

The Voyager's Sublime: Kodachrome and Pacific Tourism

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The 'round the world' pleasure cruise is commonly traced to American tour operator Frank Clark, who chartered the *Cleveland* to sail from New York in October 1909, completing the circumnavigation in just over three months.¹ By the late 1920s and into the 1930s, the world cruise would become entrenched in the popular imagination, with unprecedented numbers embarking on luxury passenger ships such as the RMS *Empress of Britain*; cruising for leisure purposes had "come into its own as a desirable tourist experience."² A brochure for the British Red Star liner *Belgenland* describes the journey's allure, conjuring images of "untold delights of the seven seas and a thousand and one fascinating sights and scenes among the colorful peoples of many strange and distant lands."³

The Pacific was the widest oceanic span of the journey, with crossings that included stopovers at ports that had long underpinned imperial trade networks.⁴ The establishment of Matson Lines' famous "white ships" (the *S.S. Malola* was launched in 1927 and the *S.S. Mariposa* in 1931) linked the east and west coasts of the US (via the Panama Canal) to Hawai'i, Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, reflecting mass tourist demands and substantially increasing tourist traffic through Pacific ports (the 'white ships' perhaps echoing Theodore Roosevelt's Great White Fleet of battleships—also painted white—sent to circumnavigate the globe in 1907 in a show of US military prowess).⁵ The period between the wars was transitional, with European colonial networks still entrenched and US expansionism about to exert its greatest impact. Perhaps travellers during this time were prescient, sensing growing global turmoil and seeking out a cosmopolitan playground that was soon to disappear with the coming war; perhaps they simply were following a popular trend. Still, the locales they encountered, photographed, and filmed were poised on the verge of the dramatic upheavals of total militarization and the emerging American Pacific era: the culmination of well over a hundred and fifty years of political and commercial competition in the region.

As this essay outlines, the vast rise in tourist numbers on the seas coincided with the arrival of simpler, hands-on means for capturing the journey's "fascinating

sights” and “colorful peoples” in moving images, leaving behind an unprecedented visual record of the Pacific tourist experience. In 1935, Kodak introduced Kodachrome, the first commercially successful amateur color stock, acclaimed for overcoming the technical limitations of its predecessor, Kodacolor. As a result, tourists could expect to reproduce not only the full-color textures of distant locales, but capture and reconstruct what Jonathan Lamb has called the sublime of voyaging: heightened encounters and sights that could retroactively sum up the whole of a sprawling journey long after it was over.⁶ The notion of the sublime also links vision to emotion and the senses. As Heather Norris Nicholson notes: “Filmic records permitted the films’ participants and others to join in re-living memories in a particularly *intense* manner, via a series of transformations, marking connections between memory, visualisation and identity.”⁷ I want to examine these moving images, then, not only as media archives but as complex artifacts of “the always inherently politicised”⁸ *process* of mediating direct experience with ‘otherness’. These amateur films can provide unexpected insights into the fashioning of national, imperial, and cosmopolitan selves during a transitional period when British and other European colonial networks were giving way to ‘American Pacific’ ambitions.

My focus here falls in particular on the use and impact of color film and on perceptions of realism that came with the increasing availability of color stock. As has often been noted, color, as a phenomenon grounded in the properties of light, is effectively an experience rather than essence: in Wittgenstein’s terms, “seeming” as opposed to “being”.⁹ In film, color is therefore a kind of illusion, and prone to subjective interpretation across varied visual experiences.¹⁰ Engaging with this potential ambiguity, scholars such as Tom Gunning have shown that color in early cinema could intensify cinematic realism through its appeal to the senses, yet could also signify the exotic or fantastic, serving as a means to contrast the rational, monochrome world of everyday (cinematic) life.¹¹ Color film could thus heighten or exacerbate the interplay—always present, if usually latent in the film experience—between cinematic realism and fantasy/spectacle (a relation made explicit, to recall a well-known example, in the juxtaposed black and white/color sequences in *The Wizard of Oz* [1939]).

In amateur films shot on Pacific voyages, color stock would have been chosen for strategic reasons, ideally to supply an impact surpassing what Maxim Gorky referred to as the “mute, grey” life offered by black and white pictures.¹² If, as

Edward Buscombe has argued, color in mainstream filmmaking was long considered a *problem* for realism (because color could “tire and distract the eye,” taking attention away from elements of film content, form, and narrative),¹³ Kodachrome’s “natural” color process attempted to minimize these distractions, and was marketed to amateurs as providing a “brilliant and realistic” film experience.¹⁴ According to the amateur filmmaker’s ‘Bible’, *Movie Makers*, Kodachrome was characterized by the “real beauty and trueness” of its colors, it “interprets all of the colors of nature, sorts them out and puts them back together again—just as they were.”¹⁵ As I hope to demonstrate through a Kodachrome travelogue called *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* (1937), however, closer examination can reveal a more complex range of motivations and meanings behind amateur uses of color. Rather than simply reproducing “nature”, these travelogues map on to an intricate web of discourses and associations surrounding both color reproduction *and* the 1930s tourist experience. Kodachrome’s subtractive color method promised to capture direct witnessing of intense blues of water and sky, the bold hues of flora and fauna, and of course “colorful peoples” in natural settings. At the same time, color film could reconstruct travel to distant places as a form of escapist, sensational, even otherworldly spectacle—an American Oceanic sublime.¹⁶ These unstable and sometimes dueling effects of color representation engage with an extensive history of visually documenting Pacific travels, dating back at least as far as the Enlightenment.

Cosmopolitan Travels and the “World Picture”

Image-production and consumption are linked to the construction of modern selves: indeed amateur filmmaking, Patricia R. Zimmermann has convincingly shown, was closely tied in the first half of the twentieth century to the assertion of patriarchal, bourgeois, and familial self-identities.¹⁷ At the same time, encounters with landscapes and peoples distant from the familiar can form part of making and remaking subjective relations to the world. As Ellen Strain argues, identities can change in the process of traveling, even when (as on the cruise ship) people are situated within careful simulacra of the comforts of home: “travel, with its separation from familiar identity-grounding structures such as family and work [. . .] appear[s] to offer a liminality that fosters flexible identity and temporary escape from one’s ‘home’ identity.”¹⁸ As Norris Nicholson sums up, travel filmmaking thus offers unique possibilities to explore “being somewhere—and perhaps *someone*—else.”¹⁹

Part of an extensive surviving archive (and an incomprehensibly more extensive lost one) produced in the 1930s, films such as *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* indicate how the period just before the Second World War witnessed an intensification of the interlinked, consuming passions of travel and picture-making. As Gunning shows, over the course of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries there was an increasingly “obsessive labor to process the world as a series of images,” documenting travels by rail, air, ship, and automobile, while simulations such as the phantom ride enabled virtual mobilities that—along with immersive phenomena such as international and ethnographic displays at World’s Fairs—complemented these travel views.²⁰ In all, the public consumed a dizzying array of images and media, ranging from the railway and automobile film subgenres to Burton Holmes’s Paramount/MGM travel shorts and James FitzPatrick’s *Traveltalks* series, which first appeared in 1929. As Gunning elaborates, the technologizing of the tourist gaze, arguably, formed part of the technologizing of perception itself. Consuming the world in images became a means of mastering it through making and viewing it as a picture. At least one aspect of this phenomenon might be familiar: the anticipation of framing and capturing images that can effectively replace or screen direct experience: “to get into the picture” can precede being in the world.²¹

I do not, however, want to imply that tourist filmmaking yields easily dismissed or one-dimensional texts. If amateur travel filmmaking, as Zimmermann suggests, can confirm western identities by assuming “cultural power over foreigners”²² (as Burton Holmes famously contended, “to travel is to possess the world”), I also want to engage here with the complexity of amateur travelogues and what they might reveal of relations between cosmopolitan tourist ‘selves’ and toured ‘others’. As discussed further below, *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* was made by a wealthy industrialist family while cruising on the luxury yacht *Stella Polaris*; and while this backdrop might set the stage for discussions relating to western exoticism and the voyeurism of tourists with cameras, it is worth stressing that travel encounters and their reproductions also can be unpredictable and multi-faceted: fraught with ambiguities and unexpected moments of reversal. Texts produced within the contexts of imperial expansion might strive to create effects of hierarchy and order, but, as Lisa Lowe argues, even the “high” or “official” imperial text is neither monolithic nor internally consistent; difference, ambivalence, and

heterogeneity are often as fundamental to representations produced within imperial contexts as are tropes of domination and control.²³

As the archive of amateur film becomes more widely examined,²⁴ we might find that amateur travel films are not just exercises in shoring up western identities; moreover, they can offer more than nostalgic glimpses at ‘lost’ worlds. Rather, these movies indicate the contours of what Martin Heidegger called in 1938 the emerging modern “world picture”, when new film technologies were providing hands-on means to record, consolidate, and mediate the rich, vivid, and shifting sensibilities of a moving world.

A “New Imperialism”

While written and visual records might hint at the dynamic interactions of modern cosmopolitan travels, it is worth recalling the cultural and ideological frameworks that would have informed these travellers’ encounters, including a history and discourse producing what Neil Rennie has called “far-fetched facts” about the ‘South Seas’.²⁵ Moreover, American economic and military ambitions were deeply invested in the region, as the events of 1898-1899 had made clear, when the US took possession of Hawai‘i, the eastern islands of Samoa, Wake Island, Guam, and the Philippines. John R. Procter, serving on the US Civil Service Commission, summed up the moves with characteristically inflated rhetoric: “The year 1898 will be one of the epoch-marking years in the history of the United States. In this year is to be decided the great question of whether this country is to continue in its policy of political isolation, or is to take its rightful place among the great World-Powers, and assume the unselfish obligations and responsibilities demanded by the enlightened civilizations of the age.”²⁶ Procter prophesied a “New Imperialism,” praising the systems developed by “Teutonic ancestors” as models of social organization, and finding them regenerated in modern (US) imperial aims.

By the 1920s and into the early 1930s, this emerging imperial identity was largely structured around a westward-gazing Pacific expansionism, further popularized after the First World War through an “avalanche” of South Seas-themed literary and cinematic fantasy—prairies yielding to oceans, summed up in the lyrics to Irving Berlin’s hymn “God Bless America” (1918).²⁷ Fact-based travelogues and newsreel footage shored up a sense of heroic responsibility regarding intervention in Pacific territories. The *Pathé Review* (a.k.a. *American Travelogue*) release *Zooming*

Over Luzon (1930), for instance, features soaring views over the Philippines, intertitles proclaiming it, “the first aerial motion picture log of our chief island possessions to be presented on any screen.” Here, as the camera floats above Manila and the bays of Luzon, the film conveys a sense of order and control over an island occupied by the US and barely past the turmoil of war and ‘insurgency’.²⁸ By 1930, Philippine independence missions to Washington were demanding self-rule (finally granted in 1946), facts eclipsed by the film’s sublime airborne aesthetics. As pro-imperialists such as Procter argued three decades earlier: “From the blood of our heroes, shed at Santiago and Manila, there shall arise a New Imperialism, replacing the waning Imperialism of Old Rome; an Imperialism destined to carry world-wide the principles of Anglo-Saxon peace and justice, liberty and law.”²⁹

The reference to “Anglo-Saxon” values here is worth reflecting on, as it recalls that the US-British ‘special relationship’ sprang from what Peter Hulme has characterized as a peculiarly familial set of tropes, marked in political poetry and prose of the era by the language of paternity/maternity (the United Kingdom) and son/daughter, or heir apparent (the United States). As Hulme argues, “as the nineteenth century progressed, US Americanism increasingly became an ideology based on the supposed moral and political superiority of the Anglo-Saxon peoples.”³⁰ In terms of British attitudes towards its colonial responsibilities, the British colonial secretary Joseph Chamberlain’s comments at the 1902 Colonial Conference might be seen as emblematic: “The weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of its fate. We have borne the burden for many years. We think it time that our children should assist us to support it.”³¹ For poet William Watson, writing in 1898, Britain and the US were “sons of the self-same race,”³² united in the task of maintaining this “vast orb”—global imperial order—a concept reinforced in a closely related manifestation of a burgeoning imperial Anglo-Saxonism: the notion of “English-speaking peoples”. As Hulme observes, this privileged category was promoted in the writings of Teddy Roosevelt (the first volume of his *The Winning of the West* is titled “The Spread of English-Speaking Peoples”) and was a sentiment still perpetuated after the Second World War in Winston Churchill’s *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*.³³

By the 1930s, the concept of the United States as a fledgling or isolationist power were in the past, and an image of US imperial order took shape through reframing a uniquely American relationship to the legacies of European colonialism. We come across popular variations on the Anglo-Saxonist theme in FitzPatrick’s

Traveltalks, a newsreel series which provided “a stock set of images and concepts about the world abroad at a time when hardly any international films were available to American audiences.”³⁴ Instalments such as *Fiji and Samoa: The Cannibal Isles* (1933) functioned both as virtual tours for the curious and as advertisements for imperial rule, stressing the importance of the US working closely with British strategic interests while portraying the US as assuming the mantle of the British empire.

As the voiceover stresses on approach to the islands, these are national possessions: in 1874 “the Fijian chiefs formally ceded their islands to Great Britain,” while Samoa is described as an “enchanted group of islands belonging to the United States and the British Empire.” In making its case for Anglo-Saxon rule, *Fiji and Samoa* invokes hierarchies inherited from nineteenth-century ‘scientific racism’, referring to “ravenous cannibals” and “savage brown faces” as menacing music plays over shots of Fijians glancing towards the camera. The evolutionary path of imperial rule is made clear: “as a race they have travelled far along the path of development during the fifty-nine years under British rule. Perhaps war, cannibalism, polygamy, and their attendant evils are but memories of the dark past from which they have emerged.” Similarly, a shot of a Fijian policeman invites us to ponder that, “perhaps the most remarkable achievement of the white countries that have colonized the earth is that manner in which they have utilized the military services of the natives, so that they can entrust them with the very guns which were formerly used to conquer them.”

An image of savagery harnessed or tentatively contained by colonial modernity was a common trope, ranging from popular stories such as *King Kong* (1933) and Osa and Martin Johnson’s *Borneo* (1937) to more putatively scientific reflections on Pacific cultures such as Margaret Mead’s. Revisiting Manus Island after twenty-five years, a decade after total militarization (Manus was used as a staging ground for troops during the Second World War), Mead states in *New Lives for Old: Cultural Transformation-Manus, 1928-1953*:

This is an account of how a people only recently correctly called ‘savages’ have traversed in the short space of twenty-five years a line of development which it took mankind many centuries to cover. It is the story of the particular tribe of the Admiralty Islands [. . .] It is the story of a people without a history, without any theory of how they came to be, without any belief in a permanent future life, without any knowledge of geography, without writing [. . .] It is the

story of a people who had become [. . .] potential members of the modern world, with ideas of boundaries in time and space, responsibility to God, enthusiasm for law, and committed to trying to build a democratic community, educate their children, police their landscape and village, care for the old and the sick, and erase age-old hostilities between neighboring tribes.³⁵

Marked by an evolutionary subtext, the conflation of “mankind” and the West, and what Johannes Fabian refers to as an “allochronic” ethnographic discourse,³⁶ Mead’s image of Pax Americana is not far from the imperial Pax Britannica promoted in the *Fiji and Samoa* instalment of *Traveltalks*.

Clearly both *Fiji and Samoa* and Mead’s text reflect the interdependency of national and imperial identities, but arguably as a visual text (further elaborated in my reading of *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris*, below), the former might point to certain conflicts and tensions within the imperial gaze, suppressed in Mead’s writing (where those represented are filtered through Mead’s focalizing authorial voice). *Fiji and Samoa* adopts a factual tone that works to disguise imperialist chauvinism, while the voiceover strives to restrict the viewer’s interpretation of the images; still, it can never wholly eliminate other, potentially more complex or open-ended modes of reception. Do the ‘savages’ described by the voiceover correspond to their image? (Figures 1 and 2) How might acts of seeing engage with tensions always present within imperialist framing narratives?

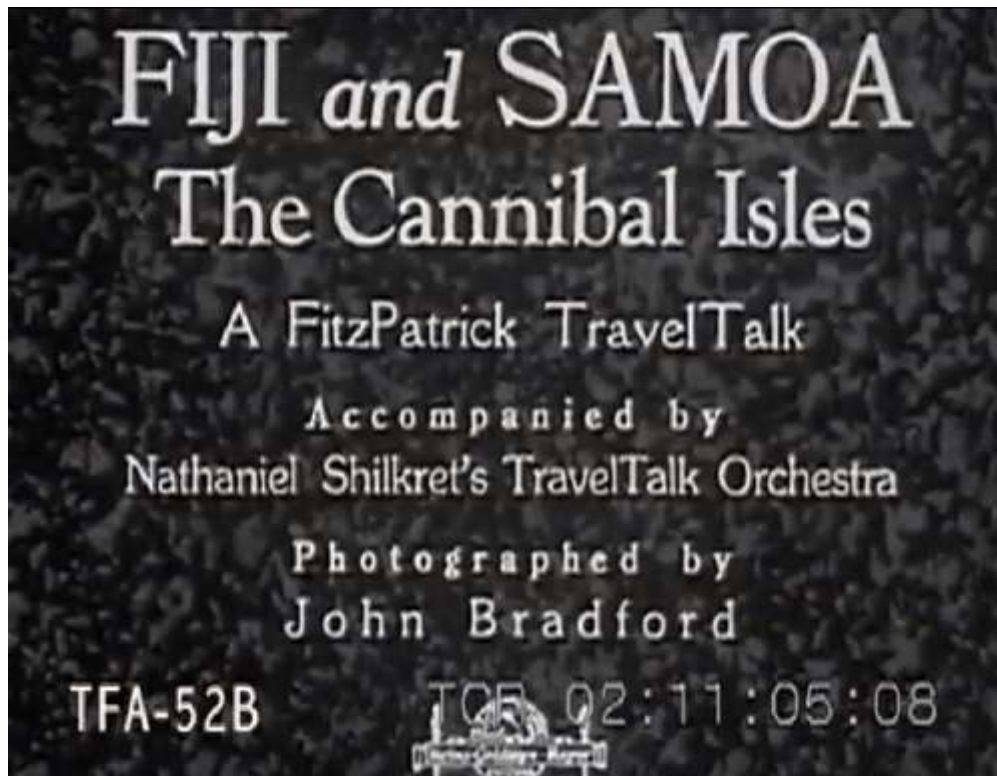


Figure 1: *Fiji and Samoa* (1933)



Figure 2: *Fiji and Samoa*

While hardly constituting ‘resistance’ to imperial spectacle there is often an irreducible quality—in spite of restrictive representational strategies—to the moving image that may give rise to ambivalent and contradictory readings, even revealing the impossibilities of simple dichotomies of us/them, civilized/savage. Gunning posits the moving image’s “ongoing energy”, suggesting that “witnessing need not be [always]

restricted to objectification or to an investment in an imaginary ego ideal.”³⁷ This potential arguably becomes more palpable, and disruptive, in the less commercial and less disciplined world of amateur film.

Color and Empire (or, The Color of Money)

The films discussed above were shot in black and white, but of course choices relating to media—cameras, film stock, editing—are rarely incidental; it’s important to remain attentive to the specificities of media as well as to the technical, aesthetic, and (often conjoined) ideological contexts of their uses.³⁸ Color media have long been used to enhance the connotative possibilities of travel representations; during the Enlightenment era, color was used both faithfully and experimentally in attempting to capture an essence of the South Seas’ “far-fetched facts”. In the work of illustrators such as William Hodges, who produced sumptuous, large-scale views of Tahiti after his return to England from Captain Cook’s second circumnavigation (1772-75), we find semi-fantastic renderings of the South Seas that some believed undermined the formal exactitude of the *plein air* sketches, watercolors, and life drawings he made on the voyage. One commentator noted: “It is rather surprising . . . that a man of Mr. Hodges’s genius should adopt such a ragged mode of colouring: his pictures all appear as if they were unfinished.”³⁹

One of these paintings, *View Taken in the Bay of Otaheite Peha* (1776),⁴⁰ visualizes the sublime of South Seas voyaging, drawing on color vision to induce sensual engagement. Part of a series of epic studies made for the Admiralty, this work presents an Arcadian paradise suffused with light, warmth, ‘classicized’ native bodies, and intense color, perhaps reflecting a flair for the dramatic inherited from Hodges’s earlier career as a painter of theatrical scenery. Such landscapes can induce sensation while at the same time offering a voyeuristic ‘peep’ at Pacific life: such images are invitations to the west, serving as a means to market a South Pacific idyll.

Indeed color illustration, photography, and color motion pictures would be closely tied to marketing empire. As posters made for the British Empire Marketing Board attest, color could be relied upon as a powerful tool for conveying the exotic allure of colonial possessions, while marking their tropical ‘otherness’ to the temperate zones of the Northern Hemisphere.⁴¹ Color also played a role in the symbiotic relationship between tourism’s steep rise and photographic reproduction. Illustrated travel lecturers used hand-tinted photographic lantern slides in their

presentations, heightening realism and sensation, a practice that lecturers continued to employ after the invention of motion pictures. At the same time, lecturers played their part in reinforcing links between Americanization, imperial acquisition, and a well-established missionary zeal for ‘civilizing’ the uncivilized. Burton Holmes, for instance, delivered lectures such as “The Hawaiian Islands” (1898-99), a pro-expansionist account of the annexation of Hawai‘i, and “Manila” (1899-1900), which lent support to the controversial invasion of the Philippines (an occupation widely represented as an imperial “civilizing mission”).⁴²

Images of empire went hand in hand with color and travel spectacle: in 1912, Charles Urban’s blockbuster the *Delhi Durbar*, shot with the patented two-color process known as Kinemacolor, was an enormous hit in both the UK and the US. Urban was an American-born entrepreneur based in Britain, and his *Delhi Durbar* recorded a colonial ceremony invented during the Victorian era, staged to signify the crowning of a new monarch as Emperor of India. It was a spectacle designed, in Simon Brown’s words, as the “signature production of the pageant of empire.”⁴³ In Urban’s production, the pleasures of transport into a world of imperial order were enhanced by scale and, as Urban’s Natural Color Kinematograph Company’s advertisements of the day stressed, *natural* (as opposed to tinted), ‘you are there’ color. Immersed in the world of the Durbar, viewers experienced an intricate interweaving of intensified reality and orientalist fantasy. The *New York Telegraph* praised the transport through time and space provided by scale, image quality, and especially color: “There is no need to seek the fabled East in the distant Orient. It may be found in Broadway at the New York Theatre [. . .]. They were not merely moving pictures—they pulsed with life, color and emotion.”⁴⁴ Moving from the ‘old’ empire to the new, *The Making of the Panama Canal* (1912, by the Kinemacolor Company of America) was, at nine reels, a pageant born not out of the opulence of monarchy but out of American hard graft and industry. At the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, a working model of the canal had already made its strategic importance felt to millions of Americans: the canal could do for US global expansion what the transcontinental railroad had for the mastery of North America, on an even grander scale. The US achievement of the canal was widely figured as a triumphal tale of technological expertise, “in which nation is featured as hero.”⁴⁵

All of this serves as backdrop to the complex ways color film was received and would be put to use by the public in the years between the wars. In 1928 Kodak

launched Kodacolor; but it really was the marketing of Kodachrome in 1935 and the Cine-Kodak home movie camera (using film magazines instead of rolls) the following year—both exclusively targeted at amateurs—that saw color filmmaking attain the status of an accessible popular pastime (Figure 3).

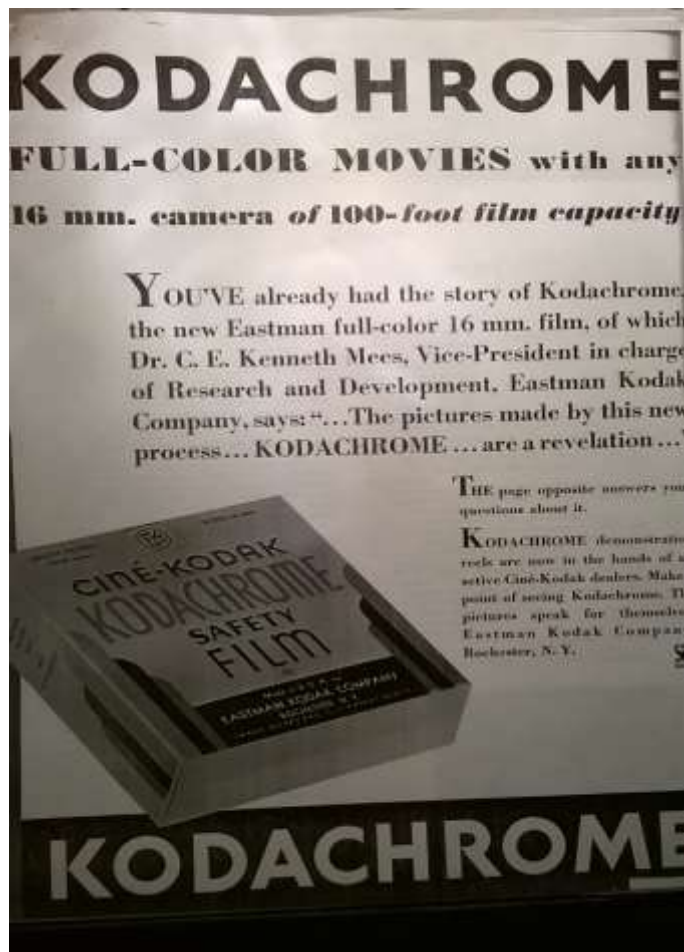


Figure 3: Kodachrome advertisement, *Movie Makers* 10.5 (May 1935)

As *Movie Makers* announced in May 1935, Kodak's new products could finally "visualize your favorite movie subjects as reproduced with the unmatched beauty and realism that only Kodachrome can bring to your screen."⁴⁶

The flexibility of Kodachrome magazines made them especially well-suited for travel, while claims made for the product's fidelity to natural color promised an acute sense of 'being there', closing the gap between direct and virtual experience. Yet there was also something paradoxical in the color travelogue's twinning of spectacle and 'being there'. As I've suggested, color signification in the 1930s was operating at multiple levels, and color film wouldn't always have evoked a collective sense of realism. In Hollywood, color still belonged to the realms of fantasy, glamour, and historical costume productions; yet the new Kodachrome technology promised to

duplicate as closely as possible the experience of colors in nature. As the film examined in the next section shows, amateur color travelogues often seem pulled in both directions, sometimes at once, inhabiting an unstable contact zone between uncanny difference and intimate closeness, fantastical and indexical.

*Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris*⁴⁷

The *Stella Polaris*, as the *Singapore Free Press* stressed in 1937, was known for offering an exclusive travel experience: “The cruise is always limited to 135 members, not only to allow more room for all on board, but because in the South Seas, small membership is desirable.” Further, the ship had practical advantages that were “distinctly her own. Her light draft, for example, allows her to sail into lagoons where a liner would not venture.”⁴⁸ A typical itinerary involved setting off from New York for a four month cruise, journeying via Cuba and the Panama Canal, then into the Pacific, stopping at the Galapagos, Marquesas, Samoa, Tahiti, and Fiji before heading towards Papua New Guinea, Banda Neira, Ambon (Amboina in the film), Bali, Jakarta (Batavia), Singapore, Sumatra, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), India, the Seychelles, Maputo (Lourenço Marques), around the Cape of Good Hope and north to Freetown, the Canary Islands, and Morocco, finally landing at Southampton.⁴⁹

This was an experience about which most Depression-era Americans could have only fantasized—truly a journey to elsewhere. As newspapers stated, the *Stella Polaris* was “a world apart”: “the ship carries a cross-section of retired business people and wealthy socialites, all eager to see new and strange sights.”⁵⁰ The cruise would have cost double the average yearly salary (the minimum ticket price was \$2400), while documenting the journey on Kodachrome at \$9 (including developing) for a 100-foot (three minute) magazine meant that the expense for extensive filming would have been prohibitive to most. Thirty magazines, or ninety minutes of film, would have cost \$270, over half the price of a new Ford automobile. The filmmakers, Harry and Bolling Wright, spent even more on the hobby, owning home cinemas where the finished travelogue would have been screened with recorded musical accompaniment and live narration, to groups of friends and colleagues.⁵¹

As Strain suggests, by the early-twentieth century a relatively precise set of strategies was in place for travelers sampling the foreign scene: “touristic pleasure was made possible through the creation of a ‘safety zone’ within which the exhilaration of geographical proximity with an exoticized stranger could exist without

compromising other, less literal, forms of distance.”⁵² This zone provided space for amateur photographers in the quest to record their adventures. In Strain’s view, travel and filming could help secure individual and social power and autonomy, drawing clearer lines between “the haves and have nots, the mobile and the static, the tourists and the toured,” thus shoring up western identities.⁵³ Yet, as Norris Nicholson observes, the links between identity formation and amateur filmmaking further engage with negotiations between private and public, between “capturing” sights from behind the camera and screening the results to wider audiences: “contrasting with the more private role occupied during shooting, where the camera may well function as something to hide behind, rather like a mask or screen, [the] public presentation invites interrogation and response.” Differing in these respects from professional newsreels such as *Fiji and Samoa*, amateur film maintains a “personal connection” established between viewers and the filmmakers/presenters, which forms a key element of shared cinema experiences.⁵⁴

A closer look at *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* can suggest some of these complex relations at work, both in the process of filming and in choices made to narrativize the journey. Produced under the sway of hegemonic conventions and often visibly striving for effects of order and “discursive consistency,”⁵⁵ such texts still might generate heterogeneous and contradictory readings. Hence while the film follows patterns of the conventional travelogue, held together by the slight narrative of the journey (one port of call leading to the next, departures, arrivals, picturesque landscapes, brief shots of local people), nonetheless it can also suggest a potentially disruptive mix of connotations through unexpected observations, accidents, and uses of color. Unlike mainstream “constructions of what islanders do,” as Jane Moulin observes, the amateur travelogue can, within limits, reveal everyday lives in motion.⁵⁶ The extant thirty-eight minute film primarily contains scenes taken at ports—highlighted moments of the trip—with only a brief sequence showing life on board. Color schemes are muted in early scenes, with shots of the waves breaking along a grey Havana Harbor, moving quickly to the symbolic passage through the Panama Canal, where titles announce the strategic American possession (avoiding reference to tensions brewing in Europe and Japan) as the “crossroads of the world.” The Galapagos provide the first glimpses of stranger worlds to be encountered. The austere islands offer opportunities to film rare seabirds and iguanas, though against the blackness of volcanic rock, color is barely visible. Indeed, the prevalent black in

these shots perhaps retains its own color palette implications; as a *Stella Polaris* passenger William H. Danforth later wrote, the Galapagos unexpectedly “proved to be lonely, desolate, and sinister” for travelers on the cruise.⁵⁷ The sequence closes with a brief shot of Heinz and Margaret Wittmer, somewhat infamous residents of (what the titles hint is) an “ill-fated” Floreana Island.⁵⁸

“*Monotony* is the enemy of interest,” wrote Technicolor’s Natalie Kalmus, arguing for an enhanced “color consciousness” in film making and viewing.⁵⁹ When the action moves from the Galapagos across the equator, the withholding of strong dramatic and color elements up to this point suddenly shifts as the titles, against a background styled to mimic woven pandanus leaves, exclaim, “The South Sea islands at last!” (Figure 4)

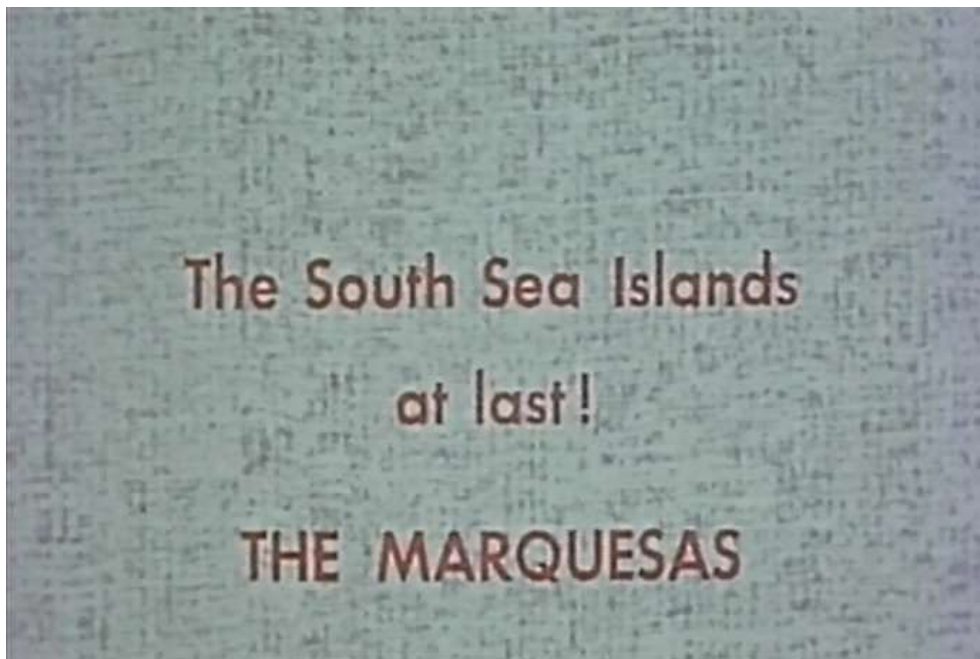


Figure 4: *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* (1937)

Arrival at a much-anticipated tropical paradise is emphasized through shots of the Marquesas, where blue sky and distant mountains are framed by flowering trees and palms waving in the foreground, evoking the formal balance and intense colors of a host of Pacific views, including Hodges’s Tahitian landscapes. The ‘shock’ of color here suggests both strategies for enhancing the viewer’s “color consciousness” and reinforcing the conventions of Pacific fantasy, where intensities light and color have long served as tropes for tropical paradise. “Just as the Western film embraced space,” Raymond F. Betts suggests, “the one set in the South Seas captured light.”⁶⁰ Danforth, when attempting to “picture [in words] our last view” of Tahiti, ends up quoting a

colorful passage from Nordhoff and Hall's *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1932): "the rosy light grew stronger, the velvet of the heavens faded and turned blue. Then the sun, still below the horizon, began to tint the little clouds in the east with every shade of mother of pearl—."⁶¹ Kodachrome, *Movie Makers* attested, made it possible to capture such sights in "natural" color (e.g. "the yellow moon, emulating the beauty which had just departed with the sunset") and later to "project that scene back into civilization" in order to "live that moment over again."⁶²

Along with the striking color that breaks into *Around the World* on arrival at the Marquesas,⁶³ the wide-angle images and brief panorama shot adhere to contemporary advice for amateurs. Articles about Kodachrome stressed minimal employment of slow pans, moving left to right for (presumably western) legibility and never "tracking back" over the same scene, and the need for steady and clear shooting. "Never 'panoram' with a telephoto lens," argued *Movie Makers*, "and, if possible, use a tripod."⁶⁴ The wide angle Marquesas landscapes then cut to shots that include human figures, at first small and set against the lush backdrop, then becoming the primary focus, background into foreground. All are women: one shot depicts girls in missionary influenced dress, walking into the frame and stopping to pose (the continuity still moving left to right); the next shot suggests a more ethnographic sensibility, showing three women washing clothes in a stream. Again the shot follows established advice: "take close shots of the native people in their daily pursuits," encouraged one article.⁶⁵ Other than the title card, more specific information about the filming location is withheld (actually Nukuhiva, according to the ship's itinerary). "The Marquesas" in American myth and narratives ranging from Herman Melville's *Typee* (1846) to Frederick O'Brien's *White Shadows in the South Seas* (1919) serves here a kind of synecdoche for the sublime of the South Seas, with color further eliciting exotic associations.⁶⁶

As Zimmermann notes, magazines such as *Photo-Era* claimed that the maintenance of narrative continuity in the amateur travelogue could help to organize not only the story, but the traveller's own recollections of the journey.⁶⁷ When announcing a new port of call, most sequences begin with a title card stating the location, followed by establishing shots that frequently incorporate a camera pan—harking back to the original functions of the panorama, striving to produce a complete impression of a scene and to situate the spectator within that scene. In spite of constant voyaging, island hopping, embarking and disembarking (not to mention

storing, maintaining, carrying, and operating cameras and film) the fluctuating tourist scene becomes less a fractured modern travel experience than a well-ordered, continuous flow of words and moving images.

As in the Marquesas sequence, arrivals at other locales such as Papua New Guinea and Tahiti are marked by wide-angle establishing shots that give way to medium-long shots and medium shots, followed by close-ups (portraits of local people or displays of commodities such as copra). Mimicking newsreel stereotypes, the title card when the *Stella Polaris* arrives in Papua New Guinea announces, “Britain’s cannibal isle—New Guinea.” As in FitzPatrick’s *Fiji and Samoa*, ‘savagery’ is shown as suppressed under colonialism: a subsequent shot reveals the harbor at Port Moresby, with Papuan figures posed in a tranquil setting that seems completely out of step with the anthropophagical labelling. Cutting to a medium shot of a Papuan woman and children disembarking from a boat, the scene then shifts to a busy communal space, where people are assembling for what appears to be a Mekeo dance. Shots of local people focus on the colors of feather headdresses and costume details. The sequence gives the impression of an encounter with what cultural anthropologists of the 1930s might have called a “simpler” culture, largely cut off from the modern world,⁶⁸ but what remains unmarked are the strict regulations imposed on the Papuans by the colonial administration of Hubert Murray (Lieutenant Governor from 1908-1940), which included banning clothing on the upper body for both men and women. As Eric Hirsch observes, while these policies purported to protect the traditional culture from outside influences, the legislation also served to keep Papuans “in their place”: unable to engage on their own terms with colonial change.⁶⁹ Here the film’s color palette also intensifies, and in this respect possibly (though we’ll return to this point shortly) reinforces David Batchelor’s thesis that color in the Western tradition has been “made out to be the property of some ‘foreign’ body—usually the feminine, the oriental, the primitive, the infantile, the vulgar.”⁷⁰

But the sequence goes against convention in other ways: as the dance begins, spatial relations shift and the gap between filmmaker and Papuan closes, placing the spectator amidst the group rather than observing from a tourist “safety zone.” Perhaps most striking are the unexpected interruptions and juxtapositions that break into the narrative flow and would normally have been excised from mainstream Pacific spectacle. A girl walks into the foreground of a shot, notices the camera and carefully backs away again; in another shot, western spectators dressed in bright whites rub

shoulders with the hubbub of the Papuan crowd, breaking the fourth wall; soon after, elaborately dressed men assemble and pose for the camera while more casual passers-by, some in western clothing, seemingly oblivious to the solemnity of the occasion. Others look across the frame, no longer framed as display, hinting at other concerns, other stories that resonate towards the out-of-field (Figure 5).



Figure 5: *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* (1937)

Similar to the opening of the Papua New Guinea sequence, arrival at Tahiti is marked by a wide shot, taken from across the water as the *Stella Polaris* glides into Pape‘ete harbor. Continuing the ethnographic themes of work and daily routine initiated at the end of the Marquesas sequence, the film shows men shoveling copra and women sewing up bags for shipping. This leads into a group of shots entitled “Vignettes of Tahitian life”, which features a man carving an outrigger canoe (va‘a) and women doing washing, sometimes glancing towards the camera as they work. These vignettes reveal moments of everyday life while displaying skills in amateur color technique. Unlike the Wittmers in the Galapagos, these people are not named, but the direct and unembellished camerawork and relaxed subjects suggest more than a mere opportunity for presenting interesting color compositions or native ‘types’. Remarking on the “ten best” amateur films of 1934, *Movie Makers* pointed out that true skill in taking amateur shots of people from different cultural backgrounds involved “presenting people as they are, not as they might be made to appear for the sake of motion picture cleverness.” Filmmakers were to avoid “obvious aids to sustain

interest” such as “making a point of what, in dress or custom, might appear to be a strange peculiarity to other people.”⁷¹

After the vignettes, the film shifts to a ceremonial occasion, highlighting dancing and the preparation of a feast. Among the earliest color moving images of such a ceremony, the scene features the reds, greens, and light blues of dyed bark skirts, colors of fern and flower head decorations, and the bright yellows of garlands. The images might be compared to similar documentary and documentary-style scenes shot in black and white in *Moana* (shot in Samoa, 1925) and *White Shadows in the South Seas* (shot in Tahiti, 1927-28). Here the distinctive qualities of Kodachrome color make themselves felt. Arguably less aesthetically rarefied than *Moana*'s panchromatic artistry and less color saturated than processes such as Technicolor (hence appearing less patently artificial), Kodachrome images such as a close-up of po'e (fruit pudding) being prepared seem both tactile and immediate, and might even encourage synaesthetic responses, triggering senses of touch, smell, and taste.

The dancing and food preparation scenes further contrast with shots of *Stella Polaris* passengers, shown seated along a large table taking part in the feast. Noticeably blander and greyer, dressed in cotton whites and shades of brown, they introduce a stark contrast; indeed to the “color conscious” the film becomes remarkable for its temporary lack of color. It is tempting to read such moments along the lines of Batchelor's argument, where color in Western aesthetics is associated with the vulgar, the reserve of “non-western sensuality.”⁷² We could also recall Kalmus, who argued that white in film “emanates a luminosity which symbolizes spirit . . . purity, cleanliness.”⁷³ Yet it would be restrictive to read the contrast here of western tourists to Tahitians, colorless to colorful, in purely hierarchical terms. The tourists appear strangely out of place in this full-color *mise-en-scène*; the appearance of whiteness empties the world of color.

Perhaps such moments, when *Around the World* appears to countervail contemporary convention, also are testaments to Kodachrome's “natural” color as opposed to the saturated color visibility that challenged claims to realism for processes such as Technicolor. Amateurs weren't restrained by big-budget expectations, nor were they wedded to the Kalmus manifesto that argued for an organized and legible system of color signification. Further, if we place emphasis on color's “seeming” over its “being”, then rather than yield logical systems of meaning, color signification in film might be likened more to chaos than order. For Paul Coates,

color film could thus be described as “displaying an unstable equilibrium and as ordered more mysteriously, in non-linear fashion, by a ‘strange attractor’.” Hence color film “would mandate a fractal structuration overridden by the cruder forms of colour systematisation and symbolisation found in mainstream cinema, and begun by Technicolor.” Rather than just provide a set of logical correspondences (for example red indicating heat and passion, blue suggesting cold and isolation), color film might unsettle the spectator’s ability process images in clear-cut or controlled ways, further loosening the connotative possibilities and contradictions always present in the moving image. In this respect, perhaps amateur filmmakers were, as *Movie Makers* contended, “several jumps ahead in the intelligent use of color cinematography.”⁷⁴

Kodachrome color in *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* may at times appear to mimic conventional markers of exotic unreality, as announced in the Marquesas sequence, yet at other moments seems to do the opposite, naturalizing the ‘foreignness’ of the scene. In this sense, color in these amateur travelogues might be likened to the technical, aesthetic, and cultural turn marked by the famous case of *The Jazz Singer* (1927), where the awkward synch sound technology in the “Blue Skies” scene evokes both difference and strangeness (from then-familiar silent film standards) and uncanny familiarity (appearing to mimic, even in its rough state, to the lived world of synchronized sound).⁷⁵ Here we witness media conventions in the process of engaging with new forms—a dialectical remediation, and convergence (of film media and their relation to realism). In the case of color, the transition took place unevenly: a decades-long process operating both within and outside Hollywood and a complex negotiation between the professional and non-professional, ‘high’ and ‘low’, public and private filmmaking and film consumption.

Finally, it is worth remarking on several shots that seem to further disrupt the travelogue experience. The relatively seamless reproduction of ceremonial dancing and feasting is interrupted when we see a row of dancers taking a break, listlessly smoking cigarettes; in a closer shot, the camera pans across several women in mid-close up, like a Busby Berkeley chorus line; finally a deeply-lined man (perhaps the group leader) decorated in ferns and flowers is shown nodding and responding to off-screen questions with a look of profound seriousness (Figure 6).



Figure 6: *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* (1937)

Why use expensive color stock to film what's taking place in the margins? Why, later, include these shots? Rather than simply reinforcing clichés about the South Seas, and about cultural 'purity' and difference, the complete Tahitian sequence both shows the tourist spectacle and, briefly, reveals what Dean MacCannell has called its "staged authenticity," exploring the "back regions" or, in this case, the normally off-screen elements of the travelogue.⁷⁶ The status of toured and tourist, 'them' and 'us', is never openly questioned or critiqued in the film, but inevitably implications of more complex cultural relations and transformations reveal themselves.

Conclusion

We have no way of knowing precisely how *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* was narrated by its makers, nor how audiences of friends and acquaintances responded to the film. As indicated by the obtrusive voiceover of *Fiji and Samoa*, such elements clearly can influence how images are received and interpreted. Yet projected in silence, with little to guide the viewer beyond the visible evidence of its moving color images, the film can give rise to a more complex understanding of travelers with cameras, the sights and people they filmed, and the travelogues they produced on the cusp of the American Pacific era. As Melinda Stone and Dan Streible have said of excavating the archive of amateur film, "the more we study these images, the more their uncommon and idiosyncratic nature becomes apparent. The more

amateur, small gauge films we see, the more we realize how much of film history remains unwritten.”⁷⁷

The amateur travelogue, while often following established patterns of organized cinematic cognition, was also recording and relaying new encounters and forms of perception: what Elizabeth Cowie calls, “the real imaged in film, a real not as knowledge but as spectacle mastered by the camera-eye which brings to our view the extraordinary, the hidden, the never-before seen.”⁷⁸ As I’ve suggested, amateur travel films can reveal cultural tensions and openings on to the unexpected even while they appear to enact a disciplining, through techniques such as shot composition and editing, of the unpredictable travel encounter. Whether these openings occur by intent or accident, as personal or collective observation and experience, such details can subtly attenuate the conventions of orderly or picturesque views standardized in an era of burgeoning tourist and imperial spectacle. These dual, not always mutually exclusive, tendencies can be said to mark acts of documenting journeys and apprehending the world through film. Travel films such as *Around the World* offer not just—or merely—exoticized spectacle, but point to, “index,” ephemeral processes of beginning to perceive and engage with the ‘unknown’ or ‘strange’ through the body’s movement, vision and other senses. They point towards ways of rethinking not just relations between color film and perceptions of realism, but how the “far-fetched facts” of the South Seas flowed against and into an emerging Pacific Rim imaginary.

¹ Allan E. Jordan, “Around the World in 108 Days,” *Cruise Travel* (February 1996): 22.

² Ngaire Douglas and Norman Douglas, “P&O’s Pacific,” *Journal of Tourism Studies* 7.2 (December 1996): 3. The *Empress of Britain* undertook a world cruise every year between 1931 and 1939 (with the exception of 1933). The minimum fare was \$2100, rising to \$16000. See Henrik Ljungström, “Empress of Britain, 1931-1940,” <http://www.thegreatoceanliners.com/empressofbritain> 2 (accessed 1 October 2012).

³ Quoted in Jordan, 24. The *Belgenland* began flying the American flag in 1935 as a cruise liner sailing for the US Panama Pacific Line, changing its name to the *Columbia*. See “New Colors: Panama Pacific Line Adds Columbus to List of Ships,” *The Pittsburgh Press* 27 January 1935, 37.

⁴ The development of routes depended on variables such as established trading ports and the size of the ship, with a gradual the shift taking place from “cargo-driven ports of call” to “passenger-driven ports of call”; see Douglas and Douglas, 3.

⁵ Peter Hulme connects the naming of the Great White Fleet to Rudyard Kipling’s famous poem “The White Man’s Burden”, published in *McClure’s* in 1899. See Hulme, “Remember the Mane: A Special Poetic Relationship, 1895-1904,” *Kunapipi* 34.2 (2012): 55-68. The poem’s subtitle is “The United States and the Philippine Islands.”

⁶ Jonathan Lamb, “Introduction,” *Eighteenth Century Life* (special issue) 18.3 (November 1994): 7.

⁷ Heather Norris Nicholson, “Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain’s Amateur Film Movement, 1925-1950,” in *Movies on Home Ground: Explorations in Amateur Cinema*, ed. in Ian Craven (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 95; my italics.

⁸ Norris Nicholson, 94.

- ⁹ Quoted in Christopher Peacocke, "Colour Concepts and Colour Experience," in *Readings in Color* vol. 1: *The Philosophy of Color*, ed. Alex Byrne and David R. Hilbert (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 63.
- ¹⁰ See for example G. Blitz and J. Lamouret, *Colour and Kodak Films: Still and Movie* (London and New York: Focal Press, 1963), 1. On color's potentially contradictory meanings, see Brian Price, "Introduction," in *Color, The Film Reader*, ed. Angela Dalle Vacche and Brian Price (New York: Routledge, 2006), 5.
- ¹¹ Tom Gunning, "Colorful Metaphors: The Attraction of Color in Early Silent Cinema," *Photogenia* 1 (1994), <http://www.muspe.unibo.it/wwcat/period/fotogen/num01/numero1d.htm> (accessed 1 October 2012).
- ¹² Maxim Gorky, "A Review of the Lumière Program," trans. Leda Swan, in *Kino: A History of the Russian and Soviet Film*, ed. Jay Leyda (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 407.
- ¹³ Quoted in Steve Neale, *Cinema and Technology: Image, Colour, Sound* (London: Macmillan, 1985), 145-6. The premier commercial color process, Technicolor, was not only expensive, but its use was carefully monitored by its parent corporation. Even with Technicolor's famous "color consultant", Natalie M. Kalmus, lobbying for color's naturalization in features, into the 1940s color was "still overwhelmingly associated, aesthetically, with spectacle and fantasy." Steve Neale, "Technicolor," in *Color, The Film Reader*, ed. Angela Dalle Vacche and Brian Price (New York: Routledge, 2006), 17-19. See also Kalmus's essay, "Color Consciousness" (1935), in Dalle Vacche and Price, 24-29.
- ¹⁴ Harris B. Tuttle, "Seeing Color" (part 1), *Movie Makers* 12.10 (October 1937): 482.
- ¹⁵ Harris B. Tuttle, "The How of Kodachrome," *Movie Makers* 10.6 (June 1935): 241; Tuttle, "Seeing Color" (part 1), 482.
- ¹⁶ This idea resonates particularly in Rob Wilson's work on Oceania and the American sublime, see for example "Towards the Nuclear Sublime: Representations of Technological Vastness in Postmodern American Poetry," *Prospects* 14 (October 1989): 407-39.
- ¹⁷ Patricia R. Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); see especially 43-55.
- ¹⁸ Ellen Strain, *Public Places, Private Journeys: Ethnography, Entertainment, and the Tourist Gaze* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 264.
- ¹⁹ Norris Nicholson, 97.
- ²⁰ Tom Gunning, "The Whole World Within Reach: Travel Images Without Borders," in *Virtual Voyages: Cinema and Travel*, ed. Jeffrey Ruoff (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 32.
- ²¹ Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture" (1938), trans. William Lovitt, in Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 129.
- ²² Zimmermann, 73.
- ²³ Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), ix.
- ²⁴ See for example: Zimmermann, *Reel Families*; Alan D. Kattelle, *Home Movies: A History of the American Industry, 1897-1979* (Nashua, NH: Transition Publishing, 2000); Charles Tepperman, "Communicating a New Form of Knowledge: Tracing the Amateur Cinema League and Its Films (1926-1954)" (2007), PhD dissertation, University of Chicago; Kaveh Askari, "Early 16mm Colour by a Career Amateur," *Film History* 21.2 (2009): 150-163; Karen Ishizuka and Patricia Zimmermann, eds., *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Ian Craven, ed., *Movies on Home Ground: Explorations in Amateur Cinema* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2009).
- ²⁵ See Neil Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 30-82.
- ²⁶ John Robert Procter, "Isolation or Imperialism" (*Forum* XXVI [September 1898]), quoted in Richard E. Welch, *Imperialists vs. Anti-imperialists: The Debate over Expansionism in the 1890s* (Ithaca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1972), 21.
- ²⁷ See for example my *Facing the Pacific: Polynesia and the U.S. Imperial Imagination* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 2. See also Paul Lyons, *American Pacificism: Oceania and the U.S. Imagination* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
- ²⁸ The fierce and bloody Battle of Bud Bagsak (1913) is considered the culminating conflict during US possession.
- ²⁹ Quoted in Welch, 26.
- ³⁰ Hulme, 59.
- ³¹ Quoted in Hulme, 58.
- ³² Watson is quoted in Hulme, 62.

- ³³ On the notion of the “English speaking race” see Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru, and Cecil L. Nelson, *The Handbook of World Englishes* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2009) 297.
- ³⁴ Jeffrey Ruoff, “The Filmic Fourth Dimension: Cinema as Audiovisual Vehicle,” in Ruoff, 13.
- ³⁵ Margaret Mead, *New Lives for Old: Cultural Transformation—Manus, 1928-1953* (1956) (New York: Dell, 1971) 45. Manus Island has become known for its notorious immigration detention center (a.k.a. “Pacific Solution Facility”), set up by the Australian government.
- ³⁶ See Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
- ³⁷ Tom Gunning, “Invisible Cities, Visible Cinema: Illuminating Shadows in Late Film Noir,” *Comparative Critical Studies* 6.3 (2009): 331.
- ³⁸ An example would be Robert Flaherty’s use of panchromatic stock in Samoa while shooting *Moana* (1925); see my *Facing the Pacific*, 141-3.
- ³⁹ Quoted in Harriet Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation: Captain Cook, William Hodges, and the Return to the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 33.
- ⁴⁰ For a reproduction of *View Taken in the Bay of Otaheite Peha* (also known as “Tahiti Revisited”), see the Royal Museums Greenwich online catalogue, object BHC2396: <http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/13872.html> (accessed 1 May 2013).
- ⁴¹ For reproductions of Empire Marketing Board posters, see for example Edgar Ainsworth, “Fiji Copra” (1930) at the Manchester Art Gallery online catalogue: <http://prints.manchestergalleries.org/image/812393/edgar-ainsworth-fiji-copra-from-the-series-buy-from-the-empires-gardens-1930> (accessed 1 May 2013).
- ⁴² See Vincente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 55.
- ⁴³ Simon Brown, “Colouring the Nation: Spectacle, Reality and British Natural Colour in the Silent and Early Sound Era,” *Film History* 21.2 (2009): 143.
- ⁴⁴ Quoted in Luke McKernan, “The Delhi Durbar,” http://www.charlesurban.com/durbar_notices.htm (accessed 1 February 2012). See also McKernan, “‘The Modern Elixir of Life’: Kinemacolor, Royalty and the Delhi Durbar,” *Film History* 21.2 (2009): 122-36.
- ⁴⁵ Strain, 79.
- ⁴⁶ C. E. Kenneth Mees, “Presenting Kodachrome,” *Movie Makers* 10.5 (May 1935): 197. Kodachrome offered an integrated multilayer emulsion that dispensed with camera and projector filters.
- ⁴⁷ *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris* (1937) is archived in the Harry Wright collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. The film was used in the second episode of *The Thirties in Colour* (BBC, 2009), with the material interspersed amid scenes from other films in the Wright collection.
- ⁴⁸ The *Stella Polaris* was a 5000 gross-register-ton ship accommodating less than 200 passengers; it featured an intimate ‘yacht’ experience. See Jordan, 24.
- ⁴⁹ This itinerary is based partly on, “Fourth World Tourer in a Month Expected Today,” *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 18 March 1937, 2. See also William H. Danforth, *Around the World with William H. Danforth* (St. Louis, MO: Four-Fold Development [privately printed], 1939), vi.
- ⁵⁰ “Another World Cruise Yacht Here,” *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 19 March 1937, 6.
- ⁵¹ “Ideally perfect projection facilities” and a proper screening space were considered crucial to the color film experience, according to *Movie Makers*; see Harris B. Tuttle, “Seeing Color” (part 2), *Movie Makers* 12.11 (November 1937): 563.
- ⁵² Strain, 37.
- ⁵³ Strain, 123.
- ⁵⁴ Norris Nicholson, 96, 103.
- ⁵⁵ Lowe, ix.
- ⁵⁶ Jane Moulin, quoted in *The Thirties in Colour* (2009).
- ⁵⁷ Danforth, 27.
- ⁵⁸ The well-known “Galapagos Affair” was a mystery that unfolded during 1934, which saw three deaths and two further residents of Floreana go missing within a few months, leaving the Wittmers among the few left on the island.
- ⁵⁹ Kalmus, 25, emphasis in original.
- ⁶⁰ Raymond F. Betts, “The Illusionary Island: Hollywood’s Pacific Place,” *East-West Film Journal* 5.2 (July 1991): 32.
- ⁶¹ Quoted in Danforth, 60-1.
- ⁶² “African Color,” *Movie Makers* 11.8 (August 1936): 356.

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- ⁶³ Amateur magazines were keen on suggesting flowers in bloom for experimenting with color and showing off color mixes against more unified backgrounds (such as sky or greenery); see for example Edmund Zacher, "Floral Closeups," *Movie Makers* 12.7 (July 1937): 329, 358-9.
- ⁶⁴ Harris B. Tuttle, "Kodachrome Today," *Movie Makers* 12.9 (September 1937): 440.
- ⁶⁵ James W. Moore, "Tips from Movie Travelers," *Movie Makers* 11.8 (August 1936): 360.
- ⁶⁶ The omission of what were then standard references to cannibalism and the 'fatal impact' (as in O'Brien's and Danforth's accounts, to name just two) in the Marquesas further suggests that the film aims to convey an impression of uncomplicated, South Seas escape at this point in the film.
- ⁶⁷ Zimmermann, 73.
- ⁶⁸ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (1934) (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), 55. Mead referred to Manus as "not a very complex culture"; see Margaret Mead, *Blackberry Winter* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 202.
- ⁶⁹ Eric Hirsch, quoted in *The Thirties in Colour* (2009).
- ⁷⁰ David Batchelor, *Chromophobia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 22-23.
- ⁷¹ "The Ten Best," *Movie Makers* 9.12 (December 1934): 534.
- ⁷² Batchelor, 25, 29.
- ⁷³ Kalmus, 27.
- ⁷⁴ Arthur Gale, "Color Unlimited," quoted in Askari, 157.
- ⁷⁵ On the "uncanny" of synchronized sound and perceptions of realism, see Robert Spadoni, *Uncanny Bodies: The Coming of Sound Film and the Origins of the Horror Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 6.
- ⁷⁶ Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79.3 (1973): 591.
- ⁷⁷ Melinda Stone and Dan Streible, "Introduction: Small Gauge and Amateur Film," *Film History* 15.2 (2003): 125.
- ⁷⁸ Elizabeth Cowie, "The Spectacle of Actuality," in *Collecting Visible Evidence*, ed. Jane Gaines and Michael Renov (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 19.