race" that includes but also moves far beyond dominant scopic regimes of racialization to consider the diverse semiotic, somatic, and affective codes operative in the making of "raced" bodies. Thus, rather than recuperating a theory of racialization that some recent critics have dismissed as outmoded, I seek to radically redefine the "racial epidermal schema" in ways that take into account and yet also rethink the microphysics of power in the current era.

Shortly after the turn of the new millennium, Paul Gilroy diagnosed a crucial shift in the crisis of "raciology"—a term he uses to describe "the lore that brings the virtual realities of 'race' to dismal and destructive life." With the rise of genomic discourses and the proliferation of new medical imaging technologies, Gilroy argues that "the relationship between the seen and the unseen" has been fundamentally transformed and, along with it, so have the regimes of visibility that contour our understandings of "race."[43]

> When the body becomes absolutely penetrable, and is refigured as the transient, epiphenomenon of coded invisible information, that aesthetic, that gaze, and that regime of power are irrecoverably over. The idea of epidermalization points toward one intermediate stage in a critical theory of body scales in the making of "race." Today skin is no longer privileged as the threshold of either identity or particularity. . . . The boundaries of "race" have moved across the threshold of the skin. They are cellular and molecular, not dermal.[44]

According to Gilroy, the chronological succession of different modes of racialization may be summed up in the following assertion: "Dermopolitics succeeded biopolitics. Both preceded nano-politics."[45]

In the wake of the millennial turn, both media and theoretical discourses seem to focus upon technoscience's remaking of bodies and the levels of scalar perception upon which they are imaged and imagined. Within the new world of cyborgian and posthuman life forms, a consideration of the continued transmogrifications of the racial epidermal schema or the signifier of "skin/race" might seem passé, even theoretically

antiquated. But what might be the dangers of overdiagnosing the present, of focusing so intently on the newness of genetically inflected "race"-thinking that we ignore other critical theories of "race" because they seem out of fashion? While Gilroy's charting of the historical changes in raciology—from the phrenological fascination with skulls and bones of the nineteenth century, to the epidermalization of racial difference diagnosed by Fanon in the mid-1900s, to the recoding of "race" through the genome today—provides a useful outline of some predominant changes in raciology, his analysis risks too rigidly periodizing and separating different (and yet crucially related) racist discourses. A historical chronology of raciology that punctuates itself by declaring specific regimes as "irrecoverably" and "emphatically over" risks occluding the crucial ways that different racist discourses may overlap and operate simultaneously—sometimes in contradiction and sometimes in mutual reinforcement.[46] What is urgently needed, instead, is a more flexible theory of the diachronic interplay of different modes and processes of racialization: a theory that is acutely cognizant of general historical changes in raciology, that addresses technoscience's implications for current recodings of "race," and that also remains keenly aware of the uncanny ways that racist discourses of the so-called past continue to be reinvented and, thus, may return to haunt the future.

Taxidermic Signs contributes to the development of a critical theory of "race"-thinking and racialization that is attentive to such diachronic interplay. Moreover, in retheorizing the racial epidermal schema in relation to taxidermic semiosis, this book challenges and moves beyond the visualist emphasis that remains unquestioned in Gilroy's periodization of raciology and his conceptualization of the current machinations of nanopolitics. Unlike Gilroy, however, I do not purport to offer a universalized theory of racialization that is implicitly applicable to all geopolitical contexts. Proceeding with caution, I recognize that an understanding of the diachronic shifts and overlaps in racist discourses hinges, perhaps paradoxically, upon attention to the distinct historical and locational specificities within which various forms of racist discourse emerge or are reinvented or debunked. While my argument draws from and is inspired by a diverse range of critical theory produced in different locations and while I keep open the possibility that my interventions may be of use to scholars working in other areas, this book directs its critical focus upon a

particular target: retheorizing the epidermal schema with specific regard to the racialization of Aboriginal peoples in Canada and the United States from the turn of the twentieth century to the current moment.

Rethinking the production of the racial epidermal schema in relation to the semiotics of taxidermy involves the following interventions. While skin is conventionally thought of in one-dimensional terms or as a flat surface, taxidermic semiosis complicates this notion via the production of skins stretched and contoured in the guise of bodily wholeness, molded in the shape of corporeal dimension and fullness. The semiotics of taxidermy, therefore, hinge upon the construction of *epidermalized embodiment.* Converting the noun *epidermis* into verb form foregrounds the idea that the construction and identification of corporeal forms is mediated by the crucial work of skin — as both biological tissue and discursive schema overdetermined by colonialism's obsession with racial and species categorizations. As skin molds itself around bodily contours, it both covers over and yet also throws into relief the real and imagined anatomies beneath the surface. In other words, the epidermal schema highlights not only exterior tissue but also the relationship between skin and the structures of the skulls, bones, and organs it clings to. As a result, the semiotics of taxidermy may summon not only surface epidermal codings of racist discourse but also previous forms of craniometry and physiognomy that are vitally concerned with the inscription of race across three-dimensional anatomies.

If epidermalized embodiment invokes modes of racialization often associated with past historical eras, it also puts into play raciology's current fascination with the genome. While DNA research is popularly imagined as the ultimate form of scientific truth and objectivity that reveals itself in sterile laboratories and disembodied databanks, rethinking nanopolitics in terms of taxidermic semiosis strategically reveals the continued fetishization of bodies-in-the-flesh bound up in genomic reinscriptions of "race." Genetic testing hinges upon the collection of DNA samples from humans-qua-specimens — often extracted in conditions falling short of the ethical conditions of "informed consent," as I will demonstrate in discussions of the Human Genome Diversity Project and the salvaging of Indigenous DNA. In this sense, the image of flesh portrayed in the round that epidermalized embodiment invokes is a powerful reminder of technoscience's preferred loci for DNA samples — namely,

human tissue and the blood that courses beneath it. The taxidermic body, constructed as a succulent and yet macabre figure of liveness, therefore works to defamiliarize the semblance of clinical and detached objectivity created by technoscience, revealing what Donna Haraway calls the "vampire culture" at the heart of genetic research.[47]

Pairing the term *embodiment* with the notion of epidermalization indicates not only the semblance of corporeal wholeness discussed earlier, but also the idea that taxidermic semiosis is inextricably enmeshed within, and utilized by, biopolitical forces that act upon the body, rendering it an "effect of power" rather than a presocial organism.[48] Underscoring the concept of embodiment in relation to the semiotics of taxidermy also draws attention to the range of somatic and sensory encounters that corporeal forms solicit. Thus conceived, the semiotics of taxidermy extend "dermo-politics" — to recall Gilroy's term for modes of racialization based upon the chromatics of skin — far beyond dominant visualist paradigms and the scopic calibration of color and tone. Taxidermy's semiotics construct animalized and racialized epidermal schemas not only by mobilizing the colonial gaze but also by invoking alternative sensory and affective codes. The "signifier of 'skin/race'" is not only a visible and visual fetish, it is also often a tactile and olfactory one — a distinctly materialized fetish that solicits sensory and affective responses through culturally mediated encounters between bodies and objects situated in historically and geographically specific locations. While the stretched skin of the taxidermic specimen is used to reconstruct a dead corpse in the guise of life, it is also that same skin, grown stiff and tinged with the smell of formaldehyde, that often unwittingly reveals the macabre reality of decay, the message of death rather than eternal life that taxidermy supposedly encodes.

In comparison, the plastic mannequin of the vanished Indian dressed in so-called traditional costumes and displayed in museums might at first seem devoid of sensory dimension. The mannequin, however, invokes very different but also very powerful sensory and affective codes to construct the aboriginal other as an extinct curiosity and a commodifiable spectacle now reproducible in cheap, mass-produced form. The gloss of the plastic highlights the orangish-brown tint of the mannequin's skin while the molding and contours of this synthetic epidermis accentuate the most stereotypical phrenological markers of "Indianness" — wide cheekbones and large, angular noses — set off by a menacing gaze. The

texture and smell of plastic is reminiscent of children's toys, effecting a troubling conflation of symbolic bodies that is reinforced through the sale of miniature plastic Indian figures in museum gift shops. The semiotics of taxidermy, therefore, play to and prey upon a dense and diverse field of sensory and affective codes to construct the aboriginal other as a racialized and fetishized figure of extinction, a lost body that may elicit a variety of responses including curiosity, excitement, and nostalgia.

If taxidermically inscribed corporeal forms are marked by diverse sensory and affective codes, it is important to consider not only the embodiment of the taxidermic specimen/object but also that of the spectator/perceiving subject who interacts with it. As Foucault argues in *The History of Sexuality,* biopower acts upon and within bodies to produce desire in particular ways and to camouflage the work of social construction under the guise of supposedly natural or biological responses. Redeploying Foucault's critique of the production of desire to a broader consideration of affect in its heterogeneous forms, I contend that taxidermic semiosis and its fetishization of epidermalized embodiment solicit varied forms of somatic engagement with materialized colonial constructions of animals and aboriginals, which, in turn, are intimately bound up with the production of affective responses, such as desires, feelings, and moods. Of course, the particular content of the affective responses invoked in embodied spectators/perceiving subjects vary from person to person, often inflected by factors such as gender, age, and cultural and ethnic identifications. These important influences upon identity formation and social consciousness, however, do not give any subject a "free pass" by which they can become exempt from the sensory and emotional reaches of the microphysics of power. That said, subjects who think carefully about such processes may be able to exercise agency within the constraints of biopolitics. For these reasons, it is vital to take affect seriously and to treat it as a form of coding that, although diffuse and complex, may be traced and analyzed with specificity. *Taxidermic Signs* labors against the pitfalls of aestheticizing affectivity in terms of ethereal, abstracted force-fields or celebrating the liberatory potential of the senses as a medium for pure phenomenological encounter or the "recovery of truth as collective, material experience."[49] Engaging in a politically motivated consideration of affect as a fundamentally discursive rather than presocial phenomenon, this book examines the locationally and historically specific contexts in which taxidermic semiosis and its fetishization of epidermalized

embodiment intimately articulate emotion and sensory apprehension in the service of colonial hegemony.

The political anatomy of the semiotics of taxidermy, therefore, hinges upon the making and placing of bodies through recourse to manipulations of temporality, narrativizations of the vanishing bodies of animals and aboriginals, and discursive and affective constructions of racial epidermal schemas. While this introduction charts the historical, political, and theoretical contours of taxidermic semiosis in broad strokes, the subsequent chapters will analyze this sign system's dense and intricate manifestations through a constellation of case studies. *Taxidermic Signs* seeks to "grasp the constellation," as Walter Benjamin would say—to both link and separate—distinct inscriptions of this sign system across space and time while remaining attentive to the contingencies contouring each example.[50] By recognizing the specificity and yet also the intersections between past inscriptions of taxidermic semiosis and discourses pervasive in our time of the now, we might gain a more nuanced understanding of—and, in turn, develop more effective critical tools for destabilizing—the ways that the historical crises of colonialism and racism persist (sometimes in familiar and sometimes in new forms) today.

TRACKING THE TAXIDERMIC: CASE STUDIES

The case studies examined in *Taxidermic Signs* take place in the real and imaginary geographies of the North American northwest. In terms of geopolitical reference points, this category crosses and simultaneously marks Canadian and American borders, stretching up toward the Northwest Territories and out to Alaska, and extending eastward into Alberta and Montana below it. Rather than constituting a fixed space, this territorial category is arbitrary and malleable, shape-shifting over time due to varying colonial and imperial strategies of settlement and development. Both as a geographic region and an imaginative concept, the North American northwest invokes an intricate network of colonial mythologies articulated around the tropes of the Great North, the Wild West, and the frontier. Throughout this study, I summon these mythologies and demystify their ideological implications by analyzing how these master tropes persistently reinscribe discourses of time-warping, extinction, and the vanishing natural world that are so integral to the semiotics of taxidermy.

This book negotiates a productive tension between the overdetermined paradigm of the North American northwest and the distinct locational specificities contouring each case study. In so doing, *Taxidermic Signs* compares colonial institutions and discourses in Canada and the United States in a way that attends to similarities while also guarding against a homogenizing analysis that overwrites the particularities of power's machinations across national (or even state and provincial) borders. This study acknowledges that the ideologies of imperialism, the material practices of colonialism, and the academic discourses regarding both have been shaped differently in the United States and Canada. While taking these differences seriously, it is vital to also interrogate how our understanding of imperial and colonial processes in these two countries have been crucially shaped by nationalist ideologies so pervasive that they have infiltrated and been reproduced in scholarly studies. As a result, it is crucial to briefly reexamine the prevailing thinking on imperialism and colonialism in the United States and Canada with a view toward understanding how the narration of national differences may be influenced by patriotic mythologies and other vested interests.

Taking stock of the American context, Amy Kaplan argues that narratives of U.S. exceptionalism have systematically disavowed the country's role as an imperial power, based on "an enduring assumption that the American struggle for independence from British colonialism makes U.S. culture inherently anti-imperialist." This exceptionalist narrative has powerfully infiltrated academic study and resulted in several troubling critical lacunae: specifically, "the absence of empire from the study of American culture . . . and the absence of the United States from the postcolonial study of imperialism." To address these aporia, Kaplan argues for careful scholarly attention to "the multiple histories of continental and overseas expansion, conquest, conflict, and resistance which have shaped the cultures of the United States."[51] While Kaplan's interventions are significant, Shari Huhndorf has in turn underscored a continued oversight left unaddressed in Kaplan's own proposed remedy. Huhndorf draws crucial attention to how "even [scholarly] work that attends to these multiple histories as well as to the dynamics of conquest and resistance usually ignores the history of America's internal colonialism, and often the presence of Native America itself."[52] Huhndorf aptly demonstrates that perhaps the most striking aporia in American studies is not so much the dearth of discussion regarding imperialism but, rather, the

pervasive absence of analyses of *colonialism.* American exceptionalist narratives have enabled a persistent splitting of semantic hairs to suggest that, as fugitives and rebels of British Empire, American settlers could not have engaged in colonization — understood, *pace* Said, as "the implanting of settlements on distant territory" — because Americans were not agents of the British metropole.[53] To thus excise the word *colonialism* from the context of American history is to instate the American Revolution as the romanticized origin point for the nation in a way that disavows the importance of the prior period of settlement and colonization as a necessary precondition for the establishment of U.S. power in the New World.

Moreover, the mythologization of American settlers as rebels against Empire obscures the material and cultural affiliations with Britain that aided and abetted U.S. citizens in conquering new territory and subjugating Indigenous inhabitants. *Taxidermic Signs* argues that the applicability of the term *colonialism* should not hinge upon whether or not the white oppressors of First Peoples were technically British or American citizens (and, thus, whether or not such oppression was the result of foreign settlement or territorial annexation) but rather upon the nature of the mechanisms and institutions utilized in controlling the land and its rightful owners. In the United States, the establishment of white power over Native peoples was effected by military conquest, the expropriation of territory, the formation of reservations and residential schools, and the establishment of federal Indian law — "the body of legal norms and regulations that since the late eighteenth century has increasingly constituted US Indian 'tribes' or 'nations' as colonized communities."[54] This brief list, in no way comprehensive of all the intricate machinations of power, quite clearly demonstrates that colonization is indeed an applicable and necessary term in the study of U.S.-Native relations.

Scholarly examinations of Canada's relationship to imperialism and colonialism have frequently taken recourse to comparing Canada's history of national development with that of the United States. In this context, Terry Goldie has argued that while Canada "openly evolve[d] from the British empire," the United States "hides such an evolution through a myth of Revolution."[55] Canadian nationalist discourses have often seized upon this point in less nuanced terms, suggesting that Canada is morally superior to the United States because it recognizes rather than disavows its role in colonial processes. Ironically, however, the narrative of Canada's

so-called open evolution from empire is easily utilized to pass colonial culpability back onto the British metropole in a way that distances Euro-Canadian settlers from responsibility, portraying them as victims or at least marginalized subjects of British imperial power. Jody Berland argues that Canadian literary and cultural discourses have often reinforced this notion of the white settler subject as victim via the feminization of Canada as a colony positioned as marginal, exploitable, and, hence, acted upon by aggressive external forces such as those of Britain and the United States. As Berland aptly notes, such a strategy of feminization enables "a discourse of exoneration" that assuages Canada's own sense of guilt regarding the colonial violence at the root of the nation.[56]

If the terms *colonial* and *postcolonial* are frequently absent from American studies, Canadian literary and cultural studies have used these terms perhaps too liberally, further reinforcing the concept of white settlers as marginalized subjects by categorizing their writing within the rubric of postcolonial resistance to British domination. As Linda Hutcheon has noted, "Commentators are rather too quick to call Canada a Third World . . . and therefore post-colonial culture. . . . I cannot help feeling that there is something in this that is both trivializing of the Third World experience and exaggerated regarding the (white) Canadian."[57] In narrating the formation of the nation, therefore, Canadian critical and popular discourses have found multiple ways to obscure Canada's own direct responsibility for the oppression of Aboriginal peoples — those persons who have most significantly experienced the violence of colonization in the so-called New World.

By engaging in a comparative critique of colonialism in Canada and the United States, this book directs bilateral pressure upon both Canadian and American hegemonic discourses that attempt to soften and mitigate these nations' roles as colonial aggressors. Forcing Canadian discourses of moral superiority and settler victimry into dialogue with narratives of American exceptionalism, I underscore the incontrovertible fact that both nations sought to subjugate Indigenous populations through the expropriation of Native lands and natural resources, the writing of legislation that denied Native sovereignty and rendered Indigenous peoples wards of the state, the development of colonial agencies, the prohibition and containment of many Native cultural practices, and the establishment of contained disciplinary sites such as reserves and residential schools. While marking the overarching similarities between

these mechanisms and institutions of colonial aggression as they have been implemented in Canada and the United States, *Taxidermic Signs* attends to the historical and locational specificities of four distinct case studies that collectively demonstrate the continuities and reinventions of colonial violence across national borders and through time up to the present.

Beginning with one of the iconic sites of the rugged west — the Rocky Mountains — chapter 1 investigates taxidermy in the literalized form of animal specimens displayed in the Banff Park Museum, western Canada's oldest natural history museum. Designated a national historic site in the 1980s, the Banff Park Museum transitioned from an active museological institution to a self-declared "museum of a museum": a time capsule that purportedly preserves the building and its displays circa 1914.[58] In this way, the museum constructs a fantasy of time travel back to an idealized past of western expansion and nation-making. Mobilizing a rhetoric of nostalgia for frontier authenticity and the thrill of the wild, the museum overwrites colonial oppression via a master narrative of conservationist benevolence that supposedly legitimates the regulation of animal and Aboriginal populations via the formation of Canada's first national park. In this way, the museum produces a dangerously powerful white supremacist mythology regarding the heroic civilization of the frontier. Moreover, the museum's self-representation as a "museum of a museum" enables a canny manipulation of time: the museum revivifies turn-of-the-century colonial discourses regarding the categories of nature and natives while simultaneously distancing itself from the colonial project by purporting to merely preserve, rather than perpetuate, the attitudes of the "past" in the present. Thus, while a consideration of the Banff Park Museum provides a conventional reference point for thinking about taxidermic specimens and their material conditions of display, this case study also begins to demonstrate the density and complexity of taxidermy's codes. Chapter 1 pushes beyond a strict visual-semiotic reading of taxidermy to consider how preserved specimens solicit a range of affective and somatic codes that may be utilized to reinforce and/or destabilize nostalgia for vanishing wildlife and vanishing Indians. In so doing, I argue that this dense matrix of codes travels beyond the literal corpses of stuffed animals and is reinscribed in the Banff Park Museum's display of aboriginal artifacts in ways that signal the return of the museum's repressed history of colonial violence.

In chapter 2, I move to analyze the semiotics of taxidermy in more associative terms through a critique of the turn-of-the-century photography and film work of Edward Sheriff Curtis. This chapter negotiates a shift from taxidermy's literalized relation to the "ethnographic animal" and toward a consideration of taxidermic representations of the "ethnographic Indian." Here, the taxidermic animal recedes into the background and becomes a residual trace that haunts the figure of the aboriginal who, in turn, becomes the primary object of preservation and display. Through an examination of Curtis's work, my study shifts its primary focus away from the wildlife conservation movement and toward the preoccupations of anthropology's "rescue" mission to preserve the fragments of a culture supposedly on the brink of extinction. Fueled with a sense of urgency to capture — via the freeze-frame of the photograph — the images of those Native groups he believed still retained the semblance of their precontact culture, Curtis spearheaded a monumental project known as *The North American Indian* — a twenty-volume compendium of photographs and encyclopedic notes that sought to record the remnants of ostensibly vanishing aboriginal lifeways. From these photographic beginnings, Curtis moved on to film, producing the first narrative documentary, *In the Land of the Headhunters,* in 1914.[59] *Headhunters* reinscribes the semiotics of taxidermy by constructing a racist fantasy of "primitive" origins that freeze-frames aboriginal figures as specimens of the past, dead in the present. Comparing Curtis's photography and film as distinct and yet related taxidermic technologies, chapter 2 initiates a strategically counterintuitive move by demonstrating how Curtis's photography preserves "traditional Indianness" in a literal freeze-frame while his documentary inscribes complex forms of fixity and stasis upon Native bodies under the guise of filmic motion. In this context, Curtis's photography and film deploy what I call "stasis effects" to fix Indigenous peoples according to colonial stereotypes of otherness.

Continuing a study of taxidermic semiosis in ethnographic cinema, chapter 3 analyzes Marius Barbeau's 1928 *Nass River Indians,* a documentary about the Nisga'a in northern British Columbia. In contrast to Curtis's attempt to time-travel back to a primitive world unmarked by Western culture, *Nass River Indians* depicts the purported deterioration of aboriginal lifeways in early twentieth-century Canada by casting Barbeau as an anthropologist-hero engaged in the project of "rescuing" indigenous artifacts as remnants of a disappearing culture. Similar to the way

that taxidermy's logic of preservation hinges upon killing and embalming its specimens, the logic of anthropological salvage encoded in Barbeau's film marks the sign of death upon the lifeways it claims to preserve. *Nass River Indians* also demonstrates how the semiotics of taxidermy cannot be theorized solely in terms of visual codes; rather, it also involves aural or sound codes, even in silent films. While this documentary deploys the medium of silent film to depict the fieldworker in action, the plot foregrounds Barbeau's use of the phonograph to record and preserve Nisg̲a'a songs. Accordingly, the documentary hinges upon a tacit technological contest between filmic and phonographic modes of preservation, provoking the following questions: What is at stake in recording the preservation of songs on silent film? How does the sound of silence work to encode the semiotics of taxidermy? By addressing these queries, chapter 3 seeks to understand the sometimes contestatory, sometimes mutually productive workings of audio and visual technologies in the recirculation of taxidermy's sign system.

Chapters 2 and 3 operate in conjunction to analyze how the semiotics of taxidermy are translated into early ethnographic cinema. In considering two case studies about film, my intent is not to frame ethnographic cinema as the principal modus operandi for taxidermic semiosis but, rather, to recognize the importance of cinema in redefining popular consciousness in the twentieth century (as Benjamin and many others have argued). Moreover, reading Curtis's and Barbeau's films side by side enables an interrogation of recent discourses of archival reconstruction. Both texts were once categorized as "lost" celluloid fragments of North American "prehistory" that, in turn, were reconstructed by Euro–North American academics at major universities — Curtis's film in the 1970s and Barbeau's in 2001. In their current state, therefore, these films constitute a preservation of a preservation — a logic that resonates with the Banff Park Museum's self-declared rebirth as a museum of a museum. While the 1973 reconstruction of *Headhunters* problematically attempts to recuperate Curtis's melodramatic film as an ostensibly authentic ethnographic document, the 2001 reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* seeks to recontextualize the film's celebration of anthropological "rescue" by framing this narrative in relation to the history of colonialism in Canada. A detailed comparison of the Curtis and Barbeau reconstructions, however, challenges easy assumptions about academic enlightenment by revealing how the use of postcolonial theory in the recontextualization of

Nass River Indians may actually dissimulate ongoing power disparities involved in the remaking of colonial texts by dominant ideological apparatuses. Chapters 2 and 3, therefore, are not solely about ethnographic filmmaking in the early 1900s; similar to my analysis of the Banff Park Museum, these chapters move back and forth in time, constellating moments of the past with ongoing debates in the current era.

Chapter 4 investigates the possibilities and limits of repatriation processes and the ways they may engender the taxidermic fetishization of Aboriginal bodily remains. Engaging in a comparative analysis of the Kennewick Man and Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį cases, I examine how a heterogeneous field of archaeological, anthropological, and genetic discourses reinvent and reinscribe the racialization of indigeneity under the guise of ostensibly objective science. While the eight-year legal battle over Kennewick Man in the United States became controversial fodder for the mainstream media, the lesser known discovery and study of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį (colloquially referred to as the "B.C. Iceman") has been hailed as a model of cooperation between First Nations and dominant governmental and research institutions. A closer reading of these two cases, however, reveals that the study of both sets of human remains set in motion controversial attempts to reconstruct the so-called prehistoric past in ways that have troubling political and ideological implications for claims of Indigenous belonging on the North American continent. Kennewick Man's 9,300-year-old skeleton was reincarnated for the public gaze via new techniques of facial reconstruction that sought to regraft simulated clay skin onto a plaster cast of the skull and remake this ancient predecessor in the three-dimensional form of epidermalized embodiment. Conversely, the 550-year-old body of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį garnered attention due to the fact that the corpse was preserved in a glacier, frozen with its skin on. Coveted by science as the oldest soft tissue remains of precontact indigenous life ever found in North America, press releases framed the Iceman as a proverbial body of evidence — a kind of taxidermic specimen — that could enable the reconstruction of the genetic profile of indigeneity prior to colonization. At stake in both attempts to "reconstruct" these ancient remains in semblances of liveness — that of epidermalized embodiment or the wholeness of the genetic code — is the fetishistic fascination with taxonomizing prehistoric otherness. Attending to the points of affiliation and divergence between the Kennewick Man and Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį cases, this chapter works to defamiliarize

the reinscription of racial categories and the extension of biopower within the new domains of forensic anthropology and genomics.

Charting the contours of colonial politics in North American society from the late 1900s to the current moment necessitates careful attention to the heterogeneous and perpetually shape-shifting network of actors and interests involved. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* offers a nuanced theorization of how hegemonic discursive formations are contoured "by the experience of fragmentation and by the indeterminacy of the articulations between different struggles and subject positions."[60] In other words, power is not centralized or consolidated in a single locus; rather, dominant networks are shaped by contingent alliances linking a variety of institutions and agents. Also articulated within this network of power are antagonistic social actors who may, for strategic purposes, temporarily align themselves with the dominant institutions they oppose. Laclau and Mouffe's model of the contingency of hegemonic discursive formations consequently challenges analyses that would reduce the complexities of colonial power in North America to a simple dichotomy between dominant state apparatuses versus Aboriginal peoples, or colonizer versus colonized. Instead, *Taxidermic Signs* analyzes the complex and multinodal articulations of hegemonic discursive formations that involve a diverse array of actors and institutions held in tension via their points of affiliation and spaces of divergence. Institutions such as the National Archives of Canada, the Royal British Columbia Museum, the Burke Museum of Natural History in Seattle, and major North American universities (sites involved in the case studies throughout this book), although often articulated in a cooperative network with shared interests, cannot be reductively considered as a homogeneous entity always motivated by the same stakes. As well, Indigenous organizations such as the Nisga'a Lisims and Champagne and Aishihik governments cannot be collapsed into one unit, nor can these institutions be said to represent the views of all their members or articulate an imagined authentic voice of "the people." Despite the power imbalances and the often radically divergent agendas of colonial state apparatuses and Aboriginal institutions, an examination of how these organizations are articulated within hegemonic discursive formations must remain attentive to the ways that interests might converge and link these groups together. Rather than weakening a critique of colonial culpability and ongoing exploitation, such an analytic strategy traces

the fluid machinations of power in order to better understand the resilience of dominant institutions and discourses and, thus, to formulate more effective tactics of resistance.

As I trace the contours of the discursive formations of colonial power in Canada and the United States, the very act of writing implicates me within this network. As a white, middle-class woman working within a Canadian university, I am linked in cultural, economic, and ideological ways to many key institutions of colonial power. My academic affiliations have sometimes (but not always) facilitated access to archival materials and curatorial assistance in dominant archives and museums. In an effort to rupture the discursive monopoly of hegemonic institutions, I have also sought to contact Native agencies such as the Nisga'a Lisims and the Champagne and Aishihik governments. Sometimes these attempts were met with no response — silences that may be due to the fact that I am part of the dominant systems I aim to critique or that may be the result of other circumstances I will never know. The point here is emphatically not to fetishize the perspective of Native representatives as "authentic" voices or to lament "lost" insight that I never had. Rather, in marking the privileges and constraints of my research process, I want to draw attention to some of the invisible aporia that are lurking in this book as well as to underscore the fact that the "positive" content that appears visible and readable is inevitably shaped by my subject position. The discussions that are absent and present throughout *Taxidermic Signs* are also shaped by the fixations and failures of the archive. One of the sobering facts of academic research is that dominant discourses underpinning the colonial project — articulated through legislation, anthropological field notes and recordings, and correspondence between government officials — are often the primary materials available for interrogation due to the legacy of colonial officials' documentary obsessions.

In writing the chapters on Curtis's and Barbeau's photography and films in particular, questions arose regarding the agency of the Native actors who participated in the making of these images. There are no organized institutions to contact with regard to these queries, and the documents that remain provide very little indication of how these people construed their involvement. I would be reifying the discourse of the vanishing Indian if I assumed that all of the "original" participants have by now disappeared, for there is a chance that some may still be alive today — but how to locate them and whether or not they want to be "found" for

these purposes is another problem. Thus, rather than attempting to overwrite the gaps in my research with a narrative of archival prowess, I have decided to expose these absences as well as to exert pressure upon the dominant documents to which I do have access in order to read the ruptures within.

By attempting to shake up a reading of *Taxidermic Signs* itself and to disrupt its "positive" content with its invisible fissures, I mobilize Donna Haraway's suggestive concept of "diffraction." Haraway argues that politically engaged cultural critics "cannot afford self-invisibility." And yet, she contends, "reflexivity is not enough to produce self-visibility." Instead of reflection, Haraway calls for "a practice of diffraction": "the production of difference patterns in the world, not just of the same reflected — displaced — elsewhere." Diffraction means disturbing the scene of reflection and recognizing that one's "location . . . is always a complex construction as well as inheritance."[61] Thus, in answering diffraction's call, I seek to move beyond processes of self-reflexivity and the mistaken faith in transparency and full disclosure they may inscribe, recognizing that illusions of clear vision are often enlisted in the service of dominant regimes of truth making. In turn, *Taxidermic Signs* attempts to create "difference patterns in the world" by defamiliarizing and disassembling the hegemonic codes of colonial discourse in Canada and the United States, especially those that initially appear progressive.

With regard to questions of terminology, diffraction might involve acknowledging the slipperiness of words and the impossibility of fixing the meaning of what we intend to say. At the same time, it might also involve not using linguistic slippage as a critical cop-out, an excuse to not strive for rigor with word choices. I have tried to walk this line throughout the book. To refer to the agents of colonialism in Canada and the United States, I often invoke the problematic, homogenizing category of "white" culture. In explaining a rationale for the strategic use of this term, it is now commonplace to cite Richard Dyer's *White,* among other seminal texts in the field, to outline an acknowledgment of the gradations and hierarchies within white culture while also arguing for a tactical homogenization of that which often presents itself as a hegemonic norm.[62] I am a product of this new critical tradition and use the term "white" accordingly. When a distinction between national cultures is important, I alternatively use the appellations "Euro-Canadian" and "Euro-

American." The choices for terminology regarding Aboriginal peoples has been even more difficult, particularly because this book crosses the forty-ninth parallel and, in so doing, summons up the differences in nomenclature that have arisen due to the colonial border that arbitrarily divides Native groups. In Canada today, "Aboriginal" has emerged as one of the most commonly used terms for referring collectively to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. According to Cheryl Suzack, "Aboriginal" has more widespread acceptance in Canada whereas "Indigenous" seems to be a preferred general category in the United States while "Native American" is also a commonly used nationally inflected term. Moreover, Suzack suggests the use of the term "First Peoples" as a category that crosses borders and "privilege[s] cultural connections between aboriginal/indigenous peoples of Canada and the United States, which have been disrupted by national boundaries."[63] Most important, when possible, I will invoke an Indigenous nation's own self-appellation, for such terminological specificity prevents a homogenization of distinct Native cultures. Thus, rather than arbitrarily attempting to limit the field of signification to one or two word choices to denote Aboriginal peoples, I let proliferation and malleability run its course, thereby foregrounding contests over naming and underscoring the heterogeneity and diversity of Indigenous cultures. Instead of offering clarity, I draw attention to proliferation and polysemy as a way of diffracting dominant regimes of transparency and the difference patterns they suppress. Finally, in an attempt to prevent the conflation of Western representations of aboriginality and the real referents of Native peoples, I use lowercase words such as "native" (usually preceded by reference to "the figure of" or "the category of") to denote Euro–North American discursive constructions.[64] In contrast, real referents are marked by capitalization (i.e., "Aboriginal," "Native," or "Indigenous" peoples).

Collectively, the case studies throughout *Taxidermic Signs* generate readings of "taxidermy" as both a material practice and a complex semiotic system that brings the codes of colonial and racial discourses to a point of crisis. In so doing, this book seeks to both theorize and to implement a politicized anticolonialist and antiracist critical practice that interrogates how the "ideological construction of otherness" is crucially linked to the "problem of discrimination."[65] Engaging in a constellation of case studies contoured by distinct historical, geographical, and cultural

contingencies, I track with specificity the discriminatory effects produced by the persistent hegemony of colonial discursive formations across the North American northwest and through time. By constellating the past with moments of our now-time, *Taxidermic Signs* demonstrates that the project of challenging colonial power structures is by no means complete and that, in addition to the cultural critique it necessitates, it also demands ongoing interrogation of the persistence of ethnocentrism and racism in "theory" itself.

1. READING THE BANFF PARK MUSEUM

Time, Affect, and the Production of Frontier Nostalgia

If this chapter constitutes a starting point from which to initiate an investigation of the semiotics of taxidermy, it is a provisional site of departure, not a definitive beginning or origin. As the introduction has already indicated, taxidermy "began," or rather it emerged, across time and space, as part of the culture of travel at the crux of the imperial enterprise, spurred by the "discovery" of foreign lands and exotic species. Thus, the materialization of taxidermy as a concept and practice was underway long before the early twentieth-century context explored in this first case study. Ironically, however, it is the regionalized and periodized scene of Rocky Mountain wildness in its frontier boom days that resonates in the popular imaginary when "taxidermy" is invoked. In choosing to begin with a critique of taxidermic semiosis in the Banff Park Museum, I do not want to overwrite the other history of taxidermy as a globe-trotting technology devised to preserve the dead plunder of imperial expeditions. Rather, I want to carry forward taxidermy's transoceanic genealogy in order to prompt rigorous interrogation of how this technology became domesticated in North America as a method of preserving and studying local instead of alien natures. In so doing, this first case study examines "Western Canada's oldest natural history museum" as a crucial site for the reformulation of taxidermy as a New World practice propelled by the doubled valences of ecological colonization and white indigenization.[1] While taxidermy operated as a mechanism of ecological colonization, importing European techniques for preserving and taxonomizing nature to ensure white mastery over frontier wildness, the process of taxidermic collection simultaneously enabled settlers to enact a fantasy of "going native" by tracking and hunting animals as a ritual for domesticating their white bodies to the North American environment.

This chapter engages in a retrospective critique of the colonial fantasies and anxieties bound up in taxidermy preparation and display at the Banff Park Museum circa 1900. It explores this past, however, as it is refracted through the present tense, and particularly through the museum's current exhibits. In 1986, the Banff Park Museum was reincarnated as a national historic site, transitioning from an active museological institution to a "museum of a museum": an installation space that purportedly preserves, like a time capsule, early twentieth-century attitudes toward natural history in the Canadian northwest.[2] In so doing, the Banff Park Museum of today stages itself as a portal through which visitors can travel back in time to Banff's early days as a leisure destination on the rugged frontier. To reproduce an ethos of pastness, the museum constructs a caricatured scene of rustic mountain life with the iconic props of bearskin rugs, trophy heads, and rough-hewn wooden signs.

While the museum's fantasy of time travel initially appears to create a sense of historical immediacy — of rendering the past experientially accessible in the present — the museum's exhibition strategy also produces a crucial distancing effect. By framing its collection of taxidermically preserved animals as monuments to a bygone era, the Banff Park Museum is able to dissimulate its ongoing affiliations with the violence of early twentieth-century practices of specimen collection and preparation. Even as the current installation attempts to distance itself from the museum's history of active taxidermy production, however, it simultaneously remythologizes the concomitant ideological assumptions that legitimated colonial triumph over the frontier. In this way, the Banff Park Museum constructs a nostalgic vision of colonial history that reframes the processes of domination through which white settlers acquired knowledge/power over the New World environment as a heroic effort to bring empire to the wilderness. Moreover, under the guise of nostalgically re-presenting the past, this national historic site sustains and promotes key tenets of colonial discourse that continue to justify ongoing systems of domination within the Banff environs and beyond in the current era.

The museum's current temporal strategy of ostensibly preserving and yet also restaging frontier romance is further complicated when one considers that by 1900, the military conquest of Aboriginal peoples in the United States and Canada had been largely achieved and the west was no longer as rugged, wild, or untamed as colonists had once imagined. Al-

though Turner eulogized the frontier in 1893, a few years later, the Banff Park Museum revitalized the fantasy of the colonial encounter with feral animals and natives. In a sense, therefore, the Banff Park Museum — even as it operated at the turn of the century — relied upon a fantasy of time travel back to an era of white heroics in the wilderness. Today, therefore, the museum hinges upon a doubled structure of return to an imagined frontier: the current national historic site purports to enable revisitation of Banff's past circa 1900 while the museum at this period itself sought to reincarnate an earlier, more rustic era of frontier purity and savagery. Analyzing colonial politics in American society at the beginning of the twentieth century, Shari Huhndorf argues that "as the site of the white nation's origin story, as the place where civilization initially overcame savagery, the frontier provided a framework for articulating other forms of power relations."[3] To support her contention, Huhndorf draws upon the work of Michael Kammen, who asserts, "People seemed to thrive upon the backward glance, not so much for purposes of escapism, though that inclination certainly existed, but because the creative consequences of nostalgia helped them to legitimize new political orders [and] rationalize the adjustment and perpetuation of old social hierarchies."[4]

While Huhndorf's comments are specifically focused upon the American context, I contend that her argument is also applicable to white Canadian society circa 1900. For settler populations in North America, therefore, the frontier became the landscape upon which colonialism's primal scene was mapped. The frontier as "origin story" operated as a site to which settler society repeatedly returned in order to shore up a sense of identity as a superior civilization. As Huhndorf contends, "Evoking and reenacting white America's previous racial conquests gave contemporary imperial endeavors a history and seemed to assure their success."[5] While the narrative of the frontier was crucial to combating white anxieties regarding racial devolution during the turn-of-the-century era marked by increased immigration and industrialization, this origin story continues to circulate in nationalist mythologies today with powerful ideological purchase. The Banff Park Museum of the new millennium plays to such mythologies in complex ways: by initiating a doubled structure of return to this overdetermined frontier scene, the museum perpetuates the romance of white mastery over wildness and enables the "creative consequences of nostalgia" to legitimize both old and reinvented forms of colonial power asymmetries.

In purporting to preserve and potentially reanimate the frontier past, the Banff Park Museum functions as a site of selective memory that strategically occludes the museum's own troubling participation within a broader political economy of colonial domination and exploitation throughout the North American northwest. In this chapter, I seek to disrupt the Banff Park Museum's romanticized narrative of frontier life by prompting the return of its repressed history of ideological and material violence. Accordingly, before engaging in a close reading of the installation as it is presented today (and as it apparently mimics the museum's design circa 1900), I will analyze the institution's historical role as one site articulated in a network of "nature displays" that, under the guise of conservation, trafficked and consumed animal bodies for the purposes of controlling and spectacularizing frontier wildness. While the museum's enterprise of literal taxidermic collection and display has functioned as part of a system of ecological colonization, this institution has also perpetuated forms of taxidermic semiosis that travel beyond the stuffed specimens it showcases, disseminating complex ideological codes that buttress colonial governance. For example, by displaying indigenous materials alongside taxidermic specimens, all collapsed under the rubric of "natural history," the Banff Park Museum establishes a troubling proximity between, and conflation of, the semiotic figures of "animals" and "aboriginals." In this way, the semiotics of taxidermy domesticate and perpetuate colonialism's longstanding discursive strategy of racializing the native other via recourse to tropes of animality — a strategy that has and continues to be instrumental in legitimating the governmental subjugation of Native peoples and their territory within the regulated space of Canada's first national park. The reinscription of the semiotics of taxidermy throughout this national historic site therefore aid and abet the state and its apparatuses in continuing a political economy of exploitation in the Banff environs.

BACK TO NATURE ON A RECEDING FRONTIER

The Rocky Mountains Park (later renamed Banff National Park) was the first federally protected parkland maintained by the Dominion government, spanning 5,730 square miles across the western border of the province of Alberta.[6] Brought into being by an Act of Parliament in June

1887, the park was placed under the supervision of the Department of the Interior, the same federal agency responsible for "civilizing" the west by attracting settlers and tourists to the region. Eight years later, the Banff Park Museum was established by the Natural History Branch of the Geological Survey of Canada as a home for taxidermic and geological specimens that had been exhibited internationally as part of Canadian nation-building propaganda. The Department of the Interior utilized these taxidermically preserved animals in immigration displays in Europe, constructing scenes of wildlife and natural resource bounty in the hopes of enticing settlers to Canada.[7] In 1893 the specimens were also staged as part of a nationalist panorama in the Canadian Pavilion at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago, dramatizing the Canadian state's ability to control and yet also maintain its wildlife riches. Shortly thereafter, these specimens, along with much of the display furniture from the exhibits, were brought "home" to the west and assembled in a log cabin-style building, eclipsing the specimens' globe-trotting history with a scene of frontier rusticity convincing in its semblance of local authenticity.

Once installed in this new regionalized context, the museum's taxidermic and geological specimens became enmeshed in a matrix of discourses that reinforced the Canadian state's colonial agenda in particular relation to the development of the Rocky Mountain region. Specifically, the Banff Park Museum both shaped and was shaped by three interrelated discourses: frontier tourism, western boosterism, and conservationism. The promotional discourses of frontier tourism invoked repeatedly throughout Banff at the turn of the century played to white fantasies of New World wildness, a kind of wildness that ostensibly became purer and more authentic the further one traveled westward away from the established colonial settlements. Frontier tourism accordingly mobilized what Anne McClintock has referred to as the trope of "anachronistic space" through which "imperial progress across the space of empire is figured as a journey backward in time to an anachronistic moment of prehistory."[8]

The Banff Park Museum put a unique twist on this trope, encoding the fantasy of space/time travel on a structural level with the institution's distinctive architecture. In 1903 the Department of the Interior commissioned former railway engineer John Stocks as the principal architect for the museum's permanent home.[9] Stocks designed the Banff Park

Exterior of the Banff Park Museum. Photograph by G. Zezulka-Mailloux; reproduced with permission of the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site of Canada and Parks Canada Agency.

Museum in "railway pagoda" style, mimicking the Canadian Pacific Railway's (CPR) early western train stations with trademark details such as overhanging veranda eaves, carved brackets, and a crossed-log motif on the exterior walls. The museum's architecture consequently effected an imaginary overlapping of museum and train station spaces and, in the process, the CPR's well-worn marketing tactic of framing western rail travel as a trip back in time to a land of wilderness and adventure was transferred to the experience of museumgoing as well.[10]

For white settlers from the industrialized east, the allure of such a fantasy of time travel hinged upon the possibility of encountering spectacles of wildness. The CPR's first general manager, Cornelius Van Horne, understood this fantasy's appeal and, thus, sought to entice travelers with scenes that played to colonial stereotypes of the Wild West by exhibiting animals and natives at railway stations posted across the Canadian frontier. In 1894, when floods damaged part of the train tracks, the CPR organized prolonged entertainment for its patrons by hiring members of the Stoney reserve to perform dances and rodeo events for the travelers. Moreover, the CPR was also instrumental in the development

of Banff Indian Days, an annual event where Aboriginal groups performed "traditional" dances and ceremonies while tourists could watch and, thus, be exposed to the ostensibly vanishing culture of the nation's Indians.[11] The CPR's particular brand of tourist entertainment along the western rail lines became well publicized in books such Douglas Sladen's 1895 travelogue *On the Cars and Off.* In this text, Sladen applauds the CPR's initiative, remarking: "The Indians and the bears were splendid stage properties to have at a station where both the east and west bound trains . . . stop for lunch."[12] By deploying Indians and bears as "stage properties," the CPR produced spectacles that linked the semiotic figures of "animals" and "aboriginals" in a colonialist mythology of the primitive past. In the popular imagination, therefore, the western railway station became associated with the exhibition of the nation's wildness.[13]

The Banff Park Museum's architectural mimicry of railway pagoda design summoned up the experience of the western train station and, in so doing, underscored the natural history museum's function as another site of colonial spectacle — a site where the civilized traveler could encounter wildness paradoxically under the control of colonialism's machinery. Although the museum's strategies of exhibition differed significantly from those of the railway platform, the Banff Park Museum invoked the same iconic figures of "Indians" and "bears" as stereotyped symbols of civilization's others. While the Banff Park Museum deployed skins and mounted corpses as synecdoches of wildlife, it similarly displayed aboriginal cultural objects — reframed according to the category of ethnographic "artifacts" — as remnants of an endangered population. Curator Norman Sanson felt the inclusion of such artifacts was so important to the museum's inventory that he donated his own collection of "birch bark rogans or baskets, samples of porcupine and silk work on leather, . . . fish-net making tools, bone articles etc., made by the Indians themselves and following original methods."[14] The Banff Park Museum, however, did not stop at the display of such artifacts; rather, it assumed proprietary and exhibitionary rights over "the bones of an Indian chief long dead,"[15] thereby drawing an insidious connection between the taxidermic display of dead animals and the exhibition of Indian remains that effectively rendered the native one more species under Euro-Canadian control.[16]

The discourse of frontier tourism reinscribed by the Banff Park Museum was closely linked to that of western boosterism, which was motivated not only by desires for regional development but also by

nationalist pride vis-à-vis Canada's continental rival, the United States. Seeking to capitalize upon American anxieties regarding the decline of their nation's wildlife, promoters dubbed the Canadian frontier "the last wildlife stronghold on the continent." In an attempt to gain an advantage over popular American hunting locales, promotional materials inculcated a "myth of superabundance" in Canada, turning the Dominion's developmental time lag behind the United States into an asset that could entice more tourists to the Rocky Mountain region north of the forty-ninth parallel.[17] The Banff Park Museum attempted to visually stage a phantasmatic scene of regional superabundance by overloading its two-room building with taxidermic specimens depicting "almost everything four-legged that is known to the hunter of the Canadian northwest."[18]

While the museum sought to dramatize the area's wildlife bounty and thus entice adventure seekers to the town, its recourse to taxidermic displays encoded a much more complex and ambivalent message regarding frontier wildness and the threat of extinction. The very premise of stepping out of "nature's playground" and into a natural history museum begged the question as to why, if the surrounding territory was supposedly teeming with such animals, tourists would need to go inside to have communion with nature in the form of reconstructed animal corpses. An initial reason for staging wildlife superabundance via taxidermy involved the display of a fine balance of colonial mastery over the unruly frontier that would demonstrate the state's ability to manage animal populations without depleting these resources. A more complex reason for exhibiting taxidermic specimens, however, was intimately bound up with the third and arguably most thorny discursive strategy of colonial rule in the turn-of-the-century west — that of conservationism.

Although promoters of the Canadian west sought to differentiate the region from the territory south of the border, the state and its apparatuses as well as local developers in the Banff region also manifested an underlying anxiety about the decline of wildlife populations by reiterating conservationist discourses prevalent in the United States. The conservation movement was spearheaded by prominent American figures such as Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell, editor of the magazine *Field and Stream,* whose concerns for the environment were, ironically enough, motivated by their passion for sport hunting. Although conservation policies and federally protected parklands appeared to be beneficent goals, the logic underpinning this movement was fueled by

ideologies of racial fitness and white supremacy. The seemingly benign desire for getting "back to nature" by traveling to the western frontier was configured as "travel back in time" to a purer, simpler state of wildness where "the 'frontier virtues' that ensure racial mastery" could be recovered and reenacted.[19]

Echoing the rhetoric of the parks movement in the United States, the Canadian government and corporate powers such as the CPR framed Banff as antidote for the stresses of urban living and industrialization. In a pamphlet produced by the Department of the Interior in 1910 titled "The Prince of Playgrounds," Banff is celebrated as "beautiful, but . . . also beneficent. The Mineral Springs and Sulphur Baths are curative, and the breezes that blow over Banff have healing in their wings."[20] The implicit assumption operative in such campaigns, however, was that national parks protected the health and vitality of the *white* nation, offering respite from urban living only to those white settlers wealthy enough to travel westward for vacation purposes.

Beyond the general curative aspects of getting back to nature, the key "frontier virtue" that encounters with the wilderness afforded, according to conservationists such as Roosevelt and Grinnell, was that of big-game hunting. For these enthusiasts, hunting was the consummate form of physical exercise by which white men could commune with and yet demonstrate mastery over the natural world. By performing strength in the face of wildness, elite white hunters engaged in a practice that was more than a pastime or hobby — it was an act of ecological colonization that contributed to the taming of the New World. Sport hunting was also a crucial way of furthering racial fitness, strengthening white male bodies and adapting them to the new landscape. Thus, according to Roosevelt, "the white hunter" exemplified the physical prowess of "a masterful race."[21] Although sport hunting was cast as a gentleman's activity cultivated by the colonial upper classes, this ritual of engagement with nature was also at times ambivalently inflected by white fantasies of indigenization, of acquiring the same skill and familiarity with the New World landscape as the native other was believed to possess. This fantasy of "going native" by participating in the rituals of hunting hinged upon the doubled mechanisms of "effacement (of Indigenous authority) and appropriation (of Indigenous authenticity)."[22] Thus, one of the key practices for solidifying and revitalizing white racial fitness on the frontier was paradoxically shaped by an imagined mimicry of native customs.

Although the link between sport hunting and the conservation movement hinges upon a precarious contradiction, within elite white hunting culture this logic made perfect sense: the establishment of protected areas or wildlife refuges enabled animal populations to grow, thereby providing new generations of prey that would ensure the future practice of hunting-qua–"frontier virtue" for a long time to come. Such a logic, however, indicates the instability of the myth of the untouched frontier by conceding that civilization's presence throughout this terrain was already so extensive and disruptive that it had threatened to render big-game populations extinct.[23] In the case of the Rocky Mountains Park, a similarly fraught logic of conservation was espoused by many of the region's founding patriarchs. Local publicist and taxidermist Norman Luxton produced a promotional pamphlet in 1914, arguing that the prohibition against hunting within the park's borders was actually "an advantage to the hunter rather than otherwise as under protection the game increases rapidly and overflows into the adjacent territory."[24] The Department of the Interior's 1910 tourist brochure similarly asserts:

> Hunting big or small game in the Canadian National Parks is prohibited at all times, but once outside the limits of the Parks the sportsman finds numerous species of deer and bear, as well as Goat, Bighorn sheep, Mountain Lion and the smaller fur-bearing animals. Few parts of the world offer such a variety of game, and sportsmen from all countries, having once tasted the joys of a hunt in the Canadian Rockies, return again and again.[25]

Articulating the same logic as Luxton — that park preservation improves game populations just "outside the limits" of protected areas — the Department of the Interior brochure goes one step further to argue that the Canadian Rockies attracts hunters from "all countries" due to its exceptional abundance of wild animals. Protected parklands were therefore beneficial not only to the physical health and well-being of the white nation but also to the state's economic vitality through increased tourism.

The flawed logic that enabled conservationists to legitimate sport hunting was further extended to also justify taxidermic violence. In his 1891 treatise on *Taxidermy and Zoological Collecting,* William Hornaday, one of America's pioneering taxidermists and director of the New York Zoological Park, argued that taxidermy's mode of "perpetual preservation" was the urgent solution to the threat of species extinction. Although Hornaday's text is largely a practical handbook on hunting tac-

tics and specimen preparation, he took pains to frame the tedious work of zoological "collecting" (sometimes a euphemism for killing and dissecting animal bodies) as a moralistic project to "build up great zoological collections . . . before any more of the leading species are exterminated." Outlining the terms of such work, Hornaday further asserts that "the duty of a naturalist to his specimen begins when he levels his gun at it in the field."[26] According to this fraught conservationist rhetoric, to prevent the extinction of wildlife, the collector had a "duty" to take on the task of extermination himself, to kill the animal properly, and to preserve its remains in taxidermic form.[27]

The Banff Park Museum similarly reinscribed the tautological thinking of the conservation movement by seeking to preserve the park's natural heritage via the collection of indigenous animals in the shape of taxidermic specimens. Although the museum's first collection of specimens was supplied by the Geological Survey, curator Norman Sanson was an indefatigable collector who sought to continually expand the museum's caches. As a result, Sanson and later curators of the Banff Park Museum deployed the imperatives of museological collection and scientific inquiry in order to circumvent the no-hunting policy that was supposedly the foundation of the national parks program.[28] While the Banff Park Museum gained permission to undertake species collection within the park, taxidermic dissection and reconstruction were also carried on within its borders at the local trading post, the Sign of the Goat Curio Shop.[29] Featuring the trades of renowned taxidermist C. F. Hine, the very existence of a taxidermy workshop inside the perimeter of protected parkland signaled Banff's traffic in dead animals reproduced as trophies, commodities, and scientific specimens.

The interrelated discourses of frontier tourism, western boosterism, and conservationism that operated in conjunction to support the colonial agenda in western Canada were consequently rearticulated in powerful ways throughout the Banff Park Museum at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a result, the museum played a key role not only in reinforcing ideologies of white supremacy and mastery over nature but also in implementing an institutionalized system through which the rituals of big-game hunting could be enabled and commemorated through the production of taxidermic specimens as monuments to colonial triumph. Moreover, the Banff Park Museum functioned as a key junction point in the material circulation and consumption of animal bodies

throughout the Banff environs, sanctioned via the rhetoric of protection and preservation. It is this system of traffic and its relation to taxidermic semiosis to which I will now turn.

THE ZOOLOGICS OF BANFF'S TRAFFIC

During the first several decades of the twentieth century, the Banff Park Museum was operated in relation to two other local sites of "nature exhibition." In 1898, an animal paddock was built roughly a mile and a half from the center of town, near Cascade Mountain. Initially, the fenced enclosure housed sixteen buffalo donated by Lord Strathcona and three buffalo from T. G. Blackstock of Toronto.[30] Built next to the railway route traveling into Banff and the road to Lake Minnewanka, the enclosure functioned as another railside attraction that catered to the CPR's promotional agenda of enabling tourists to encounter wildlife from the safety and comfort of their coach or car. By 1907 the paddock's herd of buffalo had grown to a population of seventy-nine, while other animals, including mule deer, elk, moose, bighorn sheep, angora goats, lynx, raccoons, and porcupine, had been added to the enclosure, either kept in cages or allowed to roam within the perimeter.[31] The bison, however, remained the central attraction at the paddock, displayed as the few survivors of a once-mighty species threatened by extinction. As Canadian Geological Survey scientist Harlan Smith writes in his 1914 *Handbook of the Rocky Mountains Park Museum:* "Considering . . . how few there are left, . . . [the 'American Buffalo'] may be considered an animal of the past."[32]

Although the Banff paddock portrayed itself as a wildlife refuge, it was designed and operated with a prioritization upon the exhibition rather than the conservation of nature. The confinement of such a variety of wild animals within a limited enclosure (approximately 300 acres) resulted in scarce grazing grounds and the restriction of migratory processes for animals both contained within and roaming outside of the paddock.[33] Keeping animals within the fenced grounds also rendered many of the species captive prey for coyotes who could penetrate the enclosure to attack from within. In 1907 alone, this situation led to the death of seven mule deer.[34] Moreover, in the 1906 edition of the *Department of the Interior Annual Report,* Parks Superintendent Howard Douglas called attention to the problem of housing caged animals within the paddock, arguing that "some more suitable and permanent provisions"

were necessary due "to all the inconveniences naturally arising from the absence of proper sanitary and other necessary equipment."[35] Although Douglas recognized the conservation risks associated with the paddock system, the solution he formulated only exacerbated the park's use of wildlife for the purposes of promotional spectacle. In the 1906 *Annual Report* the superintendent writes:

> I would respectfully suggest that an appropriation be made without delay for the purpose of establishing in the grounds surrounding the museum building a properly equipped zoological garden, where permanent provision might be made for the keeping of our caged animals. Cages constructed of cement and iron . . . would be . . . much more convenient for visitors to the museum. . . . I am strongly of [the] opinion . . . that in a few years the zoological gardens should become one of the leading attractions for visitors to this portion of the National Park.[36]

In response to the superintendent's report, an aviary and zoo was developed in 1907 on the grounds adjacent to the Banff Park Museum. By geographically positioning the zoo on the same property as the museum, the Department of the Interior initiated powerful semiotic links between the taxidermic spectacle inside the natural history building and the living spectacle staged outside in the zoological "garden" made of "cement and iron."

Similar to the mandate of the museum, the Banff zoo was initially designed to showcase animals indigenous to the territory of the Rocky Mountains Park. By 1911, however, the zoo included representatives of such "exotic" species as Mexican orange squirrels, Mexican black squirrels, a Mongolian partridge, and two Rhesus monkeys. Two years later, the zoo acquired one of its show stealers, "Pat" the polar bear.[37] As a result, the zoo came to serve a doubled colonialist function: while it enabled tourists to encounter frontier wildness as a controlled spectacle, thereby dramatizing civilization's mastery of the west, it simultaneously symbolized the Dominion's enduring connection to empire and "the conquest of all distant and exotic lands."[38] Thus, in a mountain retreat promoted as a sanctuary for "getting back to nature," the Banff zoological garden performed an important pedagogical function by teaching the triumph of national progress and colonial development both at home and abroad.

During the first half of the twentieth century, therefore, the Banff Park Museum, animal paddock, and zoo functioned as three important

sites articulated in a powerful circuit of nature exhibition. The interreferentiality of these three sites is developed throughout the museum *Handbook*. In this text, Harlan Smith repeatedly links the taxidermically preserved animals displayed inside the Banff Park Museum to their counterparts in the paddock and the zoo. Cataloging each species exhibited in the museum, Smith names them according to Latin taxonomies and then proceeds to describe their appearance, habitat, and feeding techniques. In the case of the "Rocky Mountain Goat" or "*Oreamnos Montanus,*" Smith writes:

> In shape they resemble a little buffalo, having high shoulders, thick body, stocky legs, and carrying the head low. . . . The coat is all yellowish white, which distinguishes them as the only all white ruminant cud chewer in the world. . . . The flesh is so dry and musky that white men dislike it. . . . Very few have as yet been kept or bred in captivity.[39]

At the end of this description, Smith punctuates the entry (as he repeatedly does throughout the handbook) with the assertion: "Living specimens may be seen in the paddock and at large in the Park."[40] Written for a parks system ostensibly dedicated to conservation, this description of the Rocky Mountain goat performs a second kind of surgery upon the taxidermically preserved specimen, slicing it into itemized parts. Smith's discussion focuses on the elements of the animal that are particularly salient to the interests of wildlife consumption on the frontier — namely, the "coat" or fur for trading and the "flesh" for eating. At the same time, the *Handbook* entry attempts to distance itself from this process of consumption by marking the difference between "white," "civilized" taste from that of the ostensibly uncivilized natives who constitute the unnamed others upon which the description turns. By asserting that "white men dislike" the "dry and musky flesh" of the Rocky Mountain goat, Smith implicitly suggests that aboriginals are not so discriminating. At the same time, the *Handbook* unwittingly registers the forms of consumption effected by the conservation practices of zoological collectors. Noting that very few of the "*Oreamnos Montanus* . . . have as yet been kept or bred in captivity," the *Handbook* suggests the "unnaturalness" of such a form of "nature display," raising doubts about the ability of such a system to sustain — and to literally reproduce — itself. As a result, Smith's commentary draws a subtextual linkage between the space of the natural history museum and the space of the animal paddock as sites that, while purporting to portray wildlife bounty, register the threat of species death.

The interreferential affiliations between the Banff Park Museum, the animal paddock, and the zoo throw into relief the way each site in this network of nature displays encoded anxiety and ambivalence in the production of animal "liveness." Mark Simpson has theorized taxidermic reconstruction, in the context of elite white hunting culture in the early 1900s, in terms of a "liveness" that "serves to highlight an ideal of absolute vitality, amplifying — through taxidermy's invention as through conservation's intervention — the very essence and texture of life against the looming extinction of animal species."[41] While Simpson compellingly articulates the ideal of "absolute vitality" bound up in taxidermic preservation, his theorization of liveness could elaborate further upon the destabilizing force of "looming extinction" as a threat that indelibly haunts the taxidermic specimen. For efforts in "taxidermic invention" signify not the attainment of white society's ideal of supreme vitality and eugenic fitness but, rather, the *longing for* and inevitable *failure of* this ideal. Taxidermy's "resurrections in fur," I contend, are always already marked by the macabre trace of death, a trace that cannot be shaken despite the ferocity and vivacity of the animal pose.[42] In this context, I argue for a theorization of liveness that considers the failed reach of the ideal of eugenic fitness and the anxiety such a failure engenders for white society's quest for racial mastery. As a crucial component of taxidermic semiosis, liveness hovers between the unstable categories of "life" and "death," registering taxidermy's uncanny invocation of the specter of animal mortality — and the threat of looming extinction — in the very process of reconstructing corpses in the guise of wild*life* vigor.

In Banff's early twentieth-century circuit of nature displays, the only site that deployed taxidermic specimens in a conventional or literal sense was the natural history museum. The animal paddock and zoo, however, also encoded the semiotics of taxidermy in different and yet potent ways via the reinscription of the volatile sign of liveness. At these two sites, the same macabre specter of death continued to haunt the exhibition of "living specimens."[43] While purportedly offering a live counterpart to the museum's taxidermic collection by staging animality-in-motion, the nature displays of the paddock and zoo were marked by the unsettling traces of mortality that destabilized these spectacles of species vitality. In particular, the anxieties of liveness were reinscribed in the paddock and zoo through the very principle of metonymic representation upon which these nature displays relied in order to stage wildlife bounty. The paddock

and zoo both employed a strategy of extracting selected animals from their natural habitats and exhibiting them as metonymic exemplars of the ostensibly teeming wildlife populations of western Canada. While attempting to bring visitors closer to nature by virtue of contact with selected living specimens that stood in for the exponentially more bountiful populations living in the wild, the paddock and zoo's system of metonymic representation backfired, initiating not a contiguous connection to such animal populations but, rather, a *distancing* and *deferral* of the real referents of wildlife. In other words, the presence of metonymic exemplars in the zoo and paddock accentuated the absence of the animal populations they were supposed to represent. Susan Willis argues that "zoo animals are body doubles, stand-ins for the real animals existing (or becoming extinct) elsewhere. Visit a zoo and you walk through a living cemetery of all that is diminishing, disappearing, and soon to be gone. Look at the animals . . . they are living taxidermy."[44] Willis's conception of zoo animals as "body doubles" resonates with Banff's early twentieth-century nature displays and the deployment of selected animals as metonymic exemplars of the wild populations supposedly at large throughout the park. Implicit, but not fully developed in Willis's comments, is the idea that "standing-in" for the real referents of wildlife only increases the gap between the body double and that which it is supposed to signify. As a result, in turn-of-the-century Banff, the presence of the body double enclosed in the zoo or paddock effected a representational disappearance of wild*life*—a disappearance that reinforced narratives of species extinction. Thus, these exhibitions of animal liveness registered uncertainty regarding the vitality of natural superabundance they were supposed to metonymically validate.

The anxieties of liveness, by a circuitous logic, had advantages for colonial power. Marked by the specter of mortality and extinction, the Banff network of nature displays dramatized narratives of vanishing wildlife that legitimated so-called preservationist tactics such as keeping animals in captivity and attempting to breed them in confinement.[45] As a result, the specter of animal extinction that the zoo and paddock cast upon their living specimens ironically served to justify the purported raison d'être of such nature displays. In the process, the exhibition of metonymic species exemplars displaced and deferred the real referents—the living animal constituencies supposedly at large in the park—not

into the future but retrospectively into a past mythologized by colonial narratives of the receding frontier. In this way, the zoo and paddock became "living cemeteries" (to recall Willis's words) or "living monument[s] to their own disappearance" that nostalgically memorialized wildlife as a tribute to the nation's history while simultaneously demonstrating the colonialist achievement of taming the frontier for tourism and settlement and, thus, reproducing "nature" in a controlled environment.[46]

If the network of nature displays in early twentieth-century Banff dramatized the disappearance of wildlife on a representational level, it also engendered material violence against the animals it claimed to preserve and protect. The traffic in animal bodies that connected the spaces of the natural history museum, the paddock, and the zoo hinged upon the consumption rather than conservation of nature. Although the paddock and zoo were supposed to supplement the Banff Park Museum by displaying living specimens, the problems of wildlife confinement repeatedly resulted in deaths that, in turn, provided new fodder for taxidermic preparation and exhibition in the museum.[47] Such traffic in animal bodies may be traced throughout the Department of the Interior's annual reports in the early decades of the 1900s. For example, in the 1904 edition Parks Superintendent Howard Douglas reported the death of a buffalo in the animal paddock, noting: "A fine four-year-old was killed in June last [year] while fighting with another bull. His head has been mounted, and now adorns the walls of the museum, where it attracts the attention of admiring visitors."[48] In 1908 a similar narrative of loss and recuperation was reiterated in the annual report, which noted that the animal paddock had lost one buffalo bull to pneumonia, while a bull elk was killed while fighting another in the enclosure. Under the subsequent heading of "The Museum and Grounds," Superintendent Douglas celebrated new additions to the Banff Park Museum's collection, noting that both animals who died in the paddock were reincarnated in the museum as taxidermic specimens.[49] Underlying the logic of parkland management, therefore, was a reconceptualization of conservation as a strategic consumption and recycling of animal bodies that hinged not upon the sustaining of life but upon the reproduction of *liveness* as a tourist attraction that dramatized colonial mastery over the wild frontier.[50]

While the Rocky Mountain Park administration legitimated its network of nature displays by framing these ecologically deleterious sites as

forms of wildlife management, park officials and the Department of the Interior simultaneously deflected the culpability for wildlife consumption onto Native groups in the region. In the Department of the Interior's annual report for 1906, Superintendent Douglas writes:

> Among the offenders against the game laws, the Indians are by far the worst. They invade the National park at all seasons of the year, and slaughter any animal they run across without regard to age or sex. . . . I would recommend that your department should without delay instruct all Indian agents in the west to notify the Indians in their charge that they are not permitted to shoot any game of any kind at any time in the Rocky Mountains Park, and that any offender against the law in this respect would . . . be subjected to the maximum penalty allowed by the law.[51]

By framing First Peoples' hunting practices as "indiscriminate killing," the Department of the Interior and the park's administration positioned themselves as the modern custodians of frontier wilderness and the final arbiters of what constituted judicious versus gratuitous wildlife consumption.[52] In so doing, the federal government instituted its fraught logic of conservation as the hegemonic law that controlled the use and abuse of the nation's natural resources, thereby legitimating its interests in consumption under the self-proclaimed rationale of nature's protection. Moreover, by vilifying the "Indians" as the "worst offenders" against such conservation endeavors, the federal government was able to link its programs of "nature management" and "native management" under the broader regime of colonial control.

The network of nature displays in Banff remained one of the most prominent tourist attractions in the area for the first three decades of the twentieth century. By the 1930s, however, popular sentiment regarding the function of a zoological garden in a national park began to change. Although it has been argued that this shift was influenced by changing understandings of conservation work, reconsideration of the Banff zoo may have been prompted instead by changing aesthetic ideals regarding different types of nature displays and their "proper" places of exhibition.[53] With the development of more zoos in major cities across North America during the early twentieth century, this particular form of nature exhibition became popularly associated with urban space. In contrast, the Banff animal paddock and the natural history museum were more in keeping with the aesthetic of the rugged Rocky Mountain frontier. As a

result, although the Banff zoological gardens were closed in 1937, the paddock and museum continued to function as key tourist sites in the region for roughly the next sixty years.

In 1997 Parks Canada conceded that the animal paddock in Banff was causing significant environmental problems and needed to be closed. This decision was prompted by the Banff–Bow Valley study commissioned by the federal government in the mid-1990s. The report noted that "the paddock, along with the park's airstrip, horse corrals and army cadet camp" restricted the migration of "large carnivores [particularly bears and wolves] and other sensitive wildlife between Vermilion Lakes and the Cascade Valley." On October 17, 1997, the ten remaining bison in the paddock were transferred to Elk Island National Park and the enclosure was finally shut down. While many Banff residents, including the operating managers of the Banff Park Museum, are happy to end the story there, an important postscript ruptures the telos of conservational progress that is often inscribed in narrating the closure of the paddock. Although Banff's bison were transferred to Elk Island, it was with the specific intent of being publicly auctioned as part of the park's "bison management strategy program." Bill Fisher, Superintendent of Elk Island, stated that he hoped to garner $30,000 for the Banff herd at the public auction, the proceeds of which would be returned to Parks Canada coffers.[54] While the trail of Banff's bison becomes somewhat hard to track after this point, evidence suggests that the animals were purchased by the Oil Sands magnate Syncrude for display on environmentally "reclaimed" land north of Fort McMurray. Although the "Bison Viewpoint" just outside the borders of Syncrude's current mining sites deploys the animals as a symbol of ecological regeneration in the wake of industrial apocalypse, the herd has suffered from anthrax and tuberculosis due to environmental mismanagement.[55] Rather than constituting a triumph for conservationism, the closure of the Banff paddock set in motion further traffic in animal bodies that perpetuated the exploitation of wildlife.

Out of the three interrelated sites of nature exhibition that were so central to tourism in early twentieth-century Banff, only the natural history museum continues to operate today. At a time when both the zoo and the paddock are retroactively viewed as problematic forms of wildlife conservation, the Banff Park Museum enjoys renewed attention as a national historic site and a monument to century-old ways of collecting and studying nature. It seems crucial, then, to consider how the Banff

Park Museum has managed to preserve its own life as a prominent tourist institution and how it constructs a narrative of nostalgia for the frontier virtues of a mythologized national past.

A MUSEUM OF A MUSEUM

Today the Banff Park Museum fashions itself as an embalmed space of the past that preserves the original organization of the institution circa 1900. The Banff Park Museum stakes its claim to historical accuracy upon the faithful following of Harlan Smith's 1914 *Handbook to the Rocky Mountains Park Museum.* At this time, the museum was restructured by Smith, an anthropologist from the Geological Survey and the National Museum of Canada. Transporting his expertise from the colonial center to the periphery, Smith descended upon the Banff Park Museum with a mandate to instate order in the region by taxonomizing and cataloging nature at this outpost museum. Celebrating the arrival of Smith's civilizing influence, the *Crag and Canyon* boasted:

> Mr. Smith has been connected with the largest Museums of the world and [it] is well known in scientific quarters of what good a Museum does to the public. Mr. Smith writes a very interesting article on Science, entitled "The Educational Work of a Great Museum,"... that after once read, you come to the conclusion that a town or city is not complete without a Museum.[56]

In this sense, the reordering of the Banff Park Museum in 1914 was perceived as integral to the making of Banff into a "town or city" — a civilized space that had triumphed over the disorder of frontier wildness. If Smith's *Handbook* is the gospel according to which the museum was and is currently organized, however, there is substantial room for interpretation: while the text catalogs the various species represented in the early twentieth-century collection, it does not describe the specific layout of the installation or the signage that accompanied the displays. A close reading of the museum space as it is presently designed demonstrates that, rather than merely displaying the objects of an early natural history collection, the Banff Park Museum engages in a complicated renarrativization of its own historical resources and practices.

Mieke Bal's conceptualization of museum space in terms of "chronotopos" is informative for a reading of the Banff Park Museum. "Chronotopos," according to Bal, goes beyond conventional analyses of "site specific-

ity" to consider how both "place as well as time . . . are the occasions for a power struggle" in the production of museological meaning. In her critique of the American Museum of Natural History, Bal argues that the representation of nature via dioramas and taxidermic specimens presents a "story . . . of fixation and the denial of time." For Bal, the "chronotopos" of the American Museum of Natural History is contoured by a space that is "transfixed in stasis," a space in which temporality has been evacuated altogether.[57] In contrast, I argue that a different kind of "chronotopos" is operative in the Banff Park Museum. Rather than entirely stopping time or creating a temporal vacuum, the Banff Park Museum puts time-warping and time travel into play throughout the spatial layout of the installation in order to encode a sentimental narrative regarding the heyday of colonial expansion on the western frontier. Although the Banff Park Museum claims to function as a time capsule that transports visitors back to the turn of the twentieth century, the museum's tactics of temporal manipulation are much more nuanced. Specifically, the Banff Park Museum attempts to mimic itself as it once stood a century before while simultaneously offering a postmodern metacommentary regarding its own historical evolution. In so doing, the Banff Park Museum frames itself in a *mise-en-abyme* structure (most discernible in the French translation "a museum-*in*-a-museum") that refracts its current display strategies onto the past, thereby constructing an alibi for perpetuating the exhibition and consumption of taxidermy — and the colonialist ideology that contoured it — in the present tense.

As it currently stands, the Banff Park Museum is a two-story building with one open room of exhibits on each floor. The first floor is connected to the space directly above it by virtue of an opening in the ceiling for a mezzanine gallery on the second floor. Directly above this overlook is a much smaller lantern story comprised of windows that allow light to filter down to both the second and first floors. Upon entering the museum, the visitor immediately steps into the main room partially open to the second story above and is enveloped in a rich interior refinished in early twentieth-century style. With walls lined with Douglas fir paneling and floorboards emitting the creaking sounds of age, the museum, as a promotional brochure suggests, "evoke[s] a rustic and romantic alpine atmosphere."[58] The promotional rhetoric and design of the building encourages visitors to feel as though they have stepped back in time to a rustic and idiosyncratic mountain museum of a bygone era.

The interior of the Banff Park Museum, viewed from the mezzanine level. Photograph by G. Zezulka-Mailloux; reproduced with permission of the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site of Canada and Parks Canada Agency.

The museum's relation to the past is more complex than it first appears. Many explanatory panels affixed to, or encased behind, the glass display cabinets quote excerpts from Harlan Smith's 1914 *Handbook* as a way of identifying specimens and explaining the museum's collection policies and methodological approaches during the early twentieth century. These excerpts are framed within quotation marks and the title and date of the source is cited at the bottom of the panel. The use of quotation marks mediates statements via a form of "attributive discourse" that both "attributes the quotation to a speaker" and "qualifies the quotation's content."[59] The Banff Park Museum's self-conscious framing of Smith's words within quotation marks effectively "attributes" this commentary to a historical persona. At the same time, the combination of the quotation marks and the dated source listed on the bottom of the panel "qualify" this commentary as part of a past discourse that, although reiterated in the present, is bracketed or displaced from it. As a result, these framing strategies produce a distancing effect that underscores the passage of time rather than supposedly freeze-framing history inside the museum. In so doing, the Banff Park Museum seeks to reinvoke the voice

of Harlan Smith, but precisely as a voice of the past — a voice that is separated from the practices of today, thereby providing a convenient disclaimer for Parks Canada in the present.

As the visitor moves further along the display on the first floor, the expository text panels become more explicit in their attempt to register a historical distance from that which they represent. Beside the taxidermically preserved specimen of a Cooper's hawk, the circumstances of the animal's death are described in the following terms: "This Coopers Hawk, and many other of the museum's birds, died by flying into the windows of the old Cave and Basin building. The new windows have silhouettes of falcons on them to deter most birds from coming near the glass." This commentary attempts to clear the museum of culpability for taxidermic collection by suggesting that the production of the museum's specimens was a judicious and economical form of animal reuse rather than violent wildlife consumption. Although the Cooper's hawk was purportedly obtained by recycling a corpse from an accidental death, the majority of the museum's specimens were not the products of such "happy" accidents. Posted in a display case chock full of bird corpses, this disclaimer is logically insufficient to account for the museum's stockpile of taxidermy. By reducing the problems of wildlife exploitation in the Banff environs to the accident factor of glass windows, the caption denies the overarching system of ecological colonization and exploitation operative in the park. At the same time, the disclaimer's anxious rhetorical attempt to assuage the Banff Park Museum's culpability momentarily reveals the museum's concern about its fraught relation to the natural environment.

While the first floor of the museum displays taxidermic specimens in glass cases and larger habitat dioramas in the mode of early twentieth-century science, the second-floor installation intensifies its historical metacommentary regarding the evolution of the Banff Park Museum. To facilitate this process, the mezzanine-level installation is divided into several distinct sections, each denoted by a rough-hewn wooden sign suspended from the ceiling. Moving clockwise from the top of the stairs, the sections on the second floor are organized according to the following titles: "A Museum of a Museum," "Cabinets of Curiosities," "Office: Curator of Museum," "Beyond the Boundaries," and "The Zoo and Aviary." In each of these sections, the written panels more explicitly discuss the museum's past in a narrative voice that attempts to bespeak historical

distance and self-reflexivity. At the top of the stairs, the visitor's sight line is drawn directly ahead to the display section titled "A Museum of a Museum/Un Musée Dans un Musée." In this portion of the installation, glass display cabinets similar to the ones filled with taxidermic specimens on the first floor are replaced with black-and-white photographs depicting the Banff Park Museum's early days. The text panels appear similar to those used downstairs except for the crucial fact that instead of functioning as taxonomic labels, these placards describe the photographs and work to narrate not the history of nature but the cultural progress of the museum as a technology of representation. By substituting "documentary" photographs for visceral animal corpses, the Banff Park Museum reproduces the museum itself as its own object of preservation. In the process, the current installation's retrospection is framed as a gesture of self-reflexivity, one that remains hollow insofar as the Banff Park Museum of the present differentiates itself—both temporally and ideologically—from the institution of the past by assuming a new identity as a national historic site.

The "Museum of a Museum" display in particular deploys a discourse of self-reflexivity to address the incongruence between taxidermy and current conservation practices. Underneath a caption titled "The Museum Today," a text panel notes: "This historic museum preserves an early attitude toward viewing wildlife in our national parks. Animals are no longer killed for display purposes. Today the emphasis is on protecting live animals and preserving their natural habitat." While this metacommentary seeks to articulate a narrative of conservationist progress, it also undermines the strategy deployed in some of the panels downstairs—namely, that of attempting to deflect the problem of taxidermic violence onto accident factors that overwrite decisive human culpability—by conceding that animals were once actively "killed for display purposes." Despite the Banff Park Museum's attempts to distance itself from the fraught logic of taxidermic conservation that hinges upon wildlife consumption, the insistent repetition of self-reflexive disclaimers results in momentary ruptures in the installation's master narrative. The particular story at stake here is one of colonial beneficence—of the rescue, rather than ravaging, of nature and the responsible supervision of natural resources for national prosperity and posterity. Although the museum labors to solidify this discourse and to eclipse any contradictions, the

ongoing attempt to distance the Banff Park Museum from the production of the very specimens it showcases consequently registers temporary breakdowns in the installation's logic. In this sense, the Banff Park Museum ironically manifests its own anxiety regarding the ways that the continued exhibition of taxidermic specimens might engender new forms of consumption — and new forms of representational violence — in the current era.

In her analysis of the American Museum of Natural History, Bal comments that "any museum of this size and ambition is today saddled with a double status; it is also a museum of the museum, a reservation, not for endangered natural species but for an endangered cultural self, a meta-museum. Such a museum solicits reflections on and of its own ideological position and history."[60] Bal suggests that the American Museum of Natural History, however, has not yet grappled sufficiently with its own historical and ideological contexts. Instead, this institution reinscribes the well-worn discursive conventions of dominant colonial institutions, narrating "fictions" that "show their objects, not their own hand or voice." Such narratives, according to Bal, deploy "a rhetoric of persuasion that almost inevitably convinces the viewer of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon . . . culture."[61] Theorizing how a "meta-museum" could more progressively engage in processes of ideological and historical self-reflexivity, Bal observes:

> The story that the museum could tell, and whose telling would make its present function so much more powerful, is the story of the representational practice exercised in this museum [the American Museum of Natural History] and in most museums of its kind. This is the story of the changing but still vital collusion between privilege and knowledge, possession and display, stereotyping and realism.[62]

In other words, "meta-museums" could self-consciously renarrativize their installations in ways that would reveal the knowledge/power mechanisms operative in the display of natural history.

While it is important to underscore the considerable differences between a major metropolitan research institution such as the American Museum of Natural History and a regional tourist attraction such as the Banff Park Museum, I want to suggest that the Banff Park Museum has cannily redeployed the discourse of the "meta-museum" in an attempt to preserve its own "endangered cultural self."[63] The particular way that

the Banff Park Museum rearticulates such a discourse, however, complicates Bal's suggestions for more progressive forms of museological self-reflection. Specifically, Bal suggests that "if only" the "act of storytelling and its subject were foregrounded more, the museum would be better equipped to respond to the expectations of a postmodern critique. It is ironic that natural history excludes history, and by that exclusion it excludes nature itself."[64] Rather than simply "excluding history," the Banff Park Museum deploys a postmodern metacommentary regarding its own historical development that, in the very process of performing self-reflexivity and purporting to "show its own hand" (as Bal puts it), effectively distances the national historic site of the present from the museum's colonial past. In the process, the Banff Park Museum dissimulates its ongoing relationship to colonial knowledge/power systems. The museum's metacommentary regarding its historical development consequently operates not as trenchant self-critique but as an alibi for *failing to address* "the story of the changing but still vital collusion between privilege and knowledge, possession and display, stereotyping and realism" upon which this natural history museum pivots. The meta-museum's performance of self-reflexivity therefore enables the Banff Park Museum to skirt any rigorous investigation of the way that its installation mourns the loss of frontier wildness while simultaneously celebrating the triumph of national expansion and the "civilization" of the west.

TOUCHING NOSTALGIA: MUSEOLOGY, CORPOREALITY, AND AFFECT

At the same time that the Banff Park Museum deploys the rhetoric of self-reflexivity, it also puts a second and seemingly contradictory strategy in play. While mobilizing the posture of reflection in the present to consign the museum's fraught conservationist and colonialist policies to a past era, the current installation also seeks to occlude the museum's ongoing relation to imperialist and racist discourses in the haze of romance and nostalgia. In the process of inculcating an "acute longing" for or a "sentimental imagining or evocation" of an idealized frontier past, the Banff Park Museum effectively perpetuates the colonialist ideology it purports to distance itself from.[65] Although the ostensibly sober and circumspect stance of reflexivity may initially appear incongruous with the wistfulness of nostalgia, the case of the Banff Park Museum demonstrates just how easily reflection can lapse indulgently into melancholic

reminiscence and, conversely, how sentimentality can disguise itself in the posture of reflexivity. To critique the production of nostalgia in this national historic site, it is crucial to move beyond strict visualist analyses that have historically predominated museological studies and instead to formulate a hybrid critique that investigates how sentimentality, as a powerful structure of feeling, operates via multiple semiotic, somatic, and affective registers. Vital to understanding how nostalgia is palpably enlivened in the Banff Park Museum is a critique of how the museum mobilizes the semiotics of taxidermy and its potent affective and somatic lures. Ironically, it is through the macabre codes of "gutted liveness" and decay, of warped time and embalmed specimens, that the sanitized fantasy of empire in the wilderness promoted by this national historic site reveals the unseemly hinge between sentimentality and colonial aggression.

In "Objects of Ethnography," Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that there is a "fragmentation of sensory apprehension in conventional museum exhibitions." The "European tendency," she continues, "has been to split up the senses and parcel them out, one at a time, to the appropriate art form," such as attributing aurality to the symphony or visuality to museological display.[66] While Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's analysis of the dominant logic of Western museums seems apt, it is important to not merely read this logic at face value but to explore the more complex effects and implications of the supposed "splitting up" of the senses as it operates in practice. While certain cultural institutions might appear to cater to the primacy of one particular form of "sensory apprehension," in the very process of dividing or proscribing the use of other senses, those circumscribed senses are effectively *called into being.* Paradoxically summoned via prohibition, such outlawed senses are often manipulated by the very institutions that seem to dispense with them and, in the process, are subtly enlisted in the inscription of dominant discourses. The double movement of prohibiting and yet summoning multiple senses in the production of museological meaning is operative throughout the Banff Park Museum, and yet this process is further complicated by the fact that this national historic site is designed in sharp contrast to the formal and sterile spaces of modern museums. Unlike conventional exhibition environments that are organized and uncluttered, the Banff Park Museum indulges in an eclectic ethos of log-cabin rusticity. Newer additions to the installation have been designed to enhance the turn-of-the-century

feel, such as the rough-hewn signs denoting each exhibit on the second floor. Almost Disneyesque in their effort to appear quaint, the signs reveal the museum's self-conscious attempt to re-create the past in sentimentalized form.

This national historic site also showcases a varied assortment of display strategies, combining glass display cabinets filled with specimens in an ordered taxonomic structure with large dioramas that attempt to present taxidermic specimens surrounded by synthetic representations of their natural habitat. Moreover, the Banff Park Museum exhibits an abundance of animal skins, trophy heads, and full-bodied taxidermic specimens in the "open air," liberated from the confines of glass cases in a way that is reminiscent of a hunting lodge as opposed to a formal museological institution. Unlike many modern museums, the Banff Park Museum quite explicitly summons into action multiple senses — including touch, smell, and sound, in addition to the conventional use of sight — in the engagement of visitors with this installation. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the enlivening of a broad range of senses necessarily ensures a more democratic or liberatory museum experience. For beneath the eclecticism and semblance of exhibitionary chaos of the Banff Park Museum, this institution initiates a deliberate double movement between invoking and prohibiting a range of somatic and affective responses in an attempt to produce nostalgia for a romanticized frontier past.

When the concepts of corporeality and affect are invoked in the context of museum space, thorny and complicated questions of contingency and agency arise. While the Banff Park Museum inscribes a powerfully sentimental narrative of turn-of-the-century colonial romance throughout the installation space, the heterogeneous field of subjects who visit this national historic site do not necessarily respond to the museum's narrative intellectually, physically, or emotionally in the same ways. Although it is impossible to account for the diverse reactions and interpretive agencies of all museum visitors, it is important to leave open a space for such difference and, thus, to affirm the potential for resistance to the Banff Park Museum's dominant narratives. At the same time, it is also vital to identify and analyze the prevailing logic through which particular exhibits *attempt* to structure sensory apprehension and enlist affect in the production of frontier nostalgia. Rather than constituting a resignation to colonial power, such a strategy acknowledges the impossibility of transcending power's reach and, from within a position of intimate habi-

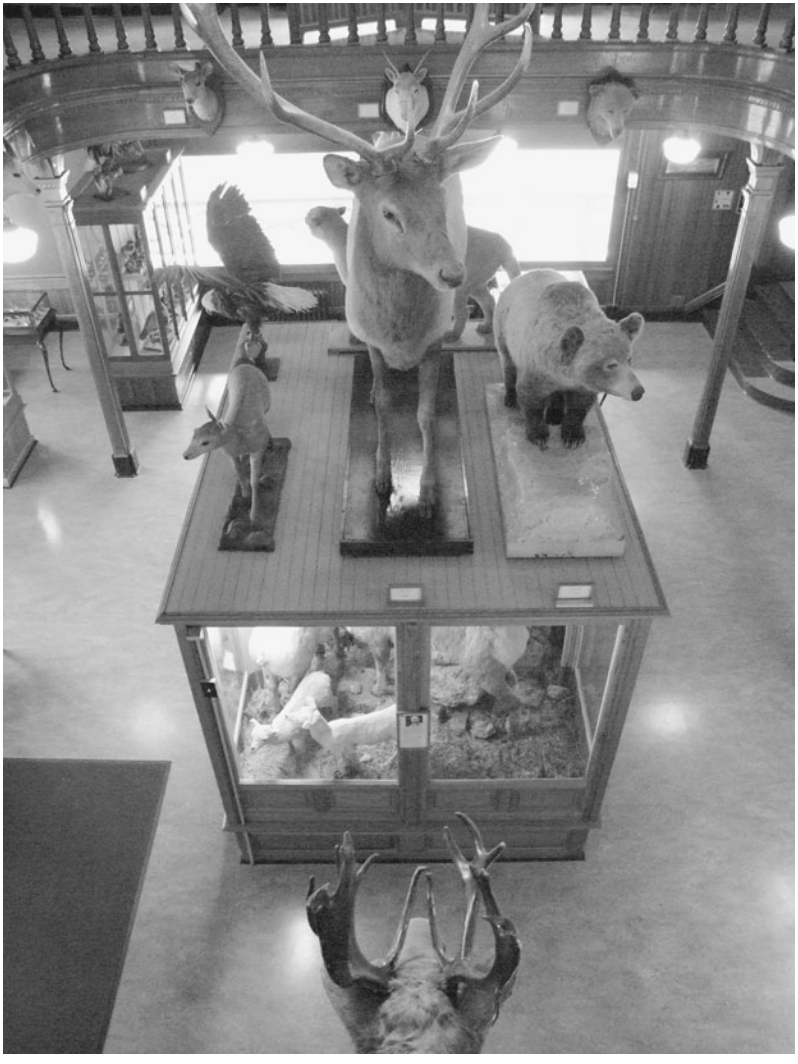
tation, seeks to chart the contours of imperialism's semiotic, somatic, and affective bid for sentimentality.

Tony Bennett's *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* offers an important point of entry for considering the machinations of power in museum space. Problematizing Foucault's tendency to trace a too-rigid chronological shift from a society of spectacle to one of surveillance, Bennett argues that the development of the modern museum throughout the nineteenth century was predicated upon an "exhibitionary complex" characterized by the "intrication" of "technologies of surveillance" with "forms of spectacle." Moreover, in conceptualizing the exhibitionary complex, Bennett critiques the disembodiment of Foucault's Panoptical eye and argues instead for a conceptualization of *embodied* — rather than merely "seeing" — subjects. Power in museum space consequently operates productively, rather than repressively, through the establishment of norms of "bodily comportment" that are internalized and self-regulated by visitors. While Bennett focuses upon how museums "organize" the "walking" of visitors to flesh out his notion of comportment, his theory could be extended much further to consider how power seeks to summon and prohibit multiple sensory and affective responses in museums.[67] Yoking together Bennett's theory of bodily comportment with Foucault's critique of the production of desire in *The History of Sexuality* (an argument that I want to extend to consider affect and emotion in its heterogeneous forms), I contend that within museum space the microphysics of biopower work to shape the corporeal and affective responses of visitors while attempting to dissimulate the work of social discourses in the guise of supposedly "natural" or "biological" responses. In other words, dominant discourses are not only promoted through the narrative text panels throughout museum installations; the interactive production of meaning between the institution and visitors is also contoured by the way that museums attempt to solicit — through a double movement between prohibition and invocation — visceral forms of somatic engagement from embodied subjects. The affective and corporeal responses of visitors are never just "innate" or "pure" but always already mediated by power.

In the midst of the seeming sensory chaos of the Banff Park Museum, this national historic site solicits compound forms of corporeal and affective engagement from visitors with its taxidermic fantasy of turn-of-the-century wildlife bounty. Immediately upon entering the building, the

visitor is confronted with a complex panorama of taxidermic liveness. At the center of the first floor is the focal point for this scene: a large diorama of preserved mountain goats posed in their simulated rocky habitat and staged within a four-sided glass display case. Directly on top of the case is a second exhibit of taxidermic animals, including a deer and its fawn, a grizzly bear, a mountain lion, and an eagle. This second scene differs significantly from the one below it as the animals are perched in the open air and, in contrast to the proper logic of species and environment exhibited in the diorama, the figures above are displayed without synthetic habitat. The open-air display defies the laws of natural history taxonomy by combining an implausible group of animals that would not be seen in such close proximity in nature. Moreover, the animals appear to be operating cooperatively, staged around the perimeter of the display case with their backs to each other, collectively surveying all four sides of the room. Unlike the mountain goats in the diorama below, which are subject to the gaze of visitors, the open-air specimens perched at a considerable height appear to be the ones with the upper hand in surveillance. In many senses, this focal point of the first floor stages the ultimate fantasy of taxidermic liveness: liberated from the confines of the encased diorama, this scene of wildlife resurrection is animated in the semblance of alert self-preservation. And yet, it is precisely in this accentuated state of liveness that the violence of taxidermic reconstruction is strikingly underscored. As the visitor's eye is drawn upward to meet the gaze of these animals, the illusion of resurrection is ruptured by the vacancy of the specimens' fixed, glassy-eyed stares. The proliferation of eyes that do not see, of gazes that do not react, mark these animals posed in the fantasy of wildlife bounty with the macabre trace of death and the unnatural sign of human manipulation. A closer look at this central display consequently reveals that the museum's fantasy of wildlife bounty and conservation is actually all about the triumph of colonization and white mastery over frontier wildness — the ability to capture animals and reconstruct their dead bodies. At the same time, however, the museum's message of empire in the wilderness is marked by the unstable supplement of taxidermic liveness that registers the macabre affective residues of imperial violence.

The taxidermic spectacle staged by the Banff Park Museum becomes further complicated upstairs in the mezzanine gallery where, in place of the illusion of corporeal wholeness, specimens are frequently represented



The centerpiece of the Banff Park Museum's first floor. Photograph by G. Zezulka-Mailloux; reproduced with permission of the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site of Canada and Parks Canada Agency.

in truncated parts as dissected skins and trophy heads. The first display at the top of the stairs consists of a bear skin pinned against the wood-paneled walls with a taxonomic label that reads: "Grizzly Bear/Ursus Arctos." The skin is cordoned off by a burgundy velvet rope system reminiscent of exhibits in more formal museums and art galleries. While the rope system is flimsy and ineffective as a physical barrier preventing

visitors from approaching the object on display, the burgundy rope's association with museum regulations carries with it the learned behaviors of decorum — or the "norms of bodily comportment" and "public manners," in the words of Bennett — that such institutions have ingrained in their visitors.[68] A textual placard supplements the prohibitive function of the velvet rope system by supplying the only explicit linguistic directive regarding proper conduct around this exhibit. Couching an injunction in the rhetoric of a polite request, the sign states: "Please do not touch the animals!"

At the same time that the sign and the ropes attempt to discipline visitors to keep their hands at their sides, such museological prohibitions of the use of touch effectively call this form of sensory apprehension into being. Whether the visitor actually transgresses the "hands-off" prohibition or not, he or she is hailed to engage in an imaginary (and also potentially real) tactile relationship with the bearskin. The museum installation further attempts to inculcate desire for tactile contact with its exhibits by foregrounding the building's rustic alpine atmosphere. The image of a fur pelt stretched across wood-paneled walls fuses the space of the museum with the scene of a frontier trading post, a factor that confuses the codes of conduct and seeks to tempt the viewer into somatic engagement. The status of animal fur in Western culture as a "commodity, ethnographic, and sexual" fetish object — rather than solely a conventional object of museological display and distanced aesthetic appreciation — also invites tactile forms of engagement with the bearskin.[69] This "sensational tactile value of fur," Chantal Nadeau argues, is integrally bound up with dominant mythologies regarding "the social and historical encounter between skins and pelts," between white men and frontier wilderness, that are vital components of Canada's national imaginary and its past political economy.[70] Although the fetish of fur has resonances in American culture, the particular history of the fur trade in Canada has rendered this materialized icon an especially powerful emblem of masculine heroics and interracial desire that conjures up romanticized stories of *coureurs de bois* and their female aboriginal lovers. More than just an object for distanced visual consumption, therefore, the bear pelt displayed in the Banff Park Museum functions as a sensual entity and a corporeal "touchstone" that through real or imagined tactile contact may elicit a palpable longing for the lost time of frontier experience.

Flayed fur on second floor of the Banff Park Museum. Photograph by G. Zezulka-Mailloux; reproduced with permission of the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site of Canada and Parks Canada Agency.

On the opposite side of the staircase, a stuffed buffalo head is mounted against the wood-paneled walls and cordoned off with a similar burgundy rope system. Positioned on the wall at a relatively low height, physical contact and face-to-face encounters with this trophy head are accessible and immediate. Beside the trophy is a textual panel titled "The Patriarch" that articulates a referential link between the head mounted on the wall and the buffalo that were once held as living specimens in the animal paddock. The panel tells the story of the herd's "patriarch," named "Sir Donald" after his beneficent human donor Sir Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona. Here, the explanatory panel relates the ostensibly bittersweet story of a noble bull who led the herd for many years until his death in 1909. While it might be tempting to read the narrative of Sir Donald in the mode of anthropomorphism, the display actually marks the distance between Lord Strathcona and his animal donation by emphasizing the comical effect of writing the "biography" of an animal. In this way, the supposedly humorous display reinforces the colonialist anthropocentric hierarchy of white man's supremacy over nature.

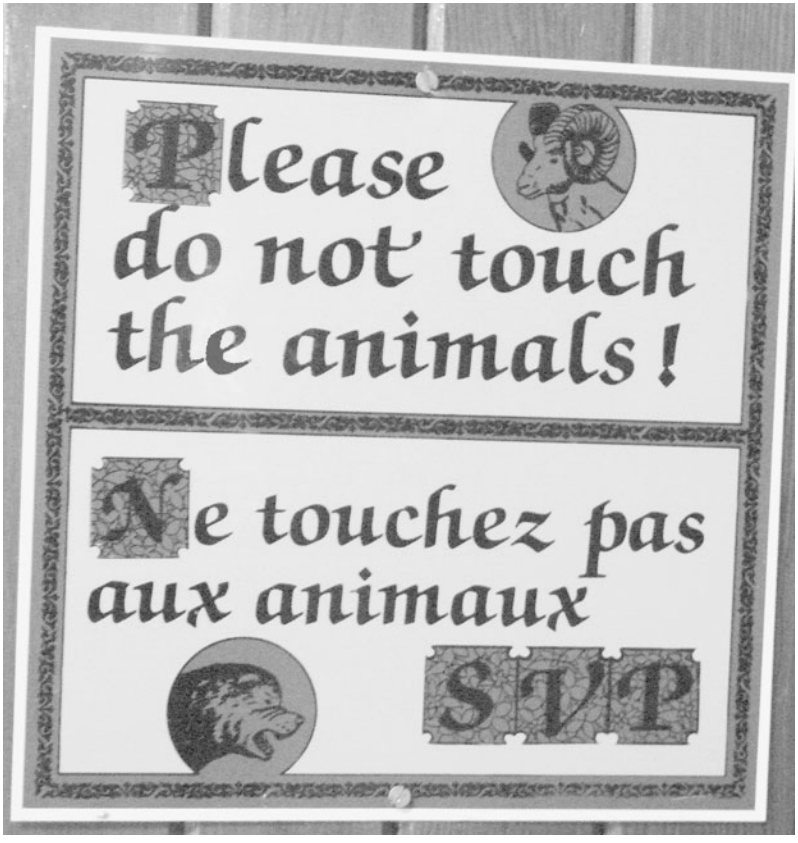
Body double of "Sir Donald, the Patriarch," displayed in a pose of decapitated liveness. Photograph by G. Zezulka-Mailloux; reproduced with permission of the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site of Canada and Parks Canada Agency.

In particular, "The Patriarch" vignette serves to resuscitate a past era in which white masculine virility was proven via the taming of the animal other, the collecting of formerly wild animals as private property, and the colonial management of the nation's natural resources.[71]

In both the bearskin and buffalo-head exhibits, the signs stating "Please do not touch the animals!" feature quaint stylized script on worn

metallic backgrounds, almost as though they are themselves artifacts of a past era. The injunction they pronounce, however, echoes the rhetoric associated with zoos and animal paddocks more than natural history museums as the reference to "animals" is suggestive of "living specimens" as opposed to taxidermically preserved ones. In this context, these signs might be read as vestiges of Banff's past nature displays staged in the outdoors, harking back nostalgically to an era when the animate wildlife bounty of Banff was made easily accessible to the tourist gaze. By re-invoking the rhetoric of the zoo and paddock within the museum, however, the Banff Park Museum's current installation risks foregrounding the complicity between these nature displays and the natural history museum in a way that destabilizes this national historic site's own meta-commentary of historical progress and its discursive attempt to distance itself from past forms of nature exploitation.

And yet, there is something more at stake in the Banff Park Museum's ostensibly quaint and lighthearted reiteration of the prohibition against "touch[ing] the animals." The Banff Park Museum's posting of this signage might initially be read as an attempt to phantasmatically eclipse the difference between taxidermy's semblance of organic wholeness and the violently dismembered pieces of animality on display in the exhibit of the bearskin and buffalo head. What the exhibits register instead is the fact that whether the specimen on display is a truncated head or an entire stuffed corpse, the fantasy of taxidermic liveness is always already marked by the macabre traces of death. Taxidermy's failed reach for resurrection, however, is actually the key to this national historic site's promotion of colonial nostalgia, for these specimens and pieces of preserved animality in their state of tragic liveness operate as powerful synecdoches for the lost object of frontier wildness — a fetish object that is powerful precisely because its imagined referent is irretrievable. The structure of colonial nostalgia feeds on this disappearance, for it is only in its loss that frontier wildness can be sentimentally remembered, it is only in its absence that the once-threatening idea of untamed alterity can be revisited as an alluring landscape for colonial romance. In this sense, the exhibits of the bearskin and the buffalo trophy head and their insurmountable difference from animal vitality on one level offer a comforting vision of a wildness that has been neutralized. At the same time, the traces of human manipulation and violence that haunt these specimens



Disciplining visitors in the Banff Park Museum. Photograph by G. Zezulka-Mailloux; reproduced with permission of the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site of Canada and Parks Canada Agency.

serve as reminders that civilization's progress in the New World was not a natural evolutionary process but, rather, a deliberate effect of colonial brutality.

While the bearskin and trophy head displays may solicit an immediate visceral response from visitors, another exhibit on the mezzanine level of the Banff Park Museum conversely seeks to mark a physical barrier between visitors and its objects of display. Positioned in the corner diagonally opposite the staircase to the second floor, there is an exhibit titled "Cabinets of Curiosities/Objets Bizarres." Here, in an anachronistic move, the Banff Park Museum temporarily lapses from its fidelity to Victorian anthropology by including a display paradigm from an earlier

period. As a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century precursor to the modern museum, the cabinet of curiosities constituted a more idiosyncratic form of collection that often aspired to the impossible ideal of universality, of collecting and representing everything.[72] The inevitable failure of these aspirations, however, frequently prompted new criteria for accomplishments in collecting. Discussing cabinets developed by Italian naturalists, Giuseppe Olmi argues:

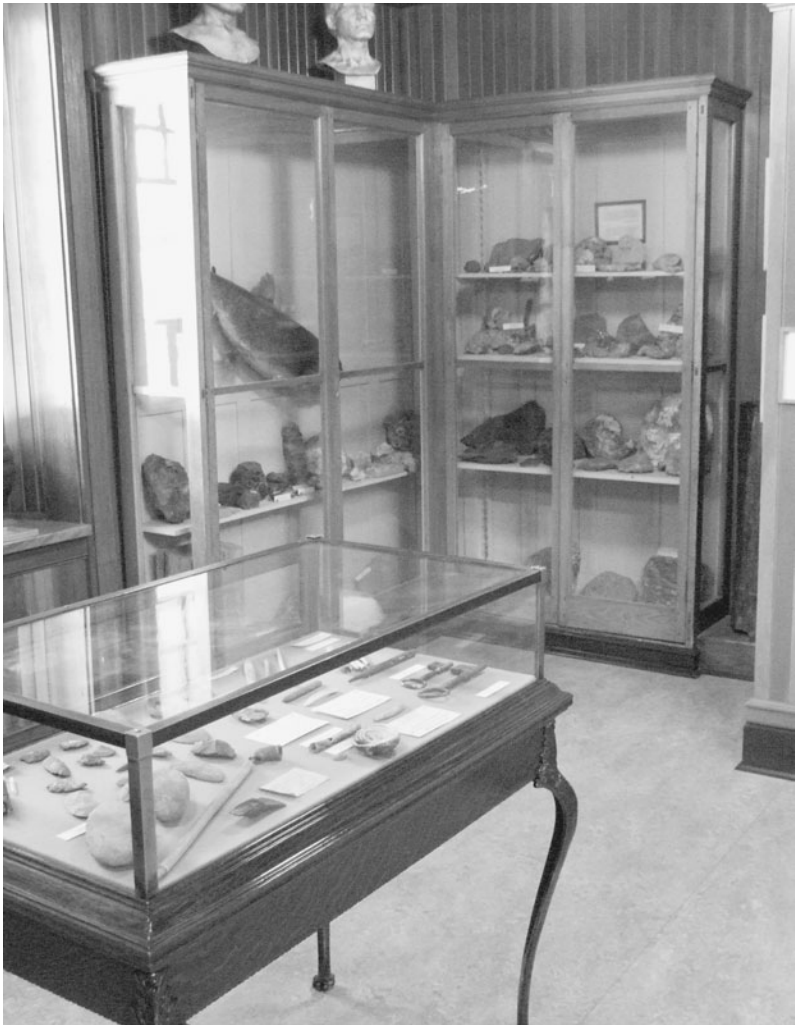
> It must be noted that the naturalists' attitude was not altogether neutral with regard to the objects placed in their museums. Their programme certainly provided an inventory of the natural world in all its manifold forms, and their scholarly research was also directed towards more common animals and plants . . . ; yet the love of rarity, the typically Mannerist taste for the bizarre and unusual object . . . reasserted itself. . . . It was the rare, outlandish piece which immediately conferred status on a collection and spread its fame beyond the scientific world.[73]

Although the history of the cabinet of curiosities is far more heterogeneous in detail than a brief treatment here may demonstrate, Olmi's analysis does indicate collectors' recurring interest in the exotic or rare — an interest that has, accurately or not, resulted in popular understandings of these cabinets, alternately referred to as the "closet of rarities" and the "Wunderkammer," as showcases for the bizarre.[74] It is such popularized connotations that the Banff Park Museum accentuates and capitalizes upon.

Engaging in a kitschy and unsophisticated mimicry of the "Cabinets of Curiosities" display style, the exhibit on the second floor of the Banff Park Museum presents its objects tightly sealed away in glass cabinets, not cordoned off by flimsy rope systems or hung in the open air. As a historical preamble to the display, a text panel asserts: "Over the years, the museum became a repository for odd collections. Local residents donated many strange items and these, as long-term residents of Banff still recall, were always favorites with visitors." Here, museological discipline operates not by prompting a repression of pleasure and fascination for ostensibly more edified forms of museological engagement but, rather, by productively condoning (and, more implicitly, inciting) visitors' delight in the abnormal or the bizarre that has been discovered in the Banff environs. Some of the centerpieces of the collection include a taxidermically preserved albino ground squirrel (once a "living specimen"

in the Banff zoo that was later "recycled") and a piece of petrified wood. By relegating these "curiosities" to sealed containers in a corner of the second floor, the idea of their mysterious powers of abnormality, their secrets of nature's profoundly unnatural mutations is accorded further suspense. At the same time, the cloistering off of these "objets bizarres" further serves to naturalize the other exhibits throughout the Banff Park Museum and to affirm the rationality of the often-fraught logics of conservation, collection, and display that pervade the rest of the installation space. If nature's aberrations are consigned to the "Cabinets of Curiosities," then the other exhibits of wildlife bounty supposedly demonstrate nature's proper functioning.

What is particularly significant about the "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit is that it is the only space in which aboriginal materials are currently displayed in the Banff Park Museum. Neatly labeled and locked within glass cabinets, this exhibit showcases an "Indian Hide Scraper," "Indian Awls," a "Pemmican Pounder," and a "Stone Pipe owned by 'Bull Bear,'" a figure who is mentioned without any kind of biography and, thus, is treated more like an enigmatic native ghost than a historical agent (a point that is particularly ironic when one recalls that "Sir Donald" is accorded a biography). It is important to underscore that the specific collection of native objects displayed in these "Cabinets of Curiosities" are tools and implements with basic quotidian uses — a fact that makes their inclusion in an exhibit ostensibly devoted to the bizarre all the more ideologically troubling. By displaying aboriginal "artifacts" in this context, the installation effectively deploys these items as synecdoches of a spectacularized and homogenized native other. Here, categorizing terminology is key: while the "albino ground squirrel" in this exhibit is taxonomized according to quite specific nomenclature, the native materials are classified via the totalizing rubric of the "Indian" — a rubric that, not only a gross colonial misnomer based on European explorers' geographical disorientation, carries the baggage of colonial stereotypes of primitivism and savagery. In general, the inclusion of aboriginal objects in a natural history museum categorizes indigenous groups as part of the history of "nature" rather than that of "culture." Such taxonomization reinscribes the conflation of the semiotic figures of "aboriginality" and "animality" while reinforcing the concomitant racist ideology that categorizes native peoples as lesser species in the colonial hierarchies of anthropocentric white supremacy. Moreover, the relegation of these objects to the one



"Cabinets of Curiosities" in the Banff Park Museum. The central display case contains native "artifacts." Photograph by G. Zezulka-Mailloux; reproduced with permission of the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site of Canada and Parks Canada Agency.

section of the museum devoted to showcasing the "bizarre" further complicates and intensifies the implications of this taxonomic strategy. Specifically, the placement of aboriginal objects at the margins of this museum — in a second-floor corner exhibit demarcated for the abnormal — seeks to contain while simultaneously spectacularizing the alterity of the colonial other.

The dual tactic of confining and yet spectacularizing native otherness is further complicated by the distinct corporeal and affective codes produced in the "Cabinets of Curiosities" section. While other displays throughout the Banff Park Museum are designed to create visceral impact, here, a strong physical obstacle to somatic interaction is constructed. The thick glass casings that enclose the "Indian" materials may prove a barrier to touch, but in the very process of prohibiting tactile experience, the glass casings set in play other important affective and ideological codes. By sealing away these native objects behind thick glass, the display suggests the fragility of the materials within, positioning the "artifacts" (and, by extension, "Indians" themselves) as relics of the past, so close to the point of erosion that they must be hermetically preserved to prevent further decay. Moreover, in contrast to the albino ground squirrel and petrified wood, the "Indian artifacts" displayed in this exhibit are mounted on monochromatic backdrops on a horizontal display case (rather than the more common vertical design) positioned at the height of a kitchen table with a glass top. The visitor consequently approaches the objects from above, gazing down upon them from a position of knowledge/power. This position of superiority, however, is not as stable, authoritative, or detached as it might initially appear. While it might be tempting to interpret the sealing away of artifactualized native objects behind glass as a design strategy that facilitates an ostensibly objective gaze, the "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit produces more complicated effects. For the confinement and containment of these objects within glass and wood cabinets constructs these materials as simultaneously fragile and powerful, resonant with a mysterious ability to transcend the quotidian uses for which they were originally intended and to spark curiosity and fetishistic enthrallment. Thus, by framing these native materials as "curiosities" and "objets bizarres," the exhibit invokes the stereotypes of mystical primitivism in a way that deploys native materials as synecdochic talismans of a sensationalized narrative of aboriginal disappearance. This strategy enables the Banff Park Museum to turn colonial anxiety regarding aboriginal alterity to its own advantage, seeking to spectacularize so-called primitive otherness as a way of sentimentalizing and fetishizing lost native authenticity.

Sensationalizing the alterity of indigeneity, however, is a risky tactic that, once put into play, exceeds the limits of the Banff Park Museum's

discursive control. Although the "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit attempts to position native "artifacts" as objects simultaneously subject to the knowledge/power of the museological gaze and the racializing and spectacularizing vision of colonial fantasies, these objects are also marked with destabilizing traces of the museum's now repressed relation to both the overdetermined sign of aboriginality as well as the living and historical referents of Aboriginal peoples upon whose traditional territory Banff National Park is situated. As previously mentioned, under the curatorial supervision of Norman Sanson during the early twentieth century, the Banff Park Museum showcased many native materials, including art, clothing, and quotidian implements alongside its taxidermic specimens, thereby constructing a troubling conflation of the signs of "animality" and "aboriginality" as intimately related figures within the institution's purview of taxonomizing the field of "nature." Today, as a national historic site that ostensibly offers a more reflexive narrative of the Banff Park Museum's role in the local environs, explicit meditation on the museum's relation to Aboriginal peoples is overwritten. This museum of a museum appears to suffer from historical amnesia with regard to the institution's deleterious implications for colonizing Native territory and, along with the zoo and paddock, disrupting wildlife populations upon which Indigenous groups relied for subsistence. Although the Banff Park Museum attempts to contain and to trivialize the concept of aboriginality in its "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit, the native objects displayed therein constitute a point of rupture, a return of the museum's repressed relation to colonial violence and its representational and material exploitation of indigeneity. In this way, the "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit momentarily punctures the museum's romanticized mythology of the frontier past, demonstrating that colonial nostalgia hinges upon strategic forms of amnesia that seek to overwrite the violence and aggression at the heart of sentimentality.

While the Banff Park Museum, in its current incarnation as a national historic site, seeks to disavow its colonizing relation to indigeneity, directly across the river lies another museum that now displays most of the Banff Park Museum's material remainders of the imperial project of collecting and taxonomizing native culture. In 1953 Norman Luxton, local taxidermist and proprietor of the Sign of the Goat Curio Shop, opened the Luxton museum as a space to display his personal collections

as well as other loaned objects synecdochically representing Plains Indian lifeways. Originally part of Luxton's curio store, the museum's beginnings reveal the connection, in Luxton's mind, between exhibiting and commodifying aboriginal objects. In 1992 management of the museum was transferred to the Buffalo Nations Cultural Society, composed of Native members of Treaties Six and Seven as well as some Métis groups from the region. Despite this shift in management and the museum's renaming as the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum, problems such as budgetary constraints have prevented much-needed updating of the installations. Many exhibits consequently remain quite similar to those initially developed in the 1950s and 1960s, thereby foregrounding representational strategies that are outmoded and ideologically problematic. As discussed in the introduction, the museum features a series of diorama-like scenes (referred to as "living pictures" by the museum Web site) that stage plastic mannequins of aboriginal figures dressed in ostensibly traditional costumes and engaged in activities such as making pemmican, scraping animal hides, and — in a particularly sensationalistic tableau — engaging in the rituals of the sun dance.[75] To fill out the simulated environments depicted in these "living pictures," taxidermically preserved animal specimens are often placed alongside the plastic mannequins. Here, the colonialist and racist logic linking taxidermy and indigeneity finds its explicit expression: the signs of "animals" and "aboriginals" are articulated in terms of a naturalized proximity that not only conflates these two figures under the hierarchies of anthropocentric white supremacy but also reinforces the complex temporal codes of taxidermic semiosis. Both the taxidermic specimens and the plastic mannequins appear frozen in a primitive past that is yet marked as anachronistic and uncivilized in contrast to the present of the museum visitor. Moreover, the museum's so-called living pictures reinscribe the fraught sign of taxidermic liveness that, in the process of supposedly reanimating bodies, inscribes the macabre trace of death upon animal specimens and uncanny mannequins of Indianness. These disturbing mannequins, with vacant stares and glossy, brown-tinted plastic skins constitute a synthetic manifestation of the racial epidermal schema that underscores how skin politics, as a complicated nexus of racialization, not only marks difference in terms of chromatics but also in terms of the unsettling residues of kitschy plasticity that reduce the native other to a manipulated caricature of otherness.

Dioramic vision of a stuffed animal and a plastic native mannequin inside the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum. Artifacts reproduced courtesy of Glenbow Museum Collection, Calgary, Alberta; photograph reproduced with permission of the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum, Banff.

The Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum throws into striking relief the surplus or excesses of racialization that the Banff Park Museum now seeks to overwrite and repress. Although the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum constructs a more explicit semiotic affiliation between taxidermy and aboriginality, the Banff Park Museum's repressed colonial relation

to indigeneity and the containment of native "artifacts" within the "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit encodes more complex and subtle — but also potent — forms of taxidermic semiosis. In the Banff Park Museum's current installation, the display of the synecdochic relic of aboriginality quite clearly pronounces the death of the vanished Indian. The hermetic sealing of these objects behind glass and their sparse presence on monochromatic backdrops, however, constructs these materials not just as "artifacts" but also as aged remains of a culture that is more than simply dead — it is long deceased, lost in deep anterior time. The Banff Park Museum's supposed act of preservation — of staving off further decay through museological collection and exhibition — therefore becomes a cover for staging the death of the Indian as a species that was marked for inevitable extinction. Thus, by reinscribing the semiotics of taxidermy's crucial temporal manipulations and conflation of "animality" and "aboriginality" as affiliated species within the domain of "nature," the museum transfers its taxidermic logic to the absent figure of the native other. In so doing, the museum naturalizes colonial violence against Aboriginal peoples while perpetuating fascination with and nostalgia for this supposed loss. As Michelle Burnham notes, the pleasure of sentimentality and the potency of nostalgia bound up in narratives of colonial nation-making hinge upon "remembering to forget the . . . colonial violence that . . . [has] secured" imperial control.[76] It is this "remembering to forget" — this active occlusion of the colonial aggression bound up in securing control of the frontier and subjugating Native peoples — that marks the violence at the heart of the Banff Park Museum's celebratory narrative of white masculine heroics and the taming of New World wildness.

A detailed investigation of the Banff Park Museum demonstrates how the semiotics of taxidermy function as a perpetually rearticulating structure of meaning that exceeds the limits of a strict science of signs. By linking the notion of semiotics to theories of affect, I have sought to retheorize the workings of both. Taxidermic semiosis involves a rigorous reading of the materiality of signs as well as the visceral and affective forms of response they may evoke. Such a theorization nuances the current visualist emphasis in semiotic and museological studies and, in so doing, argues for an expanded consideration of the way that a multiplicity of sign systems — from linguistic texts, to sounds, to textures, to the macabre objects of taxidermically preserved specimens — call into

being a variety of forms of sensory apprehension. Moreover, the case of the Banff Park Museum begins to suggest how, rather than operating in a fixed location, on a fixed animal body, the semiotics of taxidermy travel, transmogrify, and take shape in relation to other bodies, both present and absent. If taxidermy at the Banff Park Museum is in one sense very familiar, it is therefore also powerfully defamiliarizing — it is a representational structure that, like the animals subjected to its transformative work, becomes reincarnated in new forms.

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2. CELLULOID SALVAGE

Edward S. Curtis's Experiments with Photography and Film

In many early twentieth-century examples of anthropology's quest to capture and preserve aboriginality on celluloid, the semiotics of taxidermy are transferred from the animal corpse to a new form of "specimen": the racialized body of the native other. Effecting a shift from the "ethnographic animal" to the "ethnographic Indian," these photographic and filmic texts amplify the colonialist and racist investments of taxidermic representational practices. The prolific image-corpus of Edward Sheriff Curtis (1868–1952) constitutes an exemplary, if also notorious, archive for investigating the translation of taxidermy's sign system onto native bodies. As a contemporary of Banff's patriarch Norman Sanson, a fellow believer in the cult of white frontiering masculinity and a like-minded collector of aboriginal artifacts, Curtis pursued mastery over nature not by the literal practice of taxidermy but, rather, by employing photography and film as technologies of taxidermic preservation, technologies that sought to reconstruct the bodies of ostensibly extinct species in the guise of liveness. Thus, Curtis transformed himself from a self-taught nature photographer to a pseudoethnographic documentarian of native peoples — a shift that, according to colonial stereotypes of Indianness, was hardly a shift at all. Later, Curtis expanded his empire of image production to the realm of moving pictures, producing the first narrative documentary in early ethnographic cinema, a silent film titled *In the Land of the Headhunters.*[1]

Since the archival reconstruction of *Headhunters* by researchers at the University of Washington in the 1970s, renewed interest in Curtis's work has led to a proliferation of scholarly publications and art exhibitions seeking to critically re-view the depictions of what he, as an impassioned product of colonialist ideology of the era, believed was a "vanishing race."[2] At the same time, however, anthropology and history museums such as the

Royal British Columbia Museum continue to utilize Curtis's images in unproblematized ways, prominently displaying these photographs as accurate ethnographic documents of so-called traditional aboriginality. Moreover, popular enthusiasm for these romanticized images has spawned a burgeoning industry that disseminates ethereal, stereotyped representations of aboriginality in mass-produced ubiquity. According to Christopher Lyman,

> If pictorial photographs go out of vogue, Curtis's images sell as anthropological documents. If anthropological documents are not in fashion, his images still appeal to fans of pictorialism and devotees of popular imagery of American Indians. Even those who cannot afford to buy original photographs and photogravures can choose from a remarkable array of reproductions of Curtis's work; in posters, books, portfolios, slides, and magazines.[3]

As they circulate in the current era, therefore, Curtis's images oscillate between the spheres of the ethnographic and the popular, shifting across the categories of historical document, high art, and mass culture commodity.

Amid these increasingly thorny contexts of image circulation, renewed scholarly interest in Curtis's work has become complicit in producing its overexposure. By rereading and reprinting several of these images yet again, *Taxidermic Signs* is implicated in this process. Caught between the limits and possibilities of immanent critique, I hope to effect repetition with a difference or, in terms of Haraway's concept of diffraction, to create "interference patterns" within these processes of recirculation.[4] To do so, I will deploy the semiotics of taxidermy as a defamiliarizing heuristic that underscores the intense forms of manipulation involved in returning the body of a colonial text such as *Headhunters* to second life via the work of academic and archival restoration. Through a detailed comparison of the 1914 and 1973 versions of Curtis's film, I will demonstrate how the reconstruction process altered public memory of the original cinematic text and returned a very different version to widespread distribution.

While the other three case studies in this book focus primarily upon texts and events that have received far less critical attention, chapter 2 appears to succumb to the logic of the exemplary and the canonical, returning yet again to the consummate "go to" archive for turn-of-the-century ethnographic depictions of indigeneity. Rather than attempting to shore up the seminal status of Curtis's work, this chapter is motivated

by the specific heuristic purpose of tracing the similarities and differences between the translation of taxidermic semiosis across still and moving pictures. Analyzing such a translation is particularly compelling when studying still and motion images produced by the same artist/pseudoethnographer who employed very similar aesthetic techniques throughout—something the Curtis archive enables. While the overwhelming majority of critical scholarship regarding Curtis's work focuses on his photography rather than his film, when scholars do broach the relation between these two different textual forms, they tend to inscribe a binary opposition between photography as a technology of stasis and film as a technology of motion.[5] According to this schema, photographs are frozen images of time past, whereas film is a technology that preserves native bodies in motion and, in so doing, provides a more realistic picture of aboriginal cultures. In contrast, I argue that Curtis's photography and film are interrelated in intricate ways that necessitate a rethinking of the very categories of "stasis" and "motion." Theorizing how photography and film manipulate time and motion in order to "fix" aboriginal bodies in an anterior temporal realm, I argue that these technologies of representation, beneath the imagistic semblances of stillness and motion that they encode, both work to inscribe forms of ideological stasis that freeze native others in immobile poses of pastness while simultaneously narrating the forward drive of history according to the telos of Western progress. The production of such forms of stasis effects are a crucial aspect of taxidermic semiosis, which will be explored throughout this chapter.

HUNTING INDIANS WITH A CAMERA

In 1908 an article titled "Hunting Indians with a Camera" appeared in the American journal *The World's Work: A History of Our Time*. Writing to publicize the occupations of a friend, Edmond Meany, a historian at the University of Washington, valorizes "the adventures of Mr. Edward S. Curtis, who is devoting a large part of a working lifetime to making permanent records of our vanishing red-men." Invoking the rhetoric of hunting to describe Curtis's photographic endeavors, Meany asserts that "catching glimpses of . . . the Indian is an uncertain and often a dangerous" pursuit.[6] While Meany's essay implicitly substitutes the ostensibly endangered species of "the red-man" for the animal as a new object of prey, the article also trades in the rifle for the camera and, in the process,

underscores the powerful symbolic affiliation between these two technologies. If the gun has the capacity to literally stop life in its tracks, the camera holds the potential to visually freeze-frame life and thus "to transform the momentary into the permanent."[7] Not surprisingly then, these two instruments have been fused together in the Western imaginary as technologies of "capture," technologies invested with the power to interrupt life and to manipulate its temporal dimensions.

By playing on the discursive linkages between the gun and the camera, however, Meany's article also unwittingly encodes profound ambivalences that problematize the project of "Hunting Indians with a Camera." Specifically, by drawing an analogy between hunting and photography, the essay implicitly casts Curtis as an ambiguously doubled figure — as both preserver and predator of a "vanishing race." In this context, the article complicates the notion of photographic capture, signaling its potential to make "permanent records" of the "red-man" while simultaneously contributing to the consumption of the particular "endangered species" it purportedly seeks to save in black-and-white negative form.

The doubled preservationist/predatory logic underpinning Curtis's work is symptomatic of the broader institutional practice of "salvage ethnography," the defining disciplinary paradigm for early twentieth-century anthropology that posited the pending extinction of native cultures in the wake of the collision of "primitive" society with modern Western "civilization." Because the disappearance of indigenous lifeways was viewed as part of an inevitable evolutionary process, salvage ethnography asserted that anthropology's only recourse was to rescue native artifacts from vanishing along with their makers. Salvage ethnography consequently provided an ideological justification for the rise of anthropological culture collecting: code for the buying, plundering, and recategorizing of aboriginal belongings as artifacts for Western pseudoscientific study. Putting a benevolent and even heroic spin upon culture collecting, narratives of salvage framed the anthropologist as "the recorder and interpreter of fragile custom . . . , custodian of an essence, unimpeachable witness to an authenticity."[8] Sharing linguistic roots with the word "salvation," anthropology's notion of salvage was invested with the "etymological connotation of wholeness" — a wholeness that ethnographers sought in their imaginative reproduction of organic origins, of native purity in prehistory.[9] In part influenced by the contemporaneous rise of

modernism, salvage ethnography fetishized the primitive and thus sought to recover it from the detritus of history via phantasmatic time travel that enabled the technological reconstruction (via writing, phonography, photography, and film) of a precontact native state of nature. Pivoting on a complex logic of paradox, the anthropological salvaging of Curtis's era therefore posited the decay of aboriginal cultures in the present while simultaneously attempting to reify native lifeways of the past.[10]

While the "scramble for . . . [native a]rtifacts" in North America stretched between the period from 1875 to 1925, the turn-of-the-century era in which Curtis worked was the heyday of anthropological culture collecting. As the official photographer for the Harriman Expedition to Alaska in 1899, Curtis participated in the appropriation of several totem poles and house posts from a Tlingit village at Cape Fox.[11] The cultural preserver consequently doubled as a kind of cultural predator — a figure haunted by the "unpleasant work" (as Franz Boas put it) of scavenging for remnants of aboriginal cultures.[12] The predominant way that Curtis engaged in anthropological salvaging, however, was via the work of photographic capture. In 1898 Curtis formulated his grand plan for a large-scale photographic record of what he referred to as the "national tragedy" of "a race doomed to extinction."[13] Thus, he set to work on producing *The North American Indian,* a twenty-volume compendium of photographic portfolios and encyclopedic notes on "all the important tribes of the United States and Alaska that still retain to a considerable degree their primitive customs and traditions."[14] Produced over a span of more than twenty years (1907–30), each portfolio was leather-bound and photoengraved, making production costs so expensive that only 272 copies were ever sold to wealthy patrons and major libraries, at the price of $3,000 per set.[15]

Drawing on the support of elite hunting and naturalist friends — including George Bird Grinnell, editor of *Field and Stream;* C. Hart Merriam, a founder of the National Geographic Society; and Gifford Pinchot, chief of the U.S. Forest Service — Curtis publicized his project to high society in America. In 1904 he won the affirmation of President Theodore Roosevelt, himself an avid huntsman and outdoorsman, who wrote letters of commendation that appeared in advertisements as well as forewords to each volume of *The North American Indian.* Lauding Curtis's photographic endeavors as an important act of citizenship, Roosevelt extols:

> I regard the work you have done as one of the most valuable works which any American could now do. . . . You are now making a record of the lives of the Indians of our country which in another decade cannot be made at all. . . . You have begun just in time, for these people are at this very moment rapidly losing the distinctive traits and customs which they have slowly developed through the ages. The Indian, as an Indian, is on the point of perishing.[16]

According to Roosevelt, the nation's current time constituted a crucial historical juncture marking the brink upon which "the Indian, as an Indian" temporarily hovered prior to fading into disappearance. Thus, Curtis's photographic record of the colonial other captured in the pose of vanishing tradition served as a nostalgic monument to the nation's aboriginal past that implicitly marked the triumph of the white American present and future.

By first allying himself with the elite huntsmen and naturalist circles led by Grinnell and Roosevelt, Curtis launched his project in affiliation with the white establishment that continued to manage the western frontier for the nation's imperial interests by appropriating land from Native groups and repossessing it under the title of national parks. Moreover, Curtis relied on his presidential connections for permission to conduct the majority of his fieldwork within reservation borders. As a result, he became enmeshed within the governmental matrix and, in many ways, imbibed and reproduced the assimilationist ideology expounded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[17] Assuming the role of an unofficial informant for the Bureau, Curtis penetrated Native communities and then wrote back to the government as a paternalistic sometimes-advocate for the "vanishing Indian." Commenting upon Curtis's effectiveness in this capacity, Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner of the Indian Bureau, once remarked:

> There is a great art in collecting such material as Mr. Curtis has acquired. It is necessary, as a first step, to gain the complete confidence of the Indians, who are the most suspicious people in the world when it comes to any dealing with the white race, and possess a positively Oriental adroitness in concealing under an air of candor whatever they do not care to disclose. Mr. Curtis's . . . tactful methods have been such that he is the one historical prospector to whom I have felt justified in giving absolute freedom to move about in the Indian Country wherever he would.[18]

Curtis's *North American Indian* project therefore was not only a lofty monument to the nation's "vanishing race"; his work also served prag-

matic purposes for the federal administration of colonial oppression. As a "historical prospector" mining the secrets of "Indian Country," Curtis functioned as a useful if somewhat rogue agent who could "gain the complete confidence of the Indians" and then betray this trust by reporting to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Overlapping the malevolent stereotype of "Oriental adroitness" in deception with the stereotype of the inscrutable Indian, Leupp's commentary belies a deep colonialist anxiety regarding the ability to control knowledge/power over supposedly subjugated others. Ironically, however, while the Indian Bureau castigated native groups as fundamentally "suspicious," it was the American government itself that engaged in the shady practice of commissioning quasi-spies like Curtis to keep tabs on aboriginal others.

In 1906 Curtis expanded his influential support network by winning the patronage of railroad tycoon J. Pierpont Morgan. The wealthy businessman initially agreed to back these photographic endeavors with interest-free loans of $15,000 per year for five years. By 1910, however, Morgan extended his financial control over Curtis's work, establishing The North American Indian, Incorporated—an enterprise owned by the Morgan Trust, whose majority shareholder was J. Pierpont himself.[19] As a result of these weighty financial ties, Curtis became enmeshed in business with a commercial power whose railroad industry played a crucial role in uprooting Aboriginal peoples, decimating the bison herds upon which Native communities depended for sustenance, and accelerating the process of assimilation in the western United States.[20] By working in conjunction with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the one hand, and by forming alliances with the railroad industries of Morgan on the other, Edward Curtis developed his salvaging project within a powerful matrix of white imperial interests in turn-of-the-century America.

By dramatizing the theme of the vanishing Indian in ethereal photographic texts, *The North American Indian* perpetuated the dominant imperialist ideology of the era. After the end of the Indian Wars in the mid- to late 1800s, Native populations in the United States were subjugated by new forms of white governmental rule. Shifting from military force to policy-based oppression, the federal government spearheaded an aggressive assimilationist program designed to obliterate Indigenous lifeways. While imperial officers instituted policies designed to dissolve Native communities and economies, they simultaneously parroted a discourse of ambivalent nostalgia, mourning the ostensibly inevitable

devolution of a race that was "simultaneously pathological and genuine."[21] Drawing provocative connections between violence and nostalgia, and between the gun and the camera, Susan Sontag remarks: "When we are afraid, we shoot. But when we are nostalgic, we take pictures."[22] Transferring the violence of "hunting Indians" with guns to shooting them with cameras, Curtis's photographic salvaging perpetuated the nostalgic pathos of American imperialist discourse by aestheticizing the death of the native other via the project of photographic preservation.

The nostalgic affect produced by *The North American Indian* hinges upon Curtis's use of photography as a taxidermic technology. By deploying the camera as an instrument of instantaneous capture, Curtis sought to manipulate time via the imagistic reconstruction of so-called traditional aboriginal lifeways. In so doing, Curtis's photography projected his object matter into the future perfect tense, framing native bodies as "what will have been."[23] Thus, the moment of the camera's instantaneous capture — the moment that supposedly ensured the preservation of a "vanishing race" in the image of permanence — was actually the moment that marked native bodies for pending death. This representational schema is profoundly taxidermic. One of the crucial aspects of the semiotics of taxidermy theorized throughout this book hinges upon how, in the guise of creating an image of preserved liveness, taxidermic technologies ironically encode and extend, or stretch out, the sign of death. Rather than a conventional technology of freeze-framing reductively conceived as the production of the simply static, the taxidermic freeze-frame suspends its object matter in the present through a form of dynamic stasis that appears to "arrest decay" while setting in motion a narrative telos driven toward future death.[24] In a rereading of Curtis's photography as a taxidermic technology, the linkages between imperial nostalgia and violence are thrown into relief: the poignancy and emotional immediacy attributed to Curtis's supposed ethnographic records of a vanishing race hinged upon the demise of the bodies depicted therein. The forecasted death of the object matter is what enabled these pictures to accrue value as both anthropological documents and works of art.

CELLULOID SKINS

According to John Tagg, "*every* photograph is the result of specific and, in every sense, significant distortions which render its relation to any prior reality deeply problematic." To understand the implications of such "dis-

tortions," Tagg continues, it is imperative to analyze "the social practices within which photography takes place." Rather than possessing a universal or essential ontology, the photograph is "a material product of a material apparatus set to work in specific contexts, by specific forces, for more or less defined purposes."[25] Tagg's comments are particularly salient for a critique of Edward Curtis's work—pictures that were produced in conjunction with the social practice of colonialism in the turn-of-the-century United States. The "distortions" that mediate every photograph's relation to reality are intensified in Curtis's image-corpus due to his hands-on tactics of doctoring the photogravure process. Although Curtis claimed to make records of only those tribes that "still retain[ed] to a considerable degree their primitive customs and traditions," his photographs were highly stylized and manipulated images that constructed, rather than merely recorded, primitive natives in the likeness of colonial stereotypes.[26] Ironically, in his quest to photographically capture traditional aboriginality in a state of supposed cultural purity, Curtis altered many pictures to erase the traces of colonial contact and to reconstruct the native other in the image of white imperialist fantasies. For this reason, Curtis's photographs reveal far more about their maker, as well as their commercial market, than the peoples they supposedly represent.

Because the complete *North American Indian* portfolios contain approximately 720 images, my analysis does not intend to be comprehensive or to perpetuate any false promises of coverage. My selections are inflected by the critical agenda of defamiliarizing some of the most ubiquitous Curtis photographs and by analyzing their taxidermic dimensions. As a case in point, the lead photograph published in volume 1 of *The North American Indian* is one of the most widely circulated images from the Curtis corpus. Titled "The Vanishing Race—Navaho" (1904), the picture is accompanied by the following caption:

> The thought which this picture is meant to convey is that the Indians as a race, already shorn of their tribal strength and stripped of their primitive dress, are passing into the darkness of an unknown future. Feeling that the picture expresses so much of the thought that inspired the entire work, the author has chosen it as the first of the series.[27]

Although the distanced third-person reference to the "the author" might suggest that Curtis did not write this caption, the words are his own. By invoking the third person, the commentary gestures toward an omniscient perspective that ostensibly transcends Curtis's own viewpoint, thereby

Edward S. Curtis, "The Vanishing Race—Navaho," 1904. Reproduced courtesy of U.S. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-37340.

according his belief in the disappearance of native cultures the status of universal truth.

The corresponding photograph depicts a shadowy, ethereal scene in which a meager group of Navaho ride horses on a trail in a desolate desert, heading toward a dark silhouette of mountains far on the horizon. The figures are riding away from the camera, their slouched backs to the lens with their shadows trailing behind them. These physical forms are so dark that they read only as somber silhouettes, nameless ciphers representing a moribund race. The specific process that Curtis used to develop his photographs contributed significantly to the manipulation of darkness and lightness in the images. Deploying the expensive technique of photogravure, the printing of an image from an etched intaglio plate, Curtis was able to either intensify or fade pictures "and to subsequently tone down details in the image that were deemed to be superfluous."[28] Capitalizing upon photogravure's potential, Curtis "heavily retouched" the lead photograph in the series in order to darken and blur the image and, thus, dramatize the theme of disappearance "into the darkness of an unknown future."[29] Christopher Lyman argues that "The Vanishing Race — Navaho"

> is as much the result of retouching as it is a product of the original negative. The sticks in the lower right-hand corner were apparently enhanced by strokes of a stylus, and the shapes of the Indian riders were defined by highlights which were enhanced with a negative retouching pencil.[30]

It is the outline of these figures, not details that would differentiate the bodies, that Curtis enhanced through the intaglio process, thereby intensifying the sameness of the figures as ciphers of Indianness doomed to a collective fate. In the context of Curtis's work, therefore, the euphemism of "retouching" is actually code for the intense manipulation of photography's object matter. If Benjamin argues that the filmmaker is like a surgeon who dissects human bodies, in Curtis's hands, the stylus also functioned as a surgical tool for cutting into his object matter and reconstructing it in the image of white fantasies.[31] Instead of the incisions of a medical surgeon, however, a comparison to the dissections performed by a taxidermist in the process of hollowing out and restuffing a corpse is even more compelling. Similar to the way that taxidermic preparation and display reconstructs dead animals in the form of embalmed diorama figures representing mammalian types, "The Vanishing Race — Navaho" puts native bodies on exhibit in a still-life snapshot of a moribund species.

The still life that the lead photograph of *The North American Indian* depicts is more complex, however, than it may first appear. Such intricacies hinge upon the dynamic stasis of the taxidermic freeze-frame. While "The Vanishing Race — Navaho" depicts ciphers of Indianness suspended in the pose of stilled life, the picture simultaneously suggests that the natives are the ones who will be riding off toward the horizon, leaving the white ethnographer/spectator (aligned with the position of the camera lens) behind. Instead of contradicting the logic of colonialism that attributes to the white colonizer the power of movement, "The Vanishing Race — Navaho" depicts not the journey of progress but rather its crucial counterpart: the journey of degeneration. The orientation of the native bodies away from the camera and toward the distant horizon enables the projection of these ciphers into the future perfect tense of "what will have been" — the future of their death. In so doing, the photograph aestheticizes and naturalizes the displacement of Indigenous peoples from their land by inscribing a narrative of devolution and final departure that leaves the purportedly rightful heirs of America — the

makers of white civilization in the New World — to stand their ground upon the vacated territory.

If "The Vanishing Race" projects native figures forward into a future of disappearance and death, many other photographs throughout *The North American Indian* time-travel backward into a phantasmatic era of authentic aboriginality. One of the most blatant instances of Curtis's image doctoring and the manipulation of the temporality of a particular mise-en-scène occurs in his 1910 photograph "In a Piegan Lodge," published in volume 6. Using the camera to penetrate the intimate interior space of a native tipi, this picture depicts two Piegan men, Little Plum and his son Yellow Kidney, seated on the ground with a tobacco pipe positioned between them. The men are dressed in "traditional" clothes and jewelry and are positioned as stoic ambassadors of the "old" tribal life. According to Curtis's written caption — "the picture is full of suggestion of the various Indian activities" — occupations represented by medicine bundles, a buffalo-skin shield, and deerskin harnesses for horses.[32] A comparison of the Library of Congress negative with the reproduction in *The North American Indian,* however, reveals that an alarm clock that the two Piegan men placed between them was scratched out of the original negative.[33] Curtis superimposed an image of a rustic woven basket over the excised timepiece. Once again, the process of photographic "retouching" involved heavy-handed manipulation: in this case, a deliberate eradication of all evidence of cultural hybridity. Timekeeping, according to Curtis, was not supposed to be one of the Piegans' activities. The presence of the clock, as a symbol of modernity, would have ruptured the camera's fetishistic glimpse into the world of primitive private space. Moreover, the excision of the alarm clock — a machine that keeps its owner in pace with modern industrial society — enables the literal erasure of the time of Western progress from the past world of the authentic "North American Indian." In this sense, Curtis's retouching of "In a Piegan Lodge" inscribes key temporal manipulations of colonial discourse. In particular, the photograph hinges upon Johannes Fabian's notion of the "denial of coevalness": the "persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer" of the discourse.[34] By relegating the colonial other to a discrete — and always already anterior — temporal realm, Curtis's photograph attempts to taxidermically suspend these Piegan figures in a freeze-frame that holds the native other in temporal stasis, separate from the

movement of Western history. Thus, the material of celluloid becomes an embalming agent that preserves not the real referents of Aboriginal peoples but rather a white fantasy of authentic Indianness for white spectators who, in their present tense, mourn the loss of an imagined past.

In contrast to "The Vanishing Race — Navaho" and "In a Piegan Lodge," many images throughout the twenty-volume compendium focus intently on the faces of native persons through close-up head shots. For example, "A Chief's Daughter — Nakoaktok" from volume 10 of *The North American Indian* features a detailed portrait of a wizened, aging woman wrapped in a cedar-bark cape and wearing a woven hat with shell ornaments.[35] Instead of an individual, she is framed as an anthropological type: the photograph is a representative study of a high-caste Nakoaktok woman. Unlike the shadowy, smudged quality of "The Vanishing Race," this photograph features sharp-focus black and white definition, emphasizing textures on and around the woman's body, including the woven grid of the cedar cape, the undulations of abalone earrings, and the creased skin of the woman's face. "A Chief's Daughter — Nakoaktok" is all about surfaces, reducing its object matter to a topography of ostensibly rustic and primitive textures. In an effort to transcend the limits of photography's one-dimensional visualism, "A Chief's Daughter — Nakoaktok" attempts to present its object matter "in the round," or with shape and contour that provokes not only visual but also tactile and affective responses from spectators.[36] Curtis's photograph consequently reifies taxidermy's "topographic obsession" with surfaces, particularly the surface of skin or the racial epidermal schema.[37] Accentuating the wizened toughness and rustic qualities of the Nakoaktok woman's skin, the photograph racializes her as a kind of museum piece — an artifactualized example of native primitivism — alongside the ubiquitous artifacts of roughhewn cedar-bark capes and baskets that often stand in as synecdoches of native tradition in anthropological displays.

While Curtis lamented the idea, as he put it in the introductory caption to *The North American Indian,* that "the Indians as a race . . . [are] already shorn of their tribal strength and stripped of their primitive dress," the native figures depicted throughout the twenty volumes are never presented in "modern" or European attire.[38] Attempting to compensate for the supposedly "shorn" and "stripped" nature of his native contemporaries, Curtis covered over the Western clothing commonly worn by his models with costumes he believed replicated so-called

Edward S. Curtis, "In a Piegan Lodge," 1910. This original version of the photograph shows the clock positioned between the two men. Reproduced courtesy of U.S. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-51432.

traditional Indianness.[39] In the case of the "Chief's Daughter — Nakoaktok," Curtis produced the model as a museum piece by dressing her in a cedar-bark cape and large abalone earrings — two props he recirculated throughout volume 10 of *The North American Indian*.[40] Although the photograph frames this woman as an anonymous tribal type, Edward Curtis knew the model well as Francine Hunt, wife of the famous interpreter and native informant of Tlingit and English descent, George Hunt.[41] As an extremely influential participant in the field research of Franz Boas, Marius Barbeau, and Edward Curtis, George Hunt and, by extension, his wife, were in no way isolated in a precontact past, living as primitive natives. Francine Hunt regularly dressed in European-style clothing and assisted her husband in his compradorial work as a mediator between white ethnographers and Aboriginal groups. Her appearance as the "Chief's Daughter," therefore, is a highly performative enactment of Curtis's idea of a traditional northwest coast aboriginal woman. A comparison of "A Chief's Daughter — Nakoaktok" with a well-known photograph of George and Francine Hunt in Western dress taken in 1930 by J. B. Scott throws into striking relief the implications of Curtis's photo-

Edward S. Curtis, "In a Piegan Lodge," 1910. In this retouched version of the photograph, a basket has been superimposed over the clock. Reproduced with permission of University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW14536.

graphs for reproducing native subjects as nameless, generically costumed objects of ethnographic taxonomization.

According to Fatimah Tobing Rony, the subjects of ethnographic photographs and films "were performers, and not just bodies . . . people who returned gazes and who spoke, people who in many ways also were seeing anthropology."[42] It is extremely difficult, however, to trace the contours of agency in these contexts because dominant texts are often all that is available for study, and these documents are often too preoccupied with the colonial fantasies of their authors to be useful in this regard. The case of Francine Hunt, however, provides an opportunity to consider Aboriginal agency as her interactions with white culture have gained a fragmentary and compromised form of historical legibility due to her husband's compradorial work and the couple's "appearance" in the field notes and correspondence of major figures such as Boas, Curtis, et al. As the wife of George Hunt, who worked as an interpreter in the provincial court and played a key role in shaping anthropological knowledge of northwest coast Aboriginal cultures, Francine Hunt was elevated

Edward S. Curtis, "A Chief's Daughter—Nakoaktok," 1914. Reproduced courtesy of U.S. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-52204.

above the status of common Natives.[43] At the same time, as an Indigenous woman living within colonial power structures, she was subordinated by both "race" and gender: like the figure of the "Chief's Daughter" that she portrayed, Hunt was identified and defined by her relation to a man. Within these constraints, Francine seems to have attempted to slide into her husband's role of cultural interpreter, trading her "insider"

Portrait of Francine and George Hunt in European dress taken by J. B. Scott in 1930. Reproduced with permission of the Royal British Columbia Museum, PN9533.

knowledge for social recognition. Although it is impossible to definitively know why she participated in Curtis's photography projects as a costumed figure, it seems quite likely that her involvement afforded her economic benefits (probably more than Curtis paid most of his models) and provided an opportunity to demonstrate her skills as an interpreter.

Similar to the head-shot photograph of Francine Hunt in "A Chief's Daughter—Nakoaktok," a pair of close-up images titled "Yakotlus—Quatsino," also published in volume 10, frame an aged man as a representative of a certain tribal type. Like "A Chief's Daughter," these photographs focus on the deeply etched skin of the model, who is dressed in a cedar-bark cape remarkably similar to the one worn by Hunt and most likely one of Curtis's recycled props. The first picture depicts the Quatsino man with his face turned more toward the camera, and a second picture displays him from a side profile face. In the first photograph, the man is hunched forward with his knees pulled up to his chest and his hands resting upon them. The written caption for both images remarks: "In physique and intelligence the Quatsino seem inferior to the other Kwakiutl

Edward S. Curtis, "Yakotlus—Quatsino," 1914. Reproduced courtesy of U.S. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-52197.

tribes. This plate illustrates the artificial deformation of the head, which formerly was quite general on the North Pacific coast."[44]

The explicit anthropological typologizing and racializing operative in these photographs and commentary provoke a necessary discussion of the relation between *The North American Indian* and the racial pseudosciences of anthropometry and craniometry that maintained intellec-

Edward S. Curtis, "Yakotlus—Quatsino (Profile)," 1914. Reproduced courtesy of U.S. Library of Congress, LC-USZ52-52198.

tual currency into the early 1900s. It seems astonishing that many critics have been able to entirely overlook the influence of the craniometric gaze upon Curtis's photography, arguing instead that his twenty-volume compendium falls firmly within the camp of pictorialist aesthetics, characterized by a "spiritual" and "humanistic" approach to its object matter.[45]

I argue instead that Curtis's work negotiates a far more hybrid combination of aesthetics and racial pseudoscience. A compelling pre-text for the melding of aesthetics and pseudoscience in the service of racializing imperialism's others is Samuel Morton's 1839 *Crania Americana*.[46] While Morton's text is organized in encyclopedic fashion and includes charts and "data" to support his dubious taxonomies, the book most strikingly dramatizes craniological studies through oversized black-and-white lithographs depicting "the skulls of various aboriginal nations of North and South America." Prepared by Philadelphia artist John Collins, these lithographs brought "Morton's cranial cabinet to life," enlivening racism's "truths." According to literary critic Samuel Otter, in Collins's images, "Bone is treated like skin, given qualities of graininess and smoothness that encourage the viewer's eye to caress the surface and invite the hand to reach under and inside the skull."[47] By incorporating elements of portraiture into the lithographs of skulls and treating bone like the more frequently fetishized surface of skin, *Crania Americana* aestheticized the project of linking cranial measurements to a taxonomy of the purportedly inferior "natural dispositions" and mental characteristics of America's native others.[48]

The case of *Crania Americana* is suggestive for considering how, more than sixty years later, Curtis refashioned, conflated, and dramatized disparate elements of the convoluted genealogies of nineteenth-century racial science in *The North American Indian.* If in *Crania Americana,* bone is depicted like skin through an attention to texture and detail, in Curtis's photography skin may cover over bone, but it does so in a way that puts both tissue and skull into play, operating together in the service of racialization. Commenting upon the strategies motivating his close-up portraits, Curtis remarked: "I made one resolve, that the pictures should be made according to the best of modern methods and of a size that the face might be studied as the Indian's own flesh."[49] Curtis's use of the term "studied" reveals his belief in the pedagogical function of his photographs as documents that could preserve specimens of a race on the brink of extinction for future research and examination. Attempting to use celluloid to create the aesthetic impact of real flesh, Curtis's photographs sought to reconstruct the racial epidermal schema of Indianness not so much in terms of chromatics (for black-and-white and sepia printing had its limits in this regard) but, rather, in terms of a more complex system of *epidermalized embodiment.* Rather than entirely

discarding bone structure — as the primary semiotic field for craniometric-based racialization — and moving to the new semiotic terrain of skin, or the "signifier of skin/race," Curtis's photographs study the skins of aboriginal bodies not just as surfaces and textures but also as a substance that throws into relief the contours of facial shapes, the dimensions of skull and bone. In this sense, the taxidermic obsession with the topography of surfaces is not only about the exterior epidermal shell, but also the underlying bone structures that mold this layer of tissue "in the round." As I argued in the introduction to this book, the semiotics of taxidermy challenge rigid periodizations and distinctions between different modes and processes of racialization, prompting instead the need for a more flexible theory of the overlap and diachronic reinvention of racializing techniques. This is precisely what is at stake in Curtis's photography through its fetishization of the racial epidermal schema in tandem with the underlying skeletal structures that stretch out skin and put it on three-dimensional display.

The complexities of epidermalized embodiment are operative in the pair of photographs titled "Yakotlus — Quatsino." On an immediate level, the images foreground the textures of the man's wizened and creased skin in a way that, similar to the picture of Francine Hunt in "A Chief's Daughter — Nakoaktok," dramatizes agedness. Both the pictures of the Quatsino man and the Nakoaktok daughter aestheticize and naturalize the narrative of aboriginal demise by typecasting particular native bodies as representatives for a race that has collectively neared the end of its life span. These images consequently use pictorial aesthetic techniques to construct poignant tributes to the supposed biological inevitability of native disappearance, thereby camouflaging the ideological workings of the racial epidermal and craniometric schemas. At the same time, "Yakotlus — Quatsino" reveals that pictorial aesthetics are combined in Curtis's work with anthropometric techniques. As Christopher Lyman notes, "By the turn of the century, anthropometric photography had been reduced to a generally standardized format" including "at least two portraits, one full frontal, and one in profile, usually shot against a neutral background."[50] Such a standardized format is clearly mimicked in Curtis's images of the Quatsino man, using multiple shots from different angles to collectively create the semblance of epidermalized embodiment, of skin sculpted in three dimensions over top of bone. Thus, rather than disguising or overlooking the significance of skull shape and size, Curtis's dramatic

portraits of native flesh include the underworkings of anthropometry in its codes of racialization. Moreover, the written caption that accompanies these photographs ("In physique and intelligence the Quatsino seem inferior to the other Kwakiutl tribes") verges closely upon the classic craniometric strategy of linking skull structure to personality characteristics and intellect.[51] Thus, while many of the images in *The North American Indian* capitalize upon drama and aesthetic impact, such aesthetic aspects often dissimulate another agenda: photographic documentation in the service of racial taxonomization. Here, the anthropological and the aesthetic converge in the production of images that nostalgically portray the facial expressions of stereotyped stoic Indians while simultaneously framing these faces in frontal and profile positions that reify anthropometric examinations of racialized others. In this sense, several of Curtis's photographs popularize and revivify certain nineteenth- and early twentieth-century pseudoscientific theories of "race."

PICTURES ON THE MOVE

Despite the patronage of magnates such as J. Pierpont Morgan, the exorbitant costs of extended fieldwork and travel involved in the making of *The North American Indian* perpetually exceeded the financial returns of the series' elite subscription list. In an effort to generate funds, Curtis began a campaign to publicize his work by translating the contents of printed portfolios into dynamic spectacles. Although he had engaged in public lectures regarding aboriginal cultures across North America since the early 1900s, the first series of organized evenings of entertainment that displayed his photography and set it to music was launched in 1911.[52] The Curtis "Musicale" or "Picture Opera," according to a New York playbill, was touted as "something absolutely new," a hybrid spectacle combining elements of academic lecture and lantern slide show, set off with orchestral arrangements of native music transcribed during Curtis's fieldwork and even brief film footage of the Hopi Snake Dance.[53] Staging the musicale in prestigious venues such as Carnegie Hall in New York and the Belasco Theater in Washington, D.C., Curtis designed his "Intimate Story of Indian Tribal Life" as an evening of entertainment and ethnographic edification for white American high society.

Although Curtis's "Picture Opera" toured major cities across the United States between 1911 and 1913, the problem of a project that

cost more than it recouped again resurfaced. Not to be dissuaded, Curtis attempted to translate his *North American Indian* material into yet another spectacular format by embarking upon a project to cash in on the rise of cinema and to produce a "photo-drama," or full-length motion picture, depicting anthropological object matter. The novice filmmaker's aspirations were materialized in 1914 with the production of a silent film that played to white fantasies and phobias of aboriginal savagery with the sensationalistic title, *In the Land of the Headhunters: A Drama of Kwakiutl Life*. Several critics have viewed Curtis's transition from still photography, to lantern-picture show where still slides are articulated in contiguous succession, to film where frames dissolve fluidly into each other through rapid motion, as a natural evolution toward improved realism in representing a vanishing race. Underpinning this conceptualization of Curtis's work is a *telos* of technological progress that hinges upon the assumption that each successive representational mode offers a more authentic and lifelike glimpse of "Indian Tribal Life" by overcoming the limits of stillness and portraying native bodies in motion. According to this logic, photography is categorized as a technology of stasis in contradistinction to film as a technology of motion. A comparative study of Curtis's photography and film demonstrates, however, that both modes of representation encode stasis effects that frame aboriginal peoples as dead to the future and lost in a vanished past. Moreover, reductive equations of stillness with confinement and artificiality and mobility with emancipation and realism overlook how, under the guise of motion that *Headhunters* creates, forms of ideological stasis are inscribed upon aboriginal bodies, attempting to "fix" them according to colonial taxonomies.

Headhunters is a filmic text with a complicated and provocative history that bears retelling. Although Curtis produced his documentary as yet another moneymaking enterprise intended to fund the ongoing *North American Indian* project, public reception of the film was unenthusiastic, despite early critical acclaim. As a result, the venture plunged Curtis further into debt and, in 1924, he was forced to cut his losses and sell the master print to the American Museum of Natural History for $1500 — a fraction of what it had cost to make.[54] The next circulations of *Headhunters* remain unclear: a blank space in narratives of its history exists between the time the film was purchased by the American Museum of Natural History and the time it came into the possession of Chicago's Field Museum in 1947, donated from the private collection of

Hugo Zeiter of Danville, Illinois. Once in the hands of the museum, personnel screened the documentary and the highly flammable 35mm nitrate film caught fire, resulting in a loss of some of the original footage. What remained was transferred to 16mm safety film while, strangely enough, the original nitrate copy was destroyed by curators trained in the work of archival preservation.[55]

When George Quimby, Curator of Ethnology at the Field Museum, left to take up an appointment at the Burke Museum of Natural History in Seattle in 1965, he took a copy of the surviving footage with him in the hopes of reconstructing *Headhunters.* There, he joined forces with anthropologist Bill Holm, and together the two edited the original footage, modified the film speed, added a sound track, and rewrote the film's intertitles. Unlike the 1914 version, the reconstruction — completed in 1973 and renamed *In the Land of the War Canoes* — was made widely accessible via its commercial release compliments of Milestone Film and Video.[56]

As this brief history suggests, the "original" filmic text has, in a literal sense, been lost in the detritus of history. What survives today are two 16mm safety film copies made from the original 35mm nitrate text that was damaged by fire and then destroyed. While for archival literalists, the original material object is fundamentally irretrievable, for those concerned with reviewing the original sequencing, intertitles, and general affect of Curtis's 1914 film, the opportunity is still available via a screening of one of the 16mm copies.

Recent critical returns to *In the Land of the Headhunters* have demonstrated just how convoluted the narrative histories of Curtis's film are and just how significantly the fetishization of lost originals and origins continues to inflect scholarly reception of this early ethnographic text. An exchange in the pages of *Visual Anthropology* is exemplary, demonstrating the continuing investments in narrativizing Curtis's 1914 documentary as a "lost" or, at least, an exceptionally rare text. In an article published in 1996 Catherine Russell, a film professor at Concordia University, proclaimed that "*Headhunters* is in itself a lost film" that today can only be referenced through "fragmentary glimpses made available in the 'restored' film."[57] Responding in 1998 to correct Russell's assertion, Brad Evans, then a scholar at the University of Chicago, announced that the Field Museum held a 16mm safety copy of the original in its archives. Solidifying the import of his discovery, Evans continued: "I am currently

unaware of any other copies of the original film which may exist beyond the copy at the Field Museum."[58] The discourse of archival rarity operative in Russell's and Evans's articles may now be further amended and challenged: a second copy of the 1914 version of *Headhunters* is housed at the Burke Museum in Seattle, the site of the film's reconstruction, where it is available for viewing. The structure and content of the original text, therefore, is not as lost as previously imagined.

The early twentieth-century contexts shaping Curtis's film are also not lost in the past. For Curtis's own narratives of his experiment in moviemaking, as well as his ideological motivations, are partially retraceable in his correspondence and in the encyclopedic component to *The North American Indian.* Curtis's venture into motion pictures was spurred not only by financial considerations but also by a pressing desire to represent as vividly as possible the most authentic scenes of what he believed was traditional precontact Indianness. This perpetual search for a purer aboriginality eventually led Curtis to extend his salvaging project north of the border, where the faltering new Dominion of Canada had supposedly not yet gained control of its western frontier. From his perspective, while the United States was already on the verge of fulfilling its Manifest Destiny, the Canadian west remained largely untamed, harboring the most authentic natives left on the continent. Hoping to witness and capture on celluloid such supposed purity before civilization spread to one of the continent's last frontiers, Curtis infiltrated the wilds of coastal Canada with his camera in tow. At the north end of Vancouver Island, he found his limit case for primitivism in a group categorized by anthropologists as "the Kwakiutl"—a seafaring tribe perched at "the edge of the edge of North America," where Western culture had supposedly not yet etched the sign of contamination.[59]

In his introduction to volume 10 of the *North American Indian,* Curtis describes what he "discovers" on Canada's Pacific coast by reiterating the well-worn colonialist strategy of conflating the natural environment with the natives themselves:

> It is an inhospitable country, with its forbidding, rock-bound coasts, its dark, tangled, mysterious forests, its beetling mountains, its long, gloomy season of rains and fogs. No less inhospitable, mysterious, and gloomy . . . [it seems] is the character of the inhabitants. . . . One is impelled to question their knowledge of any such thing . . . [except that which] may be aroused by the gratification of savage passions or purely

> physical instincts. Chastity, genuine, self-sacrificing friendship, even the inviolability of a guest, — a cardinal principle among most Indian tribes, — are unknown. It is scarcely exaggeration to say that not a single noble trait redeems the Kwakiutl character.[60]

Categorizing the Kwakiutl as savagery incarnate, Curtis framed this group as the ultimate embodiment of atavism and the only native group in the Pacific northwest where "primitive life . . . [could] still be observed."[61] As a result, the anthropological salvager designated Kwakiutl territory an important site for deploying filmic technology to erase the traces of colonial contact and to reconstruct ostensibly authentic native origins. Curtis explicitly articulated his aims for the film in a letter to Dr. Charles Walcott of the Smithsonian Institution, remarking: "My effort would be to go back as close to the primal life as possible, illustrating my thoughts in this respect."[62] Attempting to use the camera to engage in ethnographic time travel, therefore, Curtis sought to "illustrate" his "thoughts" on what native origins once looked like, producing celluloid records of his own fantasies for white American posterity. Moreover, in the process of imagining native purity, Curtis's importation of technology, money, and mass-produced props to coastal Canada ironically perpetuated the very civilizing encroachments he claimed to lament.[63]

At the same time that Curtis endeavored to produce an ethnographic record on film, he also strove to design a motion picture that would attract widespread audiences and, thus, generate substantial profits. In an effort to capitulate to the popular will, *Headhunters* was billed as a "photo-drama" rather than a "documentary."[64] In reality, however, Curtis's text was much more hybrid in form, reflecting both the filmmaker's own inclinations toward displaying sensationalistic ethnographic material as well as the influence of Hollywood motion pictures as they transformed between 1907 and 1913. Early cinema prior to 1907, often referred to as "primitive cinema," was predominantly structured as a "cinema of attractions": a type of filmmaking preoccupied with displaying the technopowers of the camera to create visual illusions and to produce spectacle, loosely "based in the tradition of the fairground and amusement park."[65] With the rise of "classical cinema," however, a drive toward narrativization altered the cinematic landscape such that visual illusion gave way to "dramatic expression" and the development of feature films with detailed storylines.[66] Straddling this era of transformation, Curtis incorpo-

rated aspects of both primitive cinema's emphasis on spectacle and classical cinema's focus upon narrative drama. Curtis accordingly framed his ethnographic fantasy of precontact Kwakiutl lifeways within the context of a melodramatic romance about a young warrior named Motana and his love interest, the maiden Naida. The film's central plot, however, is primarily a vehicle for articulating (sometimes with weak and convoluted links) extended restagings of Kwakiutl rituals. In this sense, *Headhunters* puts an ethnographic spin on primitive cinema's fascination with "attractions" or spectacle.[67]

The particular "rituals" which *Headhunters* seems invested in reconstructing are those which had been banned by Canadian colonial legislation, such as ceremonial dancing (referred to as the "tamanawas") and the potlatch. Although the potlatch and tamanawas had been legislatively prohibited since January 1885, the government followed an unofficial policy of nonenforcement until 1913, "when the Department of Indian Affairs began its only sustained attempt to put the potlatch to death."[68] Following closely on the heels of this governmental crusade, the production of *Headhunters* in 1914 seems obsessed with reenacting that which the state was ostensibly trying to kill, that which the law had rendered taboo. Rather than constituting a foreign intruder who entirely disrupted the work of the Canadian state, Curtis and his orchestrated reenactment of Kwakiutl rituals occupied a more ambivalent relationship to the government's agenda. In many ways, *Headhunters* complemented the Canadian state's attempt to assimilate and extinguish Indianness by mystifying the government's program of racist oppression via the reinscription of the trope of aboriginal disappearance. More specifically, the filmic reenactment of the potlatch reanimated Western stereotypes of Indianness as fundamentally atavistic, thereby scripting native extinction as an inevitable evolutionary fate and, thus, dissimulating the heavy-handed intervention of the state in producing aboriginal cultural loss. Moreover, the particular temporal manipulations operative in *Headhunters*—the film's fantasy of time travel back to a precontact state—diffused its challenge to the law's authority by framing its reenactment of Kwakiutl rituals as part of a so-called prehistoric past, an era prior to the jurisdiction of Western law.

At the same time that Curtis's film complemented the Canadian government's program of assimilation, it also registered tensions in the state's

logic by suggesting the failures of colonial discourse. By redramatizing the melancholy narrative of the vanishing Indian at a historical juncture when Canada was tightening its colonialist repression, the production of *Headhunters* threw into relief pervasive white anxieties regarding the persistent *survival* of native populations. Curtis's filmic enactment of aboriginal disappearance raised the unsettling question as to why, if extinction was supposedly a tragedy intrinsic to native culture, was it necessary for the state to actively extinguish elements of indigenous lifeways? As a result, *In the Land of the Headhunters* became an unstable supplement to the work of the colonial state, both complementing its stereotypical categorizations of primitive otherness while simultaneously registering the hollowness of Western belief in the inevitability of aboriginal extinction. In this context, then, Curtis's celluloid reconstruction of Kwakiutl rites was much more than a disinterested record for the "science" of ethnography; rather, *Headhunters* was crucially about the production of a filmic "attraction" of outlawed otherness. Adding new resonances to the phrase "primitive cinema," Curtis deployed the stylings of a Hollywood genre in order to stretch out a filmic spectacle of spectral Indianness by restaging prohibited ceremonies in a phantasmatic scene of precontact savagery.

The particular kind of spectacle that *Headhunters* stages is a resolutely static one. While the film initially appears to be all about recording (and consuming) images of native bodies in motion, a more careful analysis of the way Curtis frames these bodies via the camera lens demonstrates that complex forms of representational stasis are encoded throughout the film. The majority of the scenes are filmed from single static camera setups that frame Kwakiutl rituals via long-shots focused through a frozen and distanced lens.[69] Although the use of such filmic techniques might be explained in terms of budgetary constraints and lack of technological expertise, such an argument does not seem entirely sufficient in light of the fact that Curtis demonstrated advanced technological proficiency and means in creating several special effects throughout his "photo-drama."[70] Potentially offering a further explanation for such camera setups, Russell contends that the construction of the filmic frame as a "static proscenium with little depth of field" is a convention of the "cinema of attractions" that capitalized on spectacle.[71] The stationary camera setups that dominate *Headhunters* accentuate the spectacle of native bodies con-

fined within a narrow framework, held captive for the scrutiny of the ethnographic gaze. Whereas cross-cutting from different angles would create a sense of flow, the single fixed camera setups render movement futile, staging the Kwakiutl dances and rituals as confined spectacles of Indianness.

The filmic construction of static spectacle is especially pronounced in the wedding ceremony and potlatch scenes depicted in the film — scenes that, ironically, are supposed to be all about dance and dynamic movement. During the staging of the potlatch, Waket, Naida's father, accepts a dowry of blankets from his tribesmen and then leads a large ceremonial dance inside his house. The dancing that takes place throughout the film is always confined within this artificial set (which doubles, with minor set changes, as archrival Yaklus's house), which is built without a roof to supply enough natural light for filming. During the ceremonies, the tribespeople are crowded on a proscenium flanked on either side by a totem pole, with little room to move. The dancing that ensues seems inhibited by the camera's long-shot frame: bodies have little range of motion, while the minimal movement that does occur is primarily confined to a limited vertical field, registered by bodies bobbing up and down yet generally remaining in the same spot. In another scene captured in static long-shot and depicting a gambling game referred to as *lehal,* Curtis altered the typical arrangement of players, reconfiguring a game customarily structured around two parallel rows of opponents facing and interacting with each other to entail only one long row of men seated on the ground and facing the camera.[72] The configuration depicted in *Headhunters* features very little movement and resembles a row of men posing for a photograph rather than engaging in a lively game. In this sense, scenes that are supposed to be all about exhibiting primitive movement and action seem to be restrained by the very apparatus that purportedly reanimates a lost world of precontact savagery.

Paradoxically, *In the Land of the Headhunters* also produces ideologically loaded stasis effects by substituting, exchanging, and recirculating its cast members — in other words, by placing native bodies in regulated motion. For example, three different women played the role of Motana's love-interest, Naida, at various points throughout the film.[73] The third woman to play Naida (in the scene enacting her escape from Yaklus) also doubled as the Sorcerer's daughter who steals a lock of Motana's hair

earlier in the film. Moreover, although it would seem to confuse the plot, one man played the roles of Naida's father (Waket) and her captor (Yaklus).[74] According to the internal logic of *Headhunters,* however, the recirculation and substitution of native bodies does not interrupt the film's overarching effect of reconstructing Kwakiutl rituals screened from frozen long-shots that reproduce native bodies as stereotyped ciphers. While the consistency of leading actors was not a priority, the casting of identifiably Indian actors was crucial, as Curtis prevented several prospective actors of mixed-race descent from participating because their "white ancestry was too evident."[75] In a playbill for the screening of *Headhunters* at the Moore Theatre in Seattle, the advertisement boasts, "Every Participant an Indian."[76] Here, the film is advertised according to its primary concern: putting authentic aboriginal bodies through the motions that Curtis choreographed for them. Under the guise of setting native bodies in motion through recirculation, substitution, and exchange, therefore, Curtis's film paradoxically fixes them in stereotypical molds — or taxidermic poses framing indigenous peoples as generic specimens of Indianness — that accentuate the spectacle of stasis.

In his attempt to fashion native bodies as substitutable ciphers, Curtis made his actors don a variety of racializing prosthetics to enhance their stereotypical Indianness. While Curtis commissioned Francine Hunt to make cedar-bark capes and regalia for costumes, he also imported mass-produced wigs and nose rings from China. Because Kwakiutl men had worn their hair short for over a generation, Curtis also arranged for the male actors to wear wigs in order to look the part of authentic primitives. It seems that for Curtis, the actual actors could be recirculated haphazardly so long as they consistently wore the cosmetic trappings and stereotyped signs of the indigenous other. At the same time that Curtis purchased many of these prosthetics from commercial suppliers, he also resorted to grave-robbing in order to furnish his set with the skulls and bones that signified the savagery of the world of "headhunters." Thus, while the white filmmaker attempted to portray native primitivism by sensationalistically reviving overexaggerated mythologies of Kwakiutl headhunting, it was he who resorted to "uncivilized" tactics in order to obtain "props" for his film. Moreover, for the whale-hunting scene that occurs near the beginning of the film, Curtis rented a dead whale from a local whaling station and towed it out to sea by boat for the purposes of

filming Motana's triumph over the ocean's mighty creature.[77] Here, the parallels to literal taxidermy are striking: Curtis's film disguises the death of an animal and re-presents it in the guise of life. The previous examples, however, also operate according to a principle of taxidermic reconstruction, albeit in more associative terms, since they use prosthetics to reincarnate ostensibly dead Indians in the image of colonial stereotypes, thereby bringing Western fantasies of otherness to life on celluloid. Accordingly, Curtis deployed the work of artifice, of costuming and prosthetics, to make "nature" — as represented, in his mind, by the figure of the primitive native — appear more natural than it supposedly could on its own.

Important contexts for studying *Headhunters* that seem to evade recovery are the negotiations, agency, and resistance involved on the part of the Aboriginal actors who participated in Curtis's filmmaking. The absence of this information from the archives underscores the effects of Euro–North American control over the production of official records. That said, there are a few aspects of Curtis's film production that enable speculation on the matter of Native agency. For instance, it is interesting to consider how Curtis's recourse to the strategy of substituting actors might actually signal the precariousness of his imperial enterprise. Although, as previously mentioned, Curtis seemed somewhat indifferent to the matter of consistency in casting, it may well have been that the power of indifference was not his alone. It is quite possible that the First Nations actors were not as awed by Western technology as Curtis loved to believe and, thus, were unwilling to radically alter their lives for the sake of moviemaking. Holm and Quimby suggest that some relatives interfered with their family members' involvement in the filming process due to their resistances to this colonial project. As well, it seems that other actors only made themselves available at specific times during the year, being unwilling to interrupt their seasonal fishing schedules for the sake of Curtis's documentary.[78] Such factors point toward Curtis's inability to make the tribal present suspend itself in the service of filmically reconstructing a Westerner's fantasy of the native past.

Holm and Quimby's assertion that "all the actors were paid, the amount usually mentioned was fifty cents per day" raises additional questions about Aboriginal agency.[79] Such payment may indicate that Native actors were neither so intimidated by Curtis nor so enthralled with his

movie-making technology that they would have participated free of charge. Rather, their involvement was a resourceful way of procuring or supplementing a livelihood in a changing economy contoured by colonial contact. The kinds of social status, economic privilege, and interpretive influence accorded to native informants and interpreters such as George Hunt, who helped direct *Headhunters,* would have been well known within Native communities at the time and, thus, may have been an incentive for participation. Hunt in particular used his influence with Curtis to cast several of his relatives in principal roles in the film, thereby securing work and money for his family. In his "Reminiscence of George Hunt," Curtis recalls once finding the informant in stitches about the misinformation that had been subversively told to a missionary. Imagining himself to be in on the joke, Curtis reflects: "The Indians seldom try to hoodwink the man whose manner unconsciously shows that he understands them. But once let them become aware that you are gullible and you are doomed to hear all the absurdities their active imagination can invent."[80] While Curtis clearly regarded himself as "the man whose manner unconsciously shows that he understands" native culture, his overabundance of self-confidence and deficit of self-reflexivity may well have rendered him a target for similar sorts of hoodwinking. As Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman argue, Hunt took some creative liberties as an informant: "The complexity of Hunt's relationship to 'Kwakiutl tradition' is apparent in his work with Edward S. Curtis, where his sense of humor and interest in lurid and dramatic stories were richly apparent. Hunt generally suppressed these characteristics in his collaboration with Boas, where he adopted a distanced, objective voice."[81] The suggestion that Hunt indulged his own dramatic flair in his work with Curtis points toward a form of creative agency and interpretive influence — however problematic in its own ways — in the process of acting as a native informant and shaping ethnographic records. By substituting his own mythologies that played to Western stereotypes of Indianness for the elusive authenticity Curtis purportedly searched for, George Hunt gained social currency and economic benefit while subverting the process of ethnographic documentation.

While moments of resistance may have operated behind the scenes of *Headhunters,* the images Curtis constructed on celluloid and projected on movie screens were that of a static culture, frozen in the past and des-

tined to extinction. In his 1916 book *The Art of the Moving Picture,* film critic Vachel Lindsay extols Curtis's film as a supreme cinematic achievement. Rather than marking a contrast between Curtis's photography and filmmaking, Lindsay articulates a compelling link between the two modes of representation:

> Mr. Edward S. Curtis, the super-photographer, has made an Ethnological collection of photographs of our American Indians. This work of a life-time, a supreme art achievement, shows the native as a figure in bronze. Mr. Curtis's photoplay, The Land of the Head Hunters (World Film Corporation), a romance of the Indians of the North-West, abounds in noble bronzes.[82]

Lindsay's suggestion that both Curtis's photographic and filmic salvage ethnography represent "the native as a figure in bronze," with its connotations of immobilized statuary, unwittingly suggests that *Headhunters* does not transcend the stillness of photography but, rather, continues to inscribe stasis within the very guise of motion. While the notion of "bronzing" is often understood as a memorializing and also a preserving technique that coats an object in a material that will protect it for posterity, its application to the work of "preserving" the native other seems particularly troubling. Lindsay's metaphor of "bronzing" the Indian plays on one of colonialism's key signifiers of difference — the racial epidermal schema — and thus reinscribes the stereotype of the "red," "copper," and/or "bronze-skin" primitive. Moving beyond skin chromatics, Lindsay's reference to "bronzing" also underscores the way that Curtis's photographic and filmic "preservation" reconstructs native bodies as statuary molds and firmly holds native bodies in fixed poses. Although bronzing is often conceptualized as an ennobling process, the work of statuary production in the context of Curtis's ethnographic salvage is about the reduction of indigeneity to the stereotype of the noble savage/deceitful primitive: the production of a doubled stereotype of Indianness preserved as a souvenir of American prehistory. While Lindsay romanticizes the work of Curtis's photographic and filmic documentation with the elegant language of bronzing, the logic at stake here is actually that of taxidermic semiosis. For although Curtis's image production purports to reincarnate the Indian via the powers of technology, the project of salvage ethnography actually fixes the aboriginal other in the tragic pose of "what will have been," the uncanny half-life of taxidermic liveness.

Framed in a simulated epidermal shell, coated and embalmed, the native is reproduced as a memento by which white culture can remember and mourn an ostensibly extinct race.

BECOMING DOCUMENTARY

While stasis effects are inscribed in distinct and yet related ways in Curtis's early twentieth-century photography and film, such effects are further exacerbated in the 1973 reconstruction of *In the Land of the Headhunters.* Thus, rather than contributing to a more reflexive or culturally sensitive version of a sensationalistic ethnographic film, many of the changes effected in the 1973 remake have the cumulative effect of further complicating the ideological implications of Curtis's text.

At the beginning of the 1973 reconstruction, credit for the production is attributed via two consecutive intertitles. The first intertitle announces, "Story Written and Picture Made in 1914 by Edward S. Curtis." The second intertitle adds, "Edited by Professor George Irving Quimby and Professor Bill Holm." Attempting to mark a clear distinction between the major work of production in 1914 and the ostensibly minor task of "editing" in the 1970s, the introductory credits suggest that Curtis's original film remains largely intact in the 1973 reconstruction. By containing the interventions of Holm and Quimby within the rubric of "editing," the opening credits disavow the heavy reworking and manipulation of the original footage involved in the recuperation of Curtis's "photo-drama" as a "documentary." In this way, the introductory intertitles strive to assert the authenticity value of the 1973 reconstruction and frame *War Canoes* as a relatively untouched archive of early twentieth-century anthropological fieldwork.[83]

Also integral to the reincarnation of Curtis's film as a documentary was the change in title from *In the Land of the Headhunters* to *In the Land of the War Canoes.* This alteration was intended to downplay the sensationalistic aspects of the film and to shift the focus toward what Holm and Quimby perceived to be one of the film's most ethnographically valuable elements: the demonstration of great Kwakiutl canoes in motion.[84] In so doing, Holm and Quimby sought to temper the outlandish and unrealistic aspects of Curtis's film and to repackage it as a more sober ethnographic record of Kwakiutl rites and customs. This process, however, dissimulated the fact that Curtis's footage could never

be remade as an authentic record because its staging, costuming, and narrative were always already the product of a Western fantasy of primitive otherness. Moreover, as I will demonstrate, in this second attempt at an ethnographic salvaging of ethnography itself, Holm and Quimby encoded new forms of racial bias in their supposedly more objective text.

One of the most significant changes made by Holm and Quimby was the replacement of the film's original intertitles with rewritten and resequenced ones. My viewing of the 1914 footage held at the Burke archives corroborates Brad Evans's assertion that the majority of the original intertitles are by no means lost to history.[85] Although Holm and Quimby mention "the elimination of the original Curtis titles of the silent movie and the addition of our new titles" in their companion book to the film, they do so only in an appendix, offering no explanation for this significant intervention.[86] The effects of the rewritten intertitles, however, speak volumes throughout the 1973 restored film. When the reconstructed version is compared to the 1914 footage, the impact of the intertitle restructuring upon the film's tone, narrative diegesis, and ideological contours is thrown into striking relief.[87]

The new intertitles in the 1973 reconstruction profoundly alter the tone of Curtis's original "photo-drama." In the introduction to his 1915 literary companion to the film — a novelistic version of the romantic melodrama also titled *In the Land of the Headhunters* — Curtis comments that he attempted to write the story according to "the declamatory style of the tribal bards," at least as he imagined it.[88] Whether Curtis's appropriation of such a "declamatory style" was accurate or not (and it is probably safe to assume it was not), his own writing style was certainly consistent between the novel and film versions of *Headhunters.* In this sense, we can understand the intertitles in the 1914 film as inflected by Curtis's desire to reproduce tribal orature — a desire that results in a tone of over-the-top melodrama, of failed but flamboyant poetics. Moreover, in an effort to emphasize orature, Curtis's film frequently narrativizes the plot through primary recourse to dialogue, marking direct speech from the characters' mouths with quotation marks and often providing little third-person commentary to supplement these words. For example, near the beginning of the 1914 "photo-drama" when Motana attempts to woo Naida, the camera frames their silhouettes as they walk together on a coastal island. An intertitle punctuates the scene with the sentimental exclamation: "Oh! that I might go with you walking hand

in hand along that misty path of copper!" Without an additional clause such as "Motana said" or "Naida exclaimed," the speaker of this statement remains somewhat unclear. Curtis seems willing at times, however, to sacrifice narrative clarity for the sake of presenting orature in its supposedly "purest" form — or, more specifically, for the sake of suppressing signs of narratorial intervention and producing the illusion of free and unmediated speech. In this sense, Curtis's use of intertitled quotations to deliver direct speech is an integral aspect of the fantasy of *direct access* to the primitive other that *In the Land of the Headhunters* inculcates.

In a striking point of contrast, the 1973 reconstruction attempts to erase the melodramatic elements of the 1914 text by expunging all character dialogue from the intertitles. The new intertitles, in turn, are written in a monotonal voice of ethnographic authority — a voice of distanced and ostensibly objective "informational" and "scientific" narration. Further reinforcing this authoritative tone, the 1973 film replaces the elaborate framing style of the original intertitles — each surrounded by an artistic border featuring Kwakiutl designs reminiscent of totem pole carvings — with new intertitles written in a plain typeset and stripped bare of any decoration. By altering the film's tone via the rewriting and restyling of the intertitles, therefore, the 1973 version attempts to rescue *Headhunters* from the kitschiness of its own melodramatic narrative and to reincarnate it as a more sober ethnographic text. What Holm and Quimby seem to overlook in the process, however, is that they have substituted one romance for another. In seeking to overwrite Curtis's romance of re-creating precontact Kwakiutl lifeways, *In the Land of the War Canoes* inscribes the romance of ethnography itself: the fantasy of maintaining detachment and scientific objectivity in the very process of fetishistically recuperating a glimpse of the so-called lost other. In so doing, Holm and Quimby contour their reconstruction with a deeply fraught process of "becoming documentary" that attempts to validate the authenticity of a manipulated construction of atavistic otherness.

While the alteration of intertitle style in the 1973 version reinforces the authoritative or documentary affect of Curtis's film, the new, plain typeset also helps to set up a crucial disjuncture between the image track (the visual footage of Kwakiutl bodies in motion) and the intertitle narration.[89] By inscribing the intertitles in an impersonal, modern typeface, the reconstruction marks a pronounced distance between the anthropological scientific commentary and the spectacular images of imagined

precontact Kwakiutl life. The problem of disjuncture between intertitles and image track, however, is most significantly exacerbated by the fact that Holm and Quimby's reconstruction drastically reduces the total number of intertitles and alters their placement throughout the film. As Evans notes, "In its original state, the drama is fluently narrated by 47 intertitles; the remake has compressed this information into a mere 18 intertitles, leaving large narrative gaps between scenes."[90] While the original film develops a smoother movement and a more consistent, routinized alternation between image track and intertitles, the reconstructed version renders intertitles so condensed and sporadically infrequent that when they do appear, they register as significant moments of interruption.

Throughout *War Canoes,* the disjuncture between the intertitles and the image track is contoured by both spatial and temporal dynamics. In terms of spatiality, the reconstructed version of Curtis's documentary divides the film into two distinct worlds: (1) the "primeval" world of the Kwakiutl, contained within the images of so-called traditional customs and rites; and (2) the "modern" world of the Western anthropologist (and, by extension, the world of the white spectator), invested with the omniscient capacity to watch over and interpret the inarticulate space of the native other via the intervening power of intertitles. Implicit in this description of the spatial borders established in *War Canoes* is a concomitant temporal division. By juxtaposing the "primeval" world of the Kwakiutl image track against the "modern" world of Western anthropological commentary, Holm and Quimby's reconstruction effectively reinscribes colonial discourse's denial of coevalness — the relegation of the native other to a discrete and anterior temporal realm. The 1973 reconstruction of Curtis's film consequently produces, through the disjuncture between intertitles and image track, an allochronic division between the "modern" time of ethnographic interpretation and the "atavistic" time of the native other.

These complex temporal dynamics are accentuated throughout *War Canoes* via a process of time-lagging set in motion by the film. Because the 1973 version condenses the intertitles from forty-seven to eighteen, the new intertitles bear the burden of compressing a great deal of narrative information into each typewritten frame. As a result, each intertitle summarizes the plot and highlights what it considers to be salient ethnographic detail so far in advance of the extended filmic sequences that the image track seems belated, delayed in acting out the prophesies of

the written narrative commentary. For example, after Motana kills the brother of his archrival, the warrior Yaklus, his enemy responds by embarking upon a violent rampage. While the original film moves fluently between images and written commentary throughout this section, using four separate intertitles to explain the plot, the reconstructed version condenses the subsequent events into one lengthy intertitle at the beginning of the sequence. Flatly forecasting several bloody encounters, the intertitle comments:

> Motana and Naida return with pomp to Kenada's village, but Yaklus, brother of the slain sorcerer, learns of his brother's death and goes to war for revenge. He attacks whomever he meets: first a party of fishermen, then a group of clam diggers, and then a band of travelers.

During a segment that is supposed to pivot upon narrative suspense, the new intertitle deflates any sense of tension or surprise by cataloging Yaklus's revenge in a disinterested tone, itemizing each attack well before it is played out in the imagistic footage.

The disjuncture between intertitles and image track initially registers as a problem of attention — a disruption of the spectator's "*diegetic absorption* into the universe presented by the sequence of animated images."[91] Rather than constituting a narrative interruption, in the original 1914 footage, the frequent movement between intertitles and image becomes a regularized and naturalized form of exchange. Although it might initially seem counterintuitive to suggest that frequent intertitles might enhance rather than detract from spectators' diegetic absorption, I argue that it is the very process of routinized intertitle mediation, the frequent and regularized interplay of image track and intertitle, that enables the spectator to become absorbed in the melodramatic narrative. By pacing a dialogic exchange between the written intertitles and the corresponding actions, the 1914 film is able to build suspense, dénouement, and closure with immediacy at the appropriate moments throughout the film. In contrast, the 1973 reconstruction of Curtis's film fails to establish any kind of regularized rhythm that can occlude the mediating influence of the intertitles. Because the written ethnographic commentary arrives so infrequently and is so lengthy and dense when it does appear, it ruptures any sense of diegetic absorption. As a result, the spectator is not drawn into the plot but positioned as a detached ethnographic observer of a "documentary," not a "melodrama."

What first appears as a problem of attention, however, is actually a complex ideological dynamic. By condensing the narrative commentary of the intertitles far in advance of the corresponding events of the image track, *War Canoes* constitutes the white spectator (focalized and positioned as a pseudoanthropologist) as always already ahead of and thus fundamentally superior to the perpetually belated natives captured on celluloid. This structure of time lagging, I contend, is one of the most crucial ways that stasis effects are encoded throughout the 1973 film. By constructing an allochronic division between the intertitles (representing the "modern" world of the Western anthropologist) and the image track that limps behind (representing the "primitive" world of the Kwakiutl), *War Canoes* frames the native other in the near-stasis of a *perpetual slow motion*.

Unpacking the ideological implications of the ostensibly detached ethnographic gaze, Johannes Fabian comments: "Observation conceived as the essence of fieldwork implies, on the side of the ethnographer, a contemplative stance. It invokes the 'naturalist' watching an experiment. It also calls for a native society that would, ideally at least, hold still like a *tableau vivant*."[92] Constituting the spectator as a "contemplative" ethnographer "watching an experiment," *War Canoes* does manage to make a native society "hold still" even as it purports to record Kwakiutl ceremonies in motion. While Fabian likens the fixity imposed by the ethnographic gaze to the freeze-frame of the tableau vivant, I contend that the semiotics of taxidermy offers a more precise way to conceptualize this process. Similar to the tableau vivant, taxidermy manipulates bodies in stylized postures. What differentiates these two representational modes, however, is the crucial element of "preservation": while the tableau vivant is about a moment of reconstruction where an iconic image is temporarily restaged via a mute and statuesque form of playacting, taxidermy's frozen pose is ostensibly made to last forever. Taxidermy is a posture that purports to preserve and to monumentalize, to defeat time. Rather than wanting the native other to "hold still" for just a moment, the fieldworker committed to the project of salvage ethnography attempts to pause and capture aboriginal peoples for all time.

Another key difference between the tableau vivant and the type of "holding still" at stake in Curtis's filmmaking project hinges upon the categories of life and death. As the name suggests, tableaux vivants, or "living pictures," trade on the fact that the figure posed in the semblance

of an iconic image is a living, animate subject who is temporarily playacting. In contrast, taxidermy necessitates that the body framed in a pose of liveness is actually dead. For the salvaging fieldworker, capturing and preserving images on celluloid arrests the native other in the form of a body embalmed for perpetuity. In this sense, Curtis's photographs and film are not "living pictures" but preserved records of the dead that will obediently "hold still" for the future of anthropological observation and research. As Curtis's documentary powerfully demonstrates, the ideal pose fixed under the ethnographic gaze is a taxidermic one that monumentalizes the other as fundamentally dead and, thus, only reconstructible via the powers of the anthropologist. Under the illusion of movement, *In the Land of the War Canoes* builds upon the taxidermically preserved native spectacle constructed by Curtis, accentuating the stasis effects encoded in the original film and reinscribing the colonial discourse of the vanishing Indian, frozen in the static state of a primeval past.

The elegant metaphors of "bronzing" (Lindsay) and of staging "tableaux vivants" (Fabian), while suggestive, enable conceptualizations of the ethnographic photographer, filmmaker, and fieldworker as somewhat passive figures who hope for ways to put the native other on pause for white contemplation and study rather than actively effecting epistemic and material violence. This chapter's examination of the work of Edward Curtis has demonstrated that refined metaphors are inadequate for elucidating the degree of manipulation involved in such ethnographic representations of indigeneity. By reexamining Curtis's image-corpus in relation to the semiotics of taxidermy, my intent has not been to merely replace the tropes of the "bronze" and the "tableau vivant" with yet another descriptive analogy. Rather, I have sought to shift the terms of analysis and to investigate taxidermic semiosis not as a metaphor but as a perpetually reconfiguring modus operandi of colonial power, an active colonial logic with very real ideological and material implications. Throughout Curtis's and Holm and Quimby's photographic and filmic texts, the logic of taxidermic semiosis is inscribed in ways that aggressively manipulate images of Indianness in the poses of colonial stereotypes, bending and warping time to suspend the aboriginal other in an anterior realm discrete from the purportedly dynamic movement of Western society. The stasis effects that fix the aboriginal as a tragic figure of disappearance have, ironically, maintained the perpetual visibility of Curtis's images over the past hundred years, engendering proliferating

forms of museological, artistic, and commercial circulation. What this ceaseless dissemination evinces is not just the ongoing fetishization of images of the vanishing Indian but also, in more pervasive and troubling terms, the persistent appeal of colonialist and racist ideology that so ably buttresses the hegemonic status quo. It is the fantasy of allochronism and aboriginal death that abets the state and its apparatuses, as well as the forces of capital, in willfully overlooking the vital fact that Indigenous peoples are alive in North America today. The denial of coevalness enables governments to defer land claim settlements, to continue to test weapons on Native territory, and to continue to underfund Aboriginal health and education programs. For these reasons, a critical return to the early twentieth-century ethnographic salvage of Edward Curtis reframed in light of the continued currency of his images in the present tense is not merely an exercise in historicized close readings of visual culture but rather part of the project of disrupting the ongoing reproduction of colonial discourse and the mythology of aboriginal extinction that is, unfortunately, still all too timely in the current era.

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3. SALVAGING SOUND AT LAST SIGHT

Marius Barbeau and the Anthropological Rescue of *Nass River Indians*

While the previous chapter investigated the relation between photography and film in the salvaging corpus of Edward Curtis, this chapter extends and complicates a study of early twentieth-century culture collecting by adding yet another so-called technology of preservation to the mix: namely, phonography. Over the last several decades, postcolonial critiques of anthropology as a discipline intimately bound up with the imperial project have often focused upon the visual culture of ethnographic photography and film. Anthropology's production of phonographic records of aboriginal folklore and songs during the early twentieth century, however, has received less attention, despite the fact that many fieldworkers, including Edward Curtis and Franz Boas, used audio technology extensively in their salvaging enterprises.

Although critical scholarship has been predominantly concerned with visual anthropology, ethnographic cinema itself has been fascinated with the scene of the native's supposedly awestruck encounter with the phonograph. A compelling case in point is C. Marius Barbeau's 1927 documentary *Nass River Indians,* which filmically depicts the phonographic recording of Nisga'a songs throughout the Nass River region in British Columbia.[1] Like Curtis's *Headhunters,* Barbeau's documentary is a silent film intermittently punctuated by written intertitles. Despite these technical limitations, however, Barbeau's documentary undertakes to visually portray the recording of auditory archives, to represent what might be termed the "phono-graphics" of preserving the sounds of an ostensibly vanishing race. In this sense, *Nass River Indians* offers an important point of entry for analyzing the relation between film and phonography as salvaging technologies. Moreover, Barbeau's documentary prompts consideration of the ways that silent film may paradoxically be contoured by unexpected auditory dimensions. Such considerations are crucial for

investigating how early ethnographic cinema — as a technology aiming to preserve remnants of fading native cultures — may inscribe the semiotics of taxidermy via recourse to both visual and auditory codes. More specifically, this chapter will investigate how the interimplicated dynamics of sight and sound in *Nass River Indians* might contribute to the taxidermic freeze-framing of the native other as a figure hovering on the brink of extinction.

Similar to Curtis's *Headhunters, Nass River Indians* has also been categorized as a once "lost" film wrested from the detritus of history via the work of archival reconstruction. Thirty years after Curtis's film was returned to circulation in the shape of *In the Land of the War Canoes,* Barbeau's documentary was resutured from stock footage held in the National Archives of Canada and reincarnated to a second life.[2] While the 1973 reconstruction of *Headhunters* attempts to recuperate Curtis's film as a sober ethnographic documentary, the 2001 reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* seeks, in the mode of postcolonial reflexivity, to recontextualize Barbeau's film as "part of the history of colonialism in Canada." While the discourses shaping the recovery of these two films differ significantly, both reconstructed texts ironically reiterate the tropes of "loss" and "recovery" integral to early twentieth-century salvage ethnography and its melancholy nostalgia for that which has ostensibly disappeared and is rendered accessible only through the preserved anthropological record. To investigate the complex linkages between the salvage paradigm that fueled the 1927 production of Barbeau's film and the discourse of archival reconstruction today, this chapter will first historicize the social and institutional contexts contouring the development of *Nass River Indians* and engage in a detailed analysis of anthropological culture collecting as it is portrayed in the film. Later, I will return these insights to a close examination of the reinscription of the tropes of "loss" and "recovery" in the archival reconstruction and recontextualization of this colonialist celluloid text. In so doing, I will argue that these key salvaging tropes are freighted with historical and ideological traces from the heyday of ethnographic salvage that run the risk of reinforcing Western culture's fascination with its own supposed powers of preservation.

SALVAGE TIME

Filmed on the tail end of the anthropological "scramble for artifacts" in the Canadian northwest,[3] *Nass River Indians* stages the historical scene

of culture collecting on a receding frontier. Casting National Museum ethnologist Marius Barbeau as hero, the film self-consciously foregrounds and yet also romanticizes fieldwork in the Nisga'a territory of British Columbia.[4] Depicting the Nass River Valley as a region ostensibly perched on the disintegrating edges of wildness, Barbeau's film inculcates a strategic pathos surrounding the decline of native culture in the wake of Western progress. In this way, *Nass River Indians* inscribes what Renato Rosaldo has termed imperialist nostalgia, an emotive logic through which the "agents of colonialism long for the very forms of life they have intentionally altered or destroyed."[5] In the act of mourning the disappearance of aboriginal authenticity, Barbeau and his colleagues attempt to distance themselves from the colonial violence that has altered native lifeways and, in turn, present themselves as sympathetic saviors of the remnants of indigenous tradition. By inscribing a romanticized narrative of valiant anthropological rescue, therefore, Barbeau's documentary overwrites the violent history of cultural appropriation that stocked Canada's museological caches with colonial plunder via recourse to the discourse of salvage ethnography.

The rise of modern anthropology in Canada was predominantly structured according to the salvage paradigm. Much like Edward Curtis, Barbeau believed that authentic native cultures "had once existed in a . . . timeless and holistic prehistoric state" but, with the westward movement of colonial civilization, their state of nature was destined to crumble under the weight of modernity.[6] Reiterating this melancholy narrative in his book *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies,* Barbeau laments: "It is clear that the Indian, with his inability to preserve his own culture or to assimilate ours, is bound to disappear as a race. . . . His passing is one of the great tragedies of the American continent."[7] From Barbeau's ambivalent colonialist perspective, the "passing" of "the Indian" was a *necessary* tragedy, justified by the supposedly inexorable progress of Western culture and its burden to civilize North America. The vanishing Indian, therefore, was a figure of colonial *poesis* for Barbeau — a tragic figure around whom an aestheticized narrative of extinction was writ large as a "picturesque chapter" of New World beginnings soon to be closed forever.[8] Reaching the same volatile conclusion as Curtis and other anthropologists of the era, Barbeau believed that the proper — as well as urgent and heroic — anthropological response was to record the remnants of native customs before they decayed and disappeared.

Through his ardent narrativization of the trope of the "vanishing Indian," Barbeau faithfully reproduced the dominant ideology upheld by institutionalized anthropology in Canada at the time. Brought to life in 1910 with the establishment of the Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey of Canada, modern anthropology was developed under the aegis of the colonial nation-state.[9] While the Geological Survey itself was originally developed for the purposes of furthering colonial expansion and resource extraction during the 1830s, the state's subsequent initiation of the Anthropology Division extended the enterprise of colonial nation-building in new ways.[10] By organizing the study of anthropology under the broader institutional framework of the Geological Survey, the state "solidified a natural history orientation within the discipline." Such institutional structuring worked to configure anthropological studies toward an "object orientation" that framed native cultures as "analogous to the artifacts unearthed by archaeologists," thereby resulting in their "objectifi[cation] and reifi[cation]." The articulation of such an institutionalized "object orientation" with salvage ethnography's hegemonic narrative of disappearance effectively justified the development of national museums and the proprietorial collecting and display of native cultural objects.[11]

While the general logic of salvage ethnography articulated by Barbeau resonates with the party line of the Geological Survey, and thus of the Canadian nation-state, *Nass River Indians* complicates the machinations of this colonialist ideology. The complexities initiated by Barbeau's documentary may be elucidated by a brief comparison with Edward Curtis's film. Although the broad salvaging rhetoric of Barbeau's corpus resonates with the assumptions underpinning Curtis's work, the translation of the salvaging project into film production takes significantly different shapes in *Nass River Indians* than it does in *Headhunters.* As I argued in the preceding chapter, Curtis's 1914 narrative documentary seeks to travel back in time to the late eighteenth century and to reconstruct Kwakiutl lifeways in a precontact state of native cultural purity. In this sense, *Headhunters* attempts to recover tribal authenticity believed to already be lost by the time of its filming. By deploying film technology to produce a celluloid reconstruction of a precontact era, Curtis's documentary exemplifies the dominant representational strategies of early ethnographic cinema in the first several decades of the twentieth cen-

tury. Barbeau's 1927 documentary, in contrast, experiments with different temporal tactics. Rather than returning to a "prehistoric" period, Barbeau's documentary stages the project of ethnographic salvaging in his own time — one of cross-cultural contact and contamination. While Barbeau echoes Curtis's lament regarding the supposed loss of traditional native lifeways, his film seeks to portray such a process of loss within the tide of modernity. Rather than attempting to exclude all traces of the ethnographer from the filmic frame, *Nass River Indians* foregrounds the presence of the fieldworker and, thus, seeks to control — but not to erase — the signs of Western cultural influence upon native lifeways in British Columbia.[12]

The contemporary setting of *Nass River Indians* complicates both the trope of aboriginal disappearance and the concomitant discourse of anthropological salvaging inscribed in Barbeau's film. While Curtis's text is able to relegate the Indian to a precontact past, Barbeau's cinematic staging of the encounter between the imperiled native and the anthropological rescuer significantly complicates the allochronism of colonial discourse, or the consignment of the other to a discrete and always already anterior temporal realm. In this context, *Nass River Indians* adds further intricacy to what Johannes Fabian has diagnosed as anthropology's "schizogenic" manipulation of temporality hinging upon the "aporetic split" between the necessarily "Intersubjective Time" of fieldwork (the time of coevalness and communication between anthropologist and native) and the disavowal of this shared time in the textual inscription of ethnographic knowledge.[13] In transferring this schizogenic problem to a filmic portrayal of the fieldwork encounter, the dynamics of denying coevalness become more elaborate in Barbeau's documentary due to the fact that the text must somehow encode allochronic distancing while simultaneously representing the co-presence of anthropologist and native within the same filmic frame. In order to temporally demarcate the modernity of the anthropologist from the primitivism of the indigenous other, *Nass River Indians* labors to sustain a logic of *perpetual vanishing* in which the aboriginal is framed as a spectral presence resuscitated in the form of a liminal half-life via the animating powers of Western technology. By scripting the ethnographer into the narrative action of the film, Barbeau is also able to script the on-screen presence of modern ethnography's ostensibly redemptive technologies: the camera and the phonograph. In

the very process of explicitly acknowledging these technologies, however, Barbeau's documentary subtextually reveals how such apparati are mobilized to portray the native other as a ghostly apparition — one that is perpetually doomed to be "lost, in disintegrating time and space, but saved in the text," or in the "artifactualized" form of recorded folklore and songs.[14] As a result, the very process of attempting to filmically narrate the heroics of salvage ethnography subtly exposes how anthropology and its so-called technologies of preservation produce the death of aboriginality.

SOUNDS TAKEN FOR WONDERS

With the introductory intertitle, *Nass River Indians* promptly announces itself as a "screen recording of the vanishing culture, the rites and songs and dances of the Indians along the Canadian Pacific Coast, North of Vancouver." Although the first intertitle emphasizes the role of filmic technology in ethnographic salvaging through the reference to a "screen recording of . . . vanishing culture," the particular preservational technology *thematically* foregrounded throughout is the phonograph. The documentary's central narrative thread traces the phonographic salvaging of native "rites and songs" by Marius Barbeau and his sidekick, Dr. Ernest MacMillan of the Royal Conservatory of Music. In so doing, *Nass River Indians* reiterates a politically charged motif that recurs throughout twentieth-century ethnographic cinema. In *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses,* Michael Taussig identifies the "phonographic *mise en scène*" as a primal scene in ethnographic film that repeatedly stages the native's mesmerizing encounter with "the phonograph in action on the colonial frontier." Malleable in its reiterations, the phonographic mise-en-scène sometimes depicts the primitive other's fascination with the technological broadcasting of Western music; in other instances, the phonograph elicits wonder via the mimetic capture of the native's voice. Analyzing this primal scene in relation to the status of Western machines in the anthropological imagination, Taussig argues that when film and photography are represented in ethnographic accounts, they are framed as "technology" — "as something antithetical to 'magic.'" In contrast, "when it comes to filming the phonograph . . . , then everything changes. Here every effort is made to represent mimeticizing technology as magical." Taussig accordingly remarks: "the question must be [asked] . . . — because the phonographic *mise en scène* is surprisingly common in twentieth-

century descriptions of 'primitive' peoples — as to why Westerners are so fascinated by Others' fascination with this apparatus." The hypothesis Taussig formulates hinges upon his theory of "mimetically capacious" technologies — a theory that seeks to destabilize the rigid colonialist binary dividing Western technology and primitive magic. In this context, Taussig argues that the phonographic mise-en-scène frames the native other as a fascinated foil in order to "reinstall the mimetic faculty as mystery in the art of mechanical reproduction." The insistent repetition of the scene of native wonder regarding a technology-taken-for-magic, however, reveals the West's own investments in, and its closeted fetishization of, phonography and its mimetic power to reproduce the human voice.[15]

While Taussig's analysis of "mimetically capacious" technologies is theoretically suggestive, his inquiry overlooks a crucial representational conundrum that complicates several early renditions of the phonographic mise-en-scène. Specifically, Taussig does not investigate the fact that certain ethnographic texts he studies in terms of the mimetic reproduction of sound are actually *silent* films.[16] In response, I argue that it is imperative to consider the implications of deploying silent visual technology to represent a mimetic process that supposedly hinges upon audibility. What is at stake, then, in representing the phonograph's mimetic reproduction of sound via the medium of *silent* film? What are the implications of "recording" the phonographic preservation of native songs within a silent, celluloid archive?

Redeploying Taussig's theory and its representational tangles for the purposes of my investigation, I argue that the reiteration of the phonographic mise-en-scène in *Nass River Indians* is crucially implicated in the film's romanticized endorsement of the colonial politics bound up in the salvage paradigm. Although Barbeau's use of silent film was not so much a choice as a condition of the historical period in which he worked, an analysis of the tacit technological contest between film and phonography in *Nass River Indians* requires a mode of inquiry that carefully attends to historicity and yet also persists beyond its limits. In this vein, I want to examine how the technological constraints of Barbeau's era contribute to the profound ideological implications of a silent documentary that depicts the ethnographic salvaging of sound. Regardless of intentionality, *Nass River Indians*'s silent screening of sound recording powerfully encodes a soundless sound that demands careful listening and critical

attention, for that is how ideology hails its subjects: ideology is the voice that speaks without seeming to speak, the sound that pervades a seeming silence. Thus, while Barbeau's documentary transports Western machines to the colonial frontier under the heroic rubric of anthropological rescue, it simultaneously stages the inability of phonography, as mediated by silent film, to effectively capture fading native voices. Under the guise of protecting the colonial other for national posterity, therefore, anthropology's "salvaging scenario" dramatizes the loss of indigenous tradition as a synecdoche for broader aboriginal disappearance. In this way, Barbeau's reiteration of the phonographic mise-en-scène deploys Western machines to imprint the mark of extinction upon native bodies and, thus, churn them into ghosts.

The signs of devolution and disappearance imprinted upon native figures depicted in *Nass River Indians,* however, are not inscribed solely through recourse to visual codes. Rather, the film's reiteration of the phonographic mise-en-scène also mobilizes complex aural effects to make the doctrine of Western dominance resound throughout. While the phonographic mise-en-scène in Barbeau's documentary is staged in "silence" or without sound track, this scenario may still transmit the voice of white supremacy by strategically reframing the native as a figure of ventriloquy co-opted by the technologies of Western progress. Although, due to technological limitations, *Nass River Indians* fails to provide its audience with aural access to the Nisga'a songs it purports to rescue, this supposed failure paradoxically enables the film to successfully ventriloquize the aboriginal as a figure who appears to speak but is actually dubbed over by the voice of the white anthropologist, the mouthpiece of colonial hegemony. In other words, Barbeau's filmic reiteration of the phonographic mise-en-scène on a silent celluloid archive enables the anthropologist himself to speak without seeming to speak and thus to encode an anthropological interpretation that overwrites the words of natives with the dominant discourse of Western progress. Moreover, Barbeau's repetition of the phonographic mise-en-scène subtextually demonstrates how representations of Western technology employed in salvaging projects encode a discourse of racialization that dooms the "Indians" of the Nass River to muteness and, by extension, to a form of extinction that is narratable only by the dominant culture.

While ethnographic cinema's repeating phonographic mise-en-scène is one context that contours the meanings of Barbeau's documentary,

another layer of sociohistorical influence involves turn-of-the-century commercial discourses regarding phonography. *Nass River Indians* strategically reappropriates popular fantasies circulating in the Western cultural imagination that link the phonograph to complex manipulations of the life/death boundary. In his 1878 manifesto "The Phonograph and Its Future," Thomas Edison argues that his invention assures the "captivity of all manner of sound-waves heretofore designated as 'fugitive'" as well as "their reproduction . . . at will, without the presence or consent of the original source, and after the lapse of any period of time." These technological capabilities were translated into the popular use of the phonograph for the production of a "family record" that would preserve "the sayings, the voices, and *the last words*" of a dying relative.[17] In addition to preserving the last words of a person on his or her deathbed, the phonograph was also used to record a person's self-eulogy to be posthumously delivered at the funeral.[18] The phonograph accordingly became conceptualized as a machine capable of the "reanimation of the dead" because this mimetic technology could "preserve the speaking . . . evidence of animate life, the dead could indeed continue to speak" through it.[19] By giving second life to lost voices, the phonograph could therefore wrench "time out of the linear conformation familiar to the Western mind, projecting past into present."[20] Enabling people to commune with the voices of deceased loved ones, the phonograph became integral to the West's own rituals of remembrance and grieving. In this way, the marketing and use of Edison's apparatus in North American culture led to the popular appropriation of the phonograph as a technology of mourning.

Barbeau's documentary co-opts the phonograph's power to record mourning and shifts its locus from the bourgeois salon to the colonial frontier. Instead of using the phonograph to preserve the consenting voices of white citizens, *Nass River Indians* redeploys this audio apparatus to "capture" the "fugitive" sounds of an ostensibly vanishing race. Rather than mobilizing the phonograph to reanimate death, however, *Nass River Indians* strategically appropriates this technology of mourning to manufacture the death of a culture that is still alive. Much as taxidermy fetishizes death through the macabre guise of liveness, *Nass River Indians* freeze-frames native culture in a pose of extinction that effectively accentuates, rather than staves off, the colonialist narrative of its pending demise.

In a chapter titled "Crestfallen Indians" published in his 1923 literary text *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies,* Barbeau articulates, in a striking iteration of the logic of taxidermic semiosis, a complex longing for a preservational strategy customized for the particular task of embalming Indians. Lamenting, in typically ambivalent terms, the supposed decline of "traditional" native lifeways, Barbeau remarks:

> If the red man of America were only an animal, devoid of speech, inherited memories and high emotional and reasoning powers, the Indian problem would be much simplified for social reformers, instructors, gaolers, et al. He might be gently chloroformed or preserved in a zoological garden; or he might even prosper on a reserve as well as the buffalo in the national parks of Canada. But the blessing of humanity — also its curse at times — is reason and memory.[21]

Appointing himself the heroic agent of ethnographic salvaging, Barbeau devised new ways of purportedly preserving the "humanity" of the native other by recording the Indian's "inherited memories" on celluloid and wax-cylinder archives. In the process of attempting to differentiate his strategies of filmic and phonographic preservation from the "chloroforming" or "zoological" and "reserv[ational]" confinement of wild animals, Barbeau's hollow gesture toward distinguishing between the figures of "animals" and "aboriginals" oddly works to consider these categories in disturbing proximity and conjunction. It seems that, for Barbeau, the real "Indian problem" is that native peoples will not just vanish according to colonialism's prophecy. Therefore the task of salvage ethnography is to hasten and manufacture the loss of the native lifeways the anthropologist purports to rescue. In this sense, Barbeau's project to capture the "fugitive" sounds and images of aboriginality reinscribed the violence of taxidermic semiosis and the forms of consumption it dissimulates under the rhetoric of conservation. In his analysis of the salvage paradigm, James Clifford argues that the so-called preservation of native culture via ethnographic textualization hinges on a doubled narrative of "both rescue and irretrievable loss" that encodes "a kind of death in life" and consequently "embalms" its subject matter.[22] In turn, I argue that while *Nass River Indians* celebrates audio and visual apparati as technologies of preservation that register the salvaging potential of modern ethnography, the mobilization of these instruments on the colonial frontier inscribes "death in life" that marks the native other with the sign

of extinction. In this way, Barbeau's documentary inscribes the logic of taxidermic semiosis that, in the process of purportedly resuscitating dead matter, ironically reinforces the specter of mortality.

UNCANNY INDUSTRIES

Rather than immediately foregrounding the central concern of the film — the salvaging of "songs and chants fading away with the advance of the white man" — *Nass River Indians* makes its first narrative pit stop at a coastal cannery near the town of Arrandale. As a pivotal contact zone where modern industry and the "primitive" other meet, the cannery functions as a crucial site of ideological production in Barbeau's documentary. While the intertitles narrating the film's tour through the cannery at times attempt humor, the overarching tone is one of ambivalent melancholy. Mourning the upheaval effected by Western industrialization, an intertitle remarks, "In the salmon season the villages are left deserted." The camera then pans across the desolate shoreline of an abandoned aboriginal village where ramshackle houses synecdochically signify cultural deterioration. Cutting to another intertitle, the coastal cannery is announced as "Fishery Bay" — where "the Indians come to catch salmon for the white man's canneries." Pointing toward the imbrication of "Indians" within a white-administered enterprise, these initial intertitles suggest sympathy for the decline of native "tradition" in the wake of industrial incorporation.

Not long into the cannery tour, however, the colonial power relations contouring this contact zone become more pronounced. Focusing on the conveyor belt and the automation of fish processing, an intertitle punctuates, "Machinery now speeds the Indian's fish on the way to civilization's dinner table." The intertitle's juxtaposition of the "Indian's fish" and "civilization's dinner table" registers the colonialist dichotomization of racialized labor forced to render its natural resources as market product versus Euro-Canadian powers of domestication and consumption. Immediately following the intertitle, the camera cuts to a close-up of fish being processed along an automated conveyor system. Just as the conveyor belt pulls forward relentlessly in one direction, so too the advance of Western civilization is ideologically constructed as inevitable — almost automatic — throughout Barbeau's documentary. In this context,

the conveyor belt becomes a metaphor for the relentless speed of Western industrialization that, in turn, accelerates the work of assimilation. This automated production line engenders the industrial encroachments that salvage ethnography laments and yet on which it also depends to create the material conditions for native disappearance. Although Barbeau attempts to pit salvage ethnography against industrialization, the cannery tour depicted in *Nass River Indians* implicitly synchronizes the time of industrial capitalist production with the urgent time of anthropological rescue.

By representing the westward movement of industrialized civilization as an "automatic" process, Barbeau's documentary occludes recognition of the governmental and legislative action that bulldozed over native rights and resources in order to "modernize" the fishing industry in the northwest for the purposes of capital gain. Beginning in 1878, the federal fisheries department banned the use of nets in the fresh waters of British Columbia. Moreover, the state made a new distinction between "food" and "commercial" fishing, restricting Aboriginal peoples to "food" or "sustenance" fishing, thereby prohibiting the sale of their catch to canneries.[23] This regulation strategically overlooked the fact that the bartering and selling of fish to white settlers had been a crucial component of First Nations economies in the northwest since the early nineteenth century.[24] As a result, the Canadian government effectively destroyed the existing economic balance for Aboriginal peoples in British Columbia, rendering them a source of subjugated labor for the emerging colonialist, white-administered canning industry.[25] Attempting to eclipse the history of economic exploitation that engendered such an indigenous labor pool, *Nass River Indians* laments the loss of native tradition in the wake of modernity's westward pull while simultaneously celebrating the machines of progress. In the process, Barbeau's documentary encodes an aesthetic of the automatic that overwrites the culpability of the state with a narrative that attempts to naturalize the development of industrial culture as part of the evolution of Western civilization.

Throughout the cannery tour in *Nass River Indians,* the conveyor belt signifies not only the westward drive of colonial expansion but also the industrial incorporation of the native laborer. After screening another long shot of a conveyor belt moving canned fish, an intertitle punctuates, "Civilization is overtaking the redman." Caught in the automated

pull of the conveyor belt and the assembly line of the coastal cannery, the "redman" is reprocessed as a cog in the machines of industrial production. Such a representational tactic is evident in one segment of the cannery tour where a medium shot depicts native laborers picking up fish with picks and placing them onto the conveyor belt that moves them through the cannery. Resting on this scene for an extended moment, the film provides enough time to accentuate the rhythm of native bodies incorporated into the industrial process. It becomes clear that in Barbeau's film the native worker is not differentiated from the mechanical process; rather, he is split from the reference to the historical aboriginal who once owned the fish and instead is reframed as part of the automated system of the cannery. Through such images, *Nass River Indians* suggests that the disciplinary regime of the modern factory reproduces the native laborer as a Taylorized automaton. Although *Nass River Indians* surveys the contact zone of the cannery in order to emphasize the speed of assimilation and thus to underscore the urgency of anthropological salvaging, the very process of portraying natives at work in the modern world of industry seems to trouble the film's colonialist stereotype of the Indian as a figure of "pastness." If the Taylorized automaton is a figure of modernity rather than belatedness, how does Barbeau's documentary reconcile the automation of native labor in the industrialized cannery with the film's narrative of disappearance that consigns the native other to the past?

The answer to this problem connects the film's strategies of denying coevalness to the core of the representational and material violence effected by Barbeau's documentary. Such violence is integrally bound up with the film's subtextual commentary regarding the power of Western technology to make native bodies into mechanical automatons. Throughout its depiction of the cannery contact zone, *Nass River Indians* appears to portray the material effects of colonial development even as it ironically glosses over the violence bound up in these processes by fetishizing the automaton as an *unheimlich* figure of the industrializing frontier. In his 1919 essay on "The Uncanny," Sigmund Freud analyzes the automaton as an exemplary figure for his theorization of the *unheimlich.* Retelling the story of "The Sand-Man" from Hoffmann's *Nachtstucken,* Freud explores the protagonist's onset of madness upon discovering that the woman he loves is actually a clockwork automaton. From this point of departure, Freud argues that the automaton "excite[s] in the spectator the impression

of automatic, mechanical processes at work behind the ordinary appearance of mental activity." Thus, the automaton resonates with uncanny affect precisely because it produces "doubt" regarding "whether an apparently animate being is really alive; or conversely, whether a lifeless object might not be in fact animate."[26]

At the heart of the uncanny, therefore, lies a fraught representational ambiguity regarding the states of life and death. In turn, I argue that Barbeau's documentary fetishizes the figure of the Taylorized automaton and accentuates its *unheimlich* registers in order to create uncertainty regarding whether the native in modernity is actually alive. *Nass River Indians* accordingly deploys the figure of the automaton in order to negotiate the complex problem of depicting an ostensibly dead or vanishing Indian that is yet laboring in the present tense of the "modern" world. By aestheticizing the reproduction of the native laborer as a mechanical automaton, Barbeau's documentary fetishizes an industrial process that kills the Indian (via assimilation and colonial exploitation) and yet ironically brings him back to a second, uncanny half-life as a body controlled by Western technology. Thus, under the guise of filmically recording native laborers at work in the colonial contact zone, the documentary's fetishization of the Indian's reincarnation as a Taylorized automaton effectively denies the coevalness of native groups in modernity while simultaneously obscuring their material conditions as alienated labor under colonialist, capitalist industry.

Halfway through the documentary, a transitional intertitle attempts to mark the ethnographers' travel "up a river, back from the sea" as a break from the coastal cannery and a shift toward the few remaining river villages where "authentic" indigenous culture clings to life. By recording the native other in his so-called natural habitat, Barbeau's documentary ironically continues to foreground Western technology and its power to remake aboriginal bodies. In this way, *Nass River Indians* subtextually links — rather than juxtaposes — the technological machinations of the cannery with those of the anthropological salvaging enterprise. More specifically, Barbeau's documentary repeats the theme of mechanical incorporation, first initiated in the cannery sequences, throughout the film's depiction of ethnographic culture collecting. In the process, *Nass River Indians* mimics the Taylorized effects of industrial automation at the level of cinematic and phonographic production. While, on the sur-

face, Barbeau's documentary celebrates the potential of Western technology to preserve the traces of a vanishing race, it simultaneously deploys filmic and phonographic apparati in ways that reproduce natives as uncanny automatons.

A striking example of the semiotics of mechanical incorporation inscribed in Barbeau's work may be found in his 1932 essay, "The Thunder Bird of the Mountains," which functions as a literary counterpart to the narrative constructed in *Nass River Indians.* Discussing the camera work of Dr. J. S. Watson, the cinematographer cited in the introduction to *Nass River Indians,* Barbeau describes the filmic preservation of indigenous rites in the following terms: "Dr. Watson, the artist photographer of our party . . . set up his tripod and got his motion picture camera into position. The Indians, seeing this, gathered once more at the foot of the beaver-eagle pole." Then, Barbeau continues, "Dr. Watson began to turn the crank of the camera, while we witnessed in front of the lens the awakening of a people from its accustomed lethargy."[27] Here, the subtext of mechanical incorporation of the native other operative in the cannery scenes is reiterated in the anthropological filming of the Indian in his "natural" environment. According to Barbeau, a turn of the camera's crank sets the native in motion like a windup doll. Filmic technology is consequently accorded the power to "awaken . . . a people from its accustomed lethargy" — or to reincarnate a dying race to an automaton-like half-life.

Summarizing the scene of technoresuscitation on the colonial frontier, Barbeau remarks: "What we . . . witnessed that day was a revival of things belonging to the past, quite dead in themselves — real things though, and throbbing with the flush of spiritual life at the moment of their resurrection." Although Michael Taussig argues that ethnographic accounts represent film as "technology" rather than "magic," Barbeau's mystical description of the camera in action on the frontier complicates such a definitive categorization. Moreover, "The Thunder Bird of the Mountains" suggests that the Western fascination with the scene of technological encounter — or, as Barbeau puts it, "our worship of the machine" — has everything to do with the coded subtext of salvaging technology's capacity to make native bodies into automatons.[28] While, on one level, Barbeau's writing indulges in an ethnographic fantasy of technology's powers of resurrection — the "revival of things belonging to the

past" — his commentary simultaneously inscribes the narrative of extinction that affirmatively renders native culture "quite dead" in itself. The technological "resurrection" that Barbeau celebrates in "The Thunder Bird of the Mountains," however, reproduces the vanishing Indian not as a human but rather as an uncanny automaton — a figure marked by the classic *unheimlich* "doubt" regarding "whether an apparently animate being is really alive."[29] In this way, Barbeau's film celebrates Western techno-powers of resuscitation while simultaneously inscribing the semiotics of taxidermy and its sign of death upon the native bodies it seemingly reanimates.

Restaging the scene of technological resuscitation depicted in Barbeau's 1932 essay through the eye of the camera lens, *Nass River Indians* marks its arrival in a native village by filming the songs and dances of its inhabitants. An intertitle signals the filmic recording of native rites on the verge of disappearance, announcing: "The Eagle squaws still know the measures of the old potlatch dances." The film then cuts to a shot of women bobbing up and down, in a way that appears arrhythmic and unsynchronized. Because the "measures" or beat to this dance are inaudible, there is no sound to anchor (or through which to decipher) the bodies on-screen. In the process, the dance of the "Eagle squaws" is framed as comedically nonsensical and primitive. Using humor to fashion the "nonsense" of the other into a joke, subsequent intertitles represent the native as a mime. The next intertitle in the sequence comments, "This pantomimic dance suggests singing the baby to sleep." The camera then zooms in on one dancer rocking her arms from side to side. Here, the film signals the disparity it creates between the audibility and communicability of the Western spectator (aligned with the role of the ethnographer and his powers of interpretation) and the inaudibility of the native other.

In *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen,* Michel Chion theorizes what he refers to as "the auditives of the eye." Chion argues that "[i]nto the image of a film you can inject a sense of the auditory," for the "eye carries information and sensations only some of which can be considered specifically and irreducibly visual . . . ; most others are transsensory."[30] Throughout *Nass River Indians,* the "auditives of the eye" inscribe the Western ethnographer as the dominant narrative voice via the use of intertitles and the camera lens as focalizing devices. In so doing, Barbeau's documentary conflates narrative voice with a hegemonic perspective in order to effect a silent and yet pervasive voice-over of ethnographic interpretation that

speaks white supremacy with resounding authority. While Chion's theory is suggestive for analyzing ways that sound may be readable in silent film, his argument could be extended to consider how sound may also take the shape of silence as a positive entity and a palpable presence. At the same time that *Nass River Indians* enables the hegemonic voice of Western anthropology to speak via the "auditives of the eye," the documentary also injects an *auditory sense of silence* into the film when portraying aboriginal bodies. By framing the Indian in terms of inarticulate gestures such as "pantomimic" dancing, Barbeau's documentary stifles native voices and positions the other as the ethnographer's muted object of study.

Continuing the theme of the pantomimic native, a subsequent intertitle remarks: "And if we understand Indian — and we do — this little beauty is signalling for a kiss — or maybe a drink." Cutting to a close-up of a young woman, the film depicts her smiling and tapping her hand to her lips. Here, both the racist and misogynist fantasies of the ethnographic gaze are laid bare. Trading on the worst stereotypes regarding the "sexed and raced" figure of the female native, the intertitle suggests that the only message this woman could want to convey hinges upon her sexual and alcoholic appetites.[31] In broader terms, the assertion that "we understand Indian" condenses multiple racist assumptions underpinning ethnography's hegemonic narrative perspective. First, the use of the referent "we" strategically conflates the position of the white male ethnographer — and his supposed omniscience — with the Western spectator. Second, the claim to "understand Indian" reduces aboriginals' communicative agency to a primitive form of body language that is both scripted and interpreted by the anthropologist. Here, *Nass River Indians* echoes the thought of Felix-Louis Regnault, one of the earliest pseudoscientists to study the racialized other on film. In his 1896 essay "Le langage par gestes," Regnault argues that "all savage peoples make recourse to gesture to express themselves; their language is so poor it does not suffice to make them understood." Intensifying the homogenizing effect of his theory, Regnault continues, "The gestures that savages make are in general the same everywhere, because these movements are natural reflexes rather than conventions like language."[32]

With striking similarity, Barbeau's documentary reiterates the stereotype of the muted savage who engages in crude gesticulation subject to the deciphering of the anthropologist. Moreover, the pantomimic sequences staged in *Nass River Indians* take Regnault's hypothesis of "le langage par

gestes" to its racist limits by revealing the film's subtextual incorporation of the native other into the salvage ethnography industry as a ventriloquized automaton. With the turn of the camera's crank, the native other is reanimated as an uncanny automaton that acts out colonial stereotypes such as the sexual promiscuity of aboriginal women. In this way, the film's declared effort to enliven vanishing native rites and dances actually mass-reproduces colonial stereotypes via the machines of ethnographic capture. Writing about "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" in the same era as Barbeau, Walter Benjamin argues that in the wake of technologies such as photography and film, "to an ever greater degree the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility."[33] While Barbeau's documentary purports to create an original record of indigenous lifeways, the film, in effect, produces representations of aboriginal peoples designed for easy reproducibility — that is, designed according to a homogenizing stamp of otherness. As a result, Barbeau's filmic production functions as an analog to the industrial cannery: much as the unidirectional assembly line churns out identical products, film's syntagmatic operation churns out frame after frame of stereotyped Indianness.

PLAY IT AGAIN, MARIUS

One of the most significant ways that Barbeau's film links the industrialized cannery to the culture-collecting venture occurs via the film's discursive recirculation of the trope of "canning." As a supposedly witty form of punning, the second half of Barbeau's documentary plays on the rhetoric of the coastal cannery tour in order to represent the phonograph as a "canning" or preservational device.[34] While the film's subtext of industrial processing and mechanical incorporation may seem like a more logical fit in the context of the modern cannery, the complexities of this subtext become most subtly and also most insidiously inscribed in the film's replaying of ethnography's primal scene: the phonographic mise-en-scène. Barbeau's screening of phonographic "canning" or salvaging via the medium of silent film encodes the technological incorporation of the native other in powerful ways.

A constellation of scenes throughout Barbeau's documentary frame the native encounter with Western audio technology. The first time that a sound machine is visually represented in the film, it appears in the shape

of a radio rather than a phonograph. An intertitle announces: "The ways of the white man — and radio jazz — are sweeping away the old color of Indian life of British Columbia." The camera then cuts to a long shot of a Nisg̲a'a man wearing headphones and adjusting a radio while his friends watch in silence. In this sequence, the intertitle's reference to the "sweeping away" of "Indian life" articulates the threat of cultural loss that drives the film's narrative. The immediate cut to an image foregrounding the radio effectively typecasts it as a technology of assimilation — a technology that can only *transmit* sound, not record or preserve it. Thus, Barbeau's film first introduces the radio in order to later amplify the salvaging potential of phonography. The competition between technologies throughout *Nass River Indians* therefore is not only operative between audio and visual apparati but also between instruments of sound mediation.

The concepts of assimilation and salvaging signaled in this section of the film are complicated both by the semantics and the grammatical separations inscribed in the intertitle. While acknowledging that the "ways of the white man" are involved in the work of assimilation, the specific phrasing distances Barbeau's own fieldwork from this process. As a result, the intertitle implicitly attempts to distinguish anthropological study as an objective "science," distinct from the "ways" of "culture." Barbeau's documentary seeks to redeem the phonograph as an ostensibly disinterested technology of anthropological preservation by extracting it from the fraught cultural sphere in which other technologies such as radio sound supposedly circulate. The grammatical separations in the intertitle also register the complexities of Western cultural space itself, marking a further distinction between the "ways of the white man" and "radio jazz" through the spacing of the dash marks. This spacing suggests an implicit differentiation between "white culture" and "jazz" in a way that potentially encodes this musical genre as a signifier for primitive Africanism. At the same time, however, the spacing of the dash marks reveals that jazz is both separated from and linked to "the ways of the white man" due to white commodification and co-optation of "black primitivism" as part of a modern, urban bohemian ethos.[35] Through the strained syntax of the intertitle, Barbeau's documentary momentarily registers a deeply rooted colonialist anxiety regarding the miscegenation of assimilative culture itself. As a result, this intertitle-image sequence focusing on the radio becomes an object lesson in a "bad" technology — a technology that crosses frequencies and enables the pollution of both a

An unnamed Nisga'a man hooked up to "radio jazz."

"pure" hegemonic culture and the "authentic" native rites it seeks to preserve and then annihilate. If the radio presents the threat of cultural contamination and assimilation in Barbeau's documentary, the phonograph is subsequently introduced as a technology of purification — one that distills the voice of the native other into an authentic archive. The phonograph supposedly preserves "old color" faithfully and therefore redeems not only contaminated cultures but also the modern anthropologist and his preservational imperative.

The intertitle-image sequence that introduces the radio in Barbeau's documentary reveals not one but two related ruptures. If the first rupture concerns a moment of colonial anxiety regarding the miscegenation of dominant culture, the second rupture concerns the contradictions produced by the silent representation of radio sound. The tactics the film employs in the service of ideological repair hinge upon the symbolic function of the headphones. The first time that audio technology is represented on screen, sound is contained, rather than projected, through the work of headphones. Here, the headphones suture the rupture produced by the absence of radio sound. On another level, the headphones worn by the Nisga'a man operate as an instrument of interiority that isolates the wearer within an enclosed sensory environment. As a result,

the call of modernity is channeled directly to the sole Nisg̲a'a listener hooked up to the assimilative machine.

Although silent film cannot directly transmit the interpellative call of "civilization," the radio scene in *Nass River Indians* speaks white supremacy through the absence of sound. In this context, Barbeau's documentary incorporates the native other into the technological machinations of radio's audio transmission. Through the channeling of radio music directly to the native via the use of headphones, Barbeau's film deploys its supposedly naive other as a foil against which the spectator reads absent sound. Filtered through the facial expression of the "fascinated native," the call of modernity is therefore re-presented as mysterious newness to the Western audience of Barbeau's documentary. As a result, the film's use of headphones as an instrument of interiority paradoxically prompts the imaginative reconstruction of "civilization's" call as a transcendent force.

Although Barbeau's documentary attempts to suture ideological rupture via the symbolically loaded use of headphones, the threat of cultural contamination posed by the "bad" technology of radio and its access to miscegenated airwaves continues to shadow this scene. Accordingly, "civilization's" transcendent voice is deeply compromised by the fact that what is channeled to the aboriginal other is, in fact, radio jazz, not the "pure" voice of white Canadian culture. Implicitly, then, the radio is framed as an unstable technology of assimilation that cannot reliably interpellate the native into "good," unhybridized civilization. By demonstrating the fraught and compromised nature of the radio as an assimilationist machine, Barbeau's documentary prepares the foundation for positing an alternate solution for engaging with the other: the anthropological use of phonography as a technology of cultural recovery, an apparatus for preserving native voices as synecdoches of a race fated for extinction.

Although the phonograph functions as a crucial symbol of textual recovery throughout *Nass River Indians,* it ironically remains a visually *absent* reference point for the majority of the film. For example, a few minutes after the radio encounter, Barbeau and MacMillan are shown sitting at a picnic table with their native informants, busily transcribing Nisg̲a'a songs into musical notation. As the camera pans across the table strewn with wax cylinders and paper marked by musical staffs and lyrics, these fragments of the recording process become disparate visual cues that point to the missing technology. In this way, the phonograph remains

suspended in what film critic Teresa de Lauretis theorizes as the "space-off": "the space not visible in the frame but inferable from what the frame makes visible."[36] By positioning the phonograph in the filmic "space-off," *Nass River Indians* denies its spectators the visual assurance or "evidence" of technological capture — namely, the phonographic recording and preservation of native voices. The *visual* suspension of the phonograph in the filmic "space-off" therefore keeps the possibility of anthropological recovery in *narrative* suspension throughout most of the film.

The ironic disjuncture between the phonograph's thematic significance and its visual absence enables a crucial ideological twist at the end of Barbeau's documentary. The final intertitle of the film operates as a supposedly comedic punchline that explicitly links the cannery tour in the first section with the trip to a native village in the second half of the film. This last intertitle pithily remarks: "The cannery cans the salmon. The camera cans the dances and now the phonograph cans the songs — everything canned but the Indians!" The insertion of the word "now" in the last line of the intertitle, just prior to the statement regarding the phonograph's work of "canning," suggests that the promise of capturing the fugitive sounds of the native other has been deferred until this final moment.[37] Right on cue, presenting the moment of the "now" promised by the intertitle, the camera cuts to the final two shots of the film, articulated immediately one after the other with no additional intertitle interpretation. The perpetually absent image of the phonograph finally attains an on-screen visual representation in the style of the classic phonographic mise-en-scène. In the second-last frame, a Nisga'a man beats a drum and sings into a phonograph, accompanied by two friends. The film then cuts directly to a medium shot of another Nisga'a man singing into a phonographic ear trumpet while a young girl joins the chorus.

In the final intertitle-image sequence of the film, the pervasive absence of sound-recording technology gives way to the visual reframing of the phonograph in terms of a "full presence." In this context, the phonographic ear trumpet assumes a symbolic function as a "national ear" — or the mimetic ear of a colonial nation listening for the voices of its "prehistory."[38] As a result, the ethnographic fantasy of access to the primitive other is channeled through the "mimetically capacious" technology of the phonograph and its mythic power to capture fugitive sound waves on the brink of disappearance.[39] By visually depicting the phonographic mise-en-scène in the strategically belated haze of "full presence,"

The scene of ethnographic transcription, with the phonograph conspicuously absent. Frank Bolton and William Beynon, two "native informants" who remain unnamed throughout the film, are on the far left; they share their music with Marius Barbeau and Ernest MacMillan.

Nass River Indians frames the moment of ethnographic recovery as colonial catharsis. Western technological supremacy is reinstated as the mechanism that salvages native pastness while simultaneously driving the teleological narrative of colonial progress ever forward. In this way, Barbeau's documentary conflates the trope of anthropological "recovery" with that of narrative "resolution" in order to pull the film toward ideological closure.

The semblance of resolution that *Nass River Indians* labors to produce, however, is extremely fraught. While the final intertitle-image sequence constitutes a crucial moment of ideological consolidation, it also subtextually reveals the colonial violence effected by Barbeau's particular brand of anthropological culture collecting. The logic of salvage ethnography and its political ramifications are strikingly encoded in the guise of humor in the final intertitle of the documentary. Punning on the trope of "canning," the intertitle typecasts both film and phonography as preservational technologies that, paradoxically, manufacture native dances and songs as products for consumption in colonial centers. The integral

The phonographic mise-en-scène, deferred throughout the film, finally arrives on screen.

punch line on which the film turns, however, is that "everything [is] canned but the Indians!" Wrapped in the rhetorical guise of a joke, the documentary ends by asserting that although indigenous cultural practices may be preserved, the Indian himself is fundamentally uncannable. The final intertitle of Barbeau's documentary accordingly encodes the volatile paradox of salvage ethnography — a paradox that enables native images and voices to be reproduced onto celluloid and wax cylinders for future safekeeping while the real referents are erased from the present tense. The narrative of anthropological rescue that *Nass River Indians* inscribes, therefore, hinges its logic of cultural preservation upon the necessary extinction of aboriginal bodies.

In Barbeau's documentary, the phonograph's belated arrival in the visualized form of the classic mise-en-scène accordingly signals the disappearance of the native other. Beneath the placidity of the final two images, the film's restaging of the phonographic mise-en-scène subtly and yet powerfully encodes the violence of the technological encounter on the colonial frontier. In the case of *Nass River Indians,* the ideological implications of the salvaging enterprise are inscribed in the space *between* the film's visual and audio dimensions — in the aporia created by a silent

The final shot in the film: the phonographic mise-en-scène staged once more.

film that depicts the recording of sound. Rather than categorize the dimension of sound in Barbeau's documentary in terms of negativity, I argue that the sound of silence is a palpable element in the film that has important political ramifications. Throughout the silent screening of Nisg̲a'a singers giving their voices over to technological capture, Barbeau's documentary records the muteness of the native other. Through the inaudible lens of the ethnographic camera, therefore, the Nisg̲a'a singers are reproduced as uncanny automatons — figures of a technological half-life — that mechanically mime the colonial romance of the vanishing Indian. Here, the tactic of recording the preservation of native voices on a silent, celluloid archive spells out the troubling paradox underpinning salvage ethnography. By mediating phonographic preservation via silent film, Barbeau's documentary effectively records the *opposite* of what it claims to do: namely, it stages the inaudibility of the very voices it purportedly labors to salvage.

At the same time that the silent camera of Barbeau's documentary mutes the voices of the Nisg̲a'a, the film's representation of phonographic salvaging produces complex ventriloquy effects. Redeploying Taussig's theory that the phonographic ear trumpet/bullhorn has a doubled mimetic function — it models both "ear-function" as well as "voice-throwing"[40] —

I contend that, in the final frames of *Nass River Indians,* the phonograph is constructed as an anthropomorphized machine that operates via an undecidably doubled ear/mouth.[41] Barbeau's restaging of the phonographic mise-en-scène symbolizes not only the native's giving over of voice to the national ear but also his "voice-over" by ethnographic interpretation. The phonograph's doubled ear/mouth blurs the functions of "listening" (recording) and "talking" (playing) such that, in the act of recording Nisg̲a'a voices, the phonograph acts as a "talking" machine that ventriloquizes the native other to speak white supremacy through Western technology.

The discourse of aboriginal disappearance that *Nass River Indians* inscribes may be further analyzed via recourse to what I have been theorizing as the semiotics of taxidermy. As previously discussed, taxidermic semiosis encodes temporal manipulations in order to manufacture a discourse of preservation that sustains the logic of *perpetual vanishing.* A careful analysis of Barbeau's documentary demonstrates that such time tactics exceed the limits of a classic strategy of freeze-framing. In order to depict the moment of *Nass River Indians*' filming as the historical brink upon which native culture hovers just prior to disappearance, Barbeau's documentary must invoke both the past and future in its mise-en-scène of phonographic full presence. By deploying a silent celluloid archive to record the salvaging of sound, therefore, *Nass River Indians* erases Nisg̲a'a voices from the film's present while simultaneously projecting these voices into a phonographic future for posthumous broadcast. In this context, film and phonography become technologies not of preservation but of mourning that phantasmatically reconstruct the native other in the realm of the past, even though present in a glimpse of the now. Barbeau's film also inscribes particularly haunting registers of taxidermic semiosis in its portrayal of aboriginal bodies as automatons resuscitated to an *unheimlich* half-life through the powers of Western technology. Similar to the way that literal taxidermy reconstructs animal corpses in the pose of a vacant, uncanny liveness, so too does *Nass River Indians* cast the macabre shadow of spectral half-life upon the native others it purports to preserve on celluloid. At stake in the representations of aboriginality operative throughout Barbeau's documentary, therefore, is the reinscription of the fraught sign of liveness that imprints the mark of death upon bodies that ostensibly owe their reincarnation to Western

intervention. Liveness, therefore, functions as an unstable trace that reveals the violence of spectacular consumption at the crux of colonial projects of preservation.

BROKEN RECORDS: TROUBLE IN THE ARCHIVES

If Barbeau's film attempts to manipulate temporality by articulating a complex logic that dooms the racialized other to perpetual extinction, the recent reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* might be said to attempt a second defeat of time through the recovery of a once "lost" text in a phantasmatically reimagined form. Nearly three decades after Holm and Quimby produced *In the Land of the War Canoes,* the reincarnation of *Nass River Indians* demonstrates that academic interest in recovering colonial texts continues to thrive. Over the past thirty years, however, the rise of postcolonial theory and its impact upon disciplines such as literary studies, sociology, art history, museology, and anthropology (to name only a few) has recontoured the terrain in which archival reconstruction takes place. Although it might be tempting to hope that postcolonial critique could "improve" reconstruction processes by prompting consideration of the power asymmetries at stake in the production and restoration of ethnographic texts, the case of *Nass River Indians* demonstrates that processes of archival reconstruction in our supposedly postcolonial era are subject to new complications.

While the opportunity to re-view Barbeau's restored colonial text in our current era of postcolonial critique may enable analysis of salvage ethnography's ideological machinations, such reappraisals are troubled by the temptation of placing too much confidence in the benefits of critical hindsight. In the process, postcolonial critique risks historicizing the project of cultural salvaging in a way that brackets it within the discrete parameters of the past. Working against this critical trajectory, I argue that an investigation of *Nass River Indians* and its institutional rebirth demands a radically different form of historicization, one that analyzes the complex linkages between the era of anthropological culture collecting and the work of archival reconstruction today. Thinking historicity into critical practices of the present tense, it is crucial to ask: Have we really transcended the salvage paradigm? In what ways might it persist as a potent ideological force in our current moment?[42] To address these

questions, *Nass River Indians* may be read as a case study for analyzing how the very tropes mobilized to legitimate anthropological culture collecting are ironically reiterated in the institutional re-collection and re-categorization of Barbeau's film as a once "lost," now "recovered" text. As a result, although recuperative cultural work attempts to differentiate itself from the processes it critiques, discourses of archival reconstruction run the risk of recirculating the historical and ideological traces that are indelibly sedimented upon key tropes of anthropological salvaging.

In order to develop this argument, I want to first retrace the narrative of *Nass River Indians*' history, spanning its origin, its disappearance, and its institutional reincarnation. The narrative I reiterate here is currently a hegemonic one, articulated by the dominant voices of academics, the National Archives, and the introductory intertitles to the reconstructed film itself. In the process of retelling, I will mark the power relations that contour this narrative and, for strategic reasons, I will temporarily suspend critique until the story has run its course.

Marius Barbeau's documentary was initially produced in 1927 by Associated Screen News Limited — a company whose major stockholder was the Canadian Pacific Railway.[43] During this period, the CPR, via its Department of Colonization and Development, functioned as a state apparatus integral to the settlement of the frontier and the violent displacement of First Peoples.[44] Thus, while Barbeau's film claimed to mourn the loss of the native other, the company that produced it simultaneously assisted the state in expropriating Aboriginal territory and contributing to the colonial subjugation of indigenous groups. Within this sociohistorical context, the institutions of national culture brought *Nass River Indians* into being as a filmic supplement to be screened during a series of special evenings associated with the National Gallery of Canada's "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern." Although *Nass River Indians* was not ready for the inaugural show at the National Gallery, when the exhibition went on tour in 1928, the film was screened at such venues as the Art Galleries of Toronto and Montreal for primarily white, bourgeois audiences. This installation was the first "in Canada to combine the work of Pacific coast Aboriginal peoples with paintings and sculptures by prominent Euro-Canadian artists."[45] Rather than actually constituting a movement toward a recognition of the artistic, not merely artifactual, value of Aboriginal art, however, the exhibition con-

tinued to reinforce the colonial dichotomization of the "Modern" Western self and the supposedly atavistic "Native" other.[46]

After the traveling exhibition completed its circuit of public display, copies of the documentary were stored at the National Museum of Canada where they were loaned out to educational institutions. Soon after, the documentary was redeveloped for commercial release in the form of two shorter films titled *Saving the Sagas* and *Fish and Medicine Men*.[47] After this point, the history of *Nass River Indians* becomes unclear: the film somehow disappeared in the archives and has not been relocated in its original form since. In 2001 Lynda Jessup, an art historian at Queen's University, undertook the project of reconstructing Barbeau's text with financial support from the National Archives and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Jessup reconstructed Barbeau's documentary by piecing together stock footage from the two recut releases based on research regarding the original sequencing. Technological assistance from Dale Gervais and Greg Eamon of the National Archives enabled the film's damaged intertitles to be digitally re-created and then spliced back into the twenty-one-minute reconstructed film. Moreover, to recontextualize *Nass River Indians* as a product of colonial history, Jessup prepared a prefatory set of intertitles that would precede the original credits and would seek to explain the fraught circumstances in which the documentary was initially produced. Both English and Nisga'a versions were added to the reconstructed film, the latter translated by Verna Williams of Wilp Wilxo'oskwhl Nisga'a College.[48]

Summarizing the process of reconstructing *Nass River Indians* in terms of filmic sequencing and digital re-creation, however, does not adequately register the degree of technical intervention and narrative interpretation involved in the remaking of this film. For example, the surviving descriptions of Barbeau's documentary, as outlined in two editions of the National Museum's *Catalogue of Motion Picture Films* raises questions — rather than simply providing answers — about what the 1927 film looked like. In the 1933 *Catalogue, Nass River Indians* is listed as consisting of three reels of film. The National Museum's 1937 *Catalogue* — the last publication to list the film — adds another layer of complexity by stating that a one-reel, 16mm copy of the film existed as well. Jessup asserts that she based her reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* in part on the first description of the documentary published in the National

Museum's 1933 *Catalogue of Motion Picture Films.*[49] The description is a single paragraph that details the contents of three reels of film and thus provides only an overarching summary rather than a detailed discussion. As a result, the two different catalogue entries and the brevity of their descriptions leave many questions about the narrative structure of the film and its complete footage unanswered. Another difficulty contouring the reconstruction process was the fact that the stock footage of the two commercial releases used for the 2001 film was in poor condition. Although *Saving the Sagas* was reasonably intact, the second film, *Fish and Medicine Men,* was badly damaged and several scenes were destroyed, suggesting that significant footage that may have been included in the original *Nass River Indians* was absent in the reconstruction.[50]

The technical aspects of reconstruction are linked to broader issues regarding the narrative and representational intervention that shaped *Nass River Indians* into its current, reincarnated form. One of the crucial problems that haunts the 2001 version concerns the film's mode of historicization. Although Barbeau's documentary has been restored with an awareness of the colonial power relations that contoured anthropological salvaging during the early twentieth century, it does so in a way that seems to relegate colonialism to the past. As a result, the film runs the risk of reinscribing the *grand récit* of Western progress and extending its teleology into a narrative regarding Canada's so-called postcolonial present. One of the places where these ideological problems are most powerfully encoded is in the reconstructed film's additional set of introductory intertitles. Ironically, it seems that the words added to recontextualize *Nass River Indians* and to establish a new frame for viewing the film hold the potential to lapse into the same historical paradigms so amenable to colonial discourse during Barbeau's era. Announcing itself as a "contextual note," the new preface is articulated by pairing frames written in Nisg̲a'a with subsequent frames translated into English. Jessup argues that she chose to begin with Nisg̲a'a intertitles and then follow with English translations as a way of reversing the hierarchical precedence of English as the language of colonial hegemony in Canada.[51] While the considerations underpinning this strategy are laudable, its effects are necessarily more complicated: specifically, the strategy of first displaying Nisg̲a'a words and then moving to English intertitles could also potentially reinforce the *chronos* of Western progress, the colonial telos that narrativizes the native other as a prehistoric voice that vanishes and is superseded by

the letter of Western dominance. To prevent the potential problems of beginning with Nisga'a and then moving to English (or vice versa), perhaps a split-screen technique could have been used to place English and Nisga'a words side by side and thus display them simultaneously.

The particular rhetoric used in the reconstruction's new preface further complicates its work of historicization. Attempting to flag the issue of colonialism and its relation to the making of Barbeau's documentary, the preface asserts: "The film you are about to see is part of the history of colonialism in Canada. It reflects the cultural misconceptions of the era." While the reference here to "cultural misconceptions" seems to euphemize the violence of ethnographic salvaging, the concept of "colonialism in Canada" is further delimited by a historical bracketing that seals off colonial violence within the discrete parameters of the past. At the same time, however, the preface unwittingly performs a rhetorical sleight of hand that collapses the distinction between the 2001 reconstruction and the 1927 "lost" original. By asserting that "the film you are about to see" is part of a historically bracketed colonial enterprise, the preface implicitly suggests that the following film is the same as Barbeau's 1927 text. As a discussion of the reconstruction process already demonstrates, the 2001 film "the viewer is about to see" is a significantly reworked text that is both part of the history of colonialism in Canada and part of the present moment of archival recuperation. By collapsing the distinction between the 1927 and 2001 texts, therefore, the new contextual preface has the potential to efface the institutional mediation involved in reimagining Barbeau's documentary.

The 2001 reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* encodes further problems by recirculating ethnography's master trope of salvage. In my analysis of Barbeau's documentary, I argued that the story of anthropological rescue pulls the trope of "recovery" toward narrative "resolution" in the final sequences of the film. The effect reverberates in the present: the discursive reiteration of crucial salvaging tropes in the current era risks conflating the concept of "recovery" with new forms of "resolution." More specifically, the introductory preface to the restored version of *Nass River Indians* at times suggests that textual "recovery" might be read as a sign of postcolonial "resolution" — or at least a gesture toward "restitution." In this vein, the new preface implicitly attempts to legitimize the work of archival reconstruction by presenting itself as an opportunity to review the "misconceptions of the [colonial] era" via the assistance of

contextual reframing informed by postcolonial hindsight. The question that arises, however, is one of critical tautology: what is at stake in recovering an ostensibly lost colonial text in order to critique its phantasmatically reimagined form? By overwriting the fact that the film available to viewers in the twenty-first century is a recently reimagined version of an irretrievable colonial archive, the new preface fabricates an illusory critical distance from the documentary's subject matter and thus risks inscribing a premature form of postcolonial closure upon ongoing political struggles.

Such problems become increasingly apparent in the last of the prefatory intertitles, particularly in the final one featuring an insignia for the Nisg̲a'a Lisims government that states: "However, the people, places and time recorded in this film are an important part of our history. They should be remembered." As the final comment punctuating the introductory preface, this intertitle raises significant concerns. I would like to read the Nisg̲a'a government insignia as a recognition of the political authority of a group once studied by Barbeau. At the same time, however, its presence in the film risks another interpretation: that (beyond whatever initial intention motivated its use) it has been appropriated as a branded endorsement that *authenticates* Barbeau's reconstructed text. My reading here is further substantiated by the intertitle's assertion that *Nass River Indians* has effectively *recorded* the people and places it depicts. Here, the film's discourse of archival reconstruction seems to verge on recirculating not only the salvaging trope of recovery but also the concomitant ideological assumptions regarding technology's ability to preserve cultural artifacts in their authentic forms.

On a broader level, then, the preface's acknowledgment of the Nisg̲a'a Lisims government risks dissimulating ongoing power asymmetries under the semblance of postcolonial resolution. Although cooperative partnerships between First Nations and museological institutions *might* be a beneficial way to strategically recuperate colonial archives, the reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* does not approximate such a process. While Nisg̲a'a Lisims members were shown the film prior to its completion and their responses were solicited, both the financial agency and the decision-making authority for the reconstruction remained in the hands of a Euro-Canadian academic and the National Archives of Canada. As a result, it is crucial to examine Barbeau's film not as a discrete textual product but rather as a film crucially contoured by the ongoing forms of privilege

at stake in the politics of access to and intervention in the archives of national culture today.

Nass River Indians' recent recirculation as part of an international exhibition, "Unseen Cinema: Early American Avant-Garde Film, 1893–1941," further complicates the film's discursive reframing as a once lost, now recovered text.[52] Describing itself as "a retrospective of restored and preserved films detailing the unknown accomplishments of American pioneer filmmakers," this enormous exhibition, "bursting with one hundred and sixty titles in newly restored or preserved 35mm and 16mm film prints," seeks to challenge established film history narratives by suggesting that the "quantity and quality of the films recovered from the first six decades of cinema's genesis demonstrates a vital avant-garde film culture in America prior to [the work of] Maya Deren" in the 1940s.[53] Although the relation between *Nass River Indians* and the exhibition's principal category of "Early American Avant-Garde Film" seems puzzling, Barbeau's film was included on the basis of its link to filmmaker James Sibley Watson. Because Watson is known among film historians for his innovative work in *The Fall of the House of Usher* (1928) and *Lot in Sodom* (1933), his participation in the earlier *Nass River Indians* has rendered this lesser-known documentary of interest to historians of American avant-garde film and hence to the "Unseen Cinema" exhibition. The recirculation of Barbeau's film in this context, however, tends to dissimulate its political implications as a fraught ethnographic text and instead frames it according to the primarily aesthetic category of "avant-garde" film.[54] As the exhibition's curator, Bruce Posner, puts it, the "weakest part of the film is the ethnographic element; the strongest part is that it is beautiful."[55] When viewed from this perspective, the supposed rationale for reconstructing *Nass River Indians* as a recontextualized example of colonial ideology and politics in early twentieth-century Canada seems to fall away. A film ostensibly rescued from oblivion for the purposes of prompting critical remembering of Canadian colonial history is therefore rescreened as an example of American cinematic innovation — a celebratory testament to early avant-garde aesthetic experimentation — rather than a problematic text evidencing the ideological violence of the ethnographic gaze.

Besides their relation to early avant-garde aesthetics, what the 160 films screened in the "Unseen Cinema" retrospective have in common is their status as celluloid texts "that were long deemed lost or inaccessible"

but, via the recent work of archival reconstruction, have been "salvaged" from obscurity.[56] As a result, "all [the] films were literally 'unseen' soon after their creation."[57] This monumental exhibition constitutes a celebration of "saving lost films" and "reclaim[ing] a past that is in danger of being lost."[58] Here, the tropes of "loss" and "recovery" so integral to Barbeau's documentary and its institutional reconstruction are reinscribed yet again. Organizing once "lost," now "rescued" films under the title of "Unseen Cinema," the retrospective implicitly entices audiences with the possibility of seeing the unseen. The overarching title of the exhibition takes on particularly fetishistic and voyeuristic resonances when applied to *Nass River Indians* as it accentuates the intensely problematic raison d'être of ethnographic cinema — namely, its desire to capture "the unseen" native other hiding in remote spaces and to render this object of study accessible to the ethnographic gaze. This effect is compounded by the organizing rubric for program eleven in which *Nass River Indians* is screened. Titled "Ecstatic Moments along the River of Time," the program's rubric seems to aestheticize the problematic temporal dynamics inscribed throughout Barbeau's documentary that construct the Nisg̲a'a as a vanishing race accessible only via a retrospective trip along inland waterways. By recirculating *Nass River Indians* according to the particular rubric of program eleven and the overarching framework of "Unseen Cinema," Posner and his curatorial colleagues return Marius Barbeau's filmic experiment in salvage ethnography to the viewing public in circumstances that fall far short of the proposed goal of critically remembering and politicizing colonial violence in early twentieth-century Canada.

Although the restoration of *Nass River Indians* may be intended to initiate new trajectories for postcolonial critique, the discourse of archival reconstruction that seeks to recontextualize Barbeau's documentary risks reinscribing a narrative telos driven toward *post*colonial closure. Moreover, the practices of reconstructing and recirculating this film have complicated and troubled a politicized re-viewing of Barbeau's colonialist text. As a result, the case of *Nass River Indians* and its institutional rebirth prompts crucial thought for cultural studies in the archives today. This reconstructed film underscores the importance of interrogating the neocolonial power relations that continue to contour work in the archives of national culture. As well, it demonstrates the need for cultural analysts to rigorously interrogate the ideological and political history in which the tropes of "loss" and "recovery" circulate. Although the archival

power to "recover" and "preserve" has become a familiar topic of theoretical investigation, it is imperative to study the particular ramifications of reconstructing colonial texts under the aegis of postcolonial critical intervention. How might the work of postcolonial archival restoration be co-opted by the state to reclaim national plunder? How might cultural analysts resist such processes? At the very least, the case of *Nass River Indians* offers a way to begin tackling such questions: it suggests that a political commitment to postcolonial reckoning necessitates an ongoing examination of the methodologies and practices employed in its service.

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4. REPATRIATION'S REMAINDERS

Kennewick Man, Kwädą́y Dän Ts'ínchı̨, and the Reinvention of "Race"

While chapter 3's critique of *Nass River Indians* demonstrates how recent practices of archival reconstruction have been utilized to reinforce a problematic teleology of postcolonial progress, the following case study identifies another domain in which this *grand récit* has been inscribed. Specifically, this chapter investigates how the repatriation of Aboriginal cultural belongings and ancestral remains have been framed by hegemonic discourses as evidence of postcolonial reconciliation, or proof of dominant institutions' efforts to right the wrongs of the so-called colonial past. Indigenous communities' hard-fought repatriation claims have achieved important results over the past few decades, including the Skidegate Repatriation and Cultural Committee's reclamation of over 390 Haida ancestors' remains as well as the reported return of 31,995 remains to Indigenous nations in the United States since the implementation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).[1] Despite these significant accomplishments, the diverse range of repatriation cases filed in Canada and the United States cannot be homogenized under a rubric of progressivism that occludes the colonial power asymmetries that continue to encroach upon Aboriginal peoples' rights and cultural beliefs. For example, the much-celebrated return of potlatch objects from the Canadian Museum of Civilization to the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw of Vancouver Island in the late 1970s hinged upon the museum's stipulations that the regalia be displayed in a "fireproof tribal museum," thereby reinstating the authority of a dominant institution to dictate the terms by which a Native nation should interact with its own cultural belongings.[2] More recently, the eight-year legal battle over Kennewick Man in the United States has revealed the persistence of colonial resentment against First Peoples' claims to North American indigeneity, the continued appeal of white fantasies

of ancestral belonging on the continent, and the failures of NAGPRA to protect the rights of Native Americans.

If the Kennewick Man case has become the most well-known example of the ongoing legal and political controversies surrounding repatriation claims in the United States, the recent discovery, study, and reburial of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį in Canada has been touted by governmental and mainstream media sources as a case that "stands in sharp contrast," offering an example of successful negotiation and "a model of co-operation between a first nation and a museum."[3] Inflected by national stereotypes of litigious American versus conciliatory Canadian characters, journalistic reportage has reductively dichotomized these two cases, framing Kennewick Man as the sign of "conflict" and Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį as the sign of "resolution." In several ways, the Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį example differs substantially from that of Kennewick Man: legal action was avoided, scientists were able to study the body for a specified period of time, and the corpse was eventually reinterred. Despite these distinctions, the Kennewick Man and Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį cases are powerfully linked by the scientific discourses invoked and affirmed in the process of attempting to categorize and verify the supposed racial affiliations of both sets of remains. In particular, both case studies raise the specter of technoscience's fascination with using biological "data" to authenticate or disprove Native identity and, thus, to revivify forms of racial taxonomization. This chapter will examine the intricacies of the forensic anthropological investigations and genetic tests invoked in the study of Kennewick Man and Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį in order to examine the implications of the technoscientific aspects of studying Aboriginal remains. In this context, I will argue that in the ostensibly objective domain of scientific research, the semiotics of taxidermy are reinscribed in new ways. By analyzing the taxidermic logic underpinning craniofacial assessments and genetic tests that have become de rigueur in repatriation cases, I seek to defamiliarize how these branches of technoscience prey upon the remainders of bodily decay, labor to fetishistically reconstruct so-called lost precontact authenticity, and reinscribe taxonomies of otherness.

Both the Kennewick Man and Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį cases prompt important reconsideration of repatriation debates in the current era precisely because they occupy a marginal and ambivalent relationship to the category of "repatriation" itself. While Kennewick Man is an example of

repatriation denied, of the affirmation of science's right to study "prehistoric" remains, proponents of the management agreement outlining the custody and study of Kwädą̵y Dän Ts'ínchi̵ argue that this case cannot be classified in relation to the rubric of repatriation as the remains were never technically "depatriated" from Aboriginal peoples to begin with.[4] These complications in naming, however, gesture toward the ways the Kennewick Man and Kwädą̵y Dän Ts'ínchi̵ cases test the limits of repatriation as a concept and practice in contemporary U.S. and Canadian societies. In this context, these two examples regarding the discovery and study of precontact human remains function as uncontrollable remainders that, despite their significant differences, destabilize nationalist narratives of postcolonial enlightenment and progress.

KENNEWICK "THE BAD"/KWÄDĄ̵Y "THE GOOD"

The Kennewick Man controversy has garnered far more media and academic attention than that of Kwädą̵y Dän Ts'ínchi̵ and has been discussed at length in numerous publications.[5] As a result, in reintroducing these cases here, I will briefly summarize the highlights of the Kennewick Man debates and then proceed to outline the circumstances of the Canadian example in more substantial detail. In July 1996 a skeleton was discovered on the banks of the Columbia River in Kennewick, Washington, on property held by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. When radiocarbon dating tests confirmed that the almost complete set of skeletal remains was approximately 9,300 years old, the Army Corps claimed temporary custody and notified Native groups in the region according to the provisions outlined in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. According to this federal legislation passed in 1990, government agencies are compelled to contact Native American groups who might be affiliated with found human remains and related artifacts.[6]

In an effort to comply with NAGPRA, the Army Corps agreed to repatriate the skeleton to a collective assembly of Native American groups, led by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, who claimed cultural affiliation with the body that they named "Oid-p'ma Natitayt," or "Ancient One."[7] Before repatriation could take place, however, a group of eight physical anthropologists collectively filed suit in October 1996—in a case documented as *Bonnichsen et al. v. United*

States — to halt the reburial and to seek an opportunity to study the skeleton. Due to the complexity of the legal situation, the Army Corps transferred authority over the remains to the Department of the Interior, which became the governmental agency responsible for organizing a series of research tests upon the skeleton in 1998 and 1999 that were submitted as evidence during the court trials. A lengthy legal process ensued, culminating in a February 2004 decision summarized by Judge Ronald Gould, writing on behalf of a panel of the Ninth Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals. This verdict upheld previous courts' decisions siding in favor of the physical anthropologists, thereby preventing the remains from being reburied, placing them in protective storage at the Burke Museum of Natural History in Seattle, and enabling scientists to have periodic access to study the skeleton. The appellate court's verdict and rationale not only had significant ramifications for the disposition of Kennewick Man but also for future repatriation cases. Essentially, the Gould decision redefined the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in a way that seriously undercut its original intent as human rights legislation designed to provide Native nations with legal recourse for protecting and reclaiming their cultural property and ancestral remains.[8] The Court of Appeals interpreted the Act as legislation that does not serve the interests of Native Americans alone; rather, any person or institution may claim legal standing to file a petition regarding a particular set of remains. Second, the Gould ruling undermined the use of oral history by Native nations as a method of establishing a group's "cultural affiliation" (a term invoked by the Act) with a particular set of remains, declaring it "unreliable."[9] The ruling consequently risked the possibility of reifying a Eurocentric faith in scientific objectivity by placing greater emphasis upon the use of "scientific evidence" to prove the "cultural affiliation" between a present-day Native American nation and the remains of an ancestor.[10]

The negotiations regarding Kwädą́y Dän Ts'ínchı̨ have differed significantly from the legal battle over Kennewick Man due in part to the absence of federal repatriation legislation in Canada. The only guiding document regarding the disposition of Aboriginal remains is the 1992 report produced by the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. This joint body, comprised of members of the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association, published a brief summary of their

findings titled *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples.* This report vaguely establishes preferred approaches to collaborative exhibition design, the sharing of knowledge, and the repatriation of cultural objects and human remains, but does not mandate them with the force of legislation. Regarding the specific issue of repatriation, the report states: "there was a consensus in favour of the return of human remains and illegally obtained objects . . . to appropriate First Peoples."[11] The matter of how such processes should occur and how particular "First Peoples" are determined "appropriate," however, remains ambiguous throughout the document, as exemplified by the following comment:

> a case-by-case collaborative approach to resolving repatriation based on moral and ethical criteria is favoured rather than a strictly legalistic approach . . . it was agreed that it was preferable to encourage museums and Aboriginal peoples to work collaboratively to resolve issues concerning the management, care and custody of cultural objects.[12]

Turning the Page relies heavily upon the principles of "collaboration," "co-management," and "co-responsibility" to carry the burden of defining repatriation negotiations.[13] The report's implicit affirmation of these terms as self-evident and transparent, however, is an effect of the hegemony of a Eurocentric value system. If "reason" and "mutual understanding" were the buzzwords of earlier forms of liberal democracy, "reconciliation" and its corollary principles of "collaboration" and "co-management" seem to be the slogans of at least one of liberalism's evolutions in the time of global capital. Beyond perpetuating the dominance of Eurocentric epistemes and values coded as seemingly universal "moral and ethical criteria," the invocation of "collaboration" and "cooperation" in the context of negotiations between a colonial state and Aboriginal peoples holds the dangerous potential to dissimulate the perpetuation of power asymmetries under the semblance of liberal tolerance and inclusion.

Dominant institutions have framed the study of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį as an exemplary application of the principles of "cooperation" and "collaboration" iterated in the task force report. A closer examination of this case, however, demonstrates that the "co-management" of the corpse took place on fraught terrain, contoured by the colonial power imbalances I signaled above. To understand the complexities of this case, it is important to first provide a provisional contextualization of the negotiations

surrounding this body. Like Kennewick Man, Kwädą̵y Dän Ts'ínchı̨ was "discovered" by accident. On August 14, 1999, three sheep hunters traveling across an ice field in northwestern British Columbia's Tatshenshini-Alsek Park spotted the bodily remains and personal effects of a human corpse exposed at the edge of a melting glacier. "Nearby," one journalist described the scene, "was an ancient wooden throwing dart, a hat made of finely woven cedar or spruce roots and the remains of a fur robe." The conclusion drawn by both the hunters and the mainstream press was that the "mysterious corpse clearly belonged to a traveller from another time," the supposed time of a "prehistoric" past.[14] Framing the scene via the lens of popular archaeology — a lens shaped by stereotypes of enigmatic ancient peoples — hunter Warren Ward's recollection of the discovery foreshadows the fascination with so-called primitive otherness that haunts this story throughout. As Ward described it: "I looked at it through my binoculars and I saw it — it looked like the National Geographic pictures we'd been seeing for years."[15] Identifying their find in terms of anthropological value, the three men abruptly ended their expedition, returned to Whitehorse to report the discovery, and thus set in motion a series of intergovernmental and interorganizational efforts to retrieve the body and to formulate a plan of action for "managing" the remains.[16]

Three years prior to the discovery of the frozen corpse, the British Columbia government signed a co-management agreement for Tatshenshini-Alsek Park with the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations (CAFN), within whose traditional territory the parkland is situated. The "Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement" was passed into law by an order in council on April 25, 1996. In conjunction with adjacent territory in Alaska and the Yukon, the region was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site, constituting "the largest international protected area in the world." While the Yukon government officially confirmed the CAFN's rights to their traditional territory (which extends across the provincial border) in 1993 with the signing of a land claim agreement, the British Columbia government has yet to follow suit. Under pressure due to the Yukon precedent, British Columbia politicians deployed the park co-management agreement as a partial concession to Champagne and Aishihik claims and a supposedly "incremental step towards a . . . Settlement Agreement" — an agreement that, to this day, has yet to materialize.[17] Under Section 9.2 of this document, the Cham-

pagne and Aishihik First Nations were granted "sole authority over the following matters related to the Park":

> (a) the use of aboriginal languages; (b) the provision of aboriginal place names; (c) the naming of former Champagne and Aishihik First Nations' community sites and heritage routes; and (d) the interpretation and depiction of the aboriginal history and traditional land use as known through archival, archaeological, anthropological, toponymic and oral history research and sources.[18]

Section 9.6 of the agreement further asserts that the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations have "the authority to use, manage, conserve and protect heritage site areas in the Park in a manner that is consistent with the purpose and objectives of this Agreement and the provisions of the Park management plan."[19]

While some media reports have suggested that the Tatshenshini-Alsek Agreement accorded "First Nations ownership of the body and the artifacts," a reading of the actual document demonstrates that the matter of ownership and control is left unclear and undecided.[20] Despite the document's recognition of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations' "sole authority" over Aboriginal language use and the "interpretation and depiction" of "aboriginal history," there is no explicit statement regarding the management of, and legal jurisdiction over, artifacts and human remains discovered within the park's boundaries — concerns that extend beyond the scope of "depicting history." At the same time, the Park Management Agreement's recognition of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations' role in "conserv[ing] and protect[ing]" the ambiguously termed "heritage sites" of the park did provide this Aboriginal government with enough bargaining power to assert their right to be involved in the decision-making processes surrounding the corpse. As a result, when the three hunters arrived back in Whitehorse on August 16 and reported their find to the Yukon Heritage Branch's Beringia Centre, the British Columbia Parks Branch and the CAFN were the first to be notified.

Taking the reins for retrieving the corpse by reason of the complexity of proper removal, government anthropologists assembled a diverse team to return to the glacier site, including anthropologist Al Mackie of the British Columbia Archaeology Branch, forensic anthropologist Owen Beattie from the University of Alberta, British Columbia parks officials, and Heritage Planner Sarah Gaunt and Chief Bob Charlie, both representatives of CAFN. Following a detailed process of extraction and specimen

preservation, the body and related objects were flown to Whitehorse for storage and supervision by specialists. An emergency meeting of the CAFN Elders' Council was convened and agreement was reached that "efforts should be made to learn something about this person."[21] In contrast to the media's categorization of the corpse as an "archaeological find," the Council regarded the remains as a potential ancestor and a past human life, endowing the body with a name: "Kwädą̵y Dän Ts'ínchį̵," meaning "Long Ago Person Found" in Southern Tutchone.

Soon after press releases announced the discovery on August 24, the body was given a second name by the popular media. Based on initial reports estimating that Kwädą̵y Dän Ts'ínchį̵ was an Aboriginal male in his late teens or early twenties, the media assigned a gendered nickname, redubbing the frozen corpse the "B.C. Iceman."[22] The term "Iceman" also denotes the fact that because the body was preserved in a glacier, significant amounts of the corpse's flesh remained intact, preserved over time by ice and snow. While the Kwädą̵y Dän Ts'ínchį̵ discovery offered scientists the rare opportunity to study preserved soft tissue, this body was only a minute fraction of the age of Kennewick Man, roughly dating only 550 years back into the past, just prior to the advent of colonial exploration on the continent.

By August 31, 1999, another agreement "respecting the management of human remains and associated artifacts" from the discovery was drawn up between the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations and the British Columbia Archaeology Branch (part of the provincial Ministry of Small Business, Tourism, and Culture).[23] Unlike the Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement, the new document was only two pages and was never passed as an order in Council. As a result, this document's legal status and its interpretation by the Courts remain uncertain.[24] The agreement "recognize[d] the importance of Kwädą̵y Dän Ts'ínchį̵ as an opportunity to learn about a past time in human use of the Tatshenshini area" and asserted the "mutual desire" of both parties "to protect and study these ancient remains." The agreement hinged upon the release of the remains to the British Columbia Archaeology Branch and the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria for safekeeping and study "for a period not less than 15 months."[25] At the end of this duration, Long Ago Person Found would be "returned for final disposition" to the CAFN.[26] This agreement became the guiding blueprint for the supervision of the human remains, resulting in the scientific examination

and study of the body by multiple international researchers and the eventual cremation and reburial of Long Ago Person Found in July 2001.

Although the Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį Agreement has been celebrated as a model for the purportedly "cooperative management" of Aboriginal remains, its division of responsibilities effectively skewed jurisdiction toward the British Columbia government. While the British Columbia Archaeology Branch and the Royal British Columbia Museum were accorded "responsibility for coordinating the research on the human remains" — the high-profile work — the CAFN was appointed caretaker of the small collection of artifacts found near the corpse. In practice, these asymmetries were exacerbated further as the bulk of the artifacts appointed to the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations were actually stored at and co-managed by the Yukon government's Heritage Branch while the fur garment was transferred to the museum.[27] To justify the uneven supervision of the materials, the British Columbia and Yukon governments asserted that they had the facilities and expertise necessary for so-called proper preservation. Such an argument, however, hinges upon the classification of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį's body as a "specimen" and his belongings as "artifacts" — objects of scientific study that must be preserved in the interests of anthropological, archaeological, and genetic knowledge.[28]

The case of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį further demonstrates that the power to preserve is intimately bound up with the power to represent. As the custodian of the body, the Royal British Columbia Museum quickly appointed itself the research hub and the public mouthpiece for disseminating information about the body. The museum also used its authority over the management of the remains to stage a public display of the Iceman's fur robe and related artifacts. In February 2003, long after Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį was supposedly "laid to rest," the museum held a weekend exhibition of these items, which were not buried with the body. Commenting on the display, the Vancouver edition of *CBC Online* quoted the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations' heritage resource officer, Diane Strand, as saying, "The robe is on loan right now. I haven't seen it for well over a year now."[29] Thus, although the original management agreement accorded the CAFN responsibility for the artifacts, the Royal British Columbia Museum in practice assumed a much wider jurisdiction over these cultural items, including the power to display Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį's personal effects for public viewing.[30] In practice, therefore, the

terms of the "co-management" of the corpse and related cultural belongings implicitly reinforced the primacy of scientific research and its concomitant logic of proper preservation (sometimes compromised by a desire to display "artifacts" for the public gaze). The Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį case consequently demonstrates the continued purchase of museological and scientific paradigms of preservation and research — paradigms that were confirmed and accorded hegemony in far more explicit ways in the appellate court's decision regarding Kennewick Man, which, according to anthropologist Larry Zimmerman, effectively categorized the remains as "public heritage" while scientists were recognized as the "primary stewards."[31]

Some anthropologists and government officials might disagree with my characterization of the management of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį's remains and associated belongings, arguing that the eventual reburial of the corpse proves that attention to "the cultural sensitivities" of "the aboriginal community," as Royal British Columbia Museum employee Grant Hughes put it, took precedence in this case.[32] The body's return to the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations and its subsequent reinterment has been framed as a sign of resolution, suggesting that the corpse's "laying to rest" at the site of its initial discovery, accompanied by a funeral and potlatch, has brought the story to a close.[33] To mark the reinterment as the resolution and end to this story, however, is to inscribe a premature form of closure upon the Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį case and its implications. As already mentioned, the "Iceman's" belongings continue to be stored and studied and, even more significantly, parts of the corpse remain in circulation today in laboratories across the world.[34] While it might be argued that these "samples" or "specimens" are only minute fractions of the corpse, their ongoing use in specific scientific inquiries have profound implications for proving or delegitimating Aboriginal claims to indigeneity in North America and for conceptualizing Native identity in the current era.

KENNEWICK MAN AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EPIDERMALIZED ABORIGINALITY

Both the Kennewick Man and Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį cases have been utilized by scientific and mainstream media discourses to revivify and reinvent temporal and racial constructions of aboriginality that warrant

detailed consideration. Before examining these discourses in some depth, I want to make clear that I have no claims to anthropological, archaeological, or genetic expertise; I am a humanities scholar who has read recent publications in these fields in order to investigate the cultural and political implications of research on the Kennewick Man and Kwädą́y Dän Ts'ínchį́ remains. There are already many scholarly articles and monographs addressing anthropological and archaeological debates about the early inhabitants of the continent and their relation to the two recently discovered bodies.[35] Rather than attempting to approximate such studies, my work offers an alternative vantage point — one that analyzes "science" as a diverse field of cultural practices inflected by politics and ideology, rather than an impartial method for discovering unmediated knowledge. By articulating my reading of the Kennewick Man and Kwädą́y Dän Ts'ínchį́ cases to the hegemonic discursive formation shaping current repatriation debates, I seek to increase polyphonic discussion and to oppose the reinscriptions of colonial and racial discourses in this field. I also proceed with the recognition that this debate requires the perspectives of Indigenous research and/or activist organizations as well as Native governments. Throughout this chapter, I cite the work of several Native scholars as well as the Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism, a Nevada-based nonprofit organization committed to "assist[ing] indigenous peoples in the protection of their genetic resources, indigenous knowledge, [and] cultural and human rights."[36] This strategy is not one of *representation* — of purporting to speak for or benevolently acknowledge so-called marginalized viewpoints — but rather one of *citation* that draws upon a rich body of Indigenous research and encourages readers to seek out these publications rather than allow my own mediations to suffice. Moreover, the following discussion will resist the tendency of mainstream media coverage of the Kennewick Man case and, to a lesser degree, the study of Long Ago Person Found to impose a false dichotomization between "science" versus "natives," denying the heterogeneity of both groups and suggesting that First Peoples are not versed in scientific discourses. Both the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation and the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations have developed their own formal heritage programs, often combining oral history projects with archaeological and anthropological methods of study.[37] As a result, these governments' respective positions regarding Kennewick Man and Kwädą́y Dän Ts'ínchį́ are informed ones

that draw upon Indigenous cultural knowledges as well as an awareness of scientific debates.

In the case of Kennewick Man, scientific and media discourses have promoted controversial reconceptualizations of the early inhabitation of North America that have had the effect of further temporally constraining definitions of "Native American" culture and identity, thereby undercutting First Peoples' claims to sovereignty, land, and ancestral remains in the United States. The physical anthropologists led by Robson Bonnichsen, director of Oregon State University's Center for the Study of First Americans, hinged their legal case upon the contention that, due to the age of the skeleton, the remains were ineligible to qualify as "Native American" under the definition provided in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. According to this legislation, the category "Native American" is outlined in the following terms: "of, or relating to, a tribe, people, or culture that is indigenous to the United States."[38] The scientists argued that the dictionary definition of "indigenous" — namely, "occurring or living naturally in an area; not introduced; native" — might not apply to Native Americans if it were "established that the precontact inhabitants of North America migrated from some other continent or even from some other part of the Americas not currently encompassed within the modern political boundaries of the United States."[39]

While, according to this logic, the Bering Strait land bridge hypothesis would in itself constitute a challenge to Native Americans' claims to indigeneity, several anthropologists pushed the envelope further by asserting that recent research indicates an even greater population diversity among the continent's early peoples than the Bering Strait theory can account for, thereby suggesting that Native Americans may not have been the only precontact inhabitants.[40] To substantiate their claims, the anthropologists relied upon craniofacial morphometrics, or the study of skull structures and the use of "statistical methods" to calculate "the metric data of" a skull. The *Bonnichsen* anthropologists cited their own research as well as the study of two physical anthropologists, Joseph Powell and Jerome Rose, commissioned by the Department of the Interior, who compared the measurements of Kennewick Man's skull against a standard reference database consisting of the morphological data of thirty-three populations across the globe, including only nine Native American groups from western North America. Powell and Rose concluded that "the cranial

features could not be biologically linked to existing tribal groups."[41] However, Powell and Rose also asserted that the remains were "unlike those of any known present-day population, American Indian or otherwise."[42]

At stake in the arguments outlined by the *Bonnichsen* anthropologists are a set of troubling ideological and political investments. First, the idea of contesting Native Americans' status as "Native" or "Indigenous" via recourse to archaeological hypotheses regarding the evolutions and migrations of humans over 9,300 years ago constitutes yet another complex manipulation of temporality by a colonialist discipline. In order to blur the incontrovertible fact that Indigenous peoples inhabited the North American continent for (at the very least) a substantial period of time before European exploration — thereby affording them an iron-clad prior claim to the land — particular anthropological discourses have attempted to reframe temporality on a staggeringly retrospective scale that diminishes the proportion of Aboriginal land claims. Such discourses effectively "shrink" the history of Aboriginal inhabitation of the continent by measuring time in millennia rather than decades and centuries so as to supplant the concept of Native origins with an ostensibly prior narrative of *primordial origins* regarding the evolutionary ancestors of modern Homo sapiens. Diverging from the typical colonial chronologics of progress — the movement toward a future of European and Euro–North American triumph — this anthropological strategy reconceptualizes temporality in terms of an infinite regress, a sublime articulated past that subdivides the category of "prehistory" into multiple orders. Such a tactic moves ambitiously backward in time to an era prior to Native "prehistory": a primordial epoch of early human evolution. By traveling so far back in time, this anthropological discourse prioritizes a primordial category of "prehistory" in which First Peoples' continental indigeneity cannot be definitively proven via scientific "evidence." Although the retreat into time's infinite pastness seems to contradict the forward-looking teleology of Western progress, such a tension is immensely productive for white interests. In this way, Aboriginal peoples are confined within further temporal parameters: not only are they barred from entry into the time of the Western present and future, their pastness is also circumscribed, limiting their continental origins to a secondary order of "prehistory" that is only said to begin after migration to North America via the Bering Strait land bridge or other hypothesized routes.

By setting such temporal limits upon native pastness, anthropological discourses not only deny First Peoples' claims to have lived upon the continent since "time immemorial," but also reopen the possibility of a "white" prehistory in North America that predates the supposed arrival of Aboriginal populations.[43] Such a desire to replace Native indigeneity with archaeological narratives of other preexisting societies are reminiscent of the Moundbuilder hypothesis that gained currency among Euro–North Americans in the mid-1800s. Arguing that the mound dwellings of eastern North America were too sophisticated architectural structures to have been made by Natives, many writers of the period postulated that the mounds were evidence of a "race of non-Indians" who had been exterminated when the Natives supposedly arrived on the continent.[44] These narratives effectively displaced Aboriginal ancestors from the American nation's prehistory, suggesting that the "civilized, White American race inherited the mantle, the heritage of the old [non-Indian] civilization."[45] Although the Moundbuilder hypothesis has now been discredited, desires for the discovery of white predecessors in North America continue to linger in popular and scientific thought. Judge Gould's ruling in the Kennewick Man case further undermined Native peoples' claims to indigeneity in North America by asserting that it could not be assumed that all pre-Columbian remains discovered in the United States were "Native American."[46] In making this assertion, the court overrode not only Native nations' oral history but also the opinion of the Society for American Archaeology, the national professional organization for researchers in the field, who submitted an amicus brief during the legal proceedings, which argued that all human remains dated prior to 1492 and found within the geopolitical borders of the United States should be considered "Native American" as defined under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.[47]

In affirming the primacy of scientific research such as morphometric, osteological, and genetic analyses over oral history (despite the fact that this body of scientific "evidence" is incomplete and could not definitively prove or disprove affiliation), the Kennewick legal decision also reinterpreted NAGPRA's requirement for a claimant tribe to establish "cultural affiliation" with human remains in a way that could easily lead to the conflation of *cultural* with *biological* connection. As a result, the outcome of future repatriation cases may hinge upon the nearly impos-

sible task of establishing a biological affiliation with any remains of the "PaleoIndian" period, due to the extreme rarity of such discoveries and the resultant gaps in the scientific record. Moreover, the court's decision gave credence to scientific approaches that could easily be co-opted for the reinscription of racial taxonomies. Although current morphometric studies do not associate craniofacial measurements with intellectual or moral attributes the way that nineteenth-century craniometry did, morphometric analysis will always be haunted by the fraught historical traces of earlier instantiations of craniometric pseudoscience. Although some researchers have argued that morphological classifications such as "Mongoloid," "Caucasoid," and "Negroid" "should not properly be thought of as races" but rather merely "kinship writ large," the project of differentiating and classifying human populations could easily lapse back into the reinscription of racial categories.[48] Both the traces of earlier anthropological uses of craniometric classifications and the ongoing problems of taxonomization associated with craniofacial morphometrics erupted in the Kennewick Man case.

Following the coroner's initial examination of Kennewick Man, James Chatters, an archaeologist who also worked as a forensic anthropologist with the county coroner's office, noted that the skull appeared to be "Caucasoid." After Chatters was criticized for putting the term into play, he subsequently qualified his usage, arguing that when he invoked the category "Caucasoid," he meant it in its ostensibly more expansive anthropological sense — as a rubric that not only refers to the European populations most commonly associated with this term, but also to many peoples from "central Asia, India, the Middle east, and North Africa."[49] Unfortunately, however, Chatters did not initially qualify his use of the term for the public, who interpreted his comments as referring to "white" or European and Euro–North American populations. Powell and Rose, the Department of the Interior's anthropological experts who conducted the morphological and osteological examinations of the Ancient One, suggest the lack of clarity surrounding the category of "Caucasoid," even within the anthropological and archaeological communities. In reporting their research findings, they comment:

> In the strictest sense, this [category — i.e., "Caucasoid"] refers to populations of western and southwest Eurasia — peoples that live or lived in what is now Europe, the near East, and India. When defined in this

> way, Kennewick is clearly not a Caucasoid. . . . If the Ainu [a southeast Asian population] are considered to be "Caucasoids," as they were first described in 19th-century anthropological literature, this might explain reports of "Caucasoid" features in the Kennewick skull.[50]

Powell and Rose's commentary reveals the malleability of the term and the polysemy and ambiguity it puts into play in the process of supposedly clarifying the differences between human populations. As well, the report suggests the ongoing influence of nineteenth-century anthropological literature on the meanings of the category "Caucasoid," thereby revealing how a field of study intimately implicated within racial ideologies of the Victorian period continues to inflect current (mis)understandings of the term.

When Chatters invoked the term "Caucasoid" and the *Bonnichsen* anthropologists reiterated it, therefore, they summoned up a highly contentious, overdetermined category that reinvoked the specter of "race" in profound ways in this repatriation case. Seizing upon the term "Caucasoid," the mainstream press fueled speculation as to whether a "European-derived racial or ethnic group may have occupied North America as precursors to or in the place of the ancestors of modern Native Americans."[51] A headline in *US News & World Report* proclaimed an "America before the Indians." An article in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* queried, "When Columbus came to the New World in 1492 and set into motion the chain of events that led to the decimation of Native Americans, was he unknowingly getting revenge for what was done to his ancestors thousands of years before?" In the wake of this media frenzy, the Asatru Folk Assembly, a Californian sect who believe that their pre-Christian ancestors were Scandinavian and Germanic tribes from northern Europe, deployed the "Caucasoid" categorization to claim Kennewick Man as their kin and, thus, file their own lawsuit to prevent repatriation of the skeleton to the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation and enable further scientific research.[52] The *Bonnichsen* anthropologists exacerbated public confusion by alleging that NAGPRA discriminated against the scientists on the basis of their "Caucasian" racial identification. Although the court dismissed this claim, the plaintiffs' complaint once again put into play the specter of "race" and the idea of a beleaguered Caucasian identity now subject to forms of so-called reverse racism in the contemporary moment that might prevent the truth about Kennewick Man from being made known to the American public.[53]

What dramatized white fantasies of a potential "Caucasoid" ancestor in particularly striking terms was the public release of a facial reconstruction of Kennewick Man, produced by James Chatters, the forensic anthropologist who first invoked the category in relation to the skeleton. Before producing this visage in 1997, Chatters searched for ways to "provide the curious with a visual image" of how the Ancient One appeared during his so-called prehistoric life.[54] Chatters explained:

> In looking at the skull, I could picture the face it had supported, but people without my background could not be expected to do the same. . . . Then one evening I was taking a break, watching a rerun of *Star Trek: The Next Generation,* and there was Patrick Stewart who plays Captain Jean-Luc Picard. The resemblance was striking, although Stewart has a slightly wider forehead, broader chin, narrower jaw, and smaller nose.[55]

Chatters subsequently invoked the British actor Stewart in an interview with the *New Yorker,* thereby providing the public with a visual image that ignited further media speculation regarding Kennewick Man's potential status as an ancient white ancestor.

Intrigued by Chatters's comments, New York–based filmmaker Ted Timerick asked the archaeologist to engage in a facial reconstruction of the skull (a practice Chatters had no prior experience with) while being filmed. Chatters accepted and enlisted the help of sculptor Tom McClelland to provide artistic assistance. Although Chatters notes that "[f]acial approximation is always a combination of science and art," he has repeatedly attempted to defend his use of the Gerasimov method as being the most objective technique, requiring "relatively little subjective input from the artist."[56] Describing the process on a Web site for the NOVA documentary, *Mystery of the First Americans,* which includes brief scenes of Chatters engaging in the facial reconstruction of Kennewick Man, the archaeologist remarks:

> Practitioners begin with a skull or, in the case of ancient specimens, a model of a skull, and, at standard locations on its surface, place a set of pegs cut according to average tissue thicknesses. These thicknesses vary according to the ancestry and health of the individual and differ for males and females; people of emaciated, average, or obese condition; and Europeans (or white Americans), Africans (African Americans), or Asians (Japanese). (Experts have not yet developed measurements of average tissue thicknesses for other peoples.)[57]

In part 2 of Chatters's discussion on the NOVA Web site, Chatters continues his description, detailing the subsequent steps involved in the Gerasimov method:

> Next, after placing the tissue thickness markers, the Gerasimov-style artist fashions 18 major muscles from clay and places them on the face according to their standard thicknesses in human beings. . . . Using the muscles now as a secondary superstructure, the artist lays a thin clay "skin" over the face to the height of the tissue markers, taking into account the topography created by the musculature. The resultant face is immediately quite life-like.[58]

In an attempt to establish the scientific accuracy of facial reconstruction techniques, Chatters's commentary reveals several major complications for the remaking of Kennewick Man's visage. Specifically, his remarks indicate that in order to determine what "average tissue thicknesses" to use in the reconstruction, it is necessary to draw from one of three available population groups — "Europeans," "Africans," or "Asians" (note that the category of "Native American" is conspicuously absent) — for which "developed measurements" have been quantified. In other words, the purportedly empirical and objective process of facial reconstruction hinges upon predetermining the "race" of the skull. Anthropologist Joseph Powell notes that tissue thicknesses are not the only elements that involve a reliance upon racial categorization, asserting that facial reconstruction also "depend[s] on an assessment of race to determine the size and shape of unpreserved soft tissue features such as the eyes, nose, ears and lips."[59]

To reconstruct the visage of Kennewick Man, Chatters calibrated average tissue thicknesses for the skull according to a creative formula, describing his reasoning in the following terms: "Assuming he had descended from some Eurasian stock (i.e., from the landmass now called Europe and Asia), we averaged the Japanese and European measurements for males." For determining the shapes of the upper eyelids and the lips, Chatters further reinforced his "Eurasian stock" hypothesis by modeling these features after photographs of Ainu men. Chatters defended his decision by invoking an ostensibly democratic adherence to the image of a common humanity, asserting that, due to the absence of epicanthic and Nordic folds around the eyelids in Ainu people, "the Ainu seemed to exemplify, in their eyes and lips, the most common human form." After the last layer of clay was added to replicate the outer epidermis of the face, Chatters used his partner, Tom McClelland, as a model for the Ancient

One's ears. In turn, McClelland referred to a movie featuring Clint Eastwood and Ed Harris in order to age and add wrinkles to the face. Acknowledging the use of European reference points in the reconstruction of the Ancient One's countenance, Chatters commented: "Yes, they [Eastwood and Harris] are white, but they have the same narrow chins, square jaws, and hollow cheeks as Kennewick Man." Aware of the controversy sparked by his previous reference to the British *Star Trek* actor, Chatters remarked that prior to engaging in the reconstruction, "Tom and I said a little prayer: 'Please don't let this man end up looking like Patrick Stewart!'" Once the face had been created, however, the archaeologist's neighbor reportedly "piped up, 'Why, it's Jean-Luc Picard!'"[60] When the facial reconstruction was released to the media and appeared to confirm Chatters's prior invocation of Stewart's image, public speculation was heightened yet again. Chatters and McClelland subsequently marketed cast-bronze replicas of the original clay model, selling them through the Tri-Art Gallery of Washington State for $4,000 each.[61]

Although this narrative of "finding" the face of Kennewick Man at times appears to border on the absurd — from Patrick Stewart to Clint Eastwood and back again — the assumptions underpinning the imaginative bricolage operative in Chatters's facial reconstruction hold the dangerous potential to reinscribe troubling forms of "race"-thinking. While Chatters suggests that his scientific method enabled the dead to speak by "let[ting] the skull tell its own story," the predetermination of "race" involved in calibrating tissue thicknesses and skin placement around the lips and eyes crucially demonstrates that the visage did not simply reveal its true form; rather, it was constructed to conform to prior assumptions about the Ancient One's genealogical relation to certain population types. At stake in the regrafting of simulated soft tissue in the form of synthetic muscle, flesh, and skin onto a plaster cast of Kennewick Man's skull, therefore, is no less than the reinscription of taxidermic semiosis and the production of the racial epidermal schema. The reconstruction of the Ancient One's visage throws into striking relief how the semiotics of taxidermy portray "skin" — qua racial epidermal schema — not as a flat, dismembered material but rather in terms of epidermalized embodiment, the three-dimensional shape of corporeal fullness. Thus, the racial epidermal schema cannot be simplistically reduced to skin chromatics alone; rather, as I have argued throughout this book, it involves far more complex constructions of "skin" in terms of the interrelated codes of color,

contour, thickness, and dimension. In attempting to linguistically extricate himself from the controversy his reference to Patrick Stewart provoked, Chatters argued that the "media took this statement to mean that I saw Kennewick Man as a European — a white man. But skulls of course have no skin color. . . . I was looking not at skin color but at the face produced by the man's bones." Moreover, Chatters also argues that he did not inscribe bias into the reconstruction of the Ancient One by leaving "the skin the gray of fine plastilina."[62] Thus, Chatters attempts to exempt himself from the business of racial categorization by suggesting that he looked beyond the skin and at "the face produced by . . . bones" — an assertion that confines racializing codes to the semiotics of skin tone and imagines skull morphology as a supposed tabula rasa free from racial bias providing ostensibly objective ground for scientific examination. As previously discussed, however, anthropology and racial pseudosciences have long penetrated past the skin to measure skulls in the service of racial taxonomization — a tradition that infiltrated popular culture in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in cartoons and physiognomies that exaggerated the features of "inferior" racial types. With today's new techniques of facial reconstruction, both the craniofacial features of skulls and the "average tissue thicknesses" of muscle and skin that both cover and highlight them have been calibrated according to population types and thus are open to co-optation as conjoined signifiers of "race." Rather than being disguised by skin, therefore, the craniofacial contours of skulls are thrown into relief by the simulated soft tissue that facial reconstructions utilize to re-create the visages of ancient skeletons. As the NOVA documentary *Mystery of the First Americans* demonstrates via its cinematic depiction of three precontact skulls remade in the image of epidermalized embodiment, facial reconstructions of Kennewick Man, Luzia (or Lapa Vermelha) from Brazil, and Spirit Cave Man from Nevada have become heuristic and pedagogical tools for further morphological comparison and analysis — subjective devices that "flesh out" population differences via the interworkings of skin and bone, dramatizing what Chatters refers to as "the physiognomy of the dead."[63]

In chapter 2's discussion of Edward Curtis's photographic portraits of native figures, I analyzed how these images constructed a form of epidermalized embodiment that highlighted the relationship between skin and bone, between the textured surfaces of the epidermis and the real

and imagined anatomies it covers over and simultaneously highlights. In so doing, Curtis's photographs used portraiture and its supposedly intense depiction of facial surfaces to aestheticize and dissimulate the craniometric lens that framed native subjects in frontal and side poses typical of pseudoscientific drawings and photographs that sought to classify the Native "race" according to craniofacial features. The reconstruction of Kennewick Man's skull into fully fleshed form reinvents and complicates such strategies of epidermalized embodiment by transcending the unidimensional surface of the photograph and producing a three-dimensional, materialized manifestation of the supposed power of craniofacial morphometrics to return the face of the continent's lost predecessor to a second life. Similar to the aesthetic aspects of Curtis's photographs, the facial reconstruction of Kennewick Man functions not just as a "scientific" model but also as a deeply affective sculpture. Utilizing clay as a synthetic skin etched with wrinkles, lines, and scars to give the sculpture supposedly personalized characteristics, Chatters reconstructed Kennewick Man's "face held in an expression of determined endurance," a pose of indomitable and yet haunting liveness.[64] In the very process of ostensibly endowing the Ancient One's face with individualizing marks, however, Chatters reinscribed what is presumably the stereotype of the prehistoric ancestor — stoic, determined, and yet destined for a tragic demise. Thus, in the act of producing a synthetic sculpture of Kennewick Man that supposedly personalized and humanized this long lost predecessor, the reconstruction reinforced the pathos of Eurocentric mythologies of the primordial past, reproducing the Ancient One's face as a dramatic spectacle of the supposed mysteries of otherness and a powerfully affective emblem of the fantasy of recovering ostensibly lost prehistoric authenticity.

KWÄDĄ́Y DÄN TS'ÍNCHỊ AND THE FETISHIZATION OF FLESH

While the facial reconstruction of Kennewick Man utilized simulated skin to reproduce a skull in the semblance of epidermalized embodiment, research conducted on Kwädą́y Dän Ts'ínchị sought to capitalize upon the soft tissue already present on the glacially preserved corpse. Since the body's discovery, mainstream media narratives, provincial government press releases, and scientific reports have celebrated the unique potential

of frozen remains preserved with a significant portion of flesh still attached. One of the first tests to be conducted on the remains was radiocarbon dating, which confirmed that the body was approximately 550 years old.[65] Announced in a press release by the British Columbia government on September 28, 1999, the body was thereafter celebrated as "the oldest preserved human remains ever discovered in North America with flesh intact."[66] These tests results also indicated, therefore, that "the Kwaday Dän Sinchi *[sic]* person met his demise more than 50 years before Columbus was making his historic voyages to what was then considered by Europeans to be the New World — and over 300 years before the first known European contact on the Northwest Coast."[67] In contrast to the Kennewick Man case, scientists readily assented that, due to its age and location, the corpse was "Aboriginal." Although it might be tempting to interpret scientists' readiness to declare the body Native as an example of progressive thinking, these remains could not have sparked the same kinds of speculation about an ancient white predecessor that fueled the Kennewick Man debates precisely because the frozen corpse dated nowhere close to the PaleoIndian period — the deep, archaic past in which archaeologists and anthropologists situate their migration theories. Moreover, a closer analysis of media and scientific discourses regarding Long Ago Person Found demonstrates that the categorization of this corpse as "Aboriginal" set in motion other kinds of racist fantasies regarding a preserved specimen of precontact indigeneity, a taxidermic body of evidence from an ostensibly lost state of nature.

Public fascination with this frozen corpse is encapsulated in the headline of the *Toronto Star* article entitled "B.C. Iceman Gets New Life as Science Lab Specimen — Scientists Salivate at the Research Possibilities."[68] Articulating the taxidermic concept of reincarnating death in "specimen" form, the *Star* headline revels in a spectacle that induces corporeal by-products of excitation such as "salivation." Perhaps one of the strangest manifestations of the fetishistic interest in Long Ago Person Found is the way that media and scientific reports repeatedly extol the "excellent condition" of the remains.[69] Despite the fact that the corpse was missing a head and had been severed in half, Kwädą̵y Dän Ts'ínchi̵'s remains are frequently referred to as "one particularly well-preserved set of human remains" and a body in "good shape."[70] Fascination with the B.C. Iceman is even more explicitly pronounced in a *Canadian Geographic* article that comments:

> His body had clearly taken a post-mortem battering. Severed in two by shifting ice, the unknown traveller had lost both his right arm and his head at some point, either to a rushing torrent of meltwater or to scavenging animals. Apart from these indignities, however, his remaining flesh was astonishingly well preserved. Goosebumps still dimpled his skin; thick strands of neatly cut black hair clung to nearby ice. Even the delicate nerve cells of the man's spinal cord appeared intact.[71]

At the same time that this article delights in reimagining the "post-mortem . . . indignities" inflicted upon the remains, it also exhibits a macabre fascination with the body's "well preserved" state of death. In this flamboyant excerpt, one portion reads as particularly over the top. The clause noting that Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį's "remaining flesh" was so "astonishingly well preserved" that "goosebumps still dimpled his skin" resonates strikingly with taxidermy's fetishization of hollowed-out skins reconstructed to simulate vital signs. Not only do "goosebumps" generally signify a dynamic bodily response to an environmental change, they also resonate in popular discourse as a corporeal sign of heightened awareness or arousal. Such descriptors attempt to revivify the corpse as a particularly exciting and excitable taxidermic specimen — a body titillated at the moment of death, frozen in the uncanny guise of aroused liveness.

The fetishization of preserved skin articulated in the mass media and in scientific reports regarding Long Ago Person Found is crucially linked to racial taxonomization and yet not in the same ways that the simulation of epidermalized embodiment activated complex racial codes in the case of Kennewick Man. While "skin" is the popular signifier for "soft tissue," "soft tissue" in turn is code in the scientific community for one of the best repositories of DNA in human remains. While researchers were unable to successfully extract DNA samples from the bones of the Kennewick skeleton due to their age and mineralization, Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį's preserved tissue opened up the possibility of moving beyond craniofacial morphometrics and techniques of facial reconstruction, focusing instead upon "reconstruct[ing] the man's DNA profile" and, in so doing, attempting to crack the genetic code of precontact indigeneity.[72] Skin/soft tissue, therefore, is the crucial matter through which scientists are able to phantasmatically travel back in time and "unlock the many mysteries" of "prehistoric" aboriginality.[73] While this research project seeks to use the Iceman's DNA in order to explore the deep past, it also attempts to compare the "data" obtained from Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį "with

what is already known about North American indigenous peoples."[74] In other words, efforts to decode the "DNA profile" of Long Ago Person Found are crucially linked to an overarching project of taxonomizing the subgroups of Native populations.[75]

One of the lead researchers for this investigation is Dr. Maria Victoria Monsalve, a faculty member of the Department of Pathology and Laboratory Medicine at the University of British Columbia. In her article, "Molecular Analysis of the Kwädą̱y Dän Tsʼínchi̱ Ancient Remains Found in a Glacier in Canada," Monsalve outlines her research trajectory as an attempt to extract mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) from the corpse and compare it with database information on the sequencing of DNA in current populations across the globe.[76] According to Monsalve, "Restriction enzyme analysis of mitochondrial DNA . . . determined that the remains belong to haplogroup A, one of the four major Native American mtDNA haplogroups."[77] A "haplogroup" is an identifiable set of markers stored in the mitochondrial DNA that can ostensibly be "mapped" and used by genetic researchers to distinguish different populations.[78] Asserting her faith in a logic of taxonomy she presents as absolute, Monsalve states that "all Native American Natives have been categorized as belonging to mtDNA haplogroups A, B, C, or D . . . or X." Haplogroup A, however, "is found in the highest frequencies in the Dogrib Continental Na-Dene . . . and in the Haida from the Queen Charlotte Islands . . . ; both groups are inhabitants of the Northwest Pacific coast." Based on these findings, the article concludes that the "presence of haplogroup A in the KDT [Kwädą̱y Dän Tsʼínchi̱] remains suggests that he is one of the descendants of the first inhabitants who arrived from Asia" (an assessment that assumes the Bering Strait hypothesis or other Asiatic migration theories as fact) and that he is likely connected "to modern populations" in the northwest region in which his body was discovered.[79]

While Monsalve's article fails to problematize its own genetic taxonomies, other scholars and activist organizations have rigorously called into question the validity of genetic tests that seek to definitively determine "Native identity." The Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism contends that "to make a genetic test the arbiter of whether someone is Native American or not is to give up [the] tribal sovereign ability to determine membership and relations."[80] Moreover, such tests are predicated upon a form of "genetic essentialism" that reduces the matter of

being "Aboriginal" to molecular structures, thereby excluding important social and historical factors for identity formation.[81] As Kimberly TallBear, a scholar and member of the Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate, has noted, "Tribal ideas of kinship and community belonging are not synonymous with biology"; rather, they involve a far more complex and malleable interplay of factors such as acculturation, ancestry, and community participation.[82] Scientific researchers' attempts to utilize DNA to prove "Native" identity, therefore, transfer the power to decide tribal belonging — and to name and taxonomize difference — to the realm of science. In the case of Long Ago Person Found, genetic research was not a determinant regarding which First Nation was able to claim the body due to a range of factors including the fact that the remains were found within the Champagne and Aishihik Nations' traditional territory, which was governed by the Park Co-Management Agreement. The Court of Appeals' decision in the *Bonnichsen v. United States* case — most notably, its prioritization of scientific "evidence" in the establishment of "cultural affiliation" — could, however, mean that the use of genetic testing to determine markers of "Native American" identity may become crucial to the outcome of repatriation petitions in the United States. If scientists had been able to successfully extract DNA from the Kennewick remains, the test results could very well have played a vital role in the decision.[83] In the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, legislation was proposed "to establish standards and procedures for DNA testing" to verify "Native American" identity for the purposes of granting state recognition to Indigenous peoples. Although the bill was defeated, it raised the possibility of using biological indicators to determine the political rights of First Peoples. Moreover, genetic tests have already played a crucial role in land disputes in Asian and Eastern European nations, suggesting that Indigenous peoples' concerns about the future uses of DNA analysis in Canada and the United States are not without reason.[84]

At the level of scientific rationality, the genetic tests for Native identity involve a number of problematic assumptions about genetic inheritance. Scientists have identified certain "variations" or "markers" in human genes that they "believe all 'original' Native Americans" carried. What is important to note, however, is that "none of these markers [are] . . . exclusive" to Native North American populations; "all can be found in other populations around the world," just with less frequency.[85] There are two

main types of tests used to identify "Native" genetic markers: mtDNA analysis and Y-chromosome analysis. These assessments "examine less than 1% of the test taker's DNA."[86] Because mitochondrial DNA is only inherited from the maternal line, this test will not take into account ancestors from the paternal line. Thus, as the IPCB explains it, "if all your other great grandparents were Native American, and your mother's mother's mother was non-Indian, then you will not likely have one of the 'Native American' mtDNA haplotype[s]." While mtDNA analysis can be performed on both men and women, Y-chromosome analysis is only applicable for male subjects. Here again, the test only traces one line of ancestry — the paternal one. As a result, "if a man has 15 Native American great-great-grandparents, but his father's father's father was non-Indian, that person will not appear to be Native American under this test. So, almost 94% of that person's genetic inheritance may be from Native Americans, but under this test he may be identified as 'non-Indian.'"[87]

The necessity of uninterrupted lineage at stake in these tests is implicitly corroborated by the rhetoric deployed by GeneTree, a private research company that offers "Native American DNA Verification Testing" for $245 to $450 per test. On their Web site, the company explains:

> Genetic Studies conducted on full-blooded indigenous populations . . . [have] identified a limited number of shared genetic markers. . . . *There are 2 types of inheritance pattern* categories that these markers follow, either a *directly* paternal linkage . . . or a *directly* maternal linkage.[88]

The implicit caveat in GeneTree's promotional discourse hinges upon the word "directly": if one ancestor in the chain of lineage is non-Aboriginal, the DNA test will not identify a person as being of "Native" identity. As a result, such tests only recognize "full-blooded" Aboriginals — a trope recalling colonialism's fascination with and fear of its racial others. In this sense, genetic testing for "Native American" identity hinges upon a principle of racial purity — one that demonstrates a persistent obsession with supposedly uncontaminated Aboriginality that has been preserved without the taint of miscegenation.

Despite the intentions of specific scientists, British Columbia government officials, and Champagne and Aishihik First Nations representatives, the project of studying Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį's genetic information in order to reconstruct his "DNA profile" and trace his genealogy in relation to other Indigenous groups runs the risk of reinvoking the con-

cepts of racialized identity and biological purity that have historically been instrumental to the machinations of colonial discourse. Ironically, proponents of major genetic research studies such as the Human Genome and Human Genome Diversity Projects (which I will discuss further in the next section) argue that the mapping of DNA has provided the definitive "proof" for transcending racial categories. As the Web site for the North American branch of the Human Genome Diversity Project awkwardly puts it: "People within 'ethnic groups' are genetically more different from each other than their group is from other groups."[89] In other words, there is greater genetic variation *within* than *between* so-called ethnic groups.[90] The scrambled syntax of the Human Genome Diversity Project's statement is symptomatic of a desire to be nonracist. Because this desire is inextricably bound up with a project that continues to taxonomize human populations according to so-called ethnic differences even as it declares those differences moot, however, the Human Genome Diversity Project's attempts to occupy a nonracist position inevitably fail. This crisis in belief manifests itself in syntactical strain: substituting the category of "ethnic" for "racial" and repeatedly invoking the term "group" as a supposedly generic unit of classification, the Human Genome Diversity Project seeks to neutralize and dissimulate its ongoing practices of human categorization. While the findings of the Human Genome Project have demonstrated that there is no "genetic" (that is, the definitive new paradigm for understanding the "biological") basis for racial categories, the scientific fervor for "mapping" and taxonomizing human genomes holds the dangerous potential to be utilized as a tool for maintaining and expanding colonial power and "race"-thinking.

Paul Gilroy argues that the brave new world of DNA research has led to "the rise of gene-oriented or genomic constructions of 'race'" in the current era. More specifically, Gilroy argues that raciology in the contemporary period has shifted unequivocally away from "dermopolitics" — a "historically specific system for making bodies meaningful by endowing them with qualities of 'color.'" As a result, "skin is no longer privileged as the threshold of either identity or particularity. . . . The boundaries of 'race' have moved across the threshold of the skin," penetrating the body via the study and mapping of the genome in ways that recode "race" on a "cellular and molecular, not dermal" level — the terrain of what he terms "nanopolitics." Thus, rather than being rendered obsolete, racist spectacle — the work of the "dismal orders of power and differentiation

that . . . [seek] to make the mute body disclose and conform to the truths of its racial identity"—has reconfigured itself on a microscopic scale. According to Gilroy, the "status of 'race'" in our current era cannot be explained in terms of "older colonial and imperial codes"; rather, the "latest raciological regime" is a "distinctive phenomenon" that requires new critical approaches. While Gilroy's theorization of nanopolitics and the "gene-centredness" of current conceptualizations of "race" are crucial interventions that interrogate the ideological underpinnings of the ostensibly objective science of the genome, I am cautious about the way that Gilroy's argument risks too rigidly periodizing and separating different (and yet crucially related) racist discourses. As I argued in greater detail in the introduction to this book, Gilroy's historical chronology of raciology—though very useful in its charting of general shifts—pronounces specific racializing regimes such as craniometry and dermopolitics as "irrecoverably" and "emphatically over" and does not sufficiently explore the ways that "older colonial and imperial codes" are crucially linked to current manifestations of nanopolitics.[91]

The heterogeneous and yet interrelated instantiations of "race"-thinking operative in the scientific study of Kennewick Man and Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį powerfully demonstrate the need for a more flexible theory of the diachronic interplay and overlapping of different modes and processes of racialization. The case of Kennewick Man indicates that the racial epidermal schema is still all too operative in contemporary society, although its codings are far more dense and intricate than Gilroy's theorization of "dermopolitics" qua skin chromatics allows. Bound up in the facial reconstruction of Kennewick Man's skull in the mode of epidermalized embodiment is the overlapping of nineteenth-century forms of craniometry and late twentieth-century calibrations of average tissue thicknesses for different population "types." In the case of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį, researchers' efforts to utilize DNA in the service of taxonomizing the frozen corpse and determining its relation to other Aboriginal groups certainly indicate the rise of genomic constructions of "race." It would be a mistake, though, to focus so intently upon the newness of this mode of racialization, or its status as a "distinct phenomenon" (to recall Gilroy's words), that the crucial linkages between DNA verification of Native identity and older forms of blood quantum discourses are left unexamined. While genomic and blood quantum discourses are certainly not synonymous, current debates about DNA are freighted with

the historical traces of the complex genealogies of blood quantum that, like genetics, reduce Native identity to a form of determinism that hinges upon the biological microcomponents of blood. As TallBear contends, "It seems clear that DNA analysis . . . is not a new political concept, but simply reinforces a historical practice of both the U.S. government and federally recognized tribes."[92] Several scholars have argued that "the inception of federal identification policies for American Indians based on racialized notions of blood" was initially developed in treaties and subsequently reinforced by the General Allotment Act (or Dawes Act) of 1887, which did not explicitly require blood quantum for determining land apportionments but did, in the practical implementation of the act by the Department of the Interior, solidify the use of blood quantum in proving tribal affiliation. Native nations have often assimilated dominant racial ideologies into their own understandings of tribal citizenship, sometimes utilizing blood quantum in problematic and essentializing ways to redraw the lines of membership more restrictively. At the same time, some Native writers and thinkers have also attempted to strategically reappropriate the concept of blood from hegemonic ideologies, reusing it as a more malleable metaphor for kinship and belonging.[93]

Analyzing the intricate ways in which blood quantum discourses have been affirmed by the colonial state as well as assimilated and potentially reappropriated by Indigenous peoples offers an important way to historicize current uses of DNA for the verification of Native identity and its complex adoption and opposition by members of Indigenous communities. By constellating past and present forms of biological essentialism and "race"-thinking that hinge upon the calibration of "blood" and its molecular components as a way of categorizing Aboriginal peoples, it is possible to gain a more nuanced understanding of the reinvention of ideas of racial purity and authenticity that have been crucial to the maintenance of colonial power in North America over the past several centuries.

While the modes of racialization invoked in the scientific study of Kennewick Man, such as the reconstruction of the racial epidermal schema and the production of epidermalized embodiment, are linked to the semiotics of taxidermy in quite evident ways, the reconstruction of Kwädą́y Dän Ts'ínchi̱'s "DNA profile" and the inscription of nanopolitical strategies of racialization may initially appear at more of a remove from taxidermic semiosis. Although Long Ago Person Found has been fetishized as a taxidermic body of evidence offering DNA-rich soft tissue, once the

corpse's genetic profile was reconstructed, how might the semiotics of taxidermy have been inscribed at the molecular level? Does the prospect of nanopolitics render the semiotics of taxidermy an obsolete colonial logic? Rather than transcending taxidermic semiosis, the rise of genetic data banking and the use of DNA analysis for Native American identity verification have retooled this active colonial logic for new biopolitical terrain. With the case of Long Ago Person Found and the reconfiguration of raciology at the level of the genome, the illusion of taxidermic "wholeness" in which skin functions as a synecdoche for the semblance of corporeal fullness is reinvented in surprising ways. Here, the deceased body of precontact aboriginality is reconstructed through the "wholeness" of the genetic sequence, the molecular totality of lost indigeneity. Taxidermic wholeness, reinvented for the brave new world of genomics, therefore hinges upon the ability to chemically reconstruct and preserve the genetic composition and vitality of so-called native purity that has now supposedly vanished from the face of the earth.

The semiotics of taxidermy are also operative in genetic discourses through the reinscription of key elements of this colonial logic: the manipulation of temporality, the recategorization of bodily matter as specimen sample, and the preoccupation with reproducing bodies in the preserved form of artificial life.[94] In genetic testing, complex forms of time warping are put into play via the collection and preservation of Indigenous DNA as an "immortal text" — an "archive outside time" — upon which the secrets of "prehistory" are supposedly written.[95] Here, the allochronism of colonial discourse is reinscribed by separating aboriginality from the movement of history and suspending it in a discrete and "immortalized" sphere of otherness. In genetic research, the practice of extracting Indigenous blood, hair, and tissue fragments and converting them into cell lines for preservation is literally referred to as the production of "immortalized" DNA, a phrase that demonstrates the uncanny liveness of the frozen molecular code.[96]

As a heuristic device integral to analyzing the machinations of colonial discourse, the semiotics of taxidermy constitute an important tool for underscoring the material violence often overlooked in critiques of genetic research and its implications. Gilroy's critique of the "latest raciology" has the tendency to reinstate a sterile aesthetics vital to the strategic dissimulation of ongoing violence in the age of informatics. For example, Gilroy pronounces that "skin, bone, and even blood are no longer the

primary referents of racial discourse"; rather it is the "minute, the microscopic, and now the molecular" that matters.[97] Mimicking the logic of genomics, Donna Haraway similarly asserts that the "human is itself an information structure" and "the paradigmatic habitat for life — the program — bears no necessary relationship to messy, thick organisms."[98] What my analysis of the study of Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchı̨ demonstrates, however, is that the nanopolitical focus upon the microscopic and molecular crucially hinges upon the extraction of "skin, bone, and blood" from human bodies. Even as it preys upon blood and flesh, genomic research dissimulates its relation to these "messy, thick organisms" by framing its object matter according to the sterile, clinical rhetoric of "data." To privilege the minute or micro levels of today's raciology and to accept the supposedly disinterested language of the laboratory, therefore, is to occlude the complex, yet very real, physical violence — enacted at the level of the body, its skin and blood — that is a fundamental part of current racist policies and practices implemented by genetic research. A consideration of taxidermic semiosis in relation to nanopolitics is therefore vital for recognizing the perpetuation of physical violence and the visceral fetishization of the skin, bone, and blood of "others" that persists today. As previously demonstrated, such an obsession is strikingly apparent in media reportage detailing the "goosebumps" of the Iceman's skin and his thick black hair as tremendous scientific finds for "unraveling the secrets" of a precontact aboriginal past. Emphasizing the materiality and physicality of the violent forms of expropriation effected by the collection and study of Indigenous DNA, Victoria Tauli-Corpus remarks: "This is just a more sophisticated version of how the remains of our ancestors are collected and stored in museums and scientific institutions."[99] The case of Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchı̨ and its relation to broader debates about DNA testing on Indigenous populations therefore foregrounds how, under the guise of objective science, genetic discourses have reinvented colonialist preoccupations with biological essentialism, racial purity, and the body of the native other for the contemporary era.

BIOPOWER AND BIOCOLONIALISM

The scientific research conducted upon the body of Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchı̨ integrally connects this case to a much broader network of genetic research regarding Indigenous peoples that bears further investigation. While the

previous chapters of *Taxidermic Signs* have investigated ethnographic photography, film, and phonography, the scientific study of Long Ago Person Found points toward the database as yet another technology that may be utilized for the collection and storage of indigeneity. While fragments of Kwädą́y Dän Ts'ínchį́'s body continue to circulate in laboratories across the globe, the corpse has also been reincarnated to a second life as a chemical code preserved and yet also distributed in a major public database. In the publication of her preliminary findings regarding the genetic profile of Long Ago Person Found, Dr. Monsalve notes that the mtDNA "sequence reported in this paper has been deposited in the GenBank database (accession no. AF 502945)."[100] The GenBank database is the (American) National Institutes of Health genetic sequence database, "an annotated collection of all publicly available DNA sequences" linked to other data banks in Japan and Europe.[101] More important, the GenBank database is a central information bank for the American branch of the Human Genome Project. As a result, when Dr. Monsalve deposited the Iceman's mtDNA sequence in this database, the corpse was, in many senses, preserved for perpetuity as a publicly disseminated chemical code of precontact indigeneity.

The Human Genome Project and the ostensibly discrete Human Genome Diversity Project have important ideological and political ramifications for Indigenous peoples and the reinscription of "race"-thinking via DNA research.[102] Initiated in 1990, the Human Genome Project became an international effort "to identify all the approximately 30,000 genes in human DNA" and "to arrive at a prototype or 'generic' sequence" of an "average" genome.[103] Despite the descriptor "generic," the Human Genome Project used "DNA taken mainly from individuals likely to be of European ancestry in North America and Europe," thereby reinforcing the dominance of whiteness by framing it as the human universal.[104] As a result, this universalizing project paradoxically belies a deep commitment to racial purity that is immensely productive for contemporary white interests. Theorizing the recent decades as an era of "reverse postcoloniality," Mark Driscoll traces "a reactive, though emergent, moment in global governance of forced dehybridization and homogenization." Thus, according to Driscoll, power operates via "the racialized rejection of recombinant hybridity" and the reessentialization of identities.[105] In this context, the Human Genome Project's racially purist agenda — dissimulated via the rhetoric of universality — may be understood as a powerful

institutionalized site for the working out of reverse postcoloniality and the maintenance of colonial hegemony.

In an effort to supposedly counteract the Eurocentric bias of the Human Genome Project, a second program, the Human Genome Diversity Project, was sanctioned by the nongovernmental Human Genome Organization that coordinates international genetic research efforts. While the Human Genome Diversity Project is supposedly a separate initiative, many of its major organizers "are also key participants in the broader Genome Project."[106] The North American Committee of the project frames it as a beneficent effort to "include" Indigenous populations in genetic research and, thus, to purportedly "explore the full range of genome diversity within the human family."[107] The interests fueling the Human Genome Diversity Project, however, are significantly more fraught than such an explanation suggests. Although proponents narrate the project's origins in terms of Human Genome Organization endorsement, it was initially "advocated for and funded by private corporations," particularly major pharmaceutical companies interested in mining Indigenous populations for bio-resources that might enable the production of new medications.[108] The Human Genome Diversity Project seeks to collect and preserve DNA samples from 722 distinct Indigenous populations around the world according to research protocols and investments that differ significantly from the HGP initiative. Researchers hope that this "data" will help "answer questions about geographical migrations and cultural interchange in the distant human past."[109] According to the Human Genome Diversity Project Web site: "It can help tell us, for example, whether migrations brought Native Americans to the Western Hemisphere from Asia or whether a single group is ancestral to all modern Native Americans."[110] In other words, the findings of the Human Genome Diversity Project could be used to further validate the Bering Strait hypothesis or other migration theories—postulations that, as the Kennewick Man case suggests, may easily be mobilized "to challenge aboriginal rights to territory, resources, and self-determination" as well as repatriation claims.[111] Thus, in contrast to the Human Genome Project, which maps a basically European or "white" genome for the study of current populations, the Human Genome Diversity Project frames Indigenous groups as repositories of the molecular codes of the "distant past." The foundational assumptions that motivate the Human Genome Diversity Project and differentiate it from the Human Genome Project are

consequently predicated upon the allochronism of colonial discourse and its denial of coevalness between dynamic white populations of the present tense and Indigenous peoples confined to an anterior temporal realm. A comparison of the logic underpinning the Human Genome Diversity Project and the rationales motivating the morphometric study of Kennewick Man and the genetic analyses of Kwädą́y Dän Tsʼínchı̨ reveal the repetition of the same colonial obsessions: the use of Indigenous bodies — living and dead — to unravel the so-called enigmas of the prehistoric past.[112]

The allochronism embedded in the policies and practices of the Human Genome Diversity Project are made abundantly clear in their categorization of Indigenous populations as "isolates of historic interest." This term was initially formulated in a "report by the organizing committee of a 1992 workshop,"[113] which remarks:

> [M]any populations around the world, especially isolates living traditional lifestyles, will soon disappear as independent units, because of disease, economic or physical deprivation, genetic admixture, or cultural assimilation. In this report, we refer to such groups as "isolates of historic interest" because they represent groups that should be sampled before they disappear as integral units so that their role in human history can be preserved. The organizers have attempted to use terminology in this report that is as sensitive as possible in this regards. Undoubtedly, errors have been made.[114]

Ironically, the Human Genome Diversity Project's attempt to use "sensitive" language results in the sterile and objectifying rubric "isolates of historic interest." In this passage, the project also articulates its ideologically loaded assumptions in striking terms: overwriting the contemporaneity of Indigenous groups in the current era, these populations are framed as fragile, hovering on the brink of extinction in the wake of global traffic, "cultural assimilation," and "genetic admixture" (a clinical way of framing anxieties regarding miscegenation). From this perspective, the Human Genome Diversity Project constructs its mandate as an urgent project to collect and preserve the DNA of Native peoples before their biodiversity supposedly vanishes forever.[115]

The rhetoric of the Human Genome Diversity Project uncannily echoes the logic underpinning the early twentieth-century salvage paradigm that inspired the ethnographic films of Edward Curtis and Marius Barbeau. Much as salvage ethnography fashioned itself as an urgent enter-

prise to preserve fading aboriginality via the use of Western technology, the Human Genome Diversity Project promises to capture the traces of disappearing peoples, substituting computer databases and frozen molecules for the older archives of wax cylinders and celluloid. In addition to these rhetorical and ideological similarities, the material practices of "collection" implemented by the Human Genome Diversity Project once again take recourse to the work of anthropologists stationed in so-called remote fieldwork locations. In fact, the initial list of the 722 Indigenous populations selected for genetic research was generated by anthropologists already "embedded" in the suggested communities.[116] The project's Web site acknowledges that in many cases, the agents who collect DNA samples are "often anthropologists who have spent an extended period with the people, learning their ways."[117] While proponents go out of their way to suggest that such a reliance upon anthropologists helps to "ensure that the [Indigenous] population and the Project understand each other," the use of fieldworkers as collectors not only of Indigenous histories and lifeways but also of bodily matter extends the fraught power asymmetries of the anthropologist-subject relationship onto new biopolitical terrain — the new terrain of "biocolonialism," or a "new wave of colonialism" that hinges upon the exploitation of Indigenous peoples' genetic diversity rather than solely the raw materials of their territory or their labor power.[118] In this sense, the Human Genome Diversity Project constitutes a reinvented and deeply troubling form of salvage ethnography for the new millennium.

The current operational status of the Human Genome Diversity Project is a matter of some debate. Due to the mobilization of Indigenous activists across the globe, the ideologically and politically troubling implications of this genetic research received widespread attention. In 1993 the World Council of Indigenous Peoples passed a resolution to "categorically reject and condemn the Human Genome Diversity Project as it applies to our rights, lives and dignity."[119] Following suit in 1995, the Indigenous Peoples of the Western Hemisphere signed a similar declaration of opposition.[120] Due to the project's serious bioethical problems, the United States denied federal funding for the research, which left the organization without finances to operate in a full-scale manner. These circumstances have prompted some critics to assert that the Human Genome Diversity Project no longer exists. While the project has been seriously constrained by the denial of public funding, the initiative has

ongoing implications as the 1,064 cell lines collected from fifty-two populations are still stored at the Center for the Study of Human Polymorphism at the Fondation Jean Dausset in Paris and are available for purchase by laboratories.[121] As recently as April 2005, L. Luca Cavalli-Sforza, one of the key researchers involved in the Human Genome Diversity Project at Stanford University, published an article on the "past, present, and future" of the project for the journal *Nature,* expressing hope for the further development of the program. Skirting the problems of public funding that haunted the Human Genome Diversity Project, a new, privately sponsored initiative, referred to as the Genographic Project and bankrolled by the National Geographic Society and the IBM Corporation, has emerged on the horizon to take up the lead in collecting Indigenous DNA. According to the Genographic Project's Web site, "The core of the project is the collection of genetic samples from collaborations with indigenous and traditional populations, whose DNA contains key genetic markers that have remained relatively unaltered over hundreds of generations, making these peoples' genetic histories reliable indicators of ancient migratory patterns." Although the Genographic Project labors to differentiate itself from the Human Genome Diversity Project by claiming to be a more ethically conscious program that gives back to Indigenous communities through a "Legacy Fund" "directed primarily toward education initiatives, cultural conservation, and linguistic preservation and revitalization efforts," the Genographic Project reifies the same fetishistic investments in preserving racial purity through molecular codes "immortalized" in data banks.[122] Moreover, by operating without federal funding, the initiative is also able to operate beyond the constraints of "federal oversight . . . leaving indigenous peoples with fewer mechanisms for accountability."[123]

The rise of genetic research and its particular applications to Indigenous peoples powerfully attests to Western culture's persistent obsessions with otherness and with fetishizing Native populations as the biological remainders — always in peril of vanishing — of an archaic past which hold the clues to human origins. In the current era, therefore, colonial and racist discourses continue to reinvent themselves, but the biopolitical terrain upon which they do so has become far more complicated. For example, despite the fact that genetic studies claim to offer the statistical proof necessary to debunk the mythologies of "race," repatriation cases involving the study of precontact human remains continue

to utilize DNA to verify Native identity, as the examinations of Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchi̱ have demonstrated. The intricate strategies of the disavowal of "race"-thinking used to justify genetic assessments of Aboriginal identity have in turned been adapted to legitimate more long-standing techniques of taxonomizing human difference, such as the craniofacial morphometrics that played such an integral role in the repatriation battles over Kennewick Man. Even though such techniques of skull measurement and classification have historical connections to the racist strategies of nineteenth-century craniometry, the *Bonnichsen* anthropologists have used the universalizing rhetoric of exploring "kinship writ large" and the origins of the "human family" as a way to rehabilitate morphological evaluations through the use of politically correct rhetoric. Despite the inconclusive findings of such morphometric examinations of Kennewick Man, scientific discourses ultimately wielded the Court-sanctioned power to wrest the Ancient One away from the Native American tribes who have claimed cultural affiliation with the remains.[124] As a result, increased lip service to the pitfalls of racism and the history of colonial oppression in Canada and the United States has, in many ways, resulted in dangerous forms of politically correct reflexivity that labor to dissimulate the troubling implications of ongoing attempts to collect biological samples from living and deceased Indigenous peoples, to taxonomize these populations, and to potentially reinscribe racial categories.

The debates raised by the discovery and study of Kennewick Man and Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchi̱ constitute powerful examples of the ideological pitfalls and power asymmetries that continue to contour efforts to repatriate Aboriginal remains and cultural belongings. While the controversies over the Ancient One in the United States have been far more explicitly contentious than the negotiations regarding Long Ago Person Found in Canada, this chapter has complicated media attempts to dichotomize the two cases and to frame the agreement regarding the frozen corpse reached between researchers, the provincial government, and First Nations as an antidote to the controversies sparked by the *Bonnichsen vs. United States* legal battle. Although it is crucial to acknowledge the importance of the Champagne and Aishihik's reburial of their ancestor, dominant discourses that reduce this case to a model of postcolonial equity wash over the unresolved matter of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations' land claim, the uneven custody of Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchi̱'s body and personal effects, and the political implications of genetic research

on the remains that keeps samples of the body in circulation. To frame the Kwädą́y Dän Tsʼínchı̨ case as a sign of the smooth operation of peace in our current era, therefore, is to reduce a heterogeneous network of actors and debates to a master narrative of progress, a *grand récit* regarding the fulfillment of postcolonial reconciliation, when social justice for First Peoples in Canada and the United States has clearly not arrived. In critiquing how the case of Long Ago Person Found has been co-opted by a dominant rhetoric of resolution, I do not want to dismiss or undermine the possibilities for political agency these events have afforded the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, nor do I want to foreclose upon the political potential of social movements that press for reparations, ranging from the repatriation of human remains, to land claim agreements, and beyond. Instead, my concern is that the matter of colonial reckoning not be sold short — that dominant institutions do not get away with offering hollow or compromised tokens of redress. As a result, it is important to continue to exert political and intellectual pressure upon flagrant examples of the reassertion of dominant scientific and legal paradigms while simultaneously directing critical attention to discourses of collaboration and reconciliation that would impose premature forms of historical closure upon the ongoing project of colonial reckoning.

Postscript

Taxidermic Signs has elucidated how colonial power manipulates the tropes of life and death, loss and recovery, and extinction and resurrection in order to seize control of temporality and history in the service of constructing master narratives regarding Western society's evolutionary destiny. In the process, I have demonstrated that colonial power structures and their legitimating discourses are very much still alive. Moreover, colonial discourse's propensity for reincarnation — its malleability and capacity to reinvent itself over time — has been vital to its hegemonic longevity. Appropriating taxidermy as an unconventional heuristic, this book has sought to defamiliarize key forms of time-warping, time-lagging, and allochronism mobilized by colonial power to frame Aboriginal peoples as atavistic, frozen specimens of the past who are ostensibly dead to the present. Such techniques of perpetual temporal genocide deny Indigenous peoples' continued existence and their political and human rights. Despite such colonialist strategies, Indigenous groups continue to assert their coevalness, their occupation of shared time with white culture, while calling for the reinstatement of Native sovereignty in contemporary North American society. In the era of so-called postcolonial consciousness, colonialism has been forced to adapt, to rewrite history yet again, in order to camouflage its agenda to continue governmental control and to maintain the structural inequities that underpin white power. As part of the project of anticolonial critique, therefore, the task of "wrest[ing]" our pasts and presents "away from a conformism that is about to overpower it" is necessarily unending.[1] By examining the diachronic reconfigurations of taxidermic semiosis from the turn of the twentieth century to the contemporary moment, this book seeks, in one particular way, to reassess the pasts and presents of

Canada and the United States and to articulate the force of history to an interrogation of colonial politics today.

As a point of entry for critiquing the intricate dynamics of colonial power in the so-called postcolonial present, *Taxidermic Signs* has interrogated how taxidermy's semiotic system plays upon the concepts of recovery and reconstruction — tropes that have assumed renewed salience over the past few decades. Moving beyond a literal understanding of taxidermic reconstruction — the violent contortion of an animal corpse in the semblance of resurrection — I have underscored the intense manipulation often involved in resuscitating the bodies of colonial texts, films, and even literal human remains to forms of second life. In particular, I have examined the politics of recovery and reconstruction at stake in salvage ethnography projects that seek to resuscitate the ostensibly extinct traditions of Native cultures in the shape of white fantasies of primitivism. While anthropological salvage, as a disciplinary paradigm and fieldwork practice, is often periodized as a now-debunked trend of the early twentieth century, acts of recovery have been reinvented within academia over the past few decades with the archival reconstruction of colonial texts, framed as part of the postcolonial recovery of colonial history. The case studies explored throughout *Taxidermic Signs* reveal how the reconstruction of purportedly lost colonial texts from the archives of national culture may ironically revivify the preoccupations of ethnographic salvage: the fetishization and preservation of the lost object of native otherness for the posterity of the white nation. Although current academic practices of reconstruction are often part of well-intentioned efforts to remember (and, thus, to refuse to forget) colonial history, misplaced confidence in postcolonial critical hindsight may risk the inscription of new teleologies of postcolonial enlightenment that historicize colonialism within an anterior temporal dimension. As chapter 4 has demonstrated, the concepts of recovery and reconstruction have particularly fraught implications in the context of scientific research aimed at reconstructing the face of a 9,300-year-old skeleton and the DNA profile of a precontact Aboriginal corpse in order to taxonomize Indigenous peoples. Although such studies purport to recover that which was ostensibly lost far back in time, this research has crucial implications for First Peoples in the present and future, including the increased use of DNA to verify and regulate the "authenticity" of Aboriginal identity as well as the use of morphometric and genetic data to support hypotheses regard-

ing the early inhabitants of the continent that could be mobilized to refute Indigenous land claims.

Closely linked to the concept of reconstruction investigated throughout *Taxidermic Signs* are the ideas and ideals of resolution and reconciliation. The final case study regarding the repatriation of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį traces the complex matrix of social forces that work to frame the eventual reburial of this Aboriginal body as an index of postcolonial redress. Foremost among these forces are the state and its institutional apparatuses that publicize repatriation-as-reconciliation in an attempt to stage colonial redress as a fait accompli. In so doing, the state manages to quell demands for reparation with as few material concessions as possible while, at the same time, co-opting the discourse of resolution to dissimulate ongoing colonial injustices. Mobilizing the ideals and moral sentiments underpinning liberal ideology, Canadian and U.S. state apparatuses frame such events of redress as the achievements of democracy in the making of ostensibly postcolonial worlds. As Walter Benjamin has commented regarding Western societies immersed in Enlightenment traditions, "our image of happiness is indissolubly bound up with the image of redemption."[2] Revealing the deeply affective lures of liberal thought, Benjamin's comment hauntingly reverberates through present-day narratives of progress concerned with the redemption of European and Euro–North American societies from their colonial and imperial "pasts." It is this potent *image* of redemption from the burdens of colonial culpability, I would argue, that nation-states such as Canada and the United States attempt to create by staging scenes of reconciliation, pageants designed to construct national happiness without sufficiently addressing the structural imbalances that continue to contour politics in North America. My critique of discourses of reconciliation is not intended to disparage aspirations for real social change or to apathetically accept the status quo. Rather, my concern is that the vital project of reckoning with colonial violence may sell itself short if token forms of reparations are allowed to stand in for widespread social change and if pronouncements of resolution are celebrated before real social justice for Indigenous peoples has been achieved.

A contributing factor in enabling the tropes of reconciliation and resolution to escape our critical radar involves recent academic preoccupations with the apparent resurgence of more brutal and overt "shock and awe" tactics of military aggression. In the post-9/11 era, the mass

media and intellectual critics alike have focused attention upon an ostensibly new state of emergency defined by the concepts and practices of terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and the increasing encroachments of American foreign policy in the global theater. In the process of attending to these crucial concerns, however, critical thought has been diverted away from more ambiguous machinations of power that may initially appear less threatening than armed hostility but, precisely because of their subtlety, may take root in damaging ways. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire,* the vigorously debated manifesto for global social revolution published at the beginning of the new millennium, has been a seminal text focusing critical attention upon the role of military and police force in the current era. Specifically, Hardt and Negri contend that "Empire" — the New World Order that unites "a series of national and supranational organisms" under a "single logic of rule" — hinges upon a retooled juridical apparatus that legitimates the machinations of power as always already "being in the service of right and peace." Presenting itself as the maker of public consensus, Empire purports to effect peace through the so-called moral intervention of police force and just war. Paradoxically, then, "Empire is formed not on the basis of force itself but on the basis of the capacity to present force as being in the service of right and peace."[3] While in many respects, Hardt and Negri's diagnosis of the current era is instructive, their focus upon Empire's deployment of police and military force tends to exclude — though it does not necessarily preclude — consideration of more subtle ways that the current juridical order works to pernicious effect. If the doctrine of right seeks to legitimate armed intervention, I contend that it simultaneously co-opts and contains other forms of struggle as signs of the smooth operation of peace. It is imperative to reinterrogate how the discursive containment of Indigenous repatriation cases as well as land claims and other struggles for reparations within a rubric of "right and peace" might be one way that colonial power relations endure today.

If academic scholarship and critical theory have played a role in allowing celebratory narratives of postcolonial resolution to operate unchecked, recent critical theories periodizing the current era in terms of a decisively new paradigm of power have also risked diverting critical attention away from the diachronic reinventions and continuities of colonial rule. Hardt and Negri, for example, insist upon the newness of "Empire," describing

it as a "new global form of sovereignty" historically distinct from prior imperialisms.[4] Diagnoses expounding the novelty of our epoch tend to focus upon changes in the global theatre in the wake of forms of capital, armed intervention, and terrorism that operate beyond the parameters of nation-state organization and identification. In emphasizing these globalized movements, there is a potential to overlook the ongoing forms of internal colonization occurring within and perpetrated by nation-states, especially in the case of the United States, whose superpower incursions on the new frontier of the Middle East tend to eclipse its oppression of subjects within the domestic sphere. Counteracting this critical trend, Anthony J. Hall cogently argues that

> the War on Terrorism has deep roots in American history that cut far beneath the events of September 11. While the labels of the demonized other may have changed over time, the imagined attributes of the stigmatized foes of the American Dream have remained remarkably consistent since the era of the founding of the United States.

Elucidating the uncanny connections between current U.S. military discourses regarding Iraq and the previous armed conquest of Native Americans, Hall points to the symbol of Apache and Black Hawk helicopters that flew over Baghdad — military machines that were accorded names appropriated from the first targets of American imperial fervor. For Hall, these technologies of war serve "as a reminder . . . that most of the great issues to be addressed in the formulation and enforcement of international law are closely connected to the unbroken cycles of colonization that continue to relegate most of the world's . . . peoples to subordinate status."[5]

What critical emphases upon the newness of Empire risk obfuscating is the vital fact that such "cycles of colonization" do remain largely "unbroken" and, in order to effectively combat them, it is imperative to both historicize their conditions of possibility and trace the circumstances surrounding their persistence in the present. This critical strategy for historicizing colonial aggression and studying its continuities and affiliations with the contemporary moment is not only an intellectual one, it is also politically strategic. For ongoing land claims, repatriation cases, and other struggles for reparations often hinge upon the ability to link a currently operating nation-state or governmental structure to a specific historical event or process of exploitation. In this context, recent

theories postulating the novelty of Empire and the withering importance of the nation within a supranational New World Order may confound efforts to indict colonial nation-states for their past and enduring exploitation of Indigenous peoples.

As I write this postscript in the summer of 2006, several controversies in Canada and the United States demonstrate that colonialism has in no way been laid to rest. In Caledonia, Ontario, members of the Mohawk Six Nations are contesting the development of a forty-hectare subdivision upon the site of a more than 200-year-old land-claim dispute. Although the Ontario government has been quick to compensate the commercial developers of Douglas Creek Estates for their financial losses, the Six Nations activists have been met with heavy surveillance and armed patrols conducted by the Ontario Provincial Police. South of the border, the U.S. government is planning to proceed with the detonation of 700 tons of explosives in the state of Nevada on the traditional territory of the Western Shoshone, despite the fact that the United Nations' Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has recently ruled in favor of the Native group's petition to protect their land. This recent controversy is only the latest instantiation of systematic encroachments by the American state upon Western Shoshone homelands since the Cold War, when nuclear weapons testing repeatedly devastated their territory and endangered their populations.[6] In the international arena, the landmark draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was passed by majority vote in the United Nations Human Rights Council on July 5, affirming Indigenous rights to self-determination, traditional territory, resources, and the recognition of treaties. In this forum, Canada actively voted against the document, registering its disagreement with the declaration's potential to invest Aboriginal groups with the power to veto land and natural resource uses by the government and industry. Canada and the United States, along with Russia, Australia, and New Zealand, have issued statements confirming their intent to oppose the declaration when it is brought forward for ratification in the U.N. General Assembly.[7] These examples of continued colonial exploitation and subjugation of First Peoples by the Canadian and U.S. governments cumulatively attest to the fact that colonial redress has not yet begun to be adequately implemented. What also should not be forgotten in the process, however, is that these examples make evident the endurance and collective impact of Aboriginal resistance.

Rather than allowing other cases of colonial violence against Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States to become relegated to mass obscurity under the rubric of "countless examples," each incident, event, and context needs to be named and debated. If specific cases are then correlated, it may become possible to chart patterns of systematic abuses against Indigenous groups by state apparatuses, corporations, and other parties, thereby enabling a more nuanced understanding of the *modus operandi* of colonial power. Moreover, comparing the responses of different Aboriginal collectives to particular contexts and events of colonial exploitation may refine existing tactics of resistance and inspire new creative responses and forms of solidarity. *Taxidermic Signs* has sought to contribute to this anticolonial intellectual and political project of articulation — a project that far exceeds the limits of the case studies investigated here — while hopefully encouraging other intellectuals, activists, and interested persons (Aboriginal and non-Native alike) to participate. Such might be one way to build something more than a counter-archive: a heterogeneous *body of evidence* linking diverse events, contexts, and circumstances that, collectively, cannot be dismissed as anomalies of ostensibly just democratic and postcolonial societies. As this body of evidence grows, its looming presence might function as an active indictment of the persistence of colonial violence, forcing the hands of Canadian and American nation-states to begin answering demands for more meaningful forms of colonial reparation. Such might be one way to engage in what Donna Haraway theorizes as "diffraction," or the creation of "interference patterns" in dominant discourses. By "diffracting" or destabilizing teleologies of postcolonial progress and reconciliation and the forms of historical closure they impose, perhaps it might be possible to not only wrest away the given times of our pasts and currently unfolding presents from conformism but also to imagine "how to make the end swerve," or how to seize hold of the future.[8]

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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. The Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum will be discussed further in chapter 1, where I discuss the complex genealogy of this institution that was once founded by Norman Luxton, one of Banff's white patriarchs, but is now operated by Native representatives of the Buffalo Nations. In that chapter, I will address the implications of an Aboriginal-operated museum that displays such troubling representations of indigeneity. As well, please note that this book's use of terminology regarding Aboriginal peoples will be discussed later in this chapter.

2. An example of a life group diorama that incorporated taxidermic specimens as mere props was the American Museum of Natural History's "Pygmy group" exhibit from the African Hall, constructed in 1909. A notable exception to the conventional logic of the life group display is Jules Verraux's "Arab Courier Attacked by Lions," first exhibited in the American Museum of Natural History in 1869. In this sensationalistic diorama, taxidermically preserved lions overwhelm a cloaked Arab figure on a camel. Images of both dioramas are reprinted in Alison Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 37, 27.

3. Throughout this book, I will refer to the figures of animality and aboriginality framed by the semiotics of taxidermy as "object" rather than "subject" matter. This strategy is not intended to deny the subjectivity of Aboriginal peoples in any way; rather, it is deployed as a defamiliarizing tactic to underscore the ways that taxidermic modes of representation reduce subjects to objects rendered accessible for collecting, studying, and display.

4. Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908–1936," in Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 29.

5. A notable exception to the prohibition of taxidermically preserving human bodies that has garnered discussion in recent years is the case of "El Negro," a "bushman" who died in the territory that is now Botswana in 1830 or 1831 and whose body was stolen and taxidermically reconstructed by Jules Verraux. After being displayed in Verraux's Paris emporium, the body was exhibited in the Francesc Darder Museum of Natural History in Banyoles, Spain, until protests launched by African organizations began in

the 1990s. The body was eventually repatriated to Botswana and reburied in October 2000. As well, Julia Pastrana (1834–60), an Indigenous woman from Mexico with physical deformities, was taxidermically preserved and displayed across the United States and Europe until 1975. For further information, see Wendy Rose's poem, "Julia," in *That's What She Said: Contemporary Poetry and Fiction by Native American Women,* ed. Rayna Green (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 212–14. Other cases of taxidermically preserved racialized human bodies have apparently occurred, such as an elderly "bushwoman" who was preserved by Hamburg taxidermists and later displayed in a museum in Hull, England. Bruce Bennett, "Introduction: El Negro and the Hottentot Venus," *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies* 16, no. 1 (2002): 3.

6. Mark Simpson, "Immaculate Trophies," *Essays in Canadian Writing* 68 (1999): 82.

7. Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," 30.

8. Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 3–4.

9. Ibid., 4, 5. While I disagree with Goldie's assertion that "the referent [of actual Aboriginal persons] has little purpose in the equation," his theorization of "indigenization," as a term that "suggests the impossible necessity of becoming indigenous" for white settler subjects, has been extremely influential for postcolonial critique and for this book in particular (4, 13).

10. The field of semiotics is vast and heterogeneous. *Taxidermic Signs* seeks to theorize and implement a form of materialist semiotic critique that draws upon the insights of Roland Barthes, especially his later work that sought to move beyond strict structuralist principles or an understanding of "semiology" as a "positive science of signs." Roland Barthes, "Inaugural Lecture, Collège de France," trans. Richard Howard, in *A Barthes Reader,* ed. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 471. Barthes's analyses of specific material systems such as "the garment system," "the food system," and "the furniture system" were crucial for reconceptualizing semiology as a study not only applicable to linguistic systems but also to broader, more heterogeneous, and shape-shifting networks of cultural images, objects, and texts. Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology,* trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (London: Jonathon Cape, 1967), 25–28. Combining the work of Barthes with the poststructural interventions of theorists such as Jacques Derrida, this book conceptualizes semiotics as a fluid and dynamic form of analysis that seeks to unpack the contingent, politically charged contexts in which sign systems work to produce meaning.

11. John W. Moyer, *Practical Taxidermy* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979), 1.

12. Karen Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History* (Uppsala, Sweden: University of Uppsala Press, 1993), 23.

13. WASCO Manufacturing, Inc., "A Brief History of Taxidermy," Taxidermy.Net, http://www.taxidermy.net/information/history1.html, accessed March 11, 2004.

14. South Pacific Taxidermy, "Historically Speaking," http://www.southpacifictaxidermy.com/html/history.htm, accessed March 11, 2004; Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas,* 23.

15. Moyer, *Practical Taxidermy,* 2; South Pacific Taxidermy, "Historically Speaking."

16. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 31.

17. Ibid., 24–25, 31.

18. Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas,* 110, 112, 24.

19. Patricia Coppard, "The Right Stuff," *Vancouver Courier,* February 1, 2004, 5.

20. Simpson, "Immaculate Trophies," 88.

21. Mark Simpson, "Powers of Liveness: Reading Hornaday's *Camp-Fires,*" in *The Culture of Hunting in Canada,* ed. Jean L. Manore and Dale G. Miner (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 60.

22. Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," 45, 30, 27.

23. Simpson, "Powers of Liveness," 58; Jennie A. Kassanoff, "Extinction, Taxidermy, Tableaux Vivants: Staging Race and Class in *The House of Mirth,*" *PMLA* 115 (2000): 64.

24. Alan Lawson, "Postcolonial Theory and the 'Settler' Subject," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 56 (1995): 26.

25. Shari Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 5.

26. Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), 102.

27. Discussing changing cultural attitudes toward taxidermy and the rise of animal rights activism, Patricia Coppard refers to a Greenpeace protest action at the 1984 Canadian Taxidermy Championships in Toronto where activists threw green paint at the exhibits ("The Right Stuff," 4). Despite the popularization of environmental and animal rights concerns, however, taxidermic practice continues, as demonstrated by the list of associations linked to the Taxidermy.net Web site: the International Guild of Taxidermy, the National Taxidermists' Association (U.S.), the Canadian Taxidermy Association, and the UK Guild of Taxidermists (situated at the Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery), to name a few.

28. Michel Foucault, "La phobie d'état," *Libération* 30/31 (June 1984): 21, quoted in Thomas Lemke, "Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique," *Rethinking Marxism* 14, no. 3 (2002): 58.

29. Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," 26.

30. Ibid., 55.

31. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), xl, 31.

32. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Re-reading Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" and Other Essays,* ed. John Mack Faragher (New York: Henry Holt, 1994), 32.

33. Simpson, "Immaculate Trophies," 82.

34. George Colpitts, *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada to 1940* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 103.

35. William T. Hornaday, *Camp-Fires in the Canadian Rockies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), v.

36. Huhndorf, *Going Native,* 21.

37. My discussion of the pleasure at the crux of nostalgia for the vanishing Indian is informed by Michelle Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682–1861* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997). Although Burnham analyzes such nostalgia in terms of sentimental frontier romances produced during Jackson's presidency, the applicability of her discussion to the turn of the twentieth century demonstrates the persistence of the narrative of aboriginal disappearance for many decades despite the logical inconsistencies such a perpetual vanishing might indicate.

38. Harry Ellard, "The Passing of the Buffalo," in *Ranch Tales of the Rockies* (Canon City, Colorado, 1899), 97, quoted in Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1982), 225.

39. Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," 34.

40. Dippie, *The Vanishing American,* 228.

41. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 112.

42. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 79, 78.

43. Paul Gilroy, *Between Camps: Race, Identity, and Nationalism at the End of the Color Line* (New York: Penguin Press, 2000), 11, 49.

44. Ibid., 47.

45. Ibid., 46.

46. Ibid., 47, 34.

47. Donna Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium. FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™: Feminism and Technoscience* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 213. By discussing contemporary technoscience in terms of a "vampire culture," Haraway makes oblique reference to critics of the Human Genome Diversity Project who have labeled it the "Vampire Project." As will be discussed at length in chapter 4, the HGDP functions as a supplement to the Human Genome Project (which was largely concerned with European and Euro–North American populations) that directs its focus upon collecting and preserving Indigenous DNA from across the world before such genetic lines become "contaminated" in the wake of increasing global traffic.

48. Chris Weedon, "Feminist Theory and Criticism: 5. 1990 and After," in *The Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism,* ed. Michael Groden, Martin Kreiswirth, and Imre Szeman, http://www.litguide.press.jhu.edu, accessed December 18, 2006.

49. C. Nadia Seremetakis, "The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory," in *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity,* ed. C. Nadia Seremetakis (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1994), 6.

50. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 263.

51. Amy Kaplan, "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism,* ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), 12, 11, 4.

52. Huhndorf, *Going Native,* 10.

53. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 9. In contrast to colonialism, Said defines imperialism as "the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory" (9). Colonialism, then, "is almost always a consequence of imperialism" (9).

54. Eric Cheyfitz, "The (Post)Colonial Predicament of Native American Studies," *Interventions* 4, no. 3 (2002): 407.

55. Goldie, *Fear and Temptation,* viii.

56. Jody Berland, "Marginal Notes on Cultural Studies in Canada," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (1995): 523.

57. Linda Hutcheon, " 'Circling the Downspout of Empire': Post-Colonialism and Postmodernism," in *Unhomely States: Theorizing English-Canadian Postcolonialism,* ed. Cynthia Sugars (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview, 2004), 76.

58. *The Banff Park Museum* (Banff: The Friends of the Banff National Park, 2003), 2.

59. Although Robert Flaherty's 1922 film *Nanook of the North* is commonly hailed as the first narrative documentary, the lesser-known film produced by Curtis in 1914 predates Flaherty's text by eight years. Moreover, Flaherty viewed Curtis's film and visited with him in 1915—a meeting that substantially influenced his later work. Mick Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1998), 232. Mick Gidley defines the "narrative documentary" genre as film that effects "the transmission of 'authentic' documentary material (ceremonies, religious beliefs, customs, and the like) via a linear 'fictitious' narrative" (232). Throughout chapters 2 and 3, I will use the term "narrative documentary" to classify Curtis's protoethnographic film while also underscoring the particular form of cognitive dissonance upon which the genre hinges. More specifically, I want to problematize the genre's attempt to maintain a clean split between "authentic fact" and "fictitious plot" while screening the two concurrently. The term "documentary" in general is used in the second and third chapters of this book not to validate the authenticity or accuracy of the films under discussion but, rather, to signal the fraught investments of the people and institutions concerned with categorizing these texts as purportedly authoritative or truthful records of aboriginal cultures. Film historians might resist my invocation of the phrase "early ethnographic cinema" to characterize Curtis's film, arguing that ethnographic film did not really emerge as a distinct genre until the 1940s. I use the term, however, to signal earlier prototypes of the genre, taking my cue from Rony, who invokes the concept of "early ethnographic cinema" to analyze such influential filmic experiments as the 1895 *chronophotographie* or time-motion studies of Félix-Louis Regnault (who examined racialized bodies in motion) as well as Curtis's *Headhunters* and Robert Flaherty's 1922 *Nanook of the North.* According to Rony, these early films have been integral to the development of the institutional matrix of ethnographic cinema and the direction of its gaze upon racialized others (*The Third Eye,* 7–16).

60. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London: Verso, 1985), 13.

61. Donna Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium. FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™: Feminism and Technoscience* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 268, 270.

62. Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997), 12.

63. Cheryl Suzack, "Law, Literature, Location: Contemporary Aboriginal/Indigenous Women's Writing and the Politics of Identity," Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, Edmonton, 2004, 32.

64. At times, I will also invoke the term "Indian." Because this term is such a gross colonial misnomer, I use it only to refer to Western constructions of aboriginality. Here, I diverge from my plan to denote Western representations with lowercase letters due to the fact that the oft-cited phrase "the vanishing Indian" is conventionally spelled with a capital.

65. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture,* 66, 78.

1. READING THE BANFF PARK MUSEUM

1. *The Banff Park Museum* (Banff: The Friends of the Banff National Park, 2003), 3.

2. The description of the Banff Park Museum as "a museum of a museum" recurs frequently throughout promotional brochures and booklets regarding the Banff Park Museum; ibid., 2; Steve Gin, *A Guide to the Banff Park Museum National Historical Site* (Ottawa: Canadian Heritage/Parks Canada, 2000), 16. The phrase "a museum of a museum" is also used to frame a section of the display on the second floor of the Banff Park Museum installation that narrates the institution's own historical evolution.

3. Shari Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 75.

4. Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1991), 295, quoted in ibid., 75.

5. Huhndorf, *Going Native,* 72.

6. Agnes Dean Cameron, *The Prince of Playgrounds: Come Home by Canada and Revel in the Rockies* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1910), 19.

7. George Colpitts, *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada to 1940* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 107.

8. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 40.

9. The Banff Park Museum was first established in 1895, in a small building located on the corner of Spray and Mountain avenues on the opposite side of the Bow River from its present location. The building, however, soon became too small for its collection of specimens and a new structure was built in the present location. Gordon Burles, "Banff's First Museum," n.d., p. 1, Whyte Museum Archives, Banff. The new museum was officially opened on June 27, 1903, operated by the Dominion government and supervised on a daily basis by curator Norman Bethune Sanson. "New Museum Is Now Open," *Crag and Canyon,* June 27, 1903, 1.

10. Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 177.

11. Ibid., 179.

12. Douglas Sladen, *On the Cars and Off* (London: Ward, Lock, and Bowden Ltd., 1895), quoted in ibid., 179.

13. In addition to exploiting First Nations groups for the purposes of marketing, Canada's railroad systems also furthered the project of white domination in Canada by subjugating Asian immigrants into racialized labor pools exploited for the dangerous work of railroad development. For further information, see chapter 1 of Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997). It is also interesting to consider the orientalist resonances of the "railway pagoda" architectural style used repeatedly across the Canadian west, given the fact that the exploitation of Asian workers was a crucial part of realizing the "national dream" of the railroad.

14. P. J. Jennings, Superintendent, to C. Pant. Schmidt, Esq., Inspector, Indian Agencies, Department of Mines and Resources, January 20, 1938, Record Group (RG) 00AII, T-13023, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

15. Gene Nudd, "Museum Is Outstanding as Attraction at Banff," *Calgary Herald,* June 10, 1948, 1.

16. In a pamphlet published by the Department of the Interior in 1910, the Banff Park Museum is described in the following terms: "The Banff Museum contains splendidly preserved specimens of the big game and lesser mammals, the fish life, and bird life, to be found within the Park; a beautifully mounted and correctly classified herbarium is also here. Indian relics are shown and specimens of Indian workmanship of more than ordinary interest" (Cameron, *The Prince of Playgrounds,* 25). As well, in the Department of the Interior's publication of the *Handbook to the Rocky Mountains Park Museum* in 1914, the wildlife of the region are classified in scientific form. At the end of the *Handbook,* the "Indians of the Rocky Mountains Park" are similarly taxonomized and described in terms of physical appearance and habitat, cataloged like another species of wildlife. Harlan Smith, *Handbook of the Rocky Mountains Park Museum* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914).

17. Colpitts, *Game in the Garden,* 103.

18. "New Museum Is Now Open," 1.

19. Mark Simpson, "Immaculate Trophies," *Essays in Canadian Writing* 68 (1999): 82. The term "frontier virtues" is Roosevelt's own. Articulating his vision of the white nation, Roosevelt commented: "As our civilization grows older and more complex . . . we need a greater and not a less development of the fundamental frontier virtues." Theodore Roosevelt, *American Problems* (New York: Outlook, 1910), 93, quoted in Simpson "Immaculate Trophies," 82.

20. Cameron, *The Prince of Playgrounds,* 22.

21. Theodore Roosevelt, *The Wilderness Hunter: An Account of the Big Game of the United States and Its Chase with Horse, Hound, and Rifle* (New York: Putnam's, 1893), 7, quoted in Simpson, "Immaculate Trophies," 81.

22. Alan Lawson, "Postcolonial Theory and the 'Settler' Subject," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 56 (1995): 26.

23. In 1888 Grinnell and Roosevelt founded the Boone and Crockett Club, an organization of wealthy and powerful big-game hunters who sought "to promote sportsmanship through travel and the exploration of wild country, through the preservation of

big game, and through the scientific study of animals in the wild." Karen Wonders, *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History* (Uppsala, Sweden: University of Uppsala Press, 1993), 153. Ironically, although the organization was purportedly dedicated to wildlife preservation, membership was contingent upon collecting three trophy heads of North American big-game species (153). Key to the concept of conservation expounded by the Boone and Crockett Club was the idea of nature displays, including museums and zoological parks — structures of display that were about the manipulation, rather than preservation, of nature. As Shari Huhndorf has pointed out, the Boone and Crockett Club was named for "two notorious Indian killers," thereby implicitly linking the control of wildlife and the subjugation of Native populations (*Going Native,* 68).

24. Norman Luxton, *Fifty Switzerlands in One: Banff the Beautiful* (Banff, 1914), 15, quoted in Simpson, "Immaculate Trophies," 83.

25. Cameron, *The Prince of Playgrounds,* 30–31.

26. William Hornaday, *Taxidermy and Zoological Collecting: A Complete Handbook for the Amateur Taxidermist, Collector, Osteologist, Museum-builder, Sportsman, and Traveler* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1916), ix, 13.

27. In the next paragraph, Hornaday continues: "Study the moral principles of your guns, find out exactly what they will do with what you put into them, and then don't shoot your specimens too much. What is a tiger worth with the top of his head blown off, or a deer with a great hole torn in his side by an explosive bullet?" (13). While the sections from Hornaday's text quoted in this paragraph deploy the phrase "zoological collecting" as a euphemism for taxidermy, throughout Hornaday's corpus, the term may also be used to refer to the building of zoos. The multiple practices this term encompasses underscore the intimate continuities between taxidermy and imprisoned liveness.

28. In the Department of the Interior's 1914 *Handbook of the Rocky Mountains Park Museum,* the complex problem of asserting the indigeneity of the museum's taxidermic specimens while simultaneously upholding the park's no-hunting policy results in some ambiguity as to where the specimens came from. The handbook comments: "The collections are of the natural history of the Rocky Mountains Park region, that is from the Rocky Mountains of Alberta and British Columbia generally. The visitor is not confused by specimens of more distant parts of the mountains or other parts of the world. But specimens such as are found in the Park are included even if taken far outside the Park itself" (3). At the same time, the Banff Park Museum did circumvent the park's no-hunting policy until at least the mid-twentieth century. In a memorandum from the Dominion Wildlife Service dated February 25, 1948, the Banff Park Museum was granted a permit "to collect and possess specimens of migratory birds, etc., in the Province of Alberta, including Banff National Park." "Memorandum from Dominion Wildlife Service," February 25, 1948, 1, RG 84, Series A-2-a, Volume 976, Reel T-13023, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

29. "New Museum Is Now Open," 1.

30. Eleanor G. Luxton, *Banff: Canada's First National Park: A History and a Memory of Rocky Mountains Park* (Banff: Summerthought, 1975), 89.

31. Howard Douglas, "Report of the Superintendent of the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada," *Department of the Interior Annual Report, 1907* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1907), 6.

32. Smith, *Handbook,* 16.

33. In the Department of the Interior's annual report for 1910, the superintendent notes that "the buffalo did not do quite as well during the summer . . . as this was due to the limited area of their pasture. . . . Their poor condition was wholly caused by lack of feed." Howard Douglas, "Report of the Superintendent of the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada," *Department of the Interior Annual Report, 1910* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, 1910), 8–9.

34. Douglas, "Report" (1907), 6.

35. Howard Douglas, "Report of the Superintendent of the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada," *Department of the Interior Annual Report, 1906* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1906), 6.

36. Ibid., 6–7.

37. "The Banff Park Zoo," Banff National Park Natural History Museum Think Tank, November 1982, 4–5, Whyte Museum Archives.

38. John Berger, "Why Look at Animals?" in *About Looking* (London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1980), 19.

39. Smith, *Handbook,* 14.

40. Ibid.

41. Mark Simpson, "Powers of Liveness: Reading Hornaday's *Camp-Fires,*" in *The Culture of Hunting in Canada,* ed. Jean L. Manore and Dale G. Miner (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 57.

42. Simpson, "Immaculate Trophies," 88.

43. Throughout the museum *Handbook,* Harlan Smith repeatedly refers to the animals exhibited in the zoo and paddock as "living specimens" (13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21).

44. Susan Willis, "Looking at the Zoo," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 98 (Fall 1999): 674.

45. In 1905 the parks superintendent decided that pheasants kept in the aviary (on the zoo grounds) should be bred, and when there were enough birds they would be released into the park. The pheasants, however, failed to reproduce due to being kept in captivity without large-enough pheasant runs. By 1908 the superintendent decided not to free any of the birds but, rather, to attempt to breed them for sale ("The Banff Park Zoo," 2).

46. Berger, "Why Look at Animals?" 24.

47. In addition to the so-called accidental deaths that occurred in the paddock and zoo, the matter of specimen "collecting" engendered violence against animals in the park environs. In the Department of the Interior's annual report for 1910, the superintendent notes that in the process of attempting to secure wolverines for the zoo, several "were either injured while tying them or died during the long tramp over the mountains to Banff" (8).

48. Howard Douglas, "Report of the Superintendent of the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada," *Department of the Interior Annual Report, 1904* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1904), 6.

49. Howard Douglas, "Report of the Superintendent of the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada," *Department of the Interior Annual Report, 1908* (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, 1908), 7, 8.

50. Many incidents of violent animal deaths in the Banff zoo occurred over the first few decades of the twentieth century. For instance, "two young raccoons were eaten by their father, one wolf puppy was killed by the coyotes in the cage next door, and one bald eagle died in a fight with its cage mate" ("The Banff Park Zoo," 5). Norman Sanson used many of these corpses for taxidermic specimens in the adjacent museum.

51. Douglas, "Report" (1906), 16.

52. Ibid.

53. "The Banff Park Zoo," 7.

54. Cathy Ellis, "Bison to Be Auctioned Off," *Crag and Canyon,* October 29, 1997, n.p. Elk Island National Park is a wildlife reserve located approximately twenty miles east of Edmonton. The park "is home to nearly 400 wood bison and 650 plains bison, as well as moose and elk."

55. Nicole Shukin, "Animal Capital: The Material Politics of Rendering, Mimesis, and Mobility in North American Culture," Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, Edmonton, 2005, 194. On signage at Syncrude's "Bison Viewpoint" north of Fort McMurray — a tourist stop that overlooks supposedly "reclaimed" land and the buffalo herd that grazes there — Syncrude explicitly acknowledges that the bison were obtained from Banff and Elk Island national parks.

56. "Banff Government Museum Receiving Attention," *Crag and Canyon,* September 20, 1913, 2.

57. Mieke Bal, *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 155, 16.

58. *Banff Park Museum,* 3.

59. Bal, *Double Exposures,* 37.

60. Ibid., 17.

61. Ibid., 49.

62. Ibid., 53.

63. In the wake of new tourism enterprises such as extreme sports and ecotourism, the Banff environs has largely become a haven for sports enthusiasts. In the current climate, therefore, the Banff Park Museum's status as a tourist attraction occupies a far more tenuous position than it did in the early decades of the twentieth century.

64. Bal, *Double Exposures,* 49.

65. *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "nostalgia," http://dictionary.oed.com., accessed October 22, 2006.

66. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display,* ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 416.

67. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 61, 100, 6.

68. Ibid., 100.

69. Julia V. Emberley, *The Cultural Politics of Fur* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 18.

70. Chantal Nadeau, *Fur Nation: From the Beaver to Brigitte Bardot* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 7, 9.

71. In contrast to the bearskin and buffalo-head displays that seek to prohibit the use of touch, there is one space in the Banff Park Museum that explicitly encourages a greater range of corporeal interaction with the building and its objects. The "Discovery Room" in the basement is a site that is physically separated from the rest of the installation, marked off as a place where "children can explore Banff's natural history through hands-on activity [with] . . . games, puzzles, picture books, animal pelts and videos to make learning fun!" (Gin, *Guide to the Banff Park Museum,* 16). The "Discovery Room" is not very well publicized nor does it seem to always be open for visitor use. The Discovery Room's promise of tactile contact with animals pelts and horns (as demonstrated by a photograph in the same promotional guide depicting a mother and child playing with such objects) suggests that greater ranges of corporeal interaction with museum objects are reserved for the purposes of children's education. In a similar way, the "Biodiversity Exhibit" at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) allows children to touch a few taxidermic specimens and to explore the "natural world" in a more hands-on way. A related strategy is also employed at the Harvard Museum of Natural History where, during educational presentations for the young, children are invited to touch taxidermically preserved animals. These examples point toward an increasing trend that I have noticed in recent installation design whereby interactive or explicitly multisensory exhibitions seem to be sanctioned for pedagogical purposes aimed at children. Touch, smell, and sound are used to cater to children's ostensibly less-sophisticated interactions with museum space. Adults, however, are still expected to rely on the interpretive powers of vision to negotiate installations in supposedly more sophisticated ways.

72. Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, "Introduction," in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe,* ed. Impey and MacGregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 1.

73. Giuseppe Olmi, "Science — Honour — Metaphor: Italian Cabinets of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Origins of Museums,* ed. Impey and MacGregor, 8.

74. Impey and MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums,* 1. Several other essays in this anthology also suggest that the cabinet of curiosities often housed exotic or bizarre items. For example, in her empirical analysis of seventeenth-century cabinets, Wilma George argues that "for the most part, the cabinet of curiosities was just what it said it was: odds and ends to excite wonder. Almost every collection had 'monsters' [i.e. deformed or bizarre specimens] in it"; Wilma George, "Alive or Dead: Zoological Collections in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Origins of Museums,* ed. Impey and MacGregor, 185.

75. The information about the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum's history and current management was obtained from the museum's Web site, http://www.buffalonationsmuseum.ca.

76. Michelle Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682–1861* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997), 4.

2. CELLULOID SALVAGE

1. *In the Land of the Headhunters: Indian Epic Drama of the Northern Sea,* film, directed by Edward S. Curtis, World Film Corporation, 1914.

2. To mention just a few exhibitions will necessarily be a selective process, yet such an abbreviated list still points toward the range of cultural spaces displaying Curtis's photographs. Examples of such installations are represented by the following published catalogues: Christopher Varley, *Edward S. Curtis in the Collection of the Edmonton Art Gallery* (Edmonton: Edmonton Art Gallery, 1979); Rod Slemmons, *Shadowy Evidence: The Photography of Edward S. Curtis and His Contemporaries* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 1989); Christopher M. Lyman, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* (New York: Pantheon Books and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999); and Tim Johnson, ed., *Spirit Capture: Photographs from the National Museum of the American Indian* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press and the National Museum of the American Indian, 1998). As well, Curtis's photography has received critical attention in many scholarly texts, including Gerald Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Mick Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1998); and Celia Lury, *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory and Identity* (London: Routledge, 1998).

3. Christopher Lyman, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 17.

4. Donna Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium. FemaleMan©_Meets_ OncoMouse™: Feminism and Technoscience* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 16.

5. Such critical tendencies may be discerned in Bill Holm and George Irving Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis in the Land of the War Canoes: A Pioneer Cinematographer in the Pacific Northwest* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1980), 85; and Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), 97. As well, in *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated,* Mick Gidley plots the work of Curtis according to a telos of technological progress, tracing an implicit progression from Curtis's photography, to his production of a "picture opera" or slide show, and then to his production of a documentary film.

6. Edmond S. Meany, "Hunting Indians with a Camera," *The World's Work: A History of Our Time* 15 (1908): 10004.

7. Bill Brown, *The Material Unconscious: American Amusement, Stephen Crane, and the Economics of Play* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 237.

8. James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography,* ed. James Clifford and George Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 113.

9. Rosalind C. Morris, *New Worlds from Fragments: Film, Ethnography, and the Representation of Northwest Coast Cultures* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1994), 54.

10. Curtis's relation to institutionalized anthropology was quite complex. He had no formal training as an ethnologist and, for this reason, his work was debunked by several academics. At the same time, however, Curtis managed to ally himself with other

prominent scholars such as Matilda Coxe Stevenson and Frederick Webb Hodge, both researchers with the Bureau of American Ethnology. Curtis also convinced Hodge to lend his work official support by becoming the editor of *The North American Indian.* Anne Makepeace, *Edward S. Curtis: Coming into Light* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2001), 50.

11. This phrase is borrowed from the subtitle of Cole's seminal book. Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995), 1, 309.

12. In his fieldnotes, dated June 6, 1888, Franz Boas comments: "It is most unpleasant work to steal bones from a grave, but what is the use, someone has to do it." Ronald P. Roehner, ed., *The Ethnography of Franz Boas: Letters and Diaries of Franz Boas Written on the Northwest Coast from 1886 to 1931* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 88, quoted in Christopher Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers: A Colonial Case History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 176.

13. Edward S. Curtis to George Bird Grinnell, n.d., quoted in Gerald Hausman and Bob Kapoun, eds., *Prayer to the Great Mystery: The Uncollected Writings and Photography of Edward S. Curtis* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), xix.

14. Edward S. Curtis, "General Introduction," *The North American Indian,* vol. 1 (1907), xiii, Acc. 847–3, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.

15. Hans Christian Adam, "Introduction: Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indians," in Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian: Complete Portfolios* (New York: Taschen, 1997), 6.

16. Theodore Roosevelt to Edward Curtis, December 16, 1905. Edward S. Curtis Papers, Box 1/1 Acc. 847–3, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.

17. Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian,* 24.

18. Francis E. Leupp, "Letter to Seattle Public Library," correspondence from North American Indian, Incorporated to Seattle Public Library Regarding SPL's Subscription to the Set (1918).

19. Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian,* 112.

20. Barry Pritzker, *Edward S. Curtis* (Avenel: Crescent Books, 1993), 14.

21. Rony, *The Third Eye,* 92.

22. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Delta, 1977), 15, quoted in Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908–1936," in Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 42.

23. My analysis of the future perfect tense in Curtis's photography is informed by Celia Lury's discussion of the "distinctive temporality" of photography in her book *Prosthetic Culture.* While Lury's book is primarily concerned with thinking about digital photography in our current era, her third chapter (titled "The Family of Man") seeks to analyze early twentieth-century photography and its relation to human typology and "sciences" such as ethnology. In this chapter, Lury discusses Curtis's images, noting "the congruence between the photograph's defining tense of 'this will have been' and the anthropological nostalgia at work" in *The North American Indian* (49).

24. Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," 45.

25. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 2, 3. The italics here are Tagg's.

26. Curtis, "General Introduction," xiii.

27. Curtis, *The North American Indian,* 36. According to Hans Christian Adam, the date provided for each of Curtis's photographs in *The North American Indian* refers to the date of the copyright and not necessarily that of the actual exposure (ibid., 31).

28. Adam, "Introduction," 29.

29. Pritzker, *Edward S. Curtis,* 99.

30. Lyman, *The Vanishing Race,* 80.

31. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 233.

32. Curtis, *The North American Indian,* 256.

33. Makepeace, *Edward S. Curtis,* 174.

34. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 31.

35. Curtis, *The North American Indian,* 396.

36. Rony argues that the concept of depicting a body "in the round" is part of the defining "mode of *taxidermy*" (*The Third Eye,* 14).

37. Ibid., 97.

38. Curtis, *The North American Indian,* 36.

39. Daniel Francis, *Copying People: Photographing British Columbia First Nations, 1860–1940* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1996), 3.

40. Gloria Jean Frank, "'That's My Dinner on Display': A First Nations Reflection on Museum Culture," *BC Studies* 125/126 (2000): 176.

41. Francis, *Copying People,* 59.

42. Rony, *The Third Eye,* 24.

43. Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman, "'The Foundation of All Future Researches': Franz Boas, George Hunt, Native American Texts, and the Construction of Modernity," *American Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (1999): 490. In particular, George Hunt "played a key role in inventing what came to be the ethnographic image of 'the Kwakiutl'" via his work as an interpreter and informant for the most widely published anthropological "authorities" on this native culture (490). Hunt's first formal job as an interpreter involved working for the provincial superintendent of Indian affairs in 1873. Following this, he served as an interpreter for missionary Alfred J. Hall and for the provincial courts in Victoria, in addition to his work with Curtis, Boas, Barbeau, and others (489).

44. Curtis, *The North American Indian,* 397–98.

45. According to Rod Slemmons, associate curator of photography at the Seattle Art Museum, pictorialism was the dominant photographic convention in America at the beginning of the twentieth century. The convention, Slemmons argues, was "characterized by soft focus" (*Shadowy Evidence,* 1). "Pictorialism embodied an attitude toward the choice and presentation of subject matter—to find or create scenes implying a remote and idealized past and to celebrate the spiritual and mystical side of human experience" (1). Arguing for a reading of Curtis's work in terms of pictorialist aesthetics, Hans

Christian Adam asserts that "Curtis distanced himself completely from the anthropometry that was so popular at that time; it sought to quantify ethnology in a manner that was allegedly neutral and positivistic by using a ruler to measure body sizes, ear lengths, and the distances between nostrils in inches or centimeters, but this was nonetheless biased by the arrogance of the white man. Curtis's intentions were artistic and he adopted a humanistic approach. He was concerned with depicting the spiritual, and in order to bring this out in his pictures, he employed an arsenal of pictorial devices including the distribution of light and shadow, sharp and blurred focus, and especially cropping to heighten dramatic impact" ("Introduction," 28). Adam's attempt to demarcate a clear separation between anthropometry and pictorialism, I contend, overlooks how the two forms may work together in Curtis's images.

46. Samuel George Morton, *Crania Americana, or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America* (Philadelphia: J. Penington, 1839).

47. Samuel Otter, *Melville's Anatomies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 112, 113.

48. In a letter to John S. Phillips printed at the beginning of *Crania Americana,* Morton asserts, "[T]here is a singular harmony between the mental character of the Indian, and his cranial developments as explained by Phrenology" (n.p.). Morton believed that cranial measurements could help to categorize the characteristics and behavior of races, including such elements as "secretiveness, cautiousness, destructiveness, [and] combativeness" (277).

49. Edward S. Curtis, quoted in Adam, "Introduction," 29.

50. Lyman, *The Vanishing Race,* 81.

51. Curtis, *The North American Indian,* 397.

52. Gidley, *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian,* 200.

53. Playbill, "A Vanishing Race," n.d., Box 2/31, Edward S. Curtis Papers, Acc. 847–3, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.

54. Laurie Lawlor, *Shadow Catcher: The Life and Work of Edward S. Curtis* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1994), 98. Reasoning that "Indian-themed pictures" were popular in Hollywood at the time, Curtis had hoped to make a minimum profit of $100,000 from the film (98).

55. Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 15.

56. Bill Holm and George Irving Quimby, reconstruction, *In the Land of the War Canoes,* film, directed by Edward S. Curtis (1914; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973).

57. Catherine Russell, "Playing Primitive: 'In the Land of the Headhunters' and/or 'War Canoes,'" *Visual Anthropology* 8 (1996): 56.

58. Brad Evans, "Catherine Russell's Recovery of the *Head-Hunters,*" *Visual Anthropology* 11 (1998): 221.

59. Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers,* 8. The term "Kwakiutl" is an anthropological category that homogenizes multiple groups within one overarching tribal designation. According to James Clifford, the "phonetically more accurate term 'Kwagiulth' (or Kwagu'l) properly denotes only one of many village communities among the peoples formerly called Southern Kwakiutl on northern Vancouver Island and the nearby islets and inlets

of the mainland." "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections," in *The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display,* ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 249. Moreover, according to anthropologist Michael Harkin, "the term 'Kwakiutl' does not properly denote even the group that it primarily refers to — the Kwak'wala-speaking people of Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, and adjacent mainland and island groups." Michael Harkin, "(Dis)pleasures of the Text: Boasian Ethnology on the Central Northwest Coast," in *Gateways: Exploring the Legacy of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1897–1902,* ed. Igor Krupnik and William W. Fitzhugh (Washington, D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 100. Harkin also argues that "these various groups do not recognize the common identity that is implied in the use of the ethnonym 'Kwakiutl'" (100). The U'mista Cultural Society located in Alert Bay has recently proposed the name "Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw" or "Those Who Speak Kwak'wala" to denote a heterogeneous group of peoples. This term seems to be the most commonly used name by those seeking to resist traditional anthropological nomenclature today ("Four Northwest Coast Museums," 249). For the purposes of discussing Curtis's film, however, I will reuse the anthropological term "Kwakiutl" in order to signal the imagined native that Curtis sought to portray.

60. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian,* vol. 10, *The Kwakiutl* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1970), 4.

61. Ibid., xi. In the introduction to volume 10 of *The North American Indian,* Curtis remarks: "Of all these coast-dwellers [i.e., native groups on the North Pacific coast from the Columbia river to Eskimoan territory in Alaska] the Kwakiutl tribes were one of the most important groups, and at the present time theirs are the only villages where primitive life can still be observed" (xi).

62. Edward Curtis to Dr. Charles Walcott, May 2, 1912, quoted in Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 32.

63. *Headhunters* attempts to depict Kwakiutl life around the time of George Vancouver's arrival to the area in 1792. In an early outline for the film, Curtis titled it *In the Days of Vancouver.* According to this outline, the "picture treats the natives as seen by him at that time." Curtis, quoted in Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 115. This statement is crucial for understanding how the film is focalized through the perspective of a white spectator encountering the primitive other for the first time. In 1915 Curtis published a literary companion to the film (also titled *In the Land of the Headhunters*), in which he retells the same melodramatic narrative of romance in novelistic form. Edward S. Curtis, *In the Land of the Headhunters* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book, 1915). Interestingly, the major difference between the book and the film is that, in Curtis's novel, the moment of colonial contact does arrive (see chapter 9, "The Coming of the White Man"). In contrast, cross-cultural contact is perpetually deferred throughout the narrative action of the film, such that the spectator views "pure" Kwakiutl customs just prior to the influence of Vancouver and his imperial successors.

64. Catherine Russell argues that "it is only recently that *Headhunters* became a documentary through its second life as *War Canoes.* Originally, it was apprehended as a fiction, constituted by quite a different audience than that of the present-day anthropol-

ogy and native communities" (who, Russell argues, are the primary audiences for the film today) ("Playing Primitive," 71). I agree with Russell's general observation that Curtis's film has been more prominently categorized as a "documentary" since the 1973 reconstruction of the film. Such categorization suggests a continuing desire among scholars to reassert the ethnographic value of Curtis's film as a "record" of Kwakiutl lifeways. Russell's assertion, however, requires certain qualifications: although *In the Land of the Headhunters* was commonly billed as a "photo-drama" back in 1914, a proposal for the Continental Film Company demonstrates Curtis's doubled desire to produce films that were "classed among the educational" and "preserved as a part of the documentary material of the country" while also "possess[ing] the interest needed to make the tastes of the masses or those who are looking for amusement only" (Curtis, quoted in Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 113).

65. Russell, "Playing Primitive," 59.

66. Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator, and the Avant-Garde," in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative,* ed. Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 60.

67. Russell locates *Headhunters* within the "cinema of attractions" or "primitive" cinema genre, arguing that "despite Curtis's ambitions for a theatrical release for *Headhunters,* its narrative interruptions of ceremonial dances and displays, along with the other traits of early cinema, position the film as more of an 'attraction,' a spectacle of otherness, than an absorbing drama" ("Playing Primitive," 59–60). Russell's argument, however, is compromised by the fact that — unaware of the 16mm safety copies of the original held at the Field and Burke Museums — she conflates the 1973 reconstruction with the 1914 original. In contrast, Brad Evans argues that "Curtis's film does not fit the mold of a 'cinema of attractions.' Indeed, the Curtis original is remarkable for its narrative coherence. . . . Curtis's original advantageously uses the medium of film to tell a familiar story of warfare and romance in a narratively harmonious way" ("Catherine Russell's Recovery," 222). While I agree with Evans's point that Russell's reading of the film is problematic because reliant upon the 1973 reconstruction, I also contend that Evans's celebration of the "narrative coherence" of the 1914 film needs to be qualified. Although the narrative is more coherent in the 1914 film than in the 1973 reconstruction, it is evident that the narrative constitutes a somewhat weak attempt to link different performances of Kwakiutl rites and customs (i.e., events of ethnographic value) in a way that could appease an audience not necessarily interested in such "data."

68. Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers,* 186. The statute banning the potlatch and tamanawas came into effect on January 1, 1885, and in 1886 it became section 114 in chapter 43 of the Revised Statutes of Canada (83). The title of chapter 43 is "An Act Respecting Indians," otherwise known as "The Indian Act." Section 114 states: "Every Indian or person [note that the two are listed separately] who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the 'Potlatch' or the Indian dance known as the 'Tamanawas,' is guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months and not less than two months" ("The Indian Act," quoted in Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers,* 83).

69. Russell, "Playing Primitive," 58.

70. One of the most striking special effects occurs when Naida's face appears (via a dissolve technique) in a cloud of smoke during Motana's vision quest. Such a technique of superimposing and dissolving one image into another was quite advanced for filmwork in 1914. Curtis also lightened and darkened certain scenes for strategic effect, deploying complicated film processing techniques to do so.

71. Russell, "Playing Primitive," 58.

72. Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 100.

73. Ibid., 59. The first woman to portray Naida in the film was Margaret Wilson Frank, a daughter of Chief Charlie Wilson. The second Naida who appeared in the film was Sarah Smith Martin, a daughter-in-law of George Hunt who later remarried Chief Mungo Martin. The third Naida apparently appeared only once in the film and has been identified as Mrs. George Walkus.

74. The man who played these two roles was identified as Bulootsa, also known as Nakwakhdakhw of Blunden Harbor. Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 59.

75. Ibid., 89.

76. Playbill, "Moore Theater: *In the Land of the Headhunters,*" Folder 8, "Edward S. Curtis Photographic Collection," Acc. 484, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.

77. Makepeace, *Edward S. Curtis,* 135, 132, 136. Curtis told many tall tales about his own heroics in filming *Headhunters.* On several occasions, he phantasmatically reimagined the whale used for filming as being alive, commenting once that the whale broke his hip when "its tail crashed down on his canoe" (139). Moreover, in a 1915 review titled "Filming the Head-Hunters: How 'The Vanishing Race' Is Being Preserved in Moving Pictures," Curtis is quoted as recalling the whale hunt and asserting, "[T]he whale put up a hard fight. Killing a ninety-foot amphibian and towing him back to shore is no easy morning's diversion, I can assure you." Anonymous, "Filming the Head-Hunters: How 'The Vanishing Race' Is Being Preserved in Moving Pictures," *Strand Magazine, American Edition,* August 1915, quoted in Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 124. Thus, it seems that Curtis's knack for imaginatively reconstructing native origins crossed over to the creative renarration of his own life.

78. Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 57.

79. Ibid., 59–61.

80. Edward S. Curtis, "A Reminiscence of George Hunt," in *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian Project in the Field,* ed. Mick Gidley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 104.

81. Briggs and Bauman, "Foundation of All Future Researches," 493.

82. Vachel Lindsay, *The Art of the Moving Picture* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 86.

83. Although Holm and Quimby as well as Russell at times refer to *In the Land of the War Canoes* as a "restored" film, I will instead use the term "reconstruction" to denote the 1973 text. While the *Oxford English Dictionary* uses the term "restore" to define "reconstruction" and vice versa, the connotations of the two terms seem to differ in ways that are ideologically salient to this book. Specifically, the concept of restoration often involves "bringing" something "back to the original state" or "as nearly as possible

to its original form." *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "restoration," http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca:2048, accessed October 22, 2006. In contrast, "reconstruction" frequently suggests "to construct anew" rather than necessarily attempting to exactly replicate an original. *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "reconstruction," http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca:2048, accessed October 22, 2006. Referring to *War Canoes* as a "restored" film is an ideologically dense practice when one considers the fact that the "original" text has been fetishized as a lost object. When Holm and Quimby refer to their 1973 version as a restoration, they accord themselves the power to almost perfectly re-create that lost object while simultaneously disavowing the significant ways they changed and manipulated the surviving 1914 footage for their own purposes.

84. Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 55.

85. The copy of Curtis's film I viewed at the Burke Museum corresponds exactly to the description and shot list of the Field Museum footage (including the order and content of intertitles) that Brad Evans outlines at the end of his *Visual Anthropology* essay.

86. Holm and Quimby, *Edward S. Curtis,* 126.

87. Although I will not be discussing the sound track that Holm and Quimby added to the reconstruction in detail, I want to briefly mention the impact of this sound track on the 1973 film. Without viewing a copy of the 1914 "original," Russell celebrates *In the Land of the War Canoes* as "a redemptive form of ethnography inspired by the virtual reappropriation of *Headhunters* by the Kwakiutl people" ("Playing Primitive," 56). The reconstruction, however, was conceptualized and produced by two Euro-American scholars affiliated with the neocolonial institution of the university and, more specifically, the discipline of anthropology. To support her argument, Russell contends that the new sound track added to *War Canoes* — a sound track that features untranslated Kwakiutl singing and speaking — effects "a radical separation of the text of the performers from the text of the author-filmmaker" (57). "The Kwakiutl," she asserts, "now dubbed in on the untranslated soundtrack, seem to have one film, and the anthropologist and non-Kwakiutl spectator have quite another" (57). In response, I want to note that the sound track was recorded at the Royal British Columbia Museum and was heavily edited in order to synchronize the speaking, singing, and other sounds with the image track and creating a striking affiliation — rather than separation — between the two. Moreover, although there could be interesting theoretical possibilities in creating a sound track that is not translated into the language of the colonizer, I am not sure that these possibilities are brought to fruition in the 1973 reconstruction. It seems that *War Canoes* runs the risk of co-opting the Kwakiutl sound track as an added element that augments the authenticity value of the film.

88. Curtis, *In the Land of the Headhunters,* vii.

89. Although in a strict sense filmic intertitles may be considered part of the image track, I want to separate these two concepts — or to inscribe a strategic heuristic split between "images" (bodies in motion/scenery, etc.) and linguistic text (written narrative explanation) — for the purposes of understanding the way that *Headhunters* marks a significant distinction and disjuncture between the two.

90. Evans, "Catherine Russell's Recovery," 222.

91. Andre Gaudreault, "Showing and Telling: Image and Word in Early Cinema," in *Early Cinema,* ed. Elsaesser and Barker, 279. The italics are Gaudreault's. Because Gaudreault is writing in the context of early cinema history, his reference to "animated images" is not to modern animation and digital techniques of production as we understand them today but, rather, to the animation of bodies and things in motion in an image track.

92. Fabian, *Time and the Other,* 67.

3. SALVAGING SOUND AT LAST SIGHT

1. *Nass River Indians,* film, directed by Marius Barbeau and James Sibley Watson (Montreal: Associated Screen News, 1928).

2. Lynda Jessup, reconstruction, *Nass River Indians,* film, directed by Marius Barbeau and James Sibley Watson (1928; Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 2001).

3. Here I am quoting the subtitle of Cole's seminal book. Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995), 1.

4. Barbeau's role in the production of this documentary is multilayered. While Barbeau stars as the film's principal hero, he also wrote the intertitles and functioned as its producer in conjunction with Associated Screen News and the National Museum of Canada. Lynda Jessup, "J. S. Watson, Jr.: *Nass River Indians,*" in *Unseen Cinema: Early American Avant-Garde Film, 1893–1941,* ed. Bruce Posner (New York: Black Thistle Press/Anthology Film Archives, 2001), 117; Lynda Jessup, "Moving Pictures and Costume Songs at the 1927 'Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern,'" *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 11 (2002): 4. Barbeau, however, did not film the footage himself; the camera was operated by American filmmaker James Sibley Watson. As a result, the credits for the original film state, "Photographed by Dr. J. S. Watson in collaboration with C. M. Barbeau."

5. Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26 (1989): 107–8.

6. Andrew Nurse, "'But Now Things Have Changed': Marius Barbeau and the Politics of Amerindian Identity," *Ethnohistory* 48 (2001): 444.

7. Marius Barbeau, *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1923), 7–8.

8. Marius Barbeau, "Our Indians—Their Disappearance," *Queen's Quarterly* 38 (1931): 695.

9. Andrew Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau," Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1997, 8.

10. Laurence Nowry, *Man of Mana: Marius Barbeau* (Toronto: NC Press, 1995), 90.

11. Rosalind C. Morris, *New Worlds from Fragments: Film, Ethnography, and the Representation of Northwest Coast Cultures* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1994), 45.

12. Lynda Jessup argues that *Nass River Indians*' filmic portrayal of the fieldworker in action is atypical for the time period. Generally, in films of this period, "the ethnographic filmmaker was not a participant at all but, like the camera, an invisible observer." Lynda Jessup, "Tin Cans and Machinery: *Saving the Sagas* and Other Stuff," *Visual Anthropology* 12 (1999): 52. As a result, *Nass River Indians* "predates by 40 years what are gen-

erally thought to be the earliest ethnographic films to record the presence of the fieldworker, among them most notably *Margaret Mead's New Guinea Journal* [1968]" (52).

13. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 35, 30.

14. James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography,* ed. James Clifford and George Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 112.

15. Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 198, 199, xiv, 208.

16. The central text that Taussig analyzes in this section of *Mimesis and Alterity* is *Nanook of the North,* a film directed by Robert Flaherty, Revillon Frères Fur Company, 1922. In this film, Flaherty stages the encounter between Nanook the Eskimo and the phonograph on the Arctic frontier. At a fur trader's store, Nanook is introduced to the musical sounds of Western civilization. His response to this technological wonder is to pick up the record and attempt to eat it. In this way, Flaherty uses the Eskimo to stage the "primitive's" simple consumption of sound technology in contrast to Western culture's sophisticated mode of aural, rather than oral, phonographic consumption. In his discussion of *Nanook,* Taussig refers to the phonographic mise-en-scène as "mimetic sensuosity incarnate!" and, yet, the phonograph's mimetic reproduction of sound remains conspicuously inaudible throughout the film (Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity,* 200).

17. Thomas Edison, "The Phonograph and Its Future," *North American Review* 126 (1878): 530, 533. The emphasis is Edison's.

18. Ibid., 548.

19. Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead, eds., *Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio, and the Avant-garde* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 6; Stephen Connor, "The Modern Auditory I," in *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present,* ed. Roy Porter (New York: Routledge, 1997), 217.

20. Erika Brady, *A Spiral Way: How the Phonograph Changed Ethnography* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 47.

21. Barbeau, *Indian Days,* 161–62.

22. Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," 115–16.

23. Alex Rose, *Spirit Dance at Meziadin: Chief Joseph Gosnell and the Nisga'a Treaty* (Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Publishing, 2000), 66.

24. Daniel Raunet, *Without Surrender, Without Consent: A History of the Nisga'a Land Claims* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1996), 115.

25. Rose, *Spirit Dance,* 67. For the white industrialists, Native labor was desirable because it was cheaper than Chinese or Japanese labor "as it did not have to be imported" (67). To produce Aboriginal peoples as subjugated workers, governmental regulations prevented Native groups "from gaining control over the commercial fishing industry in its formative years" (Raunet, *Without Surrender,* 119). Lynda Jessup also discusses the Canadian government's "active efforts into the 1920s to criminalize . . . Aboriginal resource activity by denying, through fisheries legislation, Aboriginal claims to this resource" (Jessup, "Tin Cans and Machinery," 56).

26. Sigmund Freud, "The Uncanny," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud,* vol. 17, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), 229, 226.

27. Marius Barbeau, "The Thunder Bird of the Mountains," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 2 (1932): 96, 97.

28. Ibid., 103, 107.

29. Freud, "The Uncanny," 226.

30. Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen,* trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 134, 137.

31. Christopher E. Gittings, *Canadian National Cinema: Ideology, Difference, and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 51.

32. Felix Regnault, "Le langage par gestes," *La Nature* 1324 (October 15, 1898): 315, quoted in Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), 57.

33. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 226.

34. The association between the phonograph and the trope of "canning" was already in circulation by the time Barbeau produced *Nass River Indians* in 1927. Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* summarizes Nanook's encounter with the phonograph with the following intertitle: "Nanook: How the white man 'cans' his voice" (Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity,* 201). It is also interesting to note that by 1905 the verb "to can" was used to suggest "discharg[ing] or suspend[ing] from a situation." *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "can," http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca:2048, accessed November 4, 2006. As a result, the association between "canning" and termination — particularly the termination of a laborer — would have resonated for both Barbeau and the film's audience, thereby shadowing references to canning as preservation with connotations of the opposite as well (namely, as termination, or even death). Moreover, by 1904, the adjective "canned" was used in common discourse to describe something that was "mechanically or artificially reproduced, esp. . . . [as regards] music." *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "canned," http://dictionary.oed.com.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca:2048, accessed November 4, 2006. This last piece of etymological history complicates the concept of phonographically preserving an "original" record of native voices that Barbeau's documentary so strenuously advocates. It seems as though *Nass River Indians* works overtime to differentiate popular criticisms of phonographic "artificiality" from anthropology's scientific appropriation of this technology for the purposes of capturing "authentic" aboriginal sounds.

35. Mark Simpson first drew my attention to the differentiation between "white" and "black" modes of cultural production operative in *Nass River Indians* and its relation to the film's anxieties surrounding the signifier "jazz." Anxieties regarding the purity of dominant culture were further influenced by Canadian nationalist concerns during the 1920s and 1930s regarding American domination of radio programming and the need for federal supervision to promote "Canadian content." Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting, 1922–1932* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 17. Vipond argues that, for "those who . . . held lofty ideals about

the utility of radio in uplifting and acculturating the farm, immigrant, and working-class populations, the demand for jazz [was] . . . a not unimportant factor in the calls made" for a national agency to supervise broadcasting — calls that culminated in the Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932 (89).

36. Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 26.

37. Jessup draws attention to the word "now" and its importance in the final intertitle of the film. Although Jessup does not analyze the belatedness of the visual appearance of the phonograph in *Nass River Indians* as I am doing here, she argues that "the inclusion of the word 'now' in the intertitle serv[es] to align the film's narrative chronologically to this point and thus to establish the sequence as the culmination of the story" (Jessup, "Tin Cans and Machinery," 64).

38. My reference here to a "national ear" loosely draws upon Avital Ronell's conceptualization in *The Telephone Book — Technology — Schizophrenia — Electric Speech.* Ronell discusses the significance of the "national ear" in relation to the rise of national socialism in Germany during the 1930s and the significance of audio technologies such as the telephone and radio to this process. Avital Ronell, *The Telephone Book — Technology — Schizophrenia — Electric Speech* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 21. Throughout *Nass River Indians,* the on-screen presence of Barbeau and MacMillan — representative figures of dominant Canadian cultural institutions (the National Museum and the Royal Conservatory of Music, respectively) — reinforces the concept of a "national ear" listening in on its colonial others with fascination.

39. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity,* xiv.

40. Ibid., 223.

41. Ibid.

42. I am echoing a problem raised by Virginia R. Dominguez in a discussion with panelists James Clifford and Trinh T. Minh-Ha. In her paper Dominguez argues: "As a postcolonial, poststructural conceptualization of the nature and consequences of our construction of history spreads, salvage becomes symbolic of intellectual, aesthetic and institutional practices we seek to bury rather than preserve. But are we indeed burying them? What would it mean to transcend 'the salvage paradigm'?" James Clifford, Virginia R. Dominguez, and Trinh T. Minh-Ha, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," *Discussions in Contemporary Culture* 1 (1987): 131. Dominguez further asserts: "While in the narrow sense of the word 'salvage' may sound antiquated (passé), in a broader sense I believe it lies at the heart of most forms/practices of representation — visual, audio, literary, expository — in which the representer uses or incorporates material or immaterial objects s/he perceives to be the creation or property of others" (131).

43. Gittings, *Canadian National Cinema,* 47. Associated Screen News produced several films regarding Aboriginal cultures (see also the 1928 film *Totem Land*) in accordance with the CPR's commercial agenda of enticing travelers to explore the west as a "last frontier" where a glimpse of the "vanishing Indian" might still be found. Both the CPR and the Canadian National Railway gave free passes to Barbeau and his crew as they traveled westward to conduct ethnographic salvaging in the form of writings, sound recordings, and films (Jessup, "Tin Cans and Machinery," 68).

44. Gittings, *Canadian National Cinema,* 53.

45. Jessup, "Moving Pictures and Costume Songs," 2.

46. While it is possible to retrace the historical circumstances surrounding *Nass River Indians*' production and early circulation, any attempt to reconstruct the sounds and/or silences that contoured the initial viewing of the film remains incomplete. It is important to note, however, that the film was screened on the same evening and as part of a musical recital performed by the French Canadian singer Juliette Gaultier de la Verandrye (Jessup, "Moving Pictures and Costume Songs," 25). Gaultier was known for her study and performance of aboriginal and French Canadian songs. The possibility that Barbeau's film was originally screened while a white woman sang native songs (although this still remains unclear) would add additional layers of complexity to *Nass River Indians*' ideological message regarding the inaudibility of the native voices it purports to preserve. Due to the impossibility of fully recovering the historical event of *Nass River Indians*' initial screening, the following analysis of Barbeau's film will remain attentive to the sociohistorical contexts that both shaped and were shaped by the film while simultaneously engaging in detailed readings of the reconstructed text as it appears today.

47. Jessup, "Moving Pictures and Costume Songs," 3. Information regarding the film's initial production and commercial reformatting has been researched by Jessup and may be found in her essay, "Tin Cans and Machinery: *Saving the Sagas* and Other Stuff." The shorter film, *Fish and Medicine Men,* comprised most of the footage from the cannery tour depicted in *Nass River Indians. Saving the Sagas* focused primarily on the preservation of Nisga'a songs by Barbeau and MacMillan. As a result, these two films roughly correspond to the two sections delineated (and yet also subtextually linked) in *Nass River Indians*—that is, the cannery tour and the trip upstream to a native village.

48. In a telephone conversation with the author on January 29, 2003, Jessup detailed the process for screening and revising the reconstructed film. In order to seek input from members of the Nisga'a community, Jessup submitted a proposal to the Wilp Wilxo'oskwhl Nisga'a College, a satellite campus of the University of Northern British Columbia located in the town of New Aiyansh. The college's research panel approved her proposal to travel to the Nass River and screen a working copy of the film for Nisga'a members at three sites—the villages of New Aiyansh, Greenville, and Kincolith. According to Jessup, Barbeau's documentary was essentially "lost" to Nisga'a memory prior to the 2001 reconstruction, and community members apparently did not know that the film existed. The Nisga'a community's initial response to the film was that its colonialist portrayal of their ancestors seemed "questionable." In response to these concerns, Jessup suggested the creation of a prefatory set of intertitles that would relocate the film within the history of colonialism. After writing two alternate versions of intertitles for the documentary's introduction, she returned to the Nass River communities and screened the film a second time. In consultation with Nisga'a elders, Jessup selected one of the two sets of introductory intertitles for the final version of the reconstruction.

49. Jessup, "Tin Cans and Machinery," 72, 59.

50. Ibid., 59, 72. In particular, the reenactment of a medicine-man cure most likely depicted in *Fish and Medicine Men* is absent in the reconstructed version of Barbeau's documentary. Evidence that this scene once existed may be found in still photographs of

the filmic sequence held in the Canadian Museum of Civilization and published in *Marius Barbeau's Photographic Collection: The Nass River,* ed. Linda Riley (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1988), 127–30.

51. Jessup provided this perspective in a telephone conversation on January 29, 2003.

52. "The Unseen Cinema" exhibition had its world premiere at the Moscow International Film Festival in 2001 and its American premiere at the Whitney Museum of American Art later that same year. The exhibition was scheduled to tour until December 2005 (http://unseen-cinema.com).

53. Bruce Posner, "Introduction: The Grand Experiment," in *Unseen Cinema,* ed. Posner, 39.

54. It is not my intent to foreclose upon possibilities for understanding the category of avant-garde film in politicized terms. The presentation of the field in articles about "The Unseen Cinema" exhibition, however, seems to favor aesthetics over politics in a way that implies an incompatibility between these two concepts. For example, in curator Bruce Posner's introduction to the exhibition catalogue, he argues: "The Great Depression and the attendant politicization of artists and intellectuals ended the grand artistic experiment [i.e., the early avant-garde movement], and filmmakers shifted to matters of social concern and responsibility. From then on most experimental filmmakers worked in isolation and under anonymous conditions" (40).

55. Bruce Posner, telephone interview with the author, June 26, 2004.

56. Robert A. Haller, "Saving Lost Films and Making Them Look New," Anthology Film Archives Web site, 2003, http://www.anthologyfilmarchives.org/USCin.html, accessed June 15, 2004. Steve Anderson, "Unseen Cinema: Early American Avant-Garde Film, 1893–1941," Film Forum Web site, spring 2002, http://www.filmforum.org/past/spring02/features/Feature.html, accessed June 17, 2004.

57. Posner, "Introduction," 39.

58. Haller, "Saving Lost Films"; Anderson, "Unseen Cinema."

4. REPATRIATION'S REMAINDERS

1. National Parks Service, Department of the Interior (U.S.) NAGPRA Web site, http://www.cr.nps.gov/nagpra/FAQ, accessed December 20, 2006.

2. James Clifford, "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections," in *The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display,* ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 228.

3. Kim Lunman, "Iceman Provides Clues to Life before Columbus," *Globe and Mail,* November 5, 2000, A-4. Recent academic articles have also reinforced interpretations of the negotiations surrounding the study of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį as an antidote to the ills of the Kennewick Man legal battle. See Larry J. Zimmerman, "Public Heritage, a Desire for a 'White' History for America, and Some Impacts of the Kennewick Man/Ancient One Decision," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12 (2005): 266.

4. Dr. Martha Black, curator of ethnology at the Royal British Columbia Museum, made this comment regarding the Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį case during an e-mail exchange.

5. See David Hurst Thomas, *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); and Sarah Harding, "*Bonnichsen v. United States:* Time, Place, and the Search for Identity," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 12 (2005): 249–63.

6. According to legal scholar Patty Gerstenblith, "NAGPRA represents an attempt to accommodate the competing interests of Native American tribes, scientists (both physical anthropologists and archaeologists), and museums. It focuses primarily on newly discovered materials and human remains and on remains and objects in federal agencies and those museums and universities that receive federal funding. NAGPRA provides immediate restitution of human remains and cultural objects found on federal or tribal lands after 16 November 1990 to lineal descendants or, where those descendants are unknown, to the tribe on whose lands the objects were discovered or with the tribe that 'has the closest cultural affiliation with such remains.'" Patty Gerstenblith, "Cultural Significance and the Kennewick Skeleton: Some Thoughts on the Resolution of Cultural Heritage Disputes," in *Claiming the Stones, Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity,* ed. Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002), 169.

7. The five groups who claimed affiliation with Kennewick Man are the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, the Colville Confederated Tribes, the Wanapum Band, the Yakama Nation, and the Nez Perce Tribe. Kimberly TallBear, "DNA, Blood, and Racializing the Tribe," *Wicazo Sa Review* (Spring 2003): 86.

8. Harding, "*Bonnichsen v. United States,*" 258.

9. *Bonnichsen et. al. v. United States,* 357 F.3d, 979, quoted in ibid., 254.

10. Harding, "*Bonnichsen v. United States,*" 254.

11. Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1992), 5.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., 7.

14. Heather Pringle, "Out of the Ice: Who Was the Ancient Traveler Discovered in an Alpine Glacier?" *Canadian Geographic,* July–August 2002, 57.

15. James Brooke, "Ancient Man Uncovered in Canadian Ice: Hunter Preserved with Clothing, Tools," *San Francisco Chronicle,* August 25, 1999, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-b . . . chronicle/archive/1999/08/25/MN77274.DTL, accessed June 3, 2003.

16. The three hunters, Bill Hanlon, Mike Roch, and Warren Ward, were non-Natives from southern British Columbia who went to the park after winning a permit to hunt in the region. Owen Beattie et al., "The Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį Discovery from a Glacier in British Columbia," *Journal of Canadian Archaeology* 24 (2000): 147.

17. "Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement," *Order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, Number 255,* April 25, 1996, 1, 2.

18. Ibid., 11.

19. Ibid., 12.

20. See Cathy Brown, "The Iceman Cousin Cometh?" CBC News Web site, June 13, 2001, http://www.cbcnews.com/stories/2001/06/13/tech/main296247.shtml, accessed

June 3, 2003; Brooke, "Ancient Man Uncovered in Canadian Ice"; and "DNA Study Will Try to Link Natives to 500-Year-Old Man," *Edmonton Journal,* June 14, 2001.

21. "Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį," Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Web site, http://www.cafn.ca/kwadaydants'inchi_m.htm, accessed November 8, 2003.

22. See Lunman, "Iceman Provides Clues"; Murray Lundberg, "Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį, the Yukon Iceman," Explore North Web site, August 25, 1999, http://www.explorenorth.com/library/weekly/aa092599.htm, accessed June 3, 2003; and James Brooke, "Lost Worlds Rediscovered as Canadian Glaciers Melt," *New York Times,* October 5, 1999, http://www.nytimes.com/library/national/science/100599sci-archeology-canada.htm, accessed January 16, 2004. In a 2000 article in the *Canadian Journal of Archaeology,* Owen Beattie reported that further study of the remains indicated that Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį was an Aboriginal male of the age initially estimated. Research also suggested that the "young man" met "an accidental death on the glacier" (Beattie et al., "Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį Discovery," 143). At the time of publication, Beattie also stated that although the body was believed to be "aboriginal," it remained unclear as to "what culture or people he belonged to, or what community or settlement he would have considered home" (143).

23. British Columbia Archaeology Branch and Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, "Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį Management Agreement," August 31, 1999, 1.

24. The agreement was signed by both the director of the British Columbia Archaeology Branch and the director of CAFN Lands and Resources. Upon asking Grant Hughes, director of curatorial services at the Royal British Columbia Museum, about the legal status of the agreement, he commented, "It has not been tested in court so it is impossible to presume what a court would determine." Grant Hughes, "Re: Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį," e-mail message to Pauline Wakeham, January 26, 2004.

25. "Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį Management Agreement," 1, 2. In the agreement drafted by the British Columbia Archaeology Branch and the CAFN, the original date for the return of the remains to the CAFN was listed as December 31, 2000. A caveat was included, stating that the date could be postponed if both parties (as specifically represented by the "Management Group" consisting of three members selected by the British Columbia Archaeology Branch and three members selected by the CAFN) consented. Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį was held by the British Columbia Archaeology Branch for six months longer than initially agreed upon.

26. "Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį Management Agreement," 2.

27. Beattie et al., "Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį Discovery," 133.

28. My concerns regarding the imbalances in custody between the British Columbia government and the CAFN, as discussed in this section, are not meant to diminish the significant ways that the CAFN responded to the discovery and exercised their own agency in the face of persistent colonial asymmetries. One example of the CAFN's exercise of agency concerns their cedar hat project. Led by Delores Churchill, an expert weaver at the University of Alaska Southeast, First Nations members engaged in a study of the hat found near Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį's body and produced replicas of it, thereby engaging in conservation and study techniques while simultaneously providing an

opportunity to revivify interest in the art of weaving among community members (Pringle, "Out of the Ice," 59).

29. "Ancient Fur Coat Going on Display," Vancouver CBC News Web site, February 20, 2003, http://vancouver.cbc.ca/regional/servlet/view?filename=be_fur20030220, accessed January 16, 2004.

30. Grant Hughes has noted that the Royal British Columbia Museum "obtained permission to display the robe from the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations and their representatives [came to the museum] . . . and participated in the event" (e-mail correspondence). In the "Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchị Management Agreement," section 10 states that "any economic or scientific benefits or other considerations will be shared between the Parties in any matters negotiated by the Management Group" (2). Based on the terms of this agreement, I asked Mr. Hughes if the CAFN received any part of the proceeds from the admission fees to attend the exhibition. In response, Mr. Hughes stated: "The costs of the event and the proceeds were part of the budgeting for the Royal British Columbia Museum. There was no funding — nor 'proceeds' — shared with the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations. The reality is that our research and education mandate does not generate revenue for the Royal British Columbia Museum and this is also the case with Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchị" (e-mail correspondence). Whether or not section 10 of the "Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchị Management Agreement" would apply to such an exhibition is left ambiguous by the wording of the agreement and by the material practicalities of the "mandate" described by Mr. Hughes. Regarding my inquiry as to whether the CAFN has yet displayed the fur robe in their own communities (a desire suggested in the CBC news article), Mr. Hughes commented, "The robe has not been requested by the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations for loan/display in their communities" (e-mail correspondence).

31. Zimmerman, "Public Heritage," 265.

32. Lunman, "Iceman Provides Clues," A-4.

33. Dene Moore, "Funeral, Potlatch to Honour 500-Year-Old Aboriginal Man," *Edmonton Journal,* July 20, 2001.

34. Alex Tavshunsky, "B.C. Iceman Gets New Life as Science Lab Specimen — Scientists Salivate at the Research Possibilities," *Toronto Star,* August 27, 1999, http://www.thestar.com/statci/archives/search.html, accessed June 3, 2003. Samples of Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchị's soft tissue, hair, and bone were taken during the official autopsy on the body and later given to researchers whose proposals were accepted by the management committee. Some samples are still held at the Royal British Columbia Museum. While there is a general understanding among scientists that most of the samples will be used up or destroyed in the process of testing, there is no fixed time frame for returning any residual materials. According to Sheila Greer, a non-Native anthropologist employed by the CAFN, "[N]o materials have been returned to the CAFN, nor has the First Nation requested the return of any materials." Sheila Greer, "Questions related to the Long Ago Person," e-mail message to Pauline Wakeham, February 17, 2004.

35. See Joseph F. Powell, *The First Americans: Race, Evolution, and the Origin of Native Americans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Joe Watkins, "Becoming

American or Becoming Indian? NAGPRA, Kennewick, and Cultural Affiliation," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (2004): 60–80; Zimmerman, "Public Heritage," 265–74.

36. Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism Web site, http://www.ipcb.org, accessed January 8, 2006.

37. The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation government has, since the early 1990s, established an innovative Cultural Resources Protection Program (CRPP) that ensures protection of both environmental and cultural resources simultaneously. The CRPP has also been used to provide employment for tribal members and to reverse entrenched employer/employee hierarchies by contracting employees from the National Parks Service and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to participate in the tribal government's own research projects. Further information regarding this program may be found at http://www.umatilla.nsn.us/crpp/information.htm. In 1997 the CAFN became a major contributor to the "Ice Patch" research program that seeks to recover artifacts and biological specimens preserved in glacial snow for thousands of years. The ice patch research program involves many governmental and university-based researchers as well as members of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations as well as other First Nations. This coalition of Aboriginal peoples has organized its own field crews for community members and students to participate in research and to combine oral history projects with archaeological investigations.

38. *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, U.S. Code,* vol. 25, sec. 3001(9).

39. Gerstenblith, "Cultural Significance and the Kennewick Skeleton," 171.

40. The Bering Strait theory was once widely accepted by anthropologists and archaeologists. This theory suggests that "the first Americans crossed the Bering Strait land bridge connecting Siberia to North America during the terminal Wisconsinian Ice Age some 11,500 years ago." Douglas W. Owsley and Richard L. Jantz, "Kennewick Man—A Kin? Too Distant," in *Claiming the Stones,* ed. Barkan and Bush, 146. These early migrants have been designated as "Paleo-Indian" and are thought to have been biologically related to northeast Asians and "Mongoloid" peoples (146). This hypothesis has been disputed by many Aboriginal writers, intellectuals, and organizations who have claimed to have occupied the North American continent since time immemorial. For further reading, see Vine Deloria's discussion in chapter 4 of *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997). Recent archaeological discoveries have called into question the accuracy of the Bering Strait theory, prompting a series of new theories that could include multiple migrations such as an oceanic migration from Japan down the West Coast of North America to Baja, California. The diversity of theories currently under consideration suggests that science has certainly not yet answered this question definitively. Michael D. Lemonick and Andrea Dorman, "Who Were the First Americans?" *Time,* March 13, 2006, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1169905-1,00.html, accessed November 4, 2006. See also Larry J. Zimmerman and Robert N. Clinton, "Kennewick Man and Native American Graves Protection Act Woes," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 8, no. 1 (1999): 216.

41. Owsley and Jantz, "Kennewick Man," 147, 142. The database for craniofacial morphometrics used by Powell and Rose is the standard one in the field. It was developed in the 1970s by W. W. Howells of Harvard University and later refined by Richard Jantz. This database was transformed into a computer program known as FORDISC. James C. Chatters, *Ancient Encounters: Kennewick Man and the First Americans* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 175–76.

42. *Bonnichsen et. al. v. United States,* 357. F. 3d, 966, quoted in Harding, "*Bonnichsen v. United States,*" 251. In Joseph Powell and Jerome Rose's "Report on the Osteological Assessment of the 'Kennewick Man' Skeleton" (October 1999), prepared for the National Parks Service and the Department of the Interior, the scientists assert that "like other early American skeletons, the Kennewick remains exhibit a number of morphological features that are not found in modern populations" — that is, *no* modern populations. Joseph F. Powell and Jerome C. Rose, "Chapter 2: Report on the Osteological Assessment of the 'Kennewick Man' Skeleton," *Report of the Non-Destructive Examination, Description, and Analysis of the Human Remains from Columbia Park, Kennewick, Washington,* National Parks Service Web site, October 1999, http://www.cr.nps.gov/archeology/kennewick/powell_rose.htm, accessed January 8, 2006. While Powell and Rose report that "Kennewick appears to have strongest morphological affinities with populations in Polynesia and southern Asia, and not with American Indians or Europeans in the reference samples," the scientists also note that "there are indications, however, that the Kennewick cranium is morphologically similar to Archaic populations from the northern Great Basin region, and to large Archaic populations in the eastern woodlands." In summation, Powell and Rose caution that no such tests can currently be conclusive due to gaps in the scientific record. Further elaborating on the significance of his research findings in his book *The First Americans,* Powell comments: "[L]ike most other ancient skeletons from North and South America, the 'Ancient One' looked nothing like someone from a prehistoric, historic, or living Native American population. Such a finding means very little, unless one presumes that all skeletal features are fixed and immutable over time, the main assumption of racial categorizations" (11).

43. Such is precisely what the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation assert on the home page of their Web site, contesting the theories posited by the *Bonnichsen* anthropologists by affirming that "since time immemorial, we have lived on the Columbia River Plateau."

44. Watkins, "Becoming American," 62.

45. R. McGuire, "Archaeology and the First Americans," *American Anthropologist* 94, no. 4 (1992): 820, quoted in Watkins, "Becoming American," 62.

46. Harding, "*Bonnichsen v. United States,*" 253.

47. Watkins, "Becoming American," 76.

48. Chatters, *Ancient Encounters,* 173. Chatters quotes (without specific citation) C. Loring Brace when he invokes the phrase "kinship writ large."

49. Ibid., 171. It should be noted that James Chatters read an early draft of this chapter and has registered intellectual disagreement with its characterization of craniofacial morphometrics and facial reconstruction.

50. Powell and Rose, "Chapter 2."

51. Gerstenblith, "Cultural Significance," 181.

52. Thomas, *Skull Wars,* xxi, xiv.

53. Zimmerman and Clinton, "Kennewick Man and Native American," 216.

54. Chatters, *Ancient Encounters,* 142.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., 143.

57. James Chatters, "Meet Kennewick Man," part 1, NOVA Online, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/first/kennewick.html, accessed December 24, 2006.

58. James Chatters, "Meet Kennewick Man," part 2, NOVA Online, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/first/kennewick2.html, accessed December 24, 2006.

59. Powell, *The First Americans,* 10.

60. Chatters, *Ancient Encounters,* 144, 145, 146.

61. Tri-Art Gallery, "Kennewick Man Facial Reconstruction," http://www.triartgallery.com, accessed December 26, 2006.

62. Chatters, *Ancient Encounters,* 143, 147.

63. Chatters, "Meet Kennewick Man," pt. 1. Luzia is an 11,500-year-old skeleton and Spirit Cave man is a 9,400-year-old skeleton.

64. Chatters, "Meet Kennewick Man," pt. 2.

65. Beattie et al., "Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchį̨ Discovery," 135.

66. Lunman, "Iceman Provides Clues."

67. "New Data Indicates Age of Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchį̨ Find," Explore North Web site, http://explorenorth.com/library/pressrelease/bl-cafn092899.htm, accessed January 9, 2007.

68. Tavshunsky, "B.C. Iceman."

69. Beattie et al., "Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchį̨ Discovery," 142.

70. "Knowledge to Ashes," *Globe and Mail,* July 21, 2001; Brooke, "Lost Worlds Rediscovered."

71. Pringle, "Out of the Ice," 58.

72. TallBear, "DNA, Blood, and Racializing," 87; "Research Begins on Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchį̨" Government of British Columbia, Ministry of Tourism, Sport and the Arts Web site, April 18, 2000, http://www.tsa.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/kwaday/kwaday_dan_sinchi.html, accessed January 9, 2007.

73. Tavshunsky, "B.C. Iceman."

74. "Research Begins on Kwädą̨y Dän Ts'ínchį̨."

75. Building upon Monsalve's findings, Dr. David Levin of the University of Victoria launched a "Search for Living Relatives" study. This project hinged upon the collecting and testing of blood samples from various Aboriginal groups in British Columbia, the Yukon, and Alaska followed by the comparison of these samples with the DNA extracted from Long Ago Person Found in order to see whether the corpse was linked to any of these present-day groups. Many Native people volunteered their own DNA for the project while others expressed concerns. The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* reported that "many people are reluctant to participate in the study," reinforcing this argument by quoting Lawrence

Joe, Director of Heritage, Land, and Resources for the CAFN. "DNA May Unravel Lineage of Ancient Yukon Man," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette,* June 9, 2002, http://global.factiva.com, accessed January 15, 2004. Specifically, Joe comments: "There are many cultural beliefs about blood. . . . There are concerns and beliefs about hair. There are very strong beliefs on how you handle the dead."

76. According to the biological anthropologist John Relethford, the "human genome is made up of nuclear DNA and a small amount of DNA that is found within the mitochondria, organelles within the cell responsible for energy production." John Relethford, *Genetics and the Search for Modern Human Origins* (New York: Wiley-Liss, 2001), 19. Moreover, the "human mitochondrial genome is only about 0.0005% the size of the nuclear genome but has several interesting properties that make it particularly useful for assessing population history. Mitochondrial DNA is maternally inherited; your mitochondrial DNA came from your mother, but not your father, unlike nuclear DNA, which is inherited from both parents. Because of inheritance from a single parent there is no recombination, and analysis of ancestral connections is made easier" (19). Although this summary could lead people to believe that a person inherits the exact same mtDNA as his or her mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, and so on, this is not the case. Scientists believe that variation in mtDNA occurs through the accumulation of mutations over time (72).

77. M. Victoria Monsalve, "Brief Communication: Molecular Analysis of the Kwädąy Dän Ts'ínchį Ancient Remains Found in a Glacier in Canada," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 119 (2002): 288.

78. According to the GeneTree DNA Testing Corporation (a private company with a vested interest in presenting its genetic tests as conclusive evidence), "nearly 100% of Native American peoples can be classified into one of these 5 mtDNA haplogroups. These haplogroups are nearly exclusive to Native American people, and specific subtypes of these haplogroups are found at very low frequencies outside this population." GeneTree defines these five mtDNA Haplogroups as follows: "(1.) Haplogroup A . . . is highest in frequency in the Arctic/Subarctic of North America and nearly absent in non-Athapaskan-speaking folk in the Southwest; (2.) Haplogroup B is in highest frequency in the Southwest of North America; (3.) Haplogroup C is highest in frequency in Eastern North America; (4.) Haplogroup D is highest in frequency in populations from Western North America; (5.) Haplogroup X is highest in Algonquian speaking populations of the Great Lakes Region." "Native American DNA Verification Testing," GeneTree Web site, 2004, http://www.genetree.com/product/native-american-test.asp, accessed January 23, 2004 (site now updated).

79. Monsalve, "Brief Communication," 290–91.

80. Jonathon Marks and Brett Lee Shelton, "Genetic 'Markers'—Not a Valid Test of Native Identity," Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism Web site, 2000, http://www.ipcb.org/publications/briefing_papers/files/identity.html, accessed November 10, 2003, 3. The IPCB focuses not only on debates surrounding the genetic testing of Indigenous peoples; it also addresses agribusiness and pharmaceutical "bioprospecting" of Indigenous herbal remedies. A similar but smaller Canadian organization is the Indigenous Peoples Biodiversity Information Network (IBIN), located in Kamloops, British

Columbia. The IBIN currently constitutes "a mechanism to exchange information about experiences and projects and to increase collaboration among indigenous groups working on common causes related to biodiversity use and conservation." Agnes Huang, "Resources on Genetic Engineering and Other Biocolonial Conspiracies: 'Knowledge Is Power,'" *Kinesis* (May 2000): 13. The IBIN may be located online at http://www.ibin.org.

81. Dorothy Nelkin and M. Susan Lindee, *The DNA Mystique: The Gene as a Cultural Icon* (New York: W. H. Freeman, 1995), 2.

82. TallBear, "DNA, Blood, and Racializing," 84.

83. Marks and Shelton, "Genetic 'Markers,'" 1.

84. TallBear, "DNA, Blood, and Racializing," 85, 86, 87.

85. Marks and Shelton, "Genetic 'Markers,'" 1.

86. Kimberly TallBear and Deborah A. Bolnick, "'Native American DNA' Tests: What Are the Risks to Tribes?" Who Owns Native Culture? Web site, http://www.williams.edu/go/native, accessed October 20, 2006, 4.

87. Marks and Shelton, "Genetic 'Markers,'" 2.

88. "'Native American DNA' Verification Testing." The emphasis here is GeneTree's.

89. "Human Genome Diversity Project—Frequently Asked Questions," Morrison Institute for Population and Resource Studies Web site, 2003, http://www.stanford.edu/group/morrinst/hgdp/faq.html, accessed February 2, 2004. The official Web site for the North American Committee of the Human Genome Diversity Project is linked to the home page for the Morrison Institute for Population and Resource Studies at Stanford University.

90. This statement is a paraphrase from the "American Anthropological Association Statement on 'Race,'" American Anthropological Association Web site, May 17, 1998, http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/racepp.htm, accessed February 2, 2004. In this document the AAA asserts, "[E]vidence from the analysis of genetics (e.g., DNA) indicates that most physical variation, about 94%, lies *within* so-called racial groups. Conventional geographic 'racial' groupings differ from one another only in about 6% of their genes. This means that there is greater variation within 'racial' groups than between them."

91. Paul Gilroy, *Between Camps: Race, Identity, and Nationalism at the End of the Color Line* (New York: Penguin Press, 2000), 14–15, 46, 47, 34.

92. TallBear, "DNA, Blood, and Racializing," 88. M. A. Jaimes Guerrero, a member of the Juaneño/Yaqui nations, also concurs that the "racialized mind-set" operative in the use of DNA to verify Native identity "has its roots in 'blood quantum' criteria established by the U.S. federal government since the mid-1800s to determine a policy of 'federal Indian identification' for tribal and Indian 'benefits.'" M. A. Jaimes Guerrero, "Global Genocide and Biocolonialism: On the Effect of the Human Genome Diversity Project on Targeted Indigenous Peoples/Ecocultures as 'Isolates of Historic Interest,'" in *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender, and the State,* ed. Arturo J. Aldama (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 174.

93. TallBear, "DNA, Blood, and Racializing," 88–89, 94, 91.

94. Donna Haraway argues that "genomics is neither taxidermy nor the reconstruction practices of the new physical anthropology." Donna Haraway, *Modest_*

Witness@Second_Millennium. FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™: Feminism and Technoscience (New York: Routledge, 1997), 247. While Haraway does not elaborate on this statement at any length, her assertion seems to rest upon a fairly literal understanding of taxidermy and not the expanded sense of the semiotic system that I am theorizing throughout this book. I agree with Haraway if her comment is meant to suggest that it is not entirely useful to use taxidermy solely as a metaphor for genomic research. When taxidermy is reconsidered in terms of a transmogrifying semiotic system integral to the microphysics of colonial power, however, its uses for defamiliarizing forms of material violence bound up in genetic research are crucial. I will develop this argument in the following paragraphs.

95. Ibid., 245.

96. "Indigenous People, Genes, and Genetics: What Indigenous People Should Know about Biocolonialism," Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism Web site, 2000, http://www.ipcb.org/publications/primers/htmls/ipgg.html, accessed November 10, 2003.

97. Gilroy, *Between Camps,* 48.

98. Haraway, *Modest_Witness,* 247, 246.

99. V. Tauli-Corpus, "We Are Part of Biodiversity, Respect Our Rights," *Third World Resurgence* 36 (1993): 26, quoted in Laurie Anne Whitt, "Biocolonialism and the Commodification of Knowledge," *Science as Culture* 7, no. 1 (1998): 40.

100. Monsalve, "Brief Communication," 289.

101. "GenBank Overview," National Center for Biotechnology Information Web site, 2003, http://www.ncbi.nih.gov/Genbank/GenbankOverview.html, accessed February 2, 2004. More precisely, the GenBank database is "part of the International Nucleotide Sequence Database Collaboration, which comprises the DNA DataBank of Japan (DDBJ), the European Molecular Biology Laboratory (EMBL), and GenBank at NCBI. These three organizations exchange data on a daily basis" ("GenBank Overview").

102. Debra Harry and Frank C. Dukepoo, "Indians, Genes, and Genetics: What Indians Should Know about the New Biotechnology," Indigenous Peoples Coalition Against Biopiracy Web site, 1998, http://www.ipcb.org/pdf_files/primer.pdf, accessed November 10, 2003, 7. According to Donna Haraway, the "genome is the totality of genetic 'information' in an organism or, more commonly, the totality of genetic information in all the chromosomes in the nucleus of a cell. Conventionally, the genome refers only to the nucleic acid that 'codes' for something, and not to the dynamic, multipart structures and processes that constitute functional, reproducing cells and organisms" (Haraway, *Modest_Witness,* 245).

103. "Human Genome Project Information," U.S. Human Genome Project Web site, 2003, http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human_Genome/home.shtml, accessed February 2, 2004; "Indigenous People, Genes, and Genetics."

104. "Human Genome Diversity Project — Frequently Asked Questions."

105. Mark Driscoll, "Reverse Postcoloniality," *Social Text* 22, no. 1 (2004): 70, 63.

106. Guerrero, "Global Genocide and Biocolonialism," 184.

107. "Human Genome Diversity Project — Frequently Asked Questions."

108. Guerrero, "Global Genocide and Biocolonialism," 184.

109. Nelkin and Lindee, *The DNA Mystique,* 52.

110. "Human Genome Diversity Project — Frequently Asked Questions."

111. "Indigenous People, Genes, and Genetics."

112. Another crucial aspect of the Diversity Project that perpetuates power asymmetries between researchers and the indigenous peoples being studied concerns the matter of producing and patenting DNA samples and pharmaceuticals produced as a result of the "data" obtained. The Human Genome Diversity Project Web site comments: "The Project does not intend to patent the samples or any products made from them. . . . At its international congress in September 1993, the Project decided that it would not profit from the samples or the data developed from them. It further decided that it would try to guarantee that, if any products were developed as a result of samples obtained from sample repositories or data banks operated by the Project, some reasonable financial benefits would flow back to the sampled populations" ("Human Genome Diversity Project — Frequently Asked Questions"). The numerous qualifications in this statement make its assurances difficult to follow. While the Human Genome Diversity Project claims it "does not intend" to patent the samples it obtains, it does not conclusively guarantee this. Moreover, the discussion regarding the "development" of "products" and the assurances that "some reasonable financial benefits" would be returned to Indigenous communities remains vague and begs the question of what constitutes "reasonable benefits." While it falls beyond the scope of this chapter to detail the problems of exploitation that have already occurred as a result of genetic research conducted on Indigenous populations, I do want to note two important cases. In 1993 the U.S. secretary of commerce "filed a patent claim on the cell line of a 26-year-old Guaymi woman from Panama" ("Indigenous People, Genes, and Genetics") because she carried a "unique virus and its antibodies that might be important in leukemia research" (Haraway, *Modest_Witness,* 251). The Guaymi General Congress spearheaded international protest in response and pressured the U.S. government into abandoning the patent. The Guaymi have since organized to "repatriate their genetic material from the American Type Culture Collection and other First World genomic/informatic databanks" (330). In 1995, however, the U.S. Patent and Trademarks Office did grant a patent on the cell line of a Hagahai man from Papua New Guinea. The Hagahai cell line "is now available to the public at the American Type Culture Collection . . . for $216 per sample" ("Indigenous People, Genes, and Genetics").

113. Guerrero, "Global Genocide and Biocolonialism," 178.

114. "Geneticists' Summary Report on Second Workshop," Pennsylvania State University, October 29–31, 1991), 8–9, quoted in ibid., 178.

115. Donna Haraway confirms this reading when she says (in an admittedly "mordant" tone): "The population geneticists [who initiated the Human Genome Diversity Project] were also worried that many human populations around the world were becoming extinct — either literally or through interbreeding and swamping of their diversity in larger adjoining populations — with the consequent loss of genetic information forever impoverishing the databases of the species" (*Modest_Witness,* 248).

116. Whitt, "Biocolonialism," 53.

117. "Human Genome Diversity Project — Frequently Asked Questions."

118. Ibid.; Debra Harry, "Biopiracy and Globalization: Indigenous Peoples Face a New Wave of Colonialism," Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism Web site, http://www.ipcb.org/publications/other_art/globalization.html, accessed January 10, 2007.

119. World Council of Indigenous Peoples, "Resolution on the Human Genome Diversity Project," December 10, 1003, http://www.ipcb.org/resolutions/htmls/res_wcip.html, accessed November 15, 2003.

120. Whitt, "Biocolonialism," 47.

121. L. Luca Cavalli-Sforza, "The Human Genome Diversity Project: Past, Present, and Future," *Nature* 6 (April 2005): 334.

122. "Frequently Asked Questions," https://www3.nationalgeographic.com/genographic/faqs.html, Genographic Project Web site, accessed November 24, 2007.

123. Debra Harry and Le'a Malia Kanehe, "Genetic Research: Collecting Blood to Preserve Culture?" *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (January 6, 2006), http://209.200.101.189/publications/csq/csq-article.cfm?id+1874, accessed November 24, 2007.

124. Chatters, *Ancient Encounters,* 173.

POSTSCRIPT

1. Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 255.

2. Ibid., 256.

3. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), xxi, 15, 35, 36.

4. Ibid., xi.

5. Anthony J. Hall, *The American Empire and the Fourth World: The Bowl with One Spoon* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), xiii, xv.

6. Brenda Norrell, "Western Shoshone Honored for Opposition to Nuclear Weapons Tests," *Indian Country Today,* July 10, 2006, http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=1096413281, accessed July 10, 2006, 1.

7. Valerie Taliman, "U.N. Human Rights Council Adopts Declaration on Indigenous Rights," *Indian Country Today,* July 5, 2006, http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=1096413269, accessed July 5, 2006, 1.

8. Donna Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium. FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™: Feminism and Technoscience* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 16.

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