‘Exquisite Wonder’: Colour Film, Realism, and the *Yankee* Voyage, 1936-38
Jeffrey Geiger

Journal of New Zealand and Pacific Studies vol. 8 (June 2020)

When Eastman Kodak began set out on its campaign for Kodachrome, released in 1935, the emphasis was on the new film stock’s vibrancy and unparalleled realism. ‘When your picture moves, it *lives*’, claimed one advertisement (Eastman Kodak 1936), while another declared that Kodachrome could make one’s movie experiences, once limited to monochrome, finally ‘come to life’ (Eastman Kodak 1935). This article looks at rare colour film taken on Pacific travels, mostly produced by a committed amateur filmmaker, Edmund (Ted) Zacher, who chose the new colour process to document an eighteen-month training voyage on the famous clipper *Yankee*. The cruise was organized by the entrepreneurs and sailing instructors Irving and Electa (‘Exy’) Johnson; together they led a hand-picked crew of about a dozen novice and more experienced sailors.

The Johnsons were popular figures in their time, known for their daring global travels. When Electa died in 2004 at the age of ninety-five, the *Los Angeles Times* remarked that she had circumnavigated the globe with her husband seven times over twenty-five years, always with amateur crews, with their adventures chronicled in books, travelogues, and frequently in *National Geographic* magazine. The ‘sea-roving’ pioneers had logged more miles on global waters ‘than an astronaut’s round trip to the moon’ (Oliver 2004). The voyage set out from Gloucester, Massachusetts on 1 November 1936 and returned on 1 May 1938—lasting precisely eighteen months. This was the Johnsons’ second circumnavigation. Accompanying them was a crew that included the (soon to be) Hollywood star Sterling Hayden, then in his early twenties, described by the *Boston Post* as a six-feet-five, ‘blond, blue-eyed Viking beauty’ and a highly capable first mate (Johnson and Johnson 1939: 26). Zacher, of Hartford, Connecticut, was a banker who left his job for the cruise, taking up what he saw as the opportunity of a lifetime, combining his passions for travel, photography, and filmmaking. ‘Ted claimed that [filming] was a hobby’, noted the Johnsons, ‘but which looked to the rest of us more like a profession when we took stock of his seven cameras, his stacks of films, his negative albums, exposure meters, lenses, and tripods’ (1939: 27).

Focussing here on Kodachrome motion picture stock, this essay investigates just a fraction of an extensive and largely neglected archive of Pacific travel films, homing in on the documentary and expressive potential that Kodachrome offered amateurs while

considering what this archive might contribute towards re-evaluating and further engaging with Pacific travel experiences between the wars, and with the wide variety of texts produced in their wake. This visual record, captured in what Kodak referred to as 'natural' subtractive (as opposed to filtered or added) colour (Tepperman 2013: 145) gives us a glimpse of a world where vast unknowns were becoming more widely known, where strangeness and unfamiliarity were coming up against new intimacies and knowledges forged through encounters less structured than the more rigid practices becoming well-established in fields such as anthropology and ethnology. At the same time, these films were having an impact on stay-at-home travellers, who could encounter expansive visions of the world through new photographic media.

Hence these amateur films might help us to reconsider Pacific encounters during the crucial period between the World Wars, when US expansionist politics and networks were advancing towards the 'American Pacific' era. There are three intertwined lines of inquiry I want to trace here. The first relates to what I have elsewhere referred to as the US imperial imagination (Geiger 2007: 7-12), considering what this rather broad concept might mean more specifically in terms of the travel experiences documented in these films. The second examines how we interpret this footage: how do the critical frameworks brought to bear on amateur nonfiction work differ from those commonly applied to professional and narrative fictions? I draw here on Giorgio Agamben, who expands on Gilles Deleuze's 'movement image' (Deleuze 2003) in developing a theory of what Agamben calls cinematic gesture. 'The element of cinema', argues Agamben, 'is gesture and not image.' Thinking of cinema as gesture, then, 'liberates [...] movement from being purposeful', frees it from interpretive frameworks that demand a more narrowly defined usefulness or signifying result in the moving image. Cinema therefore is 'the exhibition of a mediality' (Agamben 2000: 57)—media in motion—conceived as a process rather than as an object or *thing*.

This stress on gesture and therefore on the mediality of moving images leads towards the third area under consideration: colour and the new medium of Kodachrome. Here I explore how the experience of this 'natural' colour stock might have inflected perceptions of motion picture realism—indeed, how colour film might have affected perceptions of the world itself. As Rudolf Arnheim famously recalled, 'after I had seen my first color film and left the cinema, I had a terrible experience—I saw the world as a color film' (Arnheim [1935] 1997: 21). The intensity of the colour experience threatens to displace direct perception itself; colour stock can both reflect and destabilize how we see the world. Colour is mobile, both as a perceived phenomenon and in the feelings and meanings it generates, and this very mobility

goes hand in hand with Agamben's notion of the 'exhibition of a mediality' in cinema. During its first few years on the market, Kodachrome colour provided a medium for experimentation and innovation, and was exclusively marketed to amateurs. As we might see in these Pacific films, colour filming could unmoor moving images from more fixed, purposeful contexts and uses, revealing at the same time the travel encounter as dynamic, difficult to pin down: a fluid space of multiple and competing significations.

On the (Pacific) Rim

The United States' 'imperial imagination' was grounded both in inherited myths about distant peoples and places and in the ways that American 'mainlanders' sought solace and identification in images and concepts of distant islands.[1] Aligned to these cultural, ideological, and psychic factors was a realpolitik: US policy-makers had begun to understand imperialism as a function of economic protectionism at least as far back as the Spanish-American War and with the annexations of Samoa, Puerto Rico, Hawai'i, and Cuba (in 1898), and the controversial Filipino-American war that followed. The latter 'splendid little war', according to US ambassador John Hay, was launched as a defence of the China trade in the midst of increasingly fierce international competition (Bethell 1998), and led to over 200,000 deaths of Filipino so-called insurgents. Indeed, the watershed year of 1898 had seen the founding of groups such as the American Asiatic Association, with its mission of working to 'foster and safeguard American trade and commercial interests' (that is, to lobby to protect US trade routes across the Pacific) and to 'co-operate with religious, educational, and philanthropic agencies designed to remove existing obstacles to the peaceful progress and wellbeing of Asiatic peoples' (American Asiatic Association 1925: 632). In 1899, the Association's secretary pushed aside prevailing messages about an American 'civilizing mission' in the Philippines and offered a blunter analysis of annexation: 'had we no interests in China', he noted, 'possession of the Philippines would be meaningless' (cited in LaFeber [1963] 1998: 410).

Cooperation between US military interests and private enterprise—firmly in place when the crew of the *Yankee* commenced their cruise in 1936—might suggest the ways that imperialism in the newer sense of the word was actually the near image of established colonial practices. Indeed, it is worth recalling here what Teresia Teaiwa called 'militourism'—the ways in which travellers are afforded a 'smooth' experience through colonial and military networks across the Pacific, even while 'that same tourist industry masks the military force behind it' (Teaiwa 1999: 251). Militourism is most frequently an

embedded and not explicit or visible relationship. As Teaiwa argues, 'altogether, tourism is able to flatten, tame, and render benign the culture of militarism. The military, in turn, endorses the industry' (1999: 252). For this reason, as detailed further below, recognizing the forces of militourism requires critically unpacking and contextualizing what usually comes across as benign, scenic tourist imagery. As visitors such as the Johnsons were aware, and as noted in their accounts, sights captured in the tourist travelogue such as the former Dutch East Indies, American Samoa, and Papua New Guinea were key links in a colonial and imperial chain of islands. Hence these travelogues can shed light not only on the expectations, observations, and desires of ordinary tourists, but on a mediated *relationship* between tourism, Oceania, and an imperial imaginary.

My interest is not, however, to diminish these films' value as historical records. I do aim, though, to position this material within the flows and disruptions of what I would call an emerging and problematic Pacific Rim discourse: a discourse that came into being through mobility, migration, travel, and ongoing exposure to (and media capture of) diverse cultures and landscapes. As Christopher Connery reminds us, the origins of the term Pacific Rim are grounded in geological phenomena, indicating the rim of volcanic and tectonic activity around the Pacific Ocean—that is, the Bering Strait, Japan, China, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Coasts of North and South America. Moreover, 'the idea of a Pacific Rim had a further advantage: it centered on an ocean. Water is capital's element' (Connery 1994: 40). But the Pacific Rim as an idea and discourse since the 1970s has taken on broader and more transnational, fluid cultural associations. As Connery sees it,

> Pacific Rim Discourse [...] is a non-othering discourse. Unlike Orientalism, which Edward W. Said delineates genealogically as a discursive formation centered on a fundamental othering—an othering further grounded in the specific histories of colonialism and imperialism, Pacific Rim Discourse presumes a kind of metonymic equivalence. Its world is an interpenetrating complex of interrelationships with no center: neither the center of a hegemonic power nor the imagined fulcrum of a 'balance of power.' (1994: 31-32)

Drawing on this decentred concept of the Rim—while recognizing its problematic focus on a Pacific 'frame' or 'edge' that conceptually elides what Epeli Hau'ofa has called 'our sea of islands' (Hau'ofa 1993: 2)—I want to look at possible rumblings of a 'non-othering discourse' taking place along the Rim before the trade liberalizations and economic growth of the 1970s.[2] What were travellers before the Second World War, in their rapidly increasing numbers, seeking in 'other' sights and peoples, and what can the filmic record tell us about

what they experienced? Can we discern liminal, 'interpenetrating' spaces of the encounter, drifting somewhere between 'othering' and 'non-othering' discourses of the Pacific? Indeed, do these representations and flows of culture and capital point to a nascent cosmopolitanism, or did they simply re-inscribe an imperial mindset?

As in the cultural encounter itself, even colonial-era texts produced in the encounter's wake can be highly unpredictable and multi-faceted: fraught with reversals, ambiguities, and even resistance to dominant representational modes (Clifford 1997; Lowe 1994). Warwick Anderson concisely sums up a critical imperative: we need to 'trace the influence of colonial engagements—the complex encounters in these contact zones—[and] we must not ignore coercion and appropriation, dominance and submission, where they occur. But neither should we disregard more ambiguous and complicated interactions in the contact zones; scoff at sympathy and affection, however evanescent; or deny efforts at reciprocity, however unequal and confused' (Anderson 2012: 231). If such an approach begins to disturb clear-cut constructions of the colonial world and its representations, viewing travel films can nonetheless remind us that western tourists were far from free of the baggage of imperial relations. Indeed, the imperial realm can still be seen as a visible space of regressive fantasy, with conventional cultural associations drawn from official and popular accounts. In one amateur travelogue, titled *Around the World on the M/Y* [Motor Yacht] *Stella Polaris* (Wright and Wright 1936-37), images of Pago Pago in the rain are introduced with a title declaring 'Shades of Sadie Thompson!! It rained in Pago Pago!!' Invoking all at once the Gloria Swanson film *Sadie Thompson* (1928), the W. Somerset Maugham story 'Rain' (1921), and its play adaptation (1923), the film recalls a colonial tale of an American prostitute who finds temporary security working amidst the 'fallen' moral climate of the South Seas. The Samoan footage further indicates the seemingly innocuous travelogue's links to militourism: by the late 1930s military installations on key Pacific sites were being substantially expanded, with the construction of a US naval airbase and advanced fortifications at Pago Pago in 1940.

It is precisely these 'ambiguous and complicated interactions' of travel and the traveller's exposure to new experiences and sensations that I want to foreground here. Invoking recent discussions of travel and its connections to modern cosmopolitanism, Robert J. Holton observes that, 'physical travel has for many centuries been seen as a crucial aspect of inter-cultural engagement relevant to cosmopolitanism' (Holton 2009: 130). Further, as Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry outline, the imaginative and virtual travels found in film, television, and online might be at least as significant for the development of

cosmopolitan perspectives as physical travel itself has been (Szerszynski and Urry 2006: 113-31).

Colour and Gesture

Yet moving images have not always been afforded this status: Alan D. Kattelle has argued that amateur films, particularly, seem to carry the 'stigma of home movies' (Kattelle 2000: 6) and hence are frequently underestimated or ignored. Certainly the travel films considered here lack the disciplinary trappings and aura of authority found in anthropological work emerging during the same period.[3] I would suggest that, lacking these structures while also working outside the commercial imperatives of a film industry, amateur work can offer glimpses of a less hierarchical and more fluid approach to who is doing the filming, and of who or what is being filmed. Even while aiming towards the attainment of 'professional' skills and standards, amateurs allowed for experimental distance from convention. Charles Tepperman notes that 'in the 1930s when color films were still a rarity in commercial theatres, amateurs claimed color filmmaking as their own terrain for aesthetic experimentation and discovery' (Tepperman 2013: 147).

With these observations in mind, the following attempts to break down some key characteristics of amateur travel films, taking into account contexts of both production and reception:

a) filming is geared towards personal more than commercial interests;

b) films are structured as episodic 'slight narratives' rather than bound to a plot;

c) audiences (and friends) would be aware that the film's actions and entire *fabula* are completed and safely in the past; engagement therefore often is self-aware and participatory;

d) filming frequently lingers on gesture: on the essence of motion and movement;

e) place and location are foregrounded rather than serving as background;

f) stylistically, films frequently feature experimentation and play.

What this outlines are properties of amateur travel films that might be seen to distinguish them from commercial products, suggesting a need to adopt strategies that differ from those brought to analysis of commercial cinema. As Heather Norris Nicholson suggests, amateur work negotiates between public and private, one not only 'captures' sights from behind the camera but screens these personal observations to friends, relatives, and a wider public. She further notes that, 'contrasting with the more private role occupied during shooting, [...] public presentation invites interrogation and response' (Norris Nicholson 2009: 96). Differing

in these respects from commercial practices—which would include professional newsreels and travelogues—amateur filmmaking establishes a 'personal connection' between viewers and filmmakers that forms a central component of a shared cinema experience (Norris Nicholson 2009: 103).

The personal connection or intimacy of amateur film further suggests a need to think differently about the kinds of power relations in cinema spectacle that have preoccupied discussions of institutional practices. We might start by considering amateur work in terms of cinematic gesture, and gesture for Agamben is the 'the process of making a means visible as such. It allows the emergence of the being-in-a-medium of human beings and thus it opens the ethical dimension for them' (Agamben 2000: 57). This ethical dimension involves a release from commodification and epistemophilia, and a gesturing towards what Agamben elsewhere calls 'potentiality' (Agamben 1999: 177-8). Cinematic gesture, then, 'is not the sphere of an end in itself but rather the sphere of a pure and endless mediality. It is only in this way that the obscure Kantian expression 'purposiveness without purpose' acquires a concrete meaning' (2000: 58).[4] Commercial narrative cinema tends to embed gesture within structures of intentionality, through which meaning is ultimately determined. Drawing on Agamben's observations we might get closer to the more de-essentialising practices of amateur filmmaking, where filming becomes less invested in producing meaningful stories and offers instead a 'being-in-a-medium of human beings' through emphases on display, movement, and atemporal flow.

As mentioned above, the case of Kodachrome adds to this the destabilising impact of colour perception. As the Amateur Cinema League's (ACL) flagship publication *Movie Makers* argued in 1937, the human eye 'might be compared to a camera, for it has a lens, an iris diaphragm and colour sensitive area on the retina' (Tuttle 1937b: 552). But in terms of colour this is as far as the analogy goes: the camera loaded with Kodachrome might provide a technically accurate and reproducible colour rendering, but humans frequently fail 'to train the eye and brain to interpret conditions of light and mixtures of color accurately' (Tuttle 1937a: 482). Colour perception is prone to the ephemeral properties of light: a slippery or liminal rather than fixed phenomenon. As demonstrated by the much-shared internet sensation of 2015—a contested photo of a blue and gold dress—colour's impact is rarely systematic or predictable.[5]

Among professionals, the prominent cinematic colour system during the 1930s was Technicolor, and according to the company's chief consultant Natalie Kalmus, Technicolor was meant to bring an 'enhanced realism' into being (Kalmus 1935: 140). But as Edward

Buscombe has argued, colour in mainstream film was still considered a problem for realism because, it was argued, colour could 'tire and distract the eye', taking attention away from elements of film content, form, and narrative (cited in Neale 2002: 85). Moreover, Technicolor was complicated, expensive, and time-consuming. Cameras were extremely heavy, while the need for intense bright light (with sets becoming so hot that workers sometimes fainted, and fire was always a danger) meant a reliance on electricity, adding large costs to budgets. Such complexities meant that outdoor shooting was usually out of the question.

Though Hollywood remained highly selective in using colour, Kodak's 'natural' colour process attempted to minimize colour's problems. Kodachrome was characterized as 'truer' to natural colours than the perception of the naked eye: 'Kodachrome makes no mental adjustments for the colors of light and subject and, therefore, can be trusted under many conditions where our eyes and brain are only too willing to deceive us' (Tuttle 1937b: 562). Kodachrome was also flexible, easy to use, and more affordable than previous products. Still, even 'natural' colour could associate travel to distant places with escapist, sensational—even otherworldly—spectacle.[6] Tom Gunning has stressed the importance of attending to the ways colour was apprehended at specific moments in cinema's history, in particular to the sort of intricate dance 'orchestrated between realistic motives and metaphorical or spectacular effects' in colour applications (Gunning 1994: 249). Early uses of colour could heighten realism yet also evoke dangerous sensations, often in the context of travel to the unknown. This might be seen in the colouring of films such as Georges Méliès' *An Impossible Voyage* (*Le voyage à travers l'impossible*, 1904) or Pathé's and Ferdinand Zecca's *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* (*Ali Baba et les quarante voleurs*, 1902).

Similarly, amateur travel films of the 1930s can be seen to exhibit this double coding or intricate dance amid colour affects. On the one hand colour still was tied to the unreal or spectacular in the mainstream cinema experience, on the other, Kodachrome was being marketed to assert colour realism as the new normal, with black and white to be consigned to obsolescence. Filming at the edges of the familiar, amateurs were the first to make extensive global use of colour film stock and begin a process of naturalizing colour aesthetics. *Movie Makers*, well aware of the novelty, noted: 'we of the amateur and non-theatrical 16mm field are fortunate in being the first to be able to experiment with this new film and to apply it to its many possible uses' (Tuttle 1935: 265). Amateurs were pioneers in rendering these Pacific travel encounters in natural colour stock, filming against the grain at a time when both colour and travel images were still marked by associations with strangeness and exoticism.[7]

Flows and Disruptions

With help of key scholars such as Lynne Kirby (1997), our understanding of the historical and analogical relations between travel and the moving image has expanded immensely (see also Griffiths 2002, Ruoff 2006, Strain 2003). Through the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, new motion picture developments corresponded with advances in air, sea, rail, and automobile travel, while the tourist experience was itself becoming almost seamlessly delivered and preserved for posterity. In articles such as 'What Shall I Take Abroad?' amateur magazines regularly offered advice on 'vacation accessories' for amateur filmmakers to help ease their planning, and 'tips from movie travellers' for how best to package and present film footage from voyages abroad (Gunnell 1936: 336; Moore 1936: 338). The travelogue could construct a smooth sense of journeying around global sites, with a series of shooting and editing conventions helping to iron out the trip's bumps and disruptions and deliver it to the realms virtual experience.

By the mid-1930s, as seen in the widely-distributed FitzPatrick's *Traveltalks* newsreels, cololr imagery was bringing enhanced sensation to the virtual travel experience. Recalling the conventions of imperial-era militourism, *Glimpses of Java and Ceylon* (FitzPatrick 1937) establishes location by defining Java as Dutch territory, with the voiceover calling it 'the most important colonial development under the flag of the Netherlands.' Shades of cosmopolitan consumerism accent the colonial spectacle without ever threatening to dismantle it: the film highlights the sampling of cultural difference, such as trying a *rijsttafel* for the first time and encountering new forms of music, dance, and architecture. *Glimpses of Java and Ceylon* closes by self-consciously marking the impact of its colour technology, reinforcing and bringing home the sensations of colonial-era travels with a stunning sunset view, the voiceover stating: 'off the golden coast of Mount Lavinia, the great orb of day, resplendent in an aura of tropical colors, is descending into a tropical sea, forming a glorious setting.'

Commercial travelogues such as *Traveltalks* usually followed an established set of formal strategies: what might be called picture-postcards-in-motion shooting and editing techniques. Such films in many ways tried to duplicate touristic conventions in cinematic form. Departure, harbours, seascapes, and picturesque landscapes thus dominate the scenography, with a title card or voiceover marking the location, anchored by one or more arrival and establishing shots. These are often accompanied by a camera pan intended to spatially situate the viewer, followed by closer shots, often brief, of local sights, people, and

distinctive objects (for example food, souvenirs, or local commodities). In spite of constant motion, changeable weather, embarking and disembarking, travelogue scenography becomes less a disruptive and interactive experience than a well-organized flow of intertitles, voiceover, and picturesque moving images.

Amateurs were not always instructed to avoid mainstream conventions; indeed 1930s articles in magazines such as *Movie Makers* professed a need for professional standards ('keep vacation movies free from wobble!' advised one advertisement [Da-lite Unipod 1936: 309]) right alongside innovation. Travel pictures were characterized as 'essentially scenic' (Gunnell 1936: 336) and hence it was seen as crucial to invest one's films with 'carefully composed views' (Moore 1936: 359). Yet the more palpable experimentalism of amateurs such as Ted Zacher reveals a sort of undertow flowing beneath mainstream travelogue approaches. Zacher's footage was shot on a circumnavigation, though unlike the well-appointed luxuries offered by a growing number of cruise ships plying the seas such as the *Stella Polaris*, the *Belgenland*, and the *Empress of Britain*, the *Yankee* and its small crew were on an eighteen-month training voyage (figure 1). The Johnsons would later write that this journey was intended to 'debunk or substantiate Hollywood's version of the South Seas to our own satisfaction' (Johnson and Johnson 1939: 101). They were determined to unmask the mysteries and myths of the South Seas:

> When we planned our second cruise around the world we decided that [...] the South Seas would be our main objective. We would explore them and examine for ourselves the meaning of the magic in those two words. We would follow the trail of those inspiring names of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Cook, Carteret, Quiros and Magellan. (1939: 101)

Perhaps these words were aimed at connecting to the preconceptions of their readers more than their own, still it is striking here that long after the era of Pacific exploration and during a time of 'high' colonial administration and rapidly increasing tourism, the primary reference points remain Enlightenment evocations of uncharted islands. The idea of the South Seas still conjures up an embodiment of both Christian and neo-classical myths of Eden, of 'magic' spaces of pastoral ease and tranquillity. As the explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville described it, Tahiti was 'la Nouvelle Cythère' and he likened it to the Elysian fields, believing he and his crew had been 'transported into the garden of Eden' (Bougainville 2002: 63).

Figure 1: The *Yankee* (Johnson and Johnson 1939)

Zacher, with his seven cameras and stockpile of Kodak stock, was also aiming to debunk or substantiate a Hollywood version of the Pacific—and with Kodachrome, he hoped to exceed it (Zacher 1937b). A cinema enthusiast and well-respected member of the ACL, he frequently contributed to publications such as *Movie Makers*. His *Yankee* footage was designed for the Johnsons' lecture tours promoting their sailing business (the film focussed on here, screened for the 1938 tour, is titled *Around Again in the Yankee* [Zacher 1938]).[8] The lecture presentation and Zacher's film were extremely well received. The Johnsons were already becoming famous, and Zacher's series of articles for publications such as the Hartford (Connecticut) *Times* and *Movie Makers* had further 'excited interest' in the journey even before it was completed (Anon. 1938). The film presentation played to thousands, moving from venues in Connecticut to Boston, Philadelphia, Rochester (New York), and Washington, D.C.

Most reviews focussed on what was agreed to be the film's two most appealing factors: the crowd-pleasing exploits of the Johnsons' son, Arthur (eleven months old when the ship embarked from Gloucester) and the many wonders of the colour cinematography.

Adopting Kodak's emphasis on Kodachrome's status as 'natural' colour, the Hartford *Times* reported:

> [I]t is safe to say none of [the audience] has seen a marine picture surpassing this film, and time after time the audience drowned out the skipper's words during the two-hour showing to applaud a breath-taking 'shot' of the vessel swimming through a bed of indigo [...] and the throwing upon the screen of the harvest of natural colors gathered from the primitive island colonies of the world. (Anon. 1938)

Zacher's colour filming apparently upstaged even the Captain's personal testimony. Further underlining the novelties of colour, the *Times* went on to describe the film as 'a new departure in the motion picture world which Hollywood has not yet come within a cable's length of' (Anon. 1938). The yawning gap between small gauge colour innovation and Hollywood practice was quite widely recognized at the time, with *Movie Makers* arguing in 1935 that 'amateurs [can] extend their professional friends a helping hand in this new colour field which will rapidly engage Hollywood's interest' (cited in Askari 2009: 157).

When the *Yankee* film was screened at the Eastman Theatre in Rochester, local news described it as an experience where 'the incredible becomes real.' The following perhaps best sums up the energizing mix of colour realism and spectacular travel imagery:

> Whatever has seemed incredible of rumors from the South Seas—lakes of ruby red, dragons with flashing tongues, white men who wed daughters of head hunter chieftains—was beheld last night by Rochester's very own eyes. [The film] dispelled all doubts of the South Seas' magic in a manner that left the audience a trifle dizzy from more scenes of exquisite wonder than seems good for the complacency of a land dweller. The film, in color, was guided by the eye of an artist, Edmund Zacher, ship's photographer. Scene upon scene was washed with a different hue like the rows of water colors in the kind of art gallery a sailor might dream of owning someday. (J. W. 1938)

Further emphasizing this 'exquisite wonder' and 'trifle dizzy' mixture of fact and fantasy, the Johnsons' publicity noted that the show would be 'replete with the magic and lure of all that is the South Seas', while this magic was produced through 'natural colored movies' (Green 1937: 15). This integration of seeming opposites—magic and realism—underscored the sheer originality of the production and promised a cinema-going experience Hollywood had not yet matched.

Zacher had been experimenting with colour for some time, beginning with Kodacolor and soon adapting to Kodachrome (Zacher 1935: 69). He was no novice: in 1934 two of his

films appeared on the ACL's '10 best films' list (a prestigious accolade), and he was duly rewarded with an honour at the League's annual meeting (Kattelle 2000: 8). The following year Zacher's short film *A Christmas at Home* (1935) experimented with colour in a largely monochromatic winter landscape, and he was again on the ACL '10 best' list while advocating in published articles for the use colour film in unexpected situations in order to 'enhance perception' and present visual 'surprises' (Askari 2009: 157). This notion of enhanced perception, Kaveh Askari explains,

> accompanied the development of instantaneous photography in the 1880s, [and] adherents to this tradition held that natural color processes helped the amateur begin to see those colors otherwise obscured by the habits of perception. Articles on Kodacolor advocated the counterintuitive practice of shooting the more expensive stock in a seemingly monochromatic winter landscape where the 'chromatic range [...] presents surprises.' (Askari 2009: 157)

In this sense, colour filming might impart new and unexpected ways of seeing, confronting normalized visual perception through the aesthetic and technical lens of a counterintuitive amateur.

Around Again in the Yankee draws on principles of enhanced perception in a number of ways, but perhaps most vividly in the juxtaposition of black and white with colour footage. The choice of black and white or colour was partly determined by weather, light, and other filming conditions. But through further decisions (probably made in the cutting room) seen in scenes such as arrival at the Society Islands (Tōtaiete mā, announced by an intertitle as 'the romantic islands of the South Seas'), intense colour follows black and white in exhibitionist fashion. This technique reinforces conventional expectations of South Seas exoticism while also gesturing towards an enhanced realism that complements and reinvents, if not precisely displaces, the black and white technology of the previous sequence. Colour thus seems new, and readjusts our perceptual habits; but we also might see colour in these moments in a process of development from cinematic novelty into something integral to representing reality. Colour drifts from inbuilt expectations of fantasy towards a rendering of the real as colourful spectacle. As *Movie Makers* argued, natural colour was the inevitable next step in cinematic realism: even seemingly 'colorless' scenes such as 'dark, grayish days' could afford 'delightful pastel shades of color [...] far more natural and lifelike than would be possible on monochrome' (Tuttle 1935: 264).

Stops on the cruise highlighted in *Around Again in the Yankee* include the Galapagos, Easter Island (Rapa Nui), the Pitcairns, Tahiti, Christmas Island (Kiritimati), Samoa,

Niuafo‘ou, New Hebrides (Vanuatu), Solomon Islands (with extended scenes on Owariki [Santa Catalina] and Owaraha [Santa Ana]), Wallis Island (Uvea), and Rabaul in New Britain, where a volcanic eruption created a new land mass and covered the harbour in ash. Other highlighted stops include Papua New Guinea, Flores (then part of the Dutch East Indies colony), Komodo, Bali, and Semarang. In all, according to a crewmember, the *Yankee* made over one hundred landings at islands across the Pacific alone (Davis). While on the one hand simply documenting a long and visually arresting journey, the *Yankee* footage also shows off Zacher's technophilia and interest in formal innovation. The camerawork is far closer to what Bill Nichols has labelled the 'interactive' mode than simply striving for 'observational' documentation (Nichols 1991: 33). Zacher's restless style experiments with shooting angles, changing cameras, lenses, and film stock, thus taking advantage of the relative ease of using stock such as Kodachrome that needed little adjustment from black and white lighting conditions.

Along with these innovations, however, conventions of the classic adventure narrative hold sway in many sequences. We see the crew shooting animals and island sights with guns and cameras, respectively. Even the presence of a toddler and several women crewmembers fails to keep the *Yankee* footage from at times resembling a colonial 'Boys' Own' story, or one of the popular interwar travel adventures produced by the 'other' Johnsons—Osa and Martin.[9] The corralling of a dozen now-endangered sea turtles in the Galapagos—teased and prodded by crewmembers, piled up on deck as a supply of meat—today makes for painful viewing. The Johnsons' writings about their encounters profess conventional views, untroubled by concerns regarding cultural and imperial chauvinism. Reflecting the embeddedness of networks of militourism, the Johnsons observe with approval Flag Raising Day during their visit to American Samoa. In *Sailing to See*, they write: 'it might be called Declaration of Dependence Day for it celebrates the taking over of the islands by the United States' (Johnson and Johnson 1939: 102). Watching the ceremonial events, they reflect on the US-Samoa relationship as one of paternal care that safeguards Samoan 'purity'. They declare themselves 'proud of the one American possession among so many British colonies in the Pacific. There is a genuine attempt to understand the Samoans, to help them tactfully, to preserve all that is good in their customs, and to protect them from outside exploitation, corruption, and miscegenation' (Johnson and Johnson 1939: 102). Such comments reinscribe American exceptionalist sentiments while eliding or ignoring the problems of imperial rule; in particular here the operations of the US Navy, who a few years earlier had helped suppress the 'Samoa mo Samoa' Mau independence movement in American Samoa and forced its

leader, Samuel Ripley, into exile. In 1929, in response to Samoan pressures, the US government finally changed the status of the territory from that of an 'illegal' to a 'legal' colony (Droessler 2013: 62).

Zacher's published accounts follow a similar pattern, drawing on well-worn South Seas myths and even elements of derision: his series for the Hartford *Times* mentions 'lazy natives', 'man-eaters', and 'filthy, warring cannibals' (Zacher 1937a; Zacher 1937b). Yet the *Yankee* motion picture material is arguably freer of such clichés; the travel filmmaker here comes across less as a static recorder of scenic views and distant peoples than as a part of a mobile group dynamic. While stopping short of radical self-reflexivity, the film does frequently impart a self-conscious awareness of the filming process, with virtuosic shooting that evidences the ACL's foundational belief in 'pragmatic experimentation' (Tepperman 2013: 148). Several slow-motion shots trace the arc of crewmembers' diving against blue sky into clear water (figure 2). Amateur magazines frequently encouraged the use of such 'trick' and experimental effects as part of developing and enhancing the new colour film aesthetics:

> [S]low motion and all types of trick photography are excellent in Kodachrome. A slow motion shot of a diver doing a two and a half twist from a ten foot board makes a thrilling picture in Kodachrome. The coloring of sky and water, the tanned skin of the diver, the splash of the greenish blue water into milky white foam, all slowed down to show every detail in color, are delightful on the screen.' (Tuttle 1935: 241)

Zacher was something of an expert in diving studies, having already presented a Kodacolor work entitled 'Slow Motion Diving Studies in Color' to the Atlantic Coast section of the ACL in April 1934 (Anon. 1935: 331). The photo-image of the diver, as Askari has shown, goes back to chronophotographic motion studies. For the illustrated lecturer Alexander Black, the diver offered the 'perfect fusion of pictorial beauty and the [...] technical possibilities of instantaneous photography' (Aksari 2009: 158). Black's earliest colour films also frequently featured studies of divers.


TCR 01:14:14:10


TCR 01:14:15:20


TCR 01:14:17:04

Figure 2: Screen shots from *Around Again in the Yankee* (1938)

Arguably the slow motion study of the diver embodies the idea of cinematic gesture I have highlighted above: a mediality, in Agamben's terms, freed from purposeful intent, allowing the camera gaze to linger on what Stephen Crocker calls a 'sheer taking place, or the 'means' of human embodiment' (Crocker 2007). For Agamben, gesture also points to a politics of cinema, opposed to merely an aesthetic apprehension: 'the sphere of pure means, that is, of the absolute and complete gesturality of human beings' (Agamben 2000: 59). The processes and ongoing *means* of cinematic media are accentuated and lingered over in such moments rather than aiming towards the establishment of stable meanings. Crocker lucidly puts these ideas into perspective:

> The effect of [Eadweard] Muybridge's photographic and filmic experiments such as *Man Walking at Normal Speed* was to take recognized gestures and, through the technical capacity of film, to remove them from the sensory motor schemas and purposes in which they are usually embedded. Early film and photography revealed the sheer taking place, or the 'means' of human embodiment. The arm swinging is no longer part of a march. It is simply an arm swinging, arrested in its being toward some completed activity. If it were allowed to continue in its stride, the swing would be a means to carrying out some ambulatory goal. Removed from its terminal point, however, it is simply a gesture, a means of moving the human body in a yet to be determined pattern. This decontextualization of movement allowed a new understanding of human embodiment, which spread into psychology, physiology, and other sciences. For Agamben, it suggests that cinema is not defined by the image and the dialectic of reality/representation, so much as its ability to display the 'pure mediality' of our actions. (Crocker 2007)

Narrative cinema tends to embed gesture and its potentiality within a broader web of intentionality—as Hampus Hagman puts it, in these cases the gesture becomes 'goal-oriented and causal in nature' (Hagman 2012; see also Grillo 2014: 123-7). The slow-motion lingering on movement articulated in a dive, however, becomes both decontextualized and purely cinematic: a display of 'endless mediality' in Agamben's terms (2000: 58).

These diving shots further set up a visual dialogue that echoes across the film; the effect is later invoked in footage shot in Papua New Guinea, where close-ups of feathers in headdresses wafting against a blue background during dance ceremonies isolate and extend the movements, abstracted and suspended in time and space. This intricate and contemplative dialogue of images and techniques across the film creates criss-crossing visual patterns while refusing to explicate in authoritative anthropological mode, deferring any sense of the journey as clear-cut, linear narrative. Such moments, at times discrete and at others thoughtfully juxtaposed, create an impact that might be described as 'purposiveness without purpose' (Agamben 2000: 58), recalling the new cinematic languages and ways of seeing constructed by experiments of the modernist avant-garde. Films such as Fernand Léger's and Dudley Murphey's *Ballet Mécanique* (1923) and Murphy's earlier *The Soul of the Cypress* (1921) used the distinctive potential of cinema aesthetics and technology to articulate the elaborate choreographies of everyday modern life, dissecting human and machine movement, suspending logical or purposive diegesis.

Zacher had no ethnographic training, but frequently his colour experiments, particularly when filming in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, might be seen as forerunners to handheld innovations that appeared later in the ethnographic work of Jean Rouch, Robert Gardner, and John Marshall. Scenes shot in the Eastern Solomons (Makira Ulawa Province) are particularly striking, with sequences set on Owaraha (Big Island or Santa Ana) and Owariki (Santa Catalina). The footage is highlighted through Zacher's colour shooting and the choice to allow the footage to run at length, focusing on the Aimatawa-Aifonofono or 'mud dance'.[10] As one reviewer at the Rochester screening described it: 'among the other unusual sequences was one of a head hunting tribe enacting on an island shore a pageant depicting the history of the tribes beyond the era remembered by white men. It was on that island that the lone white man had married the cannibal chief's daughter' (J. W. 1938). Aimatawa-Aifonofono is a dramatic and at times tongue-in-cheek display of conflict between islanders and outsiders, marked out by the darker charcoal and lighter-coloured mud that covers the different participants. Opposed to the darker players (Aifonofono), the lighter figures (Aimatawa) variously might signify outsiders, Polynesians, invading spirits, white

men, or slave traders.[11] The invaders sport large artificial heads with exaggerated features; in Zacher's film they are shown determined to animate remnants of western technology, including a phonograph, a sewing machine, and a magic lantern (figure 3).

Figure 3: ***Around Again in the Yankee*** **(1938)**

In this isolated part of the Solomons, the German trader Henry (Heinrich) Kuper was a dominant force in local business and culture. Referred to by the Johnsons as 'the champion of the natives and their customs', his ties to the community were reinforced by his marriage to a local woman, Kanana (Johnson and Johnson 1939: 128).[12] Other accounts refer to Kuper as a 'virtual tyrant', with power and authority reinforced by association with the rights gained by his wife's lineage. The ethnologist Hugo Adolf Bernatzik stated he was impelled to stay with Kuper while preparing his photographic research on the island in the early 1930s, and much of his work, according to Bernatzik's daughter Doris Byer, was restricted and filtered through Kuper (Byer 1996; Buschmann 1997: 278-79).[13] Much of the material shot on Owaraha and Owariki was thus likely arranged by Kuper.

In spite of these probable interventions, this sequence, with its highly mobile and interactive camerawork, still stands out in its vivid colour realism. As yet unrestored, it is nonetheless a testament to Kodachrome's claims to natural colour immediacy. Zacher's footage is likely the first of its kind, with Kodachrome showing up tonal subtleties of costumes, flora, and landscape that black and white stock could not have registered. One gesture particularly stands out, as the Johnsons noted themselves: 'Then with an old magic lantern they parodied our busy cameras' (Johnson and Johnson 1939: 130). As a spectacle staged for outsiders, the mock revival of the magic lantern is particularly inspired: the

machine's luminous, magical properties acted upon with a bicycle pump and facing off directly with the *Yankee* camera's technological gaze.

The presence of the magic lantern, parodied in this Oceanic island performance, imbues Zacher's film with a different sort of magic from the 'magic in those two words'—South Seas—that the Johnsons aimed to explore at the outset of their journey. The lantern, as Tom Gunning describes it, embodies a technology where magic and science meet, where,

> an extraordinary confluence of an ancient magical imagistic tradition and a nascent scientific enlightenment seesaws between a desire to produce thaumaturgic wonder and an equally novel interest in dissolving the superstitious mystification of charlatans via the demonstrations of science. [...] The magic lantern [...] derives from the tradition of Natural Magic, an intersection between earlier occult traditions and the new spirit of the late Renaissance and dawning Enlightenment. For Giambatista Porta, whose *Magiae naturalis sive de miraculis rerum naturalium* was published in Naples in 1589, the realm of natural magic included not only the magical powers of images, stones, and plants, and descriptions of the celestial influences which bathe our planet, but also chemical and optical experiments. (Gunning 1995: 469-70)

As a technology that seesaws between science and wonder, between desires to verify natural phenomena through measurable evidence and appetites for unreal spectacle, here the lantern—as true of so many 'pre-cinematic' technologies—might also be recalled as a key technology in the development of colour film. The lantern once fulfilled desires for witnessing wonders from faraway places while at the same time making—as the Rochester reporter noted of Zacher's colour footage—'the incredible become real.' It was a pioneering apparatus capable of dissolving views and striking colour effects, the stock in trade of the travel lecturers who came before the Johnsons such as Alexander Black, John L. Stoddard, and Elias Burton Holmes. And the film careening through Zacher's camera on Owaraha might be said not just to be capturing but reanimating the vision of that lantern, then not just an old but already effectively 'dead' medium in the face new media such as Kodachrome.

Conclusion

Further, the Owaraha footage might speak to brewing shifts in colonial and imperial power relations. Neat divisions between us and them, filmer and filmed, 'modern' and 'primitive' seem subtly undermined not only by the parody of western technology, but by the ways in which the island performance takes over processes of making meaning in Zacher's film, suspending purpose by creating a sort of cinematic and technological *mise-en-abyme*. Whose

camera is filming whom? Who is on display in this performance? At the start of this essay I queried whether there was any scope for perceiving in these amateur travelogues the emergence of a 'non-othering' discourse amid the ongoing cultural tectonics along the Pacific Rim; or even of locating a sort of discursive drift moving between the customary othering and potential non-othering of the Pacific encounter. Could these travellers and their direct experience of wondrous difference point to a nascent cosmopolitanism; might their testimonies, texts, and especially colour film documents of these experiences invite an intercultural perspective 'relevant to cosmopolitanism' (Holton 2009: 130)? Much of Zacher's film seems prescient, and promises an interactive breakdown of hierarchical relations in the midst of imperial-era travels; certainly the experience of watching Zacher's film invites quite different responses compared to the overt ethnocentrism of other contemporary popular travelogues and Hollywood South Seas fictions. But accompanying texts that document the *Yankee* voyage, such as letters, articles, and the book *Sailing to See*—the latter with its references to 'primitive natives', 'stone age conditions', dangers of 'miscegenation', Pacific peoples of 'little emotional stability', and visions of 'hostile headhunters' (Johnson and Johnson 1939: 101-107) that excite fear and fascination—indicate the embeddedness of cultural chauvinism and the distance that lies between the language and attitudes expressed in these texts an any future imagining of a 'non-othering' discourse.

Still, Zacher's Kodachrome film offers a challenge to a range of unwritten, or yet to be written, cinema histories. The history of amateur film still has vastly underexplored areas, while questions of Kodachrome colour and its impact on audience relations to cinematic realism remain undertheorized or elided in broader histories of colour cinema.[14] In amateur practice, it is clear, colour was becoming naturalized long before it became the standard for realism on the big screen, testifying to the complexities of how of 'new' media gradually come to replace the 'old'.

References

Agamben, Giorgio (2000), 'Notes on Gesture', *Means without Ends: Notes on Politics* (trans. V. Binetti and C. Casarino), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 42-60.

Agamben, Giorgio (1999), 'On Potentiality', *Potentialities: Collected Essays in Philosophy* (trans. D. Heller-Roazen), Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 177-84.

American Asiatic Association (1925), advertisement, *Asia*, 25, pp. 458, 548, 632.

Anderson, Warwick (2012), 'Hybridity, Race, and Science: The Voyage of the *Zaca*, 1934-35', *Isis: Journal of the History of Science Society*, 103:2, pp. 229-53.

Anon. (1935), 'Society Announcements', *Journal of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers*, 22:5, p. 331.

Anon. (1938), 'Zacher's Film of Yankee's Cruise has Strong Appeal', *The Times* (Hartford, CT), coll. 240, box 18, f.3, Mystic, CT: Johnson Collection, Mystic Seaport Research Library.

Anon. (1947), 'Solomon Islands: Martin Lo', *Time*, 29 September, http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,804245,00.html. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Arnheim, Rudolph ([1935] 1997), 'Remarks on Color Film', in R. Arnheim, *Film Essays and Criticism* (trans. B. Benthien), Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 18-23.

Askari, Kaveh (2009), 'Early 16mm Colour by a Career Amateur', *Film History*, 21:2, pp. 150-63.

Bateson, Gregory and Mead, Margaret (1942), *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*, New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Bennett, Judith (2002), 'Roots of Conflict in Solomon Islands: Though Much is Taken, Much Abides: Legacies of Tradition and Colonialism', State, Society and Governance in Melanesia discussion paper, Australia National University Open Access, https://digitalcollections.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/41835. Accessed 1 June 2018.

Bethell, John T. (1998), '"A Splendid Little War": Harvard and the Commencement of a New World Order', *Harvard Magazine*, 11, https://harvardmagazine.com/1998/11/war.html. Accessed 1 June 2018.

Bougainville, Louis Antoine de (2002), *The Pacific Journal of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1767-1768* (ed. and trans. J. Dunmore), London: The Hakluyt Society.

Brown, S., Street, S. and Watkins, L. (eds) (2012), *Color and the Moving Image: History, Theory, Aesthetics, Archive*, London: Routledge.

Brown, Simon (2009), 'Colouring the Nation: Spectacle, Reality and British Natural Colour in the Silent and Early Sound Era', *Film History*, 21:2, pp. 139-49.

Buschmann, Rainer (1997), 'Review of *Die Grosse Insel* by Doris Byer', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 9:1, pp. 277-79.

Byer, Doris (1996), *Die Grosse Insel* [*The Big Island: South Pacific Life Histories; Autobiographical Reports from the Southeastern Solomon Archipelago*], Vienna: Böhlau Verlag.

Clifford, James (1997), *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Coates, Paul (2010), *Cinema and Colour: The Saturated Image*, London: British Film Institute.

Connery, Christopher L. (1994), 'Pacific Rim Discourse: The U.S. Global Imaginary in the Late Cold War Years', *boundary 2*, 21:1 (special issue: Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production), pp. 30-56.

Craven, I. and Shand, R. (eds) (2013), *Small-Gauge Storytelling: Discovering the Amateur Fiction Film*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Craven, I. (ed.) (2009), *Movies on Home Ground: Explorations in Amateur Cinema*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

Crocker, Stephen (2007), 'Noises and Exceptions: Pure Mediality in Serres and Agamben', in A. Kroker and M. Kroker (eds), *1000 Days of Theory*, March, www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=574. Accessed 1 June 2018.

Da-lite Unipod Camera Support (1936), advertisement, *Movie Makers*, 11:7, p. 309.

Davis, Leverett [Lev] (no date), audio interview, Mystic, CT: Johnson Collection, Mystic Seaport Research Library.

Deleuze, Gilles (2003), *Cinema 1: The Movement Image* (trans. H. Tomlinson), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Dalle Vacche, A. and Price, B. (eds) (2006), *Color: The Film Reader*, New York: Routledge.

Devichand, Mukul (2016), '#TheDress Couple: We were completely left out from the story', BBC News, 1 January, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-35073088. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Droessler, Holger (2013), 'Whose Pacific? U.S. Security Interests in American Samoa from the Age of Empire to the Pacific Pivot', *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, 4:1, pp. 58-65.

Eastman Kodak (1935), 'Black and white home movies come to life', *Movie Makers*, 10:6, p. 252.

Eastman Kodak (1936), 'When your picture moves, it *lives*', *Movie Makers* 11:7, p. 311.

Eperjesi, John R. (2005), *The Imperialist Imaginary: Visions of Asia and the Pacific in American Culture*, Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press.

FitzPatrick, James A. (1937), *Glimpses of Java and Ceylon*, Los Angeles: FitzPatrick's *Traveltalks* and MGM Studios.

Geiger, Jeffrey (2007), *Facing the Pacific: Polynesia and the U.S. Imperial Imagination*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Geiger, Jeffrey (2018), 'The Voyager's Sublime: Kodachrome and Pacific Tourism', in M. Keown, A. Taylor and M. Treagus (eds), *Anglo-American Imperialism and the Pacific: Discourses of Encounter*, New York: Routledge, pp. 110-30.

Green, Roberta (1937), 'Now Booking for 1938: A New Adventure by Captain Irving Johnson and Informal Talks about Life aboard a Schooner by Electa Search Johnson', *Artists for the Season of 1937-38: Advance List*, Boston: Roberta Green, pp. 14-15.

Griffiths, Alison (2002), *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Grillo, João Mário (2014), 'Propositions for a Gestural Cinema: On "Ciné-Trances" and Jean Rouch's Ritual Documentaries', in H. Gustafsson and A. Grønstad (eds), *Cinema and Agamben: Ethics, Biopolitics, and the Moving Image*, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 121-38.

Gunnell, Frank E. (1936), 'Vacation Accessories', *Movie Makers*, 11:8, pp. 336, 356.

Gunning, Tom (1994), 'Colorful Metaphors: The Attraction of Color in Early Silent Cinema', *Fotogenia*, 1, pp. 249-255.

Gunning, Tom (1995), 'Animated Pictures: Tales of Cinema's Forgotten Future', *Michigan Quarterly Review*, 34:4, pp. 465-85.

Hagman, Hampus (2012), 'The Digital Gesture: Rediscovering Cinematic Movement through GIFs', *Refractory: Journal of Entertainment Media*, 29 December, http://refractory.unimelb.edu.au/tag/agamben/. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Hau'ofa, Epeli (1993), 'Our Sea of Islands', in E. Waddell, V. Naidu and E. Hau'ofa (eds), *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, Suva: University of the South Pacific Press, pp. 2-16.

Holton, Robert J. (2009), *Cosmopolitanisms: New Thinking and New Directions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ishizuka, K. and Zimmermann, P. (eds) (2008), *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

J. W. (1938), 'Incredible Becomes Real in 'Yankee' Film', *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, coll. 240, box 18, f.5, Mystic, CT: Johnson Collection, Mystic Seaport Research Library.

Johnson, Electa (1936), personal correspondence, 28 November, box 7, f.4, p. 7, Mystic, CT: Johnson Collection, Mystic Seaport Research Library.

Johnson, Irving, and Johnson, Electa [as 'Captain and Mrs. Irving Johnson'] (1939), *Sailing to See: Picture Cruise in the Schooner Yankee*, New York: W.W. Norton.

Jolly, Margaret (2007), 'Imagining Oceania: Indigenous and Foreign Representations of a Sea of Islands', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 19:2, pp. 508-45.

Kalmus, Natalie (1935), 'Color Consciousness', *Journal of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers*, 25, August, pp. 139-47, http://www.zauberklang.ch/Kalmus_ColorConsciousness_SMPE_1935_print.pdf. Accessed 1 June 2018.

Kant, Immanuel ([1790] 2008), *Critique of Judgement* (trans. J. Creed Meredith), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kattelle, Alan D. (2000), *Home Movies: A History of the American Industry, 1897-1979*, Nashua, NH: Transition Publishing.

Kuper, Henry [Heinrich] (1926), 'Tapitapi, or The Tattooing of Females on Santa Anna and Santa Catalina (Solomon Group)', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 35, pp. 1-5.

LaFeber, Walter ([1963] 1998), *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Lowe, Lisa (1994), *Critical Terrains: French and British Orientalisms*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Lyons, Paul (2006), *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination*, New York: Routledge.

Mead, Sidney M. (1973), *Material Culture and Art in the Star Harbour Region, Eastern Solomon Islands*, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto Press.

Misek, Richard (2010), *Chromatic Cinema: A History of Screen Color*, New York: Wiley-Blackwell.

Moore, James W. (1936), 'Tips from Movie Travelers', *Movie Makers*, 11:8, pp. 338, 359.

Neale, Steve (2002), 'Color and Film Aesthetics', in G. Turner (ed.), *The Film Cultures Reader*, New York: Routledge, pp. 85-94.

Nichols, Bill (1991), *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Norris Nicholson, Heather (2009), 'Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain's Amateur Film Movement, 1925-1950', in I. Craven (ed.), *Movies on Home Ground: Explorations in Amateur Cinema*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, pp. 93-127.

Oliver, Myrna (2004), 'Electra [sic] Johnson, 95; With Husband, Told of Adventures Sailing Around Globe 7 Times', *Los Angeles Times*, 4 December, http://articles.latimes.com/2004/dec/04/local/me-johnson4. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Rascaroli, L. and Young, G. (eds) (2014), *Amateur Filmmaking: The Home Movie, the Archive, the Web*, London: Bloomsbury.

Ruoff, J. (ed.) (2006), *Virtual Voyages: Cinema and Travel*, Durham NC: Duke University Press.

Shand, Ryan John (2007), *Amateur Cinema: History, Theory, and Genre,1930-80*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow.

Strain, Ellen (2003), *Public Places, Private Journeys: Ethnography, Entertainment, and the Tourist Gaze*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Szczepaniak-Gillece, Jocelyn (2012), 'The Hues of Memory, the Shades of Experience: Color and Time in "Syndromes and a Century"', in S. Brown, S. Street and L. Watkins (eds), *Color and the Moving Image: History, Theory, Aesthetics, Archive*, London: Routledge, pp. 104-13.

Szerszynski, Bronislaw and Urry, John (2006), 'Visuality, Mobility and the Cosmopolitan: Inhabiting the World from Afar', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 57:1, pp. 113-31.

Teaiwa, Teresia (1999), 'Reading Paul Gauguin's *Noa Noa* with Epeli Hau'ofa's *Kisses in the Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism, and the "Polynesian" Body', in V. Hereniko and R. Wilson (eds), *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 249-63.

Tepperman, Charles (2013), 'Color Unlimited: Amateur Color Cinema in the 1930s', in S. Brown, S. Street and L. Watkins (eds), *Color and the Moving Image: History, Theory, Aesthetics, Archive*, London: Routledge, pp. 138-48.

Tuttle, Harris B. (1935), 'The How of Kodachrome', *Movie Makers*, 10.6, p. 241, pp. 264-65.

Tuttle, Harris B. (1937a), 'Seeing Color, part 1', *Movie Makers*, 12:10, pp. 481-2.

Tuttle, Harris B. (1937b), 'Seeing Color, part 2', *Movie Makers*, 12:11, pp. 551-2, pp. 561-3.

Villiers, Alan ([1937] 2006), *The Cruise of the Conrad*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Seafarer Books.

Wright, Bolling and Wright, Harry (1936-7), *Around the World on the M/Y Stella Polaris*, Washington, D.C.: Harry Wright collection, Library of Congress.

Ye, Sandy (2007), 'U.S. Trade Policy and the Pacific Rim, from Fordney-McCumber to the Trade Expansion Act of 1962: A Political-Economic Analysis', Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research Stanford University, Stanford University, August, http://siepr.stanford.edu/research/publications/us-trade-policy-and-pacific-rim-fordney-mccumber-trade-expansion-act-1962. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Zacher, Edmund (1935), 'Winter Kodacolor', *Movie Makers*, 10:2, p. 69, pp. 83-84.

Zacher, Edmund (1937a), 'Tree Drums, Traders, Visits to Man-eaters Occupy the Yankee Crew in Pacific Islands', *The Times* (Hartford), coll. 240, box 18, f.5, Mystic, CT: Johnson Collection, Mystic Seaport Research Library.

Zacher, Edmund (1937b), 'Yankee Crew Says Farewell to Pitcairn and Heads Westward to the South Sea Isles', *The Times* (Hartford), coll. 240, box 18, f.5, Mystic, CT: Johnson Collection, Mystic Seaport Research Library.

Zacher, Edmund (1938), *Around Again in the Yankee*, AV 107, 36-1, rolls 1-3, Mystic, CT: Johnson Collection, Mystic Seaport Research Library.

Zimmermann, Patricia R. (1995), *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

---

[1] See Geiger (2007: 7-14). Lyons (2006) and Eperjesi (2005) have been central to furthering an understanding of an imperialist imaginary in terms of framing relations between discourses of U.S. imperialist ambitions, political and commercial developments, and popular culture.

[2] See for example Jolly (2007: 524). The Pacific Rim is generally understood as a post-1970s phenomenon due to trade liberalization (as US trade policy became better aligned with global trading frameworks like the World Trade Organization, the economic bargaining power of Pacific Rim nations substantially increased) and the relative stability (political and economic) of large nations such as China, as well as 'Tiger Economies' such as South Korea and Singapore. See for example Ye (2007).

[3] For example, the film work of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in Bali, 1936-39; see Bateson and Mead (1942).

[4] For Kant, purpose [*Zweck*] is 'the object of a concept in so far as this concept is regarded as the cause of the object'; purposiveness [*Zweckmässigkeit*] is 'the causality of a concept in respect of its object' (Kant [1790] 2008: §10, 51).

[5] See Szczepaniak-Gillece (2012: 106). There are numerous discussions of Cecilia Bleasdale's photo of the dress, for example Devichand (2016).

[6] Colour had long been used to enhance spectacle in the imperial travelogue, as seen for example in *The Durbar at Delhi* (1911-12) featuring Charles Urban's Kinemacolor process. See Brown (2009: 143).

[7] Filming *Moana* (1925) in Western Samoa, Robert Flaherty experimented with panchromatic stock, up until then almost exclusively reserved for 'added' colour and special effects. A few years later working on what would become *Tabu* (1931) with F. W. Murnau, Flaherty was determined to take the high-tech rendering of South Seas 'magic' further into Technicolor (Geiger 2007: 141-43, 211-12). Had their finance company Colorart Productions not gone bankrupt, one of the first major US colour features would have been *Turia*, shot in the Leeward Islands (Fenua Raro Mata'i) by Flaherty and Murnau. In 1933, Henry de la Falaise's *Legong: Dance of the Virgins* (1935) was shot in Bali with a Balinese cast, using the two-strip Technicolor process.

[8] The titles read: '*Around Again in the Yankee*, presented by Captain Irving Johnson, photography by Edmund Zacher'.

[9] In spite of their sometimes exploitative content, Osa and Martin Johnson earned accolades from the likes of Carl Akeley. Among their surviving films are *Simba: King of the Beasts* (1928) and *Congorilla* (1932).

[10] In letters written on board, Exy notes: 'Yesterday and today we saw the movies—I didn't see them all but they looked swell. Irving and I both thought Ted ought to run the scenes a little longer, but they are interesting and varied' (E. Johnson 1936).

[11] Allan Villiers' contemporary account describes the 'Dance of the Tree Men' as a representation of the whole history of the island. He notes 'in a satiric finale the two

extraordinarily capable performers did the dance of the queer strangers taking photographs' (Villiers [1937] 2006: 228). See also S. M. Mead (1973). For an overview of colonial contexts in the region see Bennett (2002).

[12] According to the Johnsons' account, items such as the sewing machine had once belonged to Kuper. Kuper's ethnographic work included a study of female tattooing published in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Kuper 1926).

[13] See also Byer (1996). Kuper was interviewed by *Time* magazine in 1947, flying the Union Jack in the face of what he called local islanders' 'Marxist' revolts (Anon. 1947).

[14] Investigations of amateur cinema include the work of Norris Nicholson (2009), Zimmermann (1995), Ishizuka and Zimmermann (2008), Craven and Shand (2013), Craven (2009), Shand (2007), Kattelle (2000), contributors to Rascaroli and Young (2014); and the list is growing. Brown, Street, and Watkins (2013) engage with amateur uses of Kodachrome through the work of Tepperman (2013), though a number of studies including Misek (2010), Coates (2010), and Dalle Vacche and Price (2006) contain only passing references to Kodachrome.